



RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

Central Organ of CPI(ML)

Volume 11

October 2010

Issue 10

English Monthly

Plunderer Obama Go Back ! 8 November All India Black Day



**DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM !
FIGHT NEO-COLONIAL SLAVERY !**

CPI(ML) Calls For Boycotting Obama's Visit

THE Central Committee of the CPI[ML] which met at New Delhi from 11 to 13 September has called for boycotting US president Obama's visit and for observing November 8, his arrival date in India, as All India Black Day with the slogan "Plunderer Obama Go Back". Effigies of Obama and Manmohan Singh will be burned all over India. Protest marches are planned. In this context the CC condemned the holding of the Commonwealth Games which reflects the slavish attitude of the ruling classes and their political representatives towards the old colonial masters.

The CC denounced the nefarious acts of the Indian government in collaboration with US imperialists to prevent progressive forces from coming to power in Nepal for intensifying the crisis there so that monarchy led reactionary forces can be brought back to power.

The CC has demanded withdrawal of the military and all black laws like AFSPA from Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast. Problems of Kashmir and Northeast should be solved politically based on their right to self determination. A month long campaign is organized in support of the struggle of Kashmiri and Northeast peoples against the Indian state, culminating with a massive rally at Imphal on 2nd November when the historic indefinite fast of Irom Sharmila demanding withdrawal of AFSPA will be completing 10 years.

A meeting of revolutionary left and democratic organizations is held on 25-26 September in CPI[ML] office in which an all India "Revolutionary Left and Democratic Front" shall be formed to fight against imperialist globalization, neo liberal policies and intensifying neo colonial slavery. Apart from CPI[ML], PCC-CPI[ML], MLC[AP], New Socialist Movement[Gujarat], Revolutionary Left[Punjab], Samajvadi Jan Parishad and some other organizations shall become part of it. A massive convention of more than 1000 delegates shall be held on 21 November at New Delhi to declare its formation and its programme. On 22 November a parliament march will be organized demanding the withdrawal of policies which are surrendering the country to US imperialists.

A meeting is organized at New Delhi Press Club hall on 19 September at the initiative of CPI[ML] and participated by a number of scientists, environmentalists, writers and political activists. An action programme against environmental destruction caused by imperialist dictated 'development' policies shall be chalked out along with the perspective of a people oriented alternative development policy.

CPI[ML] CC has decided to intensify the ideological struggle against the right opportunist CPI[M] led Left Front and the anarchist political line of the CPI[Maoist]. Exposing the heinous moves of central and state governments to suppress all people's movements against pauperization and devastation of the people and the country through neo liberal policies raising the bogies of 'war on terror' and 'war against Maoists', CPI[ML] shall organize a countrywide campaign against increasing state terror utilizing 'Operation Green Hunt' like murderous policies, uniting all like-minded forces.

Anticipating that Allahabad High Court verdict on 24 September may go against it, Sangh Parivar has started vicious communal campaign calling for constructing the Ram temple at Babri site itself. Speaking about an 'out of court settlement' Congress is playing 'soft Hindutva' game to appease these forces. CPI[ML] appeals to all democratic and secular forces to defeat the diabolical game of all ruling class parties to further intensify the communal divide among the people to divert their attention from burning issues before them.

The CC meeting decided to further intensify the ongoing struggles against neo liberal policies, displacement in the name of World Bank- MNCs- Corporate projects, unprecedented price rise, privatization of education, healthcare and all service sectors. CPI[ML] appeals to all revolutionary left, patriotic, democratic and secular forces to unite against the anti people and anti national policies of the UPA government and state governments and intensify countrywide movements to throw out this ruling system of imperialist agents and to advance towards people's democracy and socialism. ●

17 September, 2010

CPI(ML)

Visit our website : www.cpiml.in to read Professor Randhir Singh's article

"A Note on Current Political Situation: Some Issues and A Conclusion"

Readers' opinions are invited.

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On Learning From Chinese Revolution

FIFTY ONE YEARS have passed after Chinese Revolution became victorious liberating one fifth of the world population from the yoke of imperialism and the rule of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord forces. Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, completing the tasks of democratic revolution the Chinese people could go forward along the path of socialist transformation, traversing many difficulties. When, retaliating against the ideological struggle launched by the CPC against the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party, the Krushchovite leadership stopped all assistance and withdrew the technicians and even the blueprints, the Chinese communists did not bow down before it. Depending on indigenous technological achievements and craftsmanship, walking on two legs, as Mao said, and based on the “Ten Major Relationships” explained by him, the Chinese people courageously faced this challenge. When within the CPC itself, in continuation to their ‘Theory of Productive Forces’, the capitalist roaders tried to sabotage the socialist revolution, once again guided by Mao, who launched the proletarian Cultural Revolution, trying to develop the theory and practice of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese people could beat back the counter revolutionaries. As Mao repeatedly said, building socialism was proving a thousand times more difficult than the struggle for capturing political power. In spite of the majority of the party leadership standing against the path of socialist revolution, relying on the party cadres and the masses Mao could lead it for more than quarter of a century, laying the foundation for mighty leaps in future. As many progressive Western writers had pointed out during that period, if only China could continue on this glorious socialist path, that itself would have been sufficient to weaken the imperialist system and to inspire the revolutionary forces around the world to march forward.

But the capitalist roaders were stronger and had more firm hold in the party, army and the administration than was estimated by the socialist roaders, as proved later. In the 8th Congress of the CPC, they could gain majority for their ‘theory of productive forces’ line overcoming Mao’s opposition. It took a decade long bitter struggle and the launching of Cultural Revolution to remove these leaders from their positions of power. But by that time the left adventurist line of Lin Biao had surfaced advocating the ‘line of protracted people’s war’ as practiced in China during its democratic revolution as the line for all the Marxist-Leninist parties which have emerged in the struggle against Soviet revisionism. This line succeeded to come to leadership in the 9th Congress of 1969 also. By the time this line got exposed and was defeated it had weakened the socialist forces led by Mao and had paved the way for the capitalist roaders to gain dominance once again as reflected in the 10th Congress of the CPC. The forces led by Mao were weakened so much that he even wrote a couplet: I am a lonely monk with a leaky umbrella. The capitalist line of Deng and company was only waiting for Mao’s death to usurp power in all fields. They did it soon after Mao’s death in spite of his last struggle months before his death throwing out Deng from all positions of power once again. It was a military coup as in the Soviet Union in which all the leaders of the socialist path were ruthlessly suppressed.

The Dengists have succeeded to transform socialist China in to a social imperialist country. In the course of this they have inflicted incalculable damage to the ICM also. Their line of opposing the reorganization of the Communist

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Our Web Site : www.cpiml.in

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

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R-8, Prathap Market

Jangpura-B,

New Delhi - 110014

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Printed at Param Offestters,

A-9 Okhla, Phase-I, New

Delhi-20

International, putting forward the line of class collaborationist 'Theory of Three Worlds' and depicting China as a 'third world' country, instead of a socialist one, ideologically disarmed many parties and organizations who were looking towards CPC as their international center. One of the reasons for many of them becoming

ideologically incapable of independently analyzing the changes taking place at international and national level and developing their political line according to these concrete conditions is this. The Marxist-Leninists have a lot to study from the positive as well as the negative experiences from the long history of the CPC. Learning from them let us dare to forward developing our theory and practice according to the neo colonial conditions of today. In spite of the capitalist roaders turning people's China into a social imperialist country, the revolutionary struggles there before and after the PDR shall continue to inspire the working class and the oppressed people around the world. ●

Plunderer Obama Go Back

THE Indian ruling classes, the UPA government, the so-called main stream political parties and the corporate media have started creating a favourable atmosphere for the 'long awaited' visit of US president Obama to India. They are going to honour him like Bush by arranging his address to the joint session of parliament. It means that once again we are going to see photographs of the members of this pig-sty of bourgeois democracy competing with each other at least to touch him, their master. Manmohan Singh is extremely happy that

he is ready to spread red carpet for Obama after enacting the Nuclear Liability Bill also within the time and conditions stipulated by his US masters. Thus all of them are going to celebrate the visit of Obama exposing their comprador class character fully, further intensifying the neo colonial slavery of the masses and the country. Why should these shameless classes who are honouring the colonial history through organizing the Commonwealth Games spending fabulous sums

should feel any shame for welcoming Obama, in spite of his rabid history as the leader US imperialism? It will be foolish to expect anything different from these compradors and lackeys of imperialists.

But, the case of the working class and other toiling sections is different. For them Obama represents the very same US imperialism which is their main enemy. Obama or Bush, both represents the very same forces who butchered millions and devastated Iraq like many other countries, continuing the massacres in Afghanistan, promoting Zionist Israel which is enslaving and murdering the Palestine people, imposing imperialist globalization and neo liberal policies around the world and perpetuating the barbarous neo-colonisation. It is interfering, bullying, indulging in aggressions, and trying to perpetuate its hegemony everywhere. Even while launching the 'war on terror', it is the number one terrorist in the world. Within our country, through the comprador rulers it has intensified neo colonial slavery, pauperized the people more and more and has devastated the country. It is the enemy of the people in every respect. When the ruling classes and international corporate media are trying to present the so called 'human face' of Obama, which is in fact ugly and barbarous, we should not become a victim of such propaganda. We should not forget that it is continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of each and every country in the neighborhood utilizing the services of Manmohan Singh like lackeys in power in our country.

It is in this situation the CC of the CPI[ML] has called for observing November 8, the day he is arriving in India as ALL INDIA BLACK DAY, to mobilize the masses to demonstrate their anger and to organize various militant protests all over the country. Join the campaign to boycott Obama's visit. Unite all patriotic, democratic secular and left forces in a mighty show of resistance against his visit in order to fully express the hatred and opposition of Indian people against US imperialism and its Indian lackeys. ●

Common Wealth Games: A Colossal Waste and Shame to Indian People

THE Common Wealth Games is a relic of the British imperialist past. It is a reminder of the 'empire where sun never sets', of the dirty and brutal British colonialists. When the Queen's Baton is taken around it is an insult to the heroic martyrs and the

millions who fought for the liberation of this country. The way the CWG is celebrated at such a fabulous cost show that though colonialism has gone out through the front door, neo colonialism has entered through the back door and is spreading its tentacles more firmly than ever. The way this so-called mega show is organised spending more than a trillion rupees, as the media report, is stinking of huge corruption and unprecedented waste, when the vast masses of people are in ever intensifying misery due to sky rocketing price rise and lack of

essential services like drinking water. The contractors, businessmen and bureaucrats are pocketing a fortune, sharing the booty with the political leadership. In the name of completing a huge number of projects, many of which have not even distant relation with sports or games in any form, hundreds of thousands of workers, men, women and children were brought from different regions and subjected to inhuman working and living conditions. Violating even all existing labour laws they are forced to work 10-12 hours, denying even minimum wages, employing even children in hazardous works. There are reports of many contractors cheating the workers by denying payment of even agreed wages. This whole exercise was to transform the elite areas of the city to western or Singapore standards, as repeatedly expressed by the ruling elite sections.

Meanwhile very little is done to improve the sporting facilities or the physical and mental condition of the people to show interest in sports and games. The arena of sports and games is also elicited on the one hand and commercialized on the other. As more and more people are pauperized and thrown below poverty

line, they are deprived of all opportunities to participate in them.

So the CWG as a whole has turned out as money spinning exercise for the rich while people in the city as well as all over India are forced to face more miseries. The UPA government, the Delhi government and the whole sports administration should be blamed for this. It is yet another example of the extent of degeneration of the whole ruling system under neo-neo-colonization against which more people should be mobilized and struggles should be waged. ●

Intensify Solidarity Campaign in Support of Kashmiri and Northeast Peoples

KASHMIR is literally burning. Every day thousands of people are demonstrating in a number of towns and villages demanding 'Azadi'. In the last two months already nearly hundred people were killed and hundreds injured in firing by military, para military and police forces. But this ruthless suppression has not weakened the mass movement. Still the eyes of the government have not opened. It is staging dramas like the latest all party meeting for delaying any meaningful action. Whether it is the military, bureaucratic and political leaderships, all have joined hands to prolong the suppressive rule in Kashmir. All of them are against a political settlement based on the right of self determination of the Kashmiri people. So irrespective of any number of all party meetings or all party delegations visiting Kashmir nothing is going to happen. These are calculated dramas by the govt. and all vested interests to deny the democratic right to the people.

Almost similar is the situation in the Northeastern states. The six decades long military occupation of this region is continuing. Utilising AFSPA like black laws all resistance to military rule is brutally suppressed. The divide and dominate approach of the military, bureaucracy and political leaderships are leading to

denial of even essential food items at reasonable price.

It is in this situation the CC of CPI[ML] has called for a vigorous campaign at India level in support of the demands of the peoples of these regions: Withdraw military and all black laws including the AFSPA and accept right of self determination of the people. It will culminate with a rally at Imphal on November 2, when Irom Sharmila's fast demanding withdrawal of AFSPA shall be completing ten years. We appeal to all democratic and left forces to support the struggle of Kashmiri people and the peoples of the Northeast. ●



Protest Against Queen's Baton and colossal wastage and corruption in the name of Common Wealth Games at Bhopal on 17 September by AIRSO, SJP and other democratic organisations

Resolutions Passed by the Central Committee of the CPI(ML)

ON KASHMIR AND NORTHEAST PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

THE MASSACRE of 15 and critical injuries to scores of protestors at Badgam and other places on 13th September night has taken the number of people killed during the new wave of mass upsurge of Kashmiri people to 70, while hundreds were seriously injured. What is happening during the last two months is a new turn in the movement for right to self-determination for Kashmiri peoples. Masses of people are confronting the military, para-military and police forces in the streets to put an end to virtual military rule and state terror. In Manipur the indefinite fast of Irom Sarmila demanding the withdrawal of the AFSPA is going to complete 10 years on 2nd November. In support of it the mass movement is also gaining strength. The many decade long military suppression and state terror have not weakened the struggle of the people of Kashmir and Northeast for right of self determination.

The CC of CPI [ML] demands the immediate withdrawal of military and all black laws from Kashmir and Northeast and political settlement of the problems in these regions based on the right of self determination of the peoples. The CPI[ML] extends full support to the peoples of Kashmir and Northeast in their struggle for achieving their genuine demands.

UNITE AGAINST STATE TERROR

INSTEAD of solving the basic needs of the people, the Indian ruling class is taking the path of state terror all over the India. The existing democracy is crippled more and more. The Prime Minister is saying repeatedly that Maoists and naxalites are the main problem in the country. By building up this bogey of "Maoists" the ruling classes are using the resultant insecurity to create greater and greater fascisation of the state apparatus.

In the current phase, especially in view of the crisis that imperialism is going through, there is a greater and more unregulated wanton destruction of the natural and human resources in our country. In various parts of India, in Kalinganagar, in Singur, in Raigarh, in Pollavaram and in other places, the people are rising against this sale of our country. However, the state machinery is responding to this resistance with police force, by passing black laws and by passing judgements through the Supreme Court and lower courts which have hamstrung the resistance of the people and have crippled them in the struggle to preserve their rights to their environs and the products of their labour.

This situation is also clearly reflected in states like J&K and the North East, where the people are fighting for their right to self-determination. Even the most basic democratic rights of the people including the right to liberty, the right to a living wage and the right to land is being increasingly violated in the name of "development".

We call upon the people of India to oppose this fascisation of the Indian state and to fight to expose the black laws of the government and the anti-people judgements of the courts as well as the guns and bullets of the police and para-military forces which are only trained upon the struggling people.

STOP DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE

DISPLACEMENT in the name of BOT projects for Express ways and other infrastructural developments in most of the states, for nuclear plants as in Jaitapur in Maharashtra, for 'development' hubs and corridors as in the coastal regions AP and Orissa and in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh like states, besides the numerous Special Economic Zones is intensifying, snatching away hundreds of thousands of prime agricultural land, forest lands under occupation of adivasis etc devastating the life of peasantry mainly the landless and poor peasants and agricultural workers and destroying the ecology at alarming rate.

