

Red Star

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Central Organ of CPI(ML)

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FORWARD WITH ICOR!



**DOWN WITH IMPERIALIST SYSTEM!
FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!**

Editorials

ICOR: A GREAT STEP FORWARD

THE FORMATION of the **International Co-ordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations (ICOR)** in the *Founding Conference* held in Germany and its announcement with a militant rally and *International Cultural Festival* in Berlin on 16th October, 2010 is a great step forward as far as the international communist movement is concerned. It is a historic development since it is 67 years after the dissolution of the *Third or Communist International* in 1943 such a step is taken to initiate the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at international level, when the imperialist camp, especially US imperialism, is engaged in frenzied efforts to intensify its neo-colonial plunder, to shift the burden of the latest economic and financial crisis also to the shoulders of the world proletariat and people of the countries under neo-colonisation and to continue its aggressions as in Afghanistan and Iraq in more barbarous forms. So all Marxist-Leninist forces should whole heartedly welcome this great step towards initiating the reorganization of the *Communist International*.

The *Founding Conference Document* published in this issue of *Red Star* make it clear that it is a significant effort to bring together all the Marxist-Leninist forces who are waging uncompromising struggle against imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies with the perspective of overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its lackeys and for realizing the victory of *World Proletarian Socialist Revolution*, in the great tradition of Marx and Engels who gave the revolutionary call of *Workers of the World, Unite* in *The Communist Manifesto*, and Lenin who re-organised the *Communist International* after the collapse of the *Second International*. The dissolution statement of the *Comintern* in 1943 had assured that it will be reorganized by

overcoming its weaknesses and according to the new concrete conditions. But no such efforts were made during the decades after that for taking up this task. Moreover, ideas like *international is not required* were spread by the leadership of the CPC and mechanically swallowed by many of the parties and organizations. It played, among other factors, a significant role in the severe setback suffered by the international communist movement (ICM) starting with Tito revisionism and the 1956 Report to the 20th Congress of CPSU by Krushchov. In Yugoslavia and then in Soviet Union, the communist parties were dominated by capitalist and national chauvinist ideas in place of proletarian internationalism. While almost all the communist parties formed under the initiative of *Comintern* degenerated to revisionism, and then to social democratic positions, even a number of parties and organizations who claim to have taken lessons from the Krushchovite deviation are still rejecting the necessity of uniting the communist parties and organizations at international level. These positions are further weakening the ICM.

The serious economic and financial crisis faced by the imperialist system has intensified the attacks on world proletariat and oppressed peoples. It has sharpened all fundamental contradictions at global level, creating favourable objective conditions for the advancement of proletarian revolutionary movement. At this juncture, the formation of the ICOR, which is creating conditions for uniting the Marxist-Leninist forces at international level, shall definitely play an important role to develop class struggle and to intensify the efforts to replace imperialism with socialist system. **Red Star** joins with all proletarian revolutionary forces all over the world to herald the founding of the ICOR.

Observe Fourth December As Environment Day

THE CALL of the **International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organisations (ICMLPO)** on 14th October to observe the **International Environment Day on Fourth December** as a militant day of opposing the imperialist led 'development' policies which are devastating the nature and threatening the very survival of human race itself is of great significance. In an approach paper presented to the Conference the CPI(ML) had stated that under capitalism every thing including science and technology is used for accumulating

capital and profit. Capitalism has greatly enhanced the exploitation of nature by man This

is more so after World War II and especially after the introduction of imperialist globalization. What is required is an alternative development perspective which shall ensure progress on an egalitarian basis along with maintaining ecological balance. As imperialism will not allow such an alternative development system so long as it is in dominance it can be put into practice only by overthrowing the imperialist system.

The representatives of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations from all continents who

participated in the Conference explained how the imperialist powers and their lackeys have destroyed the environment in the name of development. The fossil fuels are used at an alarmingly increasing rate leading to depletion of ozone cover. The increasing number of nuclear power plants are also posing great danger. But the NGOs and imperialist think tanks are spreading the folly that the problem can be solved within the system itself through reforms as they are propagating that the problems of the have-nots can be solved through 'inclusive growth'. So the discussion reached the conclusion that it is the task before the revolutionary forces to expand their struggle against imperialist barbarity and comprador ruling systems to evolve an alternative

development perspective with socialist values. The Conference called on all associate members to launch a vigorous campaign against present imperialist policies that destroy the environment as a part of the class struggle to overthrow the very exploitative system itself.

The CPI(ML) Central Committee had already called for intensifying the struggle against imperialist development policies and to intensify the movement for environmental protection. It has called on all party committees to observe the 4th December as Environment Day based on the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the call of the ICMLPO.

CWG: Showcase of India 2010

WHAT HAPPENED at CWG at Delhi at the cost of billions of rupees should not have surprised anyone who is following the actual condition of India 2010. Except for its mega form in concentrated style as revealed by the CWG, the dirty contracts handed out to sleazy builders, corrupt politicians cornering large number of contracts in their relatives' names, resultant shoddy construction like what happened to the Footbridge at the Stadium, kick backs to political bosses and bureaucrats, appropriation of resources of the masses, displacing the have-nots to make construction sites available and throwing out slum dwellers and beggars to make cities pleasing to the Westerns are day to day 'games' repeated all over the country.

The Games helped a tiny minority to make billions within a short time while the city went bankrupt, with the liabilities to be paid by the ordinary citizens. After the Games this elite class told repeatedly how it "showcased Indian talents for the world". Of course, unlike in Olympics, India could win more medals. But how can anybody conceal that India ranks 67 out of 84 nations in *IFPRI's Global Hunger Index of 2010*. This report tell us: "India is a home of 42% of the world's

underweight children and 31% of its stunted children." If some of the billions spent on CWG was spent on providing food to these children, to send them to schools and to provide a play ground for every school how many more medals India could have won? It was promised that the residential area built for the Games would become university hostels. Just remember who lives in the Khelgaon built for 1982 Asiad Games which were to be used later as low-cost housing. When the Common Wealth Games (CWG) flats are going to be released for sales, the prices will be in crores, which only the elite can afford.

All the corporate media while focusing on the corruption and highhandedness revealed in the CWG, none asked the question why India should be in the Commonwealth and host CWG to glorify the colonial slave masters of yesteryears. Similarly while the media is charge sheeting the corrupt bosses who pocketed billions, which is of course a good job, they are covering up the very ruling system which has become corrupt, anti-people and insensitive from head to toe. The fact is that the CWG was a real reflection of India 2010.

Obama's Visit to Make Indian State More Dependent and Reactionary

THE CORPORATE MEDIA has started eulogising US president Obama's visit to India in the first week of November as a great event. That he is visiting Pakistan only in 2011 and this is going to be his longest stay in a foreign country are repeated as great stories. Along with US think tanks, the corporate media are writing editorials after editorials advising Manmohan Singh not to waste this opportunity for a *Bi-lateral Investment Treaty* to ensure further US inroads in to Indian economy, trade and defence. According to them,

the growing power of China poses a risk to Asian Security balance and so India should strengthen its strategic alliance with US to dovetail its policies as a *natural ally* of US. Thus the US imperialists and Indian comprador centres are working overtime to make Obama's visit a great success at the cost of the masses in this country.

Take the case of the *Civil Nuclear Liability Act*. UPA government got it adopted by the parliament through many dirty deals just including a paltry Rs. 1500 crores as the liability of the supplier and

builder of a plant in case of an accident. There are loopholes to serve the supplier from most of the liabilities even after adopting the much debated amendment. But according to US this Act should be amended to save the supplier further from liabilities. Various forms of pressure are exerted to get it done before the outdated US nuclear plants and technology are imported to this country. That, in spite of the disastrous Enron episode, and in spite of the fact that Three Mile Island/Chernobyl like nuclear disasters, radiation danger and nuclear waste disposal calls for putting an end to any further nuclear plants, as the European and US governments are doing under public pressure, Manmohan Singh is bending backwards to please the US bosses. It poses a great danger to people in the region like Jaitapur, Maharashtra, where new nuclear plants are planned.

Vested interests are calling for strengthening economic ties with US further when Obama has taken steps to cut down outsourcing by raising

H1-B and L1 Visa fees for foreign companies and when he has threatened to end tax breaks to companies that outsource. In spite of any amount of pleading by Manmohan, these steps are bound to be followed threatening the much trumpeted IT sector of this country. Besides, US demands raising of foreign investment caps in sectors such as defence, and further tightening of the 'intellectual property regime' to help the MNCs. The US think tanks are prompting to Obama to cut down barriers to transfer of technology so that defence and high-tech sales to India shall double in next five years.

US imperialists' strategic goals are very clear. Still, as in the past, the Manmohan Singh government is going to further surrender before US pressure. Obama or Bush, the strategic goals of US have not changed. So it is responsibility of all revolutionary left and democratic forces to campaign against the UPA government's surrender and the visit of the US president to this country.

Democratic People's Front Formed

THE FORMATION of Democratic People's Front (DPF) in a meeting held on 25th September at Delhi attended by representatives of CPI(ML), PCC-CPI(ML), New Socialist Movement (NSM) Gujarat, Marxist Leninist Committee (MLC) AP, and Bahujan Vam Manch (BVM) based on a ten-point programme to fight the anti-people policies of central and state governments which are frantically pursuing neo-liberal policies is an important step forward in the present critical political situation. All the participating organizations agreed to organize all India campaigns and agitations. It was also decided to approach other revolutionary left and democratic organizations to bring them in to the front. An all India Convention followed by a parliamentary march will be organized after ensuring the unity of as many organizations as possible. The meeting decided to organize a vigorous campaign at state level uniting with all forces who can be united

against the visit of US president Obama to India in the first week of November to sign more anti-people agreements with the UPA government with the slogan "Obama Go Back".

In the present Indian situation when serving the interests of imperialism, especially US imperialism, the Indian ruling classes are intensifying the implementation of neo-liberal policies and resorting to state terror to suppress the people's movements, and when the left forces are weakened by the activities of the CPI(M)-led Left Front, which is faithfully implementing the ruling class policies wherever it is in power, and the anarchist activities of the CPI(Maoist), the formation of this front to initiate the joint activities of the revolutionary left and democratic forces is a very positive step forward. Let this lead to all like minded anti imperialist and anti ruling class forces coming together to wage uncompromising struggles against the neo-liberal policies.

Documents of ICOR Founding Conference

Formation of the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR): A Historic Step Towards Reorganisation of the Communist International

AFTER THREE YEARS of strenuous work, the holding of the **Founding Conference** of the **International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations** (ICOR) and the declaration of its founding in Berlin on 16th October were historic steps as far as the

international communist movement is concerned. While 29 parties and organizations from all the continents actively participated in the Founding Conference, about 14 organizations could not participate due to various problems like difficulties in getting visa etc. With the successful completion of the Founding Conference, it is expected that a

large number of parties shall become members of the ICOR by 30 November after studying the documents adopted by the Conference as they analyse the present world situation on a scientific basis and provide a general orientation to carry forward the revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its lackeys.

The **Communist International** or **Comintern**, as it was popularly known, was dissolved in 1943 in a very difficult situation when Soviet Union was engaged in a life and death war against the Hitlerite forces. In the dissolution statement the ECCI of the *Communist International* had stated: *“Communists guided by the teachings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism never advocated the preservation of organizational forms which have become obsolete; they always subordinated the organizational forms of the labour movement and its methods of work to the basic political interests of the labour movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of given historical conditions and to those problems which arise directly from these conditions”*. Proceeding from this consideration and citing that Marx had dissolved the First International when “this form of organization no longer corresponded” to the growing need of creating national workers’ mass parties in the difficult conditions of world war the Comintern was dissolved.

Considering the demands of then existing concrete conditions and the limitations of the organizational form of the Comintern, it may be possible to justify its dissolution. But as the imperialist camp led by its new leader, US imperialism, intensified its policies of aggression and world hegemony in new forms, which were more pernicious and barbarous, proletarian internationalism demanded the reorganization of the Communist International according to the then concrete conditions and overcoming the organizational limitations it had. Though in the post War years the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) was started uniting the parties which had come to power in Europe, no effort was made to reorganize the CI. At a time when the imperialists were closing their ranks to attack the growing communist forces, the absence of even a platform to discuss and decide on the various problems faced by the international communist movement (ICM) had aggravated the differences within it. The convening of the meeting of the communist parties in 1957 and 1960 and the publication of the Moscow declaration and then the Moscow statement showed the growing ideological and political differences within the ICM. Very soon party to party relations between the CPSU and CPC broke. The CPSU leadership started taking naked

revisionist positions abandoning the path of class struggle and proletarian internationalism.

It was in this situation the CPC had come out with the Proposal Concerning the General Line of the ICM in 1963. This General Line and the nine comments on important ideological and political questions confronting the ICM then inspired a fierce ideological struggle against Soviet revisionism and created hopes of CPC taking initiative to unite the Marxist-Leninist organizations emerging during this period. As Mao Tsetung and the CPC enjoyed immense prestige among the Marxist-Leninist forces, such an initiative would have helped the Marxist-Leninist forces greatly. But citing the ‘negative’ experiences the CPC had under the Comintern, its leadership openly started talking against any unity efforts at international level. As a result, instead of overcoming the shortcomings of the Comintern, the CPC leaders had criticized, all the newly emerging Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations started looking towards the CPC as their authority. In this situation they **started implementing mechanically** whatever was coming out from CPC publications and Beijing radio. Almost all of them were influenced by the left adventurist Lin Biao line which was propagated as Mao’s line or later Maoism.

Most of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations had come out of this left adventurist line and had condemned the capitalist roaders who had usurped power in China also by 1980s. Many of them had dared to take up the basic reasons for the severe setbacks suffered by the ICM from the time of 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. But still the question of initiating the reorganization of the Communist International was not taken up though many organizations had started raising its necessity when the imperialists were launching new offensive to overcome the ever intensifying new crises their moribund system was facing.

It was in this situation, as explained in the inaugural speech, the initiative was taken by some of the organizations including MLPD and CPI(ML) to start this process. Soon it became a revolutionary venture by 22 organisations. Continental conferences were convened twice in Europe and Asia and once each in Latin America and Africa. The initial draft documents were prepared and distributed to over 70 organisations who were associated with the continental conferences. More than 200 motions of amendments and suggestions were received. They were processed by the International Preparatory Group and the decision to convene the Founding Conference was taken. The Founding Conference in which over 30 organisations associated finalized the Founding

Documents and elected the International Coordination Committee to coordinate the activities. The MLPD, KSRD (Ukraine), CPI(ML), MLKP (Turkey-North Kurdistan), CPL (Congo), MMLPL (Morocco) and PC(ML) Dominican Republic are elected as the ICC member organizations . The MLPD and CPI(ML) shall function as chief coordinator and deputy chief coordinator.

This is a great beginning, but at the same time a very modest beginning, as all the organizations involved in this process are comparatively small or some of them are in the process of building the party organization. But by 30 November when all organizations who adopt the Founding Documents shall become members, the number of member organizations shall increase considerably. The enthusiasm created by the Founding Conference was reflected in the militant rally and the international cultural festival that followed in which the formation of ICOR was publicly announced.

In spite of continuous rains the more than three thousand workers and the international delegates marched more than five kilometers from West Berlin to Alexander Place in East Berlin braving the rain and cold weather, with banners of the

participating organizations. This was really a great beginning. The delegations departed with the resolve to carry forward the revolutionary message of ICOR far and wide so that all revolutionary organizations are brought together from all continents and a mighty wave of revolutionary campaigns and solidarity actions are unleashed internationally in support of the revolutionary people's struggles taking place in different countries.

This issue of Red Star contains the Founding Documents of the ICOR, the Resolutions adopted by it, the Resolutions placed in it for future actions, the decisions taken , including the international days that shall be observed. Besides, extracts of the founding of First, Second and Third internationals from Marxist classics are also published.

The Central Committee of CPI(ML) has called for observing the first week of November from first to seventh culminating with October Revolution Day propagating the founding of the ICOR. Let us make it a week of mighty campaign for proletarian internationalism challenging the barbarous imperialist system and its lackeys, with the slogan: **Not Imperialism, Socialism is the only Alternative.**



Introductory Speech to the ICOR Founding Conference

(Stefan Engel on behalf of the International Preparatory Group)

Dear Comrades,

ON BEHALF of the International Preparatory Group and as provisional main coordinator in the initial phase of the preparatory process, I warmly welcome you to the Founding Conference of ICOR. We have come together here to set up an international organization for cooperation and for the coordination of the practical work of revolutionary parties and organizations in party building and in class struggle.

67 years after the dissolution of the Third International we venture the step towards a new international organization of the revolutionary proletariat and all the oppressed masses fighting for their liberation. This initiative is necessary to raise the level of the struggle against world imperialism, which has carried the exploitation and oppression of the vast number of dependent and oppressed countries to extremes with its neocolonial methods.

Of course, this cannot be about, and is not intended to be about, the re-establishment of the Comintern, which had formed around the nucleus of the socialist Soviet Union as a bastion of proletarian world revolution. The goal is to make a contribution to the reorganization of the international revolutionary and working-class movement taking into account the lessons from the past and the concrete conditions and tasks of the present and the future.

The cross-border coordination of the work of revolutionary parties and organizations should combine with making contributions to overcoming their ideological-political fragmentation and differences, supporting each other in the class struggle in the individual countries and becoming a very visible international force.

Following the deep split in the international communist movement – with the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956 as starting point – the international revolutionary and working-class movement suffered its deepest setback. Once strong revolutionary working-class parties degenerated into reformist, bourgeois parties; a number of revolutionary organizations became hopelessly split and fragmented; the revolutionary working-class movement downright marginalized itself in various countries, and reactionary anticommunism penetrated deep into the masses.

It took a long time until the steadfast revolutionary parties and organizations undertook the effort again mainly to seek cooperation at first, to clear up differences in an objective way, and to reach out to each other. That has happened since the

end of the 1980s initially at international seminars, conferences and in public debates. Now, in the international revolutionary and working-class movement the situation has matured for taking a major step forward to a durably organized cooperation in practice.

The founding of ICOR should become a milestone for the unification of the international revolutionary and working-class movement. The positive process of cognition regarding the necessity of the international, practical cooperation of revolutionary parties and organizations was furthered by the **objective developments**.

In the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the former CMEA, in the capitalist world economy a reorganization of international production on the basis of liberalized markets took place.

On the basis of the general tendency of capitalist production towards internationalization, an unprecedented cross-border process of concentration raised the capitalist division of labor to an internationalized level. That led to profound social changes in the framework of the imperialist world system. Humanity is confronted with the comprehensive effects of this development only gradually.

The most drastic effects were the armed aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq, which was passed off as a “fight against international terrorism”, and the world 55 economic and financial crisis in 2008, whose, depth, scope and course is without parallel in the history of capitalism.

The internationalization of the markets, of production and trade also entailed corresponding changes in the liberation struggle of the working class and the masses of the people.

Alongside the **class struggle in the national framework** a very visible **tendency to international class struggle** established itself.

- Was it not almost 19 million people in 660 cities **worldwide** who **simultaneously** demonstrated against the imminent aggression of US imperialism against Iraq on 15 February 2003?
- Didn't an internationally networked active resistance in 100 countries to rescue the world climate from ruthless destruction by the imperialists and monopolies establish itself in December 2009 in Copenhagen?

- Didn't the cross-border strike of the dockworkers in 2005 scuttle the European port liberalization law?
- Didn't the countries of Latin America defeat the planned US-dominated South American free trade zone in a joint struggle?
- And most recently, since 2004, haven't the now corporation-wide and cross-border strikes in Europe repeatedly become reality?

How else can the masses defend themselves against the internationally coordinated activities of the international monopolies and imperialists except by coordinating their class struggle across borders?

