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# RED STAR

## PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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# Observe July 28 as Martyrs Day

## Intensify Revolutionary Struggles to End Neo-Colonial Slavery

### March Forward For National Liberation and People's Democracy

It was on July 28, 1972, com. Charu Majumdar, first general secretary of CPI(ML) became a martyr in Lalbazar Police headquarters of Kolkata where he was subjected to continuous questioning from the time to was taken in to custody by the police, in spite of his very poor health, speeding up his death. The martyrdom of CM was an irreparable loss to the revolutionary movement as, in spite of his leading role in taking the movement to the sectarian path under the influence of the left deviation dominating the CPC then, only he was capable of initiating the rectification process as his last article just before his arrest, *People's interest is the Party's interest* showed, while all other leader's who were in the forefront in attacking him were or are fumbling in the darkness. From the time of Naxalbari uprising of May 1967, in order to carry forward the struggle for national liberation and people's democracy for which tens of thousands of revolutionaries had already laid down their lives from the early days of colonization, thousands of comrades continue to sacrifice everything to throw out the yoke of neo-colonialism intensified by the comprador rulers. The Central Committee of the CPI(ML) call on all revolutionary forces to observe July 28 as Martyr's day at all India level to re-dedicate ourselves for the cause of the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary ruling system and for ushering in people's democracy and socialism.

These are days when adamantly refusing to take lessons from past history of the international communist movement (ICM) and of the Indian communist movement large sections of former communists have abandoned revolutionary Marxism and embraced social democratic degeneration. They are serving imperialism and its compradors, refusing to fight the intensifying neo-colonial slavery and becoming part of the ruling system. On the other hand those who pursue the anarchist path, like the Bakunists and Narodniks of the past, are alienating the masses from revolution dogmatically upholding that "it is the heroes who make history". Besides, in spite of the severe setbacks suffered by the ICM in the last five decades, falling from the high position of 1950s when it was threatening to destroy imperialism for ever, vast sections of the so-called communists refuse to learn any lessons, refuse to seek the ideological-political reasons for the setbacks. They refuse to give cognizance to the changes made in the forms of plunder and domination by the imperialist system under the initiative of US imperialism in the post-Second World War period from colonial to neo-colonial forms or, they refuse to make a concrete study of the present situation and to develop the theory and practice accordingly.

Even when Soviet Union had started degenerating to capitalist path, to social imperialist path from the time of Khrushchovian leadership advocating 'Theory of three peacefuls', till its disintegration in 1991, vast sections of so-called 'Marxists' refused to recognize this reality. Similarly even after China degenerated in to an imperialist country under the banner of "Socialism with Chinese characteristics", not only the CPI-CPI(M) like forces but also CPI(ML) Liberation like forces still upload China as a socialist country under various justifications. Thus they obliterate the line of demarcation between imperialism and socialism. Besides implementing the neo-liberal policies wherever they

are in power, or advocating that "there is no alternative to globalization", or propping up comprador governments as CPI(M) did by keeping alive the UPA government for almost five years from 2004, they act like apologists or executioners of neo-colonialism.

On the other side of the spectrum, many of the so-called Marxist-Leninist groups are still sticking to mechanical copying of the 'Chinese path' contrary to the concrete conditions in India and the present international situation based on "semi colonial, semi feudal evaluation" and 'protracted people's war' approach. They are confusing the struggling masses by refusing to recognise the neo-colonial forms of plunder resorted to by imperialism or are utilizing semi-colonial and neo-colonial words synonymously. Whatever may happen they are not ready to rectify the sectarian mistakes of late 1960's and early 1970s. CPI (Maoist) has added militarism to the old annihilation line.

All these trends even while raising the red flag, upholding the martyrs and pledging to complete their unfulfilled dreams are actually leading the people to blind alleys. Instead of fulfilling the martyr's dreams, they are shattering them. It is in this context the significance of the ideological political struggle waged by CPI(ML) for almost three decades in order to establish a more advanced and developed Marxist-Leninist understanding about imperialism in its neo-colonial phase should be evaluated. This strenuous struggle has led to the adoption of the four basic documents in the Bhopal Conference and to the all round expansion of party and class /mass organizations at all India level. In this manner the CPI(ML) is strenuously trying to overcome the erstwhile mistakes and to establish the line and path of Indian revolution according to present conditions. This is the best possible manner to honour the martyrs. Let the whole party mobilize the masses more vigorously and lead the revolutionary struggles forward at a faster pace with more determination which shall be the best way to remember the martyrs.

## Oppose fuel price hike

The increase in prices of petrol, diesel, cooking gas and kerosene declared by UPA government on 25<sup>th</sup> June is yet another criminal attack on the masses of people who are already under severe strains due to the unprecedented rise in prices of all essential commodities. This fuel price hike is going to set in motion yet another round of galloping of the prices of all other essential commodities, bus fares and charges of all other essential services.

It will make only the MNCs and corporate houses in the petroleum sector happy. It is a decision taken for them. It is an anti people measure. That is why a wide range of forces including all opposition parties in parliament and even some of the constituents of UPA have opposed it and launched struggles to express their resent. Within hours of this declaration all over the country agitations are launched by numerous forces. All there shows that vast majority of the people and even a majority of MPs in parliament are against it. Still the UPA government has announce this hike arrogantly as they can manage a majority using various tricks as it did to undermine the voting for the cut motions to central budget on 27 April.

# 35 years after Indira Gandhi's emergency

**FOR** what purpose prime minister Indira Gandhi's declared internal emergency on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975 after mid night and how the people of India opposed her reign of terror, turning the whole country in to a jail and how finally she was forced to withdraw it are part of history. The anniversary of it is observed every year to remind the people to remind the people that the comprador rulers in India are capable of going to any extent to preserve the ruling system.

Even the worst of the imperialist chieftains like Bush, the imperialist comprador like Indira Gandhi and lackeys elsewhere have a style of imposing autocratic rule going to the extent of fascist forms of oppression in the name of democracy. Indira Gandhi went a step ahead. She announced that she was doing it to save the country from a fascist like Jayprakash Narayan!

On 25<sup>th</sup> June this year while the democratic conscious people are observing the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this despicable part of post 1947 Indian history, we are told by the central and state governments and a major section of the Corporate media repeatedly that once again Indian democracy is in danger. But this time the villains are different, we are told. Monmohan Singh get nightmares from the Naxalites or Maoists now as he was getting earlier from the terrorists or Jihadis. So his government is enforcing all sorts of black laws from AFSPA to UAPA and encouraging state governments to come out with any number of black laws. Besides the strength of police, paramilitary and military are increased many times to deploy them for *Operation Green Hunt*. *Salwa Judum* and other exercises for a witch hunt of Nazalites using the bogey of Maoism. Not satisfied with deploying police, paramilitary and commando forces, the army and air force are also going to be deployed to turn the tribal inhabited areas of central India also into killing fields as already Jammu and Kashmir and North east is turned in to.

So the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Indira Gandhi's emergency declaration was observed by the progressive forces across the country this time to expose the democracy claim of UPA government and to condemn the undeclared emergency imposed all over the country which is more pernicious than the 1975 emergency.

## Imperialist lackeys rescue CEOs of MNCS

**what** happened at Bhopal on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1984 after midnight was the worst ever industrial disaster in the world. Within hours about 20,000 of India's citizens met a painful death. About 4-5 lakhs continued to suffer serious aftermath of the massive leak of poisonous gas from the Union Carbide plant. While many died later, lakhs are still suffering. It did not happen all on a sudden. The CEOs of the plant Warren Anderson and the top bureaucrats knew that the plant was not safe. Gas had leaked a number of times and workers had died. Still no remedial measures were taken and worst happened. It was a culpable massacre by an MNC, a criminal act against a large no of people of this country.

Whatever the media is reporting and has become presently a topic of accusation by political foes were known all over the country during the last days of December 26 years ago itself. Under US pressure then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, MP Chief Minister Ajun Singh and the top bureaucrats at Delhi and Bhopal had conspired to rescue a mass murderer from the wrath of the people and managed a safe journey for him to the US. Later they diluted the case and allowed it to be tried in India so that the compensation was cut down to a pittance. The judiciary from Supreme Court to local Bhopal magistrate with the

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connivance of the prosecution ensured that the case is charged similar to a traffic accident and all the accused are bailed out as soon as they were punished this month. How loyal are the lackeys of imperialism ruling this country! Even the monopoly media in US and UK could not stomach this most shameful act. So even they called out foul and called for stringent action against Warren Anderson, Union Carbide and its present owner, the Dow Chemicals. But nothing is going to happen to the CEOs and MNCs under the rule of these imperialist lackeys.

While the Congress leadership is the prime accused in this criminal act against the nation and the

people, no other party in the ruling system who has shared power at Delhi or Bhopal during these 26 years can absolve itself from the responsibility for this cover up act as they never even tried to shout against the foul deeds to save the criminal MNC. After colluding all these years against the hundreds of thousands of victims to save the MNC, whatever they accuse each other are nothing but cheap political tricks. In spite of the Bhopal case verdict the speed with which the Monmohan Singh government is going ahead to get the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill passed fixing a mere RS. 500 crores as compensation for a nuclear plant disaster when US administration has already taken a hundred times more from the petroleum company, BP, for spilling oil in Gulf of Mexico due to damage in its oil well shows that in spite of the Rs. hundreds of thousands of crores spent at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl after the nuclear plant disasters to check radiation effects and for rehabilitation what is proposed as compensation to be spent by the US companies in case of a nuclear disaster is nothing more than peanuts. These are acts of high treason and inhumanity. Whatever happens to the country and the people these traitors are not ready to change their course. So the country and people can be saved only by throwing them out to be replaced by a people's democratic rule. So Bhopal gives a great revolutionary lesson.

## **Manipur: Intensify struggle against central and state governments**

It has taken 65 days or more to wake up the UPA government from its pretended slumber and to announce that the first convoy with food, medicine and other essential materials shall be sent to Manipur with para-military escort on 19<sup>th</sup> June. During these days, following the blockade of NH 39 by students led by Naga political groups the prices of all essential commodities had gone up almost ten times. As a result people had starved and the patients were dying in hospitals. But the central government which has a Constitutional obligation to Manipuri people to supply all essential commodities at normal prices under the annexation document of 1948 and under the general principles defining centre- state relations totally failed to safe guard these responsibilities. Only when the Nagaland based student groups lifted their siege on the crucial road link the central government come forward to send the convoy. The whole episode exposes the inhuman, barbarous attitude of the UPA government which did not bother for such a long period when the Manipuri people were subjected to such miseries. This reactionary, anti people attitude is part of the divide and control, together with the suppress

and control policies pursued for six decades in the whole Northeast. It should be severely condemned by all progressive and democratic forces.

As pointed out by all progressive forces repeatedly, the seven states in Northeast are practically converted into killing fields for the armed forces from the time the Nehru government dispatched the army in 1948 to suppress the Naga peoples struggle for the right of self determination. Manipur was annexed and made part of Indian union denying the right of autonomy to the people. The armed forces along with the Para-military forces continued to impose reign of terror with the aid of armed forces special powers act (AFSPA) like black acts. When it alienated more sections of people and when resistance struggle of Mizos and other peoples became stronger, further repressive measures were imposed. The failure to handle the problems created by the large scale migration of people from Bangladesh to Assam before and following the 1971 revolt led to insurgency there. To all these problems in the complex situation in the North east the consecutive government at centre and the state governments under a multitude of political parties representing ruling class, regional chauvinist interests had only one answer: suppress the peoples aspirations, divide them to control but always refuse to resolve them politically involving the people of North east. Instead of pursuing a holistic approach, these governments tried for piecemeal solutions making the problems more serious than ever.

Meanwhile the vested interests of the bureaucracy, the armed forces, the Para-military and ruling political class in the region became more and more heinous and reactionary. Along with the contractor's, mafias and wholesale merchants the region became a fiefdom for their plunder for amassing quick riches and for ruthless exploitation of all sections of people, especially women. All of them are united in preventing a political solution to the problems in the region with a holistic approach. As a result the vast mass of people in the region is the most exploited and oppressed. All the vested interests had created a condition which prevents any democratic space in the region.

It was in this situation, sections among the peoples of this region either continued the insurgency started against the deployment of armed forces by the Nehru

# Queens Baton: Insult to martyrs of freedom struggle

The *Queens Baton* after passing through all former British colonies has reached Indian border on 25<sup>th</sup> June for taking round the country till the opening of the Common Wealth Games in October. The Queen's Baton and the Common Wealth Games are nothing but an effort to establish forever the legacy of the rule of British Empire over the country.

That the much acclaimed 'de- colonization' was a farce, what happened with the transfer of power on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 was nothing but a transformation of colonial India to neo colonial India still dominated by the imperialists "through other means" is repeatedly underlined by them

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government or launched new insurgent groups. As most of these groups have only the slogan of right of self determination, as they could not link their struggles with anti imperialist, anti state struggles the agents of Indian state including RAW and various other intelligence services, the armed forces and various imperialist agencies including NGOs could infiltrate them and corrupt them. Almost all of them are reduced to representing various tribal, sub tribal interests, compromising with the regional parties in power or with the so called national parties like Congress. The degeneration of CPI and CPI(M) which had considerable influence in this region once and still have influence in Tripura, Manipur and parts of Assam to ruling class positions, playing second fiddle to the army and paramilitary forces which are imposing a reign of terror have also contributed towards degeneration of the situation there. Even some of the 'Naxalite' groups which had some influence in few pockets also could not contribute in a positive way to improve the situation due to their own distorted approach towards the nationality or sub-nationality questions at a time when all these issues have submerged and new contradictions have come up under neo colonization. The entry of RSS Parivar in a big way to the region especially from 1970s has further aggravated the situation as it has communalized the already complex situation. As a result it has become easier for the consecutive central governments to perpetuate this anti people, anti democratic situation utilizing all these well entrenched vested interests to divide and control the people.

It is in this background the feud between Nagaland and Manipur governments leading to economic blockade of Manipur and the pernicious role of the central government and its various agencies including the army in it should be seen. On the one hand Nagaland state government and the NSCN factions are utilizing the *Nagalim* or greater Nagaland question to cover up their failure to solve the problems of the masses of Naga people by whipping up chauvinist feelings. Muivah's visit to his village in Manipur was planned for it. On the other hand the Manipur government which has made life miserable for the vast masses of Meiteis as well as the tribal people due to its corrupt and reactionary policies, have whipped up chauvinist feelings against Muivah's visit and by initiating the holding of autonomous district councils (ADC) elections after enacting a law cutting down the authority of tribal

villages. Even after knowing the nefarious games of both these state governments, the central government by first allowing Muivah's visit to his village and then acting against it played its own long standing dirty game of divide and control. All these three parties are responsible for the creation of the situation which led to the blockade of NH-39 and NH 59 by Naga student factions and the consequent miseries to the Manipuri people.

The bulk of the peasantry, workers and other exploited sections of Manipur as well as their counterparts in Nagaland have nothing to gain from either Muivah visiting his ancestral village or not. Promoting the visit as well as calling for Nagalim are communal and chauvinist steps. Similarly the act of chauvinist government of Manipur was also communal and against the interests of creating amity between Naga and Manipur peoples. By their actions, conspiratorially supported by the central government has created unprecedented miseries to Manipuri people. It has benefitted only the hoarders, black marketers and other vested interests who have earned enormously by looting the people. The blockade of NH-39 and NH 59 by sections of Naga student groups has only helped the anti people central government to continue its policy of military occupation of North east utilizing AFSPA like black laws. So Naga people also have not benefitted from this siege in any way.

The people of north east in this situation should join hands against the divisive policies of the central government which create situations like the economic blockade of Manipur and struggle to throw out the army, paramilitary forces and all black laws from the region. They should raise their voice for a political solution to the problems of North east by fighting against entrenched vested interests who enrich themselves from peoples miseries.

For the people of Manipur what happened is a bitter lesson about the arch reactionary character of the central government which remained a silent spectator all through these weeks when they were starving and about the state government. They should get united and intensify their struggles against the central government which refuses to take steps to end the 'blockade' early and to fulfill its Constitutional duty, about which it always talk a lot of rubbish on all other occasions, and against the anti people state government.

# Crisis of International Crisis Management

*(Extracts from interview with com. Stephan Engel by Red Flag, the theoretical journal of MLPD-rs)*

*Red Flag: At the beginning of the year (see 'Red Flag' interview of 20 December*

*2009) you described the politics of the government and the monopolies with their*

*crisis dampening measures as a "dance on a volcano". How have things developed since then?*

**Stefan Engel:** In the meantime, the volcano has started to emit lava. The international

crisis management has cost a lot of money since November 2008 and has been immensely burdening the national budgets.

