



RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Central Organ of CPI(ML)

Volume 11

September 2010

Issue 9

English Monthly



Demonstration of houseless people at Coimbatore, Tamilnadu on 26 August organised by CPI(ML)



Massive rally of hundreds of women at Kalpeta, Kerala on 8th August organised by AIRWO as part of the Quit India Campaign

Observe August 30 as Kashmir and North-east day!

Withdraw Military from Kashmir and North-east! Support Struggle of Kashmiri and Northeast Peoples Against Reactionary Indian state!

FOR WEEKS Kashmir is burning. Women are openly coming out in the streets and pelting stones against the so called security forces who have turned these regions as their favourite killing fields for decades shows how much hatred is accumulated in their hearts. This hatred against these occupation forces who kill their sons, husbands, parents and all those who are dearest to them ,against those who snatch away their dearest ones whose where about are then never known has transformed in to fury forcing them to come to the streets with stones in their hands. As a writer expressed in The Times of India(8 August) “this is no ordinary anger, but an old ,bottled up rage, gathering over so many years that it has settled and turned rock hard. That accumulated fury is the stone in their hands”.

The condition is not basically different in Northeast. In the name of fighting insurgency military and para military forces are let loose on the people for last many decades. RAW was deployed to spread hatred among the various ethnic groups, tribal sections, and sub nationalities, to divide and sub divide them. The military occupation together with these divisive policies has made life intolerable for the people there. It is common knowledge now that not only SULFA but others also are organized, trained and armed by RAW and military intelligence wings to divide the people and make them fight each other. Under occupation of these forces for decades the people’s life is devastated. Under a so called blockade instigated by the central forces even food and other essential commodities are not available for Manipuri people for many months. The rape, horror, torture, military rule using black laws like AFSPA has intensified the hatred among the people. The women were enraged due to atrocities against them so much that after the rape and murder of Manorama they paraded naked in front of the military centre. In spite of all these the reactionary central and state governments are only intensifying the state terror.

In this situation it is the responsibility of all progressive and democratic forces to come forward in solidarity with the people of Kashmir and Northeast who are struggling for their basic right of deciding their own future .The reactionary Indian state should not be allowed to continue this reign of terror. It is in this context the Central

Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in its meeting on 6 and 7 August has called for observing August 30 as Kashmir and Northeast Day in solidarity with struggle of the people there. Let all progressive democratic forces come forward to express their anger and hatred against the state terror and military occupation imposed against people all over the country in general and people in these regions in particular. ●

7th August 2010

CPI (ML)

Condemn Murder of Comrade Arjun

LEADER of adivasi movement and Koraput district secretary of Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangh (CMAS), com. Kedruka Arjun was waylaid and shot dead on 9th August allegedly by the Maoists when he was going on a bicycle along with his wife to hospital. The incident occurred between Kesubhadra and Kattulapeta villages.

It is reported that comrade Kendruka Arjun, born in poor adivasi family, is working in the movement for the last 15 years. He united the adivasis and non-tribal poor in the Koraput-Bandugaon area under the banner of CMAS and stood in the forefront in many struggles waged against forest officials, liquor mafia and landlords. He participated militantly in the anti-liquor struggle waged against liquor-brewing Sondies and shahukars in the Bankini, Seelavadi and other villages. He played key role in extending the movement to Narayanpatna area in 2007. On 17 November 2008, com.Arjun led the agitation against police atrocities in the weakly markets and gheroed the Lakhimpur police outpost with 400 adivasis. When police registered cases against him along with others he remained among the people for five months and continued the activities.

He played an active role in the land occupation movement. In this process he faced attacks from landlords and goondas several times. He was implicated in several false cases and was arrested. We condemn the anarchist politics of CPI(Maoist) who time and again are resorting to the murder of leaders of peoples movement. ●

Resist Adoption of Nuclear Liability Bill

OBSERVING the very hard work done by Manmohan Singh and company to get Nuclear Liability Bill passed by Lok Sabha within the time-frame dictated by Obama administration, it is a general wish among the common people that if half of this dynamism was shown by this government to check food prices, they would have been in a much better condition. But a comprador government serving corporate interests in the neo-colonial phase has its own priorities. Like signing the Indo-US Nuclear Treaty and so many strategic agreements with US to subordinate Indian armed forces to serve the hegemonic drive of it at breakneck speed, getting the Nuclear Liability Bill passed on an emergency basis is also a top priority agenda for him. For that purpose he was ready to slow down the cases against Narendra Modi and his associates so that BJP's support could be ensured for the Bill.

In drafting stage so many underhand tactics were resorted to so that the US monopolies supplying their outdated technology and equipments will not be charged even a 100 times bigger Bhopal like disaster take place like Chernobyl or Three Mile Island nuclear disaster. Clauses are included cleverly so that even after all the much trumpeted amendments to appease BJP, if a nuclear accident take place in any of the proposed nuclear reactors, the compensation by the operating company which is invariably going to be a public sector company in most cases or a private company which can offload its liability to the public sector companies, the US monopolies can save themselves like Union Carbide earlier and now Dow Chemicals in the case of Bhopal massacre. The Bill is passed heavily loaded with conditions favouring the US and other foreign monopoly companies who are going to be the suppliers, earning billions of dollar profits. Not even the Left Front MPs wage a serious struggle to expose this pernicious act of the UPA government in collaboration with NDA led by BJP, as they themselves are not ready to reject the nuclear option for energy production.

It is a well established fact that Indian nuclear research sector is far ahead of US. It is in the final phase of developing Thorium, which is abundantly present in India, in place of Uranium for nuclear energy production. Besides, it has proved that it is capable of building nuclear reactors as well as or better than any MNCs. Even then going for this Bill is very clearly an act of treason heavily favouring US and other imperialists. On this count itself this Bill is against the interests of the country and the people and it should be opposed with all the might by the patriotic democratic forces.

When such clearly evident national interests are thrown overboard to serve US master's interests by getting approval for this anti-national, anti-people Bill from Lok Sabha, any discussion about the basic scientific and technological flaws involved in going for nuclear reactors with the still hazardous radiation, waste disposal and accident prone character of present reactor designs are poo-pooed by these vested interests. At a time when ecological destruction is pausing a grave challenge to the very existence of human race beyond this century, the environmental hazards involved in nuclear energy production cannot be side lined. Especially when alternate energy sources like solar, wind, etc. can be developed and when the US like so-called developed societies should be asked to cut down per-capita energy consumption. Instead of focussing on them, going for nuclear reactors to help the easing of the economic crisis in US

Contents

❖ On 34th Death Anniversay of Mao Tsetung	5
❖ Launch country-wide Movement against State Terror	7
❖ Mamata in Lalgarh	8
❖ On Kashmir Question	10
❖ Fake Encounters in Jharkhand	12
❖ On People's Alternative to Present Environment and Development Policies	14
❖ China As World's 2nd Largest Economy	16
❖ Nuclear Liability Bill: PM's Gift to the US	18
❖ Moral Hazard of Indemnifying Suppliers	20
❖ Let Us Inspire Good Air	22
❖ Neo-Liberal Assault on Higher Education	25
❖ IT Revolution and the Questions of Market vs Planning	26
❖ Reports from States	27
❖ Ideological and Political Issues Pertaining to Local Body Elections	32
❖ State Reports	32
❖ Letters to Editor	35

Our Web Site : www.cpiml.in

**Edited, Printed,
Published & Owned by**

K.N. Ramachandran

R-8, Prathap Market
Jangpura-B,
New Delhi - 110014
Phone : (011) 25332343

redstarenglish@yahoo.co.in

Printed at Param Offestters,
A-9 Okhla, Phase-I, New
Delhi-20

should be fought tooth and nail. Our approach should be to demand a moratorium on building any further nuclear reactors till they become scientifically, technologically, environmentally and economically

safe and viable. We are reproducing two articles from individuals who are well acquainted with nuclear science. We shall continue to expose the treasonable act of UPA in passing this reactionary Bill and going for nuclear reactors supplied by US monopolies. We appeal to all progressive and patriotic forces to unite their efforts to get this Nuclear Liability Bill and all projects for nuclear reactors thrown overboard. A debate should be developed with this orientation. ●

Support Struggle of Kashmiri People For Autonomy and Self-Determination

THE DISCUSSION on the deteriorating condition in Kashmir, where more and more people are getting involved in massive movements to fight against the ever-intensifying suppressive policies of the reactionary Indian state, has exposed the real character of all the leading ruling class parties. While the central minister and National Conference leader Farooq Abdullah called for autonomy, the Congress-led UPA government is not ready to declare autonomy for Kashmir and withdraw the armed forces from policing duties. Though it has half-heartedly started talking about a political dialogue with representatives of Kashmiri people, it is not ready for

a political solution to this burning issue. At the same time the *Saffron Brigade* led by BJP and Shiv Sena repeated arrogantly that except for capturing the 'Pakistan occupied Kashmir', it is a settled problem. They vehemently opposed autonomy demand.

Even DMK, AIADMK and other regional parties did not come out in support of the autonomy demand. Though the Left Front supported the autonomy demand, their participation in the debate and views expressed by their leaders lacked any enthusiasm to fight either the suppressive policies of Indian state or to expose the *Saffron Brigade*. The Lok Sabha debate exposes the conspiracy of all ruling class parties to prolong the suffering of Kashmiri people and the complicity of the LF parties in it.

It is in this context CPI(ML) has called for observing August 30 as *Kashmir and North-East Day* demanding withdrawal of Indian army from policing duty in these areas and settling of their demands politically. Anything short of autonomy based on right of self-determination is not going to solve the issues in these regions. We call on the revolutionary left and all progressive democratic forces to actively support the struggle of the peoples of Kashmir and North-East for autonomy and withdrawal of the military and all black laws. ●



Comrade KN Ramachandran, General Secretary, CPI(ML) is addressing a seminar on "Neo-colonial Slavery and Agriculture" organised by All India Krantikari Kisan Sabh (AIKKS) at Raipur, Chhattisgarh on 14th August. Resolutions were passed in seminar supporting the ongoing land struggle based on "land to the tiller" slogan in the state and opposing the land acquisition for the MNCs and Corporate houses in the name of SEZs, infrasturctural development and industrialisation.

On 34th Death Anniversary of Mao

K.N. Ramachandran

LIKE LENIN AND STALIN, Mao was one of those great communist leaders who was continuously attacked in most heinous forms during his life time by imperialists and their lackeys. His views, teachings and the experience of Chinese revolution were distorted and attacked before and after 1949, till his death. When he died on 9th September 1976 after waging continuous ideological, political and organizational struggle to lead China along revolutionary path for almost six decades, utilizing his departure the capitalist roaders usurped power degenerating China from socialist path. At that time all these various enemies of people's democracy and socialism celebrated them. More vehemently than before they declared that socialist path has become obsolete and capitalist imperialist system marks the end of history.

Nobody should be surprised by these. As Marx and Engel pointed out in The Communist Manifesto, from the time the concepts of proletarian revolution and communism were put forward all vested interests have joined hands to exorcise the 'ghost of communism'. So what they did to Mao was nothing but a continuation of what they did to all revolutionary leaders from the time of Marx and Engels. They shall continue to wage this struggle in most dirty ways to protect their class interest. Expecting any compromise or slowing down of these heinous attacks by them means one is not firm on his class line.

Besides imperialists and their lackeys, the Soviet revisionists starting from Krushchov and all those who mechanically followed this degeneration from Marxism-Leninism like the CPI and later CPI (M) parties in India who have degenerated to social democratic path have also attacked the revolutionary contributions of Mao bitterly. For them Mao was anti hero and Deng was their real hero. None should be surprised at the heinous form of attacks waged by these lackeys of imperialism against Mao's revolutionary contributions from 1950s to this day.

But what should be given serious note is the way Mao's revolutionary teachings were distorted and attacked under various pretexts both in China and outside by those claiming to uphold him. Within China it was through a bitter struggle Mao could establish his line at the helm within the CPC during the revolutionary struggles. Once political power was captured those who had fought Mao earlier as well as new generation capitalist roaders succeeded to capture majority in CPC in its 8th Congress in 1956 under the banner of theory of productive forces. When Mao fought them and led CPC to the cultural revolution developing theory and practice of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is in socialist countries, the alien forces taking a left adventurist path under Lin Piao succeeded to weaken Mao's line. They declared that the 'Chinese path of protracted people's war' is applicable to all the countries irrespective of concrete condition there in the new era of total collapse of imperialism and world wide victory of socialism and captured leadership in the 9th Congress of 1969. Like Krushchovites they refused to recognize the neo-colonial forms of plunder developed by the US-led imperialist camp and brought great damages to the revolutionary movement, weakening the socialist forces in China. In the 10th Congress of 1973, it led to the centrists including Chou Enlai coming to

prominence opening the way to the ultimate victory of capitalist roaders after Mao's death. Only because of Mao's epochal struggles at theoretical and practical levels China could remain in socialist path from 1949 to 1976 in spite of various severe weaknesses surfaced during this period. Once Mao disappeared from the scene all his revolutionary contributions were distorted and trampled by the capitalist roaders openly. Still they claim to pursue Mao's path but converted China in to a social imperialist power contending and colluding with US imperialism for world hegemony.

Mao's great contribution was that unlike the then leaders of CPI, he creatively applied Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comintern in the concrete conditions of China leading it toward the epochal victory of NDR. In the course of this he gave his own theoretical contributions on the approach toward resolving contradictions and on Cultural Revolution. Learning from Soviet setbacks he tried to develop a socialist orientation to development perspective as explained in *Ten Major Relationships* and in the contributions about *People's Communes*.

But all those Marxist-Leninist parties which emerged in 1960s and 1970s, except for their great efforts to fight Soviet revisionist path and to re-establish the struggle for political power learning from Mao, could not assimilate the essence of Mao Tsetung's Thought in order to develop a revolutionary path concretely analyzing the world situation, and developing a path of revolution according to conditions in their own country. What they upheld in the name of Mao was the 'teachings' of Lin Piao starting from his 1966 'Long Live the victory of People's war' and ending with his new era theory. As result all these parties suffered severe setbacks and disintegrated to numerous groups. In this situation, all other alien trends gained strength and the

international communist movement confronted a real crisis. What was paraded as his theory was a great disservice to Mao's teachings which insisted that it is not the guns, but the people, people alone make history.

"Maoism" as practiced today is a great insult to Mao, the great revolutionary. It is nothing but Lin Piaoism in a more vulgarized form, reducing all political practices to militarism. In practice it disowns the great contributions of Lenin, Stalin and Mao including the Bolshevik concepts of building party surrounded by class and mass organizations, and mass line. It rejects the Marxist-Leninist teaching that it is the ideological political line which determines everything. It has reduced revolutionary practice in to vulgar pragmatism, disowning the responsibility to transform the working class in to a "class for itself" capable of leading the revolution. The others, who parrot Mao Tsetung Thought and still claim to uphold the path of protracted peoples war have reduced themselves in to a camp incapable of any creative political practice. Both these sections are doing great disservice to Mao, the great revolutionary

Mao could lead Chinese revolution to victory because he firmly upheld Marxist-Leninist theory and the guidelines provided by Communist International, and develop the theory and practice according to concrete conditions of China. He was against applying the Chinese experience mechanically in any other country as he used to explain to all delegations of fraternal parties. His five volumes of Selected Works explains how he analysed every development at international and national level and utilized it to develop revolutionary practice without compromising with imperialist forces in any form. He firmly upheld strategic goals and developed tactical line to serve them. His polemics against the revisionist Soviet leadership during the 1963 Great

Debate contained seeds to develop the understanding about post World War II imperialism in its neo-colonial form.

But once the left adventurist line of Lin Piao came to dominance, all these contributions were suppressed. And what was propagated by Lin Piao as Mao Tsetung Thought and the so called Maoists today have very little relation to Mao's teachings. It is in this context the Marxist-Leninist forces are trying to make an analysis of the fierce two line struggle within the CPC, in which at critical junctures Mao was reduced to a minority. Though he succeeded to continue his struggle against wrong line and to establish his general line regarding socialist construction in the main, the capitalist roaders went on gaining strength in the party, army and administration. The emergence of the left adventurist line instead of weakening them only helped them to gain further strength depicting even Mao's followers as Lin Piaoists. Even when Mao was alive they could put forward class collaborationist Three World Theory and later propagate it as Mao's theory.