Realising the consequences of the imperialist dictated development model which is throwing out millions of families from their habitats, pauperising vast majority of the people and devastating their lives and environment everywhere people are getting organized and waging valiant struggles against these numerous projects of World Bank, ADB, MNCs and Corporate forces and the central and state governments imposing them.

The CC of CPI [ML] supports all these struggles. It calls on the whole organization to get fully involved to intensify these struggles. It calls on all revolutionary left and democratic forces to support them to get involved in them and to lead these struggles forward combining it with organizing a countrywide resistance to get the imperialist promoted development system thrown out.

ON FORTHCOMING COURT VERDICT ON BABRI MASJID ISSUE

THE Allahabad High Court verdict on Babri Masjid issue is expected on 24 September after almost two decades which itself is a travesty of justice. The court is expected to take a decision on whether the Babri Masjid is a mosque or a temple. It is a fact that historical evidences available

documents before the court are not in favour of the claims of the Sangh Parivar. Anticipating that the court verdict may go against them the Hindutua forces have already declared that matters pertaining to faith cannot be subjected to court verdicts. In the context of the recent political reverses the BJP is bent upon making maximum utilization of this issue for further communal division of the people.

The Congress which has played a major role right from 1949 itself in transforming Babri Masjid in to a disputed structure and in communalizing the issue is trying to make maximum mileage of the forthcoming court verdict through its 'soft Hindutua' approach. While the Sangh Parivar has declared in advance that it will not accept the court verdict if it is against it, the Congress with its agenda of appeasing Hindutua forces has come out with a 'formula' for a consensus outside the court. Meanwhile, the Sangh Parivar has started its vicious communal propaganda for the construction of a temple at the Banri Masjid site.

This explosive situation calls for concerted intervention from the part of all progressive, democratic and secular forces against the heinous moves of the Hindutua forces as well as against the communal appeasement policies of Congress. The CC of CPI[ML] appeals to all concerned sections to come forward to defeat the diabolical game of the ruling classes and the government as well as the BJP led opposition to communally divide the people and to divert their attention from the burning issues before them.

NUCLEAR LIABILITY ACT: ANOTHER SELLING AWAY OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.

THE WAY the Nuclear Liability Bill was rushed through parliament and enacted providing all facilities for the MNCs to supply their outdated nuclear plants to 'Indian' operators saving themselves from the huge liabilities that will be involved in case of a nuclear accident as happened in Chernobyl is yet another example of the way national interests are sold away to imperialists, especially US imperialists. It is a shame that the whole debate on the bill was reduced to increasing the liability from Rs.500 to Rs. 1500 crores, a paltry amount even after the increase considering the enormity of a nuclear accident, and to just removing a clause to make the supplier also responsible for paying a part of this paltry liability amount.

The Bhopal disaster of 1984 has already proved that how much damage will be done even by a serious accident in a chemical plant. It proved how the central and state governments, the judiciary and the mainstream political parties joined hands to save the Union Carbide and later Dow Chemicals from all liabilities of helping the more than half a million affected people. With this record of servitude and with this Nuclear Liability Act it is absolutely clear that the government is exposing the people to a greater catastrophe in case of a nuclear accident. It is yet another

example of the intensifying neo-colonial slavery of our country.

The CC of CPI [ML] demands a moratorium on building any more nuclear reactors till fool proof methods against radiation hazards and for nuclear waste disposal are developed. It demands the implementation of strict safety codes in the existing nuclear plants and a moratorium on the expansion of their capacities. Meanwhile renewable energy sources should be developed and wanton usage of energy by the affluent classes should be cut down. It calls on all patriotic democratic forces to join hands and intensify the struggle to throw out all the nuclear agreements signed with US administration including the Nuclear Liability Act.

RESOLUTION ON NEPAL SITUATION

THE SITUATION in Nepal is becoming increasingly unbearable for the common people. Even after seven rounds of voting, though Prachanda has been getting far larger numbers of votes than his rivals, all ruling class parties have closed ranks to deny him the Prime Ministership. The latest skit was the airing of clips allegedly showing a leader of the UCPN (Maoist) asking for money from the Chinese Government to buy votes. This only revealed the desperation of the opposition to Prachanda. It is against all norms of fair and democratic election to release such propaganda through state media on the day of voting.

The greatest danger which permeates the present situation is the danger of foreign intervention, either by the US and its cohorts or by India. Both are waiting with bated breath for the least excuse to intervene and crush the Nepalese movement and swallow Nepal without demur. It is up the people of India to lead the democratic fight against foreign intervention into the internal affairs of Nepal.

The 'Gen. Katyal incident' brought into clear relief that the ruling classes in Nepal are not going to easily allow a fair and democratic fight. It is the task of the working class the world over to demand that the elections to the Prime Minister's post in Nepal is held in a fair and democratic fashion even as per the accepted norms.

We call upon the people of Nepal to bring in a progressive democratic government which will allow them to complete the fight against the feudal monarchical system and to fight the imperialist and expansionist designs on Nepal. We call upon the working class and other exploited masses all over the world to build up a movement to support fair and democratic elections in Nepal.

We call upon the working class and other exploited masses all over the world, especially in India, to fight against any attempt by the USA or India to interfere in the situation in Nepal. Long live the unity of the working class and other exploited masses of Nepal and India and all other countries.

Workers of all countries unite.

Against Price-rise and Anti-people Economic Policies

PRICES of all essential items, especially that of food items and all round inflation are surging ahead without any let up. These are not due to any natural calamities like factors, but the direct outcome of the neo liberal policies deliberately and intensively pursued by the Manmohan govt. While government intervention in the market for controlling prices and procurement of food and essential items are abandoned at a very fast pace, the food subsidies are reduced and speculative forces are wantonly unleashed, the futures trading, hoarding and black marketing are mushrooming throughout the country. Corruption has become rampant. While Rs. 65,000 crores worth of food grains has perished on account of lack of godown facilities, the UPA government is leasing out large number of FCI godowns to futures traders like Reliance. The BPL list is meanwhile continuously cut down.

Along with this, the UPA govt., at the behest of Corporate oil giants has demolished the administered price mechanism in the oil sector, leaving the fuel prices to be totally determined by the market forces. This has become the immediate cause for the sudden rise in prices in recent period.

Not only the UPA govt. at center, but also the state govts various ruling class parties and the CPI(M) are implementing the very same neo-liberal policies that lead to inflation and price rise. Since the price rise is directly linked to neo liberal policies, it can be arrested only with the reversal of these policies. This can be done only by building up people's resistance against these policies. The CC of CPI(ML) calls upon the working class and toiling sections to come to the streets and wage a protracted struggle against the inflationary policies of the central and state governments. ●

13 September 2010 CC, CPI(ML)

Obama : Neo-Liberalism With A New Face

Sankar Das

OBAMA'S scheduled visit to India, on 8th November, 2010, is going to raise much resentment even though he is trying to project a human face for American imperialism. Unlike his predecessor, George W. Bush, he has been able to attract a section of liberal and democratic people around the world. Although intellectuals like Paul Krugman have already expressed disappointment on Obama's presidential job recently in his blog ('he wasn't the man we've been waiting for'), still he is enjoying considerable support at home and abroad. In India too Obama has better acceptability than Bush. The Indo-US nuke deal took three years to be completed, after the joint statement by George Bush and Manmohan Singh was initiated. But Obama advanced much faster towards the next step of getting the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill passed by Indian parliament. It is absolutely predictable that the stranglehold of US neo-colonial grip over Indian socio-economic and political life is going to intensify much faster under the presidency of Barack Obama. Therefore, it is the task of all revolutionary left and democratic-patriotic people to launch a powerful counter-offensive against US imperialism in general and to boycott the forthcoming visit of Obama in particular.

Obama took office as US president in 2009 with a call of 'change'. Taking advantage of his colour he made people believe that the policies of the US government on national and foreign issues would be radically changed hereafter. A section of people had forgotten the history of the US which reveals that the basic character of Republican and Democratic political ideology has always been the same. It might be said that Obama has kept his election promise to withdraw the army from Iraq.

But a close look will show that the basic policy of US imperialism has remained unchanged. The US army stayed in Iraq throughout a time span of seven years and 165 days. In this period of time it has fulfilled its task of overthrowing Saddam Hussein from power and causing huge destruction. Under the neo-colonial phase it is not the policy of imperialism to stay in a foreign country for ever to rule. It had to walk out from there and it has done so. Interestingly Obama has kept 50000 soldiers in Iraq whose mission is to assist the Iraqi army to prolong US domination. Everybody knows that presently US army has military bases in more than 150 countries throughout the globe (for assistance!) and the number is increasing under Obama. Under the rule of Saddam, especially during his last years, Iraq was not only outside US's world-wide network but also was posing threat to it in middle-east which is one of the most sensitive areas for US imperialism due to oil and dollar reserve.

The success of Bush was that he broke Iraq completely and compelled it to come under its global indirect rule and on that basis now Obama is establishing real neo-colonial hegemony. Therefore the depiction of Bush by Obama as a patriot is quite natural. In the speech on the occasion of withdrawing army from Iraq, Obama said, "It's well known that he and I disagreed about the war from its outset, yet no one can doubt President Bush's support for our troops, or his love of country and commitment to our security. As I have said, there were patriots who supported this war, and patriots who opposed it. And all of us are

united in appreciation for our servicemen and women for Iraq's future' (www.foxnews.com). No wonder for Obama Bush becoming a patriot.

It can also be said that Obama's recent tax reforms, even after hollow talks about putting more tax burden on the richer sections in American society, in spite of their pro people façade, did not help the poor. US imperialism has already decided to organize a very limited reverse flow of money in its economy in order to face the severe world-economic catastrophe which is becoming incurable day by day. The US economy is facing the worst ever downturn in its entire history. The rate of unemployment is climbing high in recent years. In the month of January, 2008 the unemployment rate was 5 per cent, in the same month of the year 2009 it was 7.7 per cent and it has shot up to 10 per cent in January, 2010. The high rate of unemployment causes low and sometimes even negative growth of effective demand which in return causes production cuts and hence further job cuts are becoming imperative. To break this vicious circle a heavy bail-out package was introduced but it has been producing almost nothing so far expect increasing gross national debt. The Debt-GDP ratio in US economy has already touched 93 per cent and is feared to reach a staggering 101.9 per cent in 2011. Already a number of economies in the world have failed due to high rate of Debt-GDP ratio including those of Greece and Iceland in Europe. Now America is also advancing to the same direction. In this scenario a reverse flow of money (though very limited due to inner-contradiction of capitalist mode of production) is the last gambling effort to save the US imperialist economy. This is the only reason why Obama is thinking of withdrawing the tax cuts introduced by Bush regime, for individuals who earn more than \$200,000 per year and families that make more than \$250,000.

The same perspective underlies Obama's labor policy. In a recent interview he said since Bangalore is 'taking away' American jobs therefore those US companies will get incentives which will employ solely US workers. He has made it clear also that his administration will take strict steps to prevent illegal immigration. He also said that the unscrupulous businesses that break the law on exploitation of undocumented workers are undermining the US economy and they should be punished. All of these statements are to be judged in the same light. History has taught that whenever capitalist economy faced severe crises the leading economies tried to save their skin raising the wall of protectionism around it. Therefore Obama is taking the classical imperialist route which has no intention to do any good for American working class. The ruthless destruction of social security net can reveal that. At the same time creating disunity among the workers of different nations is his intention without which the world-imperialism led by Obama will not survive.

It also goes without saying that under this situation the US state is going to be more and more repressive in nature. The huge militarization which is constantly taking place not only eats up a considerably larger portion of its citizen's income but also is used against them in the name of national security and 'patriotism'. The 'Patriotic Law' introduced by Bush is constantly becoming draconian incorporating more and more clauses under Obama. The red eyes of Obama administration recently become shamelessly visible against Wikileaks, the website who has been published 91000 classified reports on Afgan war (2004-2009) which reveals the real colors of American Imperialism.

The international corporate media is trying desperately to hoodwink the world-people by portraying a human face of US imperialism by using Obama. Historically the African-American community in US is socially oppressed and deprived. Now, when for the first time in American history a Black President is elected, media has launched a huge campaign to make people believe that some radical changes are going to take place in US foreign and home policies. A good

number of US based Indians stood in favor of Obama in election and subsequently represented in his decision making team. But without changing the whole oppressive and exploitive system, what happens when a person is simply taken out from that community to be placed on the top of the system is thousand times proved in history. Still surprisingly a section of Indian liberals and democrats are considerably soft towards the new President which gives enough opportunity to the Indian government to intensify its policy of to US imperialism. Here lies the unique selling point of Barrack Hussein Obama for them.

Bush left office as one of the most unpopular Presidents in US history. By April 2008, Bush's disapproval ratings were the lowest ever recorded in the history of the Gallop Poll for any president, with 69 per cent of those polled disapproving Bush. When he left, his popular rating was only second to Richard Nixon. In India too he had an image of war-monger which created a serious problem in front of the Indian lackeys of imperialism in hobnobbing with Bush. Obama is free from this disadvantage to a good extent, But he is more dangerous than Bush. Gone are the days of the erstwhile colonial rule when it was taken for granted that imperialist rulers naturally possess a blood-sucking image. In today's neo-colonial world order imperialist rulers try to put on a friendly mask to deceive the people. The relation between the gun and the Bible during the colonial days has become ever more dialectical in the world today. In this context, the revolutionary left and patriotic-democratic forces should launch a massive counter-offensive against the cunning imperialism and its lackeys like Manmohan-Sonia-Advani and company. It is in this context, the call of the CPI(ML) to boycott the visit of Obama and intensify the preparations to overthrow the neo-colonial stranglehold over our country becomes extremely significant. ●

Herald the Revolutionary Initiative to Re-organise Communist International

K.N. Ramachandran

A LONG period of sixty seven years have passed after the dissolution of the *Third or Communist International* or *Comintern*, as it was popularly known, in 1943. These decades are particularly significant for the remarkable efforts made by global imperialist system led by its new leader, US imperialism, to strengthen the unity of the camp of the imperialists and their lackeys more than ever. Two factors compelled them to go for other means than the colonial policies or to go for another world war for a new re-division of the world in order to continue their hegemony over the oppressed peoples and nations. Firstly, the still continuing perennial crisis of the imperialist system which even after the Second World War refused to disappear and was coming up in new forms. Secondly, the unprecedented and growing threats from the socialist camp which was strengthened many times under the leadership of Soviet Union following the War, the intensification of the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and growing presence of powerful communist parties around the world. History of the post War decades show that imperialism led by US imperialism equipped itself ideologically, politically and organizationally utilizing the hegemony it could achieve in the field of nuclear arms and modern science and technology, to launch a new global offensive through new methods of exploitation and domination.

During the War itself, even while forming united front with Soviet Union, US and its imperialist allies did not stop their anti communist

propaganda wee bit. Like the fascist axis forces US and allies also stepped up the demand for the dissolution of the Comintern. Similarly they were making plans for post War re-organisation of the world under US initiative. The Atlantic Charter put forward in 1941 and Brettenwoods Agreement of 1944 were part of the US plan for replacing colonial occupations and plunder with neo colonial methods of establishing hegemony and intensifying plunder using capital, market system and modern technological advances. As part of the political offensive the United Nations Organisation was launched as a platform to unite the imperialist countries with the 'newly independent' countries with necessary mechanisms to exercise control over it. In the military field, alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, etc. were formed to exercise containment of the socialist countries and control over the former colonies, which were 'de-colonised'. Ruthless anti-communist aggressions were organized in countries where the national liberation movements were advancing. US-led imperialists had not become Budhas as the revisionists who had usurped power in Soviet Union under the leadership of Krushchov presented. US-led imperialists had replaced colonialism with 'more pernicious and heinous neo colonialism'. The tiger had come inside through the back door when the leopard had gone outside through the front door, as the CPC had explained in its writings during the polemics against the Soviet revisionists. Throughout this process the imperialists went on strengthening their unity through numerous organizational forms, building a number of plat forms to intensify their struggle against international communist movement by resorting to dirtier methods than ever. The leaders of the so called 'newly independent countries' like Jawaharlal Nehru were utilized for this purpose in various forms. It was clear as day light before the whole world that the US-led imperialists were launching vicious attacks against ICM in methods most foul, strengthening their unity for this purpose.