An estimated worldwide total of 27 trillion US-dollars has been spent for this up till now. This inconceivable amount is about

half of the yearly world gross national product. In our brochure "Bourgeois Political Economy in

Shambles", published in May 2009, we already criticized that bourgeois crisis management does not tackle the root of the

evil. It can only dampen or overcome the current crisis at the cost of future, even deeper and more sweeping crises. At that

time we had already predicted that this gigantic crisis management will bring about a tendency toward state

bankruptcies and bring the destabilization of social relations to a head. In the meantime, in some countries of the European

Union an acute danger of state bankruptcy has arisen. In this context the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of May 11th, 2010 talked of an "historically unique emergency, which could have drastic effects on the stability of the Eurozone." According to this mouthpiece of the monopolies, the "euro crisis and the dangers arising from it ... are putting the international financial crisis into the shade: It is no longer merely a matter of preventing a breakdown of banks, but one of states." It is evident that the so-called "euro crisis" is actually a new quality of the international world economic and financial crisis. It has to be described as a crisis of international crisis management. This naturally changes the general starting situation for which we have to prepare ourselves tactically.

**Red Flag: But hasn't the danger of state bankruptcies been averted by the new 750 billion "protective umbrella"?**

**Stefan Engel:** By no means! It's like a story from "A Thousand and One Nights" when they claim that the problem of imminent state bankruptcy only exists in Greece. In fact, the debts of Greece amount to only 0.273 trillion euros. This is 3.14 per cent of the debts of 8.69 trillion euros in the EU<sup>1</sup>. The legend that the Greek people have lived beyond their means is not becoming more true by repeating it over and over again and by constantly adding new horror stories in a foul smear campaign by the "Bild" newspaper. It is a fact that in the past years the

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## Condemn attack on the Gaza flotilla

Brazen attack on the six ships of Gaza flotilla which set off from Cyprus carrying humanitarian aid to the besieged Gaza strip on early hours of 31<sup>st</sup> May by the commando forces of Zionist Israel once again exposes the aggressive, barbarous nature of the rulers of this rouge state. It also exposes how Obama administration is rescuing this brute force in Israel. For years 1.5 million people living in 360 sq. kilometers are under blockade. Even humanitarian assistance by UN agencies is not allowed to reach the people. It is in protest against this fascist act humanitarian activists from a number of countries got together and the flotilla was organized. That the Israeli commandos have killed nine unarmed people in a sudden attack, injured more than 60 people and took many others in to custody preventing the assistance from reaching the besieged people call for stringent condemnation of the brutal act. Even the ships going to Gaza were taken in to custody with the announcement that Israel will not allow any form of break in its blockade of Gaza. The Israeli authorities are arrogantly repeating blatant lies to justify their aggressive acts. Emboldened with the continuing support of US imperialists and the impotent

stand of number of Arab states, the Zionists are in effect challenging world public opinion against its pernicious acts. That the US imperialists are not ready to condemn this attack, that they are not ready to go beyond expressing mere regret show how they are aiding and abetting the Zionist fascists ruling Israel. Even after Turkish president daring to condemn the state terrorism of the Zionists the US could sabotage even an impartial, credible investigation in to these brutal acts of Israeli authorities. Majority of the Arab heads of states toeing US line are not ready to condemn Israel.

The situation is not different here. Except for some superfluous statements, the UPA government is not ready to take initiative either to get the blockade lifted or to severely condemn the Zionist attack on the Gaza flotilla. It is the responsibility of all left and democratic forces to express full solidarity with the Palestine people, to raise their voice against blockade of Gaza strip and to demonstrate in whichever way possible so that it hurts the Zionist barbarians and the US administration which backs them.

# Political Resolution

(Adopted by the CC Meeting on 5,6,7 June, 2010)

## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. As analyzed in detail in the *Political Organizational Report* to the *All India Special Conference*, the present world situation is *marked* by the unprecedented crisis faced by the global imperialist economic order starting with the *meltdown* of September 2008 in US and the efforts made by the imperialist powers, especially US imperialism, to overcome it by shifting this burden to the working class of their own countries as well as to the *toiling masses* of the vast number of countries under neo-colonization on the one hand, and by the efforts made by the working class, the world people and the Marxist-Leninist forces to combat them. Imperialists, especially US imperialists are utilizing political as well as military means to overcome or dilute the economic meltdown and to re-stabilize the present world order under their increasing hegemony. But in spite of strenuous efforts in all fields the economic crisis is persisting as witnessed by the repayment failure of Greece followed by growing crises in Portugal and Spain, small European Union constituents, and its consequences. It has led to weakening of *Euro* and destabilization of European Union economy itself. The global imperialist economy continues to get rocked as a result. In the military field US-led forces are still stuck up in Afghanistan and Iraq in a major way. These are *blocking* the US efforts to enhance its hegemonic moves by expanding military adventures to new regions like Iran or Sudan or North Korea.

2. The pernicious moves of US imperialists followed by other imperialist powers and the comprador regimes in the neo-colonies to bail out the MNCs including the giant banks which are caught in the vortex of the 'meltdown', and to shift the burden to the working class and oppressed people everywhere, including the worsening price rise, unemployment and cutting down of all welfare measures are further intensifying the fundamental contradictions between capital and labour and between the imperialist system and world people. This is bringing the slogan "imperialist barbarity or socialism" forward with more vehemence. As a result, contrary to the efforts of opportunist forces to obliterate the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and socialism under the influence of class-collaborationist theories like '*Three World Theory*', this fundamental contradiction is put forward with more vehemence by all anti-imperialist forces as the fundamental contradiction which is providing revolutionary orientation to world people's struggles. In this situation, the imperialist forces with US imperialism in the forefront are giving birth to newer and newer groupings like G-22 to strengthen the collusion of all imperialist powers with some comprador regimes to push forward the neo-liberal policies to stabilize the present neo-colonial global

order. But in spite of this strengthening of collusion among them the contention for more and more share of the world market is intensifying the fourth fundamental contradiction at international level, the contradiction among the imperialist powers and monopoly groups more and more in recent times. This contradiction is more accentuated by the arm-twisting tactics pursued by US imperialism to continue its dominance even over other imperialist countries as seen by the pressure tactics of Obama administration against the New Democratic Party led government of Japan for demanding the scaling down of US military bases in that country. That is, however hard the Obama administration try, it is confronting more obstacles to impose the '*Washington Consensus*'. On the contrary, different imperialist groupings like *Shanghai Cooperation* are emerging. The US-EU conflicts on global financial management, etc. are growing.

3. This global situation, as pointed out repeatedly by us, is giving rise to the upsurge of revolutionary struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world. The anti-imperialist forces in Latin America spearheaded by Venezuelan president Chavez has called for making the 21<sup>st</sup> century a century of socialist advances. It is in this situation the significance of the initiative taken by the Marxist-Leninist Parties including our Party to work for the formation of a co-ordination of them at global level as an initial initiative to reorganize the *Communist International* should be seen. This coordination shall serve as the core of the anti-imperialist movement at global level and provide impetus for world-wide unity of working class and oppressed classes and section.

## INDIAN SITUATION

4. The Political resolution adopted by the last CC meeting in February 2010 explaining the challenges faced by Indian polity and the vast majority of exploited, toiling masses under intensifying neo-colonial slavery had put forward the important tasks of party building and class/mass organizations' building in order to intensify the class struggle in all fields to compel the central and state governments to reverse their anti-people policies. All these basic tasks are fully relevant for a long time. To avoid repetition they are not mentioned again. Only an evaluation of the developments after last CC meeting and what should be the orientation for uniting the progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces are dealt in this resolution.

5. The basic feature of the 2010-11 budget is that it almost completes the process of transforming the role of the government from that of an 'initiator' of economic activity to that of a mere 'facilitator', thereby shedding the last

vestiges of Keynesianism in economic policy. For, henceforth all new initiatives in basic and key industries which are hitherto dominated by public sector, infrastructural areas and service sectors will be under the so called “public-private partnership” which is nothing but a euphemism for unhindered privatization. It steps up the UPA government’s direct attack on the vast majority of toiling masses in the country through a massive hike in fuel prices, an unprecedented rise in indirect taxes on most items of daily consumption, an absolute reduction in food and fertilizer subsidies, treacherous sale of even profit-making public sector undertakings denying even the existing nominal organized sector employment and a general cut in all forms of social and rural welfare spending on the one hand, and an exceptionally liberal approach towards corporate and speculative sections in the form of a number of tax breaks, budgetary concessions, subsidies for real estate and agribusiness mafia and so on, on the other. In spite of the most eloquent rhetoric on empowering the *aam aadmi*, the basic philosophy of the budget continues to be out rightly neoliberal and elitist.

6. The central budget followed or preceded by the state budgets has further intensified the neo-liberal regime taking the role of speculation in all fields to unheard of levels. It is this speculative frenzy which is reflected in the IPL which is turned to a money-spinning area with very little cricket in it. The new multi-billion corruption charges coming against central and state ministers, top army officers and bureaucrats also reflect

this degeneration. As speculative capital reached the level of absolute control, what is taking place is a cut throat race for profits and riches. The mafias have come to dominate all fields. It has created its own impact in the cultural field also. Even whatever remnants of humane values that had existed are fast disappearing under the mafiaisation.

7. This is reflected in the political scene vividly. Even while selling away the country’s interests to MNCs and imperialist masters, even while signing many treasonable agreements with US imperialists playing the role of dalals obediently the UPA government and its Congress leadership is ruthlessly utilizing the CBI and other central agencies to compel Mayawati, Shibu Soren like leaders utilizing various corruption charges against them to ensure its survival as witnessed during the voting on cut-motions in Lok Sabha on 27 April. On the one hand, it has blunted any possible attack on its basic economic policies and intensification of state terror by ensuring support to them from BJP and the CPI(M) initiated third front. On the other hand, any effort to destabilize it utilizing its lack of absolute majority is foiled by utilizing the central agencies to compel many of the leaders of its rival parties to fall in line whenever a crucial voting take place. Side by side, the voting on Women’s Reservation Bill in Lok Sabha is again postponed not to disturb its stability from without or within. Thus, the UPA under Congress has almost ensured an undisturbed five year tenure once again. It is the A team serving imperialists and ruling class politics.

8. The BJP’s big mobilization at Delhi on 21<sup>st</sup> April against price rise became another ritual as it was not against any of the basic policies of the central government like its fast withdrawal from procurement of food grains and public distribution system (PDS) along with opening even retail trade to MNCs and Corporate houses. So its role is reduced to play the role of a bourgeois opposition party and wait for the next elections to reap benefits from the failures of the UPA government. Against the *right of centre* UPA coalition of Congress, the BJP alliance is playing the role of a more rightist or conservative opposition. It is the B team to serve ruling class politics.

9. Against these right of centre alliance, the A team in power and the rightist alliance, the B team in the role of main opposition, the 13-party alliance under the initiative of CPI(M) has emerged as a ‘third front’ or a C team of the ruling class. It includes AIADMK, TDP, RJD, SP, BJD like parties which are as vehemently upholding the neo-liberal policies as the Congress and BJP. Neither they nor the CPI (M) or other ‘left front’ parties are ready to call for a reversal of these policies. Moreover wherever they are in power, they implement the very same policies in effect. As their statement calling for 27 April *Bharat Bandh* against price rise showed, they did not ask for rejecting the basic policies which has created price rise. So their *Bandh* call was reduced to another routine game played by the ruling class parties or their alliances to hoodwink the masses for electoral gains. The ‘third front’ is taking in effect a centrist stand. All those who are joining hands with it have exposed how much they have deviated from the path of people’s cause.

10. The challenge faced by the revolutionary left forces in this situation is how to develop a revolutionary opposition or a people’s front against these rightist, right of centre and centrist ruling class forces and their collaborators. Collaborating with the ‘third front’ or playing the role of a civil defense group in support of CPI (Maoist) is not going to help the building up of a genuine revolutionary people’s alternative to the ruling system and its neo-liberal policies. It only provides credibility to the claims of the CPI(Maoist) and advocated by some petti-bourgeois intellectuals and few NGOs that it is the only alternative to the ruling system.

11. It is the task of the Party to fight all ruling class alternatives on the one hand, and to expose the false claims of anarchist CPI(Maoist) and to build a genuine

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revolutionary alternative at all India level. The Party should initiate a people's front. An all out effort is needed to unite the communist revolutionary forces based on the basic documents of Bhopal Conference. Along with this, the building of revolutionary class/mass organizations and their strengthening has to be speeded up in all fields mobilizing the toiling masses in ever larger numbers and launching mass movements in all fields against the neo-liberal policies which are intensifying the neo-colonial slavery. During the three months after the last CC meeting the success achieved in completing the unity with CCR (ML), in forming a SOC in AP uniting CR forces and the new party contacts gained in more areas are positive signs strengthening the Party building. Similarly the mass dharna of Adivasis at Delhi has paved the way for launching the AIKAM. The AIRSO's 1<sup>st</sup> All India Conference was also held successfully at Mumbai on 31<sup>st</sup> May and 1<sup>st</sup> June. The consolidation and strengthening of different class/mass organizations taking place are positive steps in this direction. Priority should be given to intensify local level to All India level struggles on various people's issues with revolutionary orientation under the leadership of the party and class / mass organizations.

### Immediate Tasks

12. The ever intensifying moves of the central and state governments to speed up the imposition of imperialist globalization through neo-liberal policies have further sharpened the contradictions between imperialists, especially US imperialists, and the broad masses of people, and between the comprador bureaucrat bourgeois-big landlord state and the people. As a result, against price rise, unemployment/ under employment, displacement of Adivasis, dalits and other oppressed classes/sections, pauperization/devastation of the masses, cutting down of even remaining welfare policies, and elitisation at every levels, more and more struggles are bound to come up and ongoing struggles are bound to intensify. Against the imposition of Operation Green Hunt, Salwa Judum, AFSPA, UAPA like black acts intensifying state terror also mass resistance is getting strengthened. The Party and class/mass organizations should make all out efforts to become part of these struggles, to develop them with broadest possible mass involvement, and to come to their leadership with an all India perspective.

13. The Central Committee calls on all SCs and SOCs to organise a vigorous and militant campaign under the leadership of the Party and class/mass organizations, uniting all progressive, democratic, patriotic and revolutionary forces along with people's resistance movements against displacement and neo-liberal policies, culminating with observing August 9 to August 15 as *Quit India week* at state level in the form of rallies, conventions, street campaigns etc based on the following slogans:

- i. Kick out IMF-World Bank-WTO-MNCS.
- ii. Smash imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies.
- iii. Nationalize all Corporate houses, Confiscate all Indian deposits in foreign banks.
- iv. Stop all displacements for SEZs, Corporate-MNC-Infrastructure Projects, etc.
- v. Implement land to the tiller based land reforms, Confiscate all land from mafias, plantations, big landlords etc and distribute to landless-poor and agricultural workers.
- vi. Ensure right over Jal-Jangal –Zameen and Autonomy to Adivasis.
- vii. Implement full democratic rights, need-based wages and job security to workers.
- viii. End Price Rise, Implement government procurement of food grains and PDS for all.
- ix. Secure food-housing-equal education-healthcare-employment for all.

x. Revoke AFSPA, Operation green Hunt, UAPA like black acts, Stop State Terror.

xi. End killings, atrocities against dalits, adivasis, minorities and women.

xii. Fight casteist oppression, Fight for casteless, secular society.

xiii. Stop imperialist dictated policies which devastate the country pauperize the masses and destroy environment. Struggle for people oriented, national and scientific development policy.

### Advance towards building an all India people's front

14. The unprecedented pauperization of the masses, devastation of the country and crises confronting in all fields as a result of the intensification of the fundamental contradictions in society calls for an active, nationwide initiative to build a people's front capable of throwing out the rule of imperialists and their dalals so that Indian people can march towards people's democracy and socialism. The CC calls for mobilising an All India Convention at Delhi in November uniting the revolutionary left and democratic forces for the formation of an all-India people's front based on the above slogans.