The Marxist-Leninists have a great lot to learn from the positive and negative experience of Chinese revolution. It can be done only by correctly analyzing Mao's real contributions while rejecting what is propagated as Maoism which is nothing but Lin Piaoism. While remembering Mao on the occasion of his 34th death anniversary, let us develop our understanding about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought applying it to understand our concrete condition and to develop our revolutionary path. ●

Jharkhand: AIKAM Demonstration Before Raj Bhavan

RANCHI: On 25 August 2010, a massive rally of adivasis from various districts of Jharkhand was organised under the banner *All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha* (AIKAM). With colourful banners and placards, rally started from Albert Ekka chowk and reached Raj Bhawan marching through main city area shouting slogans. Demonstrating before governor's house a memorandum with 8-point charter of demands was submitted. Rally and demonstration was led by state leaders of AIKAM com. John Miran Munda and Dira Munda. Then a protest meeting was organized which was presided by comrade Dulari Topo. Comrades John Miran Munda, general secretary AIKAM, Phulchand Pahan, Bandhuram, Bhagat and many adivasi leaders spoke. CPI(ML) Jharkhand state secretary com. Anjani Kumar Pandey and CPI(ML) Central Committee member



com. Sivaram also addressed the public meeting. AIKAM leader from Odisha com. Abeswar Digal and from MP com. Urmila also participated in this demonstration and expressed their solidarity with the struggling adivasis of Jharkhand. ●

Launch country wide Movement against State Terror

THE UPA GOVERNMENT in continuation and as an integral part of the neo liberal policies which are increasingly pauperizing the masses, displacing adivasis and other oppressed masses from their habitats and devastating the environment has intensified the state terror against all peoples movements and all revolutionary classes and forces involving the state governments also in it. Earlier it had utilized the isolated actions of a few minority outfits to dub the whole Muslim community as suspects and launch attacks against them. Meanwhile the growing terrorist actions of the RSS Parivar were not seriously dealt. Now the isolated squad actions of CPI(Maoist) in a few pockets of five or six states in this vast country are utilized as a cover to deploy police, para-military and commando forces in ever larger numbers to suppress all people's resistances to the neo liberal policies and their horrific consequences. Besides army and air force units are also planned to be utilized in this war on the people. A glance through the central and state governments' budgets reveal that the expenditure on defence machinery, police and para-military forces has continuously increased during the last decade. It is phenomenally increased especially after the UPA government came back to power 2009.

As far as the Indian ruling system is concerned this is not a new phenomenon. Immediately after the transfer of power, utilizing the fratricidal war with Pakistan for control of Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir was put under military rule. As part of its efforts to occupy Manipur, Nagaland like areas military was deployed as occupation forces. Soon the whole North East comprising seven states came under virtual military rule. The military and para-military forces deployed there are given extra Constitutional rights through AFSPA like black acts. As proved by the latest incidents in Jammu and Kashmir, these states are turned in to killing fields for the state forces for the last many decades in the name of fighting insurgency instead of trying to resolve the political problems involved there politically.

When the 'war on terror' was launched by US imperialism in 2001 soon after the attacks on some targets in US, the NDA government and the RSS Parivar launched their own wars against the religious minorities, dubbing the entire Muslim community as suspects. While terrorist incidents involving Muslim youth were highlighted, the culprits of Babri Masjid demolition and numerous attacks on the minorities including the genocide in Gujarat were protected. Even after the UPA govt. took over in 2004 the conditions did not change significantly. Though pro minority sentiments are often expressed with electoral calculations, no concrete steps are taken to remove the atmosphere of fear among and suspicion against minorities. Apart from this the dalits are coming under increasing attacks. But the central and state governments refuse to take stringent action against the Brahmanic forces responsible for these attacks. Now Maoist actions are utilized as a pretext to suppress all people's resistance movements, democratic forces and the communist revolutionary forces as a whole.

During the last two decades, after imperialist globalization policies were imposed and all welfare policies existing previously were increasingly removed with the role of the state machinery reduced to maintenance of law and order in the interest of elite classes, prices of essential commodities, unemployment and under employment have sky rocketed. More than two lakhs peasants have

committed suicide. Agricultural land is getting more and more concentrated in the hands of landlords, land mafia and corporate houses. Millions of poor are forced to flee rural areas in search of livelihood. In the name of SEZs, infrastructural projects corporate enterprises etc. millions of acres of land taken over displacing many millions. Education, healthcare etc are commercialized. Public distribution system is being abandoned. Against all these people are angry. Instead of changing these anti people policies the central and state governments are speeding them up. As a result militant people's movements are coming up practically in all states spontaneously or in organized forms.

The CPI(Maoist) is not involved in these mass movements as it has abandoned the building of class and mass movements. It is purely following a militarist line. But still it is a political force. So it should be addressed politically. Instead the central and state governments are utilizing it as a cover to attack all mass movements dubbing them as Maoist.

For this purpose black laws like UAPA and numerous others are imposed. Besides under Salwa Judum the BJP led government in Chattisgarh has imposed state terror in some areas in most pernicious manner making the adivasis to fight each other. Similar steps are taken by state governments of WB, Orissa, Jharkhand etc. Besides Operation Green Hunt is launched deploying hundreds of thousands of police, para-military and commando forces. Under the cover of fake encounters many are killed. In short, state terror is unscrupulously launched and the state machinery is made increasingly fascist. Even the judiciary is acting in consonance with it.

In this situation, it is the task of the revolutionary forces to unite the democratic forces on a broad platform and mobilize the masses to recognize this growing threat and to fight against it. CPI(ML) calls on all democratic forces to rally for this purpose. ●

IT IS a telling indication of the abysmal depth to which the CPI(M) has sunk that the party has dedicated an entire editorial of the August 15, 2010 issue of its weekly organ *People's Democracy* to taking the central government to task for not going all out to ruthlessly crush the Maoists into extinction. Shrieking lunatically like a banshee in distress, the said editorial chastises the central government thus: "The prime minister has repeatedly asserted that Maoist violence constitutes 'the gravest threat to India's internal security'. Yet, its own cabinet colleague [read Mamata Banerjee], under the leadership of this very prime minister, openly collaborates with Maoist violence and defends the attempted subversion of parliamentary democracy." And how exactly has Mamata Banerjee sinned? This is what the editorial says: "She has openly advocated the withdrawal of the operations of the security forces against the Maoist violence. She, in fact, has gone to the extent of asserting that Maoist leader Azad was 'murdered' and not killed in an encounter as claimed by the security forces." Can a so-called 'left' party go further right than this?

Clearly, the CPI(M) has no qualms about veering sharply to the right and staying put there. It takes pride in echoing the prime minister and the home minister's hilarious words that 'Maoist violence' – and not poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment, as any sincere observer will

Mamata in Lalgargh: A Brief Analysis

Sharmistha Choudhury

claim – constitutes the gravest threat to India's internal security. Like a twin of the Congress, it refuses to acknowledge that reaction breeds revolution and, as long as the state continues to exercise its brutal dictatorship over the overwhelming majority of the population, so long will the masses continue to erupt in violent rebellion. The CPI(M) regards the Maoists as an unholy force because they have dared to challenge the state, because they have given the call for revolution, because they have stood up for the poor and the downtrodden against the bourgeoisie and its political representatives! Not only that, its primary criticism against Mamata Banerjee is not that her Trinamool Congress is a part of the central government that has unleashed a reign of terror on the people of Lalgargh, but rather that she has – albeit very hesitantly – asked for the withdrawal of the security forces! It does not accuse Mamata Banerjee of being party to the murder of Com. Azad through her support to the UPA government, but rather takes her to task for hinting that the Maoist politburo member was 'murdered' and not killed in an encounter as claimed by the security forces and the government. The CPI(M) has taken upon itself the responsibility of defending India's 'unity and integrity'. And in doing so, it has blatantly sided with the anti-people, bourgeois state and against all detractors, protestors and rebels.

The CPI(M) continues to be pathetically unaware of the fact that its assertion of a Trinamool-Maoist nexus is grossly unsuccessful in currying favour either with the masses or with the Congress party. The masses, especially in West Bengal, have rejected the CPI(M) and will not return to its fold despite whoever Mamata Banerjee courts – be it the Maoists or the Congress. On the other hand, the Congress too cannot afford to proceed with summarily annihilating the Maoists and for every Chidambaram baying for the rebels' blood, the party has a Sonia Gandhi, a Manmohan Singh and a Digvijay Singh to balance things and talk tentatively of a peace process. Unfortunately, the CPI(M) is yet to see that protestors of all shades have the sympathy of the masses and not the self-professed status-quoists and defenders of the state.

Which is why, Trinamool Congress supremo Mamata Banerjee is such an asset to the bourgeois state. The state can trust her to make the right noises at the right places. To elaborate: On August 9, Mamata Banerjee held a mass meeting in Lalgargh. She gathered at her side supposedly apolitical activist luminaries like Swami Agnivesh, Medha Patkar and Mahasweta Devi. The People's Committee against Police Atrocities – the organization that has been leading the movement in Lalgargh – rallied behind her. Maoist leaders voiced their support for her from secret locations. And people flooded the meeting ground. Ms Banerjee was in her element as she promised the Lalgargh people the earth – if only they voted for her in the coming Assembly elections. She urged the Maoists to sit for talks with the government and promised to be the mediator. She played to the gallery, brazenly putting her own government in a spot by pooh-poohing the theory that Azad was 'killed in an encounter'. The meeting, from the point of view of the state, was an unqualified success. Not a word did Ms Banerjee say about the problems facing the people of Lalgargh, about the daily torture and humiliation they have to suffer at the hands of the joint forces, about their demand for

Varga Porattam

Organ of Tamil Nadu State
Committee of CPI(ML)

PT Shanmuga Sundaram
No. - 10
Gangai Konda Shozan Street
MGR Nagar
Chennai
Tamil Nadu - 600 078

dignity, about the scourge of poverty and marginalization. Lalgarh could remain as a festering sore, with the Maoists and the joint forces locked in prolonged combat, and the state could presumptuously retain its excuse for victimizing *adivasis*, enacting black laws and crushing people’s movements.

The ‘road show’ in Lalgarh not only catapulted Ms Banerjee on to centre stage in national politics, it also placed her in a win-win situation. Ms Banerjee is still a very important part of the central government and consequently party to its repressive measures against the poor in general and the Maoists in particular. But, unlike the CPI(M), she has opted for a seemingly non-antagonistic approach to the Maoists. By offering to act as mediator between her government and the Maoists, she has ensured that the CPI(M) would soon have to make an unceremonious exit from the scene. If the ‘peace talks’ do materialize, the CPI(M) – railing alone against the Maoists – will be left friendless, while Mamata and the Congress share the glory. If the talks fail to take off or even collapse halfway, Mamata will emerge as the most democratic of them all, having tried her ultimate best to give the rebels a chance. Just as she had Swami Agnivesh and Medha Patkar and a host of intellectuals rooting for her, so would a vast section of the democratic-minded people concede that Mamata was god’s answer to tyranny on earth (at least in Bengal). Her position as the only viable alternative to the CPI(M) would be solidly consolidated.

As yet, the Maoists are not very sure about what they should do. Mamata’s proposal has put them in a fix. They are reacting to the offer of talks in a shaky, defensive manner. On their part, there is no assertion of a demand for talks. Nor are they keen on mobilizing the people so that the government is under public pressure to sit for talks. They are treating the possibility of having to sit for talks with the government as a defeat and not as a victory. Instead of compelling the government to enter into dialogue with them and either accept their demands or

be publicly disgraced, the Maoists are trying to trick their way out of any possibility of dialogue. It is as if the government’s crackdown on the one hand, and the people’s fast-ebbing sympathy on the other, are forcing the Maoists to agree to talks, but they are constantly looking for a way out. Equally outrageous is their open adoration for Ms Banerjee and her Trinamool Congress, representatives of the more reactionary section of the ruling class. Reluctance to keep politics in command, non-reliance on the power of the people and complete dependence on squad actions to capture state power, have combined to put the Maoists at a grave disadvantage vis-à-vis the state.

It remains to be seen whether the revolutionary left, with its sketchy social presence, can reorganize itself to meet the challenge of the times and give the masses a credible alternative as opposed to the Congress-CPI(M)-Trinamool-Maoist choice imposed on them. ●



Indefinite dharna by Coco Cola Contract Workers Union (TUCI) at Koppal, Karnataka

TO SAY THAT Kashmir is burning again would not be quite accurate. It has been burning since 1947, sometimes in raging flames and at other times in glowing embers. Call it *intifada*, call it what you like, the latest, massive uprising in Kashmir — one of so many, big and small, that one tends to lose count — has only one core issue, the self-determination of the Kashmiri people. The quislings of Kashmir belonging to the National Conference, the Congress, the BJP and the CPI(M), meeting recently under the aegis of the Prime Minister to quell the rising tide of insurrection in Kashmir, also talked about a core issue. But their core issue was law and order under the jackboot of the Indian army and paramilitary forces, not self-determination. Maybe, they could hold a judicial inquiry here (with results coming in twenty years hence), a few transfers there or, at most, suspensions of lowly members of the deployed forces, etcetera, etcetera. The real core issue should not be on the table ever, as far as the minions of the Indian state are concerned.

By now almost the whole of India knows what law and order actually means, not just in Kashmir but in Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and the whole of the Northeast, when spouted by the likes of Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya and other leaders of the CPI(M), Modi and his acolytes in the BJP and the Abdulla dynasty of Kashmir. Law and order means the unhindered right of the state to murder (known to suave civil rights jargon as extrajudicial killings), torture, rape, pillage and burn at will. Kashmir is where this law and order regime began, in 1947 itself, with ample accumulated colonial knowledge and has surely graduated to higher levels through the loving embrace of our dear friends in Mossad and the CIA. (One Mossad boss came to Kashmir to train us in the methods “we use” to kill

On Kashmir Question

Santosh Rana

Palestinians.) During a rough count some twenty years ago, we had estimated that nearly fifty thousand Kashmiri men, women and children had been slaughtered by the Indian law and order regime. It is quite possible that the number has now exceeded beyond double that figure.

Self-determination is a word that flies directly against the ethos of “unity and integrity” that our leaders and the big capitalist press [including the CPI (M)-leaning Hindu] spout all the time. From the Congress and the BJP to the CPI (M), these leaders ready their poison sacks in order to bite whenever the word is mentioned. It is not as if these leaders do not know that several covenants of the UN to which India is a signatory mention this word as a human right that cannot be transgressed with impunity. And there cannot be any question of the national integrity of *India* as far as Kashmir is concerned. It is a territory, disputed from before the creation of the Republic, by two state parties, India and Pakistan, and a people, the overwhelming majority of Kashmiris. First and foremost, that dispute has to be settled. *Vis-à-vis* Pakistan and the existence of the dispute in the UN, India had proposed a plebiscite of all Kashmiris under the supervision of the UN and then has stalled it for generations. *Vis-à-vis* the people of Kashmir, we signed an agreement (the Delhi Agreement) with Sheikh Abdulla, the undisputed leader of the Kashmiris at the time, and went back on it viciously, incarcerating Abdulla without trial for long years. We then emasculated our own constitution’s Article 370 under which Kashmiris could have enjoyed a little bit of autonomy. It is a story of false promises, prevarication and the brazen declaration of might is right.

Without mincing words, it is clear that the Indian state’s might has been genocidal in Kashmir. The latest exhibit for posterity is the arrangement by which the personnel of our armed forces get large sums of money and promotion according to the number of Kashmiri scalps they collect. And we continue to think of ourselves as a civilised, democratic country. But of course our genocide specialists are no match for those in the US, Israel, and Europe on account of their mastery of the universe in apparently the only civilisation there is.

More genocide or not, the situation in Kashmir is now careening out of the control of the Indian state in two directions. The first direction is towards the terrorism of the Bombay kind. In all the no doubt substantial talk about Pakistani state involvement, one fact has been carefully hidden away: that the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the perpetrator of that criminal act, is a Kashmiri group that seeks through terrorism to liberate its land and which is unconnected to either the Taliban (Pakistani or Afghan) or al-Qaeda. The latter’s vision of a Wahabi, theocratic state will not sit comfortably in the syncretist milieu of Kashmir and the humus from which both the Talibans have emerged is a long-standing Pashtun nationalism.