Soviet revisionists act as accomplices of US imperialists

In spite of the above glaring facts the Soviet revisionists led by Krushchov argued that imperialism had become weaker and peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition is possible with it at strategic levels. They argued that in this situation peaceful transition to socialism is also possible. They argued that colonialism has come to an end. Bitterly struggling against this arch revisionist stand the CPC in its comment Apologists of Neo-colonialism published as part of the Great Debate in 1963 had stated:

"The facts are clear. After World War II the imperialists have certainly not given up colonialism, but have merely adopted a new form, neo-colonialism. An important characteristic of such neo-colonialism is that the imperialists have been forced to change their old style of direct colonial rule in some areas and to adopt a new style of colonial rule and exploitation by relying on the agents they have selected and trained. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing "federations" or "communities", and fostering puppet regimes. By means of economic "aid"

or other forms, they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw material and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the riches and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for subjecting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by "peaceful" means, they engineer military coups d'etat, carry out subversion or even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression.

"The United States is most energetic and cunning in promoting neo-colonialism. With this weapon, the U.S. imperialists are trying hard to grab the colonies and spheres of influence of other imperialists and to establish world domination.

"This neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism.

"We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU, under such circumstances how can it be said that the abolition of colonial rule has already entered the "final phase"?"

As the CPC correctly criticized the Soviet leadership had turned in to apologists of the neo colonial policies ruthlessly pursued by the US led imperialist camp. As the capitalist restoration went on intensifying in Soviet Union, it also started implementing the neo colonial policies. Then it turned in to an imperialist power contending and colluding with US imperialism for world hegemony, always utilizing the socialist sign board to confuse its own cadres and the people. It naturally abandoned the banner of proletarian internationalism and efforts to reorganize the Communist International (CI). Following the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of the communist parties in which its arch revisionist positions came out it openly attacked Stalin personally and the contributions of the CI, but also started taking social democratic positions. At this difficult juncture as the CPC took the leadership in the struggle against Soviet revisionism, all the Marxist Leninist forces around the world were looking towards it to take this historic initiative of uniting the Marxist Leninist forces internationally and beginning the process of reorganizing the CI according to the concrete conditions existing then and based on the Proposal Concerning the International Communist Movement. But the most unfortunate thing was that not only it took initiative for it, but also it led them to the non Marxist stand that an international is no more required.

*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

**International Situation and Our Tasks
Character of Indian State
The Principal Contradiction
Path of Indian Revolution**

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Zhou Enlai spearheads attack against proletarian internationalism

In a speech on July 14, 1960, he stated, as authorized by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, as he claimed, that "it was necessary to establish the Communist International and it was also necessary to dissolve it." Making this point further clear he said "There was no question that it was necessary to establish the Communist International, which played an important role in helping to form Communist parties in various countries and in stimulating their growth. But by the time these Parties grew up and matured, there was no longer any need for the Communist International to exist." According to him: "Under the present circumstances, if a new international organization should be established, it would be difficult to achieve political and economic equality among its members."

We have reproduced Zhou's speech in full with a comment in Issue No 4 of *The Marxist Leninist* January 2010. There we have pointed out that in his whole article there is no effort to mention even once about proletarian internationalism or about its significance in advancing socialist transformation in China. His whole line of argument against reorganizing the Communist International is based on a subjective analysis of the consequences of its interferences which caused setbacks to the revolutionary struggles in China. There are certain criticisms from few other countries also about the advises given by the CI. At the same time there are numerous instances of Communist Parties not implementing the general orientation of the CI and degenerating to alien positions. So the approach taken by the CPC leaders in analyzing the CI is rather simplistic. In effect it went against the Marxist Leninist understanding about proletarian internationalism.

Besides, Zhou's attack on the CI for all the problems faced by the CPC during its difficult days goes against some facts which have come out through other documents. In order to help an objective study about the role of the CI in China we are reproducing the speech of Zhou as well as Stalin's conversation with the delegation of the CC of CPC in Moscow on 11th July 1949. During this interview Stalin commented: "The Chinese delegation declares that the Communist Party of China will submit to the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To us this seems odd. The Party of one state submitting to a party from another state. It has never happened and is impermissible". When the CPC delegation explained that "if on some questions there arise differences in the views between the CPC and the AUCP[B] then the CPC having explained its view would submit to and decisively carry through the decisions of the AUCP[B]" Stalin intervened to oppose such a stand.

It is a fact that, as Mao had pointed out, the *Communist International* and CPSU leaderships, may have given certain wrong advises without understanding the concrete conditions in China. They may have led to difficulties for the revolutionary struggles in China also. But as Stalin had pointed out and the *Communist International* in a 1935 Resolution asserted, it is the responsibility of individual parties to apply these resolutions, directives and suggestions according to concrete conditions of each country.

Often it did not happen so because they were mechanically implemented without bothering to analyse the conditions in the country and whether they are applicable in such conditions. Or due to ideological and political weaknesses of the concerned party they were mechanically followed. But can they be sighted as reasons for negating the need for an international? We should remember that the CPC leaders were

taking this stand when the imperialist camp led by US was strengthening their unity in all fields against the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples.

What happened in the absence of even an international platform for the Marxist Leninist Parties which emerged in the struggle against Soviet revisionism? A worst situation emerged. All of them looked towards the CPC as the revolutionary authority. Every word coming from Beijing including the editorials and broadcasts from there were accepted as unquestionable gospels. Zhou was in the leadership when Lin Biao's 'Long Live the Victory of Protracted Peoples War' dictating it as the path of revolution for all countries was published. When the editorial of Peoples Daily hailing Naxalbari struggle had come out analyzing India as a semi colonial semi feudal country without making any concrete analysis the condition in India, Zhou was still in the leadership. When he had gone against reorganizing the CI for the wrong advises given by its leadership what explanation he had for creating a condition in which all the parties looked towards the CPC as the guardian angel. It is quite natural that in the absence of a Communist International or at least an international platform in which exchange of experiences and ideological discussions could take place in a democratic atmosphere, the father party concept will naturally come up, especially when Mao Tsetung and the CPC had immense prestige among the newly emerged Marxist Leninist forces. So all the arguments put forward by Zhou against reorganizing the CI are opposed to the spirit of internationalism. It is this line which helped the growth of bourgeois nationalism within the CPC leading to capitalist restoration, turning China in to a social imperialist power contending and colluding with US imperialism.

Struggle against all alien trends opposing reorganization of the Communist International

Today except for the social democratic parties like CPI and CPI[M], few degenerates from among the Marxist Leninist forces and the imperialists and their lackeys for ridiculing the socialist forces no body characterize China as a socialist country and the CPC as a communist party. The theory of productive forces adopted by the 8th Congress, Lin Biao's 'Long live the Victory of Protracted Peoples War' as the strategic recipe for revolution in all countries, the New Era concept and Lin Biao as Mao's pre determined successor adopted by the 9th Congress, the Theory of Three Worlds projected as Mao's contribution etc are rejected by almost all the responsible Marxist Leninist forces. But somehow or other the understanding against reorganizing the CI propagated by the CPC leadership is still upheld by many of them. Even when China, which was proscribed from going for the reorganization of the CI by Zhou and company, is glob trotting today to attend the G20 like imperialist sponsored assemblies and US led imperialist powers are strengthening their unity in all fields, in spite of inter imperialist contradictions, the thinking against reorganizing the CI according to concrete conditions of today is still influencing many organizations. So this erroneous trend should be vigorously fought against.

The concept of proletarian internationalism was put forward by Marx and Engels based on their scientific analysis of the capitalist system which was trying to 'create a world in its own image' as explained by them in *The Communist Manifesto* as follows:

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of

existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

“The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

“The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

“The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians’ intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.”

What was initiated was the internationalization of production cutting across all national boundaries. It was in this situation Marx and Engels raised the epochal slogan. “Workers of the World Unite”. They declared that with the advent of capitalist system the workers have no nations. Their liberation is possible only through the overthrow of the capitalist system which is basically an international struggle. It called for the building of the **First International** based on the principles of proletarian internationalism which task they fulfilled uniting the existing working class organizations.

When Paris Commune brought forward a deeper understanding about the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the question of proletariat wielding political power, the First International was dissolved and reorganized as the **Second International**. When the leadership of it, failing to understand the barbarous character of monopoly capitalism or imperialism that had emerged by the beginning of the 20th century, compromised with it leading to its collapse, taking it up as a great challenge Lenin developed the scientific understanding

about imperialism through his epochal contribution, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, led Russian revolution to its great victory and took initiative to reorganize the international in to **Communist International** or **Comintern**, putting forward the strategic concepts of world proletarian socialist revolution, underlining the principles of proletarian internationalism.

It was under the leadership of the **Comintern** the historic task of taking the Marxist-Leninist understanding around the world and building communist parties not only in the imperialist countries but also in the large number of countries under colonial domination was vigorously taken up. It led to the historic worldwide advances made by proletarian movements, national liberation struggles and anti imperialist movements. Nobody can obliterate this great history.

It is in this context the efforts made by a considerable number of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations at the international level to start with coordinating their activities as a first step towards reorganizing the International Communist Movement have great significance. However limited their strength may be, such an initiative in a world where the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, are trying to ride roughshod over the world people and committing innumerable atrocities and barbarous aggressions as in Iraq and Afghanistan, making overwhelming majority of the people destitute and even the very existence of humankind difficult due to the ecological destruction created under their reactionary ‘development priorities is of great significance.

Let us herald this new beginning. Let the call of the **Communist International** : Not imperialism, it is socialism that shall be the future of the mankind reverberates mightier than ever. ●

The Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party

Zhou Enlai (14-15 July 1960)

[*Explanatory Note:* We are reproducing this speech of Zhou Enlai on international relations, particularly the relation between the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party to show how simplistically this cardinal question of proletarian internationalism was dealt by such top leaders of the CPC. In his whole speech there is no effort to mention even once about proletarian internationalism or about its significance in advancing the socialist transformation in China.

After mentioning that *Communist International* played an important role in helping to form communist parties in various countries and in stimulating their growth, he states outrightly: “*But by the time these parties grew up and matured, there was no longer any need for the Communist International to exist*”. So he saw the Communist International isolated from the *First* and *Second Internationals* and from the Communist slogan: Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite. For him the Communist International had only the limited role of helping the formation of the communist parties. He continues his negative approach to the Communist International again as follows: “*Under the present circumstances if a new international organisation should be established it would be difficult to achieve political and economic equality among its members.*” Then he goes on explaining the negative experience of the CPC during the so-called ‘Second Period’ (1927-35). He does not mention even once about the necessity to reorganise the *CI*.

It is a fact that though the concrete conditions underwent

important changes from the time of formation of the *Communist International* in 1919 both objectively and subjectively, corresponding changes were not introduced to transform it into a democratic organisation of the Communist Parties engaged in developing revolutionary movement in their own countries according to concrete conditions there. But there is nothing on record to show whether the CPC or any other party had put any concrete proposals to transform the Communist International in this manner. On the contrary in the name of certain mistaken positions of the Communist International towards Chinese Revolution, the CPC accepted its dissolution in 1943. And it never called for reorganising the Communist International. Nor it took any steps in this direction even after putting forward *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM* in 1963 openly condemning the capitalist path of the Soviet leadership. This negative attitude of the CPC leadership towards the Marxist-Leninist approach of building the unity among the Communist Parties at international level along with its failure to develop the understanding about neo-colonisation put forward in 1963 based on developing the understanding about imperialism led by US imperialism in the post-World War II decades played an important role in the setbacks suffered by the ICM.

A study of this article by Zhou Enlai calls for intensifying the need to fight this erroneous tendency, which goes against the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism - *Red Star*]

I HAVE been asked by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to speak on international relations, particularly the relations between the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party.

I wish to make six brief points:

1. It was necessary to establish the Communist International and it was also necessary to dissolve it. From its inception to its dissolution, the Communist International existed for 24 years (1919-43), which can be divided into three eight-year periods. Comrade Mao Zedong once commented that the Communist International functioned well during the first and third periods, but not very well during the second. By that, he did not mean that everything was good during the first and third periods and nothing was good during the second. There is no question that it was necessary to establish the Communist International, which played an important role in helping to form Communist Parties in various countries and in stimulating their growth. But by the time these Parties grew up and matured, there was no longer any need for the Communist International to exist.

During its initial days, the Communist International succeeded in expounding the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism and in promoting worldwide development of the communist movement. Although Lenin enjoyed great authority at that time, the International made its decisions on the basis of democratic centralism, and there was a lively atmosphere in which the representatives of various Parties voiced their opinions freely. The International drew a clear line between the Communist Parties and the social-democratic parties, and at the same time it criticized the “Left-wing” infantile disorder. In the spirit of

internationalism, it mobilized the revolutionary people of different countries to support the Soviet Union and promoted the revolutionary struggles and national revolutionary movements of various peoples.

Nevertheless, the dissolution of the Communist International also came at an appropriate moment. In 1935 it adopted a resolution to the effect that it should not interfere with the internal affairs of the various Parties, and after that it did give them a freer hand. But at the time, there was still reason for its existence, because it was playing an active role in the struggle to fight fascism and establish the united front. In June 1943, with the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, the Communist International was dissolved.

The weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist International, particularly during the second period, can be summarized as follows: it failed to conform its general calls with the realities of different countries, and it gave specific instructions to individual Parties instead of providing them with guidance in principle, thus interfering in their internal affairs and hindering them from acting independently and bringing their own initiative and creativity into play.

This is only a rough evaluation of the International.

2. A country's revolution and construction depend on the practice of the people of that country. Only by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the country can one enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism. It is essential to sum up one's experience, both positive and negative, in the course of practice. The Chinese Communist Party has gained rich experience. In spite of the errors it has made by following "Left" or Right lines on different occasions, it has acquired important positive experience.

3. Each Party must think independently with regard to revolution and construction in its own country. Only independent thinking will prevent it from repeating the negative experience of other countries and enable it to draw on their positive experience. I understand that there are many people who do not think independently and who merely follow others blindly; it is not easy to change this mentality. Of course, independent thinking does not mean arrogance or arbitrariness and it does not mean refusal to accept the Communist International's good ideas. Chen Duxiu was arrogant and arbitrary. So was Comrade Li Lisan, who held that we should try to take Wuhan and win victory first in one province or several provinces; that one or more victories of this kind would herald nationwide victory; that we should argue it out with the Communist International after we had taken Wuhan; that the Soviet Union should send troops to help when there was an upsurge in the Chinese revolution; and that with the success of the Chinese revolution, the capitalist class in Britain, the United States, France and other countries would be doomed and world revolution would begin. Comrade Li Lisan would certainly laugh at those ideas if he reviewed them now.

4. In revolution and construction, a country should act independently and rely on its own efforts. Comrade Mao Zedong once observed that both revolutions in the two big countries, the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, succeeded when the Communist International was not in existence. Under the present circumstances, if a new international organization should be established, it would be difficult to achieve political and economic equality among its members.

5. When examining the experience of the Communist International, we should take an all-round view. Stalin was in charge for a long time, and there were many shortcomings and mistakes. But not everything during his period was wrong. Even in the second period of the International during Stalin's late

years, he did more to encourage than to discourage revolutionary movements. When we held our ground, he could still accept our views and implicitly acknowledge his mistakes. Once his doubts proved to be misplaced, he was willing to change his mind. For instance, he doubted if we were genuine Marxists and if we wanted to oppose the imperialists, but he changed his views at the time of the Korean war. So Stalin was reasonable. It is true that he erred on the question of the Chinese revolution, but the Chinese comrades should take greater responsibility for the mistakes made in that revolution, because we were the decisive factor. Moreover, we have already realized and corrected our mistakes, and our revolution has already succeeded.