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# Indian foreign policy: From non- alignment to strategic servitude of US imperialism

**K.N. Ramachandran**

The verdict of a chief judicial magistrate of Bhopal in the world's worst industrial disaster, the Bhopal gas leak of 3-4 December, 1984, should not surprise anyone who has tried to go through the approach of the central and state governments, the political leaderships of Congress, the bureaucracy and the judiciary from top to bottom who had connived to let Warren Anderson, the number one accused and all others to escape, who have surrendered to US threats, put up with the arrogance of the MNC the Dow Chemicals, and diluted the Bhopal case almost to the status of a traffic accident. It also shows the extent of the US pressure on consecutive Indian governments which meekly surrendered before it without a murmur. Even the monopoly media in the West could not digest the shameless manner in which the Indian government is lackeying to the US administration, to the Union Carbide company and now to Dow Chemical's as their comments reveal. Still the UPA government at centre is least perturbed. It is going ahead hastily to get the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill passed which will reduce the compensation for a nuclear plant disaster to just Rs 500 crores when the Three Mile Island disaster in US and Chernobyl in former Soviet Union had cost billions of dollars for the damage control. The way the cut motions against the budget was defeated on 27 April it is almost

possible that this bill also may be carried through by putting pressure on the so called third front parties utilizing CBI for arm twisting. The Sonia- Manmohan company is also planning to hastily pass the bill to punish all those who criticize the GM seeds and food items summarily to please the US administration and the MNCs like Monsanto.

This subservience to US imperialism which is depicted as a strategic ally by the UPA government do not stop here. Prime minister Manmohan Singh has proved that he is nothing but a running dog of US imperialists by scroupplessly avoiding any visit to Teheran when most of the leaders of Asian, African, Latin American countries have done so more than once. When Brazil and South Africa along with Turkey worked out an alternative suggestion to diffuse the Iranian nuclear crisis created by US, the Indian government kept away from it. Except in direct military operations in all other fields Indian military, paramilitary and engineering departments are serving at the US-NATO aggression in Afghanistan. According to the numerous strategic agreements signed with US the Indian government has agreed to deploy its Navy to help US forces to police Indian Ocean. In a well calculated manner US administration is cultivating relation with Indian government so that its interests are faithfully served by the latter as a trusted junior partner. There is a significant shift from its earlier stand of utilizing Pakistan as the most trusted comprador regime of the region to raising India to that status. The UPA government is speedily implementing all dictates of the imperialist master while imposing neo colonial slavery over the country and the people. In more than one sense it is a major shift in the foreign policy of Indian government corresponding to the neo liberal phase.

## Nehrurian phase

After 1947 transfer of power with the transformation from a direct colony of British imperialism to a neo colony under the domination of finance capital and market controlled by the US led imperialist forces, reflecting its internal comprador policies the Nehru government supported all strategic steps taken by US imperialism like its Korean war. At the sometime to push forward its economic policies based on the Bombay plan of Tata Birla's it had decided to utilize the contradiction between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp like many other comprador governments which had come in to existence following the de colonization pushed forward by the imperialist camp to promote neo colonization. With this perspective a non alignment movement (NAM) was also launched. It was a clever policy to get maximum economic aid utilizing the contradiction between the two camps and by enforcing the Keynesian policies while ruthlessly opposing all proletarian revolutionary initiatives within the country.

When Soviet Union degenerated to capitalist path and transformed to a social imperialist power which was competing as well as colluding with US imperialism for world hegemony, it became easier for Indira Gandhi government to continue the so called non alignment policy on the one hand and to sign an Indo-Soviet Treaty in 1971 for serving its expansionist policies in South Asia. Soviet Union had supported its annexation of Sikkim and the dispatch of its army to East Bengal to dismember Pakistan. At the same time it continued to faithfully follow the US imperialist dictated economic policies including allowing more imperialist capital, MNC, World Bank and other imperialist agencies. Besides Indira Gandhi government ruthlessly suppressed the communist revolutionary upsurge following 'Naxalbari' uprising in India and prevented a communist takeover in

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Bangladesh. It was also supporting the US in its containment policy against socialist China. Its foreign policy was non alignment only in name. It was maneuvering to get maximum economic and political benefits utilizing the contradiction between the two superpowers, while internally suppressing all popular movements against reactionary state policies.

### **Post emergency shift**

When the hitherto Congress hegemony over the central government ended in 1977 election after the internal emergency and Janatha party came to power the international situation also had undergone many changes. The *stagflation* in imperialist economy in 1970s was leading to introduction of neo liberal policies in Britain and US abandoning the Keynesian policies. The crisis in imperialist economy had started seriously affecting Soviet Union and the East European countries which had left socialist path, were dismantling the public sector and implementing capitalist policies, leading to major crises there. The socialist China had come under capitalist readers. There was a rightist wind all over the world .So it was easy for the right of center Janatha party government to abandon hitherto apparently progressive looking foreign policy and adopt a policy of moving nearer to US imperialism in all respects under the new foreign minister, the RSS bred AB Vajpayee.

Though Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980 in tune with the international and national situation and also as her government was being compelled to take a massive IMF loan to tide over the economic difficulties it started pursuing the foreign policy promoted by the Janatha party government more actively. The NAM was in effect abandoned except in rhetoric's to cheat the gullible. Though the Sri Lankan policy of supporting, training and arming the militant Tamil groups was started in connivance with Soviet interests, the major thrust was to strengthen its own expansionist policies in South Asia. By 1984 when Rajiv Gandhi took over as prime minister, when dependence on IMF-WB loans increased, when the country was opened to MNCs and western know how, in the name of leading the country to the new century and as US started showing more interest to develop relations with Indian government, the shift towards US policies started getting further strengthened. The 1989-1991 governments of VP Singh and Chandrasekhar by pursuing more faith fully the IMF -World Bank package of economic policies in the name of escaping from the foreign exchange crisis, created conditions for further shift in the foreign policy.

With the introduction of imperialist globalization policies the country was opened to IMF- World bank and then WTO along with other imperialist agencies and MNCs. Neo colonization reached a more intensive new phase with neo liberal policies coming to dominance in all fields. Irrespective of what is written in the preamble of the Constitution, both internal and foreign policies were transformed speedily in servitude to US imperialism in particular and imperialist world order in general. It was in this situation the BJP led NDA government initiated 13 rounds of Jaswant Singh - Talbot talks chalking out a whole frame work of strategic relations between US and India, according to which India will serve as a faithful junior partner of the US imperialism. The UPA government which took over in 2004 started pursuing this policy more speedily with Sonia-Monmohan Singh team proving as the most trusted compradors with whom the US is ready to go ahead to any extent to establish India as its strategic ally in Asia to serve its hegemony. This was in spite of the much trumpeted Common Minimum Policy arrived at to ensure support of the CPI (M) led left front.

### **Failure to recognize neo colonization leads to erroneous left approaches**

An over view of the approach towards the foreign policy of the consecutive central governments by various left forces show how they were led to out rightly erroneous positions as they failed to evaluate the de-colonization leading

to transfer of power in 1947 and transformation of colonial India to neocolonial one. Some fringe forces right from the beginning refusing to recognize the real intention of this transformation have analyzed India as an independent capitalist country pursuing imperialist policies in South Asia. In spite of the latest developments exposing how servile is the Indian state to imperialists, especially US imperialist policies in South Asia, they religiously strike to this erroneous stand, in effect becoming apologists of the imperialist domination over all fields.

The Soviet revisionists led by Krushchov clique had evaluated that imperialism has weakened following Second World War and has abandoned colonialism. According to them decolonization has led to erstwhile colonial, semi colonial, dependent counties becoming newly independent counties pursuing non capitalist path of development. So they advised the communist parties in these countries to join the national bourgeoisie and their parties to complete democratic revolution and for peaceful transition to socialism. During the 1956 visit to India Krushchov acclaimed Nehru government and its non alignment policies .The Chinese leadership also did the same. Religiously following Kroschchov's address, the CPI leadership degenerated as a lackey of Congress and acclaimed Nehru's foreign policy to the heaven. They came with the strange argument that even if some aspects of internal policy are anti people the foreign policy is excellent. They refused to recognize how the external policies are basically

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a reflection of the internal policies and that in spite of progressive rhetorics the Nehru government was following policies which were basically serving imperialist interests. As the CPI leadership refused to accept the degeneration of Soviet Union in to an imperialist power in practice contesting and colluding with US imperialism for world hegemony, it failed to understand the maneuvering policies of Indian government .It became an outright lackeys of her government.

Though CPI (M) initially opposed the CPI leadership out rightly in 1964 it also stated that though the internal policies are wrong India's foreign policy is on the whole progressive. In spite of certain criticisms against the Vajpayee government and then UPA government's shifts in policies towards US even now both CPI and CPI (M) are not out rightly criticizing the foreign policy as they are implementing the neo liberal policies wherever they are in power and as they have abandoned the Marxist line of struggling for over throwing the ruling system So in effect CPI and CPI (M) ,and forces leaning to their approach have degenerated as apologists of neo colonialism in theory and its executioners where they are in power. So they do not condemn the expansionist policies of Indian state and its strategic servitude to US imperialism.

As far as the CRs in general and CPI (ML) in particular are concerned, they had denounced the comprador policies of the central government and its subservience to both US

imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. They denounced the foreign policy of Indira Gandhi government which was in effect a reflection of its reactionary internal policy. Though this approach was on the whole correct, as the capitalist readers led by Deng Tsiaoping usurped power in china and put forward the Theory of Three Worlds as the strategic line of the world proletariat, most of the splintered CPI (ML) groups who mechanically upheld this class collaborationist theory took erroneous international approach. Evaluating Soviet social imperialism as the main danger some of them more or less look compromising positions to US imperialism. As they approached the foreign policy of the central government based on this position, they failed to evaluate it correctly.

It is in this context the real character of the transfer of power in 1947 under neo colonization resorted to by the imperialist camp after Second World War to beat back the socialist offensive called for scientific evaluation by the communist forces in order to develop a revolutionary line towards the internal and foreign policy of the comprador government which took over. Only by developing this understanding according to present concrete conditions the struggle against the comprador ruling system can be carried forward. It is in this context the significance of the basic documents including the Path of Revolution adopted by CPI (ML) in 2009 Special Conference should be seen. It is this line which enables a scientific evaluation of the foreign policy pursued by the consecutive central governments from 1947 and its present consequences in South Asian context.

#### **Indian expansionism serves US imperialism to dominate South Asia**

The present foreign policy of UPA government has led to its strategic subservience to US imperialism increasingly. And US imperialism is utilizing Indian services to impose its hegemony over Asia especially South Asia. If the comprador rulers in India form 1947 had assumed the role of the British colonial masters, threatening, bullying and even annexing areas like Manipur and later Sikkim which were not part of British India, presently it has become an expansionist power in South Asia posing a serious threat to all its neighboring countries. It is serving the US interests in the region, as its junior partner. Its interference in Sri Lanka ultimately leading to reducing Tamil Ezham peoples resistance there to LTTE and its eventual decimation ,its interference and bullying in Nepal to prevent a communist takeover, its antagonistic policies leaving Indo-Pak relations as the longest standing international dispute in present global situation ,its refusal to settle Jammu and Kashmir question politically involving the participation of the people there ,its bullying tactics in Bhutan and Maldives etc have left SAARC more divided than ever. If British India had once become the jewel of British colonial empire, presently the Indian state is becoming the bulwark of US imperialism in South Asia. As a result, the Indian state is not only the enemy of the toiling masses and oppressed people of India; it is also an enemy of the people of all south Asian countries who are struggling for national liberation and people's democracy.

The foreign policy pursued by the UPA government is nothing but a direct continuation of the reactionary internal socio economic political policies pursued by it in the service of the imperialists, especially US imperialists, and the native comprador ruling classes. Both are against the vast masses of India and the people of South Asia. So the people's democratic revolution in India will not only lead the people here to socialist path but also pave the way for the victory of national liberation and people's democracy all over South Asia. That is why CPI (ML) is striving hard for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in South Asia which shall pave the way for the unity of the people of South Asia and their united struggles.

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# On Approaching the Present Imperialist Crisis

P.J. James

The quarter century of irreversible imperialist crisis starting with the stock market crash of 1987, the Mexican Crisis of 1994, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the collapse of Long Term Capital Management in 1998, described by then US Treasury secretary Robert Rubin as “the worst financial crisis in 50 years”, leading to the sub-prime crisis that developed in 2007, followed by the collapse of investment bank Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers respectively in March and September 2008, finally culminating in the collapse of the big five Wall Street investment banks by the end of 2008 that wiped out trillions of dollars of “fictitious capital” has assumed a new dimension with the unprecedented economic and social catastrophe now haunting the entire European countries. Though the tendency is to compare the current European situation to the American sub-prime crisis and Lehman Brothers collapse, it will be an understatement of the severity of the former. While the sub-prime property market along with its toxic “derivatives” represented a \$2 trillion debt, the combined public and private debt of the most troubled European countries – Greece, Portugal, Spain and so on – alone is estimated to be \$9 trillion. Thus, the process of collapse of imperialist world economy that began with the advent of neoliberalism is gathering momentum and is integrally linked up with the process of “financialisation” that began with the demise of international Keynesianism. The imperialist financial system has started melting down.

Figures themselves speak on this. In 1980, if the financial firms accounted for about 5 percent of total corporate profits, by 2006 this had risen to around 40 percent. On a global scale, financial assets in 1980 were roughly equal in value to world gross domestic product. Within a span of thirty years they have grown to five times that of global GDP. This financialisation which has been the essence of imperialist globalization was a response of imperialism to the crisis in the neocolonial accumulation process that evolved in the post WW II period and continued till the 1970s. This crisis is to be located in the whole course of transformation of imperialist world economy led by US imperialism during the neocolonial period.

The so called “Fordist” organization of production and business by which MNCs accumulated immense wealth became unviable since the 70s following the advent of “stagflation” and collapse of Keynesianism. Confronted with a downturn in the rate of profit, US led imperialism undertook a major restructuring program since the early 1980s. In the context of the ideological and political setbacks suffered by the working class at the international level, an important component of this has been a “deindustrialization” process or the destruction of several areas of manufacturing industry and a neoliberal attack on the working class leading to unprecedented unemployment and underemployment which came to be characterized as “jobless growth”. A new international division of labour called “post-Fordism” or “flexible specialization” that made use of the new developments in transportation, communication, information and processing technologies enabled imperialist capital to reap super-profits by involving cheapest sources of labour in neocolonial countries through “outsourcing” that reduced wage rate abysmally in imperialist countries, especially in US, on the one hand, and developing new avenues of speculative finance capital on the other. From 1980s onward, new financial methods and instruments were developed for appropriating wealth. In brief, under neoliberalism, there took place a change in the mode of accumulation. The driving force of accumulation of profit during this period has been financial speculation.

The essence of the present crisis is that it has brought about cracks in the mode of accumulation practiced by finance capital. No doubt, the real causes

confronting capitalist crisis lies in the incurable ailments of capitalist production relations that Marxism had already pinpointed. More precisely it relates to the ever-mounting contradiction arising from the social character of capitalist production and private nature of its appropriation. As a greater proportion of surplus value is extracted from the workers and toiling masses through a whole set of complex financial processes such as “futures” and “derivative” trading, the purchasing power of the broad masses depreciates continuously leading to the accentuation of the ‘realization crisis’ in capitalism that Marx had pointed out. Every effort on the part of capital to overcome this crisis, on account of capitalism’s inherent logic, will take its internal contradictions to an ever higher level, by constantly producing and reproducing them on an ever wider basis. The operation of financial markets itself will make this point amply clear. The financial assets including new financial derivatives, real estate and other forms of property titles accumulated by wealthy classes are all, in one form or another, claims to income. That is, in the final analysis, they are claims to the surplus value which is extracted from the working class. The value of such assets can rise faster than GDP provided that the proportion of national income going to profits is increasing, that is, if there is a greater pool of surplus value to draw from. But the process in which finance capital’s claims on income rise faster than GDP, the speculative process cannot continue indefinitely. Though the appropriation of surplus value by finance capital takes place in financial markets, this appropriation is ultimately related to the extraction of surplus value through production and employment which are relatively lagging behind. Consequently, much of the financial assets have become ‘non-performing’ or what is called “toxic” assets. And that is the essence of the crisis today.