If there are very strict media gags, if elections are rigged, if peaceful protests are silenced by bullets and if a whole people are treated as enemy, then terrorism will flourish. Even if the Pakistani state succumbs under the combined pressure of India and our US friends to hand the whole Lashkar leadership over to be gobbled up on our pathetic judicial table, terrorism will continue to flourish if the conditions for its gestation remain. Another Lashkar will definitely arrive on the scene, given the weaknesses of the secular liberationists in Kashmir. Along with

other terrorisms and the extensive spread of left adventurism, combined with the deepening mood in the millions of the poor and the dispossessed of being at the end of their tether, this terrorism is going to make an impact significant enough to shake up the state. The patriotism of the coffee drinkers at the trendy hangouts in the malls will then be of no avail to this state. At the moment we are in serious danger of joining Afghanistan and Pakistan as imperialist sponsored failed states.

Afghanistan and Pakistan point to the second direction in which the Indian state is careening out of control. The Indian state's well-known expansionism has always been hyperactive in the region, earning the well-deserved suspicion of all its neighbours. It has always had a keen eye on Afghanistan. During the regime of Dowd when the Afghans were very keen to preserve their relative independence by playing off against each other the various powers intent on establishing exclusive hegemony, the Indians and the Pakistanis, backed and encouraged by the Russians and the Americans respectively, played out their contention by the liberal use of military and civilian resources. But once Dowd was ousted by the pro-Russian People's Democratic Party, the Indian ascendancy as the sub-hegemon began and rose to great heights once Russian troops were on the ground. When the Russians left, the Pakistani star rose and the Indians were in their weakest position in Afghanistan.

Nine years after the US occupation of Afghanistan, the final tally has begun there. The Americans and their so-called ISAF have more or less conceded that the war in Afghanistan has gone the way of the previous British and Russian attempts to occupy that country. Now there is much talk about an exit strategy which, in less elevated prose, amounts to face saving. The big question at the moment is what happens strategically to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Kashmir after the American withdrawal.

The two big powers in the region, both with a nuclear arsenal and locked militarily in a strategic stalemate, are contending for two territories, Kashmir and Afghanistan. The Indian state is now super-active in Afghanistan, spending billions of rupees there, ostensibly to build infrastructure but really to help ISAF communications. It has also stationed thousands of well trained paramilitary troops to repel attacks by the Taliban on the facilities created by it. If the Taliban returns to power in Afghanistan, it doesn't matter whether in sole charge or as part of a coalition to save US imperialist faces as it would soon devour any coalition partners, the Indian state will see itself pushed out of Afghanistan once again.

No matter how shrilly the Pakistan government denies its continuing involvement with the Taliban in Afghanistan, this involvement is the cutting edge of Pak diplomacy. The only leverage the Pakistanis have with the US (and India) is to play the double game of support and sabotage, knowing full well that landlocked Afghanistan can be supplied militarily only through Pak territory, an imperative that will remain dire even if the US imperialists lose all sense and occupy Pakistan. It is a very strong bargaining position indeed, one that the US imperialists are having to swallow even though they have known the Pakistani game long before Wikileaks revealed it to the world. This bargaining position is predicated on Pakistan's fear that if the Taliban were to be defeated, then they would have to face Indian expansionism from nearly every side. Instead, Pakistan wants a peaceful Taliban rule in Afghanistan (minus al-Qaeda) and a mutually acceptable settlement of the Kashmir dispute as the conditions for a lasting peace in the sub-continent. Without conceding governance to the Afghan Taliban, there is no way that Pakistan sees a way out of the Pashtun fires within its own territories that threaten to spill over into every corner of the country. It also calculates that a burning Kashmir would pose the same type of dilemmas as Afghanistan does today. Make India settle Kashmir, withdraw from Afghanistan

and we will dress up for the Peace Ball, Pakistan is saying in effect. For the US, withdrawing from Afghanistan is the only choice left, but what of Kashmir?

Pakistan has been a long term ally of the US; the Indians are also now firmly in the US camp. In expectation of such a wonderful consummation of their desire, during the Clinton administration the US started to engage both countries on the question of Kashmir. In fact, by the time of the first Bush administration, there was a back-channel agreement, according to Strobe Talbot who brokered the deal on behalf of the US. The two state parties in the Kashmir dispute had apparently agreed to a modified "Irish" solution: a protracted, step-by-step move towards granting extensive autonomy to the people of both Pak- and Indian-occupied Kashmir, softening the LAC for trade and other interactions, gradual withdrawal of armed forces, etc.

There is no doubt that the present US administration is exerting a great deal of pressure on its Indian lackeys to come to a settlement with Pakistan as soon as possible. Its condition in the Afghan war is desperate enough and it would like to withdraw militarily as soon as it is possible to put out the fires in the region. After the continuing bloodshed, the Kashmiri people might see some light at the end of the tunnel. But much will depend on the new generation of fighters who have so gloriously emerged on the scene. ●

[Comrade Santosh Rana is the General Secretary of PCC, CPI(ML)]

Sreni Sangram

**Monthly Organ of
Odisha SC of CPI(ML)**

**Inquilab Bhavan
Plot No - 1819,
(Opposite N-6/10)
IRC Village
Bhubaneswar,
Odisha - 751 015**

ON JULY 5, 2010, the security forces comprising of JAP and SAF under the leadership of E.H. Siddique the officer-in-charge of Tamar Police Station arrived to Gunti village and picked up 45 year-old Etwa Munda of Papirdah village comes under Tamar police station of Ranchi district in Jharkhand, when he was in the house of his relative Manav Munda. The police also caught a girl Bengi Kumari and took both of them to Jabla pahari (forest). After sometime, the villagers heard the sound of firing and rushed toward the spot. They were shocked to see the dead body of Etwa Munda laying on the ground. The police framed the cold-blooded murder of Etwa Munda as a result of an encounter between the police and the Maoists. The police also depicted him as a hardcore Maoist who was close to the Maoist zonal commander Kundan Pahan. It may be that Etwa Munda was not an innocent person but under which laws the police killed him in a fake encounter is the question needs to be answered.

Since the villagers were fully aware of the cold-blooded murder of Etwa Munda. Therefore they spared Bengi Kumari and threatened the villagers and family members of the deceased for keeping quiet. However, the villagers wanted to raise the issue and approached a local activist Xavier Soy and told him about the fake encounter. Meanwhile, when the police came to know about Xavier Soy attempting to unearth the fact of the fake encounter and encouraging the villagers for raising the issue, they put him with his school going son behind the bars alleging that they were keeping Maoist literature in their house. They did not allow even the Human Rights activists and the journalists to go to the area. Finally, the police succeeded in shutting up the villagers' mouths and in framing the cold-blooded murder as a case of encounter between the police and the Maoists.

Tamar police again picked up another villager Rajesh Singh Munda

Fake Encounters in Jharkhand

Gladson Dungdung

of Papridah village on August 1, 2010 before dawn from his village when he was sleeping. They took him near Koja River in Heso forest and gunned down after branding him as a hardcore Maoist and aide of the Maoist zonal commander Kundan Pahan. The former Jharkhand chief Minister Arjun Munda raised the question and demanded CBI inquiry alleging that police killed Rajesh Singh Munda in a cold-blooded manner. He also said that the Naxalism would grow if innocent villagers were being coined as Naxalites and killed in fake encounters. He further said that the police kill innocent Adivasis precisely because they are voiceless. Perhaps, this is the first time in Jharkhand a political leader has raised questions against the cold-blooded murder. Obviously, most of the people keep quiet on fake encounters because these licensed killings are not only accepted in our so-called civilized society but also applaud. The killers are made heroes while it is claimed that Indian society's foundation lies on the non-violence ethos.

It would be very interesting to know whether Etwa Munda and Rajesh Singh Munda were members of the Maoist groups? The circumstances suggest that they were not the members of the Maoist groups. For instance, the Maoists had called off 'India bandh' on July 7th after alleged killing of their leader Azad. Similarly, on 8 August 2010, they shut down Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal against the arrest of Maoist leader Rajesh alias Udayji from Ranchi. However, they did not even issue a statement after brutal killings of Etwa Munda and Rajesh Singh Munda by the security forces, which is a clearly indication that they were not the members of the Maoist groups. However, the villagers do not deny Etwa Munda's involvement in some illegal activities but denied him being the member of Maoist groups.

Indeed, the police often conduct fake encounters for ensuring medal, award and promotion for them but now the things have changed. The purposes of cold-blooded murders are entirely different in the red corridor. The security forces have been organizing the fake encounters in the forests with the intention of frightening the villagers so that they can stop supporting the Maoists. It is to show the brave work of the security forces to the city dwellers especially the middle class for getting their support for bigger assault against the Maoists. It is also to bring back the lost morale of the security forces. And of course, it is to shield their failures and to justify the so-called anti-Naxal operations of the Indian government.

For instance, on July 1 police had organized a mass meeting at Sarjormdih village near Bunda police station of Ranchi district against Maoists, where 3000 villagers of 24 villages had participated and challenged the Maoists. Instead of surrendering, the Maoists killed Sandu Munda on July 3, who was the first speaker in the meeting. The police had instigated the villagers for going against the Maoists without ensuring their security. Therefore police had faced heavy criticism. In this situation, there was no other way to counter the criticism. Therefore they killed Etwa Munda and Rajesh Singh Munda in cold-blooded manner and depicted them as hardcore Maoists. Most of the people just followed the media's story and kept quiet.

Since, the so-called anti-Naxal operations have very clear link to the corporate interests one should understand the media's silence on the state sponsored human rights violations. Meanwhile, it is very strange to know about the silence of human rights groups on humiliation, molestation, torture, rape and cold-blooded murder by the security forces during the ongoing anti-Naxal operations in the state in the name of promotion and protection of the human rights. Perhaps, these human rights groups are afraid of the state agencies since anyone who raises the issues of human rights violation in the red corridor is coined as a Maoist supporter. But does it mean they should keep silence?

Indian constitution does not deny the right to life to anyone residing in the country. Similarly, our corporate home minister P Chidambaram while responding to a question of alleged killing of Maoist leader Azad in the parliament said: "whether somebody is a good man or bad man, he should not be killed in a fake encounter." He further said: "when I took the charge of my ministry, I made it clear that there would no fake encounter killings by central agency". What does it mean? It clearly means the Indian state has been carrying on the fake encounters, which must be a serious concern for us.

There are some very significant points in the so-called encounter cases. When police kill any person either in a genuine or fake encounter, the person is coined as the top Maoist (area commander or zonal commander) and when the Maoists attack on police the most affected are small policemen. Why are the police not able to target the guerillas though they are always able to target the top guns of the Maoists? Similarly, whenever police catch a person, he is propagated as a hardcore Maoist. The strange thing is at the end of the day police fail to provide sufficient evidence in the court and most of the so-called hardcore Maoists are acquitted due to lack of evidence. What does it mean? It clearly means the police victimize the innocent people and put them behind the bars. Can the Indian State tell its people that how many Maoists were convicted for last four decades?

The peculiar thing in every case of encounter is that the Maoists fire more bullets on the security forces than the security forces fire on the Maoists. Ironically, on most occasions none of the security force gets injured and the Maoists are killed. Therefore, it is very difficult to understand the puzzle of encounter. In the case of Rajesh Singh Munda, the police claim of the Maoist firing 300 rounds bullets on the Police and the Police fired merely 150 rounds in their response. However, Rajesh Munda was shot dead and not a single policeman got injury. Of course, one would never like the soldier to be injured but we have to understand the logic of so-called 'encounter'.

The so-called educated people who always raised the questions on intention of the Human Rights Groups and attempted to brand them as the Maoists over ground, but they must understand that we are the concerned and tax payer citizens of India, who have given mandate to Indian state for promoting, protecting and ensuring everyone's constitutional rights. Therefore, even if the Maoists create problems in the country, the responsibility lies with the Indian state. We also have every right to question the Indian state whenever and wherever the human rights of the marginalized people are violated. Anyone who is annoyed with the questions does not deserve to be in power. If P. Chidambaram does not want to hear our cries, he must step down from the home ministry immediately because the buck would always stop at his desk whenever and wherever the central forces violate the human rights of the people in India.

Whether Etwa Munda and Rajesh Singh Munda were innocent or guilty, their constitutional rights – right to life was taken away by the mighty guns and the state is responsible for it therefore it must tell its people the truth. Can we accept killings of anyone either legally or illegally in the civilized society? Are we really civilized people? How can we take anyone's life when we cannot give life to anyone? In some cases of licensed killings the state may be legally right but would be always ethically wrong. And of course, the killing is a sin before humanity. Therefore, we must ask the state to uphold the constitution of India and we should not accept the cold-blooded murder in any circumstance. The state is duty bound to promote, protect and ensure the human rights of everyone, therefore it cannot get away from its responsibility. And of course, we should not let it escape. ●

[Gladson Dungdung is a Human Rights activist from Jharkhand. gladsonhractivist@gmail.com]



[An orientation note prepared by the Central Executive Committee of CPI(ML) for initiating a dialogue among concerned scientists, engineers, doctors, ecological and political activists in order to face the challenge posed before humanity by the ecological destruction leading to global warming and other consequences as a result of the 'development policy' advocated and imposed by the capitalist-imperialist system and its compradors - RS]

On People's Alternative to Present Environment and Development Policies

1. The intensification of *global warming* during the last decade has posed growing challenges before the humankind. According to many studies if the global warming and the factors responsible for it are allowed to continue at the present *rate* the human race, or at least most of it, shall not be able to survive this century. That even the imperialist powers and those who think and act like them, who are in power, are aware of this fact is evident from their discussions in G-8, G-20 meetings, the resolutions adopted often by the UN and debates taking place in WTO and other platforms. For many years the NGOs have tried to monopolise the debate on environmental questions, not bothering to point out the fundamental reasons for the ever-intensifying pollution and ecological destruction.

2. At the same time some of the them and different agencies and individuals influenced by obscurantist ideas are spreading 'back to the nature' like recipes to ecological problems, helping the imperialist system to perpetuate its so called development model in their own ways. Though environment ministries are functioning at central and state levels in India, very little is done by them to address the grave issues linked to the ecological problems faced by the country and the people. On the whole, the ruling imperialist system, their lackeys, most of the bourgeois scholars etc. are satisfied with giving superficial answers to this grave problem which threatens the very existence of the human race itself.

3. On the other hand, in spite of the great contribution of Engels in his famous work "Dialectics of Nature", in which he cautioned against the contradiction between nature and people turning antagonistic, if treated in an antagonistic manner, it can be seen that all the Communist parties which degenerated to revisionist path went against his teachings. Abandoning dialectical approach and embracing metaphysical positions whether in erstwhile Soviet Union, China or other former socialist countries, or even where they came to power under bourgeois democratic system, as in Indian states like West Bengal, Kerala or Tripura, they pursued metaphysical approaches neglecting the increasing damage done to environment under the imperialist dictated policies. The revisionists 'pooh-poohed' all those who called for effective steps to counter ecological destruction, ridiculing them as 'environmental fundamentalists' without recognising the fundamental difference between genuine concern for ecological destruction and the attitude of so called 'echo-fundamentalists'. Sometimes they became more dangerous advocates of environmental destruction in the name of creating more employment, more electricity, more 'development', etc. In short, the imperialists and their lackeys, as well as the degenerates from the path of Marxism-Leninism, all played important roles in turning the contradiction between nature and humankind antagonistic.

4. As Marx and Engels pointed out in the Communist *Manifesto*, capitalism started 'recreating the world in its own image' soon after its emergence. Starting from the period of *primitive accumulation of capital*, and proceeding to modern 'industrial development', the plunder of natural wealth was pursued in wanton manner. Under the development perspective of capitalism followed by that of monopoly capitalism or imperialism, natural wealth was plundered at an ever-increasing level. The pattern of agriculture and the seeds developed through great human efforts in the course of millenniums were subverted in few decades after World War II. Genetically motivated seeds and agricultural products whose consequences on nature and humankind can be determined only under observations lasting many decades are introduced in a hasty manner. Chemical industries are developed in the name of producing fertilisers, pesticides, etc. and for military purposes without necessary precautions causing Bhopal like massacres by the MNCs with grave long term consequences. Even after experiencing the grave effects of nuclear bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear arms race is continuing in spite of the claims that the so called 'Cold War' is over.. Even after Chernobyl and Three Mile Island incidents and in spite of the failure so far to develop nuclear waste disposal methods and for full-proof methods of nuclear radiation leakage, the comprador government in India under instigation from the imperialist powers, especially US, is promoting mega nuclear energy plants as in Jaitapur, Maharashtra. In short under neo colonisation the devastation of nature has reached alarming levels.