With the outbreak of the **world economic and financial crisis** in 2008, the world saw an **international crisis management** of the 20 biggest industrial countries and their monopolies – together they account for more than 90 percent of the world domestic product – which is **unique to date**. To prevent the collapse of the world financial system, to head off an uncontrolled collapse of the world economy and above all to potentially head off social unrest as basis of a cross-border revolutionary ferment, no less than 24 trillion US dollars were spent to date worldwide and the national budgets of all countries rigorously plundered.

Of course, the international crisis management of the leading international monopolies and the imperialist governments was only of a temporary nature until it was again superseded by mutual unrelenting rivalry to seek one's own best advantage. Moreover, it is an incontestable fact that the international crisis management greatly intensifies the danger of state bankruptcy, which led in early 2010 to the euro crisis.

Such a gigantic crisis management effort cannot be repeated any time one chooses, because it is not possible to shift the virtually immeasurable burdens of the crisis onto the shoulders of the broad masses at will, without dangerously intensifying the general destabilization of the imperialist world system for the ruling forces.

Everywhere in the world the protests have taken on the character of a struggle against this shifting of the crisis burdens onto the masses' backs. But in many cases this still happens without coordination, spontaneously, and mostly led by reformists and opportunists, which of course robs these struggles of their society-changing thrust, diminishes their success or even leads to their defeat.

With the growing proneness of the imperialist world system to crisis, in future a tendency to a revolutionary crisis also will emerge and grow.

The broad masses, the working class, the peasants, the students and women must prepare themselves for this in their struggle, in their thinking, feeling and acting.

For that they need the international unity that will make them an invincible force in the struggle against imperialism and for a socialist society. The unification of the revolutionary potential in the entire world is an **objective necessity** – also for the class struggle in the individual countries. It is time to overcome the fragmentation of the revolutionary forces and to focus the struggle against the imperialists!

Dear Comrades!

Naturally, the class struggle in the individual countries retains priority. It is the **political basis of proletarian internationalism**, since the power of the capitalists and of imperialism continues to be organized at the national-state level.

All international integration and concentration notwithstanding, world imperialism does not have a common power apparatus. That is its fundamental weakness, which it cannot overcome within the framework of the capitalist social order.

The united revolutionary forces must know how to take advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions to weaken the imperialist world system and to strengthen their own forces in the process.

Nonetheless, it would be naive to demand that the working class and the broad masses of each country should come to grips with their own bourgeoisie independently of one another and without international union.

Isn't the strategy and tactics of the fight against international "terrorism" the joint platform of the ruling classes for rigorously, and as far as possible, jointly crushing any threat to their relations of power, no matter which country is concerned? With the concept of a "world domestic policy" the imperialists justify their interference in the affairs of all countries throughout the world and their right to take armed action, if necessary, against revolutionary uprisings.

Only to insist on the independence of the revolutionary struggle in each country in such a strategic situation, without simultaneously seeking international union, would be a sure road to defeat.

Didn't Marx and Engels see the reason for the defeat of the "Paris Commune" in the fact that the international proletariat did not come to the aid of their class brothers in Paris with revolutionary actions in their own countries and instead allowed

the bourgeoisie to form itself into the ultimately superior counterrevolution?

Didn't the spread of the international proletarian revolution after the 1917 October Revolution fail, didn't the counterrevolution manage to drown the various revolutionary uprisings and struggles in blood because the subjective prerequisites in the individual imperialist countries – particularly in Germany – had not matured, despite a revolutionary crisis from 1918 to 1923?

We cannot allow it to happen again that revolutionary forces, revolutionary uprisings and heroic liberation movements can be stifled because of national isolation and lack of international solidarity, and by an international counter-revolution!

That is what the creation of the international organization for the coordination of the practical activity of revolutionary parties and organizations is about: the accelerated development of the subjective conditions for an international revolutionary liberation struggle to overcome imperialism!

Dear Comrades!

In August 2007, in a resolution 21 organizations decided to create an international organization for the practical cooperation of revolutionary parties and organizations.

Since then, in a systematic decentralized discussion process in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe a large number of organizations have become involved in the discussion of this. More than 70 actively and constructively participated in this and see themselves as a part of the founding process, even if not all of them can be present.

Further organizations have taken part in the discussion, take a favorable view of it, but could not yet make up their minds to actively participate themselves in this process of the creation of the international organization.

ICOR should be open to cooperation with other progressive, democratic and revolutionary associations and must not make the mistake of one-sidedly seeing itself as competition for them.

Of course, we must continue to be vigilant towards forces which undermine the revolutionary road and oppose the unity of the revolutionary forces in the world when we set about today to create a higher, organized form of proletarian internationalism. But that is something different from skeptical mistrust amongst each other and petty bickering in minor issues, which unnecessarily divides us and weakens our revolutionary community.

Events of world-historical importance need time to mature:

- That includes a process of the building of confidence between organizations that have not worked together to date.
- That includes a process of the practical cooperation of very different organizations which struggle in their particular countries under very different conditions.
- That includes not least of all a patient ideological-political exchange, unanimous critical and self-critical discussion and unification.

All the same, we have arrived at a point where we can proceed to found this international organization in order to speed and improve the process of its construction and advance it also in a new quality.

A lot of doubts had to be dispelled to arrive at today's founding process. One of the most important was that various organizations do not yet see themselves in a position at the current time to participate in international activities.

Despite all the material, ideological or financial limitations of the individual organizations, this serious objection is nevertheless one-sided, because it does not take into account that precisely the international union brings extraordinary benefits to many organizations. They can now fall back on the many and varied experiences of other organizations, avail themselves of direct material aid, and in this way also overcome their own weakness faster.

Other reservations concerned the question how such a union can be successfully brought about as long as the unification of views on all essential ideological-political issues has not been brought about yet. Much as gradual ideological-political unification is necessary, a joint practice, a joint struggle in a few essential questions does not depend on being in agreement in all essential questions.

Don't we all have many and varied experiences in united action and united front politics in our revolutionary practice? Do we always ask the different participants in anti-fascist demonstrations and activities about their different world outlooks and political ideas before working together with them in practice? No strike could be organized in a factory if it were not possible to put aside ideological and political differences of opinion and fight together to enforce economic and political demands.

Conversely, experience shows that joint revolutionary practice helps to overcome ideological-political differences. Unity and struggle of opposites is a dialectical principle which every revolutionary must master if he does not want to languish in self-isolation.

The organizations involved in the ICOR process are in agreement on important basic positions, despite all their differences of opinion in matters of world outlook or in political analysis and programmatic issues.

There is agreement that this imperialist world system is the root of the unsolved problems of humanity; that only the overcoming of the imperialist world system can solve the problems of humanity. It is the common understanding that that must be done by revolutionary means; the old powers must be overthrown and their structures replaced by structures of the dictatorship of the proletariat and people's power.

In our documents we must define this fundamental unity without losing sight of the fact that there is, of course, also a certain percentage of as yet unsolved problems, of ideological-political differences that we have to put on the back burner today and can only clear up step by step in the further process of the construction of ICOR.

We have to do here as well with completely different organizations: With mature revolutionary parties with decades of experience, mass influence and experience in revolutionary class struggle. With parties which have experience in the illegal work of revolutionaries. With large parties, with small parties. With parties from former socialist countries which have gained experience with the degeneration of the formerly socialist countries under the condition of the restoration of capitalism; which have experienced the futility of revisionism. With parties newly created based on the recognition that the revolutionary class struggle cannot be victorious without a revolutionary avant-garde.

Not least of all, the revolutionary parties and organizations are different due to ideological-political differences of opinion that may be specifically rooted in world outlook, history or social economics.

It is the mutual respect for the ideological-political differences of opinion, the different conditions, qualifications, experience, but also quality of work, a respect which we must muster if we want to come together on an equal basis, if we want to become a joint international force.

Working together respectfully on a basis of equality – without a strong revolutionary center such as the socialist Soviet Union once was, this is the only chance of achieving a revolutionary union in which it can be possible to become a force superior to imperialism.

It goes without saying that this will not come about through the founding act alone. It can only give a signal to other revolutionary organizations

to support this important common interest and make the idea of internationally organized cooperation become reality.

The process of cooperation **in a few** essential questions, advancing to cooperation **in all** essential matters, is a stony, protracted path, requires a great mutual trust and must not be underestimated.

It will moreover be attacked by the class enemy, who of course controls the international communication channels and transportation routes too, and solely through this fact can exert immense influence on our cooperation. Visa applications must be submitted for every meeting, for every email it is necessary to use the channels of the internet, electronic mail services or telephone, which are controlled by the ruling classes. The so-called international fight against "terrorism" serves mainly to impede revolutionary activity.

Not to be underestimated too are the limited financial and organizational means which prevent many organizations particularly from Africa, Latin America or Asia from taking part in such meetings.

Despite all this we have managed to prepare this founding assembly today and actually to come together in this group.

The main part of ICOR construction still lies ahead of us, however.

We must unite the most diverse revolutionary parties and organizations mainly at the continental and regional levels and organize actual practical cooperation in party building and class struggle. This will be the chief task of the continental and regional coordinating committees, requiring qualified comrades, but also the willingness of all participants to fill this cooperation with life in a spirit of solidarity.

Surely we will not have only successes, but will also suffer defeats, and perhaps also will have to accept setbacks and disappointments. That's in the nature of the thing, has to do with the given relative strength.

With our revolutionary enthusiasm, our fundamental convictions and our intrepid perseverance we must gradually come to grips with the problems of cooperation and support each other in doing so. We must develop a new feeling of togetherness.

This is a **new stage of proletarian internationalism** in which one not only feels responsible for oneself, for class struggle and party building in one's own country, but in the same way also for class struggle and party building in Africa, in the Americas, in Asia, in

Europe, in Australia, in countries where we've never been and perhaps know very little about.

All this calls for a process of self-transformation of all those involved in which we must break with old habits without lapsing into lack of principles and opportunism or sectarianism. We should jointly discuss this process too, evaluate it and critically and self-critically draw conclusions again and again. This must be done practicing a proletarian culture of debate.

Of course, given the generally still relatively poorly developed parties and organizations today we can not unfold international work to an excessive degree without overtaxing our own forces. For this reason we must master the principle of the concentration of forces and expand our projects in a gradual and systematic process.

Even at this Founding Conference we must of necessity limit ourselves to discussing and passing the founding documents, to the founding act, and also to the deployment of the necessary cadres for the international structures.

There is no point in putting out a great many resolutions which we cannot yet fill with

substance under the present conditions. The separation of theory and practice is one of the big vices of petty-bourgeois politicians, who like to give out lots of paper and resolutions, but are unable to even begin putting them into practice. Right from the start we should not let this bad habit take hold and really do the things that we undertake to do! We should be guided by this principle from the start.

The greatest persuasive power always comes from the unity of theory and practice. The concentration of forces will help us to set ourselves realistic tasks which we then want to carry out with all determination, discipline and reliability.

The prospects of ICOR are good and its potential is inexhaustible. The point is to fill these prospects with substance. This common concern should inform this Founding Conference.

Forward with ICOR!

Down with the imperialist world system!

Forward to socialism!

The Founding Conference is hereby opened.

Founding Resolution of ICOR

THE WORLD CONFERENCE of the Initiative "Coordination and Cooperation of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations" resolves to constitute itself as an international organization. Its name is "International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations" (ICOR).

I.

THE FOUNDING of the ICOR follows from the understanding: The time is ripe to counter highly organized, globally linked international finance capital and its imperialist world system with something new - the organized power of the international revolutionary and working-class movement and of the broad masses in a new stage of the cross-border cooperation and coordination of the practical activity.

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

imperialist aggressions, and in the general tendency of imperialism to reaction and fascism.

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

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

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

The revisionist betrayal, with its starting point in the Soviet Union at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, led to the hitherto biggest defeat that the international communist and working-class movement has suffered and resulted in a division of unprecedented dimension. The restoration of capitalism triggered off a gigantic wave of anticommunism and counterrevolution.

Also the occurrence of sectarian and anarchist tendencies harmed the international communist movement and workers' movement in part. However, the main danger for the upswing of the international revolutionary movement remained and remains the influence of reformism and revisionism on the workers' and people's movement.

With the decline of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s, modern revisionism lost its center. The imperialist bourgeoisie could take advantage of this in the 1990s for a worldwide anticommunist offensive. The weakening of the revisionist bastion of the Soviet Union is, however, at the same time an important factor for a new upswing of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

The billions-strong worldwide proletariat, in alliance with the broad masses, ultimately is a superior power to imperialism if it takes up the struggle for its liberation organized on an international scale and plays its leading role in the peoples' struggle for national and social freedom.

II.

AT TODAY'S stage of imperialism with its highly developed and internationally linked productive forces, the material prerequisites for socialism have already matured to a great extent.

At the same time, under the dictatorship of worldwide finance capital, devastating destructive forces are taking effect:

- In those countries that are plundered and oppressed by imperialism, the impoverishment of the masses is increasing with the plundering of the wealth of these countries, military threats against any revolutionary activity, environmental destruction, starvation and expulsion.
- Even in the highly developed capitalist countries, the immensely increased exploitation is accompanied by a growing impoverishment of the masses and the dismantling of bourgeois-democratic rights and liberties and even the fascistization of the state apparatuses.
- The imperialistic bourgeoisie is a permanent threat to the sovereignty and integrity of the national states. This has

led to a militarization of foreign politics of the imperialist countries that can only scarcely be covered with the veil of UN missions and humanitarian pathos.

- The rivalry of the imperialists, especially of the imperialist main powers, constantly fuels the danger of a world war and leads to regional armed conflicts in the struggle for a redivision of the world.
- The capitalist mode of production today confronts the world with a global environmental catastrophe which could make all human life impossible within a foreseeable future.
- Children and youth are robbed of their future by imperialism and the masses of the world's women are shackled by double exploitation and oppression. The women in those countries that are oppressed by imperialism often are also especially subjected to national and religious discrimination.

The desire and search for a society liberated from exploitation and oppression has to become a force for changing society which overcomes the basic evil of the imperialist world system.

The ICOR has arisen from the practical necessity to respond to the destabilization of the imperialist world system by developing to a higher level the revolutionary liberation struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

The building and strengthening of revolutionary parties in the individual countries is the decisive factor for a new upswing in the struggle to overthrow imperialism and for building socialism. This includes creating further organizational forms and platforms for the joint struggle of the masses at national, regional and international levels.

This historical challenge makes the cross-border cooperation, coordination and revolutionization of the struggles raging worldwide more necessary than ever before.

III.

WHEREAS

- many parties and organizations have developed the desire for constructive cooperation on the basis of equal rights;
- the masses of people and the core of the industrial proletariat are increasingly recognizing that the division between different nations must be overcome, which can be seen in the beginning of cross-border struggles;
- numerous international revolutionary forms of organization (conferences, forums, platforms) have emerged already;

- the slogans "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" as well as "*Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!*" can only become reality through international forms of organization;
- different societal conditions and traditions of the class struggle exist in the individual countries and in the individual organizations;
- the responsibility for the preparation and implementation of the revolution rests with the parties and the working-class and mass movements of the respective countries;
- there are still many ideological-political differences among the revolutionaries of the world;
- joint organized revolutionary action cannot wait until all of these differences are resolved,

the ICOR regards itself as contribution to promote the solidarity-based unity of the international revolutionary and working class movement.

On the basis of a clear ideological-political minimum consensus it pursues the unity of revolutionary action in connection with a lively process of discussion and clarification in order to deepen and broaden the foundations in terms of content.

The Founding Conference declares that the ICOR will consistently pursue an open-door policy toward all revolutionary parties and organizations and other international unions.

Its main issue is the coordination and cooperating in organizing class struggle and practical solidarity.

It seeks the close union and cooperation with other progressive internationalist forms of organization in the world and explicitly does not regard itself as their competitor. It establishes and confirms a new quality of the unity of the proletarian and revolutionary parties and organizations throughout the world.

IV.

UNIFIED in regard to the strategic goal of overcoming the imperialist world system and establishing socialist societal relations, the Founding Conference resolves as essential ideological-political foundations for mutual cooperation:

- to recognize the necessary revolutionary transformation of the societal conditions of capitalism/imperialism with the claimed goal of a socialist society and the necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as democracy for the broad masses and suppression for the

deadly enemies of humanity's liberation from exploitation and oppression;

- to draw a clear dividing-line to revisionism, Trotskyism and anarchism and any form of anticommunism like the hostile attacks and the bourgeois smear campaign against so-called "Stalinism" or "Maoism" and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V.

THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE resolves that its organizational principle be the consensual coordination and cooperation of autonomous, independent and self-reliant parties and organizations.

In the voting on fundamental documents the conference aspires to decide about them on the basis of consensus. Principled ideological questions and fundamental political issues are not subject to a vote. However, in questions of practical necessity, concerning the founding documents and after an extensive discussion, respecting ideological-political differences, a majority decision can be taken. This requires a minimum of 80 percent of the votes of the delegates present. All resolutions on current affairs can be adopted by a simple majority. Parity of votes is regarded as rejected.

Every organization decides itself which project and which activities it supports. This is connected to the principle of reliability carrying out accepted tasks in the spirit of full responsibility for jointly putting them into practice.

Emphasis lies on cooperation and on mutual assistance in the class struggle and in revolutionary party building in the individual countries.

ICOR will cooperate on a worldwide, continental and regional level in general main tasks, as well as in single projects planned for a limited time.

It practices coordination to come to agreement on various processes and activities, as well as cooperation with regard to joint projects and practical fighting tasks.

It is based on mutual respect and the respect for the sovereignty of the member organizations and commits itself to non-interference in the internal affairs of the organizations.

It commits itself to a proletarian culture of debate in opinion building, in developing understanding for and implementing common practice.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

Statute of the ICOR (Extracts)

I. PREAMBLE

“Workers of all countries, unite!” — this urgent call of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels at the end of the Communist Manifesto was formulated as the guideline of the liberation struggle of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world. The development of the imperialist world system is extremely contradictory: While the greatest wealth of all times has been accumulated and enormous potentials have matured that make a life in prosperity, health and peace possible for all of humankind, worldwide hunger and mass poverty have reached an unprecedented dimension. The worldwide growth of the working class and the progress of labor productivity are accompanied by the ruination of the existence of peasants on a massive scale, mass unemployment and underemployment. While scientific-technical progress would long make the unity of human life and nature possible, the dramatic changes of the climate are endangering the foundations of human existence.

Never before has the material preparation of flourishing socialist conditions been as mature as it is today. At the same time, the crisis-proneness of the imperialist world system has the tendency to call the human mode of existence into question. The danger of a ravaging imperialist war has been a burden upon humanity for decades; the global environmental crisis is threatening the foundations of human existence; the absence of family of the masses with far-reaching deteriorations, especially with regard to the situation of the women and children, is growing worldwide. The overexploitation of billions of people brought forth the world economic and financial crisis of 2008 that has shaken the world.

All of this is crying out for the replacement of capitalism by a new order in which the productive forces can be used for the benefit of all humankind. The masses of people in the world do not want to sink into capitalist barbarism! The antihuman politics of international finance capital challenges the revolutionary drive of humanity toward a society without exploitation, oppression, misery, environmental destruction and war and which offers a perspective for the youth.

With the decline of the socialist camp through revisionism, the working-class movement suffered

the severest defeat in its history. For decades it plunged the international revolutionary movement into a mood of defeatism deeper than ever before and promoted the increase of liquidationism, division and fragmentation among their ranks.

In spite of all that, many revolutionary parties and organizations stood by the revolutionary party building and continued the struggle for national and social liberation. This led to diverse conclusions and experiences in building up new revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, their growing ability to lead the class struggles, and their beginning international cooperation.

Thus the time has become ripe for a new stage of cross-border cooperation of the international revolutionary and working-class movement and the development of an international united front against imperialism.

We need an organizational form for international cooperation and coordination of the activities of the revolutionaries of the world in revolutionary party building and the class struggle.