In other words, imperialist globalization led by finance capital has intensified all the contradictions of the imperialist world economy. The developments ranging from the American “sub-prime crisis” to the present European “debt crisis” simply show that the crisis is only just beginning to unfold. The so called bailout and stimulus packages launched by both imperialist and neocolonial governments around the world have nothing to do with maintaining the jobs and living standards of the working class or toiling masses. Rather, they are aimed at transferring as much as possible of the massive debts amassed through “toxic assets” by the financial corporations and banks to the taxpayers and common people via the state. This “rescue operation” though has temporarily boosted stock and speculative markets for some time, ultimately resulted in an aggravation in inequality and loss of purchasing power for the masses leading to an intensification of finance capital’s “realization crisis” further. For instance, the total state support to the speculative class in the form of bail out packages already pledged by US government is estimated to be more than \$12 trillion, almost equivalent to America’s present GDP. And since the wholesale eruption of the financial crisis in September 2008, governments worldwide have committed \$18 trillion in public funds to those who are holding toxic financial assets, equivalent to almost 30 percent of world GDP. To that extent governments’ fiscal position has worsened and broad masses of people are pauperized through neoliberal austerity measures imposed at a global level. Government debt in leading imperialist countries such as US and Britain has almost become 100 percent of GDP while Japan’s government debt is headed for 200 percent by 2011. According to IMF by 2014 public debt to GDP ratios in the G-20 economies, comprising some 85 percent of the global economy, will have increased by 36 percentage points of GDP compared to the levels at the end of

2007. This massive debt has led to a biggest-ever slash in state spending on social and welfare services and an unprecedented assault on the living standards of working class. Mass consumption at a global level is expected to reduce by at least 20 percent from its level in 2006-07. On the other hand, the unfolding imperialist crisis unequivocally reveals the most conspicuous consumption and appropriation of social wealth by an unproductive and parasitical financial oligarchy. As a result, in spite of the global capitalist crisis, there has been a more than 50 percent rise in the wealth of world’s billionaires. According to Forbes Magazine, during 2009, the number of global billionaires rose from 793 to 1011 while their total assets increased from \$ 2.4 trillion to \$ 3.6 trillion. The very same financial oligarchs who created the present crisis are also reaping the biggest gains out of it.

If the 2008 US crisis was a manifestation of the risk from “corporate debt liabilities”, today the European crisis has been the outcome of “bankruptcy crisis” of sovereign governments themselves. It is the policy of coming out of the crisis through an appeasement of corporate monopolies that strained the fiscal position of European countries. The dramatic developments in Greece whose public debt has exceeded the limit set by the Maastricht Treaty, followed by the threat of a renewed global financial melt down have provided another opportunity to European imperialists to launch a heinous assault on European workers in the form of unprecedented austerity measures. Though the declared objective of the recent \$ 1 trillion bailout package reached by European Union and IMF is to stave off the bankruptcy of Greece and other European member states such as Spain and Portugal, its ingenious motive is to make a massive transfer of wealth from the toiling masses to imperialist banks and companies. For, following the package, various European governments have resorted to a series of austerity measures that include huge cuts in wages and social and democratic rights. Following the “aid package”, the IMF and EU enforced draconian attacks on common people which have brought hundreds of thousands of Greek workers into the streets in strikes and mass protests. Similar austerity measures are in the offing against Spain and Portugal making them easy targets of financial speculators seeking super profits. At a time when the official unemployment rate in these countries already stands at over 20 percent, the austerity program will mean a further cut in employment, decline in earnings of workers and a further turn by these countries towards recession and stagnation. Now such unprecedented attacks on the people are fast spreading to the entire Euro zone countries. All these underscore the class character of the economic policies being pursued where the entire burden of the financial crisis is placed on the backs of the working class on the one hand, and massive amounts of social wealth are transferred to the financial parasites who are responsible for it, on the other.

Another aspect to the ongoing crisis is also there. On account of growing deficits and public debt in Europe as a whole, the value of Euro is depreciating fast and along with rising unemployment inflation has also set in. This has resulted in a further decline in the real wages of the working class throughout Europe. As the crisis is spreading to more and more countries including Germany which has a powerful industrial structure, economists have even started predicting a possible collapse of even the common currency Euro itself. The disintegration of Euro does not mean simply the end of a currency. It will plunge Europe into an era of competitive devaluations and an acute fight among European imperialists for a re-division of the Euro zone market, trade protection, and for prying open markets in neocolonial countries. At the political level it may lead to the bouncing back of various racist and national chauvinist ideologies along with the resurgence of old enmities and prejudices that were kept in abeyance. The resulting social and political unrest may lead to a breakdown of existing economic and political arrangements in Europe with far

reaching repercussions in inter-imperialist contradictions and international relations.

The emerging situation is to be located in the broader context of the transformation of international political and economic relations during the neocolonial global order led by US imperialism. Under the American sponsored European Recovery Program or the so called Marshall Plan, the European imperialists agreed to have a reconstruction of the war-torn countries of Europe. Among other things, one of the objectives was to build up necessary institutions for achieving political and economic stability in Europe as per Keynesian state programming and welfare prescriptions. Within a span of a decade productivity and economic growth rate in Europe started overtaking that of USA such that European MNCs along with that of Japan could effectively challenge American MNCs in neocolonial markets. US attempts to bring Europe under its neocolonial umbrella through a series of political and military arrangements were also not smooth. It is a fact that one of the major reasons for the breakdown of the Breton Woods monetary system in the early seventies had been the non-cooperation on the part of leading European powers such as Germany and France in sustaining a dollar based neocolonial monetary order. Meanwhile, ignoring their century-old enmity that led to two World Wars, the ruling classes in both Germany and France took initiative to evolve a complex network of political and economic relationships which culminated in the establishment of European Union and finally the common currency in 1999.

However, by this time the laws of motion of finance capital has transformed to such a stage that the objective conditions that enabled the formation of EU are no longer available. International Keynesianism was replaced by neoliberalism. The unparalleled growth and internationalization of financial speculation has added a new dimension to the general crisis of capitalism under neoliberalism. Anarchy and instability have become the hall-mark of every aspect of imperialist world economy. Alarming growth of parasitic and speculative finance capital relative to production, coupled with the 'uneven development' of capitalism as analysed by Lenin has aggravated all the inherent contradictions under imperialism. While the subjugation of neocolonial countries by finance capital intensifies the contradiction between imperialist countries and oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand, the unevenness of capital expansion has sharpened inter-imperialist contradictions.

To have an objective historical understanding of the present developments, a brief analysis of the transformation of finance capital in America, the supreme arbiter of the post WWII neocolonial world order is indispensable. Of course, the people of the US and the world are confronting a financial catastrophe and economic devastation on a scale not seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s and the 'stagflation' of the 1970s. As already elucidated, with the inauguration of Reaganite neo-liberal policies by the neo-conservative ruling class since the eighties, American capitalism sought to tide over its inherent crisis by carrying out a deliberate policy of deindustrialization and joblessness, which wiped out millions of jobs from the real, productive economy. Vast industrial resources were destroyed, and the savings of workers were plundered in order to free up capital for the most parasitic forms of financial speculation. Increasingly, wealth was separated from the creation of real value. American imperialism has become the global leader in the creation of personal wealth for the ruling elite entirely separated from the creation of real value in the process of production. The current economic breakdown, which threatens the world's people with catastrophe, is the inevitable result of this unhindered speculation. During the post-war boom, that is, under Keynesianism, finance capital in the United States accumulated profit through the provision of loans to industry and other forms of commercial banking, as well as providing home loans. That is, there was a

fairly direct relationship between the extraction of surplus value and the appropriation of a portion of that surplus value by finance capital. However, with the inauguration of neo-liberal policies, a clear dichotomy between production and speculation took place and the leading American monopolies started solely specializing in the latter. For example, as mentioned earlier, in USA newer methods of value extraction are being developed by the financial aristocracy through the development of new loan arrangements and credit instruments. Thus apart from the markets for commodity futures, bonds, shares and real estates, the housing loan sector has become the most profitable venue of operation by leading US financial speculators. The profits of finance capital do not so much involve a direct appropriation of surplus value from the sphere of production as they are accumulated through changes in asset values—that is, by operations in financial markets. It became very profitable to make money out of money. The injection of large amounts of credit into the financial system has played a key role in sustaining and building up finance capital within the economy such that the bubble economy of finance surpassed the real economy of production, with major implications for the stability of the system as a whole.

Moreover, over the past decades, in consonance with the logic of finance capital, America, the leading imperialist power was transforming itself from a productive economy to a consumption based one and she has become a net importer of cheap goods from the other countries such as China. As already noted, using new avenues of internationalization of production such as new technologies, post-Fordist business organization and flexible specialization, American MNCs took the lead in the transplantation of several production lines to cheap labour economies, resulting in unemployment and underemployment in USA at high levels resulting in a fast deterioration of the real earnings

of American working class. Burgeoning imports into USA naturally led to a paradoxical situation of worsening of the balance of payments of America, which had been world's banker until the seventies. Alternatively, it was the low-cost production in China and neocolonial countries like India and their integration with world economy that created the conditions for consumer boom and financial expansion in US until this crisis. In the process leading American MNCs such as Walmart that immensely benefited from cheap labour abroad increased their super profit through cheap selling of consumer goods and galloping of consumer debt, especially in the form of housing loans that maintained consumption spending at a high level in the face of declining real incomes for the vast majority of people under neoliberalism. In course of time, in spite of its intensified neocolonial plunder, the world's creditor became the biggest debtor along with protracted depreciation in the value of dollar.

In an earlier era, the intensifying crisis of American capitalism would have been encouraging to European imperialists. Today the integration of world commodity and financial markets through imperialist globalization has yielded a quite different situation. All the European governments are faithfully implementing neoliberal policies in the interest of big capitalists. The sub-prime crisis that exploded in 2008 on account of the inherent contradictions of American imperialism had at that time itself its repercussions in Europe in the form of serious stock market crises. Like the American counterpart, EU governments also resorted to a policy of transferring the burden of corporate  
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16 Elsewhere we have written how Indian citizens including the slum-dwellers and beggars are thrown out of Delhi to make the city presentable to the 'Western Masters'. The whole government machinery is working overtime to please the old masters at the expense of the people of this country. The reception to Queen Baton and the Commonwealth Game itself is an insult to the people of the country and through these despicable acts the present neo colonial ruling system is trampling underfoot the great sacrifices of the martyrs to liberate this country from the yoke of imperialism.

In this situation, even while continuing the opposition to these despicable acts, including spending of Rs 50,000 crores for these games after pauperizing the masses for it, all the patriotic forces, all left and democratic forces should seriously think about calling for a boycott of Commonwealth Games.

debt on to public exchequer and from there to the shoulders of broad masses of people through a whole set of austerity measures. The governments have pumped trillions into the coffers of financial speculators and banks to prevent their collapse, thereby galloping public debt and straining their fiscal position. That is, rather than taxing the rich, the ruling classes have come forward to place the entire burden on the backs of working classes people in the interests of the major banks and corporations and in the process setting out to destroy what remains of the welfare measures and democratic rights previously won by workers. In the context of the huge stimulus package offered to speculators, all the governments in Europe are experiencing huge budget deficits. Moreover, in view of the understanding to meet a 2013 deadline for compliance with EU stability criteria, which permit a maximum deficit of 3 percent of GDP, the eurozone countries and Britain will have to slash their budget deficits by a total of 400 billion. This huge sum will have to be mobilized through massive cuts in employment, wages and welfare spending. Thus the entire social security system built up as part of the welfare state in Europe after the second world war is coming to a halt with horrible social and political repercussions in the days ahead. And this European crisis which is part and parcel of the current crisis of world imperialism has imparted a new dimension to the latter.

The inevitable outcome of this turmoil is world wide protests against ruling classes everywhere. The objective conditions created by crisis-ridden imperialism are favourable for an increase in the class consciousness of workers and toiling people. While the ruling classes in imperialist and neocolonial countries will resort to every kind of diversionary tactics to dismember the fighting unity of workers, peasants, women, youth, students and other oppressed sections on the one hand, and repressive and fascist measures on the other, what is lacking is an international revolutionary leadership capable resisting decaying imperialism. Though workers in Europe, America, and Afro-Asian Latin American countries are coming out to the streets, their social democratic and even conservative leaderships are incapable to lead them both ideologically and politically. Telling the people that "there is no alternative", the social democratic leaderships is manipulating the unions to cope with austerity cuts. They are also preventing the development of an international solidarity among workers. While the decaying imperialist system can not be reformed and can only be overthrown, the maximum that the social democratic leadership can do is towards reformism that seeks solutions within the system. More often, in pushing through neoliberal policies, ruling classes everywhere are ensuring the support of social democrats. Along with the struggle for the defence of the hard earned social and democratic rights which is the immediate task, what is required is the development of revolutionary working class leaderships in each country with their appropriate coordination at the international level capable of fully assimilating the unprecedented revolutionary implications of the present crisis confronting imperialism and overthrowing it. The present imperialist crisis is a clear manifestation of the extreme rottenness affecting ageing imperialist system and its social anachronism as a whole. Marxist-Leninists and progressive forces the world over should come forward to launch an all-out offensive against world imperialist system taking this as an opportune moment.

# First All India Conference of AIRSO

The first All India Conference of all India revolutionary student organization (AIRSO) was held on 31<sup>st</sup> May and 1<sup>st</sup> June 2010 at Com. Khudiram Bose Hall at Thane, Mumbai. Preceding the all India conference, district level and state level conferences were held in a number of states with the participation of hundreds of students. The all India conference was attended by 128 delegates from Kerala, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Maharashtra, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Though AIRSO committees are formed in Tamil Nadu, UP and Punjab the delegates could not reach.

Under the leadership of AIRSO Maharashtra organizing committee a month long propaganda campaign was held with cultural squads. A reception committee consisting of veterans of past student movements and leading activists of CPI(ML) and class/ mass organizations was constituted whose members encouraged the student delegates with their presence.

On 31<sup>st</sup> morning the conference started with raising of the AIRSO flag and remembering the martyrs by Com. Akshya president of the AIRSO organizing committee. Revolutionary slogans were raised and in different languages the student delegates sang revolutionary songs. A presidium and steering committee of five comrades each were elected who conducted the conference in a very healthy and democratic atmosphere.

Comrade K.N. Ramachandran, General secretary, CPI(ML) explaining the history of the student movement in India pointed out why AIRSO has become relevant in present day India, where neo colonial slavery is intensifying day by day. The right to education which was earned through historic struggles and to whatever extent it existed is snatched away under commercialization and

elitisation of education. Increasing number of children are denied the right to education and higher education has become the reserved area of the rich. So AIRSO should organize this students in their millions and wage a heroic struggle to overthrow the existing education system for equal education based on national scientific basis, for this they should join hands with all exploited and oppressed classes and sections who are struggling for people's democracy and socialism.

Com. Akshya then presented the AIRSO Programme which was adopted after an active discussion in which a number of delegates participated. Following this com. Vivek(MP) presented the Constitution which was also adopted after discussion. Com. Sanjay Singhvi, general secretary of TUCI and in charge of the international department of the party presented the



messages of greetings received from fraternal parties.

In the evening a drama “Keno Na Manush” (Man Ultimate) a magnificent Bengali theater was presented by Shonvik Sanskritik Chakra of Kolkata. Com. Sambhaji Bhagat, a veteran revolutionary cultural activist of Maharashtra presented a song in his typical style. It was followed by a film *Mother* of Maxim Gorky presented by Shonvik Sanskritik Chakra which in spite of the language barrier could successfully convey its revolutionary message to the young audience. During the day and on 1<sup>st</sup> June during the breaks the Conference hall was reverberating with revolutionary songs presented in different languages especially Marathi, Hindi and Kannada in which all students joined enthusiastically.

On 1<sup>st</sup> June morning the Conference resumed at 9am with the reply to the discussion on Constitution by Com. Vivek and its adoption. Then a nine member panel for the all India committee of the AIRSO was presented which included comrades Akshya, Rupesh and Mathura from Maharashtra, Sandip and Nagaraj from Karnataka, Sumi from Kerala,

Sapam from Manipur, Vivek from MP and Deepa from Chathisgarh. The delegates adopted the panel followed by a brief meeting of the AIC which elected com. Vivek as president com. Sumi as vice president, com. Akshya as general secretaries and com. Sandip and Sapam as joint secretaries

Thirteen resolutions indicating the core area of attention were presented and adopted by the delegates. It was followed by messages of greetings by com. Arun Valskar (secretary, CPI(ML) Maharashtra state committee), com. Govinda(TUCI), com. Laxman (AIKKS), com. Vijay(RYFI), com. Meera Khot (AIRWO) and com. Tuhin (cultural front). The AIRSO flag was lowered by com. Vivek amidst revolutionary slogans pledging to build AIRSO powerfully at all India level. The all India Conference of AIRSO thus concluded successfully.