5. About control of carbon gases lot of discussion has already taken place. Many rounds of WTO discussions have taken place. But the petroleum-automobile lobby led by MNCs and Corporate forces are not ready to cut down production of cars and other private vehicles and to encourage community transport systems like buses, trains, water transport, etc. Both through construction of express ways and flyovers and through manifold increase in automobiles more and more ecological damage is created. Consumerism

promoted in numerous ways also promotes projects detrimental to environment. In spite of it, the Kuoto protocol and Bali discussions like exercises are utilised in order to perpetuate the imperialist development model and the vast difference in the standard of living of the imperialist countries and countries under neo colonisation .As capital becomes increasingly speculative and profit motive and market fetishism is sky-rocketing, conditions for all round pollution are created. On the whole, the ‘development perspective’ and ‘growth indexes’ advocated and imposed by the hegemonic imperialist system and the comprador rulers in the neo-colonies utilising the contributions of science and technology for their class interests are the basic causes of environmental destruction which has reached phenomenally high level.

6. The pseudo character of the environmental concern advocated by the millions of NGOs, political organisations like *Green Parties*, which emerged in European countries, petty-bourgeois idealists, etc. is that none of them try to put forward the basic reasons for present catastrophic levels reached by environmental problems. None of them attack the way in which scientific and technological gains are utilised for the class interests of the MNCs, corporate houses and other elite classes. None of them expose the so-called ‘development perspective’ of the imperialist system which is primarily responsible for present grave situation. All of them by taking non-class approaches divert attention from the basic reasons for global warming and other ecological problems endangering the very existence of human race itself.

7. The history of human society and environment during the last 3-4 centuries show that from the time capitalism emerged, everything in the world, including the scientific and technological development, were entirely utilised for accumulation of capital and profit by the capitalist system and then the capitalist-imperialist system. The capitalist development perspective always was/is focussed on how to accumulate profit by exploiting natural and human resources to maximum possible extent. As a result, whatever ‘progress’ is achieved is at the cost of destroying the ecological balance. What is required is an alternative development perspective which shall ensure progress on an egalitarian basis along with maintaining ecological balance. As imperialism will not allow such an alternative development system so long as it is in dominance, it can be put into practice only by overthrowing the imperialist system.

8. It means that in order to ensure the conditions for the existence of human society combating the destructive consequences of the imperialist concepts of development which are destroying the ecological system, a change in economic political system from imperialist barbarism to socialism is needed. On developing the socialist path there are many things to learn from the experience of socialist construction in Soviet Union. But the degeneration of its leadership later to capitalist path destroyed the positive aspects of this experience. It was by learning from this negative experience Mao had tried to chart the development of China based on his writing, ‘Ten major relationships’. But the post- Mao leadership abandoned all that was taught by him including ‘peoples communes’ and took capitalist path in the name of ‘four modernisations’. It is a fact that the socialism that was practiced in the erstwhile socialist countries had failed to a great extent to become an alternative to imperialism and had lost its libertarian, egalitarian, democratic and humane values in later years due to degeneration to social democratic positions, or to imitating imperialist development perspectives. So, assimilating what was positive and rejecting all that was negative, socialist values should be resurrected, including a basically different, alternative development perspective which is not antagonistic to nature.

9. It is a historic task before all progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces to expand their struggle against imperialist barbarity and comprador ruling

systems to evolving an alternative development perspective with socialist values. After the experience of what happened to Soviet Union and China, today the struggle for political power becomes meaningless and fails to win over the vast masses to this cause if it is not combined with putting forward an alternative to imperialist development concepts which are proved devastating, and by educating the masses about it.

10. It is in this context an active forum for taking up studies on ecological protection and striving to develop an alternative development policy has become necessary to initiate discussion on it at various levels and to win over broad sections of people for it. When all the political parties who are sharing power at centre or in the states, alone or as alliance, are competing with each other in implementing the imperialist dictated neo-liberal policies which are intensifying the ecological destruction, such a forum uniting all concerned sections shall immensely help to pinpoint the devastating effects of present ‘development’ policies under neo-liberal banner and to initiate efforts for an alternative to it.

11. This note is distributed among party committees and concerned individuals who are already working in this field with a request for their suggestions and approach papers of their own so that a preliminary round of discussion can be organised in the second half of September. ●

Sakhav

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

**Manager
“Sakhav”**

**Hashmi Lane
Pachalam PO
Kochi - 12
Kerala**

BY THE second quarter of 2010, overtaking Japan which had been holding the position of world's No. 2 economy for more than four decades, China emerged as the second biggest economy in terms of Gross Domestic Product behind US which still dominates as the largest economy in the world. In view of China's double-digit GDP growth rate, currently at 10.3 percent per annum, which has been the case for the past two decades, bourgeois economists have predicted that within a span of two decades China will overtake the US to become the No.1 economy in the world.

Of course this is not an overnight development. Ever since the capitalist roaders led by Deng embarked on a hectic program of transforming People's Republic of China into a capitalist state, growth of Chinese economy and its integration with global market have been hottest topic of discussion among imperialist circles. By the end of 2009 itself, replacing Germany, China became world's biggest exporter. In respect of the market for several durable consumer items China is surging ahead. It is only in the middle of this year that surpassing the US, China became the biggest car market. It is also reported that China's production of steel is almost equal to that of the rest of the world combined, a position held by US in 1945. Western media also claims that overtaking US, China has become the largest consumer of energy in the world. No doubt, China's emergence as a leading capitalist-imperialist power calls for basic alterations in neo-colonial power balances and inter-imperialist contradictions.

TUCI Bulletin

180-C, 1st floor,
Dharavi Koliwada,
JJ Keni Lane,
Dharavi Road
Mumbai - 400017

China As World's 2nd Largest Economy

P.J. James

At the same time, the concrete realities of China are fundamentally different and even unique in relation to other imperialist powers. In terms of total output though China is the second largest, its per capita income is still one of the lowest in the world and with respect to per capita GDP ranking, its position was 98th in 2009. China's per capita GDP of \$3600 is just only one-tenth of US per capita income of more than \$ 36600. At the same time, China is becoming one of the most unequal economies of the world, and in terms of the number of billionaires in the world, China ranks only behind the US. Almost a quarter of Chinese population subsists on one American dollar or less a day, and is therefore much below the poverty line drawn by World Bank. One obvious reason for the rapid economic growth as well as its fastest integration with global market has been capital's super-exploitation of low-wage workers and China's position as a cheap labour export platform. On account of the destruction of erstwhile communes and growing disarticulation between agriculture and industry, tens of millions of displaced rural workers and unemployed youth are flocking to the special economic and industrial zones offering themselves at the cheapest possible wages under highly oppressive working conditions. It is said that China is witnessing the biggest internal migration ever taken place in recorded history. Speculation and corruption associated with financial parasitism are rampant. The economic divisions and social tensions arising from these objective conditions are bound to intensify in the coming days.

In the present neo-colonial order, China's ascendancy as an imperialist power and the relative decline in the economic position of US, Japan and other imperialist powers will have its repercussions in the inter-imperialist rivalry for export markets and sources of raw materials. As China is transforming as a low wage manufacturing hub, the huge Chinese demand for energy and raw materials is felt in China's efforts to carve out neo-colonial spheres of influence in African and Asian countries. And this is bringing China into contradiction with other imperialist powers at a global level. China's maritime and territorial interests are also a topic of debate in recent years. Recent American allegations regarding the "lack of transparency" concerning Chinese military affairs and Japan's strengthening military alliance with America are clear manifestations of the emerging frictions among imperialist powers. American efforts to offset its economic decline through aggressive military means are also to be evaluated in relation to this. As the entire history of imperialism proves, shift in the inter-imperialist equilibrium on account of the competing interests of declining powers and rising rivals may again lead to open conflicts among them.

However, China is not immune from the global economic crisis that erupted since the middle of 2008. While this crisis has sharpened the cut-throat competition among the imperialist powers for markets and investment, over-supply of finance and recession in production and employment are creating havoc everywhere. It is also a fact that unlike the western imperialist powers, China has completely lost the youthfulness and vigour characteristic of early capitalism and the latter's embrace of capitalism takes place at a time when on account of finance capital's extreme parasitism and decadence the capitalist-imperialist system has already become a social anachronism. Obviously, the

response of the bureaucratic capitalists in China in spite of its relative upgrading in the global economic ladder to the worldwide economic slowdown has been the very same pro-capitalist and anti-working class neoliberal prescription practiced elsewhere. For, following the footsteps of American and European imperialists, in 2008 itself, the Chinese rulers had announced a huge stimulus package aimed at appeasing the speculative financiers. As in America and Europe, when the crisis spread to the flourishing real estate and financial spheres, in view of maintaining the country's double digit inflated growth rate, in 2009 the Chinese government increased the stimulus package composed of cheap bank loans and tax exemptions amounting to \$ 1.4 trillion. While it boosted property and financial speculation, the inflationary pressures arising from it coupled with the austerity measures drastically reduced the real income and purchasing power of the working class and broad masses. For almost two decades, the Chinese 'economic miracle' has been singularly export-driven. The shrinking of the global market and the consequent reduction in export due to the economic meltdown has, therefore, been more disruptive to China. The effort on the part of the new bourgeoisie in China is to overcome this loss in export earnings through a stimulation of the speculative sector and imposition of a series of austerity measures on the working class. This neoliberal offensive by the Chinese government against the people, as in other countries, has given rise to recessionary trends in production with its concomitant rise in unemployment on the one hand, and surge in speculation and inflationary pressures on the other. For instance, according to Chinese sources, the cheap bank loans to the real estate sector have already resulted in rampant speculation in stock and property markets, threatening the financial system itself. Food and consumer prices are also rising. In brief, amidst China's much publicized transformation into the second largest economy, stagflation-recession coupled with inflation-has also reappeared there.

Meanwhile, in the context of continuing economic recession and joblessness, all the imperialist powers are resorting to an unprecedented wave of protectionism erecting tariff walls and various import restrictions against the rest of the world. In this scenario, China, whose spectacular growth and integration with global market are mostly depended on cheap export will be the hardest hit. Backed by both the Democrats and Republicans, many anti-dumping legislations against the cheap Chinese imports into America are already in the pipeline. Obama administration compelled by immense domestic political pressure for generating employment is insisting China to revalue the Yuan to make Chinese exports more expensive in foreign markets, especially in America. Since America is China's biggest export market, any such retaliatory move against Chinese goods on the part of US including a possible devaluation of the dollar vis-a-vis the Yuan will be highly detrimental to the ballooning of the Chinese economy. At present any slowdown of the Chinese economy will automatically reduce Chinese import demand from the rest of the rest of the world thereby accelerating the global recession and joblessness that are haunting the world economy. The resulting trade wars among imperialist powers will inevitably lead to the sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions with their political and even military ramifications.

This invariably points to the fragility and vulnerability of "China's miracle growth". The more rapid its inflated growth and the more its integration with international speculative finance, the greater will be the transmission of the global crisis to the Chinese domestic economy. In particular, as Chinese economy is critically depending on export markets for its growth, any restriction on this would inevitably lead to a new wave of factory closures and rising levels of unemployment and social tensions in the coming days. All these cast suspicion on the sustainability of the trumpeted Chinese growth. ●

An Approach to Nuclear Liability Bill

1. AS a sovereign state India has its own laws and institutions related to the subject: But a new law is enacted as directed by US to facilitate nuclear imports.

2. India has a well developed nuclear technology and with the 530 MW Breeder Plant getting completed within two or three years we will be far ahead of others in Thorium technology. As a facilitator for imported power plants, the new law will kill our three stage nuclear program and destabilise our industry

3. Any patriotic government would have thought of new laws or strengthening existing laws in support of our national program by facilitating export of nuclear power plants not only to developing countries but even developed countries.

4. We should demand scrapping of the new bill any import of nuclear power plant should conform to the existing laws of the land.

5. Existing Indian laws related to industrial accidents and nuclear technology need to be improved in the interest of the people, based on past experience including that of Bhopal.

6. Public sector organisations including IRE, URC, AEC, DAE, NPCL and others need to be liberated from the corrupt bureaucrat-politician nexus, by including representatives of workers and concerned state Governments. Their functioning should be made transparent by ensuring their accountability to the national parliament with respect to policies and programs. ●

K Vijayachandran

THE STATEMENT of Objects and Reasons accompanying the draft Nuclear Damage Liability Bill 2010 brings out two major reasons for introducing this bill at this time. Firstly, it is said that “as a result of the steps taken particularly in the recent period” the nuclear industry in India is expected to form an important part of the energy mix of the country.

These recent steps mentioned here appear to be a reference to the Indo-US nuclear deal which Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had put in place during the United Progressive Alliance-1 government, in spite of wide-spread opposition. Secondly, the government argues that the geographic scope of damage caused by a nuclear accident may have trans-boundary effects in neighbouring countries, and it is desirable that protection is accorded to victims by a third party liability regime. On this basis, a case is made that such an appropriate international liability regime is the Convention on Supplementary Compensation, to join which it is essential that our national liability legislation must be framed in line with the CSC.

The government has never established the case that import of about 40,000 MWe worth Light Water Reactors is essential to ensure the long-term energy security of India. At what enormous capital cost we plan to acquire these power sources, what will be the ultimate cost of electricity per unit when all elements of cost are factored in, at what substantially enhanced risks to the public's life, health and the environment will these reactors be set up, etc are just few of the questions for which no answers have been given by the government in the last five years since the nuclear policy reversals were initiated.

In short, the assertion of the government that importing 40,000 MWe of LWRs, in the 2015-2035 period, will be the only solution to ensure our long-term energy security is a theory which appears to have been

Nuclear Liability Bill: PM's Gift to the US

Dr. A. Gopalkrishnan

advanced only to facilitate the government's intent to provide a substantial market in India for the US nuclear industry, perhaps as a partial price for cementing the Indo-US strategic alliance, which appears to be the prime minister's life's ambition during his official tenure.

In pushing for India to accede to the CSC, the government's overt implication is that a good portion of the liability for trans-boundary effects in neighbouring countries, arising from an Indian nuclear accident, will be met from part of the collective contributions from the CSC members. What the government is hiding from Parliament and the public is the fact that our joining the CSC will not bring in any additional international financial assistance in such an instance as long as our neighbours, namely, Pakistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka do not also become members of the CSC.

These countries are the ones who are most likely to suffer from trans-boundary impacts due to an Indian nuclear accident. But they are not members of the CSC today, and have indicated no interest at all in acceding to the CSC in future.

Furthermore, the government has conveniently hidden from Parliament and the public that only non-military, International Atomic Energy Agency-safeguarded nuclear facilities will be eligible for listing under the CSC and for deriving any benefits from it. By 2014, India will have 21 operating nuclear power reactors, of which only 14 are planned to be put under IAEA safeguards.

Thus, the entire set of remaining nuclear power and military reactors, including the CIRUS and Dhruva reactors in the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, and the potentially much more hazardous weapons facilities and laboratories, the plutonium reprocessing plants, radioactive waste storage and processing facilities, the high-risk submarine test reactor, and the even higher risk reactor operated in our nuclear submarine etc will not be eligible for any share of the CSC collective compensation, in case of an accident, since they do not qualify as safeguarded 'peaceful' nuclear installations.

The compulsion that the Nuclear Liability Bill should be consistent with the CSC has also distorted what normally one would expect to be covered in a national nuclear liability legislation. A case in point is the omission of hazardous incidents which could arise from the misuse of radioactive sources, like the incident which happened in the recent past in Delhi.

Since the CSC disallows any 'nuclear damage' arising from mishandling of fabricated radioactive sources or devices used in industry, medicine, agriculture, commerce or scientific research from being eligible for compensation, the government has also decided to discard the legal compensation rights of Indian victims who might suffer damages from radioactive sources from the purview of the national nuclear liability bill.

So, why is the UPA government putting forth this false pretext and urgency to introduce the liability bill, ostensibly to take care of trans-boundary effects and the envisaged acceleration of the nuclear power program? The true reason for the urgency for getting the bill passed is to meet the written commitment given by the prime minister and the UPA-1 government, way back in September

2008, that India shall purchase a minimum of 10,000 MWe of US reactors, and that we shall take all steps necessary to adhere to the CSC.

These two promises from the government of India are explicitly stated in the letter dated September 10, 2008 from our foreign secretary to the US Undersecretary of State, sent out under the instructions of the prime minister. He made this commitment on his own, without even informing Parliament or the public at any time. This sell-out to the Americans has also been kept hidden from Parliament in all the deliberations on the liability bill, while the desirability of joining the CSC is being argued on the basis of other false and baseless pretexts.