The Founding Conference of the ICOR follows the insight of Lenin, the brilliant leader of the world's first socialist state, that proletarian internationalism can only be realized in the necessary forms of organization:

“Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers’ alliance, an international workers’ brotherhood, is needed.” (Lenin Collected Works, 4th English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Volume 30, pages 291-297 “Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin”, 1920)

ICOR unites different parties and organizations with equal rights being very different in respect of their size, their practical, organizational and political experiences, their historical-ideological roots, strategic task and social-economic conditions. They have to cooperate respectfully and learn from each other for their joint struggle.

To realize its goals the Founding Conference of the ICOR has adopted a statute and adopted the name *International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR)*.

Decisions of the Founding Conference of the ICOR

1. MEMBERSHIP IN THE ICOR

A. General Notes

1. The **membership of ICOR** consists of independent and self-reliant parties and organizations from different countries of the world.
2. **The precondition for membership in the ICOR** is the recognition of the principles and basic decisions of the World Conference.
3. The **recognition of the principles and basic decisions of the world conference** and the self-commitment to their realization are voiced by the respective member organization itself. The membership in the ICOR is confirmed by the decision-taking assembly. An ideological-political qualification by ICOR does not take place.
4. Admission of member organizations to the ICOR takes place through an **admission procedure** which is adopted by the World Conference of the ICOR by a qualified majority of 80 percent of the votes of the delegates present.
5. Membership in the ICOR is tied to equal **rights and duties of the member organizations**.
6. The consensual coordination and cooperation of its independent and self-reliant members is the **common organizational principle of the ICOR**.
7. Common tasks will be discussed and decided in the respective bodies of the ICOR according to their scope (world, continent, region).

B. Conditions for membership

1. The common ground for membership in the ICOR is the **revolutionary character** of the respective member organization.
2. That includes **different ideological-political opinions and foundations of the individual member organizations**, as far as they do not contain any antagonistic contradiction to the character of the ICOR.
3. The common strategic goal of the ICOR member organizations is **overcoming the imperialist capitalist world system and realizing socialist societal relations**.
4. The common strategic objective of the ICOR can be pursued in the respective countries and by the member organizations with **different strategies and tactics** which are to be decided upon

only by the member organizations in the individual countries.

5. A basic condition for membership in the ICOR is :
 - **real revolutionary work** in the respective countries **among and with the masses** of the exploited and oppressed;
 - **class-militant politics** and the rejection of class collaboration with the ruling monopolies and their puppets;
 - the **recognition of the revolutionary change of the societal relations and the necessity of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, no matter in which form;
 - a **clear dividing-line to revisionism, Trotskyism and anarchism as well as any form of anticommunism** like the hostile attacks and bourgeois smear campaign against so-called "Stalinism" or "Maoism" and the dictatorship of the proletariat;
 - the recognition and realization of **proletarian internationalism** as the common tie for the theory and practice of the international coordination and the cooperation of the member organizations in party building and class struggle.

2. JOINT DAYS OF STRUGGLE

The members of ICOR commit themselves to and call upon the working class and the masses of the people worldwide to observe consciously and jointly the following four international days of action each year:

1. **May Day** has been the **international day of struggle of the working class** for over 100 years. It was instituted by the Founding Congress of the Second Socialist International in 1889 in Paris. The occasion was the bloody suppression of the struggle of the workers in Chicago for the eight-hour day on the 1 of May 1886.
2. **March 8** as **international day of struggle for the liberation of women**. This day goes back to a decision of the International Socialist Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1910.
3. In every country, in accordance with the respective traditions, either **May 8/9**, **August 6** or **September 1** shall be observed as an **international day of struggle against fascism and war**. May 8, 1945, was the day on which Hitlerite fascism was defeated; on August 6, 1945, the first nuclear bomb was dropped on

Hiroshima, and September 1, 1939, was the first day of the Second World War.

4. 4) At the beginning of December an **international day of struggle to save the natural environment** should take place. International days of action against the climate catastrophe have been taking place at this time since 2005. In December 2009, in over 100 countries a mass protest took place against the World Climate Summit in Copenhagen. The international day of struggle to save the natural environment promotes an international front of active resistance to rescue the environment.

3. WEBSITE OF THE ICOR

The ICOR establishes a website to serve the following goals:

- Public representation of the ICOR as international organizational form, its decisions, its joint projects and political statements

- To win over new member organizations by information about the activities and developments of the ICOR
- Mutual information and lively exchange between the ICOR members
- Possibility for communication for parties and organizations, international organizations and alliances and individuals with the ICOR.

The website publishes exclusively contributions that are in accordance with the spirit of the ICOR.

Each party/organization can place an article/information in the portal once a month and decides itself on the selection.

The political, organizational and legal responsibility for the website rests with the ICC. It is recommended to the Continental and Regional Coordinating Committees to proceed in the same way to ensure a continental and regional responsibility for the website.

Concluding Speech of the Presiding Committee

Stefan Engel

Dear Comrades,

MORE THAN 30 delegations from the sphere of initiators traveled here for the foundation of the ICOR. In their discussions and contributions about the struggle and the situation in their countries they have once more impressively underlined how necessary the foundation of this international organization of practical cooperation of revolutionary parties and organizations is.

We have come to know very much about each other, we won more insights into the experiences and problems of the comrades of the participating organizations. Since we are now common members in one organization, though it has only a coordinating character, these are the problems of us all too, for which we all take over the responsibility.

The necessity of the ICOR was underlined by the overwhelming decision for its foundation.

The composition of this meeting was representative, as far as the ideological trends within ICOR are concerned, but as well, as the regional composition of ICOR is concerned. But naturally it was not comprehensive. Many difficulties have mounted. They have prevented more comrades from taking part in this founding conference. This demands that after the conference we now inform all the others and take

even more pains that they are included in the ICOR process on a basis of equality in the future.

The discussion altogether was in a spirit of great solidarity. It was factual and always oriented towards solving the problems, even though sometimes there were some discrepancies. In the end one could feel that everybody here wants the ICOR. I relate this also explicitly to those who for the first withdrew from voting to discuss matters with their leading bodies and parties first. They have taken part in the preparatory conferences or the preparatory discussions. In the run-up to the ICOR and in the realization they contributed in many ways so that this meeting can take place. I would be very glad if the parties and organizations of these comrades, based on the evaluation of this assembly, would decide to fully take part in the ICOR again and to make their contribution in this joint international activity.

Naturally, in this meeting single problems have occurred which give a hint that we will have to prepare future meetings even better. Maybe we should improve and formulate more precisely one or the other passage in our rules of procedure. It is important that we evaluate this thoroughly. It was the first time that we met in such a composition, with so different experiences, and have come to terms with such different ideological-political opinions and with such different styles of work in the single parties. This is a very great achievement; one realizes that in

very question one meets very different practical and organizational experiences. Therefore, it was necessary to respect the different experiences, but naturally endeavor to reach solutions by consensus, to have decisions how we can jointly take action then.

I am of the firm conviction that in the next world conference even more organizations will make use of the opportunity to make motions about the documents. We have gained much experience, and this will help us to get things settled in the future even better.

Naturally there are organizations, too, who are standing outside the ICOR and are watching what we have done here. It will be important to inform these organizations well and to convince them of the correct way which we have taken. We should let them take part as much as possible in the joint activities. We should downright invite them for that, even though they are not members of the ICOR yet, as the message of greetings from the PCR Uruguay proposed. We should accept such proposals and actively spread the spirit of the ICOR in the international revolutionary and workers' movement, for to further promote the process of unification on a revolutionary basis in practice too.

We are not only a common organization, but we should be the main carrier of practical cooperation with the revolutionaries of the world. After constituting of the elected new ICC the ICOR has to tackle the next phase of building-up. The participants up to now in the preparatory process for the foundation of the ICOR who could not be present at the founding conference will be given the opportunity to affirm their membership on the basis of the documents. We will have to win over new members for the ICOR. Therefore, we will do publicity work for the project of the ICOR and fill this thought with practical life.

We have made decisions about the joint days of struggle, about the support for the World Women's Conference etc. I believe that all these first practical steps also will be a test how we succeed in realizing the decisions of the ICOR in practice. We will probably make one or the other mistake doing that, we will have contradictions too. But in this conference we have proven that with a proletarian culture of debate, unified rules and joint will, we are able to overcome and solve such problems.

For three years now I have been involved as person in charge in the process and I can assure you that this founding conference is a giant step from the first discussions to how we have been working together here. This is not self-evident. Each meeting was a step forward, at each stage there were new points in common, but new

contradictions as well. The biggest instance of mutuality really was the founding conference, and I am of the firm conviction that this direction will consolidate further.

Personally I want to add the remark: I have felt very comfortable amongst all these comrades, a number of whom I did not know yet. We have struggled, but have united as well. The best friends have disputes. It is important that the dispute consolidates the friendship and that we do not quarrel so as not to be able to look into each other's eyes. I must honestly say that this solidarity of the comrades has touched me much and gives me much hope. From here new impulses are spreading for all of us, for practicing a new stage of proletarian internationalism, a stage where we have a common organization. From that arises a new power, and we have got to know and won new friends.

At the end of this assembly I want to say thank you, first of all to the International Preparatory Group, which has prepared this meeting ideologically-politically, organizationally and practically in the main very well. This applies to the comrades of the ORC Congo, the CPI(ML) India, the MLKP Turkey/North Kurdistan, the SKMC Czech Republic, the PML del Peru and the MLPD. Many thanks to this preparatory group!

I want to say thank you for the outstanding work of the different multilateral organizational teams. In the end they made it possible in practice for us to do such good work here, that we have been nourished well, that security was guaranteed and that the whole setting was fine.

I want to say thank you to the presiding committee, which in this composition from the ORC Congo, MLKP Turkey, CPI/ML India, BP(NK-T) North Kurdistan/Turkey, PCMLM Bolivia and MLPD from Germany naturally has not cooperated before, but in an intensive work in each break sat together and took pains to realize our common rules of procedure, agenda and our plans. This was not always easy. I enjoyed it a lot. It was a superb atmosphere and cooperation; all this has led the conference successfully to the goal that we had aimed at. Many thanks to the comrades of the presiding committee!

And many thanks to the comrades delegates for their good contributions and the atmosphere. They have come from far and near, have taken their time, were not afraid of expenses or hardships, and prepared themselves to make their contributions here. The delegates who have taken part here naturally are our main envoys to the organizations. You must carry the thought of ICOR into your organizations, you must represent what has commonly come into being here and has been passed.

In the end I want to especially congratulate the secretaries and the translators, who first made possible our communication despite the many mother tongues.

Dear Comrades, I want to conclude this meeting with our joint slogan:

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

Long live international solidarity!

Long live the ICOR – Forward to Socialism!

Resolutions Adopted By ICOR

1. Building an International Literature and Culture Exchange

The International Coordinating Committee (ICC) of ICOR shall initiate concrete steps to build up an international literature and culture exchange and to promote all initiatives in that direction.

Information is to be provided in the form of a catalogue – which is also published on the website – about publications of the ICOR members and their translations including price details and supply sources.

In addition, cultural activities and cultural exchange are to be promoted, among other things: Music and theater groups, events and tours, films, texts and music on data media, arts and crafts, etc.

2. Conference on “Migration and the Responsibility of the African Youth in the Face of the Crisis”

The Founding Conference of ICOR supports the initiative of the Continental Conference Africa to hold a conference on “Migration and the responsibility of the African youth in the face of the crisis”.

3. Solidarity with the Workers’ Movement in Ukraine

The Founding Conference passed a resolution in support and solidarity with the workers’ movement in Ukraine.

4. Solidarity with the Garment Workers in Bangladesh

The founding conference of ICOR expressed its solidarity towards the militant struggle of the garment workers in Bangladesh. There are more than three million workers, mostly women, who have been on strike from 28th of July to 2nd of August. The conference demanded immediate release of all workers, trade union members and political activists who are being held by the government related to their struggle.

5. Solidarity with the Roma

The ICOR condemns any discriminating and racist treatment in the EU and by the EU.

Most of all, the attempt of the French president Sarkozy to divert attention from the effects of the economic crisis in France and the struggle of the

millions of toiling people against social dismantling, especially against the planned deterioration in the pension system, by stigmatizing the Roma, is simply despicable.

This in particular because in the days of Hitlerite fascism the Roma were the second group of humans, besides the Jews, sacrificed to insane race politics. That humans today are again treated according to such criteria, and this in the motherland of human rights, challenges our sharpest protest and our internationalist solidarity with the Roma people.

6. Solidarity with the Resistance of the Youth

The ICOR expresses its solidarity and welcomes the actions of resistance and strikes of the youth in various countries on the basis of their alliances with the working class, oppressed peoples as well as other oppressed strata, in such forms as education and teaching boycotts, university and school occupations. The ICOR also welcomes actions against dismantling of the education system, for the achievement of basic rights like the right to education, to the use of their mother tongue, and for the right to free, independent scientific education, free of charge, as in examples in Argentina and North Kurdistan.

7. Support Conference on “Wars, National Movements and Disappearances”

ICOR supports the 6th International Conference against Disappearances, which will take place under the title “Wars, National Movements and Disappearances” from 9-12 December, 2010 in London.

9. Conference in Asia on “Problems faced in the Agrarian Front”

The Founding Conference of ICOR supports the initiative of the Continental Conference Asia to hold a conference in Asia on “The problems faced in the agrarian front”.

10. Support of the Workers’ Struggles in Iran

The ruling classes in Iran are suppressing the workers’ organizations and activists there. Mahmoud Salehi, a well known worker activist, together with five other activists got arrested on May Day 2006.

Since 1997 Salehi has spent seven years in jail. This has affected his health, especially his kidney.

Similarly the members of the “Sugar Cane Union in 7 Tape” were arrested in the past year. Ali Najati with four other worker activists has been in jail for one year.

Reza Shahabi, Mansoor Osanloo and Ibrahim Madadi, members of the “Vahed Syndicate”, are in jail.

Members of the “Coordinating Committee to help form Workers Organization” are being strongly confronted by the regime. Every once in a while they receive invitation from “Etlaat”, the security agency, asking them to cancel their organization.

The ICOR founding conference, in support and defence of the workers’ movement in Iran, strongly condemns the ruling class of Iran and demands that they stop torture and arrests of worker activists.

11. Solidarity with the Protest against “Stuttgart 21”

The ICOR declares its solidarity with the resistance of the people of Stuttgart against the “Stuttgart 21” project, which makes absolutely no sense in terms of transportation, social and environmental policy.

We condemn in particular the various methods employed by the ruling circles – be it manipulation or deceit, be it the brutal, militarized use of police force – to break the justified protest of the people, which is spreading throughout the country.

The implementation of this project does not accord in the least with the interests of the

people, but solely with the interests of the industrial and financial corporations who profit from it and who serve the interests of all the monopoly capitalists within the EU.

We therefore declare our international solidarity with the legitimate resistance of the population of Stuttgart (“*Wir sind das Volk!*” – “We are the people!”), whom we assure of our greatest possible support.

12. Solidarity with the People of Haiti

The ICOR condemns the conditions imposed by US imperialism to hold elections in Haiti in November, in a country which is occupied by UN troops under the leadership of US troops.

This year the people of Haiti have been suffering from the aftermath of an earthquake that devastated this nation, which endures brutal exploitation by the great powers.

We condemn the dispatch of troops of the Dominican government to Haitian territory with the intention of provoking a clash between the two peoples; this way the imperialists can wash their hands in innocence like Pontius Pilate.

13. Solidarity with Mass Struggles against Those Responsible for Military Fascist Coups

The ICOR welcomes the movements against those responsible for the fascist military coups and expresses its solidarity. These movements fight for the punishment of the culprits in countries like Turkey, Chile, Indonesia and Argentina.

Resolutions placed before the Founding Conference of ICOR

1. ON GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

THE WORLD imperialist crisis that originated in the form of American “sub-prime crisis” in 2008 and later manifested as European “debt crisis” is now spreading to the neocolonial countries in different forms with unprecedented catastrophic consequences. While this crisis is linked up with the inherent contradictions and incurable ailments of capitalist production relations, more precisely with the ever-mounting contradiction arising from the social character of capitalist production and private nature of appropriation, its immediate context is the transformation in the neocolonial accumulation process brought about by finance capital in the neoliberal period. For, it was in response to the ‘stagflation’ and collapse of international Keynesianism in the 1970s that US led imperialism had brought about a change in the mode of accumulation to financial speculation. Now the present crisis is due to cracks in this neocolonial mode of accumulation or what is

called ‘financialization’ which is the main trend under neoliberal globalization.

The unparalleled growth and internationalization of financial speculation have added a new dimension to the general crisis of capitalism during the neoliberal period. As a result, anarchy and instability have become the hall-mark of every aspect of imperialist world economy. Since the driving force of accumulation under neoliberalism is speculation rather than production, its ultimate outcome is an alarming growth of parasitic classes on the one hand, and pauperization of the working class and broad masses on account of unemployment and underemployment on the other. While the number and wealth of world’s billionaires are galloping, purchasing power of the working people is shrinking. As a result, the contradiction between capital and labour in imperialist countries is mounting, while the intensified subjugation of neocolonial countries by finance capital has

sharpened the contradiction between imperialist powers and oppressed peoples and nations.

The bailout and stimulus packages launched by both imperialist and neocolonial governments in the context of this global crisis have nothing to do with maintaining the jobs and living standards of the working class or toiling masses. Rather, they are aimed at a massive transfer of wealth to the parasitical financial oligarchs who themselves have created the current crisis through unhindered speculation and in the process have amassed vast "non-performing" financial assets. That is, in the name of overcoming the crisis, the fiscal stabilization and austerity measures imposed by imperialists and comprador rulers are ultimately going to aggravate inequality and loss of purchasing power for the masses. The ruling classes everywhere are shifting the entire burden of the present crisis to the shoulders of working class and toiling people through massive cuts in wages and social spending and draconian attacks on social and democratic rights. Working class and common people are rising up in protests against this neoliberal offensive.

As the objective conditions created by imperialist crisis are arousing the class consciousness of workers and toiling people the world over, international unity of the revolutionary forces capable of giving an ideological and political orientation to the resistance against decaying imperialism is the need of the hour. Assimilating the historical fact that the imperialist system can not be reformed and can only be overthrown, and fully comprehending the revolutionary implications of the crisis, Marxist-Leninists and progressive forces should come forward taking this as an opportune moment to intensify the all round struggle against imperialist system and its lackeys with the clear perspective that socialism is the only alternative before the humankind.

2. ON AGRARIAN QUESTION

THE VAST MAJORITY of landless and poor peasants, agricultural workers and marginalized sections, the real tillers of soil whose only sustenance is agriculture constitute the peasantry in Asia. In spite of the vastness, unevenness and diversities of this region, agriculture still continues to be the major source of livelihood for majority of the people in most of the Asian countries. With the transformation of colonialism into neocolonialism, feudal and semi-feudal land relations which serve as the social base for colonial domination and utilized by erstwhile colonial powers are being transformed and with the advent of imperialist sponsored Green Revolution and intensified penetration of finance capital, capitalist land relations have become the increasing trend in the country-side. Over the years, the neocolonial onslaught on agriculture

led by corporate capital and MNCs has not only made it an appendage of imperialist market but also intensified the landlessness and pauperization of the peasantry and sharpened all the contradictions in the agrarian sector

As a result of neoliberal globalization and the consequent shift in neocolonial policies from 'import substitution' to 'export orientation' led by corporate agribusiness, food agriculture is being increasingly replaced by cash crops such that both food security and agricultural employment are in peril. Along with corporatisation of agriculture, large scale land grabbing for plundering mineral and natural resources and in the name of neocolonial 'development' projects such as Special Economic Zones, townships, tourist resorts, etc. by speculative giants has led to the displacement of even aboriginals and tribal people from their habitats. It has led to ecological crises and unprecedented land concentration in both rural and urban areas. To facilitate land concentration in the hands of parasitic classes, comprador rulers in these countries are repealing even erstwhile land ceiling acts. Agriculture itself is becoming captive of finance capital with 'contract farming' led by agribusiness companies flourishing everywhere. Imperialist and corporate market control over agricultural inputs and outputs through various price and export-import policies is also threatening the peasantry. World Bank dictated agricultural policies and 'market access' provisions of WTO including anti-peasant seed, fertilizer, power and credit policies coupled with the curtailment of state support programs such as subsidies and public procurements under neo-liberalism are reasons for the devastation of the agrarian sector in neocolonial countries and have led to mass suicides of peasants.