The first meeting of the AIC of AIRSO was held on 1<sup>st</sup> June evening which took the following decisions:

Firstly a membership campaign shall be organized in all states as soon as the schools and colleges start opening. For this poster, handbills and membership forms will be prepared at state level. Membership campaign and formation of unit committees should be vigorously carried forward and concluded by 31<sup>st</sup> August.

Secondly, focusing on central slogans Stop Privatization and Commercialization of Education, Stop Entry of Foreign Universities, Implement Free, Equal and Scientific Education for all and Stop Elitisation of Education, the campaigns to be organized.

Thirdly, initiate discussion on science, technology, environment and development model involving interested teachers also.

Fourthly, organize campaign and cultural squads to take the message of AIRSO among the students.

Fifthly, organize and strengthen the organization from unit committees to state committees

Sixthly, launch a central bulletin in English and Hindi from September 2010



# International messages to AIRSO Conference

## ***Message from Mohsen Hassani, Ranjbaran (Iran).....***

Dear Comrades,

Thanks for invitation to participate at first conference of all India revolutionary students organizations in Mumbai (31 may- 1 June). We can not participate-it. But we hope that this conference will be successful regarding strengthening of the student organizations in order to serve workers and peasants revolutionary aims under the direction of CPI(ML).

We will be grateful if you send - us the conference results and achievements.

Comradely gratitude's

## ***Message from Afghanistan Socialist Association.....***

Dear Comrades,

After sharing the matter of trip of our representative India to join the All India youth and students conference in Mumbai in the end of May 2010, We regret to say that we cannot send a comrade to that conference, it is because we could not afford the travel cost for him as we did our best to collect fund around \$400. Instead will send a message to the conference.

Best greetings,

## ***Message from Communist Party of Lebanon.....***

Dear Comrades,

In answer to your invitation to attend the Students' Conference, we have some financial problems, so we will not be able to be there. We are very sorry. Maybe we can meet each other in the future

We wish to the students' conference success and we know that you will continue the struggle until the revolution.

With our Greetings

## ***Message from Central Committee of the PMLI.....***

Dear comrades,

We thank you for the invitation to the first Conference of the All-India Revolutionary Students Organization, to which however we can't attend because the PMLI has not a students organization of its own. Anyway, we can't fail to send you the brotherly and militant revolutionary greeting of the Italian Marxist-Leninist youth and students.

Young people are the most susceptible to change. This is why the bourgeoisie tries in every way to fill them with its non-values and to paralyze them in reformism, parliamentarism, pacifism and legalisticism. The bourgeois school is not a service enjoyed by people and at the service of people, but an instrument by which the bourgeoisie passes its world outlook to the new generations and nurtures the new cadres of the capitalist system. To the people's sons is denied the higher-levels education, because it is sufficient that they have the slightest school notions to aspire to be workers.

The young revolutionaries in this field have the duty to fight at the head of

the young and students masses so that they may conquer the right to study and the school may be public, free and ruled by the female and male students. They must tie this struggle to the struggle for socialism, the only way to prevent young people from remaining subjected to capitalism. This is the common duty of the Indian, Italian and the whole world's Marxist-Leninist students.

We are sure that, keeping to Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought and under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), you will achieve newer and greater successes in your revolutionary work.

We wish full success to the first Conference of your Organization and send you the warmest revolutionary greetings of the Italian Marxist-Leninist students.

Long live the struggle of the revolutionary students of India and Italy!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Down with capitalism and long live socialism!

Federico Picerni

Responsible for the Youth Work.

**Marxwadi-  
Leninwadi**

**Organ of Karnataka State  
Committee of CPI(ML)**

**"Marxwadi-Leninwadi"  
Kannada Monthly  
No. - 21,  
1st Main, 2nd Cross  
Hanumanathpuram  
Shrirampuram  
Banglore - 560021**

# IMPERIALIST ASSAULT ON BHOPAL

India's ruling class refuses to learn any lessons from the biggest industrial genocide in human history that took place in Bhopal more than 25 years ago. Within two days of the Bhopal verdict amounting to burial of justice, the Government of India, at Washington's request (read 'U.S. nuclear corporations' insistence'), agreed to dilute a key provision of the draft Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill, now before the Parliament. This related to Section 17 (b) of the Bill, the only provision that had the teeth to deter the nuclear industry from taking its safety obligations lightly. Not that the rest of the Bill had drawn any lessons from Bhopal either. The Bill provides for only a limited liability of the operators of the nuclear plants by putting a 'cap' of Rs. 500 crores for the compensation to be paid by them, the rest of it to be borne by the State out of public funds. If the Bill is passed by the Parliament in its present shape, the people of India would be required to pay for being killed and maimed by transnational corporations! This is the latest government model of Public Private Partnership (PPP).

The powerful Indo-US CEO Forum, co-chaired by Mr. William Harrison of JP Morgan Chase and Mr. Ratan Tata of Tata Sons Ltd., icons of the American and Indian capitalism respectively, in its March 2006 report 'directed' that a dispute settlement mechanism "be set up by India [with]

Dr. Anil Sadgopal  
specific focus on resolving legacy issues such as those impacting Dow/ Bhopal tragedy of 1984 . . . [this] would send a strong positive signal to US investors." Let us recall that The Dow Chemical Company ("Dow") has now taken over the Union Carbide Corporation, thereby becoming responsible for the latter's liabilities and its assets. A petition is pending in the Madhya Pradesh High Court requiring Dow to cuff up Rs. 100 crores for cleaning up the chemical garbage lying in Bhopal factory and poisoning the city's soil and water. Yet, ignoring both the law and the interest of the people of Bhopal, Mr. Ratan Tata, empowered by the Indo-US CEO Forum mandate, wrote a series of letters in 2006-07 to Chidambaram (then Finance Minister), Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission Montek Singh Ahluwalia, and finally, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh proposing the creation of a Site Remediation Fund, and put forth Dow's view, quoting a letter from Dow CEO Mr. Liveris urging the Government to withdraw its application in the High Court for a financial deposit, and to ensure an appropriate investment climate.

Documents released under the RTI Act reveal that in 2006-2007, both Chidambaram and Kamal Nath, then Finance and Commerce Ministers respectively, recommended that a Site Remediation Trust be set up to let Indian Inc. fund and implement remediation activities, leaving Dow free of any obligation.



## Communist Canvas

Theoretical Organ of West Bengal State Committee

**Shankar Das**

257, Nandan Kanan South  
Rahara  
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West Bengal - 700 118

This would send “an appropriate signal to Dow Chemicals, which is exploring investing substantially in India and to the American business community,” Kamal Nath wrote in February 2007. Chidambaram’s recommendation came in the wake of the Indo-U.S. CEOs Forum meeting in October 2006. “I think we should accept this offer and constitute a Site Remediation Trust,” he said in his memo.

We now know that, three years later, soon after the Bhopal verdict, the Government of India reconstituted the existing Group of Ministers (GoM) on the Bhopal Disaster, now headed by Home Minister Chidambaram, and gave it a vastly expanded mandate, which includes remediation measures at the site of the 1984 disaster. The GoM is now free to recommend implementation of “remediation measures”, a proposal that originated from Dow’s lobbying to escape its liability. It is no wonder that the GoM has been nicknamed a “Group of Andersons” or a “Group of Corporate Servants” in the internet discourse.

To be sure, the Bhopal verdict of June 2010 constitutes the Second Judicial Disaster. The First Judicial Disaster took place on 14-15 February 1989 when the Supreme Court put its stamp of approval on a cynical agreement signed by the Central and state governments, on the one hand, and Union Carbide, on the other. Through this agreement, the Union Carbide achieved its three-fold objectives of (a) being freed of its both civil and criminal liabilities; (b) getting away with payment of the paltry sum of US \$ 470 million (Rs. 715 crores), in contrast to what the Indian government had originally computed to be US \$ 3.3 billion (Rs. 5,000 crores) and this, too, not as the corporation’s legal obligation for compensatory damages but as a ‘corporate succor’ or ‘corporate charity’ for the ‘hapless and suffering gas victims’; and (c) preventing the establishment of a legal precedence in the Indian judicial system of *punitive damages* for spreading misinformation and disinformation about the toxic materials that leaked and their medical impact on the victims, which could be several-fold higher than even the compensatory damages.

The third issue of punitive damages, to be paid by a corporate house for misinforming and disinforming the people, seems to have been completely erased from our political memory. It is this issue that is related to the third Bhopal disaster viz. the Scientific Disaster. Immediately after the Bhopal catastrophe, the central government took over complete responsibility and control over all scientific, including medical, investigations that were required to reveal the cause of the toxic leak, chemical nature of the toxics that spread in Bhopal’s environment and the medical impact of the poisonous chemicals on the victims. As expected, Union Carbide systematically spread misinformation and disinformation in order to minimize its civil liability for compensatory damages. What is shocking, however, is not Union carbide’s behaviour but the role of the Indian scientific establishment, led primarily by Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) and Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). These scientific mega-bodies, receiving huge public funding, *apparently* failed to establish in time i.e. within the critical period of next 5-10 years (a) the chemical nature of the toxic chemicals that leaked and their pattern of dispersion over various colonies of Bhopal; (b) the multi-systemic chronic toxic impact on the victims, including

the gynaecological, carcinogenic and mutagenic consequences and (c) recommend a scientific programme of medical treatment and rehabilitation. All of this is documented in the three successive Minority Reports of the Supreme Court Committee submitted in 1987-88, totaling more than 600 pages of data-based referenced material. This does in no way imply that India did not have the necessary scientific expertise, equipment or funds for this purpose. Indeed, several capable scientists worked with a sense of patriotism and contributed significantly to the body of knowledge through reliable research. It is precisely because we had all what was needed to meet the scientific challenge that it becomes a Scientific Disaster. This is why when the compensation case finally reached the Supreme Court in 1988-89, both the central and state governments could not provide the necessary medical, particularly toxicological data that were required for computing the compensatory damages. The beneficiary was clearly Union Carbide. We lost the historic opportunity to establish the much-needed linkage between medical treatment and toxicological data, on the one hand, and compensatory and punitive damages, on the other.

Predictably, within hours of the Supreme Court’s shameful approval of the compromise in February 1989, the price of the Union Carbide shares



# Bt-Brinjal: is it sustainable agriculture or the first step to food monopolization in India?

Sonali Bhattacharjee

There has to be a good reason why the government of India wishes to commercialise its first genetically modified food -bt brinjal despite:

\* The presence of over 1500 natural varieties of brinjal in India

\* The death of over 4000 farmers only in the first year of commercial cultivation of bt cotton

\* Mysterious death of over 1600 sheep and cattle that accidentally entered the bt cotton field

There has to be an even better reason why the government brings a two year moratorium on genetically modified food after a public uproar and then plans to centralize the introduction of gm food to the market

at the New York Stock Exchange went up by US\$ 2 per share. The turnover of Union Carbide shares touched 6.4 million shares, the highest of the day. On the following day, the Wall Street Journal, reflecting the exhilarated mood of the U.S. market, wrote, "This compromise [between Union Carbide and Indian Government] has removed a big burden from Union Carbide . . . the management can now focus its attention on developing new business strategies and markets for meeting the rapidly rising demands for its major chemical products." Here is invincible evidence of how the U.S. capital and markets flourished over Bhopal genocide, even as the American transnational continues to deny to date any liability for the same!

It is clear that what happened in Bhopal can not be explained in terms of maladministration, legal lacunae, corruption or individual misjudgments alone. That would amount to oversimplification and, therefore would not help us to build an effective strategy for future. What happened in Bhopal was clearly a pre-condition imposed

through the Biotechnology Regulatory Bill that recommends a Biotech Regulatory Authority of India putting the lives of Indians in the hands of a few technocrats.

BT brinjal as the name suggests, contains the toxic gene of the bacteria *Bacillus Thuringiensis* (BT), which is injected into the plant gene so that the plant can produce the bt toxin and protect itself from the pest, brinjal root and shoot borer. The technology is based on the assumption that the protein is specific to lepidopteran insect pests. However, there are ample evidences, which show that several toxin-related, organisms related and environmental factors can modulate the toxicity and consequently the specificity of a Cry-protein.

Monsanto with its Indian collaboration Mahyco (Maharashtra Hybrid Seeds Company) is the owner of the bt brinjal seed. They are the same company who has brought BT cotton seeds to the market.

It has been seen that the insects develop resistance to the toxin after several generations and form super pests. The farmers then have to use pesticides more potent to prevent them. The BT plants also fall easy prey to the secondary pests in the absence of the primary. The toxin is also released to the soil from the roots of the plant. So the farmer is forced to sow bt seeds only in the land as no other

on India by the global capital and market forces so that the future foreign investments in our economy would be safe for uncontrolled profit making, plunder and loot, especially of our natural resources. By surrendering before the corporate greed and compromising India's sovereignty, the Indian ruling class rolled out red carpet in 1991, when the policy of 'globalization' was declared, for unregulated entry of the neo-liberal capital and its imperialist political agenda in all spheres of India's life, including food, water, education and health. It is still not too late to recognize this and reconstruct India's economic policies and the related self-destructive development paradigm. After all, the *raison d'être* of the Union Carbide factory in Bhopal was production of a pesticide which was required for protection of genetically engineered new crop varieties (particularly sensitive to pests) as per the so-called 'green revolution' model of agriculture. A pro-people reconstruction of India's political economy requires a critique of the nature of the Indian State as well as its hegemonic elitist paradigm of development. For this, we should gain immensely by taking a cue from *Hind Swaraj* which Gandhi wrote more than a hundred years ago as his response to British imperialism. The central lesson of Bhopal would be to begin writing a new *Hind Swaraj* for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this time in a critical perspective of production relations and class struggle in the context of the prevailing global political economy. That would be the best tribute we can offer to the almost six lakh Bhopal victims – the dead as well as the survivors – who laid or wasted their lives at the 'altar' of capitalist and destructive 'development' more than a quarter century ago.

Modified on 26<sup>th</sup> June 2010

(<sup>1</sup>This is an enriched version of the article published in Deccan Herald, Bangalore, India, in Sunday Spotlight, 13 June 2010.) Dr. Anil Sadgopal (*Member, Presidium, All India Forum for Right to Education, Former Member, Supreme Court Committee on Medical Relief and Rehabilitation of Bhopal Gas Victims & Former Dean, Faculty of Education, Delhi University*)

seeds survive in it. Contamination of natural varieties by cross pollination, during storage and transportation is a huge threat to the natural varieties. This has been seen in the case of bt cotton. Not only has the seed market been monopolized, but pollination has rendered non-GM species subject to contamination, which makes the availability of non-GM seeds practically impossible.

Given the fact that the law in India does not deal with issues relating to genetic pollution and contamination, both the farmer and the consumer are left with no choice and with no legal recourse either. This means that **GM contamination is permanent and irreversible.**

The government also plans on subsequent commercial release of genetically modified forms of okra, tomato, rice, mustard and a host of other plants. The most worrisome fact is that not a single study in the public domain has established the safety of these crops, either with respect to human health, or the environment. It wouldn't be far fetched to say that after the Green Revolution, genetic Engineering is the latest step in an agro-technological developmental paradigm that has led to large scale reduction in biodiversity and depletion of natural resources (soil, water, habitats), all of which have long term implications.

It is ironic that the biotech revolution in agriculture is being promoted by the same corporate interests (Monsanto, DuPont, Novartis, Bayer, Dow) that championed the first wave of chemically-based agriculture. They now claim that by genetically modifying plants, they can reduce chemically intensive farming and help develop sustainable agriculture. However, their practices to date do not instill great confidence in the supposedly benign effects of their products in the environment. The companies are developing products (various crop varieties) that produce immense profits while completely fitting in with the approaches which have been so harmful in the past. For example, two of the main thrusts of agricultural biotechnology have been the production of crop varieties that are herbicide resistant (so farmers will keep purchasing the company's weed-killing chemicals) or contain a toxin that kills the potential insect pests. Bt brinjal falls in the latter category.

Bayer has been carrying illegal rice field trials for an herbicide glyphosate resistant strain of rice in a village near Hyderabad. As European Union has a strict ban on the import of any genetically modified food, there is also a strong pressure from the corporate to open the European markets for exports such that they can easily get to start selling genetically modified rice seeds in the Asian countries.

The government of India is also trying to promote GM food to fight agricultural crisis we will face for climate change and to alleviate hunger. It is common knowledge that whatever the seed might be, it needs water to grow. So GM seeds can and never will be a solution to erratic rainfall patterns. Also GM and other hybrid seeds need more water than the natural varieties to grow. The latter crisis as we know can only be combated by a proper distribution of food and not by producing more than what is already there. The government of India has a food reserve of over five years of which a lot that goes waste is exported to the European states as fodder for animals.