To understand the US tactics to put pressure on our prime minister, to which he succumbed rather readily, see the dateline of four crucial events given below:

The third and final draft of the Nuclear Suppliers Group document giving non-proliferation clearance to the Indian civilian nuclear program was discussed at the NSG forum and concurred with on September 4-5, 2008. The US government took the lead in piloting the draft through the NSG.

Foreign Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon is directed by the PM to write an official letter to the US Undersecretary of State, promising India's willingness to place orders on US nuclear companies for a minimum of 10,000 MWe of LWRs; and that India shall take all steps necessary to adhere to the CSC. He wrote this letter on September 10, 2008.

The US State Department introduced the 123 Agreement Bill in the US Congress on September 23-24, 2008.

The US President signed the India-US 123 Agreement into law on October 8, 2008.

It is obvious what was happening here. At the instance of the US and Indian business lobbies, the US State Department held up the forward movement of the 123 Agreement onto the US Congress until the written promise of India was conveyed from Delhi on India's agreement to join the CSC and our willingness to purchase at least 10,000 MWe of US reactors.

The US, in turn, delivered their part of the bargain of obtaining the NSG clearance, before such a letter of promise from India was to be delivered, but waited for India's letter to arrive before they took the next step. It is obvious that the sequence of events which unfolded was agreed before-hand between the UPA government and the US administration. By sending out that letter, the PM had written off much of the crucial legal cover for potential nuclear accident victims in the future.

The prime minister's unilateral promise to the US government on the CSC was given in his anxiety to further the Indo-US strategic alliance, for which the Americans demanded this as part of the price. This unwarranted written assurance given by the PM in 2008, to help obtain the NSG clearance and the passage of the 123 Agreement through the US Congress, has now come to haunt the government in the context of the liability bill.

Why are the Americans insisting that India must join the CSC? Because, they do not want any US nuclear supplier to face the kind of trauma and legal problems experienced by Warren Anderson and the Union Carbide Company in the past, following the Bhopal incident. The US government and the business entities in both countries know that to be accepted as a member country of the CSC, India's own nuclear liability law has to be first enacted, and it is mandatory that this law is fully consistent with all the stipulations of the annexure of the CSC.

This condition will be imposed because India is not a member of the Vienna

Convention on Nuclear Liability. Among other things, what the CSC annex insists on is that the national law should legally channel the liability for all nuclear accidents in India solely and absolutely to the 'operator' of the facility, absolving all others including the suppliers of the equipment and systems from any criminal or civil liability. Further, the CSC annex wants the quantum and period for such compensation to be limited, the jurisdiction of all cases arising from claims to be settled only with Indian courts, etc.

This would mean the national law cannot have unlimited cap for compensation, and victims of accidents can neither sue the foreign reactor suppliers nor can they approach the US courts in appeal. Thus, the Americans thought of this strategy in 2008 and ensured that India commits then itself to joining the CSC in due course, before they went ahead with the nuclear deal. Other than this well-targeted and consistent American pressure, there is no logical reason why India needs to join any international nuclear liability regime — neither the Vienna Convention nor the CSC. Suppressing this real background, the government has now presented the liability bill to Parliament, citing some baseless and false premises of an entirely different nature.

As per the current Atomic Energy Act, nuclear reactors can be set up either directly by government, or a public sector undertaking like the *Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited*, or by a government company, in which upto 49 percent of the share capital can be held by a private company. If all expenses for setting up and operating nuclear plants come from the tax-payer eventually, as is the case if the operator is the government or a public sector company, then there is no need for an artificial split of the total compensation into two parts, a smaller part to be borne by the operator and the larger share by the government, since both these amounts

will be coming from public funds.

But, when a government company is the operator, upto 49 percent of the share capital could be from a private sector energy company and the private company will also take upto 49 percent of the profit. But, the private party will have to also bear upto 49 percent of the compensation payment. To help out these business entities, under pressure from their federations, the government has split the compensation into two parts in the bill, and now the private party has to pay only upto 49 percent of the smaller part of the compensation ear-marked for the 'operator'.

Furthermore, the government's intention is to first get the liability bill passed, and then to amend the Atomic Energy Act to allow 100 percent private ownership and profit-taking by private energy companies. Then, the current wording of the bill will allow these private entities to get away by paying a small share of the total compensation burden, leaving the government (tax-payer) to shoulder the bulk of the liability.

This is the Manmohan Singh doctrine of encouraging the private sector at the expense of the law-abiding tax-payers! When it is the reaping of profits from the nuclear sector, it will go to the private companies, and when it comes to the large liabilities arising out of their negligence, bulk of it will be borne by the ordinary citizens of this country

Accordingly, the Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill 2010 currently before the Parliament is a US-centric bill, drafted primarily to satisfy the US demands and business interests, ditching the rights of Indian victims wherever this was necessary to make the bill conform to the CSC. Parliament must, therefore, reject the bill as it now stands and ask the government to redraft it as an India-centric legislation and resubmit it for consideration. ●

[Dr A Gopalakrishnan was the chairman of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board from 1993-1996.]

Moral Hazard of Indemnifying Suppliers

Suvrat Raju & M.V. Ramana

IN THE past few years, where debates on nuclear energy are concerned, the Indian Parliament seems to have operated on a schedule set by the United States President. Once again, the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party have reached an eleventh-hour agreement on the Civil Nuclear Liability bill, in time to have it passed before Barack Obama's visit in November. This is a revealing indicator of the kinds of pressures that operate on the Indian political establishment; these external pressures are also reflected in the contents of the liability bill.

One of the key modalities of the draft bill is that, barring a very insufficient "right of recourse," it indemnifies suppliers of nuclear plants and channels liability for a nuclear accident to the operator of the plant. In future nuclear commerce, these suppliers are likely to be large multinational corporations (like G.E. or Westinghouse) while the operator will be a public sector corporation. So, the point of this clause is to insulate these foreign companies from the consequences of accidents including those that occur because of a design failure. While all multinational suppliers, including those from France and Russia, would prefer such a clause, it is the U.S. that is most insistent on this issue because its companies are not backed by public finances and hence run the risk of bankruptcy if they have to pay damages for a serious nuclear accident.

To defend this, the government has trotted out the argument that not only is this clause necessary to implement the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal, it follows the precedent set by liability regimes throughout the world. So, it is worthwhile to understand the history and motivation for these international conventions including the Convention for Supplementary Compensation (CSC) that the Indian liability bill follows.

After World War II, European governments were keen to adopt nuclear power but lacked the necessary technical expertise. On the other hand, American companies were keen to sell their nuclear plants but were unwilling to accept responsibility for accidents. So, the U.S. Atomic Industrial forum (an industry group) recommended legislative intervention to make it impossible for anyone to file a liability claim against atomic suppliers. These suggestions were made in a report called the "Harvard report," which included a draft legislation in its annex. In a few years, this annex went on to become the Paris convention and all future international liability legislations have insulated nuclear suppliers.

Ironically, the U.S. under its own Price-Anderson Act does allow victims to sue suppliers. In fact, this is the reason that it did not accede either to the Paris convention or even to later agreements like the Vienna convention. When it finally engineered the Convention on Supplementary Compensation in 1997, it included a "grandfather clause" that would allow it to keep this aspect of its tort law unchanged while forcing newer signatories like India to renounce their right to take action against suppliers.

India's decision to join the CSC is not only a surrender to a manifestly unfair international regime but will also have an impact on the safety of nuclear installations in India. Insulating suppliers from responsibility implies that their

job is done, once they have persuaded the regulatory authority, by whatever means, of the safety of their design. This has several implicit dangers.

The first is that suppliers are constantly trying to balance safety concerns with the need to make their design economical. For example, recent reactor designs adopt what are called “passive” safety measures, instead of the traditional “active” measures, not because these are inherently safer but because they are cheaper. This, combined with the ideological proclivity of the nuclear industry to assume that its designs are safe (not unlike the claims made by the oil industry about the safety of offshore drilling), means that suppliers tend to err on the side of economics rather than safety. Allowing potential claims against suppliers would help redress this imbalance.

Second, the Indian regulatory authority — the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB) — is ill-prepared to vet new plant designs. In contravention of international conventions on this issue, the AERB is, in effect, not independent of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) that is charged with developing nuclear power in India. A few months ago, the British regulatory agency refused to certify designs presented by Areva and Westinghouse. In India, it is hard to imagine the AERB doing something similar. Not only would it face a paucity of resources and lobbying by manufacturers, it would come under intense pressure from its parent body.

Finally, indemnifying suppliers means that they have no incentive to share safety concerns with the operator if they come to light after the plant has been sold. This is far from being a theoretical concern. In the accident at Three Mile Island (TMI), which occurred partly because of a design-failure, the Kemeny Commission, appointed by Jimmy Carter, noted that “several earlier warnings that operators needed clear instructions for dealing with events like those during the TMI accident had been disregarded by Babcock & Wilcox (B&W) [the supplier of the TMI reactor].”

To summarise, protecting suppliers from lawsuits creates a classic example of, what in insurance parlance, is called a “moral hazard”: insulating a party from risk has a distorting effect on its behaviour. In particular, indemnifying suppliers is likely to make them pay less attention to safety and encourage them to take greater risks.

The proponents of the bill also raise the spectre that making suppliers liable could lead to a scenario where the operator and supplier engage in long drawn out litigation to apportion responsibility, while the victims are left in the lurch. In fact, there is a very simple solution to this problem. The liability, for a nuclear accident, should be made “joint and several” between the operator and

the supplier.

Under “joint and several” liability, the victim could collect all the damages owed to her from either party. For example, if the supplier had more cash on hand than the operator, the victim could choose to collect all her compensation from the supplier. If a court later found that it was operator error that caused the accident, the supplier would be entitled to recoup its costs from the operator. However, the victim would get her money first and would be free of this battle between the two big companies.

In fact, the current bill already states that “where more than one operator is liable for nuclear damage, the liability of the operators so involved shall ... be joint and several.” So, the government cannot possibly argue that the concept of “joint and several” liability has any inherent problems. However, it is imperative that this be extended to the supplier of the nuclear plant as well.

In the draft bill, the liability of the operator is already strict; this means that the victim does not need to prove that the accident occurred as a result of negligence but merely that she sustained damage. It would be better to make this liability “absolute” which, in brief, refers to strict liability with no exceptions. The nuclear claims commission, which the government plans to set up, should be empowered to assess this damage and ensure that the supplier and the operator compensate the victim in whatever proportion she chooses.

It is true that these provisions would make it hard for India to accede to the CSC and for U.S. suppliers to sell nuclear plants to India. However, the Indian Parliament is charged with framing laws that benefit the Indian people; it has no obligation to American corporations. ●

[The authors are physicist at the Harishchandra Research Institute (Allahabad) and Princeton University (New Jersey)]

*No to Reformism,
No To Anarchism,
March to Revolution*

**Documents Adopted by the All India Special Conference of
the CPI(ML) Held at Bhopal from 7 to 12 November, 2009**

<p>International Situation and Our Tasks Character of Indian State The Principal Contradiction Path of Indian Revolution</p>	<p>C - 141, Sainik Nagar New Delhi - 110059 Phone: (011) 25332343</p>
--	--

UPON careful examination of the global scenario in the vehicular fuel efficiency, it has been observed that American population had been purchasing vehicles with lesser fuel efficiency. Thus burning more hydrocarbons and affecting the environment and resulting in the global warming. The global policemen had never been retreating from these increased levels of indiscriminate burning of hydrocarbons and it has been accepted by them as a gracious event, quoted by President Bush that America is addicted to oil. Probably this addiction has resulted in global warming across the globe which needs careful analysis, understanding and action by the communities worldwide to prevent further damage.

Karl Marx in the essay **The University of Man** gives the guidelines for protecting and promoting nature. He says the universality of man manifests itself in practice in (that universality) which makes the whole of nature as its inorganic body and as a direct means of life as the object and the tool of the activity. Nature is man's organic body. Man lives from nature, that is a nature is his body and he must maintain a continuing dialogue with it if he is not to die. To say that man's physical and mental life is linked to nature simply means that nature is linked to itself and for man is a part of nature. I hope that this opinion expressed by Karl Marx will make an impact on thought leaders – scientists and innovators – to move forward and influence the policy makers for protecting the environment, the globe and preventing it from a disaster which will end life on earth.

The history of pollution goes back to the year eighteen hundred. In the 1800s the air and water pollution grew dramatically high and the fog particle emission from burning coal caused a virtual epidemic of respiratory diseases, especially in the coal mining communities.

By the year 1952 air quality in London was so bad that it is noted as

Let Us Inspire Good Air

M. Krishna Prasad

the great smog, four days of toxic air trapped over the city killing more than 4000 people, galvanized the government to create air pollution regulations. I think the steps initiated then have been moving forward although not as fast as they should have.

During the twentieth century American economic miracle, the amount of fossil fuel burned grew so much that by the end of century, carbon dioxide emission grew to almost two billion tonnes annually or about seven tones per person, which is too huge to even consider. The wastage contributed by the US economy is also enormous. US economy consumes over a hundred billion tonnes of raw material per year. More than the nineteen percent of this ends up as a waste from extraction production process. That works out to about one tonne of waste per person, isn't that too high?

Solid and liquid industrial waste such as plastic and petrochemical disposed through ground water or air borne pollutants such as acids can travel hundreds and thousands of miles before it ends up in rainfall, soil and water. The pollutants affect health both directly indirectly, as they have played a role in the significant increase of asthma in the 1960s, and directly, by decreasing prudent air quality. The Asian brown cloud, a dense blanket of air, born mostly of industrial particles, has been blamed for five hundred thousand deaths from respiratory illness per year in India alone. Seventy percent of the developing world's untreated industrial waste is dumped into the lakes, oceans and soils of the world. If you look at the way consumption has been done, United States consumes about 20 million barrels of oil per day, about twenty percent of the global consumption. China consumes about six million and Japan five million. About eighty percent of the oil consumed by the United States is imported. Other mineral sources which have significantly declined include Zinc, Copper and Iridium. All critical technological innovations you have depend on them such as computers and cell phones.

Does environment protection save money? Yes it saved money. DuPont has saved three billion dollars, thanks to their intense focus on slashing their green house gas emission associated energy use. While growing continuously to their thirty percent in the same upgrading the lighting in their plants to their own high efficiency lights and saved seventy million dollars in their annual energy expenses as they worked across the country to reduce their energy use of green houses gasses.

Ford Motors Company has dramatically reduced the amount of time taken to paint a new car as it comes down to the assembly line by using a technology that applies three coats of paint simultaneously. This eliminated the need for costly energy intensive drying equipment. The change will allow Ford to reduce carbon dioxide by fifteen percent.

To change the scenario and protect the global environment, I think a good leadership is required which will initiate action to protect the environment from further hazards by reducing the consumption of energy. Thus giving way for non-conventional energy resources during the process of architecture, utility of high efficiency and technology to reduce the consumption which in turn will reduce the carbon emission.

Leadership is strongly associated with inspiration but few appreciate how

important that association is. Inspire from the Lain root in spirit means to breathe life into it. In this sense the leadership is inspiration, the creation of new life and energy in organizations because new life and energy has to be brought in order to stop further emissions which are so dangerous to the survival of mankind.

As per Thomas Friedman, after the 1979 accident at the three mile Allen nuclear power station which ended all hopes of expanding nuclear industry, the Detroit introduced Sport Utility Vehicle and successfully lobbied the government to label these as light trucks so they would not have to meet the 27.5 miles per gallon standard for cars. But only the light truck standard is 20.7.

The bigger the car, the bigger the fuel consumption, is one of the reasons for global warming. Let us look at the average standard. In 2007, thirty two years after Congress ordered mileage improvement to 27.5 miles per gallon; America is thinking of making a standard of thirty five miles per by the year 2020, which Japan and Europe have already achieved. That means in the fuel efficiency America is twelve year behind the rest of world. Is it lack of intention? Probably lack of intention, and can we do without increasing the mileage? Can we do without spoiling the environment?

A small country in the world Denmark has proved that it can do it. It has reduced the oil consumption, it has increased the efficiency, and it has kept carbon dioxide tax. Premium gasoline in Denmark in 2008 was about nine dollar a gallon. On top of that Denmark has carbon dioxide which was put in place in the mid nineties to promote efficiency. Even though it had discovered off shore oil by then, still it continued to do so. When you see your electricity bill you see you carbon dioxide tax so you slowly start thinking about how to reduce the carbon emissions.

The minister of Denmark says “since 1981 our economy has grown 70% while our energy consumption has been kept almost flat all those years”. She said, ‘unemployment is less than 2% and Denmark’s earlier emphasis on solar and wind power which now provide 16% of our total energy consumption, stands a new whole export industry.’