6. Unity is paramount, and long live internationalism. This is a matter of principle now, just as it was in the past. By unity, we mean unity based on principle. If there are differences, we should try to proceed from the desire for unity and resolve them by means of appropriate criticism and struggle so as to achieve unity on a new basis. At the same time, criticism should be made on the right occasion and in a friendly way, and it should be based on facts and reasoning. If this approach doesn't work right away, one must be patient, because it takes time. The Chinese Party has had much experience in this regard. The Party committed "Left" errors three times in a period of eight years during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), and it took us ten years, from the Zunyi Meeting in 1935 to the Seventh Party Congress in 1945, to correct them. If this is the case with a single Party, it is all the more so with the Communist International. We must hold high the banner of unity. That means unity with millions of Party members and 200 million other people in the Soviet Union, with members of other fraternal Parties and with the more than 90 per cent of the people throughout the world who want to make revolution.

Now I should like to deal with the relations between the Communist International and our Party in different periods.

1. *The First Period of the Communist International (March 1919-July 1927).*

In this period the Communist International was helpful to the Chinese revolution, although it made mistakes on a few questions of principle.

After its inception in March 1919, the International sent missions to different countries to visit prominent public figures and work on them. In China they approached not only Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao but also Jiang Kanghu, Huang Jiemin and Dai Jitao; they called on Wu Peifu in the north and on Sun Yat-sen in the south. With the help of the International, the Chinese Communist Party was founded in a very short time, because the May 4th Movement had already laid the foundation for it. The Chinese Party soon identified itself with the struggle of the masses. By that time the International had begun to devote more time to China issues in its discussions. The question of revolution in the East was discussed at both its Second Congress in 1920 and its Third Congress in 1921. During its Fourth Congress the International held a serious debate on the Chinese revolution, and after that it recruited many Chinese intellectuals to study in Moscow. In 1923 it adopted a resolution on co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, which allowed Party members to join the Kuomintang but stipulated that the Party should maintain its independence. It also discussed the possibility of launching an agrarian revolution in China and sent us instructions on the matter. When the Chinese Communist Party convened its Third Congress in June 1923, there were two dominant views, the "Left" and the Right. The Right view, represented by Chen Duxiu, was that

the Chinese revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution and should therefore be led by the bourgeoisie, with the proletariat only playing a supporting role; and there was no mention at all of the question of leadership to be exercised by the proletariat. The "Left" view, represented by Zhang Guotao, was that only a few Communist Party members, and none from the working class, should join the Kuomintang. In fact, both views denied leadership by the proletariat. Although at its Fourth Congress the Party adopted resolutions criticizing these views, the problem still remained. As we see it now, the criticism was not directed at the real issue. The mass movement was already in full swing at the time, but wrong decisions were made on major issues because the opportunism represented by Chen Duxiu still held sway. During the Second Congress of the Kuomintang, its right-wingers, such as the Western Hills Clique, became much more aggressive than before. But prior to that there had been a rapid increase in the strength of the left-wing forces in the Kuomintang, after its defeat of the Merchants' Corps in Guangdong and its Eastern Expeditions against Chen Jiongming. The policy of the period, which could have been successful, should have been to support the left wing while excluding the right wing. But Chen Duxiu insisted on the right-wingers returning to the Kuomintang and being elected at its Second Congress. As a result, the right-wingers became more arrogant. We also made concessions on military matters. Our Party was caught off guard when Chiang Kai-shek attacked us by launching the *Zhongshan* Warship Incident and destroyed part of our power base in the military. We were by no means weak and should have fought back, but we failed to do so. As a result, we only had the Independent Regiment in the National Revolutionary Army, which expanded into two divisions when it reached Wuhan.

At the time of the Northern Expedition, we should have tried to gain the support of the masses and the military. But while the Northern Expedition was going on, our Party organ, *The Guide*, which was based in Shanghai and expressed Chen Duxiu's views, opposed the expedition, arguing that as it was a time of wars between the warlords, our people in Guangdong should not have started the Expedition, but should have defended themselves and engaged in mass struggle. Thus, our Party gave up its leadership in the Expedition. When the agrarian revolution was in full swing and Comrade Mao Zedong's article was published, the Central Committee gave them no support. At that time, Chen Duxiu was really afraid of the revolution and the masses. The Executive Committee of the Communist International likewise made an inaccurate analysis of the China question, and its Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Plenums made mistakes in their analysis of the strength of various classes in China. In particular, the Eighth Plenum, held in May 1927, concluded that the bourgeoisie as a whole had turned traitor. Furthermore, the International maintained that after the betrayal by the Wuhan Government, the petty bourgeoisie had also given up the revolution. As for the question of leadership, proletarian leadership was already in embryonic form during the period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation in 1924, and by the time of the First Congress of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party had already assumed a leading role. As a matter of course, our Party should have taken hold of the army, and it was entirely possible for us to have done so during the time of the revolutionary regime in Guangdong, but the Central Committee gave up the leadership. Then Lenin died, and Stalin, preoccupied with his fierce struggle with the opposition in the Party, was entirely unable to formulate a precise policy because he was not well informed about the Chinese revolution. As the centre of the Chinese revolution was in Guangdong, the centre of the Party — its headquarters — should also have been moved there. But the Party was still headquartered in Shanghai, and Chen Duxiu simply refused to go to Guangdong when he was asked to. Thus, the two centres often came into conflict. It was long after Wuhan was taken that the Party's headquarters were finally

moved to Wuhan. In view of all this, our Party's leaders should assume greater responsibility for the mistakes in the first period. At that time Com. Mao Zedong had not yet established his authority; it was impossible for him to do so. Moreover, the leaders of the Party had not yet acquired a deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and there was factionalism among them, which was aggravated by Chen Duxiu's patriarchal style of work. All this hindered the political and ideological development of the Party.

2. The Second Period of the Communist International (July 1927-July 1935).

During this period the line of the Communist International was basically wrong, and its influence on our Party was most serious. In July 1927 the Wuhan Government betrayed the revolution, exposing the bankruptcy of Chen Duxiu's capitulationist line. At this critical moment, the Executive Committee of the International sent a letter to our Central Committee. In this letter the Executive Committee expressed optimism about the future of the revolution but failed to make a correct analysis of its motive power and of the relations among classes, asserting that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had all betrayed the revolution. It proposed seven tasks for the revolution: 1) to withdraw from the Wuhan Government; 2) to issue a declaration 3) to stay in the Kuomintang and organize a left wing within it; 4) to organize workers' struggles; 5) to arm the workers and the peasants; 6) to prepare for the possibility of going underground; and 7) to oppose opportunism. These tasks did not include organizing, armed forces, setting up local governments or deepening the agrarian revolution, which were precisely the things we should have been concentrating on.

The question of opposing Chen's opportunism, must be related to the question of organization. The International sent Borodin to our Party, and at a meeting of the Political Bureau he directly interfered with our internal affairs by setting up a provisional-standing committee. This decision was approved in haste. A declaration issued by the Central Committee on July 13 only mentioned withdrawing from the Wuhan Government. At that time our Party still had some armed forces, such as those commanded by Ye Ting, so we decided to start the Nanchang Uprising. The aim of the uprising was to march south to Shantou, occupy the port there and then proceed to Guangzhou. It was a correct move, but the leadership did not understand the uprising correctly. They conceived of it as a purely military action, based on the view that the cities were of primary importance, without any notion of integrating with the local peasants to establish base areas in the countryside. The International sent a few representatives to China, and under the direction of B. Lominadze, a meeting of the Party was held in Hankou on August 7. At this meeting the Party took a clear-cut stand against opportunism, but it failed to make a correct summary, give correct instructions or set forth definite tasks in connection with such important questions as how to integrate our struggle with the agrarian revolution, how to push forward the mass movement and how to organize armed forces, governments and base areas. When Zhang Tailei came to Shantou to brief us on the meeting, he only criticized opportunism and didn't tell us how to do our work. As I still held the view that cities were of primary importance and had not drawn any lessons from the Shanghai-Uprisings and the Nanchang Uprising, I did not see the need to go up into the mountains and engage in rural struggles.

The failure of the Chinese revolution made the opposition faction attack Stalin more fiercely. In 1927 Stalin wrote a series of articles in an attempt to refute their views, but his theoretical analysis of the Chinese revolution and his appraisal of the situation were in large part incorrect. He maintained that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had left the revolutionary camp one after the other, that the revolution would soon reach high tide and that it was rapidly turning into a

socialist revolution. Influenced by the theoretical analyses and estimate of the situation made by Stalin and by the Communist International, the enlarged meeting of the Provisional Political Bureau of the Central Committee held in November 1927 adopted a putschist line, calling for insurrection everywhere and insisting that the revolution was already at high tide. Organizationally, many people in the Party were given disciplinary punishment, one of the outstanding cases being the expulsion of Tan Pingshan. Comrade Mao Zedong and people like myself were all disciplined. At the November Meeting the Central Committee decided to stage the Guangzhou Uprising, but without setting forth any definite aims. A German and a man from the Soviet Union helped to direct the insurrection. After the failure of the uprising and the death of Comrade Zhang Tailei, the Central Committee sent Comrade Li Lisan to Hong Kong to direct the work in Guangdong Province. This was the zenith of putschism. Guangdong suffered from it most, and the number of cadres killed there was the largest. Because the Party failed to draw the lesson of the uprisings in Shanghai, Nanchang and Guangzhou, the political line still called for insurrection everywhere, which resulted in a great loss of revolutionary strength, especially in the White areas. Another mistake that was made, organizationally, was to replace the Party leaders with people from the working class, which caused more confusion in the leading body and aggravated factionalism. The root

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cause of this too lay in the instructions of the Communist International.

Now a few words about the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The Sixth Congress was convened in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. A delegation from the Chinese Communist Party, including Xiang Zhongfa and others had taken part in that Plenum. With regard to the Sixth Congress, there was first of all a problem concerning the delegates who attended it. Because of the emphasis on working-class origin, there were 41 workers among the 75 delegates. Fourteen of the 16 delegates who later turned traitor were workers. The persons who directed the work of the Sixth Congress on behalf of the Communist International included Bukharin, a French comrade and Togliatti, but the practical work was under the charge of Mif. When members of the Central Committee were elected, too much emphasis was placed on working-class origin. Many of the 20-odd members elected were workers, while some comrades who really had high prestige in the Party were left out. After the Congress, Qu Qiubai and Zhang Guotao stayed in Moscow to serve as executive members of the Communist International. In its resolutions the Sixth Congress made a correct analysis of the nature of the Chinese revolution (a bourgeois-democratic revolution) and its tasks (to oppose imperialism and feudalism), but an incorrect analysis of class relations and so on; alleging that the entire bourgeoisie and the whole upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie had betrayed the revolution. On the land question, the resolutions stated only that the land of the landlord class should be confiscated and handed over to a peasants conference for redistribution, and the military question was given no special mention. After the Sixth Congress, the faction in Sun Yat-sen University headed by Wang Ming mustered its

forces to oppose the Chinese delegation to the Communist International. Sun Yat-sen University, which was founded in Moscow in 1925 with Mif as its Vice-President, had enrolled some of our Party cadres from the period of the Great Revolution and also some young people, including ones like Wang Ming and some left-wingers from the Kuomintang. Factional strife was rife at the University, and it continued after the Sixth Congress. In opposing the Chinese delegation, the Wang Ming faction was in fact opposing the Central Committee of the Chinese Party, asserting that it was no longer competent and its members must be changed. Under the influence of the purge carried out by the C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks), things had gone from bad to worse in 1929 and 1930; people were expelled from the Party on the merest suspicion and some were even banished.

After the Sixth Congress, the Communist International sent a Polish comrade and a German comrade to China. In 1929 four letters came from the International. In the first letter it enjoined us to oppose the Right tendency, in the second to oppose alliance with the rich peasants, in the third to make the Red trade unions public and in the fourth to oppose the Reorganization Clique (Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo) and the third force. All these letters had an influence on Li Lisan's line. The fourth letter claimed that the situation was growing ripe for direct revolution and called for political strikes to prepare for it.

I went to the Communist International in March 1930. In July I saw Stalin, who was closely following the military struggles in China. A resolution about the China question was adopted by the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, with the six resolutions of the Far Eastern Bureau attached to it as an appendix. Stalin said that there were too many resolutions for China to implement, that it would be better for us to consider them as mere drafts. In China, on June 11, the Li Lisan line was adopted. According to this line, the Party should win victory first in one or more provinces, and such a victory would mark the beginning of the revolution in the whole of China. At the same time, plans were made to stage insurrections throughout the country and to seize Wuhan, Nanchang, Changsha and other big cities. Later, Changsha was taken, and two enlarged meetings of the Political Bureau were held in succession on August 1 and 3. Li Lisan said that he would argue it out with the Communist International after seizing Wuhan. Although the Li Lisan line was followed for only three or four months, it brought great losses to Party organizations in many places. The Central Committee therefore convened its Third Plenary Session in September. There were still "Left" influences because the seven resolutions of the Communist International were relayed to the Session. Xiang Zhongfa and I made reports, Qu Qiubai delivered a concluding speech, and Li Lisan gave a talk. Li Lisan was sharply criticized at the Session, but the wording in the final resolution was not so sharp. The Third Plenary Session also made some mistakes. For example, He Mengxiong was criticized and so was Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming). Some of the criticisms were correct but others were not. At the Session a number of people were added to the Central Committee, but He Mengxiong was not among them. In fact, however, many of He's opinions were correct. The practice of sending inspectors to local areas like imperial envoys also started with the Third Plenary Session. At that time, the Communist International complained that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was not paying enough attention to the Soviet areas. Accordingly, the Central Committee sent quite a few people to those areas, adversely affecting the work there.

In October 1930 a letter came from the International saying that the Central Committee was wrong and was following a "line of conciliation". Wang Ming and others began to make trouble. Furthermore, the coming of Mif threw the Party into crisis. Wang Ming wrote a pamphlet asking the Central Committee to

hold an emergency meeting and change its leadership. Hence the Fourth Plenary Session. The Session rejected the draft resolutions we had prepared and Mif himself drafted new ones. The Third Plenary Session had followed the resolution on China adopted by the Political Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the International. The Fourth Plenary Session did likewise and, backed by the letter from the International, took an ultra-”Left” approach opposing Li Lisan’s ”Left” line and adopted a resolution condemning it. After the Fourth Plenary Session, Wang Ming’s pamphlet became increasingly influential. Taking an even more ”Left” stand, he opposed Li Lisan’s so-called Right tendency and the ”line of conciliation” of the Third Plenary Session and formulated an even more ”Left” line. This, together with the betrayal of some leading members of the Central Committee, caused great losses to our Party.

In August 1931 Mif returned to the Soviet Union. In August the Communist International adopted a resolution that criticized the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, asserting that the Chinese Party was much strengthened after the Fourth Plenary Session when, in fact, it was in greater disarray. The Fourth Plenary Session retained me in the Political Bureau but expelled Qu Qiubai. Later, Wang Ming went to the International, Zhang Guotao and Chen Changhao to the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area and I to the Central Soviet Area. At that time, only a few people were left in the central organ, most of the members having been sent to different places to seize power. A provisional central leadership of the Party was formed in Shanghai with the approval of the International. It adopted a resolution on the September 18th Incident of 1931, and in January 1932 it adopted another which called for winning victory first in one or more provinces and seizing major cities. Some comrades who held correct views, like Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi, were accused of being guilty of ”Right deviation”. After the Ningdu Meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong was removed from the leadership of the army. In 1933 there was another struggle against the Luo Ming line and against Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zetan, Xie Weijun and Gu Bai — all the comrades who held correct views were attacked. Jiangxi Province suffered the most, because in early 1933 the provisional central leadership was moved there to carry out the line of the Communist International. As a result, the Party lost almost 100 per cent of its strength in the White areas and 90 per cent in the Soviet areas. On military matters, Li Teh, though just an advisor, acted like an overlord and had the final say. He agreed with the military line of Bo Gu, and his line prevailed until the Zunyi Meeting. The implementation of that line ended in the withdrawal from Jiangxi Province and the forced Long March. Looking back, we must admit that there was no alternative. It was at the Zunyi Meeting that Comrade Mao Zedong corrected the erroneous line on military matters and saved the Chinese revolution. But for the Zunyi Meeting, the success of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed indefinitely. After the Meeting, although the Party suffered losses during the Long March and was shaken by Zhang Guotao’s attempt to split it by setting up a separate ”central committee”, it weathered storms and difficulties under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and surmounted the crisis it was in.