Why would then a single type of seed that does not germinate, over burdens the farmer of buying seeds year after year, has a potential threat of destroying all natural varieties by cross pollination, can cause cancer and sterility in humans be promoted in the market?

Like any other industrial process, the production of farm machinery, chemicals, and seeds, and the turning of threshed wheat into a box of cereal are completely controlled by capital and its demands. The problem for capital, however, are the farmers. They cannot be dispensed with as they own certain means of production

and while they are economically rational, they consume their surplus rather than turning it into capital.

Post Second World War, herbicides reduced the requirement for the tillage machinery, insecticides reduced the uncertainty of a successful crop, and hormone spray allowed a close control of the ripening time in fruit crops and antibiotics prevented animal diseases.

The analysis of the growing role of capital inputs cannot be made, if the central feature of the productive process is lost sight of: **the concrete use of all these inputs is to produce living organisms.** But living organisms are mortal, so their production requires their reproduction. There is, every cycle of farm production begins with immature seeds to which value is added by on-the-farm operations, so seed is the central input into farming.

The control of the biological nature of these seed organisms in a critical element in the control of the entire process of the agricultural production which puts the provider of this input in a unique position to valorize other inputs.

The consequence of the central position of seed input in the production process is that seed companies are potentially in an extraordinary powerful position to appropriate a large portion of the surplus in agriculture. There is a barrier to this realization however. The seed of a desirable variety, when planted by the farmer produces plants that themselves produce yet more seed of the variety. Thus the seed company has provided the farmer with a free good, the genetic information contained in the seed that is

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reproduced by the farmer again in the very act of farming.

The historical answer to this problem was the development of the inbred/hybrid method of breeding, using hybrid crosses between inbred lines, which make it possible to sell seed that with produce hybrid plants but which themselves do not produce hybrids. Because second generation would not be true hybrids and thus would lose yield and be more variable, the farmer must go back to the seed company every year to buy new seed.

Major commercial hybrid seed companies at one time eventually were acquired by pharmaceutical companies like Ciba-Geigy, Monsanto, Dow and DuPont.

But inbred/hybrid method too had its own limitations. This meant that what changes could be made to agronomic species that could be profitable to seed companies and their chemical co owners/partners meant that the penetration of capital into agriculture has reached its apparent limits in the 1970s.

Any further possibility for the input providers and output purchasers to increase their appropriation of the surplus in agriculture depended on

\* Making some radical changes in the biology of agronomic species

\* Guaranteeing that such changed biological system would be within their ownership and control

Moreover the appropriation could be greatly increased by a greater consolidation of both input and post-farm production sectors (purchasing, processing, and distribution), to

provide near monopoly and control. Enter Biotechnology.

The purpose of commercial use of biotechnology is to excess the control of capital over agricultural production. To accomplish this:

\* The time and cost of its development must be within the limits set by the capital investments in research

\* The development must not promote significant challenges from politically effective forces

\* ***Ownership and control of the product of biotechnology must not pass into the hands of the farmer but remain with the commercial provider of the input***

The requirement that the biotechnological innovation maintain ownership and control over the altered variety creates a contradiction. The farmer as previously discussed is provided with a free good, the genetic information in the seed, when he or she purchases a new variety, and the breeder loses its ownership. How then can breeders appropriate a greater share of the surplus when they are giving away the critical material, the genes? The answer has been provided by a combination of legal and biological weapons in the hands of the breeders.

It was announced on March 3, 1998 that a patent has been granted for the genetic manipulation that would allow plants to set seed and therefore make crop, but which would render these seeds unable to germinate. The terminator gene was jointly patented by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and Delta and Pine Land, one of the world's largest producers of cotton seeds.

The terminator technology encodes within each seeds DNA a gene that kills its own embryos, thereby sterilizing the seed and forcing growers to return to seed companies on a yearly basis to purchase new seeds. Thus at one blow the problem of capitalist seed production has been solved.

Unlike in industrial production, the first step in the capture of agriculture by capital was the immense flowering of input industries and output processors, who appropriated the surplus in agriculture by selling the petty entrepreneurial farmer what he needed, and buying what he produced. No parallel exists in the industrial sphere. It is only with the saturation of that possibility of appropriation that wholly new techniques have come into play. By concentrating on the central material link in farm production, the living organism, which at the same time was the most resistant to capitalization, biotechnology has accomplished two steps in the penetration of capital. First, it widened the sphere of input commodity produced by including a wide array of organisms that had previously escaped. Secondly, and more profound, it is making vertical integration possible with the accompanying pauperization of the farmer. It is this second stage that is the capitalist agriculture of the future, because the physical nature of farm production, inevitably tied to the land, is such as to maintain its unique organization as a productive process.

Trans-national companies (TNCs) have been using devious techniques and twisting arms of international policies to create broad international markets for a single product, in this case by destroying the genetic diversity of the world's rural landscape. As in the case of bt brinjal, these TNCs use the power of the state to suppress all opposition from local people. This is as expected in the formalization of a global corporate regime in the WTO's system of rules. As a direct confrontation of the corporate with the locals will have unwarranted protests, they use states as the vehicles of universal adherence to this regime at the expense of national political debate and powers.

Needless to say that this is just the beginning for India's agricultural imperialism. With the government's food processing vision of 2015; WTO's institutionalization of the global property regime, intellectual rights of property of foreign investors will just get strengthened. Citizens' rights will keep losing to property rights. How far this can go needs to be seen now.

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# Indo-US Agricultural Knowledge Initiative

Abhi Dutta Majumdar

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*(The author is the State-Convener of the Forum Against Monopolistic Aggression (FAMA). This article is the text of his lecture delivered in a workshop arranged by FAMA, and is essentially a primary observation. Dutta Majumdar has kindly consented to the publication of this article-RS)*

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**Synopsis:** The Indo-US Agricultural Knowledge Initiative is actually a project adopted in the interests of the US multinational companies. The scenario of agriculture and retail and wholesale business is undergoing a change by dint of this agreement. It is this agreement that effects to introduce contract farming, commercial farming and cultivation of cash crops. The cause behind the screen of the ever-growing aggression of the foreign monopolies, especially of the US capital that we find today in the internal market of the country is this black agreement. Corporations like Wal-Mart, Archer Daniels Midland, Monsanto verge on using Indian lands as their production fields. In addition, with bio-technology as their weapon, these monopolies are advancing to jeopardize the agro-diversity of India and gain their control. It is this agreement that is paving the way for BT crops; shopping malls, cold storages, godowns, special agricultural zones are sprawling all around. Beside the agriculture and supply chain, one of the objects of this agreement is to capture the affluent's market of the country and markets of foreign countries. AKI is actually a part of the wider Indo-US Strategic Economic Partnership. AKI has also spread its strong influence in the fields of science and research and education in addition to agriculture. Besides, initiative is on to overhaul the whole education system in tune with the AKI in the mould of globalization—with preference definitely on private-public partnership. [Essence of the lecture delivered on 20/02/2010 at Rammohan Library arranged by FAMA]

One among the bunch of agreements signed between the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the US President George Bush on 18 July, 2005 was the Agricultural Knowledge Initiative agreement. Though this agreement is being projected in the name, in short, of Agricultural Knowledge Initiative, this is actually US-India Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture, Education, Teaching, Research, Service and Commercial Linkages (KIA). Thus, from the complete name, one can have a primary idea about the span of the agreement.

To remember, this agreement is actually a part of the more extensive US-India Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement. To understand the significance, scope and the danger of this agreement, one should read the Indo-US joint statement which clearly reveals the alarming rate at which US domination is increasing in the matters of India's internal policy decisions and thereby how the very economic foundation of the country is undergoing changes at the will and demand of the USA. Moreover, hints will be found in the Statement of the various interests of different commercial enterprises operating behind the policies presently adopted in India, and at whose winks the 'development' projects are being framed and the laws are being changed at the cost of the sovereignty of the nation.

In this joint statement, beside the agricultural agreement, matters like the US-India Energy Dialogue for deciding policies on energy and environment of India, the US-India Global Democracy Initiative for policy decisions on the matters of democracy and development, extension of activities of the US-India High Technology Group for higher technology and space research etc are also mentioned.

Simultaneously, India's role as a partner of the USA's anti-terrorist war is profusely admired in this document. Even the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act is also mentioned in the statement. In a word, this joint statement and the related agreements can be said to be the draft of all of India's internal policies in

economic, military, administrative and political affairs—which is directly connected with the interests of the US government and private MNC's and a class of India's industrialists.

## Indo-Us Strategic Economic Partnership

As the AKI is a part of the Indo-Us Strategic Economic Partnership, it is necessary to present some facts regarding this partnership before entering the core of the discussions on AKI. Firstly, Manmohan Singh, in that historic tour in 2005 was accompanied by the Indian magnates like Ratan Tata, Mukesh Ambani, Baba Kalyani, Y.C.Deveshwar, Deepak Parekh et al.

In this very tour, the Indo-US CEO Forum was formed under the stewardship of US-India Business Council in order to properly implement the Strategic Partnership agreement. The principal task of this forum is to supervise the US investment in India and to ensure free entry of US capital. In fact, all the economic policies of this country are being decided according to the will of this forum and the AKI is also being shaped and extended accordingly.

The Chairman of this forum chosen on India's part is Ratan Tata on behalf of Tata Sons Ltd., and on the US's part, William Harrison on behalf of J.P.Morgan. In addition, the Board members on behalf of the USA are representatives of Cargill, City Group, Pepsico, McGraw-Hill, Xerox etc companies. And those from India are Pratap Reddy of Apollo Hospital, Baba Kalyani of Bharat George Ltd, **Ashok Ganguly** of ICICI, Mukesh Ambani of Reliance Industries, Yogi Deveshwar of ITC Ltd., Deepak Parekh of HDFC, et al. It is learnt that virtually the charter of demands

placed by this group of industries is finally signed as the agreement. It is worth mention that many of them are directly or indirectly connected with the AKI and trade in agro-products and related businesses—as for example the Kisan Sangsar of the Tatas and the Reliance Fresh of the Ambanis. Moreover, they are enjoying the advantage of this agreement through export business colluding with US companies and effecting changes in the very laws of the land in their own interests.

## Deed of the CEO Forum

In 2006, a deed was published on CEO Forum's behalf which can, in a word, be termed as the charter of demands of trade organizations. The entire 'development' projects and various legal reforms in India are rooted at the various demands of this forum. From infrastructure building to energy security, trade and intellectual properties, foreign direct investment, insurance-banking-pension, SEZ, defence, Special Investment Zones, agriculture, even outlines of various 'co operations' on reforms of India's judiciary and the legal system are drawn in this document. For instance, it is said here that the restrictions on FDI in retail trade should be relaxed; barriers to investment are to be lifted from real estates, news media, satellite broadcasting etc, food processing industry should be opened for foreign investment, 'Investment Zones' other than SEZ's are to be made in order to attract foreign investment—with 'loose labour system'. It is said here that the barriers of investment of 'Dow Chemicals' in Union Carbide of Bhopal are to be removed. It is said that the recommendations to impose price control by Dr. Pranab Sen's task force should be reviewed. The liability of building infrastructure will lie with the Government, Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) are to be welcomed for investment. All these will be under Indo-US joint initiative.

The CEO Forum has emphasized on higher education and research in the discussion of human resource development, taken initiatives of tying different universities of India and the USA, demanded complete independence in all the matters including fees, making curriculum, etc. That the AKI can be especially effective regarding joint initiatives of Indian agricultural research centres and universities with the US agricultural universities in the field of technological research is clearly mentioned in this deed.

## AKI Agreement

The US MNC's have advanced to establish their absolute control over the Indian agricultural system through the AKI. This agreement is, however, not limited to only agriculture, rather extended to the production of seeds, retail and wholesale business, food processing, education and research, agricultural production-distribution and everything. With this the US administration, the US agricultural department and US Agency for International Development (USAID) are directly connected and also a number of US universities as well. To illustrate, the draft of contract farming of the ITC is chalked out by business school of the Michigan University of the USA. The Cornell University is associated with the research on BT crops.

Primarily, this agreement has chosen four fields: (a) Education, Selection of Curriculum, Research and Training, (b) Food Processing and use of Bio-fuel, (c) Bio-technology, (d) System of control of water supply in agriculture. Quite naturally, implementation of this agreement will be according to the PPP model, which means that expenses of building infrastructure will be borne by the Govt. while profits will go to the coffers of the MNC's under private ownership.

## AKI Board

The chief representative enterprises of the US Govt. in the high-powered board formed to implement the Indo-US agricultural agreement are Wal-Mart—the No.1 retail trader of the world, Archer Daniels Midland—the largest international trader on food, and Monsanto—the monopoly house controlling chemicals, seeds and research on bio-technology. They want to build India as global food storage and accordingly have taken initiatives to resume commercial trade, cash-crops, vegetables fruits and flowers instead of food crops, mainly to export.

## Second Green Revolution

One of the main objects of this agreement is to organize a Second Green Revolution in India. Regarding the joint statement of 2005 and the agreement signed, Manmohan Singh, in his address to the US Congress, categorically said, "India was offered huge co-operation by the USA during its Green Revolution. We expect that agricultural knowledge exchange will pave the way for the second green revolution in our country". It can be mentioned relevantly that the first 'Green Revolution' was basically a joint initiative of the Ford Foundation of Henry Ford and the Rockefeller Foundation of Standard Oil, through which the agricultural system of the third world including Mexico and India was contrived to make dependent on more energy and oil, which was an inseparable part of the oil-dependent development planning, and behind this so-called Green Revolution, the interest of the USA itself was much more than that of the agricultural production in India.

The main technological weapon of the second green revolution is bio-technology, through which Monsanto seeks to establish its capture almost singly over the entire seed storage of the world. Not only the seeds, these MNC's now strive to establish control over the whole of the fauna. As for example, gene technology is already in wide use for the production of cattle and fishes. The MNC's are subjugating all the scientific researches today—the entire

# On W. Bengal Municipality Election Results

*Observer*

On 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> June the Corporate media celebrated the fall of 'Reds', 'Left', 'Communists' etc in W. Bengal in a grand manner. In their enthusiasm to attack and destroy the communist movement utilizing any tool or any incident or any election result available, they have forgotten that the left whose fall in municipal elections in W. Bengal they are celebrating so boisterously is no more left even according to their own 'communists' numerous times already. Many times they have written its post mortem reports also. Still, if any organization which calls itself Marxist or communist like the CPI(M) led Left Front face any set back, even while knowing that except in name and the red flag it is waving, very little left is left in it, they once again start burying communism all over. So consistent they are in their counter-revolutionary neo-liberal mission. regimes fell in East Europe, and Soviet Union disintegrated, the imperialists and Corporate media had done this celebration of burying of communism in a much more grand manner. While the imperialist think-tanks declared 'Socialism is dead' and 'capitalist imperialist system is the end of history', the media continued to celebrate the so called demise of international communist movement with vulgar interpretations by a horde of novices and half-wits. Whatever may be their draw backs these fourth estate wallas were united in concealing the fact that these countries had left socialist path much before and what fell were the bureaucratic states of the capitalist roaders in power under socialist garb.

Similarly, are there any media man or woman in India who does not know that the performance of the CPI(M) led LF rule in W. Bengal for last 33 years is in no way different from that of other state governments led by the Congress, BJP and regional parties, except for its left rhetoric's? Similar is the case of the CPI(M) governments in Kerala and Tripura also. They are also faithfully implementing the neo-liberal policies like other state governments. Instead of utilizing parliamentary struggles for developing the struggles for revolutionary seizure of political power, these state governments had degenerated to ruling class positions long back. Singur, Nandigram and Lalgah have exposed how neo-liberal are the policies of the CPI(M) led LF government. Instead of utilizing the power obtained within the ruling system as a means to intensify people's struggles, CPI(M) has found it as an end in itself or it is pursuing

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researches on science and technology is being driven in accordance with their will and necessity. And India has become a partner of such an obnoxious project through a bunch of agreements.