In this context, mobilizing the tens of millions of landless poor peasants and agricultural workers on the basis of a revolutionary agrarian program according to concrete conditions in each country or region under the leadership of the proletariat based on worker-peasant alliance is one of the basic tasks for leading the people's democratic revolution in Asian countries to victory. Such a revolutionary agrarian program should aim at the capture of all lands belonging to landlords, feudal remnants and all parasitic sections and distribution among the real peasantry based on the principle, land to the tiller. Liberating the agrarian sector from the grip of imperialist finance capital and market system is also an integral part of this program. Unleashing of the productive forces in agriculture including employment generation and food self-sufficiency can be attained only through revolutionizing the agrarian relations. To accomplish this task, the Communist Party should put forward the class line of the

peasantry based on which an agrarian movement under proletarian leadership can be developed according to concrete neo-colonial conditions prevailing in each country. It should be coupled with continental level and global level joint moves by the peasantry under proletarian leadership. The international co-ordination of Marxist-Leninist parties should strive hard to carry forward this task.

3. COMBAT IMPERIALIST CULTURAL AGGRESSION AGAINST WORLD PEOPLE

DURING the neo-colonial phase of imperialist exploitation and aggression against world people, culture in its myriad forms have become a convenient tool in the hands of imperialism and its lackeys. In order to protect the moribund and crises ridden imperialist economic base, the imperialist think tanks and its numerous institutions and agencies are utilizing the cultural super structure including art, literature, religion, race-caste like institutions to promote communal, racist, caste-based, parochial, fundamentalist like reactionary tendencies to resist the advance of all progressive, democratic and socialist values.

During the post- World War 11 decades as the socialist camp was getting enormously strengthened, the national liberation movements were sweeping across the continents and secular and secular, democratic and socialist values were influencing ever larger sections of people, the US led imperialist forces, the comprador classes gaining political power in the 'de-colonised' countries, the religious fundamentalist-sectarian tendencies, reactionary intellectuals and their likes, along with the neo colonial offensive in political, economic, military and similar other fields launched an unprecedentedly barbarous cultural offensive in consonance with them in order to beat back all progressive values, to ideologically disarm the people and to prepare the ground for the intensification of imperialist hegemonic efforts through neo colonization. All the imperialist promoted institutions, agencies and the newly constituted United Nations Organisaion [UN] and its numerous subsidiaries etc were engaged for this purpose.

The imposition of Israel over Palestinian people in West Asia was a typical example of this intensive and comprehensive imperialist method of aggression. The post War years saw an all round growth of anti- imperialist, secular and national liberation forces in the Arab region also. The US led imperialists saw it as a mortal danger for their hegemony in this oil rich region. By installing Israel they solved many problems at one stroke. It became a powerful imperialist outpost in the West Asian region. Zionist Israel through its rabid religious fundamentalist offensive made major gains in ideologically disarming the Arab people

of progressive values to a great extent and could provoke the spreading of Islamic fundamentalism at alarming speed.

Similarly along with launching NATO, SEATO, CENTO like military alliances, establishing numerous military bases around the world to continue domination in the 'de-colonised' regions and utilizing IMF, World Bank like agencies the counter revolutionary cultural offensive was intensified utilizing modern reactionary ideologies like post modernism, identity politics etc on the one hand and all religious fundamentalisms, sectarian ideas promoted through race-caste like institutions in newer and newer forms. These were integral parts of the entire neo-colonial agenda unleashed. But the socialist camp and the international communist movement in general failed to grasp the enormity of this heinous and pernicious all round offensive of the imperialist camp, which was one of the major factors that led to the severe setbacks suffered by the socialist forces and the national liberation movements.

The cycle of imperialist crises from 1970s and the launching of imperialist globalization policies intensifying neo-colonization through neo-liberal policies have unprecedentedly intensified all the fundamental contradictions at the international level. It is giving rise to a new wave of people's movements everywhere. The proletarian revolutionary forces are getting reorganized trying to overcome the setbacks, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In this situation along with launching new aggressions as in Afghanistan and Iraq and intensifying the neo colonial offensive through neo liberal policies at maddening speed, the imperialists and their lackeys everywhere are utilizing the cultural aggression in every field to de politicize, ideologically disarm, confuse and maim the world people. Every aspect of cultural superstructure is utilized for this purpose. New reactionary ideologies are manufactured and the latest possibilities of the media are utilized for this. The Founding Conference of the ICOR calls on all the revolutionary parties and organizations and all progressive forces in general to launch a vigorous campaign against and resist this counter revolutionary offensive of the imperialists and their lackeys, putting forward secular, democratic and socialist values vigorously.

4. WAR ON TERROR AND FASCISATION OF STATE APPARATUS

THE 'War on Terror' launched by Bush administration in 2001 was yet another calculated move by the US imperialists to intensify their hegemonic moves around the world. The attacks on US centers became extremely useful to them for this pernicious move. The long history of the

capitalist imperialist system, especially after the World War II shows how 'Cold War' like gimmicks created by themselves were utilized to sabotage the socialist countries and to annihilate the national liberation movements. Bush's 'War on Terror' became useful to attack and occupy Afghanistan followed by aggression against oil rich Iraq and its occupation. Thus the hegemony of US led imperialist forces was further strengthened in West Asia. Utilising this opportunity their influence was spread to Central Asian regions also. The number of US military bases around the world were further increased. Israel was provided more opportunities to suppress the Palestine people.

Bush administration exported this concept internationally, forcing all countries to launch a witch hunt against Islamic masses dubbing all of them as suspects. To facilitate this the religious fundamentalists of all hues were promoted. That it was the US imperialists themselves who had given birth to and promoted the Al Qaida and Taliban like forces to destroy the influence of erstwhile Soviet Union in Afghanistan was concealed. It was a very calculated effort to divert the attention of the world people who were subjected to more miseries under IMF-World Bank promoted imperialist globalization and neo liberal policies. As these policies intensified all fundamental contradictions forcing more and more sections of people to wage anti imperialist and anti state struggles, the bogey of terrorism was utilized to suppress them under that.

Along with this not only in the large number of countries under various stages of neo colonial domination, in the imperialist countries also the state apparatus was made more and more autocratic and fascistic. All existing democratic rights are cut down. New black laws like the 'Patriotic Law' in US were imposed. All migrants are suspiciously viewed, and in many cases they are thrown out. The working class and all oppressed sections are subjected to further exploitation and deprivation of democratic rights. While more and more workers are losing jobs, the strength of the suppressive instruments of the state is further strengthened, by enhancing the strength of military, para-military, intelligence and police forces. Thus the state is made more powerful and ruthless.

The revolutionary forces have to take cognizance of this fact. The US led imperialist forces have adopted fascist methods in all fields to blunt the advances of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. The Founding Conference of the ICOR appeals to all Marxist Leninist Parties and organizations to take note of this fascist offensive of the US led imperialist forces and to mobilize their forces nationally and internationally

to intensify the revolutionary struggles for democracy and socialism.

5. COMBAT IMPERIALIST DEVELOPMENT POLICIES INTENSIFYING ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE

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

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

2 .On the other hand, in spite of the great contribution of Engels in his famous work "Dialectics of Nature", in which he cautioned against the contradiction between nature and people turning antagonistic if treated in an antagonistic manner, it can be seen that all the Communist parties which degenerated to revisionist path went against his teachings. Abandoning dialectical approach and embracing metaphysical positions whether in erstwhile Soviet Union, China or other former socialist countries, or even where they came to power under bourgeois democratic system they pursued metaphysical approaches neglecting the increasing damage done to environment under the imperialist dictated policies. The revisionists 'pooh-poohed' all those who called for effective steps to counter ecological destruction, ridiculing them as 'environmental fundamentalists' without recognising the fundamental difference between genuine concern for ecological destruction and the attitude of so called 'echo-fundamentalists'. Sometimes they became more dangerous

advocates of environmental destruction in the name of creating more employment, more electricity, more 'development', etc. In short, the imperialists and their lackeys, as well as the degenerates from the path of Marxism-Leninism, all played important roles in turning the contradiction between nature and humankind antagonistic.

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

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

exercises are utilised in order to perpetuate the imperialist development model and the vast difference in the standard of living of the imperialist countries and countries under neo colonisation. As capital becomes increasingly speculative and profit motive and market fetishism is sky-rocketing, conditions for all round pollution are created. On the whole, the 'development perspective' and 'growth indices' advocated and imposed by the hegemonic imperialist system and the comprador rulers in the neo-colonies utilising the contributions of science and technology for their class interests are the basic causes of environmental destruction which has reached phenomenally high level.

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

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

7. It means that in order to ensure the conditions for the existence of human society combating the destructive consequences of the imperialist concepts of development which are destroying the ecological system, a change in economic political system from imperialist barbarism to

socialism is needed. On developing the socialist path there are many things to learn from the experience of socialist construction in Soviet Union. But the degeneration of its leadership later to capitalist path destroyed the positive aspects of this experience. It was by learning from this negative experience Mao had tried to chart the development of China based on his writing, 'Ten major relationships'. But the post - Mao leadership abandoned all that was taught by him including 'peoples communes' and took capitalist path in the name of 'four modernisations'. It is a fact that As a result the socialism that was practiced in the erstwhile socialist countries had failed to a great extent to become an alternative to imperialism and had lost its libertarian, egalitarian, democratic and humane values in later years due to degeneration to social democratic positions, or to imitating imperialist

development perspectives. So, assimilating what was positive and rejecting all that was negative, socialist values should be resurrected, including a basically different, alternative development perspective which is not antagonistic to nature.

8. It is a historic task before all progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces to expand their struggle against imperialist barbarity and comprador ruling systems to evolving an alternative development perspective with socialist values. After the experience of what happened to Soviet Union and China, today the struggle for political power becomes meaningless and fails to win over the vast masses to this cause if it is not combined with putting forward an alternative to imperialist development concepts which are proved devastating, and by educating the masses about it.

Extracts From Marxist Classics On Internationals

1. CONCLUDING PARAGRAPHS OF THE SPEECH OF KARL MARX AT THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AT LONDON, 1864.

At the same time the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved beyond doubt that, however, excellent in principle and however useful in practice, co-operative labour, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic middle-class spouters, and even keep political economists have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very co-operative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatizing it as the sacrilege of the socialist. To save the industrious masses, co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet the lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economic monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocated of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors. To conquer political power has, therefore, become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France, there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts

are being made at the political organization of the workingmen's party.

One element of success they possess — numbers; but numbers weigh in the balance only if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the workingmen of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England, that saved the west of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic. The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia: the immense and un-resisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is in St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international

politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws or morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

2. RESOLUTION ON TERMS OF ADMISSION OF WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL

I.

That organised bodies of working men be invited to join this Association in their co-operative capacity, the amount of their contributions to be left to their means and discretion.

II.

That societies joining this Association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to accept or reject such delegates.

3. MARX: "ON THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS", 1867

Today, in every civilised country, the working class is on the move, and it is in such countries as America and England, where industry is most developed, that the working class is most solidly organised and the struggle between the bourgeois class and the working class is at its sharpest.

The power of the human individual has disappeared before the power of capital, in the factory the worker is now nothing but a cog in the machine. In order to recover his individuality, the worker has had to unite together with others and create associations to defend his wages and his life. Until today these associations had remained purely local, while the power of capital, thanks to new industrial inventions, is increasing day by day; furthermore in many cases national associations have become powerless: a study of the struggle waged by the English working class reveals that, in order to oppose their workers, the employers either bring in workers from abroad or else transfer manufacture to countries where there is a cheap labour force. Given this state of affairs, if the working class wishes to continue its struggle with some chance of success, the national organisations must become international.

Let every worker give serious consideration to this new aspect of the problem, let him realise

that in rallying to our banner he is defending his own bread and that of his children.

We, the General Council, appeal to everyone to ensure that the next Congress, which will take place on September 2, 1867, in Lausanne, will be an impressive demonstration by the working class.

4. "THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE": AN ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL BY MARX, ON 30TH MAY 1871

An honourable French writer, completely foreign to our Association speaks as follows: "The members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of the Commune, are the most active, — intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Working Men's Association; ... men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the good sense of the word." The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself the International Working Men's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilised world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Government would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour — the condition of their own parasitical existence.

5. RESOLUTION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING-CLASS PARTIES, HAGUE CONGRESS OF FIRST INTERNATIONAL, 1872

Against the collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.

This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end — the abolition of classes.

The combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists.

The lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economical

monopolies and for enslaving labor. To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes.

6. LENIN ON “POSITION AND TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL” 1914

The bourgeoisie’s stand is clear. It is no less clear that the opportunists are simply echoing bourgeois arguments. In addition to what has been said in the leading article, we need only mention the insulting statements in *Die Neue Zeit*, suggesting that internationalism consists in the workers of one country shooting down the workers of another country, allegedly in defence of the fatherland!

The question of the fatherland — we shall reply to the opportunists — cannot be posed without due consideration of the concrete historical nature of the present war. This is an imperialist war, i.e., it is being waged at a time of the highest development of capitalism, a time of its approaching end. The working class must first “constitute itself within the nation”, the *Communist Manifesto* declares, emphasising the limits and conditions of our recognition of nationality and fatherland as essential forms of the bourgeois system, and, consequently, of the bourgeois fatherland. The opportunists distort that truth by extending to the period of the end of capitalism that which was true of the period of its rise. With reference to the former period and to the tasks of the proletariat in its struggle to destroy, not feudalism but capitalism, the *Communist Manifesto* gives a clear and precise formula: “The workingmen have no country.” One can well understand why the opportunists are so afraid to accept this socialist proposition, afraid even, in most cases, openly to reckon with it. The socialist movement cannot triumph within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new and superior forms of human society, in which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of *each* nationality will, for the first time, be met through international unity, provided existing national partitions are removed. To the present-day bourgeoisie’s attempts to divide and disunite them by means of hypocritical appeals for the “defence of the fatherland” the class-conscious workers will reply with ever new and persevering efforts to unite the workers of various nations in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie of all nations.

The bourgeoisie is duping the masses by disguising imperialist rapine with the old ideology of a “national war”. This deceit is being shown up by the proletariat, which has brought forward its slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. This was the slogan of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions, which had in mind, not war in general, but precisely the present war and spoke,

not of “defence of the fatherland”, but of “hastening the downfall of capitalism”, of utilising the war-created crisis for this purpose, and of the example provided by the Paris Commune. The latter was an instance of a war of nations being turned into a civil war.

Of course, such a conversion is no easy matter and cannot be accomplished at the whim of one party or another. That conversion, however, is inherent in the objective conditions of capitalism in general, and of the period of the end of capitalism in particular. It is in that direction, and that direction alone, that socialists must conduct their activities. It is not their business to vote for war credits or to encourage chauvinism in their “own” country (and allied countries), but primarily to strive against the chauvinism of their “own” bourgeoisie, without confining themselves to legal forms of struggle when the crisis has matured and the bourgeoisie has itself taken away the legality it has created. Such is the line of action that *leads* to civil war, and will bring about civil war at one moment or another of the European conflagration.

War is no chance happening, no “sin” as is thought by Christian priests (who are no whit behind the opportunists in preaching patriotism, humanity and peace), but an inevitable stage of capitalism, just as legitimate a form of the *capitalist* way of life as peace is. Present-day war is a people’s war. What follows from this truth is not that we must swim with the “popular” current of chauvinism, but that the class contradictions dividing the nations continue to exist in wartime and manifest themselves in conditions of war. Refusal to serve with the forces, anti-war strikes, etc., are sheer nonsense, the miserable and cowardly dream of an unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, vain yearning for the destruction of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars. It is the duty of every socialist to conduct propaganda of the class struggle, in the army as well; work directed towards turning a war of the nations into civil war is the only socialist activity in the era of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. Down with mawkishly sanctimonious and fatuous appeals for “peace at any price”! Let us raise high the banner of civil war! Imperialism sets at hazard the fate of European culture: this war will soon be followed by others, unless there are a series of successful revolutions. The story about this being the “last war” is a hollow and dangerous fabrication, a piece of philistine “mythology” (as *Golos* aptly puts it). The proletarian banner of civil war will rally together, not only hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers but millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois, now deceived by chauvinism, but whom the horrors of war will

not only intimidate and depress, but also enlighten, teach, arouse, organise, steel and prepare for the war against the bourgeoisie of their "own" country and "foreign" countries. And this will take place, if not today, then tomorrow, if not during the war, then after it, if not in this war then in the next one.

The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of "turncoats" (as *Golos* wishes), but of opportunism as well.

The Second International did its share of useful preparatory work in preliminarily organising the proletarian masses during the long, "peaceful" period of the most brutal capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. To the Third International falls the task of organising the proletarian forces for a revolutionary onslaught against the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for the capture of political power, for the triumph of socialism!

7. LENIN: "OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

Has the Second International really ceased to exist? This is being stubbornly denied by its most authoritative representatives, like *Kautsky* and *Vandervelde*. Their point of view is that, save for the rupture of relations, nothing has really happened; all is quite well.

To get at the truth of the matter, let us turn to the *Manifesto of the Basle Congress* of 1912, which applies particularly to the present imperialist world war and which was accepted by all the socialist parties of the world. No socialist, be it noted, will dare in theory deny the necessity of making a concrete, historical appraisal of every war.

Now that war has broken out, neither the avowed opportunists nor the Kautskyites dare repudiate the Basle Manifesto or compare its demands with the conduct of the socialist parties during the war. Why? Because the Manifesto completely exposes both.

There is not a single word in the Basle Manifesto about the defence of the fatherland, or about the difference between a war of aggression and a war of defence; there is nothing in it at all about what the opportunists and Kautskyites of Germany and of the Quadruple Alliance at all crossroads are now dinning into the ears of the world. Nor could it have said anything of the sort, because what it does say absolutely rules out the use of such concepts. It makes a highly concrete reference to the series of political and economic conflicts which had for decades been preparing the ground

for the present war, had become quite apparent in 1912, and which brought about the war in 1914. The Manifesto recalls the Russo-Austrian conflict for "hegemony in the Balkans"; the conflicts between Britain, France and Germany (between *all* these countries!) over their "policy of conquest in Asia Minor"; the Austro-Italian conflict over the "striving for domination" in Albania, etc. In short, the Manifesto defines all these as conflicts emanating from "capitalist imperialism". Thus, the Manifesto very clearly recognises the predatory, imperialist, reactionary, slave-driving character of the present war, i.e., a character which makes the idea of defending the fatherland theoretical nonsense and a practical absurdity. The big sharks are fighting each other to gobble up other peoples' "fatherlands". The Manifesto draws the inevitable conclusions from undisputed historical facts: the war "cannot be justified on the slightest pretext of its being in the interest of the people"; it is being prepared "for the sake of the capitalists' profits and the ambitions of dynasties". It would be a "crime" for the workers to "shoot each other down". That is what the Manifesto says.