This is what the minister has to say about the achievements and she also says, “in 1973 we got 99% of our energy from middle east today it is Zero”.

I know, Denmark as a small county and it is lot easier to make change there than across a huge economy like United States. But still it’s worth trying which United States would not like to do because it is controlled by those oil selling large corporations which would like to sell more oil and those large automobile giants which would like to produce big vehicles and sell in big numbers so that their turn over is high and the profit ratio is high. The purchasing capacity of the people, not necessarily the common man, but the increasing capitalist section which has got access to global money today and would like to blow the global money by buying SUVs which consume more fuel and emit more carbon dioxide into the environment and spoil the global climate. This is high time that people concerned from all quarters of the world think about reducing the global warming.

If you look at the other things which spoil the environment, there are large malls which consume huge amount of energy, electricity, whether it is generated by burning naphtha of fossil fuels, nuclear, and coal or thermal coke. But the end result of it is damage to the environment, damage of the ecology. And these large malls, which have been constructed and are always lit by huge electricity and consume a lot of energy and spoil the environment, needs serious call.

Let’s look at a hotel which is built on the island of Macau in China. This is supposed to be the world’s biggest casino and it opened its doors in August 2007. The Economist of September 1, 2007 describes this new casino as the enormous building, Asia’s largest, which requires twenty thousand construction

workers and three metre sheets of gold leaf running it takes sixteen thousand employees, enough for three hundred thousand homes. The Venetian has eight hundred seventy tables and three thousand four hundred slot machines in the world largest gambling hall which is encircled by the three hundred and fifty shops, the more retail space than any Hong Kong mall!

This is all aimed at attracting enthusiastic Chinese punters. Such a huge amount of gambling is done, is it the requirement of the world? The Amount of energy it has consumed for construction and amount of energy it continuously requires to consume has become a necessity of the world. Imagine if this gambling hall had not been built, the power used for it could provide light into three hundred thousand homes, which is fairly a big republic. But still it has not been the case. Everywhere the large and big things are being mad which results in spoiling of the environment.

The permitting of oil prices from 140 dollars per barrel to 40 dollars is a clear cut indication that the demand was not natural and required. It was artificial and probably for those SUV users who at the cost of the world had been roaming around in large emitting, large consuming vehicles.

But it is a time to think and understand how to settle this environment problem and make the world a pleasant place to live. The more we burn, the more we spoil the environment, the more we spoil the environment, the more burdens increase for living. Those days when September had one of the finest evenings are gone now and September has only humid, hot and unpleasant evenings. So to overcome that situation and bring back to the world its normalcy, a lot of steps are required.

Necessarily, it need not stop the growth of the world. It may not deprive people from travelling. But definitely it should aim at reducing the burdensome travels, **the unnecessary travels**. When the technology has

increased and we could pave ways for people to work from their own homes, why not we get into a home working environment? Why can't we using the internet technology by which more data more working can be done at home itself. Thus less people will commute on the road. When less people commute on road for official business automatically less oil is burnt and the environment is damaged less.

Let people own a car, move around to make fun but let's not have burdensome travel, a travel which will otherwise spoil the environment.

The more we start using electronic method of working, electronic mode of communication, probably, the less we will try to travel across the world. So less flying required, indeed. As population is growing and everybody wants to fly everybody wants to fly everyday to work, imagine what happens to our sky. Doesn't it seem to you that there is going to be a traffic jam in the sky? There are going to be multiple layers of Airbuses, Jets travelling, one behind the other, and one above the other criss-crossing! It's really dangerous to imagine. It's not a welcome sign for the betterment of the world.

Hence the working style should be changed. The people's involvement into work pattern should be changed. The growth of the universe must be aimed at a real enjoyment of the life on the earth. For which leisure working is required. Working from the home should be encouraged. And except the production centres all rest of the work, the communication, the systems development all can be done remotely from the houses of working and productivity. Thus life will become entertaining and enjoyable.

Let us look at what we can do and make the people governing the globe do. All the inhabitants of the planet irrespective of class and religion can unanimously demand that the earth is available for all to live rather than for some to thrive, hence

putting on governing bodies from local to national to reduce carbon emissions by using solar photovoltaic for all street lights, traffic signals, solar collectors for hot water needs across hotels guest houses and homes of everybody, in a nutshell should ban usage of geysers, implement decentralized power supply across all remote areas and generate power through small and mini hydro, biomass, solar photovoltaic, solar thermal and mini wind mills.

While demanding authorities to do their act properly it is always imperative to implement citizens' charter. The more rich the person more responsible one should be, the rich can reduce usage of gas guzzlers, start using solar thermal for all hot water and building heating needs, design architecture in such a way that it consumes less power, replace existing diesel generators with hydrogen fuel cells, middle class to have solar thermal instead of geysers and solar photovoltaic power packs instead of electronic invertors, the poorer sections begin using solar lanterns for illumination purpose, establish and encourage usage of solar charging stations for all electric needs such as battery charging for using electric bikes for commuting.

The most important responsibility of everyone towards earth to make it a place to live longer is not only to stop the irrational usage of ground water, but also stop polluting the ground and surface water tables. Most of us use ground water through bore wells and end drilling to hundreds of meters which may eventually end up providing tunnel transport across the continents for our needs. All of us forget that without giving drawing continuously is not only irrational but also a crime. Let us begin the process of giving back to earth by replenishing the use water after treating. Water rejuvenates itself while travelling and proper technology if infused water can be recovered for reuse. If most of the water that is used by households like for bathing, kitchen and washing clothes is recovered and reused for purposes of flushing, gardening and vehicle washing needs water drawing from ground can be reduced and the remaining water if treated again and recharged into the earth, one's bore well never dries up.

Water consumed by automobile service stations in India alone would be to the tune of thousand million liters per day and if the consumption of this water is reduced to only three times a month by recovering and reusing for ten days of each drawing then the water saved can be twenty seven thousand million liters per month. Industrial effluent water can also be treated and reused multiple times before treating and discharging into drains. By adapting to these technologies we are not only reducing the overdrawing of water from the earth but also can replenish the earth by storing discharging treated water. Above all the technology can also save the drains from burdening and overflowing. Hence little more money spent on environmental capital can not only enhance our life quality but also can insure the future of our children, since earth is not inherited from our ancestors but borrowed from our children. ●

Neo-Liberal Assault on... from page 23

It is unfortunate that in taking the country down this disastrous path, government has been able to benefit from a lack of vigilance on the part of sections of the academic community, the media, political parties and members of parliament. This Convention opposing the neo-liberal assault on higher education is intended to generate a debate involving academics, teachers and students organizations of different persuasions, and concerned individuals. Such debates, if they are held around the country, could play an important role in alerting the people and mobilizing resistance. ●

[This concept note was presented at a convention held at New Delhi on 22nd August organized by All India Forum for Right to Education (AIF-RTE)]

Neo-Liberal Assault on Higher Education

THE CRISIS in higher education in India is chronic and widespread. Only about 10-12% of the relevant age group is currently engaged in higher studies. The vast majority of them are either in public funded universities and colleges, many of whose biggest achievement is to hand out degrees although they have long since ceased to contribute to education, or in flourishing private 'teaching shops' that exploit the promise of providing market-oriented courses without making available even the barest facilities. Only a select group of elite institutions provide education of some quality, usually sufficient only to act as a stepping-stone to foreign universities or employment in multi-national corporations. The demand for reform – including rapid expansion of access particularly for the marginalized sections, improvement of quality, and imposition of strict curbs on the trend towards commercialization – has built up over the past 25 years. It has become a major feature of the academic debate relating to higher education and figures as a prominent demand of students, teachers and people's movements.

Over the last two decades, it has also become apparent that the failure of successive governments to implement a policy ensuring universalization of free and compulsory quality education upto Class XII for all India's children, has contributed to the degeneration and decline of higher education. This has led to the renewal of the demand for establishing a nation-wide Common (neighbourhood) School System. Recommended initially by the Kothari Commission, it had, at least on paper, been the aim of government policy till 1986. The stringent critique of the Right to Education Act 2001 condemns its abandoning this goal altogether for it legitimizes a highly discriminatory multi-track school system. The state's withdrawal from its constitutional responsibility, and the promotion of commercialization of school education by transferring public resources into private hands through Public Private Partnership, are the inevitable result of the RTE Act.

Now the UPA II government has brought four Bills relating to Higher Education before the Monsoon Session of the Lok Sabha. The National Accreditation Regulatory Authority for Higher Educational Institutions Bill, 2010; The Educational Tribunals Bill, 2010; The Foreign Educational Institutions (Regulation of Entry and Operations) Bill 2010; and The Prohibition of Unfair Practices in Technical Educational Institutions, Medical Educational Institutions and Universities Bill, 2010 are already before the House. The Bill to establish a highly centralized National Council for Higher Education Research (NCHER) is expected to be added to this list within a week or ten days. Newspaper reports have talked about an Innovative Universities Bill being on the anvil, which would be funded and managed completely independently by foreign players with only the stipulation that fifty percent of their students should be Indian citizens.

This flurry of Bills would alter completely the academic thrust, the structure and administration of higher education in India. Unfortunately, the change would not be in the direction of democratizing the spread or quality of higher education. The government is in a great hurry to bring about radical changes in educational institutions to transform them in accordance with the neo-liberal conception of higher education as a 'private good' and 'tradeable commodity'. Consequently, the privatization and commercialization of higher education is again being aggressively promoted as the State seeks to withdraw from this sector as well on

the plea that it lacks the resources to invest in and support public funded institutions. Apart from facilitating the creation of a highly lucrative 'market' in higher education by this strategy, it must be noted that the privately-borne high cost of education puts a premium on disciplines and courses that are directly linked to the demands of national and international job markets. Disciplines and areas of research that are foundational for a dynamic and innovative system of higher education will inevitably suffer a decline.

The undemocratic character of the changes to be introduced by the proposed Bills is obvious. A homogenization of the criteria and methods of evaluation and grading, and a highly centralized apex body for providing a 'single-window' entry for national and foreign 'education providers', are features that signal the commoditization of the product that higher education is to become. However, bodies such as the proposed National Accreditation Regulatory Authority and the NCHER appear to be singularly inappropriate as decision-makers and final arbiters for a democratic system of higher education that demands pluralism and diversity, and must create space for dissent as much as for consensus.

No national debate has preceded the formulation and presentation of the Bills although they are a radical departure from the conception and policy that has informed this sector since Independence. The failure to provide sufficient investment for the expansion of colleges and universities, and the practice of over-burdening existing infrastructure, has not allowed institutions to maintain standards or introduce timely reforms to keep pace with academic advances. Instead of addressing the issue of reform of the hundreds of existing universities and thousands of colleges in the country, government's present policy leaves them, and lakhs of their students, to fend for themselves.

Continued on page 22

IT Revolution and the Questions of Market vs Planning and Capitalism vs Socialism

THE ongoing Information Technology (IT) revolution which obviously is increasing the intensity of conflicts in market economies to unprecedented levels is however bringing forth new technical tools which are absolutely necessary for the successful management of planned economies. And an important element of socialism is Planning. In this connection read the following extract from a 1970 Soviet popular science book “**CYBERNETICS A TO Z**” by the popular Soviet author V. Pekelis, the English translation of which was published in 1974 by Mir Publishers Moscow, USSR. Taken from the chapter titled “**Optimal Control**”. We will quote at some length from this.

“With the current high rates of economic development the components of the national economy interact faster and faster, and economic indices become ever more dynamic. In such circumstances planning must be carried out on a continuous basis, and all sections of the economy must be managed with the utmost efficiency. The smallest delays in planning and control can result in losses of no less magnitude than those due to inaccuracies in planning.

Until recently in our country more than two million persons were employed in administration and management. It may come as a surprise to the uninitiated that at the Gorky Motor Works alone a veritable army –more than five thousand people— are engaged in ensuring the factory’s raw materials supplies and marketing.

The people responsible for economic management handle billions of papers annually. Nowadays simple desk calculators

and adding machines are inadequate to cope with the flood of information, it is virtually impossible to calculate any great number of plan variants and ensure optimal control of the economy.

Workers of the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences have estimated that the volume of information involved in economic planning increases in proportion to the square of the volume of production. This means that in 20 years more than half of the population of the Soviet Union would be engaged in management and administration.

The economists are justified in waiting for the day when complete automation of planning and economic calculations will become a reality.

Mathematical methods could be called the golden key that opens the doors into the mystery kingdom of economics.

Of course, solving economics problems is an extremely difficult thing. It has been shown that the higher the level of a nation’s productive forces the more complex is the task of managing its economy. The scope and complexity of calculations increase with the expanding volume of production, acceleration of growth rates, appearance of new industries, expansion of economic contacts. This is the reason for the extensive scale of work going on to use electronic computers to plan the economy of regions, republics, and the Soviet Union as a whole.

Many such examples could be cited. It is not for nothing that V. Glushkov, an eminent specialist in cybernetics, claims that soon “automatic systems will become as essential a tool of scientific research in the hands of economists as atom smashers are for physicists or electron microscopes are for biologists”

Electronic Computers not only help to accelerate calculations, they also provide for a ten- and hundredfold reduction in the time needed to draw up plans. Electronic machines used for economic operations ensure centralized industrial management.

Experts consider that the creation of a national network for gathering, storing, processing and transmitting economic information is a priority task the importance of which can hardly be overrated.

A planned socialist society should strive to attain the best possible, optimum results in each separate industry and in the national economy as a whole. It was this that V.I. Lenin meant when he said that only that construction can deserve to be called socialist which is carried out according to a comprehensive general plan aimed at the balanced utilization of all economic and financial resources.

V.I. Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the importance of scientific organization of administrative work, without which it is impossible to run the economy correctly. He wrote that people working in management and administration must pass the test of knowledge of the fundamentals of theory of our state apparatus, of the fundamentals of the science of management.” (CYBERNETICS A TO Z, V. Pekelis, Page 233-235)

Isn’t these ideas more relevant now, as people are becoming more and more interested in socialism and planning? ●

Quit India Campaign: Report from Kerala

BASED ON the call by CPI(ML) Central Committee to observe the week ending August 15 as Quit India week and carry out nation-wide campaign against the intensified neo-colonial plunder of India through imperialist globalisation, Party and class/mass organisations had a hectic state-wide anti-imperialist campaign during August 9-15. A central poster published by the State committee highlighting the political significance of the Quit India Campaign was used for the campaign in all districts. Tens of thousands of leaflets incorporating the slogans from the Central Committee's Political Resolution were distributed by the Party District Committees during the jathas and house campaigns.

In Trissur, the CPI(ML) District Committee had a three day jatha during the first week of August. In Ernakulam district, jatha was conducted by the Party Area Committee. In Wynad, district, on August 8, the AIRWO held a massive rally of hundreds of women including a public meeting at Kalpetta, the district headquarters. The RYFI had a two-day Jatha on August 11 and 12 appealing youth to prepare themselves for a 'second independence struggle' against neo-colonisation culminating in a march to the Wynad Estate near Kalpetta, which the land mafia is trying to grab with the connivance of CPI(M)-led LDF government. In Trissur, on August 12, the TUCI conducted a day-long Dharna against globalisation and anti-worker policies of both central and state governments. Led by AIKKS, with the slogan 'land to the tiller' a Convention was held at Kinaloor in Kozhikode district where the LDF government unleashed a brutal police repression against the common people at the behest of land mafia. On August 15, in Trissur, AIRWO and RYFI jointly organised an anti-imperialist rally and public meeting at the district capital.

The 'Quit India Campaign' is to form the background for prolonged agitations by Party and class/organisations in various fronts. In the immediate context, this anti-imperialist campaign will be merged into the political campaign for the forthcoming local body elections in Kerala.

Kerala: Campaign for Local Body Elections

Though the local body elections in Kerala are due in September 2010, on the basis of an unholy deal among the ruling LDF, Congress-led UDF and BJP, they are postponed towards the end of October. In view of actively participating in local body elections, CPI(ML) State Committee has prepared an Election Manifesto based on the 'Ideological and Political Approach to local Body Elections' approved by the CPI(ML) Central Committee. With the objective of utilising parliamentary elections for the broader interest of class struggle, the party has decided to go to the people with this election manifesto that explains how with a correct political perspective, local bodies can be used as primary levels of people's political power. It envisages how bureaucratic hurdles and machinations of World Bank and ADB to make local bodies as neo-colonial appendages can be overcome through appropriate political organisational interventions on the part of the Party. It is tentatively decided to contest fifty seats across the State. ●

Odisha: RYFI Observed 9 to 15 August as Quit India Week

Bhubaneswar: In response to the call of Central committee to observe 9 to 15 August as Quit India Week, there was a week long campaign. A leaflet was printed and widely distributed at state level. In Bhubaneswar on 14th August a rally was held by the 33 no. ward committee.