## **Globalisation, Neo-liberalisation and AKI**

Globalisation is bringing about a new international division of labour. This globalization is but a phase of the expansionist imperialist capitalist system that strives to dislodge all the barriers in the way of movement of capital. Globalisation advocates for relative advantage; in implementing the program of globalization, India's role will be mainly to satisfy the need of agricultural products and raw materials in the global market, to employ its own army of labour to mainly labour intensive jobs by ensuring supply of cheap labour. The present Indian economy is, in the main, agro-economy; 67% of population of this country depends on agriculture for sustenance. Next to agriculture, the largest field of employment in India is retail trade, which involves 14% of its population. The AKI agreement will deal the blow on the subsistence of this huge population.

parliamentary cretinist path with neo-liberal content. From a proletarian party devoted to lead the working class and oppressed peoples towards people's democracy, it has degenerated to an arrogant and corrupt bureaucratic party. It is the people's strong reaction against this which has led to repeated defeats of the LF in the different elections during last three years. As it is not prepared to or incapable of any serious corrections in its policies and approaches soon, these election results indicate the almost sure defeat of the LF in next year's assembly elections also.

Though, on 2<sup>nd</sup> June as Kolkata Municipal corporation election results showed a sweeping defeat for the LF and the CPI (M) leader Nirupam Sen admitted that a section of the people voted for it in earlier elections have shifted to oppositions side, on 3<sup>rd</sup> June official spokespersons came out with statistical interpretations to show that, it is not defeated vote-wise! During 2009 Lok Sabha elections also, even when the LF's share of seats were reduced to one third, CPI(M) leaders had tried to explain it away through a jugglery of figures. Now, when the number of municipal bodies they were controlling is reduced to just one-third, again they have come forward with the same exercise. It shows that they are not ready to take any lessons from their isolation in spite of Singur, Nandigram and Lalgah and in spite of their consecutive election reverses. It shows the extent of their degeneration from Marxist positions tany lessons and change as their class basis itself has changed.

These setbacks to the social democrats throw up a serious challenge before the communist revolutionary

# ON THE MUNICIPALITY ELECTION IN WEST BENGAL

Alik Chakraborty

Trinamool Congress's victory wave has remained unbroken and uninterrupted in the recent municipality elections in Bengal. After Singoor and Nandigram, the Panchayat elections, Lok Sabha elections and, lastly, these municipality elections proved that Bengal electors have more or less rejected the Left front government and accepted Trinamool Congress as the alternative. This quite indicates that

These setbacks

to the social democrats throw up a serious challenge before the communist revolutionary forces. The space lost by these social democratic forces who were so far hoodwinking the masses utilizing their pseudo-left façade is going to be taken over by arch reactionary forces like TMC-Congress combine in W. Bengal and Congress led UDF in Kerala. The plight of the people shall be like falling from frying pan to fire. The practice of the CR forces who are utilizing the parliamentary forms of struggle along with other forms of struggle so far is that they could not emerge as an effective revolutionary alternative, capable of winning over the confidence of the masses. That is the reason why even their own vote share in seats and areas where they have same mass influence is considerably less. Or, they have not succeeded so far to project themselves as a revolutionary alternative against the CPI(M) led LF or 'third front', or against the ruling class alternatives. It is the challenge to be taken up by the CR forces without any delay as part of their efforts to utilize all forms of struggle to capture political power. This challenge becomes all the more critical as the comprador ruling system is intensifying the neo-liberal policies and the fascicisation of the state at a frenzied pace while utilizing the anti-communist propaganda to confuse and disarm the people.

unless any accident occurs, Trinamool Congress will capture majority in the forthcoming (2011) Assembly elections. Though CPIM cannot admit this fact, such is the reality. In these municipality elections too CPIM has faced a debacle not only in Kolkata but also in the suburbs. They won only one-third of what they had secured in the last municipality elections. In the previous election they were in power in 54 municipalities but now they have majority only in 18 municipalities. Though in Kolkata, Left Front secured a lead in more constituencies than they won in, yet they lost plenty of votes as compared to last Parliament elections. They won some seats in Kolkata due to the division of votes between Congress and Trinamool Congress.

If the election results reflect the people's general political trend, then we can say that people want the CPIM-led government to be replaced at any cost. In the last Panchayat and, to some extent, Lok Sabha elections, people's vote went against the repressive face of CPIM that was revealed in Singur and Nandigram. It was a reflection of the people's democratic aspiration. That was mainly negative polling. But these municipality elections differ from previous elections mainly because this is the first time in recent years that Trinamool Congress has sought votes as part of UPA government and a UPA government that is increasingly taking more and more anti-people steps and policies. People are seeing that Trinamool Congress is doing nothing against those steps. In spite of this, people seem to be favouring Trinamool Congress for two reasons. First, the people have no illusion that CPIM will resist those same steps. So people are indifferent about that matter on the question of choice. Secondly, people want to see the exact consequence of changing the government. CPIM has lost all faith of the people and shattered the emotion of democratic people by forcefully grabbing land in Singur and Nandigram. CPIM's main positive side was they were in favour of peasants' rights. Before Singur and Nandigram people couldn't believe that CPIM would ever side with the land grabbers and Congress and would be against landgrabbing. But the people saw that the exact opposite happened. So, though Mamata Banerjee is in the UPA Government and UPA government is taking many anti people steps, but majority of the people are favouring TMC without bothering about what is going on at the all-India level and its consequence.

So the situation is a complex one for the real left forces as well as communist revolutionaries. On the one hand, CR forces are not in a position to provide an alternative. In these municipality elections, some CR forces (including us) fought in such a microscopical sphere, that it could not make any imprint as a political alternative. On the other hand, people want change of contemporary government and are not bothered about whether the future government will be more reactionary or not. People are seeking an able alternative to the present Left Front Government. People are not expecting radical reforms from TMC. TMC has already shown its real nature by joining the UPA. After Assembly elections, it is certain that both the Centre as well as the state government will be taking more and more anti-people policies and people's discontent will grow simultaneously. Then people will naturally seek a real alternative which can lead it out of its discontent. If CR forces realize this situation and take steps accordingly, it will create a precondition for a radical and revolutionary people's alternative. Already people are disillusioned with the TMC, but for the sake of change people are refraining from criticizing TMC. So, the challenge in front of CR forces is to be a real political alternative which can fight against every anti-

# All India Protest Day on Naxalbari Day

On Naxalbari day CPI(ML) observed nationwide protest day against repression on Kalinganagar Bistapan Virodhi movement and Posco pratirodh movements continuing in Odisha and against displacement and imperialist-Corporate loot.

## Gherao of Tata and Posco Corporate Office at Bhubaneswar

On 25<sup>th</sup> May 8 am a rally led by Bhubaneswar area committee of CPI(ML) from Jayadev square reached at Fortune Tower the corporate office of TATA STEEL and POSCO. Around five hundred comrades shouting slogans Stop repression on democratic mass movements Stop displacement and loot in the name of development and industrialisation, Punish the Dist. Collector, SP and those who are responsible for the repeated firings at Kalinganagar and killing, Killer Navin Patnaik Govt. Down Down, Revoke all MoU's with MNC's and Corporate Houses, and with colourful banners, placards and red flags gheraoed Fortune Tower. At the main gate of that office people tried to enter forcibly. Around



people step of the government and be able to replace the government also, not only through the street battle but in the election arena also.

CR forces have a long fighting history against the government, but they have not been able to emerge as a political alternative. Today, though the situation is complex, it is a positive situation for the CRs because people have rejected CPIM and will be testing Trinamool. If all CR forces unite to fight against imperialist policies and anti-people role of the Government, expose all the ruling class representatives, develop a united, systematic propaganda all over the state, and take part collectively in the elections, then a ground will be prepared for the CRs to emerge as an alternative – a political force on which people can depend as an alternative to CPIM and TMC.

half an hour tussle with police continued. The main gate of the office was totally closed by the demonstrators, so no one entered and came out upto 12 O'clock. In front of the gate a protest meeting was organized presided by CPI(ML) Bhubaneswar area committee secretary Com. Harihar Sahoo. CPI(ML) State Secretary Com. Sivaram, TUCI state president Com. Jayadev Nayak, AIRWO State president Pramila, RYFI leader Sabyasachi and Raghunath, AIKAM leader Abeswar Digal and Sanjukta Kanhar, Basti Surakshya Mancha leader Rama Chandra Sahoo led the rally and demonstration. Following the CPI (ML) Central Committee's call the State Committee organized state wide campaign declaring solidarity with Kalinga Nagar and other People' Resistance Struggles all over the country. Large scale leaflet distribution and street corner meetings were organized before.

## Protest rally and effigy burning of Navin Patnaik at Bhadrak

At Bhadrak a protest rally led by Bhadrak Dist Committee of CPI(ML) starting from Punjabi bye-pass and reached in front of Dist. Collectorate and demonstrated there. The effigy of comprador and killer Navin Patnaik was burnt. Dist secy com. Susanta, AIRWO leader Indumati, Gagan Jena, Kailash jena led the rally and condemned the Navin Patnaik Govt. in the protest meeting.

## Protest Meeting at Bijipur, Puri Dist.

At Bijipur of Gopa Block, Puri dist. a protest meeting was organized by CPI(ML) Puri Dist. Committee presided by Dist. committee member Com. Batakrushna Sahoo. Peasant leader Artatrana Raut, Prafulla Pradhan and Netrananda Das spoke in the protest meeting. Widely leaflet distribution was done by CPI(ML) committee at Puri Dist.

## CPI(ML) OBSERVED 20TH MAY AS PROTEST DAY

As per the declaration at the state-wide Gana Convention, the CPI(ML) Odisha state committee



accelerated erosion of the mass basis of the bourgeois parties through the change of tactics. That is why after the elections the subsidies for the monopolies, disguised as plans to 'lower taxes', or the flat rate in the health care were put into cold storage. The latent political crisis has intensified considerably.

**Red Flag:** *The federal government and the different bourgeois institutes for economics have unanimously predicted a significant recovery of the economy in 2011. What do you think about that?*

**Stefan Engel:** The deepest slumps in the world economic and financial crisis have in fact given way to a stagnation, and the economy has generally turned into a depression.

However, that does not mean that the crisis has been overcome! In Germany, the increase of the gross national product by a tiny 0,2 per cent in the first quarter of 2010 has been hyped up to become the harbinger of an economic revival in spring. 4) At the same time industrial production in the year 2009 has slumped by 17.9 per cent as compared to the level of 2008. 5) At the rate of the small growth in the economy up till now, it will take years until the level before the crisis will be reached. The ongoing economic weakness in the country is only poorly concealed by the high increase in exports due to the cheap euro on the world market.

**Red Flag:** *Up to now the monopolies and the government have succeeded in avoiding a major increase in mass unemployment, in spite of a big slump in production. Nevertheless you get the impression that discontent in the factories is growing.*

**Stefan Engel:** Through short-time work, reduction of overtime and cancellation of many company agreements for the increase of the weekly working hours beyond the 35-hour

workweek, they actually succeeded in avoiding 1.2 million dismissals. In 2009 the paid

weekly working hours in industry declined to 36.7 hours. This has led to a much smaller increase of the official unemployment rate compared to all economic crises since 1981 and was doubtlessly the decisive factor for the restraint of the masses towards the crisis management of the government. However, we should not forget that the above

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started campaigning to make this success. On 20th May at Bhubaneswar CPI(ML), CPI(ML) Liberation and SUCI(C) jointly took out a rally from Bhubaneswar Railway Station and it reached Before state assembly. A protest meeting organized there. CPI(ML) leaders com. Harihar Sahoo, Pramila, Gopinath Nayak led the rally and Com. Pramila spoke in the protest meeting. At Bhadrak a massive rally started from Serapur reached at Dolasahi Bazar with shouting slogans. At Dolasahi Bazar square a protest meeting organized. The rally was led by CPI(ML) Bhadrak district secretary com. Susanta Jena, AIRWO state secretary com. Indumati, Jeevan-Jeevika Surakshya Samiti leader Tunilata Jena, AIRSO State President com. Jayanti Jena and state secretary com. Prasanta Purti. CPI(ML) state secretary com. Sivaram participated in protest meeting.

mentioned measures can at best be accepted by the workers only temporarily. If a workforce today has already been on short-time work for one and a half years, this is making a big hole in the family budget, and this can hardly be shouldered for a long time by any working-class family. In addition, especially in the big industrial enterprises, short-time work has been misused to intensify speedup and to lower real wages. In 2009 the workers in the industrial enterprises already lost 4 per cent of their real wages on the average. This has not happened for decades! Taking all this, no worker can be sure of keeping his job. All this is increasing discontent in the enterprises.

**Red Flag:** *On May 1st, you did not get the impression that the smear campaign against the "left extremists" of the MLPD has an effect in the working-class movement in Germany.*

**Stefan Engel:** The relation of the masses of participants to the MLPD on this May 1st was actually remarkable. While in the run-up a rigid anti-communist exclusion campaign against the MLPD was launched by parts of the DGB leadership, we were greeted and

protected everywhere by the participants as a natural part of the May 1st activities. Boastfully announced bans against stands of the MLPD – which by the way have no legal basis – could not be enforced anywhere. The colleagues shielded and protected the MLPD, in some places united action had even been organized to protect the MLPD stands. In Berlin, where they attempted to remove the stand of the MLPD, a mass discussion and rally of 200 colleagues took place and prevented it. Naturally we did not aim our main attack against the DGB leadership, but against the anti-worker policies of the government and monopolies. But it is quite clear that we will not allow such attempts of exclusion – which, by the way, have something to do with the fact that DGB- and IGM-leadership at the moment are more and more taking sides with the government and trying to prevent struggles at any cost. The strengthening of the revolutionary direction in the left trend among the workers could already be observed in the works councils elections as well, where class-conscious workers could improve their positions. Very good results were reached especially by those colleagues who had run during the federal elections in 2009 on the open lists of the MLPD and where in the run-up anti-communist attacks had been responded to offensively. In this situation the leading board of the metal workers union is arrogantly ignoring a clear decision by the union congress of 2007: Instead of lifting the divisive incompatibility rulings against the MLPD, they were not only underlined in a session of the leading board on 9<sup>th</sup> February 2010, but even further sharpened. Many union members find it scandalous that this is being justified not only with the unspeakable lies of the secret service about the MLPD, but also with ultra-right "scientists" - belonging to the fascistoid camp – who have been used as crown witnesses. The right-wing IGM leadership under

the direction of Berthold Huber is especially annoyed by the MLPD's rejection of the politics of class collaboration, the propaganda for companywide cross-border struggles in entire branches and the commitment to genuine socialism. They are especially attacking the scientific concept of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialism, as elaborated by Karl Marx as an alternative to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It shows its own political inadequacy when the leading body of the IGM classifies self-organized strikes as being in competition with the IG Metall, knowing quite well that the possibilities of union strikes are extremely limited, because there is no full legal right to strike in all matters in Germany. The leading board of the IGM could learn a lot from the example of the federal conference of the Industrial Union for Construction, Agrarian and Environmental Workers, where the demand for a political right to strike has even been written into the statutes. What many people might not know is that until 1980, Berthold Huber had been a leading functionary for more than 12 years in the forerunner organization of the MLPD, and here he had a special responsibility for the guidance and control of the factory and trade-union work. It is pure hypocrisy when he maintains that the democratic centralism within the MLPD would make it impossible for MLPD members to support decisions of the metal workers union. If that were right, Berthold Huber himself, as an active party member in the early seventies, would never have been able to become a union functionary at the same time. For us the unions are and will remain to be 'überparteilich' self-run organizations, in which blue and white-collar workers with different party affiliations and different world outlooks are active together for the defense and improvement of their wages and their working conditions. Berthold Huber should stop currying favor with whomever by taking an anticommunist stand in promoting such decisions. The unity of the unions is too precious for such obvious ambitions. The incompatibility rulings against the MLPD split the unions and weaken their combative strength, because militant and active union members are placed under a steady threat of expulsion from the union and are defamed as being union enemies.

**Red Flag:** *With 150,000 participants in the anti-nuclear-power demonstrations in*

*April, the environmental movement has come back powerfully. What was the starting point for this?*

**Stefan Engel:** The clearest turning point in the struggle against the global environmental catastrophe was the failure of the world climate summit in Copenhagen. This is in line with the federal government's massive attempts to extend the running time of nuclear power plants to 60 years, as well as the construction of more coal-fired power plants, in spite of the immense and generally recognized risks for humans and nature. The Schröder/Fischer government,

with its decisions for a step by step moratorium on the use of atomic energy, had more or less suggested to the old environmental movement that it could dissolve itself. Now people are seeing that without active resistance against the profit-greed of the monopolies, the environment will not be saved. As far as I know, this was the biggest antinuclear demonstration ever in Germany. This is a sign of hope! Because with the dramatic development to the global climate catastrophe, a much more comprehensive and harder struggle is necessary to save the earth for human life.