The epoch of capitalist imperialism is one of ripe and rotten-ripe capitalism, which is about to collapse, and which is mature enough to make way for socialism. The period between 1789 and 1871 was one of progressive capitalism when the overthrow of feudalism and absolutism, and liberation from the foreign yoke were on history's agenda. "Defence of the fatherland", i.e., defence against oppression, was permissible on these grounds, and on these alone. The term would be applicable even now in a war against the imperialist Great Powers, but it would be absurd to apply it to a war *between* the imperialist Great Powers, a war to decide who gets the biggest piece of the Balkan countries, Asia Minor, etc. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "socialists" who advocate "defence of the fatherland" in the present war shun the Basle Manifesto as a thief shuns the scene of his crime. For the Manifesto proves them to be social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists in words, but chauvinists in deeds, who are helping "their own" bourgeoisie to rob other countries and enslave other nations. That is the very substance of chauvinism—to defend one's "own" fatherland even when its acts are aimed at enslaving other peoples' fatherlands.

Recognition that a war is being fought for national liberation implies one set of tactics; its recognition as an imperialist war, another. The Manifesto clearly points to the latter. The war, it says, "will bring on an economic and political crisis", which must be "utilised", not to lessen the crisis, not to defend the fatherland, but, on the contrary, to "*rouse*" the masses and "hasten the downfall of capitalist rule". It is impossible to hasten

something for which historical conditions are not yet mature. The Manifesto declares that social revolution is *possible*, that the conditions for it *have matured*, and that it will break out precisely in *connection* with war. Referring to the examples of the *Paris Commune and the Revolution of 1905* in Russia, i.e., examples of mass strikes and of civil war, the Manifesto declares that “the ruling classes” fear “a proletarian revolution”. It is sheer falsehood to daim, as Kautsky does, that the socialist attitude to the *present* war has not been defined. This question was not merely discussed, but decided in Basle, where the tactics of revolutionary proletarian mass struggle were recognised.

It is downright hypocrisy to ignore the Basle Manifesto altogether, or in its most essential parts, and to quote instead the speeches of leaders, or the resolutions of various parties, which, in the first place, *antedate* the Basle Congress, secondly, were not decisions adopted by the parties of the whole world, and thirdly, applied to various *possible* wars, but never to the present war. The point is that the epoch of national wars between the big European powers has been superseded by an epoch of imperialist wars between them, and that the Basle Manifesto had to recognise this fact officially for the first time.

It would be a mistake to regard the Basle Manifesto as an empty threat, a collection of platitudes, as so much hot air. Those whom the Manifesto exposes would like to have it that way. But it is not true. The Manifesto is but the fruit of the great propaganda work carried on throughout the entire epoch of the Second International; it is but the summary of all that the socialists had disseminated among the masses in the hundreds of thousands of speeches, articles and manifestos in all languages. It merely reiterates what *Jules Guesde*, for example, wrote in 1899, when he castigated socialist ministerialism in the event of war: he wrote of war provoked by the “capitalist pirates” (*En Garde!*, p. 175); it merely repeats what *Kautsky* wrote in 1909 in his *Road to Power*, where he admitted that the “peaceful” epoch was over and that the epoch of wars and revolutions was on. To represent the Basle Manifesto as so much talk, or as a mistake, is to regard as mere talk, or as a mistake, everything the socialists have done in the last twenty-five years. The opportunists and the Kautskyites find the contradiction between the Manifesto and its non-application so intolerable because it lays bare the profound contradictions in the work of the Second International. The relatively “peaceful” character of the period between 1871 and 1914 served to foster opportunism first as a *mood*, then as a *trend*, until finally it formed a *group* or

stratum among the labour bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers. These elements were able to gain control of the labour movement only by paying lip-service to revolutionary aims and revolutionary tactics. They were able to win the confidence of the masses only by their protestations that all this “peaceful” work served to *prepare* the proletarian revolution. This contradiction was a boil which just had to burst, and burst it has. Here is the question: is it worth trying, as Kautsky and Co. are doing, to force the pus back into the body for the sake of “unity” (with the pus), or should the pus be removed as quickly and as thoroughly as possible, regardless of the pang of pain caused by the process, to help bring about the complete recovery of the body of the labour movement?

Those who voted for war credits, entered cabinets amid advocated defence of the fatherland in 1914-15 have patently betrayed socialism. Only hypocrites will deny it. This betrayal must be explained.

..... Social-chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form. It is quite ripe for an open, frequently vulgar, alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staffs. It is this alliance that gives it great power and a monopoly of the legal press and of deceiving the masses. *It is absurd to go on regarding opportunism as an inner-party phenomenon.* It is ridiculous to think of carrying out the Basle resolution together with David, Legien, Hyndman, Plekhanov and Webb. Unity with the social-chauvinists means unity with one’s “own” national bourgeoisie, which exploits other nations; it means splitting the international proletariat. This does not mean that an immediate break with the opportunists is possible everywhere; it means only that historically this break is imminent; that it is necessary and inevitable for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; that history, which has led us from “peaceful” capitalism to imperialist capitalism, has paved the way for this break. *Volentem ducunt fata, nolentem trahunt.*

This is very well understood by the shrewd representatives of the bourgeoisie. That is why they are so lavish in their praise of the present socialist parties, headed by the “defenders of the fatherland”, i.e., the defenders of imperialist plunder. That is why the social-chauvinist leaders are rewarded by their governments either with ministerial posts (in France and Britain), or with a monopoly of unhindered legal existence (in Germany and Russia). That is why in Germany, where the Social-Democratic Party was strongest and where its transformation into a national-liberal counter-revolutionary labour party has been most obvious, things have got to the stage where the public prosecutor qualifies the struggle between

the “minority” and the “majority” as “incitement to class hatred”! That is why the greatest concern of the clever opportunists is to retain the former “unity” of the old parties, which did the bourgeoisie so many good turns in 1914 and 1915. The views held by these opportunists in all countries of the world were expounded with commendable frankness by a German Social-Democrat in an article signed “Monitor” which appeared in April 1915, in the reactionary magazine *Preussische = Jahrbücher*. Monitor thinks that it would be very dangerous for the bourgeoisie if the Social-Democrats were to move *still further to the right*. “It must preserve its character as a labour party with socialist ideals; for the day it gives this up a new party will arise and adopt the programme the old party had disavowed, giving it a still more radical formulation” (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1915, No.4, pp.50-51).

8. LENIN: "THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL"

The collapse of the *International* is sometimes taken to mean simply the formal aspect of the matter, namely, the interruption in international communication between the socialist parties of the belligerent countries, the impossibility of converting either an international conference or the *International Socialist Bureau*, etc. This is the point of view held by certain socialists in the small neutral countries, probably even by the majority of the official parties in those countries, and also by the opportunists and their defenders. With a frankness that deserves profound gratitude, this position was defended in the Russian press by Mr. V. Kosovsky, in No. 8 of the Bund's *Information Bulletin*, whose editors said nothing to indicate that they disagreed with the author. Let us hope that Mr. Kosovsky's defence of nationalism, in which he went so far as to justify the German Social-Democrats who voted for war credits, will help many a worker at last to realise the bourgeois-nationalist-character of the Bund.

To the class-conscious workers, socialism is a serious conviction, not a convenient screen to conceal petty-bourgeois conciliatory and nationalist-oppositional strivings. By the collapse of the *International* they understand the disgraceful treachery to their convictions which was displayed by most of the official Social-Democratic parties, treachery to the most solemn declarations in their speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle international congresses, and in the resolutions of these congresses, etc. Only those can fail to see this treachery who *do not wish* to do so or do not find it to their advantage to see it. If we would formulate the question in a scientific fashion, i.e., from the standpoint of class relations in modern society, we will have to state that most

of the Social Democratic parties, and at their head the German Party first and foremost—the biggest and most influential party in the Second International—have taken sides with their General Staffs, their governments, and their bourgeoisie, against the proletariat. This is an event of historic importance, one that calls for a most comprehensive analysis. It has long been conceded that, for all the horror and misery they entail, wars bring at least the following more or less important benefit—they ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions. The European war of 1914-15 is doubtlessly beginning to do some good by revealing to the advanced class of the civilised countries what a foul and festering abscess has developed within its parties, and what an unbearably putrid stench comes from some source.

..... With reference to wars, the main thesis of dialectics, which has been so shamelessly distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie, is that “*war is simply the continuation of politics by other [i.e., violent] means*”. Such is the formula of Clausewitz, one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose thinking was stimulated by Hegel. And it was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded any war as the *continuation* of the politics of the powers concerned—and the *various classes* within these countries—in a definite period.

Plekhanov's crude chauvinism is based on exactly the same theoretical stand as the more subtle and saccharo-conciliatory chauvinism of Kautsky, who uses the following arguments when he gives his blessing to the desertion of the socialists of all countries to the side of their “own” capitalists:

It is the right and duty of everyone to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in this right being recognised for the socialists of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation... . (See *Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author.)

This matchless reasoning is such an unutterable travesty of socialism that the best answer to it would be to strike a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side and of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, we are told, means that we must justify German workers firing at French workers, and French workers firing at German workers, in the name of “defence of the fatherland”!!

However, closer examination of the theoretical premises in Kautsky's reasoning will reveal the selfsame idea that Clausewitz ridiculed about eighty years ago, viz., that when war breaks out, all historically created political relations between

nations and classes cease and that a totally new situation arises! There are “simply” those that attack and those that are defending themselves, “simply” the warding off of the “enemies of the fatherland”! The oppression of a number of nations which comprise over half the population of the globe, by the dominant imperialist nations; the rivalry between the bourgeoisie of these countries for a share of the loot; the desire of the capitalists to split and suppress the working-class movement—all these have suddenly disappeared from the pen of Plekhanov and Kautsky, although they themselves were describing these very “politics” for decades before the war.

In this connection, false references to Marx and Engels are the crowning argument of these two chieftains of social chauvinism; Plekhanov recalls Prussia’s national war of 1813 and Germany’s national war of 1870, while Kautsky argues, with a most learned air, that Marx examined the question of whose success (i.e., the success of which bourgeoisie) was more desirable in the wars of 1854-55, 1859 and 1870-71, and that the Marxists did likewise in the wars of 1876-77 and 1897. In all times the sophists have been in the habit of citing instances that refer to situations that are dissimilar in principle. The wars of the past, to which they make references, were a “continuation of the politics” of the bourgeoisie’s national movements of many years’ standing, movements against an alien yoke and against absolutism (Turkish or Russian). At that time the only question was: the success of which bourgeoisie was to be preferred; for wars of this type, the Marxists could *rouse* the peoples *in advance*, *fostering* national hatred, as Marx did in 1848 and later, when he called for a war against Russia, and as Engels in 1859 fostered German national hatred of their oppressors—*Napoleon III* and Russian tsarism.

Comparing the “continuation of the politics” of combating feudalism and absolutism—the politics of the bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty—with the “continuation of the politics” of a decrepit, i.e., imperialist, bourgeoisie, i.e., of a bourgeoisie which has plundered the entire world, a reactionary bourgeoisie which, in alliance with feudal landlords, attempts to crush the proletariat, means comparing chalk and cheese. It is like comparing the “representatives of the bourgeoisie”, *Robespierre*, *Garibaldi* and *Zhelyabov*, with such “representatives of the bourgeoisie” as *Millerand*, *Salandra* and *Guchkov*. One cannot be a Marxist without feeling the deepest respect for the great bourgeois revolutionaries who had an historic right to speak for their respective bourgeois “fatherlands”, and, in the struggle against feudalism, led tens of millions of people in the new nations towards a

civilised life. Neither can one be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky, who speak of the “defence of the fatherland” with regard to the throttling of Belgium by the German imperialists, or with regard to the pact between the imperialists of Britain, France, Russia and Italy on the plundering of Austria and Turkey.

There is another “Marxist” theory of social-chauvinism, which runs as follows: socialism is based on the rapid development of capitalism; the development of capitalism in my country, and consequently the advent of socialism there will be speeded up by her victory; my country’s defeat will retard her economic development and consequently the advent of socialism. In Russia this Struvist theory has been developed by Plekhanov, and among the Germans by Lensch and others. Kautsky argues against this crude theory—against Lensch, who defends it overtly, and against Gunow, who defends it covertly; his sole purpose, however, is to reconcile the social-chauvinists of all countries on the basis of a more subtle and more Jesuitical chauvinist theory.

We need not dwell on this crude theory. Struve’s *Critical Notes* appeared in 1894, and during the past twenty years Russian Social-Democrats have become thoroughly familiar with this habit of the enlightened Russian bourgeois of advancing their ideas and advocating their desires under the cloak of a “Marxism” *purged* of revolutionary content. Struvism is not merely a Russian, but, as recent events clearly prove, an international striving on the part of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism with “kindness”, to crush it in their embraces, kill it with a feigned acceptance of “all” the “truly scientific” aspects and elements of Marxism *except* its “agitational”, “demagogic”, “Blanquist-utopian” aspect. In other words, they take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), the “general” recognition of “socialist ideals” and the substitution of a “new order” for capitalism; they cast aside “only” the living soul of Marxism, “only” its revolutionary content.

Marxism is the theory of the proletarian movement for emancipation. It is clear, therefore, that the class-conscious workers must pay the utmost attention to any substitution of Struvism for Marxism. The motive forces in this process are varied and manifold. We shall indicate only the three main forces: (1) the development of science is providing more and more material that proves that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically—not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept Marxism, while emasculating it by

sophistry and turning it into a holy “icon” that is harmless to the bourgeoisie. (2) The development of opportunism among the Social-Democratic parties fosters such a re-fashioning of Marxism, and adjusts it for a justification of all kinds of concessions to opportunism. (3) The epoch of imperialism is one in which the world is divided among the “great” privileged nations that oppress all other nations. Morsels of the loot obtained as a result of these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall to the share of certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie and to the working-class aristocracy and bureaucracy. These strata, which form an insignificant minority of the proletariat and of the toiling masses, gravitate towards “Struivism”, because it provides them with a justification of their alliance with their “own” national bourgeoisie, against the oppressed masses of all nations. We shall have occasion to deal with this later, in connection with the causes of the collapse of the International.

The collapse of the Second International has been most strikingly expressed in the flagrant betrayal of their convictions and of the solemn Stuttgart and Basle resolutions by the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of Europe. This collapse, however, which signifies the complete victory of opportunism, the transformation of the Social Democratic parties into national liberal-labour parties, is merely the result of the entire historical epoch of the Second International—the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The objective conditions of this epoch—transitional from the consummation of West European bourgeois and national revolutions to the beginning of socialist revolutions—engendered and fostered opportunism. During this period we see a split in the working class and socialist movement in some European countries, which, in the main, was cleavage along the line of opportunism (Britain, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria and Russia); in other countries, we see a long and stubborn struggle of trends along the same line (Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland). The crisis created by the great war has torn away all coverings, swept away conventions, exposed an abscess that has long come to a head, and revealed opportunism in its true role of ally of the bourgeoisie. The complete organisational severance of this element from the workers’ parties has become imperative. The epoch of imperialism cannot permit the existence, in a single party, of the revolutionary proletariat’s vanguard and the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, who enjoy morsels of the privileges of their “own” nation’s “Great-Power” status. The old theory that opportunism is a “legitimate shade” in a single party that knows no “extremes” has now turned

into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice, and tries to prove, with a series of sophisms, that revolutionary action is premature, etc. Kautsky, the most outstanding spokesman of this theory, and also the leading authority in the Second International, has shown himself a consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism. All members of the million-strong German party who are at all honest, class-conscious and revolutionary have turned away in indignation from an “authority” of this kind so ardently defended by the Südekums and the Scheidemanns.

The proletarian masses—probably about nine-tenths of whose former leaders have gone over to the bourgeoisie—have found themselves disunited and helpless amid a spate of chauvinism and under the pressure of martial law and the war censorship. But the objective war-created revolutionary situation, which is extending and developing, is inevitably engendering revolutionary sentiments; it is tempering and enlightening all the finest and most class-conscious proletarians. A sudden change in the mood of the masses is not only possible, but is becoming more and more probable, a change similar to that which was to be seen in Russia early in 1905 in connection with the “Gaponade”, when, in the course of several months and sometimes of several weeks, there emerged from the backward proletarian masses an army of millions, which followed the proletariat’s revolutionary vanguard. We cannot tell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will develop immediately after this war, or during it, etc., but at all events, it is only work in this direction that deserves the name of socialist work. The slogan of a civil war is the one that summarises and directs this work, and helps unite and consolidate those who wish to aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against its own government and its own bourgeoisie.

In Russia, the complete severance of the revolutionary Social-Democratic proletarian elements from the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements has been prepared by the entire history of the working-class movement. Those who disregard that history, and, by declaiming against “factionalism”, make themselves incapable of understanding the real process of the formation of a proletarian party in Russia, which has developed in the course of many years of struggle against various varieties of opportunism, are

rendering that movement the worst possible service. Of all the “Great” Powers engaged in the present war, Russia is the only one that recently experienced a revolution. The bourgeois content of that revolution, in which the proletariat nevertheless played a decisive part, could not but cause a split between the bourgeois and proletarian trends in the working-class movement. In the approximately twenty years (1894-1914) that Russian Social-Democracy has existed as an organisation linked with the mass working-class movement (and not only as an ideological trend, as in 1883-94), there was a struggle between the proletarian-revolutionary trends and the petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. The Economism of 1894-1902 was undoubtedly a trend of the latter kind. A number of its arguments and ideological features—the “Struvist” distortion of Marxism, references to the “masses” in order to justify opportunism, and the like—bear a striking resemblance to the present vulgarised Marxism of Kautsky, Cunow, Plekhanov, etc. It would be a very grateful task to remind the present generation of Social-Democrats of the old *Rabochaya Mysl* and *Rabocheye Dyelo*, as a parallel to the Kautsky of today.

The “Menshevism” of the next period (1903-08) was the direct successor, both ideological and organisational, to Economism. During the Russian revolution, it pursued tactics that objectively meant the dependence of the proletariat upon the liberal bourgeoisie, and expressed petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. When, in the ensuing period (1908-14), the mainstream of the Menshevik trend produced liquidationism, the class significance of that trend became so apparent that the best representatives of Menshevism were continually protesting against the policy of *Nasha Zarya* group. It is that very group—the only one which, during the past five or six years, has conducted systematic work among the masses in *opposition* to the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class—that has proved to be *social-chauvinist* in the war of 1914-15! And this in a country where absolutism still exists, the bourgeois revolution is far from consummated, and forty-three per cent of the population oppresses a majority consisting of non-Russian nations. The “European” type of development, in which certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the intelligentsia and an insignificant section of the labour aristocracy can share in the “Great-Power” privileges of their “own” nation, could not but have its Russian counterpart.

All their history has prepared the working class and the workers’ Social-Democratic Party of Russia for “internationalist” tactics, i.e., such that

are truly revolutionary and consistently revolutionary.

9. LENIN'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (MARCH 2; 1919)

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party I declare the First Congress of the Communist International open. First I would ask all present to rise in tribute to the finest representatives of the Third International: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. (*All rise.*)

Comrades, our gathering has great historic significance. It testifies to the collapse of all the illusions cherished by bourgeois democrats. Not only in Russia, but in the most developed capitalist countries of Europe, Germany for example, civil war is a fact.

The bourgeoisie are terror-stricken at the growing workers’ revolutionary movement. This is understandable if we take into account that the development of events since the imperialist war inevitably favours the workers’ revolutionary movement, and that the world revolution is beginning and growing in intensity everywhere.

The people are aware of the greatness and significance of the struggle now going on. All that is needed is to find the practical form to enable the proletariat to establish its rule. Such a form is the Soviet system with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship of the proletariat — until now these words were Latin to the masses. Thanks to the spread of the Soviets throughout the world this Latin has been translated into all modern languages; a practical form of dictatorship has been found by the working people. The mass of workers now understand it thanks to Soviet power in Russia, thanks to the Spartacus League in Germany and to similar organisations in other countries, such as, for example, the Shop Stewards Committees in Britain. All this shows that a revolutionary form of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been found, that the proletariat is now able to exercise its rule.