So in its second period the Communist International made serious mistakes in directing of the Chinese Party. During this period the Chinese Party too made many mistakes that brought great losses to the revolution. Surely we Chinese should bear the responsibility for our mistakes, but the Communist International also had much to do with them.

3. *The Third Period of the Communist International (1935-43).*

In this period the Chinese Party maintained fewer contacts with the Communist International. The International held its Seventh Congress in July-

August 1935. Stalin was more concerned with domestic problems, and Dimitrov was in charge of the International. A resolution was passed to the effect that the Executive Committee should shift the focus of its work to formulating the basic political and tactical lines for the international workers’ movement and that in general it should not interfere in the internal affairs of the Parties in various countries. At that time the International developed the Anti-Fascist United Front, which coincided with the formation of the anti-Japanese National United Front in China. When Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng arrested Chiang Kai-shek in the Xi’an Incident, the International openly declared that Zhang was a running dog of the Japanese imperialists and that the arrest of Chiang Kai-shek suited the needs of Japan. This judgement was completely wrong. Our own approach to the Xi’an Incident was, on the whole, correct.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong was in charge of the Chinese Party during this period, the Communist International still had its influence. The main problem was the reappearance of the Wang Ming line. Wang Ming came back from the International at the end of 1937 and said that he had talked with Stalin. Claiming to speak for the International, he proposed that ”everything should go through the united front” and declared that the Kuomintang, like the Communist Party, had rallied excellent young people around it. After his return Wang Ming was placed in charge of the Changjiang Bureau. He deceived a number of people and pushed through his line a second time.

TUCI Bulletin

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Though this line was implemented for only a short time, it had an influence on the north, on the New Fourth Army and on Shanghai. It cannot be denied that the reappearance of the Wang Ming line had something to do with the Communist International. Stalin trusted Wang Ming, and Dimitrov was on friendly terms with him. Later, when I went to Moscow to talk about Wang Ming's errors, Dimitrov was surprised by what I had to say. After the Zunyi Meeting a new situation appeared in our Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee Wang Ming was criticized, and as many cadres began to know him better, he gradually became isolated. Even Chiang Kai-shek rejected him, refusing to make him a minister. Comrade Mao Zedong said that things would have been worse if Wang Ming had been given a ministerial post.

In 1939 Hitler's Germany launched the Second World War. The mutual non-aggression pact signed by the Soviet Union and Germany placed the Parties in the capitalist countries in a difficult position and caused much ideological confusion. On September 1 Comrade Mao Zedong gave his "Interview with a New China Daily Correspondent on the New International Situation", a transcript of which I brought to the Communist International to be distributed to the other fraternal Parties. The International thought very highly of it, saying that the leaders of the Chinese Party were right and giving them great support.

During this period the Communist International still interfered to some extent in the internal affairs of our Party, even on organizational matters. But it interfered less than in the first period and much less than in the second period. After the war broke out it interfered very little. Also, by that time our Party had become mature and maintained little contact with the International. In 1943 the Communist International was dissolved. ●

From Conversation with the Delegation of the CC, CP of China in Moscow

J.V. Stalin (11 July 1949)

THE Chinese delegation declares that the Communist Party of China will submit to the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To us, this seems odd. The party of one state submitting to a party from another state. It has never happened and is impermissible. It is true — both the parties must be accountable before their respective peoples, must confer with each other on certain questions, help each other, and in difficulty unite both the parties. So today's meeting of the Politbureau with your participation serves as one of the forms of association between our parties. And it must be so.

We are very grateful for such an honour, but some ideas are not acceptable and we want to point them out. It is like an advice from a friend. It is not only in words but in deed too. We may give you advice, but cannot give orders as we are insufficiently informed about the situation in China, cannot even compare ourselves with you in the knowledge of all the nuances of the situation, but above all — we cannot give orders because the affairs of China must be fully resolved by you. We cannot resolve them for you.

You have to understand the importance of your position and that the mission that you have taken upon yourself has an historical significance unsurpassed before in history. And this is not meant to be just a compliment. This just goes to show how great is your responsibility and the historical significance of your mission.

Exchange of views between our two parties is essential, but our view should never be interpreted as an order. The communist parties of other countries may reject our suggestions. We too may not accept the suggestions of the communist parties of other countries.

(Noted down by I.V. Kovalev)

Rakhmanin O.B. Stalin and Mao//Dosier 2000. No. 3. C.10

Note: Stalin expresses astonishment by the posture of complete submission of the Chinese communists to the Soviet decisions, but this posture is the effect of the directive from Mao Tsetung and is contained in the report dated 4 July 1949 that was handed over to the delegation of the CC A-UCP(b) by the CC CPC. 'On the question of the relationship between the A-UCP(b) and the CPC', — it is stated in the document — comrade Mao Tsetung and the CPC are of the view:

'AUCP(b) is the main headquarter of the international communist movement and the CPC a headquarter in just one direction. The interests of a part must be subservient to international interests, and therefore the CPC will unequivocally accept the decisions of the A-UCP(b), even though the Comintern no longer exists and the CPC is not part of Informbureau of the European Communist Parties. (Stalin, having read the report in this place writes: 'No!' — Ed.) If on some questions there arise differences in the view between the CPC and the AUCP(b) then the CPC having explained its view would submit to and decisively carry through the decisions of the A-UCP(b). (Stalin: 'No!' — Ed) We think we should

establish as close ties as possible between our two parties, mutually send appropriate political representatives in order to resolve the question of concern to both our parties and to achieve better mutual understanding between our parties. (Stalin: 'Yes' – Ed)

We want that the CC A-UCP(b) and comrade Stalin may give us without any reservations their directives and criticize the work and the policies of the CPC (Ledovsky, A.M. 'USSR and Stalin in China's Destiny', pp. 102-103 (in Russian)).

In the conversation, the meeting of the Politbureau of the CC A-UCP(b) is mentioned in which the delegation of the CC CPC headed by Liu Shaochi took part and presented the report on the military-political and economic situation in China.

From the beginning of 1947 to the end of 1949 Mao Tsetung's visit to USSR was several times planned and then postponed. (see: Telegrams to A.Ya. Orlov 15 June and 1 July 1947, Telegrams to Mao Tsetung 29 April and 19 May 1948). Regular communication was maintained for a prolonged period between him and Stalin which was carried through radio communication and was highly secret. Neither the Ministry of External Affairs nor the Soviet embassy in China knew about it. Stalin proved himself as an experienced conspirator and finally met Mao Tsetung not as a partisan and rebel leader but as the leader of the victorious Chinese revolution, the Chairman of the newly born People's Republic of China. The conversations during the visit to Mao Tsetung to USSR during 16 December and 17 February 1950 are contained in the book by Ledovsky mentioned above (pp 119-140). Fragments of the theoretical reasoning of Stalin in conversation with Mao Tsetung are also of interest as set forth (according to materials of V.M. Zhukhrai) in the book by V.V. Vakhani 'The Personal Secret Service of J.V. Stalin' (Moscow, 2004, pp 414-416, in Russian).

'You speak of Sinified socialism. There is nothing of the sort in nature. There is no Russian, English, French, German, Italian socialism, as much as there is no Chinese socialism. There is only one Marxist-Leninist socialism. It is another thing, that in the building of socialism it is necessary to take into consideration the specific features of a particular country. Socialism is a science, necessarily having, like all science, certain general laws, and one just needs to ignore them and the building of socialism is destined to failure.

What are these general laws of building socialism.

1. Above all it is the dictatorship of the proletariat – the workers' and peasants' State, a particular form of the union of these classes under the obligatory leadership of the most revolutionary classes in history – the class of workers. Only this class is capable of building socialism and suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and petty bourgeoisie.

2. Socialized property of the main instruments and means of production. Expropriation of all the large factories and their management by the State.

3. Nationalization of all capitalist banks, the merging of all of them into a single state bank and strict regulation of its functioning by the state.

4. The scientific and planned conduct of the national economy from a single centre. Obligatory use of the following principle in the building of socialism: from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work, distribution of the material good depending upon the quality and quantity of the work of each person.

5. Obligatory domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

6. Creation of armed forces that would allow the defence of the

accomplishments of the revolution and always remember that any revolution is worth anything only if it is capable of defending itself.

7. Ruthless armed suppression of counter revolutionaries and the foreign agents.

These, in short, are the main laws of socialism as a science, requiring that we relate to them as such. If you understand this – everything with the building of socialism in China will be fine. If you won't – you will do great harm to the international communist movement. As far as I know in the CPC there is a thin layer of the proletariat and the nationalist sentiments are very strong and if you will not conduct genuinely Marxist-Leninist class policies and not conduct struggle against bourgeois nationalism, the nationalists will strangle you. Then not only will socialist construction be terminated, China may become a dangerous toy in the hands of American imperialists. In the building of socialism in China I strongly recommend you to fully utilize Lenin's splendid work 'The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power'. This would assure success. ●

I. Stalin, Sochinenia, Tom 18, Informatsionno-izdatelskii tsentr 'Soyuz', Tver, 2006, pp. 531-533

(Translated from the Russian by Tahir Asghar)

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A MEETING was organized under the initiative of CPI(ML) at Delhi Press Club on 19 September from 11.30 am to 5 pm on *Approach Towards Ecological Destruction and Development Perspective*. Apart from CPI(ML) General Secretary Comrade K N Ramachandran and other central committee members, the radical intellectuals and activists working in the field of ecology attended the meeting. A draft approach paper was forwarded well before the meeting to present the view of CPI(ML) towards this urgently important issue. Com. KN briefly introduced the perspective and the challenges faced by mankind as a whole due to the huge destruction of ecological balance as a result of unprecedented capitalist accumulation by aggressive imperialist economy. He pointed out that though the G-8, G-20, UN meetings and the WTO are discussing the issue occasionally, the gravity of the problem is not presented with the importance it has. Mostly the exercise is done to defend the level of consumption of the elite class in the imperialist countries and to persist with the destructive development model of theirs. He said that now it is the task of working class and its party to launch a decisive struggle against imperialism and its development model uniting all democratic masses and the masses of people to save this planet and human race. To move forward in this direction a broad anti-imperialist platform to fight for these issues should be developed as a part of the over all revolutionary movement.

The participants including Arun Vidani and Nagraj from *Delhi Platform*, Soumya Datta from *Bharat Jana*

Preparatory Meeting on Ecological Destruction and Development Perspective

vigyan Manch, Nirmalangu Mukherjee and Vijay Singh from Delhi University, Ramakrishnan from Jawaharlal Nehru University, Thomas Mathews, Krishna Prasad, Anand, an engineer and prominent Malayalam writer, Asit and others expressed their concerns and views on the issue in the first round of discussion. Though perspectives were different concerning the approach to be taken, there was unanimity on the gravity of the question and the urgent need to develop a scientific perspective on the question. Only one participant expressed doubts about the practicability on developing an alternate development model and the futility of any resistance before developing a fool proof alternative. But he also shared the concerns with others.

Com. Nagraj from *Delhi Platform* expressed his distrust about limiting the approach towards the problem only to opposing the imperialist forces. He emphasized that a the elite section of Indian population also leads the particular lifestyle of the rich countries and the total carbon gases emission is two times of absorption capacity of the earth. Therefore per person emission of green house gases must be reduced. Soumya Datta emphasized the need to develop mass struggles against big projects. He said that the history of development shows that the development model based on big projects never successfully could elevate the living conditions of the poor but have increased the pollution level substantially and the division between the rich and the poor. Krisnaprasad emphasized the need for a proper balance between development and ecological protection. For do this the big monopoly imperialist capital has to be resisted. Nirmalangu Mukherjee said people are against projects that affect their lives and livelihoods adversely. But it's also to be noted that ecological justice never lies in keeping the marginal people in a peripheral life depended on jungle economy. The real goal of development should be to unleash the choices before them. Vijay Singh took the stand that as Marx explained in *Capital* development is possible only by developing big industries. There were no problems with the development model developed in Soviet Union in the socialist period.

The second round of discussion, after com. KN touching upon the points raised in the first round and suggesting a scientific orientation to be taken to carry forward the theoretical and political struggle to be carried forward on the serious problem in front of us, focused on these lines. None of the participants supported 'back to the nature' like concepts. Similarly none of the participants opposed utilization of natural resources for development of human life. But, as all pointed out present, the present development model is only serving the elite class. That is why people are resisting the neo liberal projects. So on the question of development model to be followed there should be broadest possible discussions involving the masses.

After a lively and in depth discussion the meeting ended with a unanimous agreement to develop a coordinated effort to mobilize all the forces who are fighting against the capitalist imperialist development model which is pauperizing the masses of people and at the same time devastating the environment. State level meetings shall be organized wherever possible to carry forward the discussion. Efforts will be made to coordinate with the international efforts going on in this field also. It was tentatively decided to hold the next meeting to coordinate all these efforts by the end of the next month. ●

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Concept Note on Global Warming

Delhi Platform

Why focus on global warming?

IN RECENT times, global warming has captured the attention of millions of people the world over. This is only to be expected as it threatens not just people's lives and livelihoods but also the very existence of life and innumerable species. It has already impacted, worldwide, things that are as massive and elemental as rainfall patterns, sea levels, forests, storms and cyclones, snow mass on earth, and agriculture, which is so crucial for human needs. Many of these impacts are already visible in India.

It is a crisis that has its roots in capitalism, but a lot of what is presented and discussed in the media and elsewhere chooses not to address the systemic basis of the issue. At its heart, global warming is about a few usurping the rights and access of the vast majority of the disempowered over the global commons (collective resources – water, land, air, forests, etc). Since working people constitute the majority of people in this country and the world, and will be hugely affected by climate change and global warming, it is essential that those struggling for a better life and against inequality, injustice and exploitation of all kinds, incorporate these issues in their struggles and worldview.

What is global warming?

For hundreds of millions of years, the Sun's energy has nourished the Earth, generating and sustaining all plant and animal life on the planet. A large amount of that energy is radiated back by the surface into space and some of it is captured by the atmosphere, maintaining warmth and natural balance. That balance has been undermined by human activity, mainly since the Industrial Revolution 250 years ago.

The Industrial Revolution triggered an accelerated use of energy through the burning of fossil fuels, which has been central to the development of capitalism. This consumption of coal, and later, petrol, diesel, and gas, and other human activity such as mining, deforestation, even agriculture, generates carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane, and other greenhouse gases. Currently, humans emit over 29 billion tonnes of CO₂ each year from burning fossil fuels, 25 per cent more than we did in 1990 (the cut-off date for the Kyoto Protocol). About 6-7 billion more tonnes are emitted due to deforestation. The chief sources of emissions are electrical power (24%), land use change/ deforestation (18%), transport (14%), and industry (14%). Even agriculture — because it has become so chemical fertilizer intensive and mechanized in the First World — contributes 14%. But bear in mind that human- and animal-intensive agriculture in countries such as ours not only provides food but also supports the bulk of our population. It is essential to human existence, cars and planes are not.

A couple of points need to be made here. One, this consumption has intensified in recent years with the spread of capitalist production to coal-intensive countries such as China and India. Modern warfare, so dependent upon planes, fuel and minerals, has also been much to blame. Two, the current crisis is a direct consequence of capitalist development – with its inherent

tendency to maximise profits and in the process, exploit natural resources on a world scale. This has created affluent minorities within each society, generating ever-increasing demands and unsustainable levels of consumption that has led to this exponential rise of greenhouse gases in our atmosphere.

Because it is essentially a systemic problem, attempting to deal with it in nation-state terms – as governments have been doing in international negotiations for years now – can never adequately address the issue. Three, whereas historical emissions by capitalist-industrial societies have been a key driver for the current alarming situation, overall, capitalist production and consumption are central to the phenomenon. It is directly influenced by one's income, spending and lifestyle. To illustrate, industrial workers travelling by public bus in Delhi generate less than 1/10th as much CO₂ per person as someone travelling by car, and every single plane passenger emits a kilogramme every 8 kilometres!