Comrade Sabi Joseph, President TUCI Kerala State Committee Addressing AIKKS Convention at Kinaloor, Kozhikode with 'land to the tiller' Slogan on 8th August

Youths holding banners of RYFI and shouting slogans distributed leaflets along the route. Com. Raghunath, Orissa state committee secretary and com. Sabyasachi, president of RYFI Orissa state committee and com. Tahir led the rally. It went through colonies and Bastis starting from ward no. 8 DAV Public School. In the end a meeting was organised at Narayani Basti. Com. Sabyasachi explained the purpose of rally and spoke about the heroic anti-imperialist struggle of broad masses of August 1942 in the absence of the leadership. Com. Raghunath spoke against the ruling classes various anti-people policies, at centre and in Orissa and called upon the masses to come in large numbers to struggle for real independence.

On 15 August morning comrades of RYFI assembled at the office of state committee and took out silent procession. They went through IRC Village, Medical Square and Jayadev Vihar holding banners and distributing leaflets. A meeting was held in Inquilab Bhawan. Tracing the revolutionary struggle of Indian working class, peasantry and other toiling masses in the Quit India Movement, com. Sabyasachi exposed the comprador character of the Indian ruling class and how the wealth of country and people are plundered now in neo-colonial form, where ruling class is functioning to satisfy the interest of imperialist masters. In such a situation, for achieving true independence youth should get organised and fight the enemy of the Indian people. Com. Raghunath urged the comrades to join RYFI and launch an uncompromising struggle against the imperialist forces and to march towards independence. Then the comrades sang revolutionary songs and raised slogans. There was a great enthusiasm among the comrades and they pledged to strengthen the organisation in the coming days so that the dream of independence could be achieved.

Bhadrak: At Bodaka of Tihidi Block RYFI activists gathered under the leadership of com. Ranjita and Sasmita, RYFI Orissa state committee members. Com. Sasmita hoisted the flag of RYFI exposing the true colour of ruling class. Then a meeting was held in which com. Ranjita presided. She said that the people of India are not free in the true sense. So like a mass uprising during the Quit India Movement, another movement is required to achieve true independence, democracy and freedom from all types of exploitation. ●

Karnataka: RYFI Campaign

RYFI organised state-wide campaign on 9-15 August with anti-imperialist slogans. Thousands of handbills were distributed to people during district level programmes. In Raichur a 25-member team participated in *padayatra* to villages with revolutionary songs and central slogans. Number of street meetings were organised explaining neo-colonial plunder and the looting by MNCs and Corporate



houses. At the conclusion of padayatra a well attended public meeting was held at Balaganur, which was addressed by RYFI leaders including comrades Basavalingappa, M. Gangadhar, Basavaraj. In Kodagu, Chikmangalore, Shimoga and Koppal district also the campaign was militantly organised.

Godown Attacked at Manavi

On 13th August in Manavi, taluk headquarter in Raichur district, hundreds of youth along with agricultural workers attacked the government food godown. Hundreds of youth broke the main gate of the godown and went in declaring that the food grains should be distributed to people. While they were trying to capture the food grains a large number of police and paramilitary forces arrived along with taluk officer blocking the way. In spite of resistance the youth comrades could not complete the confiscation of godown and distribution of food grain. But RYFI and AIKKS activists declared that the attempts to capture godown and distribute food grains shall be continued.

15th August was observed as anti-imperialist day. A mammoth convention was held at Raichur which was inaugurated by freedom fighter, Shri Shankar Gouda. Com. R. Manasayya and other leading comrades of party and class/mass organisations addressed it calling for intensifying the struggle to overthrow the comprador government and to achieve genuine independence. ●

Maharashtra: RYFI Observed Anti-Imperialist Week

IN MUMBAI 9-15 August is observed as anti-imperialist week every year. This year also it was organised at different places. On 12th August pamphlets were distributed in the local trains by RYFI activists creating awareness among the people. On 15th August RYFI and AIRSO activists led by com. Prajakta went around different colleges and schools in Dombivli, near Mumbai with the cultural squads presenting revolutionary songs. Street



corner meetings were organised attracting the large number of students.

On 21st August along with many organisations like Akshra working among women the RYFI activists participated in a campaign with songs and street plays led by com. Shailendra Patil spreading the anti-imperialist message. ●

West Bengal: Quit India Campaign

THE West Bengal State Organising Committee of CPI(ML) observed August 9-15 as Quit India Week through programmes that included public meetings, poster and other forms of campaign. Since Lalgah is a burning issue in Bengal, the campaign for Quit India Week also addressed the issue, calling for the immediate withdrawal of security forces from Lalgah and a peaceful solution to the problem. On August 12, the general secretary of the party, Comrade K.N. Ramachandran, addressed a press conference at the Press Club in Kolkata where he spoke of the need to build up a revolutionary left alternative which would spearhead the movement for the ouster of imperialism and its stooges from the country. ●

Tamil Nadu: August 9 to 15 Observed as Quit India Week

CHENNAI: Under the leadership of the CPI(ML) District Committee during August 9-15 'US led Imperialism get out of India' campaign was organised. Notices were distributed in the working class areas. Poster campaign was held. Street corner meeting was held on 12th evening at MGR Nagar market area.

Meeting presided by Com. Vedanayagam, CPI(ML) district committee member and speeches focused on great freedom fighters like VO Chidambarampillai. Com. PT Shanmugasundaram, State secretary spoke on US-led

Imperialism and globalisation snatching the wealth of the country and pauperizing the masses.

VALPARAI: At Valparai near Eetear Estate on August 15th morning under the leadership of Annamalai Plantation Workers Union a street corner meeting was held observing Quit India week. The meeting was presided by Com. D. Pannerselvam. Com. Duraisamy, TUCI Central Committee member spoke about the importance of intensifying anti-imperialist movement.

COIMBATORE: District Committee of CPI(ML) organised poster campaign and distributed pamphlets to village peoples.

KANNIYAKUMARI: The District Committee observed Aug 9-15 programme in about 100 villages by a long march issuing notices to the people. Also held poster campaign. A public meeting was held exposing neo-colonial plunder on 22 August. It was presided by Com. Palraj, TUCI state secretary. Com. PJ James, CPI(ML) Central Committee member was main speaker. Comrades PT Shanmugasundaram and Arumugam, State Executive Committee member also spoke in the meeting.

THENI: In Theni district at Kadamalaikundu a public meeting was held observing Aug 9-15 campaign. The meeting was presided by Com. Rajendran party's Andipatti Taluk secretary. The main speakers were comrades P.T. Shanmugasundaram and Arumugam.

Coimbatore: House Rights Protection Committee is formed, Held Massive Demonstration Before Collectorate

Uniting the poor people of slums and villages Housing Right Committee is formed in Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu. It organized a massive dharna on 26th Aug in front of the district collector's office demanding right to housing to the poor people, slum people and the village people. More than 1500 people participated in this massive dharna. The agitation is led by Com. Balasubramanian TUCI state secretary. com. P.T. Shanmugasundaram CPI(ML) state secretary, com. Shanmugasundaram district secretary, com. Vellimalai, RYFI state secretary and advocate Karghi led the rally and dharna and addressed the participants. ●



AIRWO's Call: Unite Against Patriarchal Government, Unite For Liberation

THE first central committee meeting of the All India Revolutionary Women's Organization (AIRWO), held for two days from 31st July and 1st August at Bhubaneswar, gave the call to join the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of society with a view to emancipate the masses of women from millennia of oppression, discrimination and violence.

AIRWO was built up by revolutionary women across the country in order to spearhead the struggle for women's emancipation. AIRWO believes that patriarchy and the subjugation of women are rooted in private property and the existence of the family as the economic unit of society. No organization committed to the perpetuation of private property can, at the same time, work for the emancipation of women. Thus not a single so-called feminist organization or the parties which vociferously talk of women's liberation, are equipped to free women from the enslavement they have suffered since the dawn of civilization. There is not a single country in the world, no matter how developed it may be, where the women can be said to be free and enjoy equal status as men. Leave alone the countries of the third world, where women are victims of largely feudal forms of oppression, even the developed countries like America, England, France and Germany are witness to atrocities against women, gender discrimination in the workplace and a generally inferior social position of women as compared to men.

The long and tortuous history of the struggle for women's emancipation has made it abundantly clear that women can never be truly liberated from the shackles of patriarchy in capitalist society. In our country, too, even decades after 1947, not a single party in power has been able to give women their basic rights. While the masses of women labour under grinding poverty and ill-health, both the ruling parties as well as the opposition shy from granting women even the marginal space they would have acquired with the passage of the reservation bill in Parliament. Indeed, it is extremely common for politicians of all hues to take frequent potshots at the capability and role of women in general. Little is done to encourage women to participate in social production, a necessary precondition of their emancipation. On one hand, women are increasingly being employed as cheap labour in menial and degrading jobs, and on the other hand, the space for women in skilled jobs is shrinking or, at best, stagnating. Crimes against women

are on the rise. Trafficking of women and the sex trade are proliferating. The uplift of women is, obviously, no priority for the government. The priority of the central government as well as all the state governments is to serve the interests of big capital thrives on discrimination, disunity and discord among the population.

Today, in our country, a woman may sit at the helm of the government, and another may break into one more male bastion to preside as Speaker of the Lok Sabha. But the fact remains that these tokenisms only serve to highlight the patriarchal subjugation and inequality faced by the broad masses of women.

AIRWO seeks to unite the many struggles that women are spontaneously raging to obtain their rights into a fierce and determined revolutionary movement aimed at the overthrow of private property. AIRWO seeks to unite the struggle for women's emancipation with the revolutionary struggle of the working class. AIRWO calls upon all democratic and fighting women to join this freedom struggle. Unite and rise against the patriarchal government, which is a direct and conscious representative of big capital. Unite for the overthrow of capitalism and private property. Unite for a new dawn! ●

Report From AIRWO Odisha State

ON 31st July AIRWO Odisha state committee organised a seminar on "The problems of women in present day situation and its solution" at Lohiya Academy, Bhubaneswar. The seminar was presided by com. Pramila, the president of AIRWO state committee, Odisha. The national convenor of AIRWO com. Sarmistha Choudhury was main speaker. She spoke about the oppression and exploitation of women by the existing ruling system, the growing neo-colonialisation under the capitalist ruling system which is male dominated. Along with that she also spoke elaborately how the women are kept away from education, health and all the basic facilities. Comrade Sharmistha also discussed how the present neo-colonial slavery has transformed women as an entertaining and production machine and has showed them as a faithful slave of men. Adding to that she also spoke about the formation of AIRWO comprising of the revolutionary women to fight the neo-colonial loot and to strengthen the emancipation of women against imperialist exploitation, the growing devastation of society as well as environment in the name of development, the displacement and the advance of liquor trade.

Com. Indumati Mallik, state secretary. of AIRWO, com. Tunilata Jena, Bhadrak dist secretary com. Mummun Singh the state vice president of AIRWO and the Central

Committee members from Chatisgarh com.Usha, from MP com. Urmila, com. Sanjukta Kanhar leader of Domestic Women Workers Union and Central Committee member of the All India Krantikari Adivasi Mahasabha, Com. Henarani Barik also addressed the seminar and called for fighting for women's liberation. Com. Sivaram, state secretary of CPI(ML) participating in this seminar gave support to the women's liberation movement.

Com. Pramila, state president of AIRWO, spoke how the NGOs, Govt and religious institutions are making the women slaves of market economics by offering them loans in various forms as Mahila samiti, SHGs, savings samitis in the name of women empowerment by becoming agents of the imperialist IMF ,World Bank etc. She emphasized on fighting against ruling class as a whole for stopping them from using women in their game for political profits.

Problems of Domestic Women Workers

Due to the existing social, political and economic condition in our country crores of people are coming to cities and towns. They are victims of unemployment, poverty, displacement, loss of livelihood and face grave consequences of unequal development .They arrange their livelihood by providing service to the people of the cities and towns and by working as daily labours. Many of the migrant people, mainly women of very poor families and destitute women, are working as domestic workers in the houses of rich and well to do families. They do not have the minimum right of workers. They don't get minimum wages, leave, and face rough inhuman behaviour, summary retrenchment.Many of the so-called elite persons exploit them sexually and torture them both mentally as well as physically. If someone complains, then they are implicated in false charges and lose the job.

These helpless poor women have no social security. Except false promises before election, nothing is provided for them. They are also human beings and they have all the rights to live in dignity. They are workers and have the right to enjoy all the rights of workers. It is government's duty to give them social security and right to live. But as a matter fact, the state as well as central governments, busy in keeping the profit high for the capitalists and imperialists at the cost of working class, do not take any action favourable to them.

So to fight for the rights of the domestic workers, the leadership of TUCI has initiated steps to organize them in working class organisations. An organisation "Gharelu Mahila Shramik Union" is being formed by uniting conscious working women. The secretary of this union is com. Sandhya Rani Pradhan and president is com. Pramila. Continuous campaigning and movements are organized. Under the leadership of this union a massive demonstration was organized in front of the state assembly on June 11

and 8-point charter of demands has been placed before the state labour minister and labour commissioner. Among the 8 demands, Govt has approved 5 demands, but nothing is implemented practically. So the union has appealed to all domestic working women to take the membership of the union and to strengthen the movement for their rights.

Sandhyarani Pradhan

Bhadrak: Road Blockade Against Liquor Shops

Liquor consumption, along with ruling class policies, is one of the major cause of growing violence and poverty. The Bhadrak District committee of AIRWO has protested against the sale of country liquor. About 500 women participated in the movement under the leadership of com. Indumati, state secretary and com. Tunilata Jena, Bhadrak district secretary of AIRWO. At Dobal, Dhamnagar around ten hours road blocked continued. They demanded prohibition of liquor shops in villages. They handed a letter demanding to ban liquor. Only after local administration and police committed to stop the liquor shops the road blockade was withdrawn. Now the liquor shops are closed. For unleashing this movement in all areas of the district, AIRWO Bhadrak Distict committee has appealed the women to unite and fight against the liquor shops. Com. Susanto, Bhadrak District Secretary of CPI(ML) also participated and supported the anti liquor movement led by AIRWO.

AIRWO Khurda district

A gherao of electricity executive engineer's office in IRC village was conducted by the Khurda district committee of AIRWO. Around 500 women participated in the gherao. The JE of CESU is a mischievous fellow and through some agents he was collecting money to give new electric connections. The women demonstrated militantly by breaking the main gate grill and the door of the executive engineer's office shouting slogans. As a result of this militant demonstration the Executive Engineer and SDO intervned in the matter taking action against the JE. Now around 2200 people of Saliasahi got the new connection without any bribe because of AIRWO'S militant struggle. The JE also transferred and his promotion was stopped. ●

RYFI: AP State Committee Formed

ON 5th August the RYFI state organising committee was formed in Andhra Pradesh in the presence of com. Basavalingappa, all India president of RYFI, in a one day meeting at Hyderabad. Com. Basavalingappa presented the programme and constitution of RYFI and called on the youth to join in large numbers in RYFI. A five member SOC was formed with com. Saidulu president, com. Sadanandam vice-president and com. Nagendra secretary. ●

[This Approach Paper was adopted by the Central Committee meeting on 6-8 June 2010]

1. OUR Party's approach to participation in elections is elucidated in the document on *Path of Revolution* adopted at the Bhopal Special Conference. Accordingly, by participating in elections, the Communist Party should put forward a revolutionary alternative before the people and the elections should be used as an opportunity to educate the masses regarding the character of the comprador ruling classes as well as the neocolonial state. This is true of all bourgeois elections whether it is to parliament, assembly or local bodies. Under neo-liberalism when speculative finance capital has established its tentacles on every sphere of life and when both imperialism and comprador ruling classes are making the parliamentary system itself into a mockery, continuously eroding even whatever bourgeois democratic content it had earlier, it is all the more significant on the part of the Communist Party to put forward an ideological-political line for the tactical utilization of parliamentary struggles in the interest of class struggle with the ultimate objective of capturing political power and establishing a people's democratic state. The active participation in local body elections is an inalienable component of this struggle.