Comrades, I think that after the events in Russia and the January struggle in Germany, it is especially important to note that in other countries, too, the latest form of the workers’ movement is asserting itself and getting the upper hand. Today, for example, I read in an anti-socialist newspaper a report to the effect that the British Government had received a deputation from the Birmingham Workers’ Council and had expressed its readiness to recognise the Councils as economic bodies. The Soviet system has triumphed not only in backward Russia, but also in the most developed country of Europe — in Germany, and in Britain, the oldest capitalist country. Even though the bourgeoisie are still

raging, even though they may kill thousands more workers, victory will be ours, the victory of the world-wide communist revolution is assured. Comrades, I extend hearty greetings to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. I move that we elect a presidium. Let us have nominations.

10. LENIN: "THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY" (APRIL 15, 1919)

The imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia in an effort to cut off the Soviet Republic, as a seat of infection, from the capitalist world. These people, who boast about their "democratic" institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic that they do not see how ridiculous they are making themselves. Just think of it, the advanced, most civilised and "democratic" countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying undivided military sway over the whole world, are mortally afraid of the *ideological* infection coming from a ruined, starving, backward, and even, they assert, semi-savage country!

This contradiction alone is opening the eyes of the working masses in all countries and helping to expose the hypocrisy of the imperialists Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and their governments.

We are being helped, however, not only by the capitalists' blind hatred of the Soviets, but also by their bickering among themselves, which induces them to put spokes in each other's wheels. They have entered into a veritable conspiracy of silence, for they are desperately afraid of the spread of true information about the Soviet Republic in general, and of its official documents in particular. Yet, *Le Temps*, the principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, has published a report on the foundation in Moscow of the Third, Communist International.

For this we express our most respectful thanks to the principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, to this leader of French chauvinism and imperialism. We are prepared to send an illuminated address to *Le Temps* in token of our appreciation of the effective and able assistance it is giving us.

The manner in which *Le Temps* compiled its report on the basis of our wireless messages clearly and fully reveals the motive that prompted this organ of the money-bags. It wanted to have a dig at Wilson, as if to say, "Look at the people with whom you negotiate!" The wiseacres who write to the order of the money-bags do not see that their attempt to frighten Wilson with the Bolshevik bogey is becoming, in the eyes of the working people, an advertisement for the Bolsheviks. Once more, our most respectful thanks to the organ of the French millionaires!

The Third International has been founded in a world situation that does not allow prohibitions, petty and miserable devices of the Entente imperialists or of capitalist lackeys like the Scheidemanns in Germany and the Renners in Austria to prevent news of this International and sympathy for it spreading among the working class of the world. This situation has been brought about by the growth of the proletarian revolution, which is manifestly developing everywhere by leaps and bounds. It has been brought about by the Soviet movement among the working people, which has already achieved such strength as to become really *international*.

The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third International actually emerged in 1918, when the long years of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. Officially, the Third International was founded at its First Congress, in March 1919, in Moscow. And the most characteristic feature of this International, its mission of fulfilling, of implementing the precepts of Marxism, and of achieving the age-old ideals of socialism and the working-class movement—this most characteristic feature of the Third International has manifested itself immediately in the fact that the new, third, "International Working Men's Association" *has already begun to develop*, to a certain extent, into a *union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.

The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the

embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale.

The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx's cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This prevision and this theory—the prevision and theory of a genius—are becoming a reality.

The Latin words have now been translated into the languages of all the peoples of contemporary Europe—more, into all the languages of the world.

A new era in world history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom.

How is it that one of the most backward countries of Europe was the first country to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to organise a Soviet republic? We shall hardly be wrong if we say that it is this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and the "leap" she has made over bourgeois democracy to the highest form of democracy, to Soviet, or proletarian, democracy—it is this contradiction that has been one of the reasons (apart from the dead weight of opportunist habits and philistine prejudices that burdened the majority of the socialist leaders) why people in the West have had particular difficulty or have been slow in understanding the role of the Soviets.

The working people all over the world have instinctively grasped the significance of the Soviets as an instrument in the proletarian struggle and as a form of the proletarian state. But the "leaders", corrupted by opportunism, still continue to worship bourgeois democracy, which they call "democracy" in general.

Is it surprising that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has brought out primarily the "contradiction" between the backwardness of Russia and her "leap" over bourgeois democracy? It would have been surprising had history granted us the establishment of a new form of democracy *without* a number of contradictions.

If any Marxist, or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmoniously proportionate way, his answer

would undoubtedly be in the negative. There never has been and never could be even, harmonious, or proportionate development in the capitalist world. Each country has developed more strongly first one, then another aspect or feature or group of features of capitalism and of the working-class movement. The process of development has been uneven.

When France was carrying out her great bourgeois revolution and rousing the whole European continent to a historically new life, Britain proved to be at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although at the same time she was much more developed capitalistically than France. The British working-class movement of that period, however, brilliantly anticipated much that was contained in the future Marxism.

When Britain gave the world Chartism, the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement, bourgeois revolutions, most of them weak, were taking place on the European continent, and the first great civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had broken out in France. The bourgeoisie defeated the various national contingents of the proletariat one by one, in different ways in different countries.

Britain was the model of a country in which, as Engels put it, the bourgeoisie had produced, alongside a bourgeois aristocracy, a very bourgeois upper stratum of the proletariat. [1] For several decades this advanced capitalist country lagged behind in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. France seemed to have exhausted the strength of the proletariat in two heroic working-class revolts of 1848 and 1871 against the bourgeoisie that made very considerable contributions to world-historical development. Leadership in the International of the working-class movement then passed to Germany; that was in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when she lagged economically behind Britain and France. But when Germany had outstripped these two countries economically, i.e., by the second decade of the twentieth century, the Marxist workers' party of Germany, that model for the whole world, found itself headed by a handful of utter scoundrels, the most filthy blackguards—from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien—loathsome hangmen drawn from the workers' ranks who had sold themselves to the capitalists, who were in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

World history is leading unswervingly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but is doing so by paths that are anything but smooth, simple and straight.

When Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist and not the renegade from Marxism he became when he began to champion unity with the Scheidemanns and to support bourgeois democracy against Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, he wrote an article—this was at the turn of the century—entitled “The Slavs and Revolution”. In this article he traced the historical conditions that pointed to the possibility of leadership in the world revolutionary movement passing to the Slavs.

And so it has. Leadership in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for a time—for a short time, it goes without saying—to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the British, then of the French, then of the Germans.

I have had occasion more than once to say that it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries *to begin* the great proletarian revolution, but that it will be more difficult for them *to continue* it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organisation of a socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual—for twentieth-century Europe—political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia’s backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily then if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia; of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war. [2] From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Thirdly, the 1905 revolution contributed enormously to the political education of the worker and peasant masses, because it familiarised their vanguard with “the last word” of socialism in the West and also because of the revolutionary action of the masses. Without such a “dress rehearsal” as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917—both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October revolution—would have been impossible. Fourthly, Russia’s geographical conditions permitted her to hold out longer than other countries could have done against the superior military strength of the capitalist, advanced countries. Fifthly, the specific attitude of the proletariat towards the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution, made it easier for the urban proletarians to influence the semi-proletarian, poorer sections of the rural working people.

Sixthly, long schooling in strike action and the experience of the European mass working-class movement facilitated the emergence—in a profound and rapidly intensifying revolutionary situation—of such a unique form of proletarian revolutionary organisation as the *Soviets*.

This list, of course, is incomplete; but it will suffice for the time being.

Soviet, or proletarian, democracy was born in Russia. Following the Paris Commune a second epoch-making step was taken. The proletarian and peasant Soviet Republic has proved to be the first stable socialist republic in the world. As a *new type of state* it cannot die. It no longer stands alone.

For the continuance and completion of the work of building socialism, much, very much is still required. Soviet republics in more developed countries, where the proletariat has greater weight and influence, have every chance of surpassing Russia once they take the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bankrupt Second International is now dying and rotting alive. Actually, it is playing the role of lackey to the world bourgeoisie. It is a truly yellow International. Its foremost ideological leaders, such as Kautsky, laud *bourgeois* democracy and call it “democracy” in general, or—what is still more stupid and still more crude—“pure democracy”.

Bourgeois democracy has outlived its day, just as the Second International has, though the International performed historically necessary and useful work when the task of the moment was to train the working-class masses within the framework of this bourgeois democracy.

No bourgeois republic, however democratic, ever was or could have been anything but a machine for the suppression of the working people by capital, an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the political rule of capital. The democratic bourgeois republic promised and proclaimed majority rule, but it could never put this into effect as long as private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

“Freedom” in the bourgeois-democratic republic was actually freedom *for the rich*. The proletarians and working peasants could and should have utilised it for the purpose of preparing their forces to overthrow capital, to overcome bourgeois democracy, but *in fact* the working masses were, as a general rule, unable to enjoy democracy under capitalism.

Soviet? or proletarian, *democracy* has for the first time in the world created democracy for the masses, for the working people, for the factory workers and small peasants.

Never yet has the world seen political power wielded by the *majority* of the population, power *actually* wielded by this majority, as it is in the case of Soviet rule.

It suppresses the “freedom” of the exploiters and their accomplices; it deprives them of “freedom” to exploit, “freedom” to batten on starvation, “freedom” to fight for the restoration of the rule of capital, “freedom” to compact with the foreign bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants of their own country.

Let the Kautskys champion such freedom. Only a renegade from Marxism, a renegade from socialism can do so.

In nothing is the bankruptcy of the ideological leaders of the Second International, people like Hilferding and Kautsky, so strikingly expressed as in their utter inability to understand the significance of Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, its relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The newspaper *Die Freiheit*, organ of the “Independent” (alias middle-class, philistine, petty-bourgeois) German Social-Democratic Party, in its issue No. 74 of February 11, 1919, published a manifesto “To the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany”.

This manifesto is signed by the Party executive and by all its members in the National Assembly, the German variety of our Constituent Assembly.

This manifesto accuses the Scheidemanns of wanting to abolish the *Workers’ Councils*, and proposes—don’t laugh!—that the Councils be combined with the Assembly, that the Councils be granted certain political rights, a certain place in the Constitution.

To reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat! How simple! What a brilliantly philistine idea!

The only pity is that it was tried in Russia, under Kerensky, by the united Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, those petty-bourgeois democrats who imagine themselves socialists.

Anyone who has read Marx and failed to understand that in capitalist society, at every acute moment, in every serious class conflict, the alternative is either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political doctrines of Marx.

But the brilliantly philistine idea of Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. of peacefully combining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat requires special examination, if exhaustive treatment is to be

given to the economic and political absurdities with which this most remarkable and comical manifesto of February 11 is packed. That will have to be put off for another article.

11. STATEMENT ON DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(The statement set out hereunder was submitted to all Communist Parties by the Executive Committee on May 15, 1943. Upon receiving endorsement by these parties, the Communist International was dissolved forthwith.)

The historical role of the Communist International, organised in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the overwhelming majority of the old pre-war workers’ parties, consisted in that it preserved the teachings of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by opportunist elements of the labor movement. In a number of countries it helped to unite the vanguard of the advanced workers into genuine workers’ parties, helped them to mobilise the mass of the toilers in defence of their economic and political interests for the struggle against fascism and the war which it been prepared for support of the Soviet Union as the main bulwark against fascism. The Communist International tirelessly exposed the base undermining activity of the Hitlerites in foreign states, who masked these activities with outcries about the alleged interference of the Communist International in the internal affairs of these states.

But long before the war it became increasingly clear that, to the extent that the internal as well as the international situation of individual countries became more complicated, the solution of the problems of the labor movement of each individual country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles.

The deep differences in the historical roads of development of each country of the world, the diverse character and even the contradiction in their social orders, the difference in the level and rate of their social and political development and finally the difference in the degree of consciousness and organisation of the workers’ conditioned also the various problems which face the working class of each individual country.

The entire course of events for the past quarter of a century, as well as the accumulated experiences of the Communist International, have convincingly proved that the organisational form for uniting the workers as chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International, which corresponded to the needs of the initial period of rebirth of the labor movement, more and more outlived itself in proportion to the growth of this movement and the increasing complexity of

problems in each country, and that this form even became a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national workers' parties.

The world war unleashed by the Hitlerites still further sharpened the differences in the conditions in the various countries, drawing a deep line of demarcation between the countries which became bearers of the Hitlerite tyranny and the freedom-loving peoples united in the mighty anti-Hitler coalition. Whereas in the countries of the Hitlerite bloc the basic task of the workers, toilers and all honest people is to contribute in every conceivable way towards the defeat of this bloc by undermining the Hitlerite war machine from within, by helping to overthrow the Governments responsible for the war, in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition the sacred duty of the broadest masses of the people, and first and foremost of progressive workers, is to support in every way the war efforts of the Governments of those countries for the sake of the speediest destruction of the Hitlerite bloc and to secure friendly collaboration between the nations on the basis of their equal rights. At the same time it must not be overlooked that individual countries which adhere to the anti-Hitler coalition also have their specific tasks.

Thus, for instance, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites and which have lost their State independence, the basic task of the progressive workers and broad masses of the people is to develop the armed struggle which is growing into a war of national liberation against Hitlerite Germany.

At the same time the war of liberation of freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite coalition, irrespective of party or religion, has made it still more evident that the national upsurge and mobilisation for the speediest victory over the enemy can best and most fruitfully be realised by the vanguard of the labor movement of each country within the framework of its state.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in 1935, taking into consideration the changes which had come to pass in the international situation as well as in the labor movement, changes which demanded greater flexibility and independence for its sections in solving the problems facing them, already then emphasised the need for the E.C.C.I., when deciding upon all problems of the labor movement, "to proceed from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule avoid direct intervention in internal organisational matters of the Communist Parties."

The E.C.C.I. was guided by these same considerations when it took note of and approved the decision of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in November, 1940, to leave the ranks of the Communist International.

Communists guided by the teachings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism never advocated the preservation of organisational forms which have become obsolete; they always subordinated the organisational forms of the labor movement and its methods of work to the basis political interests of the labor movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of given historical conditions and to those problems which arise directly from these conditions.

They remember the example of the great Marx who united the progressive workers into the ranks of the International Workingmen's Association and after the First International fulfilled its historical task, having laid the basis for the development of workers' parties in the countries of Europe and America, Marx, as a result of the growing need to create national workers' mass parties, brought about the dissolution of the First International inasmuch as this form of organisation no longer corresponded to this need.

Proceeding from the above-stated considerations, and taking into account the growth and political maturity of the Communist Parties and their leading cadres in individual countries, and also in view of the fact that during the present war a number of sections have raised the question of dissolution of the Communist International, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., unable owing to the conditions of the world war to convene the Congress of the Communist International, permits itself to submit for approval by sections of the Communist International the following proposal:

To dissolve the Communist International as a guiding centre of the international labor movement, releasing sections of the Communist International from the obligations ensuing from the constitution and decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all adherents of the Communist International to concentrate their forces on all-round support for, and active participation in, the Liberation War of the peoples and States of the anti-Hitler coalition in order to hasten the destruction of the mortal enemy of the working people – fascism and its allies and vassals.

[Signed by members of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of Communist International (E.C.C.I.)]

Approach to Unemployment Under Neo-colonisation

PJ James

[Summary of Presentation made in the All India Camp of RYFI held in Hyderabad on October 2-3, 2010]

A JOINT CONFERENCE of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) held in Norway during the last week of September, 2010 has ascertained the number of unemployed adult people at 210 million (21 crore), the highest level ever recorded in world history. During the Great Economic Depression of the 1930s, the figure was almost 100 million. It should be noted that this figure of unemployment arrived at by the IMF-ILO Conference completely excludes the millions of under-employed, partially employed or semi-employed the world over. Of the 3 billion (300 crore) workforce who are employed today, 1.2 billion (120 crore), or 40 percent lives below poverty line which is defined as an earning worth \$2 per day. Since the eruption of the global economic crisis since mid-2008 and the shrinking of commodity markets in leading imperialist countries, cheap labour-based export-oriented units in neo-colonial countries are being shut down retrenching vast number of workers in the process. In the name of overcoming the stagflation (stagnation and inflation), which is still haunting the ruling classes, the fiscal fundamentalist and austerity steps pursued by neo-liberal policy makers in both imperialist and neo-colonial countries are aggravating the unemployment situation further. That is, the very same neo-liberal policies that reduced employment opportunities everywhere are wantonly repeated. At the same time, liberal bourgeois scholars are clamouring for "employment creating growth". But it is only wishful thinking. For, according to the latest US Department of Labour Report, the US shed 95,000 more jobs in September, up from 57,000 jobs lost in August and the fourth straight month of net payroll reduction. Meanwhile imperialist ideologues have started characterizing the world today as a "wasteland of unemployment". The question of unemployment has become so important that the 2010 Nobel Prize in Economics is given for studying the unemployment problem in bourgeois societies.

Unemployment as an Inevitable law of Capital Accumulation

Unemployment or underemployment is not accidental nor an overnight development as it is an inalienable attribute of capitalist mode of production right from its inception. Marx who characterized the unemployed as "reserve army of labour" or "relative surplus population", while

unraveling the laws of capital accumulation had pinpointed that unemployment is inherent and inevitable result of the accumulation process itself. Pointing out how the "organic composition of capital" always changes in favour of "constant capital" he explained the process by which a portion of the workforce continuously becomes superfluous with the increasing use of machinery in production. Increased use of machinery takes less labour time to produce the labour's subsistence while it enables capitalists to lengthen the Labour Day and intensity of workforce. The existence of the "reserve army" also enables capitalists to exert pressure for reducing the wage rate and increasing profit. However, the resulting "antagonistic conditions of distribution" and declining consuming power of the toiling masses will not allow capitalists to realize the surplus value fully leading to the emergence of crisis which is inherent in capitalism.

The "reserve army of labour" or unemployment is constantly replenished from the ranks of small and petty producers (peasants and artisans) who are ruined by the onslaught of big capital even under competitive capitalism which Marx analysed. Capitalists also make use of cheap female and child labour to increase their profit. As a matter of fact, excessive work on the part of those employed increases unemployment further dooming the unemployed to enforced idleness and despair. Summing up all these aspects together, Lenin said that being essential for capital accumulation and capitalist expansion, capitalism can neither exist nor develop without unemployment.

Under competitive capitalism itself, three forms of unemployment could be observed:

(a) Floating: This was the commonest form of unemployment under industrial capitalism, especially in industrial and urban centres. Here, workers temporarily losing their jobs become a recurrent feature. Some of them may get sucked into the process of production while other swell the army of unemployed. Capitalists who prefer the hiring of new, younger and stronger workers from the reserve army dismiss older people out. Floating unemployment is also known as "technological unemployment" as along with the loss of jobs the skill and experience accumulated by the workers through long years of work suddenly become unwanted. Automation squeezes out the workers with traditional skills in favour of highly skilled and qualified workers.

Therefore this type of unemployment is a constant feature of capitalism.

(b) Latent: Under capitalism this type of unemployment is the form most characteristic in rural areas. With the growth of capitalism and the subjection of agriculture to capital accumulation, there occurs an absolute decline in the number of people engaged in agriculture and they will be released from agriculture. Penetration of capital into agriculture ruins large number of peasant and subsistence farms who cannot withstand the competition from big capital. The result is the presence of large number of underemployed and semi-employed people depending on an insignificant patch of land quite insufficient for producing even their subsistence. The existence of this latent unemployment in the countryside is a permanent source of replenishing the reserve army such that these migrant workers from rural areas can be used for the heaviest and most dangerous work at the lowest wages by capitalists. Under capitalism the continuous ruination of petty street vendors and impoverished artisans also provide capitalists with latent surplus labour for increasing exploitation of the proletariat.