We emit 36-37 billion tonnes of CO₂ a year at present but the Earth can absorb only about 15-16 billion tonnes a year. Because of all these excess emissions, CO₂ levels in the atmosphere have gone up from 280 parts per million (ppm) at the time of the Industrial Revolution to about 387 ppm currently. These gases trap some of the Sun's heat radiated back by the Earth's surface, warming the planet, the atmosphere, the land, even the oceans. As a consequence, on an average, the Earth is 0.76 degrees centigrade (1.4 degrees F) warmer than it was at the time of the Industrial Revolution. This is only an average for the entire world. It is warmer the farther one moves from the Equator; for instance, North India is warming more than Kerala, and the Arctic more than India. Mid-altitude Himalayan regions are warming more than the Indo-Gangetic plains. Though these temperature changes may seem small,

slight shifts have enormous consequences, e.g. only a difference of 6 degrees centigrade separates the average temperature now from the Ice Ages.

Its Impacts, Present and Future

People all over India, in villages and cities, are talking about the impacts of global warming because it affects their lives directly. Changing rainfall patterns in recent years has made it more difficult for small and marginal farmers (who are already coping with many serious crises in agriculture) to plan their crops well, and it has affected crop yields in many states. More intense rainfalls, such as the one that hit Bombay in 2005 in which about a thousand people were killed, are getting more common, as are storm surges and intense cyclones. As the sea level slowly gets higher and eats away at low-lying lands, coastal people are losing their land and livelihoods, such as in Orissa, Sunderbans and in Gujarat. Snowfall has been reducing in the higher reaches of the Himalayas, and glaciers, including the source of the river Ganga, are receding. This is already affecting people in thousands of villages; in the near future, it will affect water access of millions of people in towns and villages in Northern India in particular. This is already and will even further hurt women in poor households, since it is women who do all the water work, and bear the burden of providing food for their families.

These impacts are only going to intensify in the future. Global warming – by changing existing climatic patterns – is expected to affect the world's food security, result in massive displacement of people, intensify scarcity of essential resources such as drinking water and worsen the huge inequalities that already exist on our planet. Many experts now say that sea levels are expected to rise several feet over the course of this century. Can one



imagine what that would do to the millions of poor working people who live within some kilometres of India's vast coastline? Fishing communities will be hit as will millions who live in Mumbai, Chennai, Puri, Kochi, and numerous other cities on the coast. There will then be a vast influx into other regions. Some of India's most fertile areas are also within a few kilometres of the coastline, already getting affected in some areas by the entry of saline sea water during storm surges. Farmers will also need to adapt to further variation in rainfall patterns. As we are witnessing currently in Bundelkhand, any impact on agriculture affects agriculture workers massively who usually tend to be from the underclasses – poor women, adivasis, dalits, etc.

Unfortunately, there is also a great **urgency** to this issue, a limited time in which we can collectively tackle the problem. It is accepted opinion that were the Earth's average temperature to reach roughly 2 degrees above what it was at the time of the Industrial Revolution, it would trigger off certain processes in the Earth's systems – feedbacks – together and at a scale that would then make it that much less likely for us to be able to halt the warming process. Mind you, these feedbacks – melting of Arctic Ice, release of methane from permafrost, reduced absorption of carbon dioxide in the world's oceans, release of CO2 from warmer soils, etc – have already begun. Hence we need to move very fast.

What has the Indian government's response been?

The Indian government has been saying that US and other First World countries are mainly responsible – here they are right – so they ought to take steps before India does – in this they are wrong. Such a position is shortsighted because it ignores the fact that people in India are already affected, and will be even more hugely. It also needs to work with other governments to evolve a global response to what is a world crisis. Governments need to display the urgency and cooperation they have been showing to try and tackle the economic crisis. The Indian state ought to take the lead in promoting clean technologies. Rather than pushing nuclear power, it needs to much more actively support wind and solar energy, with its production and use in a decentralized manner.

But on the contrary, the Indian state has been promoting cheap cars, cheap flights, malls and reckless industrialization for elite consumption, all of which will accelerate the process of global warming leading a larger disaster, faster.

What does this mean for industrialization and employment?

Sometimes, raising concerns about global warming is perceived as a stand against industrialization and development. That is far from the truth. But yes, we oppose the current patterns of industrialization and ‘development’ that involve reckless exploitation of resources. We oppose SEZs, which take over people’s lands, and are anti-worker in practice. We also oppose indiscriminate mining, causing massive displacement or destroying forests, which only benefit a few. We stand for an industrialization strategy that is more in tune with people’s basic needs first. Its trajectory needs to be one that complements agriculture. Also, the centrality of employment generation needs to recognize the fact that we need to make agriculture much more viable than at present.

We also need to reflect on the symbiotic and beneficial connections between sustainable economic and social activity and employment generation. What are sometimes referred to as ‘green jobs’ can both generate large yet decentralized employment and also promote beneficial infrastructure and services. These might include a massive deployment of public spending towards watershed development in cities and villages, regeneration of water bodies, development and maintenance of organic agriculture, investment and employment in factories that build solar panels, wind turbines, solar cookers, solar lanterns, cycles and public buses and trains. The urgency and seriousness of global warming provides us an opportunity to think afresh on what and how society’s needs are being created and met.

Hence what needs to be done

1. There is an extremely urgent need to make sharp cuts in the emissions of greenhouse gases worldwide, starting immediately, since the world is potentially close to dangerous levels of global warming. The Indian government needs to work with other governments to evolve a global response to this enormous crisis.
2. Hence the Indian state needs to proactively do much more in terms of emission reductions and preventive intervention. It also needs to focus on adaptation, and help people – the poor in particular – to cope with the current and potential impacts of global warming. For a start, it needs to move away from the current unsustainable pattern of economic activity. This includes putting a stop to the reckless takeover of agricultural lands for industrial use, indiscriminate mining, big dams and SEZs. The focus needs to be far more on public spending and creating employment through ‘green jobs’, as discussed above.
3. A much more decentralized generation, transmission and use of energy — say, in the form of solar panels in each building and locality, smaller wind turbines, solar heaters and cookers — are vital to us meeting the challenge of energy consumption while also confronting global warming. This will not happen without the Indian state playing a key role in promoting this, and we need to collectively push them to do it.
4. Emissions in the past by capitalist–industrial societies have been a key driver for the current alarming situation, and therefore ecological debt — between nations and within nations — must also be used to define current responsibility. Further, all the costs of preventing, mitigating and coping with any disasters caused by climate change must be met by the people

who caused them — the over-consumers of the world, through suitable and fair mechanisms.

5. The global commons are the common inheritance of the global community. Therefore, we need to push for equal emissions per person as a guiding principle — based on the equitable distribution of the total natural absorption capacity of the earth.

6. The world must acknowledge what it owes to all sections of society who, by not consuming significant quantities of fossil fuels, have lived in environmentally friendly ways, and particularly to those communities who have preserved forests, wetlands, grasslands and other natural ecosystems that serve as carbon sinks. There must be a transfer of resources and political control over the commons, from the carbon users to the carbon keepers.

7. Un-proven, anti-poor and potentially disastrous non-solutions, such as nuclear (fission) energy and ethanol / bio-diesel, should be immediately put on hold.

8. We, organizations, unions and workers, the people of the world, must force all governments everywhere to create systems and structures that will allow people to exercise their choice for a wiser course of human development with far lower levels of consumption. ●

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TODAY, our Mother Earth is wounded and the future of humanity is in danger.

If global warming increases by more than 2 degrees Celsius, a situation that the “Copenhagen Accord” could lead to, there is a 50% probability that the damages caused to our Mother Earth will be completely irreversible. Between 20% and 30% of species would be in danger of disappearing. Large extensions of forest would be affected, droughts and floods would affect different regions of the planet, deserts would expand, and the melting of the polar ice caps and the glaciers in the Andes and Himalayas would worsen. Many island states would disappear, and Africa would suffer an increase in temperature of more than 3 degrees Celsius. Likewise, the production of food would diminish in the world, causing catastrophic impact on the survival of inhabitants from vast regions in the planet, and the number of people in the world suffering from hunger would increase dramatically, a figure that already exceeds 1.02 billion people. The corporations and governments of the so-called “developed” countries, in complicity with a segment of the scientific community, have led us to discuss climate change as a problem limited to the rise in temperature without questioning the cause, which is the capitalist system.

We confront the terminal crisis of a civilizing model that is patriarchal and based on the submission and destruction of human beings and nature that accelerated since the industrial revolution.

The capitalist system has imposed on us a logic of competition, progress and limitless growth. This regime of production and consumption seeks profit without limits, separating human beings from nature and imposing a logic of domination upon nature, transforming everything into commodities: water, earth, the human genome, ancestral

People's Agreement of Cochabamba

**Adopted by World People's Conference on Climate
Change and the Rights of Mother Earth Held on April
22nd, 2010 at Cochabamba, Bolivia**

cultures, biodiversity, justice, ethics, the rights of peoples, and life itself.

Under capitalism, Mother Earth is converted into a source of raw materials, and human beings into consumers and a means of production, into people that are seen as valuable only for what they own, and not for what they are.

Capitalism requires a powerful military industry for its processes of accumulation and imposition of control over territories and natural resources, suppressing the resistance of the peoples. It is an imperialist system of colonization of the planet.

Humanity confronts a great dilemma: to continue on the path of capitalism, depredation, and death, or to choose the path of harmony with nature and respect for life.

It is imperative that we forge a new system that restores harmony with nature and among human beings. And in order for there to be balance with nature, there must first be equity among human beings. We propose to the peoples of the world the recovery, revalorization, and strengthening of the knowledge, wisdom, and ancestral practices of Indigenous Peoples, which are affirmed in the thought and practices of “Living Well,” recognizing Mother Earth as a living being with which we have an indivisible, interdependent, complementary and spiritual relationship. To face climate change, we must recognize Mother Earth as the source of life and forge a new system based on the principles of:

- ✦ harmony and balance among all and with all things;
- ✦ complementarity, solidarity, and equality;
- ✦ collective well-being and the satisfaction of the basic necessities of all;
- ✦ people in harmony with nature;
- ✦ recognition of human beings for what they are, not what they own;
- ✦ elimination of all forms of colonialism, imperialism and interventionism;
- ✦ peace among the peoples and with Mother Earth;

The model we support is not a model of limitless and destructive development. All countries need to produce the goods and services necessary to satisfy the fundamental needs of their populations, but by no means can they continue to follow the path of development that has led the richest countries to have an ecological footprint five times bigger than what the planet is able to support. Currently, the regenerative capacity of the planet has been already exceeded by more than 30 percent. If this pace of over-exploitation of our Mother Earth continues, we will need two planets by the year 2030. In an interdependent system in which human beings are only one component, it is not possible to recognize rights only to the human part without provoking an imbalance in the system as a whole. To guarantee human rights and to restore harmony with nature, it is necessary to effectively recognize and apply the rights of Mother Earth. For this purpose, we propose the attached project for the Universal

Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth, in which it's recorded that:

- ✦ The right to live and to exist;
- ✦ The right to be respected;
- ✦ The right to regenerate its bio-capacity and to continue it's vital cycles and processes free of human alteration;
- ✦ The right to maintain their identity and integrity as differentiated beings, self-regulated and interrelated;
- ✦ The right to water as the source of life;
- ✦ The right to clean air;
- ✦ The right to comprehensive health;
- ✦ The right to be free of contamination and pollution, free of toxic and radioactive waste;
- ✦ The right to be free of alterations or modifications of it's genetic structure in a manner that threatens it's integrity or vital and healthy functioning;
- ✦ The right to prompt and full restoration for violations to the rights acknowledged in this Declaration caused by human activities.

The "shared vision" seeks to stabilize the concentrations of greenhouse gases to make effective the Article 2 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which states that "the stabilization of greenhouse gases concentrations in the atmosphere to a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic inferences for the climate system." Our vision is based on the principle of historical common but differentiated responsibilities, to demand the developed countries to commit with quantifiable goals of emission reduction that will allow to return the concentrations of greenhouse gases to 300 ppm, therefore the increase in the average world temperature to a maximum of one degree Celsius.

Emphasizing the need for urgent action to achieve this vision, and with the support of peoples, movements and countries, developed countries should commit to ambitious targets for reducing emissions that permit the achievement of short-term objectives, while maintaining our vision in favor of balance in the Earth's climate system, in agreement with the ultimate objective of the Convention.

The "shared vision for long-term cooperative action" in climate change negotiations should not be reduced to defining the limit on temperature increases and the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, but must also incorporate in a balanced and integral manner measures regarding capacity building, production and consumption patterns, and other essential factors such as the acknowledging of the Rights of Mother Earth to establish harmony with nature.

Developed countries, as the main cause of climate change, in assuming their historical responsibility, must recognize and honor their climate debt in all of its dimensions as the basis for a just, effective, and scientific solution to climate change. In this context, we demand that developed countries:

- ✦ Restore to developing countries the atmospheric space that is occupied by their greenhouse gas emissions. This implies the decolonization of the atmosphere through the reduction and absorption of their emissions;
- ✦ Assume the costs and technology transfer needs of developing countries arising from the loss of development opportunities due to living in a restricted atmospheric space;

✦ Assume responsibility for the hundreds of millions of people that will be forced to migrate due to the climate change caused by these countries, and eliminate their restrictive immigration policies, offering migrants a decent life with full human rights guarantees in their countries;

✦ Assume adaptation debt related to the impacts of climate change on developing countries by providing the means to prevent, minimize, and deal with damages arising from their excessive emissions;

✦ Honor these debts as part of a broader debt to Mother Earth by adopting and implementing the United Nations Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth.

The focus must not be only on financial compensation, but also on restorative justice, understood as the restitution of integrity to our Mother Earth and all its beings.

We deplore attempts by countries to annul the Kyoto Protocol, which is the sole legally binding instrument specific to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by developed countries.

We inform the world that, despite their obligation to reduce emissions, developed countries have increased their emissions by 11.2% in the period from 1990 to 2007.

During that same period, due to unbridled consumption, the United States of America has increased its greenhouse gas emissions by 16.8%, reaching an average of 20 to 23 tons of CO2 per-person. This represents 9 times more than that of the average inhabitant of the "Third World," and 20 times more than that of the average inhabitant of Sub-Saharan Africa.

We categorically reject the illegitimate "Copenhagen Accord" that allows developed countries to offer

insufficient reductions in greenhouse gases based in voluntary and individual commitments, violating the environmental integrity of Mother Earth and leading us toward an increase in global temperatures of around 4°C.

The next Conference on Climate Change to be held at the end of 2010 in Mexico should approve an amendment to the Kyoto Protocol for the second commitment period from 2013 to 2017 under which developed countries must agree to significant domestic emissions reductions of at least 50% based on 1990 levels, excluding carbon markets or other offset mechanisms that mask the failure of actual reductions in greenhouse gas emissions.

We require first of all the establishment of a goal for the group of developed countries to achieve the assignment of individual commitments for each developed country under the framework of complementary efforts among each one, maintaining in this way Kyoto Protocol as the route to emissions reductions.

The United States, as the only Annex I country on Earth that did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol, has a significant responsibility toward all peoples of the world to ratify this document and commit itself to respecting and complying with emissions reduction targets on a scale appropriate to the total size of its economy.

We the peoples have the equal right to be protected from the adverse effects of climate change and reject the notion of adaptation to climate change as understood as a resignation to impacts provoked by the historical emissions of developed countries, which themselves must adapt their modes of life and consumption in the face of this global emergency. We see it as imperative to confront the adverse effects of climate change, and consider adaptation to be a process rather than an imposition, as well as a

tool that can serve to help offset those effects, demonstrating that it is possible to achieve harmony with nature under a different model for living.

It is necessary to construct an Adaptation Fund exclusively for addressing climate change as part of a financial mechanism that is managed in a sovereign, transparent, and equitable manner for all States. This Fund should assess the impacts and costs of climate change in developing countries and needs deriving from these impacts, and monitor support on the part of developed countries. It should also include a mechanism for compensation for current and future damages, loss of opportunities due to extreme and gradual climactic events, and additional costs that could present themselves if our planet surpasses ecological thresholds, such as those impacts that present obstacles to “Living Well.”