2. Our initiative to participate in the elections to local government institutions including panchayats, municipalities and block/district boards etc is taking place at a specific ideological-political context in which a whole set of apparently divergent neo-liberal, postmodern, post-Marxist, new-left and pseudo-left views on decentralization at local level and devolution of power are converging. The modern idea of local self-government actually originated in India with the emergence of capitalism and is an integral part of western bourgeois democracies. The concept

Ideological and Political Issues Pertaining to Local Body Elections

was super imposed in India during the colonial days over the centuries old traditional panchayats existing in various parts with their own specific characteristics. In India, during the pre-1947 period, the bourgeois political rhetoric on local government and decentralization was intimately connected with the Gandhian perspective on village republics. However, after the transfer of power, except for mentioning about the concept of village republics and panchayats in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution, the Indian ruling classes had little interest in entrusting powers with the local bodies. During the Keynesian welfare period that lasted till the 1970s, the responsibilities for the provision of welfare and social services were vested with the centralized state at the federal level. The namesake panchayats during this period were commonly sabotaged and usurped by local ruling elites and landlord classes through out the country. The panchayats were a means of serving well-entrenched parochial interests and continued to reinforce the country's exploitative power structures including reactionary rural land relations. However, as part of Ford Foundation initiatives, with the advent and spread of Community Development Project, National Extension Blocks were used as a means of top-down decentralization and for strengthening central control over local affairs. They were also utilized as political support base for ruling classes.

3. However this situation changed with the world crisis of US led imperialism in the 1970s and the consequent collapse of Keynesian welfare state leading to the ascendancy of neoliberalism since the 1980s onward. The hall mark of this transition in neocolonial economic policy from Keynesianism to neoliberalism has been the downsizing/roll back of the erstwhile 'welfare state' from social and economic development which is manifested in the shift in the role of the state from that of an 'initiator' to that of a mere 'facilitator' in developmental activities. In retrospect, it can be seen that during the immediate post Second World War period, it was the fear of communism and the onward march of national liberation movements that prompted US led neocolonial order to adopt Keynesian welfare state including elements of centralized planning and state programming of the economy. But the *stagflation* of the 1970s on the one hand and global set backs suffered by progressive forces at the ideological and political level on the other enabled finance capitalism to denounce public spending by state. To cover up this neoliberal offensive against people, and to fill up the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the state from social and economic sectors, neocolonial institutions such as WB, ADB and Funding Agencies put forward various concepts like decentralization, grass roots empowerment and people's participation as convenient tools for implementing neoliberal policies. In other words, the increasing obsession with local self-government and people's participation at grass roots exhibited under various newly manufactured theories provided the neoliberal state with an opportunity for abdicating economic responsibilities and social obligations by shifting their burden on the people at the local level. Instead of state led development and central planning, so called participatory development and local level planning which are nothing but euphemisms for neoliberal development policies in favour of monopolization at unprecedented levels were put forward as the panacea for people's problems. The imposition of so called decentralization and people's participation irrespective of the existing

political- economic conditions and class relations were upheld as the solution for backwardness which actually led only to further centralization and snatching away of even the the rights hitherto enjoyed by the people.

4. Thus the new-found enthusiasm with local bodies by imperialists and comprador ruling classes should be seen in the context of the transition in neocolonial policy from Keynesianism to neoliberalism. Local governments such as panchayats and municipalities have become effective tools for the implementation of various neocolonial projects pertaining to irrigation, forestry, livestock, roads, urban development, drinking water supply, waste management, health care, common education, etc., and World Bank and ADB ensured the participation of local self governments, NGOs and self help groups as essential condition for their continued funding and successful implementation.

5. It was this neoliberal-neocolonial compulsions that made it imperative on the part of comprador Indian state to accord constitutional sanction for the so called devolution of powers, resources and functions of planning to local bodies. Until the 1990s there was no such constitutional sanction for local bodies to plan and implement neocolonial projects. Though the Rajiv Gandhi government had taken initiative in this direction in the mid 1980s, it was left to the Rao-Manmohan government to enact the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in 1992 extending legislative sanction for decentralized planning by local bodies in consonance with the global trend set in motion by WB, IMF, ADB and Funding Agencies. To be precise, enactment of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments with much fanfare to usher in decentralized governance strictly coincide with the inauguration of neoliberal globalization and can not be dismissed as a matter of chance as propagated by neocolonial experts. Thus the recent affinity towards decentralization and local level development displayed by the Indian state is a corollary of imperialist globalization. The Constitutional Amendments made it mandatory on the part of state governments to strengthen local bodies by conducting elections to them. In this way, liberalization, privatization and globalization have undercut the scope for erstwhile Keynesian state-led development at the national level and increased the relevance of so called "participatory development" at the local level sponsored by neoliberal agencies.

6. Thus the comprador Indian state which displayed little interest in local self government and whatever decentralization they were professing until the 1980s is fast transforming the panchayats and other local bodies as appendages of neoliberal institutions such as WB as per the neoliberal agenda. This certainly marks a milestone in the neocolonisation process that set in after WW II. It is a paradox that in neocolonial countries, the emphasis on local bodies and local level development comes at a specific juncture in which finance capital is downsizing the so called developmental role of the state itself. Obviously, as the neocolonial state is rolled back from its erstwhile social and economic functions, role of local bodies in association with NGOs and postmodern and post Marxist people's organizations such as self-help groups, neighbourhood groups, microcredit groups, etc. is indispensable for implementing the 'user-financing' and 'cost-recovery' schemes and projects in social and infrastructure sectors. At the same time, by encouraging this superimposed decentralization that overlooks the centrality of class divisions in society the imperialist forces also aim at fragmenting and dividing people's resistance against finance capital. Both postmodernist and post-Marxist 'discourses' on civil society and welfare that eulogises grassroots based small scale efforts in the place of organized resistance also support this neoliberal program. The People's Plan Campaign carried out under the auspices of local bodies by the CPI(M)-led LDF government in Kerala is a classic case of this neoliberal agenda. In different forms other state governments have also initiated similar projects.

7. In this new imperialist promoted neo liberal offensive what can be seen is that the panchayats, municipalities, block panchayats and district panchayats are entrusted with more and more responsibilities in line with the demands of the neo-colonial process, while their powers are further cut down. What is extensively propagated as participatory development means just the opposite. As the central and state governments are getting divested of all welfare policies and from the role of initiator of economic developments, the local bodies are asked to take up many of these responsibilities as noted above with so called peoples participation. Here peoples participation means collecting ever increasing revenues from the people to run various project like running local schools, hospitals building, roads, drinking water, supply sanitation etc, at the same time whatever powers are given to the local bodies constitutionally and through various acts are snatched away or denied illegally. The decision of local bodies against land procurement for SEZs corporate-MNC projects, corridors, four or six lane highways etc are flouted by central and state administration as in Kalinganagar and Posco in Orissa, Singur, Nandigram (West Bengal) Jaitapur (Maharashtra), Plachimada (Kerala) etc. Most recently reducing panchayats to mere name boards, hundred of panchayats are assigned to Corporate and Bill Gates like CEOs of MNCs in the name of developing urban facilities. As a result what is taking place in the name of empowerment is the dis-empowerment. While the bureaucratic control over the local bodies continues unbelted, they are reduced to mere name boards, mere tools to implement the neo-liberal policies.

Our Approach Towards Participation in Local Bodies Elections.

8. Today under neoliberalism, both imperialism and comprador Indian ruling classes are effectively utilizing

local self governments for their neocolonial objectives in the same manner as they make use of central and state governments. All the ruling class parties in India like Congress, BJP, regional parties and CPI, CPI(M) parties who have embraced neoliberalism and degenerated to ruling class politics are proponents of this neoliberal approach to local bodies elucidated above. In this context, it is imperative on the part of revolutionary left forces in the country to put forward a class approach to local body elections. It should expose the so called top-down decentralization imposed under the labels of “participatory democracy”, “participatory development” and “empowerment” by imperialist centres and that such decentralization is not intended for genuine people’s political power at the local level but on the contrary leads to global centralization of finance capital by making local bodies as its appendage. At the behest of neocolonial agencies such as the World Bank, as part of downsizing the welfare state all erstwhile social welfare and developmental tasks of the central and state governments are put on the shoulders of fund-starved local bodies who are increasingly made direct dependencies of WB, ADB and other funding agencies. The panchayats and other local bodies have no right over the land revenue, which is now collected by the state governments. The bureaucratic set up of the local bodies has also changed little in the midst of much talks on decentralization. Even today, the elected representatives of the panchayats are mere spectators devoid of any real powers and all the financial and executive powers are vested with the executive officer or secretary of the Panchayat. More precisely, the elected local bodies still lack autonomy regarding resource mobilization and executive powers of implementation.

9. Taking these aspects into consideration, according to the concrete conditions prevailing in

different parts of the country, the state committees should put forward a revolutionary left alternative of bottom-up decentralization that is inseparably linked with the development of class struggle aimed at fundamentally altering existing wealth relations and power structure. The Communist Party should actively participate in local body elections with ideological clarity and a political program put forward through the election manifesto explaining the alternative development perspective and putting forward the revolutionary approach to transform local bodies as primary centres of people’s political power. For this, participation in local elections should be linked with the uncompromising struggle and campaigns for redistribution of land on the basis of land to the tiller, confiscation of land held by land mafia, distribution of such lands and surplus land among landless, agitation against displacement, against all superimposed neocolonial projects, and so on. If the candidates put or supported by the party get elected, work with in the local bodies should be linked with the agitational politics led by the party committees outside, giving priority to the latter.

10. It should be unequivocally stated that genuine decentralization in which workers, peasants and other oppressed sections wield political power at the local level is invariably linked with the abolition of the imperialist strangle hold over the Indian state and basic change in class relations which are maintained through the present “top-down” decentralization. Instead of this, a revolutionary “bottom-up” decentralization as people’s alternative through the overthrow of existing class relations and hegemony of imperialist finance capital is indispensable. A fundamental restructuring of the property relations including land relations in favour of the landless entrusting land to the real tillers is an essential component of this. In spite of the rhetoric on decentralization and empowerment of panchayats, the comprador Indian state completely keeps them in the dark while imposing various neocolonial projects in their jurisdiction. In so many cases where panchayats vs the ruling system which include the MNCs are involved, the courts regularly uphold the neocolonial loot of the latter against the rights of the former, exposing the sham nature of the existing decentralization. In this regard, the Communist Party should reject the neoliberal-postmodern decentralization experiments such as People’s Plan campaign implemented in Kerala and similar other exercises in other states. It should try to draw valuable lessons from the experiences of Paris Commune, “Soviets” in the early years of Soviet Union and “Peoples Communes” in erstwhile socialist China and try to develop models of centres of political power of the people in accordance with the concrete conditions India. Along with the development of struggles by class/mass organisations, a people’s development agenda with clear ideological-political orientation should be placed before the people. The State committees should prepare an election manifesto clearly specifying the Party’s programme— including specific demands for land, shelter, food, drinking water, employment, education, healthcare, etc.— with respect to local body elections according to concrete conditions. Together with a rigorous ideological political offensive against the neoliberal decentralization propped up now by the ruling classes, effective organizational initiatives for utilizing local bodies in the interest of class struggle should be evolved.

11. As explained in the Approach Paper on utilizing parliamentary forms of struggle, a parliamentary board should be constituted to lead the participation in the local bodies and to exercise political and organizational control over those elected to these bodies. Even while exposing the various constraints imposed by the bureaucratic ruling systems, a concrete plan should be worked out for those elected to function as revolutionary opposition and if the Panchayat chief’s position or majority in Panchayat/ municipal bodies are won, how to utilize the funds available and powers left for the benefit of the basic classes.

Continued on page 35

Letters to Editor

Response to the Letter on Article "Children of War"

I appreciate the response from the editors on the last page (Red Star July 2010); I would have said the same things. One may add:

1. The article was *not* a critique of Roy and Navlakha. Instead of depending on police and other state agencies, I gathered my information exclusively from the pro-Maoist reports of Roy and Navlakha. When carefully analyzed, these pieces themselves reveal the glaring fact about child soldiers.

2. Wherein in MLM is it written that children may be used in acts of war? In any case, India is signatory to UN resolutions forbidding the use of child soldiers by any party. Use of children is a massive crime against humanity.

3. In a genuine revolutionary upsurge (China, Bolivia, Nepal) or wide-scale armed movement (Sri Lanka) or in a collapsing social order (Iraq, Afghanistan, Rwanda), *some* children may get involved as an unfortunate consequence of a civil war. Beyond the fanciful imagination of Maoist ideologues (and their intellectual cohorts in Delhi and Kolkata), where is such a situation in Dantewada?

4. Roy and Navlakha's reports make it clear (as the Human Rights Watch Report of 2008, *Being Neutral is Our Biggest Crime*, showed earlier) that almost the entire personnel of guerrillas and militias consist of young people who joined the forces as children, sometimes as young as 9 years old. CPI(Maoist) has official policy of giving armed instructions to children aged 12-15. *There is no evidence that adult adivasis ever joined Maoist armed forces voluntarily.* People's army? Revolutionary conditions?

5. And the reason why thousands of children were made to join the forces (sometimes at gunpoint) is that (a) Maoist have

actually exploited the adivasi population in connivance with greedy private operators such that wages in Dantewada are among the lowest in the country and adivasis live in famine-like conditions, (b) Maoists have not initiated any mass education programme for adivasi children at all, (c) the children are promised good food, clothing, and a protection to their families if they joined the forces. Revolution? Mass upsurge?

6. All this has to be read in the background of 40 years of history in which this line of the Maoists, beginning with Charu Mazumdar and continued in Andhra and Bihar by PWG, MCC and PU, has been repeatedly rejected by the concerned populations. After their heavy defeat in Andhra and Bihar in 2005, adivasi people did not rise in their defence.

7. Having failed to ignite a "prairie fire" of their choice, the operations in Dantewada, as explained in my article "Arms Over People" (Outlook, Znet, EPW), are essentially opportunistic and militaristic in character to form a "tribal army" artificially by inducting children, like LTTE or LeT. In that sense, their operations are terroristic as well.

The ML movement has suffered over three decades of false solidarity with this bunch of military strategists such that they are now in a position to proclaim themselves as "the only genuine revolutionary organisation". It is not possible to laugh it off anymore since CPI(Maoists) have brought a vast adivasi population—and in fact the Indian revolutionary movement itself—to the brink of grave danger. More specifically, thousands of young adivasis carrying guns on behalf of their upper class masters are about to be decimated by the fascist state.

It is most important for honest ML groups (and other humanitarian groups and individuals) to *expose the use of child soldiers as essentially anti-ML and anti-people.* I am happy that the RED STAR has taken the first step for doing so. A long struggle lies ahead before these fake revolutionaries (and their intellectual cohorts) are fully exposed before the people. ●

Nirmalangshu Mukherji

Ideological and Political Issues Pertaining from page 34

Dogmatic approaches will not help to utilize these local bodies for developing class struggle and to put forward the politics of revolutionary seizure of political power. Intensive and continuous discussion should take place at all levels in the Party for developing a revelatory perspective to utilize the parliamentary forms of struggle.

12. About the relation between parliamentary and non-parliamentary form of struggle and about developing both, giving emphasis to the latter, is another area where intensive discussion is needed to develop the ideological political orientation. Though even social democratic parties like CPI and CPI (m) talk about developing both giving priority to non-parliamentary forms of struggles, hitherto experience shows that except in Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks there is very little to point out from history about revolutionary utilization of parliamentary forms of struggle. But there also this experience was limited to a

brief period and the complexities faced in utilizing them were not as serious as it is today. In India the British colonialists had initiated the parliamentary system formally at all India level from 1935. Today the ruling system has developed its capability to absorb more and more people in the vortex of this system through numerous innovations like MP funds, MLA funds, so called empowerment of local bodies etc. Combined with various reforms from the land ceiling laws and other land reforms to present Mahatama Gandhi NREGS like reforms the Indian ruling classes have succeeded to make the present class divisions more ruthless. So it should be recognized that the 'reforms' politics and various innovations added to parliamentary systems are well calculated traps set for consolidating the ruling system. The Party committees at all levels should utilize them always giving emphasis to non-parliamentary forms of struggles. At the same time like other forms of struggle, the parliamentary forms of struggle from local bodies to parliament should be utilized always taking care to link them to the revolutionary seizure of political power under the leadership of the working class. ●

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

Postal Reg. No. DL(S)-18/3162/2009-11
RNI Registration No. - DELENG/2000/615



masive rally at Coimbatore organised under the banner of House Rigths Protection Committee