(c) Stagnant: This unemployment arises from the existence of large number of people in towns and villages without any work for a long time and who make their both ends meet through casual earnings. In his writings Marx named a stratum of unemployed who always lived in extreme penury and pauperism. In his famous work, *The Condition of Working Class in England*, Engels had described the miserable condition of these unemployed workers many of whom are even unable to work on account of injury and illness. This lower stratum of stagnant surplus population is often called the 'hospital of the industrial reserve army.'

Unemployment under Imperialism

Lenin who made an exhaustive study of imperialism had defined it as finance capital, otherwise known as parasitic or decaying capitalism. Lenin also pointed out that rather than an exception, stagnation and unemployment were the normal situation under imperialism. Though technical progress continues to be there, capitalists are not interested to use it for increasing production and creating employment. Under free competition, in the pursuit of extra profit, capitalists sought to cut costs of production by using new equipment and production technologies. However, under imperialism, monopolies have the possibility of obtaining super-profits by force of their monopolistic position that enables them to fix monopoly prices. Domination over the market and subjugation of colonies yield continuous super-profits that

weaken the stimulus on the part of big capitalists to introduce new production technologies. Quite often monopolies acquire patents on new inventions not in order to use them in production, but to prevent their competitors from using them. As a result employment opportunities increasingly falls behind the vast scope provided by the development of science and technology.

The export of capital and the detachment of leading sections of capitalists from production increase the number of parasitic sections in society. By leading a parasitic life based on what Lenin called 'coupon clipping', finance capitalists divert a growing part of the workforce from productive work. Non-productive costs such as expenditure on advertisement, unjustified transport, etc., associated with the anarchy of capitalism grow leaps and bounds. Number people employed in police, army, bureaucracy, and so on increases. In spite of this absolute increase in the number employed in non-productive spheres, the threat of unemployment becomes so severe under imperialism as a clear manifestation of finance capital's incapacity to make use of labour power, the main productive force of society. In the context of the declining purchasing power of the vast majority of people, finance capitalists began to adjust their production policies to the absorptive capacity of markets. Therefore the economy continued to be sluggish with rising levels of unemployment and underemployment.

The deep-seated depressive forces including huge stock of unemployment which had been implanted into the capitalist-imperialist system during the transformation of capital into finance capital could be temporarily camouflaged with the advent of WW1 but again started surfacing finally culminating in the Great Economic Depression of the 1930s. In the history of capitalism, the Depression was totally a new phenomenon as it heralded a whole decade in which the capital accumulation process itself came to a halt and buried the laissez-faire policy for ever prompting even bourgeois pundits to seriously question the viability of capitalism as an economic and social system. In the United States of America, the leading imperialist country, unemployment reached 25 percent of the labour force in 1933. The entire capitalist-imperialist system including colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries was shaken by this unprecedented crisis. Meanwhile, Soviet Union which remained outside the logic finance capital was the only country which was not affected by the Depression.

It was in this context, the bourgeois economist Keynes came forward with his prognosis for active state intervention in the economy for creating employment as laissez-faire (let them do

approach) has become quite meaningless. Being one of the staunchest protagonists of capitalism, Keynes prophesied that unless the speculative urge on the part of leading capitalists is checked through appropriate state intervention policies, capitalism was doomed to fail since unemployment and lack of demand or purchasing power of the people is the normal situation under capitalism. He therefore suggested a programme of increasing public expenditures and public works based on deficit financing for raising employment and that too in the short run and questioned the sanctity of keeping the budget always balanced. Roosevelt's New Deal which had incorporated some of these suggestions was some kind of an emergency relief programme. But as Marx, Engels and Lenin had pointed out unemployment and underemployment are inherent to the process of capital accumulation. Keynes proposals for settling this question within the framework of private enterprise and private property were only ad hoc and unworkable in the long run. By 1937, the New Deal had lost much of its steam and unemployment once again reached almost the same level that was prevailing in the Depression. The New Deal was losing support and the future of capitalism itself began to be questioned.

What saved American imperialism from this catastrophic situation was WW11 that started in 1939 and as it is often said, the Great Depression never ended but just merged into the war economy. Within a span of five years, unemployment practically disappeared and American GDP increased by more than 75 percent. Obviously, this was not due to the internal logic of capitalist production relations and not in conformity with the normal condition under imperialism. USA was the only country that gained maximum out of the WW11 without being affected by any of its adversities. Throughout the War America was never a battle-scene. While the rest of the world including the other imperialist powers was devastated and their economies lay disrupted by the War, being totally insulated from such war-time dislocations, America was the only country capable of producing and supplying everything including food, industrial goods and weapons for War. In the process of this war-oriented production, backed by military Keynesianism of US administration and utilizing the most sophisticated technologies, American finance capital developed the so called military industrial complex and amassed fabulous wealth such that by the end of WW11 USA had almost 50 percent of global GDP and 70 percent of world gold stock and an unquestioned supremacy in naval and air warfare including atomic power which enabled US imperialism to become the supreme arbiter in the post-war global economic,

military and political affairs. In the meanwhile, with the success of proletarian and national liberation movements in several parts of the world the socialist bloc of countries expanded to include one-third of world people under its umbrella and led by Soviet Union it became a challenge to the global machinations of US led imperialism.

Neocolonialism and Unemployment

It was in this context that much before the end of WW11 under the cover of a policy of decolonization, the US led imperialists devised a whole set of economic, political and military arrangements for intensified global plunder while transforming colonialism into neo-colonialism. Various neo-colonial institutional arrangements — IMF-WB-GATT-MNCs, dollar-based international monetary system and 'state-aid' programs in the economic field, UN, its Security Council and affiliated agencies in the political sphere, NATO, SEATO and CENTO like organizations along with American military centres and bases in the military realm, etc., — under US supervision came into effect to lead this neo-colonial global order.

For almost a quarter century after WW11, this neo-colonial order backed by a policy of international Keynesianism provided comparatively favourable conditions for the expansion of finance capital at a global level. These conditions among other things include reconstruction of war-torn economies of Europe and Japan and repairing war damage elsewhere, making up for shortages caused by war-time diversion of resources from civilian production, boosting military production using modern technologies including new round of wars, both hot and cold and above all the opening up of markets in neo-colonial countries for both capital and commodity exports. Growth of public expenditures and public works financed out of public debt as per Keynesian prescriptions yielded substantial increase in employment opportunities leading to an increase in demand. Taking these relatively favourable conditions of capital accumulation, bourgeois ideologues characterized this quarter century of post-war boom as 'capitalism's golden age'.

But this was only transitory. As pointed out by Lenin, the tendency to stagnation was inherent under imperialism and it is the nature of capital accumulation to eliminate the demand that stimulates it. Unprecedented growth in debt, both public and private coupled with an enormous monetary expansion led to ever-mounting inflationary pressure resulting in substantial reduction in real income and erosion in the purchasing power of the working masses. Along with stagnation which is integrally linked with the logic of finance capital, this inflation led to what is

called stagflation by the dawn of the 1970s. Keynesian medicine which was applied in order to cure stagnation became worthless in the case of stagflation and imperialists resorted to a quiet burial of Keynesianism along with a collapse of the welfare state altogether.

The biggest casualty of this imperialist crisis has been employment itself. The neo-conservative sections among imperialist ruling classes backed by Thatcherite and Reaganite reactionary economic policies and taking advantage of the ideological and political setbacks suffered by the Left, initiated their biggest offensives against the working class and broad masses under the euphemism neo-liberalism. This shift in policies under neo-colonialism from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism was marked by a major restructuring of the neo-colonial accumulation process itself. On the one hand, finance capital invented new methods and instruments of financial speculation as new avenues of surplus value extraction and this came to be known as 'financialisation'. On the other hand it unleashed a 'deindustrialisation' or destruction of several areas of industrial production. Both these led to hitherto unknown levels of unemployment and underemployment which came to be characterized by neo-colonial experts as 'jobless growth'.

To keep unemployment and underemployment at unprecedented high levels under neo-liberalism, finance capital made effective use of developments in technology as well as new methods of organizing production. The rapid development in transportation, communication and data processing along with the emergence of new production technologies that make it possible to decompose production process itself into several stages have enabled MNCs to transplant labour intensive stages of production to global locations where labour is extremely cheap. Through the transplantation of several production processes to cheap labour neo-colonial countries in this manner, global corporations could reduce employment and thereby wages substantially in imperialist countries while reaping fabulous profits from low cost 'sweat-shops' where no guarantee of jobs or wages was there. Along with this imperialists made fundamental changes in the 'Fordist' organization of production based in centralized, large scale factories that made it possible organized, collective bargaining by workers, which was the case during the Keynesian era. Under neo-liberalism, instead of this Fordism, a new type of factory organization called 'post-Fordism' whose hallmark has been decentralized or de-centered global production that spread across several countries making collective bargaining by workers difficult. Instead of the erstwhile full-time/permanent employment,

part-time/casual/contract/flexitime employment became the norm. Neo-colonial experts characterized this phenomenon as 'flexible specialisation' where 'casualisation' of the workforce became the general rule. As a result of the aforesaid financialisation, as more and more capital migrated out of production and entered into speculation thereby resulting in large-scale unemployment, that remained in production unleashed a casualisation snatching away all the hard rights by workers.

During the Keynesian era, even while finance capital expansion was going ahead under the cover of a debt-led inflationary financing that substantially eroded the real earnings of workers, there had been a direct relationship between economic growth rate and employment. But the lack of correlation between GDP growth rate and employment generation has become the most prominent feature of capital accumulation under neo-liberalism. During this period, effectively utilizing the developments in aforesaid technological developments and post-Fordist organization of production that yielded immense scope for flexibilization and casualisation of workforce MNCs launched a "new international division of labour" which at the policy level marked a shift from the Keynesian "import substitution" to neoliberal "export orientation". Under the import substitution policies, in the neocolonial countries, the so called state led development policies even when serving the interests of the comprador classes and the elite had an apparent domestic market orientation which also necessitated the rhetoric of domestic demand generation and employment creation. But with the replacement of import substitution with the neoliberal slogan of export promotion, any talk on domestic demand and job creation itself became quite irrelevant such that the whole emphasis has started centering around foreign market oriented export production based on casual/flexible/contract/part-time workforce who are compelled to offer themselves at the lowest possible wages. Consequently, several neo-colonial countries have become mere 'export platforms' under the new international division of labour conceived by global finance capital.

This shift in the neo-colonial accumulation process has its grave repercussions in imperialist countries too. As a result of the processes of financialisation and post-Fordist production methods, while the profits of global corporations and MNCs as well as the salaries of their CEOs increased several-fold, working class wages and purchasing power of the toiling masses exhibited profound deterioration under neo-liberalism across all imperialist countries. It is pointed out that while labour productivity has almost doubled

over the past three decades, the real value of average earnings by workers has halved in USA where one-half of the workforce today belongs to the category of 'hire and fire'. International capital has also resorted to what is often called "outsourcing" for transplanting jobs from imperialist countries to cheap labour neo-colonial countries. As Marxist teachers had pointed out, the resulting antagonistic conditions of distribution and the declining consuming power of the broad masses have once again brought the accumulation process to a crisis as manifested through the recent global meltdown. All policies in the armoury of imperialism, whether neo-liberal or neo-Keynesian, have totally become useless today. And as we have noted at the outset, as the global economy is plunging itself into the deep pit of 'stagflation' unemployment and underemployment coupled with price rise have become the most threatening issues in the present neocolonial world order.

Unemployment in India

The above brief sketch on unemployment linking it with the capital accumulation process is applicable to India too. However, as a neocolonial country where imperialist capital is dominant by way of its control over capital and technology and where agriculture still continues to be the main source of livelihood for majority of the people, the nature of unemployment here is basically different form that in capitalist-imperialist countries. Unemployment in India with rural-urban specificities may be categorized into:-

(a) Seasonal unemployment: This type of unemployment is still one of the major forms of unemployment in rural areas among landless poor peasants and agricultural workers who are depending on agriculture for their sustenance. The imperialist dictated Green Revolution and penetration of finance capital in to agriculture have displaced large number of poor peasants from their meager land itself. Since agriculture to a great extent relies on the vagaries of monsoon, depending on the methods of farming, condition of the soil, cropping pattern, irrigation, etc., and with state and region-specific variations, the peasantry is seasonally unemployed for at least five to seven months in a year. The destruction of traditional and cottage industries and handicrafts on account of the invasion of neo-colonial markets has deprived them of their subsidiary sources of earnings.

(b) Chronic underemployment: Due to the concentration of land with corporate and land lord classes and widespread landlessness among the peasantry, more people than required is clinging to small patches of land. Their employment is only apparent and not real and such unemployment is often called disguised. They

may also be called semi or partially employed. This type of unemployment which could be seen all over rural India may be called chronic or perennial underemployment.

(c) Urban unemployment: Employment generating industrialization has not been there in the agenda of neo-colonial economic policy pursued by the ruling classes over the years. Uneven development and distorted urbanization coupled with the massive displacement of pauperized peasantry from agriculture have contributed to large scale rural-urban migration. With the advent of neoliberal economic policies, disinvestment of public sector and closing down of factories have become regular feature. All these have led to the rapid growth of urban unemployment in India.

(d) Educated unemployment: Unemployment among educated people is a growing phenomenon in India. Due to the roll-back and downsizing of the state from social service sectors under neo-liberalism, employment opportunities for the educated youth are dwindling. Employment opportunities in banks, railways, post & telegraph and similar other service sectors are also declining. Because of the colonial and neo-colonial nature of education and on account of the specificities associated with the pattern of 'development' in the country, the number of 'white-collar' job aspirants are increasing. Educated unemployment, especially among the middle and lower middle class sections is mainly urban in character in India.

Under the Nehruvian policy which was the Indian edition of Keynesianism that lingered on till the eighties, a strategy of state-led import substitution approach was pursued in conformity with the logic of imperialist finance capital. Even much before the transfer of power, while US led imperialism was preparing the blue-prints for post-war neo-colonisation, the captains of Indian comprador bourgeoisie had prepared a plan known as "Bombay Plan" or "Tata-Birla Plan" based on Keynesian prescriptions. The neo-colonial Indian state led by Nehru that came into being through the power transfer of 1947 faithfully pursued the prognosis put forward in the "Tata-Birla Plan". In every respect, it was part of international Keynesianism practiced by imperialist bourgeoisie till the 70s. Behind the façade of import substitution imperialist capital and technology penetrated into strategic public and private sectors. Based on the then prevailing internal and external class relations while it ultimately served the ruling class interests, in consonance with the Keynesian trends the employment generated in the organized sector during the Nehruvian era was mainly in the public sector especially in heavy and strategic industries, railways,

nationalized banks, etc. But with the advent of neo-liberalism and downsizing of the state sector, even this option is vanishing.

Meanwhile, the imperialist sponsored Green Revolution that encouraged corporate capital accumulation in agriculture by way of land concentration and capital intensive methods of farming led to massive displacement of peasantry who either remained unemployed and underemployed in the country-side or migrated to urban areas to swell the ranks of casually employed manual workers and slum dwellers. The neoliberal corporate capital offensive in the name of the Second Green revolution is also displacing more and more landless poor peasants and agricultural workers from agriculture once again testifying the general law of capital accumulation that capitalist development in agriculture will inevitably lead to growing unemployment especially in rural areas.

Under neo-liberalism, we have already referred to the global shift in neo-colonial policies from import substitution to export promotion. India is a typical case of this transformation. During the import substitution era until the 1980s, the Indian state was always keen to put on the masks of 'employment generation, 'self-reliance', 'public sector', etc., in its policy documents. But with the direct entry of IMF and WB into policy decision making and with the advent of WTO and above all with the free flow of finance capital, these masks have become redundant. The biggest casualty of this neo-liberal offensive is employment itself. A deindustrialization is unleashed and both imperialist and comprador capital is developing new avenues of speculation in every sphere of activity. Public sector is deliberately demolished or disinvested. Organized sector employment is declining fast. Even during the Nehruvian period, more than 90 percent of the organized sector employment was provided by the public sector and even today this proportion has not changed though the share of the public sector in the economy has gone down below 15 percent. Along with the unhindered liberalization and privatization of national assets, whatever employment created is mainly in the informal or unorganized sectors where casualisation and hire and fire of the workforce are the general rule. The average wage rate in the unorganized sector is only half of that in the organized sector. The extent of joblessness is also self-evident from the sectoral composition of employment in the country. As a manifestation of the rapid growth of the speculative sectors, the share of service sector or the so called tertiary sector in Indian economy is reaching almost 60 percent while total employment provided by this sector is still less than 20 percent. On the other hand, agriculture whose share in GDP is just 18

percent today provides about 50 percent of the total employment in the country. And the stagnant industrial sector is incapable of absorbing the tens of millions unemployed and underemployed in the country.

Meanwhile, as part of the new international division of labour, an aspect already mentioned, the comprador Indian state is laying down the conditions needed for making the country as a cheap export platform for MNCs by abolishing all erstwhile constitutional and legal provisions that guaranteed workers' rights and minimum wages. As a result, SEZs and export oriented units where alone new employment opportunities are generated have become mere sweat-shops utilizing only casual or flexible workers. The so called IT sector which is projected as a promising job-creating sector has been totally depending on "outsourcing" from imperialist centres whose sole attraction is cheap labour. In the context of the ongoing crisis, leading imperialist powers such as US and EU which are becoming "wasteland of unemployment" in their own words, are resorting to unprecedented protectionist policies including banning of outsourcing from their economies. Recent rhetoric of Obama against outsourcing is only an example. As result, even those cheap-labour based export oriented units including IT in India are facing an acute crisis. Economic stagnation in imperialist countries has substantially reduced the cheap exports to such destinations leading to closure such units. Thus even those partial jobs that comprador ruling classes claim to have created through foreign market-oriented neoliberal policies have also become a mirage.

Conclusion

Thus mass unemployment and underemployment have become a permanent feature of the neo-colonial world order. As elucidated above, unemployment is integrally linked up with the historical trend of capital accumulation, which with the all-out expansion in speculative finance capital under neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism has assumed its own specificities such that imperialist theoreticians themselves have characterized this period as "jobless growth". In accordance with the sharpening of the basic contradiction between social character of production and private nature of its appropriation, the unemployment problem will continue to aggravate further and further. No amount of neo-Keynesian, populist or reformist prescriptions can resolve this issue today. Therefore, while putting forward democratic demands like full employment for all, unemployment allowance at par with minimum wage, etc., based on an objective historical understanding of the laws of motion of capital, the youth should rise up and rally with the

working class, peasantry and other toiling masses to overthrow the present neo-colonial global order

that produce and reproduce unemployment.

RYFI: All India Study Class

THE all India study class for the leading members of the Revolutionary Youth Federation of India was held on 2-3 October at Hyderabad. It was inaugurated by com. Mallepally Prabhakar, AP state secretary, CPI(ML) and presided by com. B. Basavalingappa, president, RYFI. On 2nd morning Prof. K.R. Choudhary took class on *Ecology and Development Perspective*. In the afternoon com. PJ James, Central Committee Member of CPI (ML), took class on *Approach to Unemployment Under Neo-colonisation*.

On 3rd October the CC of RYFI held its meeting which decided to organise campaigns and mobilise the youth to agitate on following issues:

- 1 Oppose the Policies of IMF, WTO and MNCs.
- 2 Struggle for confiscation of black money deposited in foreign banks.
- 3 Campaign for Education, Employment, Health-care and Housing for all.
- 4 Fill all vacancies in government departments.
- 5 Fight against neo-colonial slavery.
- 6 Fight against Special Economic Zones.
- 7 Fight against Communalism and Terrorism.
- 8 Campaign to end state terror against revolutionary organizations and peoples.
- 9 Fight against anti people policies of Central and State Governments.

The CC meeting decided to organise campaign against the visit of US president Obama to India.