The “Copenhagen Accord” imposed on developing countries by a few States, beyond simply offering insufficient resources, attempts as well to divide and create confrontation between peoples and to extort developing countries by placing conditions on access to adaptation and mitigation resources. We also assert as unacceptable the attempt in processes of international negotiation to classify developing countries for their vulnerability to climate change, generating disputes, inequalities and segregation among them.

The immense challenge humanity faces of stopping global warming and cooling the planet can only be achieved through a profound shift in agricultural practices toward the sustainable model of production used by indigenous and rural farming peoples, as well as other ancestral models and practices that contribute to solving the problem of agriculture and food sovereignty. This is understood as the right of peoples to control their own seeds, lands, water, and food production, thereby guaranteeing, through forms of production that are in harmony with Mother Earth and appropriate to local cultural contexts, access to sufficient, varied and nutritious foods in complementarity with Mother Earth and deepening the autonomous (participatory, communal and shared) production of every nation and people.

Climate change is now producing profound impacts on agriculture and the ways of life of indigenous peoples and farmers throughout the world, and these impacts will worsen in the future.

Agribusiness, through its social, economic, and cultural model of global capitalist production and its logic of producing food for the market and not to fulfill the right to proper nutrition, is one of the principal causes of climate change. Its technological, commercial, and political approach only serves to deepen the climate change crisis and increase hunger in the world. For this reason, we reject Free Trade Agreements and Association Agreements and all forms of the application of Intellectual Property Rights to life, current technological packages (agrochemicals, genetic modification) and those that offer false solutions (biofuels, geo-engineering, nanotechnology, etc.) that only exacerbate the current crisis.

We similarly denounce the way in which the capitalist model imposes mega-infrastructure projects and invades territories with extractive projects, water privatization, and militarized territories, expelling indigenous peoples from their lands, inhibiting food sovereignty and deepening socio-environmental crisis.

We demand recognition of the right of all peoples, living beings, and Mother Earth to have access to water, and we support the proposal of the Government of Bolivia to recognize water as a Fundamental Human Right.

The definition of forests used in the negotiations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which includes plantations, is

unacceptable. Monoculture plantations are not forests. Therefore, we require a definition for negotiation purposes that recognizes the native forests, jungles and the diverse ecosystems on Earth.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples must be fully recognized, implemented and integrated in climate change negotiations. The best strategy and action to avoid deforestation and degradation and protect native forests and jungles is to recognize and guarantee collective rights to lands and territories, especially considering that most of the forests are located within the territories of indigenous peoples and nations and other traditional communities.

We condemn market mechanisms such as REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) and its versions + and + +, which are violating the sovereignty of peoples and their right to prior free and informed consent as well as the sovereignty of national States, the customs of Peoples, and the Rights of Nature.

Polluting countries have an obligation to carry out direct transfers of the economic and technological resources needed to pay for the restoration and maintenance of forests in favor of the peoples and indigenous ancestral organic structures. Compensation must be direct and in addition to the sources of funding promised by developed countries outside of the carbon market, and never serve as carbon offsets. We demand that countries stop actions on local forests based on market mechanisms and propose non-existent and conditional results. We call on governments to create a global program to restore native forests and jungles, managed and administered by the peoples, implementing forest seeds, fruit trees, and native flora. Governments should eliminate forest concessions and support the conservation of petroleum deposits in the ground and urgently stop the exploitation of hydrocarbons in forestlands.

We call upon States to recognize, respect and guarantee the effective implementation of international human rights standards and the rights of indigenous peoples, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples under ILO Convention 169, among other relevant instruments in the negotiations, policies and measures used to meet the challenges posed by climate change. In particular, we call upon States to give legal recognition to claims over territories, lands and natural resources to enable and strengthen our traditional ways of life and contribute effectively to solving climate change.

We demand the full and effective implementation of the right to consultation, participation and prior, free and informed consent of indigenous peoples in all negotiation processes, and in the design and implementation of measures related to climate change.

Environmental degradation and climate change are currently reaching critical levels, and one of the main consequences of this is domestic and international migration. According to projections, there were already about 25 million climate migrants by 1995. Current estimates are around 50 million, and projections suggest that between 200 million and 1 billion people will become displaced by situations resulting from climate change by the year 2050.

Developed countries should assume responsibility for climate migrants, welcoming them into their territories and recognizing their fundamental rights through the signing of international conventions that provide for the definition of climate migrant and require all States to abide by determinations.

Establish an International Tribunal of Conscience to denounce, make visible, document, judge and punish violations of the rights of migrants, refugees and displaced persons within countries of origin, transit and destination, clearly

identifying the responsibilities of States, companies and other agents.

Current funding directed toward developing countries for climate change and the proposal of the Copenhagen Accord are insignificant. In addition to Official Development Assistance and public sources, developed countries must commit to a new annual funding of at least 6% of GDP to tackle climate change in developing countries. This is viable considering that a similar amount is spent on national defense, and that 5 times more have been put forth to rescue failing banks and speculators, which raises serious questions about global priorities and political will. This funding should be direct and free of conditions, and should not interfere with the national sovereignty or self-determination of the most affected communities and groups.

In view of the inefficiency of the current mechanism, a new funding mechanism should be established at the 2010 Climate Change Conference in Mexico, functioning under the authority of the Conference of the Parties (COP) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and held accountable to it, with significant representation of developing countries, to ensure compliance with the funding commitments of Annex 1 countries.

It has been stated that developed countries significantly increased their emissions in the period from 1990 to 2007, despite having stated that the reduction would be substantially supported by market mechanisms.

The carbon market has become a lucrative business, commodifying our Mother Earth. It is therefore not an alternative for tackle climate change, as it loots and ravages the land, water, and even life itself.

The recent financial crisis has demonstrated that the market is incapable of regulating the financial system, which is fragile and uncertain due to speculation and the emergence

of intermediary brokers. Therefore, it would be totally irresponsible to leave in their hands the care and protection of human existence and of our Mother Earth.

We consider inadmissible that current negotiations propose the creation of new mechanisms that extend and promote the carbon market, for existing mechanisms have not resolved the problem of climate change nor led to real and direct actions to reduce greenhouse gases. It is necessary to demand fulfillment of the commitments assumed by developed countries under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change regarding development and technology transfer, and to reject the “technology showcase” proposed by developed countries that only markets technology. It is essential to establish guidelines in order to create a multilateral and multidisciplinary mechanism for participatory control, management, and evaluation of the exchange of technologies. These technologies must be useful, clean and socially sound. Likewise, it is fundamental to establish a fund for the financing and inventory of technologies that are appropriate and free of intellectual property rights. Patents, in particular, should move from the hands of private monopolies to the public domain in order to promote accessibility and low costs.

Communist Canvas

Bengali Theoretical Tri-monthly

Uttaran

Monthly Organ of W. Bengal
State Committee of CPI(ML)

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Knowledge is universal, and should for no reason be the object of private property or private use, nor should its application in the form of technology. Developed countries have a responsibility to share their technology with developing countries, to build research centers in developing countries for the creation of technologies and innovations, and defend and promote their development and application for “living well.” The world must recover and re-learn ancestral principles and approaches from native peoples to stop the destruction of the planet, as well as promote ancestral practices, knowledge and spirituality to recuperate the capacity for “living well” in harmony with Mother Earth.

Considering the lack of political will on the part of developed countries to effectively comply with commitments and obligations assumed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, and given the lack of a legal international organism to guard against and sanction climate and environmental crimes that violate the Rights of Mother Earth and humanity, we demand the creation of an International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal that has the legal capacity to prevent, judge and penalize States, industries and people that by commission or omission contaminate and provoke climate change.

Supporting States that present claims at the International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal against developed countries that fail to comply with commitments under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol including commitments to reduce greenhouse gases.

We urge peoples to propose and promote deep reform within the United Nations, so that all member States comply with the decisions of the International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal.

The future of humanity is in danger, and we cannot allow a group of leaders from developed countries to decide for all countries as they tried unsuccessfully to do at the Conference of the Parties in Copenhagen. This decision concerns us all. Thus, it is essential to carry out a global referendum or popular consultation on climate change in which all are consulted regarding the following issues; the level of emission reductions on the part of developed countries and transnational corporations, financing to be offered by developed countries, the creation of an International Climate Justice Tribunal, the need for a Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, and the need to change the current capitalist system. The process of a global referendum or popular consultation will depend on process of preparation that ensures the successful development of the same.

In order to coordinate our international action and implement the results of this “Accord of the Peoples,” we call for the building of a Global People’s Movement for Mother Earth, which should be based on the principles of complementarity and respect for the diversity of origin and visions among its members, constituting a broad and democratic space for coordination and joint worldwide actions.

To this end, we adopt the attached global plan of action so that in Mexico, the developed countries listed in Annex 1 respect the existing legal framework and reduce their greenhouse gases emissions by 50%, and that the different proposals contained in this Agreement are adopted.

Finally, we agree to undertake a Second World People’s Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in 2011 as part of this process of building the Global People’s Movement for Mother Earth and reacting to the outcomes of the Climate Change Conference to be held at the end of this year in Cancun, Mexico. ●

Ayodhya Verdict

Rajinder Sachar

BOTH government and opposition and the public in general are rightly in panic awaiting the verdict on Babri Masjid by Allahabad High Court – a situation brought about by the faltering non secular stand by all the concerned governments. The High Court is to give verdict on the following points: 1. Was the place under Babri Masjid the birth place of Lord Ram?; and 2. Was there or not a temple on the land on which Babri Masjid was built?

Now it is obvious to the meanest intelligence that it is impossible to prove that birth place of Lord Ram was under the Masjid – it may be a matter of faith, genuine or contrived or otherwise, but that is no proof, nor can it ever be put forward as a legal ground to take away the land from the Mosque. If the finding is that Masjid was not built on a temple, then the Muslims get the land back and free to use it in any way including the building of Mosque.

In the alternative it may be held that there was a temple on the land of Babri Mosque. But even with this finding the suit by VHP/RSS has to be dismissed. Admittedly Babri Masjid has been in existence for over 400 years till it was demolished by goons of VHP/RSS in 1992. Legally, speaking the Sangh Parivar would have no right even if a temple had been demolished to build the Babri Masjid.

I say this in view of the precedent of the case of Masjid Shahid Ganj in Lahore decided by the Privy Council in (1940). In that case there was admittedly a Mosque existing since 1722 A.D. But by 1762, the building came under Sikh rule and was being used as a Gurdawara. It was only in 1935 that a suit was filed claiming the building was a Mosque and should be returned to Muslims.

The Privy Council while observing “their Lordship have every sympathy with a religious sentiment which would ascribe sanctity and in violability to a place of worship, they cannot under the Limitation Act accept the contentions that such a building cannot be possessed adversely” and then went on to hold “The Property now in question having been possessed by Sikhs adversely to the waqf and to all interests thereunder for more than 12 years, the right of the mutawali to possession for the purposes of the waqf came to an end under Limitation Act. “On the same parity of reasoning even if temple existed prior to the building of Masjid 400 years ago, suit by VHP etc has to fail”.

There is another reason why in such a situation, suit would fail because in common law, even a rightful heir if he kills his ancestor, forfeits his right of inheritance. In the Masjid case too, there was ‘murder most foul’ and hence the murderer cannot be allowed to take the benefit of his own dastardly deeds, whatever the legal position may be.

It is true that sometime some Muslims groups in a spirit of large heartedness and as a measure of mutual accommodation, suggested that if it was found that the Masjid was built on the site of a temple, they would not like to now build a Mosque on the said site because the Koran forbids Muslims to build a mosque by demolishing any other religious place. But even them, if Muslims choose not to build a Masjid on this site, the ownership and use of the land remains with them. Hindu cannot under any circumstances lay a claim to this site which was under Babri Masjid.

Some well intentioned persons come out with apparently neutral suggestion

of building a multi Religious complex on the site. To me this would be surrender to rabid Hindu Communal sentiment - whatever explanation you may give, a Muslim then would feel less equal citizen if even after he has won, he is asked to share this site with the goons who destroyed the Holy Mosque. This would be a defeat of secularism and against our constitution which mandates that all citizens, whether Hindus, Muslims have equal Rights and are equal before law.

A multi Religious Complex or multi culture Centre or a hospital can obviously be built by the joint free will efforts of both Hindus and Muslims. But such a complex if it is to be built necessarily must be on the land away and outside the Masjid complex, and that too only if the Muslims give their consent - obviously as vacant land belongs to the Muslims. But under all circumstances, the site under Babri Masjid must remain in the exclusive possession of Muslims who will be free to use it in any way the community decides. I feel that the govt. should start doing an exercise of consultation, preparation on these lines – to await helplessly trying to anticipate what the verdict would be is like a pigeon who on seeing a cat closes its eyes with the delusion that cat will go away – the result is obvious.

Equally I feel that leaders of all communities, political parties, social workers should start planning to meet the situation, because this matter requires the involvement of people at grass root level and the matter does not brook any delay.

The legal position is clear. It is only the weakness of political will that is responsible for the Ayodhya imbroglio to continue as one of the most bitter disputes within the country. By keeping the Ayodhya issue alive, the country has been kept away from addressing it’s most urgent task – how to meet the challenge of the growing pauperization of the masses. And that includes both Hindus and Muslims. ●

UTTAR PRADESH is the most populous State in the country, and is also the biggest producer of foodgrains. Land acquisitions will take away a third of the cultivable lands for non-farm use. Such huge diversion of farm lands will result in drastic cut in food production, and has threatening socio-political implications.

India is witnessing a thousand mutinies. Pitched battles are being fought across the country by poor farmers, who fear further marginalisation when their land is literally grabbed by the government and the industry. From Mangalore in Karnataka to Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh, from Singur in West Bengal to Mansa in Punjab, the rural countryside is literally on a boil. Large chunks of prime agricultural land are being diverted for non-agricultural purposes.

While the continuing struggle against land acquisition for instance by farmers in Aligarh, which took a violent turn, and became a political ploy is being projected as a battle by farmers for big money, the reality is that a majority of the farmers do not want to dispense with their ancestral land. They are being forced to do so. This has serious implications for food security.

Let us take the case of Uttar Pradesh. It is the most populous State in the country, and is also the biggest producer of foodgrains. Western parts

Who Will Feed India In The Days To Come?

Devinder Sharma

of Uttar Pradesh, comprising the fertile Indo-Gangetic plains, have been considered part of the green revolution belt. According to the 2008 Statistical Abstracts of Uttar Pradesh, in addition to 41 million tonnes of foodgrains, the State produces 130 million tonnes of sugarcane and 10.5 million tonnes of potato.

Uttar Pradesh produces more foodgrains than Punjab but because of its huge population, it is hardly left with any surplus. What is however satisfying is that Uttar Pradesh has all these years been at least feeding its own population.

This is expected to change. And that is what I am worried about. The proposed eight Expressways and the townships planned along the route, along with land being gobbled by other industrial, real estate and investment projects are likely to eat away more than 23,000 villages, one fourth of the total number of villages. Although Mayawati government has dropped the townships along the Yamuna expressway, but the company that is investing in real estate claims that as per their pact with the State government, they have to be given land at an alternative location.

Former Agriculture Minister Ajit Singh has in a statement said that one-third of total cultivable land of Uttar Pradesh will be eventually acquired. The State government neither denies nor confirms this, but acknowledges that land diversion is 'large'.

This means that out of the total area of 19.8 million hectares under foodgrain crops in Uttar Pradesh, one-third or roughly 6.6 million hectares will be shifted from agriculture to non-agriculture activity. Much of the fertile and productive lands of Western Uttar Pradesh will therefore disappear, to be replaced by concrete jungles. In addition to wheat and rice, sugarcane and potato would be the other two major crops whose production will be negatively impacted.

As per rough estimates, 6.6 million hectares that would be taken out of farming would mean a production loss of 14 million tonnes of foodgrains. In other words, Uttar Pradesh will be faced with a terrible food crisis in the years to come, the seeds for which are being sown now. Add to this the anticipated shortfall in potato and sugarcane production, since the area under these two crops will also go down drastically, the road ahead for Uttar Pradesh is not only dark but laced with social unrest.