**Red Flag:** *You get the impression that with every dead soldier, the deployment of the federal army in Afghanistan is meeting with more rejection in the German population. How will this continue?*

**Stefan Engel:** In the meantime far more than 100,000 NATO soldiers are in Afghanistan to pacify the so-called "nest of terrorism". It is implausible that this military deployment is necessary to overwhelm some 100 Al Kaida and about 5000 Taliban fighters. In the meantime the NATO is apparently confronted with a broad rejection in the Afghan population, which in our media is consciously and indiscriminately being defamed as belonging to the Taliban. The NATO aggression cannot overcome this broad resistance of the Afghan people! With each dead soldier, the rejection of the people in the NATO countries is growing. The government of the Netherlands broke apart a short time ago for this reason. And in Germany people can only be pacified by announcing the withdrawal of the German

troops in 2011 over and over again. But nobody should believe that the NATO will withdraw from Afghanistan voluntarily without succeeding. Therefore the anti-militarist struggle and the struggle for the withdrawal of German troops from Afghanistan have to be strengthened.

**Red Flag:** *The intensification of the latent political crisis is, of course, not only a*

*material basis for the left trend. On the basis of a low level of class consciousness among the masses, it can also provoke rightist or neofascist tendencies in connection with aggressive anticommunism. Has the neofascist danger in Germany increased?*

**Stefan Engel:** We should not underestimate that the same material basis for the left trend can promote right and neofascist ideas as well, especially among backward people. We shouldn't underestimate the election gains of fascist and right-wing populist parties in France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Italy and partly at the Land elections in North-Rhine Westphalia, too. Objectively they constitute a mass basis for the fascistization and the state terror against the revolutionary working-class movement.

The more meaningful is the upswing of the anti-fascist struggle, which reached a peak in the prevention of a European-wide Nazi march in Dresden by massive active mass resistance.

# **RYFI calls for observing 9 to 15 August as anti-imperialist week.**

The central committee of RYFI which met at Mumbai on 2<sup>nd</sup> June has called for observing 9 to 15 August as anti imperialist week with the following slogans by all committees.

- Kick out IMF- World Bank - WTO – MNCs from the country
- Confiscate corporate capital and seize foreign bank deposits
- Kick out corporate and MNCs from retail trade
- Resist imperialist culture

June 26, the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of declaration of internal emergency shall be observed as the anti black laws day. The copies of various black laws will be burnt.

The CC decided to continue the membership drive and organizational building at lower levels vigorously. The completed membership by year end should be reported to the CC.

The CC has called for all round intensification of the political offensive, agitations and organizational building vigorously forward. It has decided to publish a bi-monthly rebel in both English and Hindi from Delhi from July 2010 onwards as the organ of the RYFI. Comrades Basavalingappa ( president), com. Vijaykumar (general secretary) and com. Sanker Das (secretary) shall constitute the editorial board.

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## **War on beggars**

Inspired from the repeated statements of prime minister Manmohan Singh that “Naxalism” is the main danger before the country, the Delhi state government has launched a war on beggars to beautify Delhi for the common wealth games. According to Delhi social welfare minister “ beggars are nuisance, and begging has to be stopped..... We Indians are used to beggars. Westerners are not. So we must make the city free of them” . So to make the city friendly to westerners like stray dogs the beggars are carted out of Delhi.

Lording over a ruling systems which is making the common people more pauperized compelling more to become beggars, without doing anything to make the right to livelihood a reality for the poor, the Congress led UPA government at centre and its minions administering Delhi are going to spent almost RS 50, 000 crores or more for the CWG an event to remind us that we were once part of the British empire. Out of it not a paisa is spent for making life more tolerable for the poor who constitute 40-50% of the population. On the contrary an estimated 50,000 beggars are being forcefully sent out of Delhi, forty four slums with over one lakh families are being demolished and cleared.

When this fabulous amount is spent for a 12 day sports event nobody at the top are asking how much of this infrastructure built is going to be utilized in the future. Even much of the infrastructure built for 1982 Asian game is still not used.

One is forced to recollect that to win 1971 elections Indira Gandhi had given the famous slogan “*garibi hatao*”. What happened to that slogan is part of our history.

Even after almost four decades people living below poverty line in the country is almost 50% of the population. So her present day disciples have come forward with the novel idea of declaring war on beggars, throwing them out of the city along with those living in the poor slums. From the brutal exploitation of the workers employed in CWG projects to present war on beggars the whole CWG effort is to transform Delhi in to a city of the elite classes, so that more westerners can visit it as the minister hopes.

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# A chronology of IMF -Pakistan relationship

**(As Pakistan is presently having an IMF man as its prime minister similar to India, an overview is presented how IMF came to dominance in that country by dancing with the dictators and serving the US imperialists-RS)**

**Abdul Khaliq**

As in most of the developing countries, IMF funding patterns to Pakistan has been subject of intense debate, over the last three decades. Proponents and opponents of IMF have produced evidence to support their respective point of views, particularly in broader perspective of international relations. However, little effort is made to explore the genesis of funding patterns linkage with political objectives of the IMF. In order to understand this crucial aspect of IMF packages we have to go beyond the typical debate of purely economic effects of IMF policies on Pakistan.

A careful overview of particular history of IMF packages for Pakistan in terms of their volume, timing, terms and conditions and rationale provides us an interesting picture of politically motivated patterns of funding.

Pakistan joined IMF in 1950. The first time government of Pakistan went for a loan from IMF was in 1958. It was a Stand By Agreement worth US \$ 25 million. However, the loan was cancelled soon after the outbreak of political upheavals in Pakistan. In 1973, the military dictator Field Marshal Ayub Khan was overthrown and General Zia-ul-Haq took over. However, during 1960s under Ayub dictatorship, IMF happily granted two Stand By Agreements (SBAs). One in 1965, other in 1968 to help solve Ayub regime's financial difficulties. When Pakistan's second military dictator General Yahya Khan replaced Ayub Khan, IMF continued showering its financial blessing over him. Four more SBAs were made,

handing Yahya regime down a loan worth US \$ 330 million.

However, with the first popularly elected government of ZA Bhutto coming to power, IMF behavior towards democratic government became cooler and it almost deleted Pakistan from the favorite list on account of Bhutto's 'socialist agenda'. That was why Bhutto had to tell the Fund to "go to hell, we do not want your money".

However, in 1979, when General. Zia-ul-Haq was at the helm, the nature and extent of IMF involvement drastically changed. The IMF extended lavish package for the dear dictator. Statistics show that in 20 years (1958-1979) Pakistan had collective IMF packages of worth US \$ 460 million. However, in November 1980, it extended a huge amount of US \$ 1.27 billion to Zia regime through long-term Extended Fund Facility (EFF). The amount was three times the entire amount lent through 7 SBA packages in preceding 20 years.

This rapid increase in IFM loans, from 1977-8 to 1980-81, signifies the importance of Pakistan to IMF and its master the USA. The IMF was so keen in financial pampering of Zia regime that besides such huge direct funding, it influenced the aid-giving policies of a large number of Western countries, convincing them for funding Zia's Pakistan. Also, the IMF packages throughout the 1970s, being Stand By Agreements, had the essential characteristics of high interest rates when Z A Bhutto was in power. However, contrary to the stringent measures during 1970s, IMF extended mild and favorable conditions to Zia regime November 1980 onwards.

The amount of package was biggest ever for any developing country until then. Also, rescheduling of repayment of debts was arranged through "Aid to Pakistan" Consortium rather than by Paris Club. This was a deviation from standard lending practices and out of the way arrangement.

There is a subtle difference between the approaches of Paris Club and Consortium. The Paris Club is primarily made of professional bankers while Consortium reflects long-term global political interests. IMF's invariable magnanimity towards Zia regime can easily be attributed to two major geo-political factors at the time; the Iranian revolution and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Thus there were no economic factors, as usually claimed by Fund, for their large scale fund allocations.

# Attack on Revolutionary Forces

**Jharkhand** com. John Miran Munda, general secretary of All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha (AIKAM) who as a young ACC cement factory worker of Chaibasa, mobilized the workers and led a number of heroic struggles for their rights. Besides he mobilized the local people against the mining mafia operating in the area on a large scale. So the ACC management, mining mafia with the connivance of local leaders of Congress, BJP and JMM got him arrested under trumped up murder charges. He is in Chaibasa jail for the last one year. His bail petitions are repeatedly rejected. His nomination for contesting last assembly elections was also rejected on false grounds.

The all India committee of AIKAM which met at Chaibasa organized a Dharna in front of the district collector on 26 June demanding the release of com. John and putting forward the various problems faced by the people in general and the tribal people in particular. The

*contd....from page no. 31.....*

**Red Flag: With the internationally organized crisis management, the mass movement among the workers, the broad masses and the youth as well declined for a while. Has this not changed in the meantime?**

**Stefan Engel:** In my last interview I already pointed out a distinct revival of the **rebellion of the youth**. Since 2009, a total of almost one million young people took part in protests in the entire spectrum of their existential and future interests. 50 per cent of them protested in the “education strike”-actions, followed by antifascist, anti-imperialist and anti-militarist protests, as well as in the environmental sphere and in workers’ protests. This tendency has continued in 2010, especially in the actions of a new generation of the anti-nuclear plant

AIKAM has appealed to all democratic forces to raise their voice for the release of com. John and for fulfilling the just demands of the Adivasis.

**Maharashtra** Com. Bandu Mesham, the Nagpur district committee member of CPI (ML) was arrested on 21st February on trumped up charges by police from his house that he is a Maoist, even after comrade showed the CPI (ML) literature, handbills and receipt books with him, repeatedly telling them that he is a member of CPI (ML). He is lodged in Chandrapur jail. In spite of repeated efforts the courts are resorting to a delaying tactics in giving bail to him. The CPI (ML) while continuing all legal and agitational methods to get him released has appealed to all democratic forces to raise their voice for getting him released from the jail and from the trumped up charges.

**Kerala** Com. Rathesh Kumar was an active member of RYFI and its Wynad district committee member.

protests and in the antifascist protests. Nationwide protests in the educational system are planned for June 9th. This is not only the highest level in terms of numbers since the protests against the Iraq war in 2003. Most of all, the criticism of capitalism has witnessed a clear revival. The youth rebellion of today clearly has a **qualitatively higher level**. The youth league of the MLPD, the *Rebell*, is actively involved and has planned to become the first address in organizing and leading the rebellion of the youth. With the development of the rebellion of the youth, a turn has taken place in the workingclass and militant people’s movement. The self-organized militant actions in the

He had given leadership to many struggles against the contractors, land mafia and all other anti-social forces. He was active in the land struggle at Meppadi and neighboring areas also. Enraged by his activities local gang of anti – social forces got together and attacked him with lethal weapons while he was going alone to nearby town. Though people from neighboring areas took him to hospital, he could not be saved. CPI(ML) local committee and RYFI have demanded that the goonda forces who killed com. Rathesh should be arrested soon and the CPI (M) leader who sheltered them that night also should be arrested. All sections of people joined the condolences meeting organized at Meppadi. As the struggles led by CPI(ML) and the class mass organizations are developing including the struggle for capture of land in the district all vested interests are ganging together to attack party and mass organization activists.

factories have increased, just like the activities for the protection of the natural environment, for the defense and extension of democratic rights and liberties, in the anti-fascist struggle, as well as against the NATO war in Afghanistan. This tendency will get stronger on the basis of the change in tactics by the monopolies and vitalize the spontaneous movement. The Marxist-Leninists will support these movements and develop them to a higher level. At the same time, it is necessary to draw the connection to the international working-class and people’s movement in all activities and to organize these struggles as a school for the preparation of the international revolution.



## Kovilan

Kovilan, the Malayalam litterateur who died last month, was a unique writer of his age. He was a freedom fighter, a communist, a disciplined soldier and rebellious author. Although he lived as a writer in the high periods of realistic movement, modernism and post modernism of Malayalam literature, he walked along an entirely different path, without getting included in the arithmetic of these marches. Kovilan drew his attention to all the marginalized sections of the society, especially to dalits and women, and wrote their stories from the point of view of proletariat class, in

an earthy language. The ruling class always uses food as a weapon against the common people. As a story teller of hunger; Kovilan conveyed the politics of food through many of his writings. He wrote “Thttakam”, his master piece, a novel in the dalit perspective, even before great debates on dalit literature were started in Malayalam literary field. His important novels include “Bharathan”, “Thottangal”, “Himalayam” and “A minus B”, which were unique writings, dealing with certain particular fields.

Kovilan is the name of the hero of a great saga in Tamil, who was disgraced, tortured and brutally killed by the power. V.V. Ayyappan took the name of this great hero as his own

name in the literary field. The selection of this name itself was a sign of his commitment to oppressed class. He was a staunch supporter of progressive movements in Kerala. He participated in the first meeting of the revolutionary writers and activists of Kerala that lead to the formation of Janakeeya Samskarika Vedi (People’s Cultural Forum), the revolutionary cultural organization that took up great cultural struggles in seventies and early eighties. He was the Chair Person of the Anti Fascist Convention conducted at Thrissur under the leadership of the revolutionary forces. Kovilan’s death is a great loss to Malayalam literature and the progressive cultural forces in Kerala.

**If Undelivered Return to  
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**Letter to editor**

### **Children of war by Nirmalangshu Mukherji**

Dear editors,

I am a regular reader of Red Star. I read quite carefully all your articles on MLM strategy for India. & I really applaud you for trying to come to a correct understanding of Indian situation by exploring MLM & applying MLM to Indian situation. For this reason I have strong objection to Nirmalangshu's article Children of war which is a critique of Arundhati & Navlakha. At the outset let me state quite categorically that this article is a critique of Maoists for the sake of criticising them. I request you to refrain in future from carrying such articles for the following 2 reasons:

1. As I have stated already it is a critique of Maoists for the sake of criticism.
2. Therefore, it was VERY poorly analysed ideologically from MLM position.
3. You know very well that in a
  - a) war situation
  - b) in conditions of rebellion
  - c) in a revolution

children very well can be inducted & are inducted  
**THIS CRITIQUE IS FROM A BOURGEOIS STAND POINT  
& ARTICULATES AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, ETC  
POSITIONS**

I like many others have issues with Maoists largely on the question of their REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY PLUS THEIR LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF MAOIST THOUGHT (which is the reason why their strategy is flawed) but that doesn't mean we should criticise them & that too when an ARGUMENT lacks logic like the above-mentioned article.

deeply disappointed me. RED FLAG under com. Ramachandran should keep high ideological LEVEL. Otherwise, it would become like FRONTIER

What we need in India is to develop inexorably & ruthlessly the MLM Thought in the Indian context so that we are able to make a 'giant leap' in the cause of revolution.

Thanks

**Manu Kant**

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### **From the Editorial Board**

Dear friend

When some people who claims themselves as close friends of Maoists and who write so much about their experiences in the 'liberated land' write that 65000 sq kms area is liberated for last 20 years the queries raised by Nirmalangshu will be naturally raised by anyone who has gone through Edgar Snow's Red Star Over China. When in 4-5 years many things could be done there hope you will admit that conditions in Dantewade and other so called areas are worse Besides in these areas even minimum wages are not paid .

So far they have not succeeded in a single area election boycott even calling for it even after threats. Besides their usual practice after calling for boycott is to support one bourgeois party or other as they did even during this year's Jharkhand elections. They threatened our candidate in Latehar constituency and demanded his withdrawal for Shibu Soren's candidate . They acted like musclemen for Shibu Soren. One should oppose the Left Front government in W.Bengal. But can it be done by supporting TMC as done by spokespersons of Maoists. For taking such a position we had expelled even some leading members of our party.

We hope that our friends understand how Maoists have degenerated to sheer militarism and still persist in the line of annihilation which had brought havoc to the movement in early 1970s Their mistakes are due to their line which has nothing to do with Marxism- Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought. As far as we are concerned we are engaged in a bitter struggle against Operation Green Hunt and all black laws mobilizing people. In the name of Maoists our comrades are arrested .

As a struggling force it is our task to wage ideological struggle against alien trends and expose NGOs and petty bourgeois intellectuals who in the name of supporting Maoists are doing serious damage to the revolutionary movement. Our concluding words are ,we are against drawing children in to this struggle till they are politically educated and are matured LTTE or others may have done it but the bitter setbacks suffered by the communist movement teaches that we should always put politics in command and scrupulously follow mass line as ultimately people ,people alone can create history, not some militarist squads as some petty bourgeois supporters of Maoists try to establish— RS.