Already a part of the BIMARU States, Uttar Pradesh will surely see surge in hunger, malnutrition and under-nourishment. I shudder to imagine the socio-economic and political fallout of the misadventure that the government is attempting with such a massive land takeover. If the State government's can provide an incentive of Rs 20,000 per acre to those farmers whose lands are being taken away, I fail to understand why the same incentive cannot be provided to every farm family to protect agricultural land?

What is not being realised is that Uttar Pradesh alone will send all the estimates of the proposed National Food Security Act go topsy-turvy. At present, as per the buffer norms, the government keeps around 20 to 24 million tonnes as buffer stocks for distribution across the country through the Public Distribution

**Marxwadi-
Leninwadi**

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

"Marxwadi-Leninwadi"

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Shrirampuram
Banglore, Karnataka - 560021**

System (PDS). In the last few years however the average foodgrain stocks with the government have been in the range of 45 to 50 million tonnes.

Even with such huge grain reserves, Food and Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar has expressed his inability to provide 35 kg of grain per month to every eligible family. Imagine, what will happen when Uttar Pradesh alone will put an additional demand of 14 million tonnes. Who will then feed Uttar Pradesh?

Policy makers say that with rapid industrialisation the average incomes will go up as a result of which people will have the money to buy food from the open market and also make for nutritious choices. But the bigger question is where will the addition quantity of food come from? Already, Punjab and Haryana, comprising the food bowl, are on fast track mode to acquire farm lands. Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhatisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab are building up 'land banks' for the industry and Rajasthan has allowed the industry to buy land directly from farmers setting aside the ceiling limit.

Internationally, the food situation is worsening ever since the 2008 food crisis when 37 countries were faced with food riots. Even now, food prices globally are on an upswing. As Russia extends the wheat export ban till the next year's wheat harvest sending global prices on a hike, deadly food riots were witnessed last week in Mozambique killing at last seven people. According to news reports, anger is building up in Pakistan, Egypt and Serbia over rising prices.

Knowing that the world can witness a repeat of 2008 food crisis that resulted in food riots in 37 countries, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has called for a special meeting to discuss the implications.

Extended drought and resulting wildfires has caused a 20 per cent drop in wheat harvest in Russia sending the global wheat prices on a spiral. Wheat futures obviously would take advantage, and according to Financial Times wheat prices have gone up by 70 per cent since January. India may therefore

find it difficult to purchase food from the global market if it thinks it can bank upon the international markets to bail it out. This is primarily the reason why several countries, mainly China and the countries of the oil rich Middle East are buying lands in Africa, Latin America and Asia to grow food to be shipped back home for domestic consumers.

Gone are the days when a worried Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, while addressing the nation on Aug 15, 1955 from the ramparts of the Red Fort in New Delhi said: "It is very humiliating for any country to import food. So everything else can wait, but not agriculture." That was in 1955. Fifty-five years later, in 2010, UPA-II thinks that food security needs of the nation can be addressed by importing food. Land must be acquired for the industry, because the industrial sector alone will be the vehicle for higher growth. There can be nothing more dangerous than this flawed approach. Is India slipping back into days of 'ship-to-mouth' existence? ●

<http://www.countercurrents.org>

TN: Protest Against Hike in Electricity Charges

AGAINST hike in electricity charges CPI(ML) Chennai District committee organized a vigorous campaign in the slums and other areas where poor people live. A large mobilization of the people are taking place in all the districts against this new attack on the people.

On August 30 *Kashmir and North East Day* was observed with slogans: Withdraw military from Kashmir and Northeast, Support people's struggle against reactionary Indian state.

In support of the call of the central trade unions to observe September 7 as all India hartal against the anti working class policies of the UPA, TUCI committees at various places organized campaigns based on an independently. Following militant demonstrations many activists of TUCI were arrested on the hartal day. In Nelveli cashew nut factory in Kanyakumari district workers organized two days struggle for better wages and working conditions. In Theni district at Kadamalaikundu Subhash Chandra Bose Auto Sangam joined the TUCI. ●

Karnataka: Dharna for Housing Right

ORGANISING urban poor and unorganised workers, under the leadership AIKKS and TUCI an indefinite dharna was inaugurated by comrade R. Manasaiah, General Secretary, AIKKS at Raichur district collectorate on 3rd September demanding removal of encroachment by rich on public land and allotment of housing sites to the poor homeless people. In July 22,000 applications were submitted to district administration to construct homes for poor. ●



Kerala: Campaign For Local Body Elections

THE CPI (ML) Kerala state committee has decided to contest in 60 seats spread over 12 districts in the forthcoming local body elections. The *Election Manifesto* prepared by the state committee based on the ideological-political approach approved by the CC of CPI(ML) is already published. Party's election campaign will be based on this manifesto while taking up the concrete conditions prevailing in Panchayats. On the other hand, without going into the political aspects connected with decentralization, both the CPI(M) led LDF and Congress led UDF are engaged in a depoliticisation campaign and mutual mud-slinging and cut-throat competition aimed at grabbing maximum seats in the elections. Both LDF and UDF, BJP and some NGOs in their own ways are competing with each other for enlisting the support of religious fundamentalists and casteist forces in an unprecedented manner. The bourgeois media in Kerala are also allying with the ruling classes by highlighting their internal squabbles without taking up the specific neo-colonial oppression on the broad masses of people in the State. In contrast, sticking to the basic tasks enlisted in the election manifesto, the CPI(ML) is engaged in a political campaign exposing the sham top-down decentralization imposed by the ruling classes and putting forward methods to overcome the hurdles to genuine decentralization in order to transform local bodies as primary centres of people's political power. Along with the manifesto, posters, handbills, street corner meetings, etc. will be used for taking the Party's approach on decentralization and local bodies to the masses.

AIKKS March against Land Mafia

VAST TRACTS of rice fields in Kuttanad, which is known as the granary of food-deficit Kerala are being illegally occupied by tourism and real estate mafia flouting the various acts such as Land Reforms Act, Paddy-

field Protection Act, Water Body Conservation Act, Ecologically Fragile Zone Protection Act, etc. in the State. Ministries of Industry, Tourism, Finance and Registration which are by CPI(M) ministers in the LDF govt. hand in glove with bureaucrats and political leadership of the ruling and opposition parties are extending all the required administrative facilities to the land mafia for grabbing prime agricultural land from their petty owners. Hundreds of thousands of acres of highly fertile paddy fields in upper Kuttanad adjacent to Kumarakom which is identified as an *international sex tourist destination* by imperialist and comprador tourist lobby are now in the custody of speculative land mafia. With the connivance of CPI(M) leadership and the departments of tourism and industry, the real estate mafia is planning to build up building complexes, resorts, massage parlours, golf courses, house-boating, imported sex tourist gadgets, etc. in these paddy fields which until recently used to yield thousands of tons of rice and provided employment to lakhs of landless peasants and agricultural workers. Renowned paddy fields in Kuttanad which once formed part of the Vembanad Lake were made cultivable on account of the historic land reclamation efforts in the early decades of the 20th century. This fertile paddy zone has now become a greedy target of the tourism lobby due to its unparalleled natural beauty.

In this context, hectic efforts are going on to convert the Methran Kayal, one among these paddy fields, which lies very near to the present Kumarakom tourist resort into a tourism complex. Comprising almost 500 acres, this field alone yields almost 20000 quintals of rice per annum and provides employment to approximately 60000 agricultural workers and inland fishers and traditional industrial workers. Understanding the gravity of the situation, followed by a wide campaign, the AIKKS on September 20th marched to Methran Kayal and erected its flag there and declared that the land mafia and CPI(M) led LDF govt. will not be allowed to convert it into a tourist resort. AIKKS State Committee demanded to cancel all the illegal land deals that have taken place in the area and confiscate the land grabbed by the land mafia and distribute among landless poor peasants and agricultural workers on the basis of 'land to the tiller'.

RYFI Struggle against BOT

AS PART OF the strategy of state's withdrawal from infrastructure development such as roads, bridges, ports, aerodromes, etc., under instructions from the Manmohan government the Achuthanandan government in Kerala has also taken the decision to apply the BOT (Build, Operate and Transfer) scheme in respect of national highway development. Disregarding the anti-BOT sentiments of broad sections of people in the State, the CPI(M), Congress, BJP and all other ruling class and regional parties who are exponents of neo-liberal policies at the behest of BOT lobby in the country have entered into an unholy 'all party consensus' to impose this scheme which is nothing but privatization of public assets on the one hand and which allows the BOT companies to collect tens of thousands of crores of money through 'toll' or tax for decades from the people on the other. The government has already accepted the inflated cost proposed by the BOT mafia which comes to about 3-4 times of the real cost of the project and will allow the company to collect the same from the people by imposing appropriate 'user charges' indefinitely. Meanwhile, according to the principle of so called 'public-private participation' (PPP) the government is also bound to shoulder almost 40% of the inflated cost and must provide the same as

a grant to the speculative mafia who is constructing the road. This 40 percent grant is more than sufficient for completing the project. Further, while only 30 metre width is required for building up a 4-lane road at a cost of Rs. 6 crores per kilometer, as required by the BOT mafia whose per kilometer cost is Rs. 17-21 crores, the government has decided to forcibly acquire 45 metres from the people. The excess land of 15 metres' width will be used by the mafia for real estate development such as building complexes, entertainment parks, food plaza, etc. It is learned that all the party leaderships that entered into a consensus in favour of the mafia have already been assured their share in this booty. According to moderate estimates, about 3 lakh people will be displaced and people's discontent is simmering. To deviate people's fury to safe channels, which include proposals for an attractive 'rehabilitation package', as usual NGOs and cunning ruling class chieftains with 'clean' image are also deployed for the successful accomplishment of the project. Their effort is to divert the

emerging struggles with the prescription 'there is no alternative' other than accepting the BOT.

It is in this context, the RYFI has decided to take up the leadership of the struggle against this neo-liberal project by proposing a political alternative to the BOT scheme. In a People's Convention organized on September 21 at the ancient town of Kodungalloor, the RYFI has formed an Anti-BOT People's Committee with P. Surendran, noted progressive writer and cultural activist as its Chairman and Com. MK Dasan, RYFI State Secretary as Convener. The Convention called for a scientific approach towards road construction in the State in relation to a people's transport policy with its emphasis on public transport which should take into account an appropriate combination of road, rail and water transportation. Such a transport policy will be an inalienable component of a people's development agenda against the ever-intensifying neo-colonisation. The Anti-BOT People's Committee has decided to initiate state-wide campaigns and struggles. ●

Season, The Seasoned And Seasonal Flower

FOR a last couple of months the Reserve Bank was looking for a good monsoon for the inflation to climb down. Throwing all basics of economics in garbage, it has put itself in the same bracket with millions of poor and marginal Indian farmers whose fate is still tied up with the vagaries of climate. Now, in the second half of September the late monsoon is flooding entire North India and threatening life of millions irrespective of what the Reserve Bank may say. The people of our country have become seasoned with treachery of bourgeois political and financial institutions over the years. As always Congress is leading the show. Still, after the cheap road-show in Niamagiri, Rahul, the Congress general secretary has taken up the Bengal organization of his party in his agenda. And who doesn't know that he is ignorant of even bourgeois politics, that he is just a cuckoo, no matter whether it is in Niamagiri or in Bengal! And he went ahead calling Mamta as a mere seasonal flower.

Mamata was quick to reply in her own unique way refuting the criticism that she is a seasonal flower. Well, this is the same coinage CPI(M) was famous to use to describe their politics till Singur incident. TMC is imitating each and every dirty tricks played by CPI(M) in last thirty three years. 'Your independent activities are not welcomed. Now we are in the power, we will do everything for you. We'll be with you for 24 hours. We are not seasonal flowers.' CPI(M) said to the people of Bengal in 1977 and started to reiterate it on every occasion. But contrary to it, CPI(M) became the virtual dada on the one hand and abandoned

the fight for people's interest. The masses have already tasted the bitter consequences of this type of toxin coated plastic flowers.

However, most unfortunate truth of Bengal polity lies today in the dominance of this cartoon characters in the larger political arena. It's absolutely clear that neither Congress nor TMC is willing to sever their ties. Both are very much clear and conscious of their political interest and compulsions. But in spite of their mutual dependence, both are trying for hegemony at the expense of the other. So even while collaborating against CPI(M) both will continue petty quarrels.

Today crores of people are compelled to run their lives in un-bearable living condition. Workers are not getting jobs, a decent wage and legitimate facilities at their workplaces. Farmers are committing suicide under neo-liberal economy. Displacements are taking place throughout the country in a massive scale. The grip of imperialism is ever increasing. Kashmir, Manipur and entire north-east are practically in a worst situation. The socio-economic life of our people is shattered due to the policies of all mainstream political parties with Rahul's Congress in the forefront. Still he has no shame in pretending to speak for *am admi*.

Last but not least, Mamta forgot to say the actual truth, that after all she (like all other bourgeois politicians) is not flower at all. They are vicious enemies of the people. ●

Sayak

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Letter to Editor

Dear Comrades,
Surkh Slaam from Kashmir,

I am writing in response to your announcement on August 30th solidarity with Kashmiri people and their struggle. It is highly appreciated by our side of Kashmir and we are also from Pakistani occupied Kashmir in solidarity with your struggle and fully support your liberation struggle and we do understand that our struggle is one just like our rulers have the cause to crush and suppress our class based struggle.

Kashmiris do understand that our national liberation movement has been only supported by Indian and Pakistani working class, progressive parties and left parties. Our struggle is one against all reactionary forces and occupied regimes. Our people have been very much aware that Indian and Pakistani state forces and secret services have been trying hard to divide our struggle and also trying to portray our progressive movement as a religious movement and injected religious groups and right wing militants have been supported by both Indian and Pakistani state secret agencies to divide our Kashmiri people in the name of religion and different regions too.

But our struggle is not going stop here. On getting national liberation, it will go further to have social and political and economic changes. That is why both occupiers are affraid of our revolutionary movement and never let our news to come on to surface. I would like to thank you all comrades and appreciate you all for having real solidarity with our people, basically our people, we are one, our struggle is one.

keep up the good work. ●

In solidarity.
Javed Inayat,
From Pakistani occupied Kashmir.

Lok Sangram

Marathi Organ of Maharashtra State Committee

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Lift Curb on Newspapers in Kashmir Vally

The Delhi Union of Journalists (DUJ) has demanded that the undeclared ban on newspapers in Kashmir valley be ended and that the Press Council of India not only take suo motto notice of the assaults on the press there, but visit Srinagar, meet journalists' bodies there and strive to aid the healing process.

The DUJ expressed grave concern at reports received that for some time now newspapers have not been published and electronic news bulletins have been banned. Only a token number of curfew passes are distributed to newspaper offices because of which news reporting and production has been rendered impossible. Many reporters and photographers have been physically assaulted by paramilitary forces like the CRPF.

The DUJ unequivocally condemned the assaults on the media and media professionals and demanded that the ban and other restrictions imposed on the movement and functioning of media be lifted immediately.

A joint statement by the DUJ President Sujata Madhok and General Secretary S.K. Pande said that while appealing for restrained reporting in volatile situations we call for immediate dialogue with affected journalists and call on the Home Ministry to ensure that police and CRPF be restrained from arbitrarily roughing up press persons.

According to reports received, the police and paramilitary forces recently thrashed and abused some press persons, even though they carried a valid "curfew pass" issued by the District Magistrate Srinagar. The state government's "influence" on the ground got exposed when the forces tore to pieces the "red-colour special curfew passes" and even abused those who have issued them.

It expressed concern at reports that three staffers of Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Uzma were ruthlessly beaten by policemen at Kaka Sarai in Old City. They were travelling in the office vehicle which was intercepted by police. The staffers were asked to show their curfew passes and identity cards which they did. All of a sudden a policeman started beating a staffer who had to be admitted to the Bone and Joints Hospital because of injuries caused. ●

S.K. Pande, General Secretary, DUJ