Jaitapur Nuclear Power Park (JNPP)

(Konkan Bachao Samiti)

India's Ill-conceived Nuclear Power Programme

The Government of India has decided to take a quantum jump in nuclear power generation, from 4120 MW to 63,000 MW by 2032. This so called nuclear renaissance is being pushed and promoted vehemently by the central government by projecting unscientifically huge electricity demand growth. The current shortage scenario and the global warming debate is being used as compelling reasons to gloss over highly expensive, extremely hazardous nuclear power.

Jaitapur Nuclear Power Park

As a part of its nuclear power expansion program, the Government of India gave in principle approval in 2005 to set up a giant nuclear plant of 10,000 MWe, the largest ever at one location in the world, at Madban (Ratnagiri district, Maharashtra), called as JNPP. The nuclear power park is proposed to be built in two phases over 15 to 18 years. The first phase will be two reactors totaling 3300 MWe. Subsequently four more will be added to make it 9900 MWe. The fuel used will be 5% enriched uranium which will be imported over the entire life. The investment in the entire plant is likely to run in to Rs. 180,000 Cr. The nuclear park is going to use up total of 938 ha of land – 692 ha adjoining the sea for the plant and 246 ha for the residential complex about 5 km from the proposed plant. 2335 land owners and their families' livelihood along with that of labourers will be jeopardized by the proposed project. The project will also jeopardize fishing activity worth hundreds of crores & snatch away livelihood of hundreds of fishermen and dependent labourers.

The plant will suck 5200 crore liters of water everyday for steam generation and throw it back in to sea at higher temperature causing sever damage to marine ecology of the region. The routine emissions of radioactive elements through gaseous, liquid routes will lead to increase in incidences of cancers, tumors and congenital genetic disorder in the region. Another monstrous problem will be of safe storage and disposal of radioactive waste by-products. The possibility of a serious accident which can affect the very sustainability of life in widespread area cannot be ruled out.

People's Protests

Despite the facts against the nuclear energy, the central government, NPCIL and the state government of Maharashtra have been pushing the project ruthlessly. All gram panchayat's have passed resolutions against the nuclear power park. The local people have been protesting against the project peacefully and democratically for last four years. The state government still went ahead with forcible land acquisitions under the draconian land acquisition act using the police force.

Despite all the coercive efforts from the state government & NPCIL the local people have not accepted any compensation from the government. They have resolved not to part away with their land for a nuclear power park so the question of 'compensation' does not arise for them.

The people of Madban and the surrounding villages are putting up a valiant fight against the nuclear power park and the sinister designs of

governments under the garb of so called 'development'.

European Pressurized Reactor (EPR) and Areva

Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited (NPCIL) is engaged in discussions and negotiations with M/s. Areva of France to source the six reactor units of 1650 MWe each. The technology that Areva is offering is called Generation 3 European Pressurized Reactor (EPR) that uses light water. This EPR technology is unproven and there is not a single operating plant anywhere in the world.

The first EPR plant was ordered by Finland for Olkiluoto in 2005. This 1600 MWe plant, was originally scheduled to go commercial in 2009, but is delayed beyond 2012. The cost of the plant has escalated from contracted cost of Euro 3.0 billion to Euro 5.3 billion Euro, almost 76% increase. It is interesting to note that over 2,300 faults have been detected in the various parts of the plant design.

The nuclear establishment regulators of Finland (STUK), France (ASN) and the UK (HSE), in November 2009 have jointly taken up with Areva the issues regarding EPR Control & Instrumentation (C & I) systems which are primarily related to adequacy of the safety systems used to maintain control of the plant if it goes outside normal conditions, and their independence from the control systems used to operate the plant under normal conditions.

Environmental Impact Assessment, Mockery of Public Hearing and other Processes for JNPP

NEERI prepared an environmental impact assessment (EIA) report for JNPP and a public hearing was held on May 16, 2010. The copies of EIA in local language were given to only one village just 4 days ahead of the hearing date. Other five villages were not given any copy of EIA. Public hearing was held with large posse of police force deployed.

People submitted their objections to the contents of EIA. EIA for JNPP is a seriously flawed, unscientific document from NEERI, a CSIR organization. The grave issues about the EIA have been taken up with Mr. Jairam Ramesh, the Minister, Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MoEF). The Minister accepted two important demands – one, people's representatives will be given opportunity to appear before the Expert Appraisal Committee and second, environment ministry will undertake cumulative environmental impact assessment study for Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg districts where large number of power and mining projects are getting clearance.

MoEF intervention resulted in NPCIL getting into justifying their stance. The study of EIA and the discussions with NPCIL have brought out many startling facts regarding nuclear power plants,

Facts and Demands

The EIA prepared by NEERI is grossly unscientific. NEERI has miserably failed playing a role of skeptical auditor. Instead they have turned advocates of the project. NEERI subsequently admitted that they do not have the requisite competence to assess environmental impacts of radiological hazards. Nevertheless they have certified the radiological environmental safety of the JNPP which is prima facie illegitimate.

The principal issues for a nuclear power plant are related to safety and environmental impacts of radioactivity, radioactive waste & spent fuel. These are reviewed and approved by Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB). This process of AERB is not open to public representations.

In matters of safety the role of safety audit is central, mandatory and paramount. Audit must be performed by an independent body. The safety auditor is the prosecutor, and the approval authority is the judge. The two roles are distinct and separate. AERB cannot be at the one and the same time the auditing body and the approval granting authority. The role of skeptical cross-questioning is universally recognized as being important, in fact absolutely necessary, to identify and locate potential lacuna. Hence it is imperative to make independent scrutiny and critical questioning a compulsory part of the AERB approval process. Without this critical cross questioning, the approval process itself will be flawed.

The basis of this review process of AERB is a safety assessment report of the entire plant design. As of date NPCIL has not finalized the design aspects with prospective supplier Areva. Therefore safety assessment report is not yet prepared & submitted to AERB. What it shows that the front end of the project is flawed.

The most dangerous part is that without project specific inputs approved by AERB, the EIA was prepared by NEERI on the basis of generic, incomplete information and that too unscientifically.

Seismicity is a major factor of concern in case of a nuclear power plant. The EIA has underestimated the risk of accidents for the JNPP site in case of earthquakes. The site falls under seismic zone III and it is difficult to predict the damages as an earthquake affects large parts of nuclear plant simultaneously. This has been experienced in Kashiwazaki-Kariwa plant in Japan in July 2007.

The basic parts of EIA like biodiversity impacts, claimed to be expertise area for NEERI, also has been inappropriately dealt with. It describes Madban plateau as barren wasteland whereas the plateau, the hill-slopes clad in forests, adjoining wetlands, the creek flanked by thick mangroves and the diverse marine life in the creek together form an integrated ecosystem very rich in bio-diversity in flora and fauna and complex food-chains. The plateau and the creek habitat are globally unique and need to be conserved for their distinct ecological wealth.

NPCIL is saying that the low and intermediate level radioactive waste will be stored "above the ground". Contrary to this EIA says that the storage will be "under the ground". This radioactive waste needs to be monitored for 300 years but this fact is altogether missing in the EIA.

The spent fuel is going to be re-processed but EIA does not even mention that. NPCIL is not responsible for that. There is no definitive site and plan for spent fuel re-processing plant. There is no defined plan for disposal of high level radioactive waste generated by re-processing of fuel nor there a geo-repository in India or more specifically in the world.

It quite is evident that there is no back end to the JNPP at present. The front end of the project is also seriously flawed. Serious objections have been raised to the present EPR design by European regulators from France, Britain and Finland. Independently, the US regulator NRC has also raised similar objections to the EPR design.

Safety and environmental impacts are of indisputably paramount importance. Equally important factor is the cost of power from a nuclear power plant. NPCIL has been saying that they will generate electricity at a competitive cost. But they have not disclosed the data like capital cost of this project nor have they disclosed the upper limit of electricity tariff that can be scientifically and independently scrutinized. It's quite well established over the world that nuclear power is the most expensive. The enormous surreptitious subsidies have kept the real costs of nuclear power hidden all these years in India as well as elsewhere in the world. The entire effort to keep nuclear liability amount as low as possible in the recent debate on the bill was a shrewd way to reduce the impact on nuclear power tariff.

On October 16, 2010 the Revenue Minister of Maharashtra announced in Mumbai that NPCIL and the state Government have signed a MoU for rehabilitation of project affected people of JNPP. He maintained that the local farmers are not opposed to the project. Angered by these moves and statements, the project affected villagers

made bonfire of the newspapers carrying Government's announcement and reiterated their firm stand that they are totally opposed to JNPP and will not part with their land whatever compensation package.

In the light of the facts, our demands are :

- ❖ The current EIA based on generic, incomplete inputs and prepared unscientifically, and which is still lacking approval on all issues of radioactivity hazard must be summarily rejected as being prima facie unacceptable for the abovementioned reasons.
- ❖ EIA approval must not be given to a project whose front end is seriously flawed and which is lacking a back end.
- ❖ The current EIA should not be considered by the Expert Appraisal Committee.
- ❖ MoEF should not accord clearance to JNPP or any new nuclear power plant till the final geo-repository for disposal of high level radioactive waste is scientifically defined and spent fuel reprocessing plant site and commissioning plan with its due EIA is done and approved.
- ❖ AERB's process of nuclear power plant design review and approval must be brought in public domain. People's representatives must be allowed to appear and make representations to AERB. Without skeptical cross-questioning the process of review and approval will be flawed.
- ❖ MoEF should ask for a fresh EIA for JNPP based on the comprehensive inputs only after final decision from AERB on approval.
- ❖ Public hearing should again be called for the fresh EIA for JNPP.
- ❖ Expert Appraisal Committee review shall be with participation of people's to present their side as well as to respond to explanations provided by the project proponents and their agencies.
- ❖ AERB approval and Final Environmental clearance from MoEF must be the pre-condition to signing any binding pact or agreement between NPCIL and AREVA or any other agency for JNPP.

Despite the fact that the safety assessment report for JNPP project has not even been sent to AERB for scrutiny of plant design and assessment of radiological hazards, the government is going ahead presuming clearance for the project by AERB.

Sanction of Expert Appraisal Committee of MoEF is being rushed through, even when the EIA report prepared by NEERI is found to be totally inadequate and unscientific and a fresh EIA

needs to be carried out after the final decision from the AERB on approval of JNPP is obtained. The approval process is thus being gravely compromised in the haste to ink the agreement in respect of JNPP in December 2010 setting President Sarkozy's visit to India as deadline. This shows how low Government of India is willing stoop to appease and stand by the 'promises' given to the NSG members and the USA even if it is at the cost the environment and the interests of Indian citizens.

We appeal to launch an All India campaign to oppose the JNPP project and particularly the government move to sign the agreement in

December 2010. We request you to join the campaign, in following forms:

- ❖ Articles and Letters to Editors in newspapers
- ❖ Resolutions to be adopted by trade unions, students-women's and other organizations opposing the JNPP to be sent to the Prime Minister
- ❖ Petition opposing the JNPP to the President
- ❖ Signature campaign among scientists, academicians, etc.
- ❖ Anti-JNPP Day on December 2 – the Bhopal Gas Disaster day.

New Emerging Youth Movement in Kashmir

Javed Inayat

KASHMIR VALLEY has been facing new turmoil since June 2010. New youth movement has been emerged which has got larger support from society. Unfortunately, this time Indian state has changed its basic attitude and using very brutal force against unarmed movement which is unjustified. Why Indian state has been behaving very violent way to deal with this non violent mass movement. It is important to understand the mindset of Indian ruling class. Indian army has once again proved that its colonial legacy is deep rooted in its basic character. Indian army was built by British colonizers according to their own colonial needs but after getting so called freedom from British colonial system, Indian state has been keeping its colonial institutions including military and civilian bureaucracy. British Government established Indian military to quell local revolts against British rule. Indian state has not been changed its basic character and still maintaining very suppressive state apparatus that had given by colonial occupied power. Revolt against Indian rule in the streets of Srinagar itself has spoken the colonial character of Indian state. Indian political system has been badly failed to satisfy Kashmiri people since last six decades. Since last two decades Kashmiris have been battling Indian security forces in the streets of Kashmir valley.

Kashmiris have been completely alienated from Indian state system. Kashmiri rebellious movement has gone through very fundamental changes during last two decades. New reemerging mass rebellious movement against India rule has very different character this time, even though, earlier Kashmiri rebellion movement was armed resistance and it had a lot of support from Pakistani state. Pakistani state including its military establishment had been one of its main sponsors and its basic character was pro

Pakistan. Kashmiri movement was planned by Pakistani state secret services and it has been confined to Kashmir valley. Its basic character was neither nationalistic nor liberation and reunification of entire state of Jammu Kashmir. It was an attempt to capture Kashmir valley by Pakistani state, as Pakistan had made few attempts earlier to occupy this region but badly failed to do so. Valley based Kashmiris have been manipulated by their local religious and political leaders to support Pakistani efforts and let Pakistani state to occupy Kashmir because it is legitimate for them to do so, since it is religious duty of Kashmiri Muslim to help Pakistan in this regard. Most of pro Pakistani Kashmiri leaders have been maintaining their presence both side of LOC and claiming that Kashmir must be occupied by Pakistan, not by India because religion of majority of Kashmiris justified only Pakistani occupation. Even though, Pakistan already has been occupying two parts of Kashmir since 1947 and there has been a liberation movement against its occupied regions of northern Kashmir popularly called Gilgit Baltistan and so called Azad Kashmir. Unfortunately, valley based religious and political leaders have disregarded legitimate demands of Pakistani occupied regions. It was first attempt to dislodge popular demands of growing political movement against Pakistani state occupation. Kashmiris from POK side have been trying to make Pakistani states irrelevant claims over state of Jammu Kashmir to be part of her because of British fabricated so called two nation theory. In 1989 Pakistani state tried to re enforce the idea of two nation theory with the help of valley based religious and political leadership.

Indian state attitude was very harsh with militant Kashmiri movement and it was easy to understand that time, as Indian politicians claimed

it that they have been safeguarding the one nation theory in Kashmir valley. Therefore, Indian state attempted to dislodge those elements who have been trying to enforce wrong theory in Kashmir. Indian response to valley based rebellion armed movement was wild, brutal, inhuman and savage. Indian state had turned valley a killing field, valley sank in to blood of Kashmiris and it continued until Indian military had killed and crushed militant movement. Large scale killings and destruction of Kashmiris property worth millions of dollars surprised common Kashmiri and harsh, brutal and violent Indian state behavior forced Kashmiris to rethink and redirect Kashmiri struggle for the liberation of Kashmir. Earlier we have seen cracks in the middle of the pro Pakistani Hurriyate conference which was joint front put up by ISI against Indian state after the outbreak of mass rebellion during early 90s. Pakistani and Indian states put up direct resistance against each other and turned Kashmir valley their choice of battlefield for next two decades. Mid90s Valley based movement started dividing in to two camps. Pro Pakistani Jihadi camp almost captured the center stage and emerged as a largest militant group, its big portion was directly controlled by Jihadi party Jamat e Islami, one of the most reactionary pro Pakistani groups, attached with fundamentalist right wing section of Pakistani state and military establishment and pro Independence camp which believes that historical status of state of Jammu Kashmir must be restored and accept Kashmir as united secular Independent state. Its forced division must end which has neither been accepted by both regions of POK nor any region of IOK. Kashmiri youth has learned in the process that only acceptable solution for them would be only Independent Kashmir. Now new emerging youth movement in valley is clear indication towards pro independence Kashmir. Kashmiri youth has consciously chosen the path of pro Independence after realizing the strength of Pakistani state while surrendering to Indian pressure. Now valley based Kashmiri leadership has no choice but to support non violent youth movement which has totally changed the real character of freedom movement, even though, it was launched on the behalf Pakistani state. But

Pakistani state has not created grievances between Indian state and Kashmiri masses. Kashmiris national aspirations have been there since the occupation of Indian state.

New youth movement does have support from masses and its popular trend is voice of local population but pro Pakistan Hurriyate leadership is trying to control new youth movement and keep it pro Pakistani movement. Both Hurriyate factions have been internally opposing new emerging youth movement. Unfortunately, new youth movement does not have leadership which could lead young people to right direction. Its religious character has not been changed; religious aspirations have been the motivational force behind this youth movement which could lead this movement once again to defusing point where it can end without its logical conclusion. But one thing is very much clear at this historical juncture that Kashmiri youth would not accept Indian rule any more no matter what it takes in coming days. It is the main reason why Indian state has been very brutal and violent dealing with the mass protests in Kashmir valley. Indian state has left with two options, leave Kashmir valley and accept its defeat and suppress Kashmiri youth movement with brute force which has larger support from local society. Pakistani state has not been openly supportive of this new movement at all nor has Pakistani media given it any importance since it has no inclination towards Pakistan. It means Pakistani state apparatus has no concern what so ever with Kashmiris rights movement. Pakistan is only interesting to occupy this region of Kashmir. This attitude has exposed Pakistani state among common Kashmiri and also it has been clear indication of Indians and Pakistanis understanding over Kashmir dispute. If Kashmiris are not ready to accept Pakistani occupation Pakistani state has no problem let them live under Indian occupation. Kashmiris from valley may face even more indifference from Pakistani officials if they demand joining POK region in coming days. It is good sign to see a lot of Indian intellectuals and political activists have been coming out to support Kashmiri movement. It will give more legitimacy to Kashmiri rights movement against Indian claim over Kashmir.

Statements

Support 10-year Long Struggle of Sharmila! Repeal AFSPA; Give Manipuri People Right to Self-Determination

AS PROLETARIAN WOMEN from all over the world get ready to celebrate the centenary of the

International Workingwomen's Day next year, from Sharmila Chanu, the epitome of resilience

and indomitable courage, is on the verge of crossing another landmark in her prolonged struggle against the mighty and ruthless Indian state. On November 2, 2010, Irom Sharmila, a Manipuri poet and human rights activist, will complete 10 years of hunger strike demanding the repeal of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA). An extraordinary struggle of an extraordinary woman! Withstanding the test of time, Sharmila's struggle exemplifies the triumph of democratic aspiration over the unbridled power of that stooge of world imperialism – the Indian State. Ten years since it began in 2000, Irom Sharmila Chanu's fast is unparalleled in the history of political protest.

Sharmila began her protest after 10 civilians were gunned down by the Armed Forces on November 1, 2000. That day, in Malom, a town in the Imphal Valley of Manipur, 10 innocent people who were waiting for their buses at a bus stop were gunned down by the Assam Rifles, one of the Indian Paramilitary forces operating in the state. The dead included a 62-year-old woman, Leisangbam Ibetomi, and 18-year old Sinam Chandramani, a 1988 National Child Bravery Award winner! The incident, which came to be known as the 'Malom Massacre', affirmed the continuation of the endless killings by the Indian armed forces in Manipur and inspired Sharmila, then only 28, to act. Thus she launched her historic hunger strike against the AFSPA in particular and the widespread repression unleashed against the people of Manipur by the Indian state in general.

The single most determined objective of Sharmila's protest then was the repeal of the AFSPA from the state of Manipur. However, over the last nine years, she has extended the scope of her demand to all regions of India's North-East where AFSPA has been imposed. The AFSPA provides special powers to arrest, detain and even kill civilians on suspicion. The power to search and destroy properties on mere suspicion is granted to the Armed Forces of the Union in the 'disturbed areas' of the North East (and subsequently in Kashmir). Wherever the AFSPA is in operation, enforced 'disappearances', extra-judicial killings, torture, rape, arbitrary detention and unspeakable atrocities against women have been routinely reported. In 1958 when the Union Home Minister introduced the law in Parliament, he assured that the Act would be in operation for only 6 months. But it has dragged on for more than 52 years now!

The Indian state has persisted in its attempts to forcibly break Sharmila's hunger strike. She has been detained and arrested times without number. The Manipuri people and their struggle for self-determination have been subjected to brutal repression. Not only have they been denied

the right to craft their own destiny, they have also been denied the basic fundamental rights of life and liberty enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The aggressive and expansionist Indian state acquired Manipur in 1949 under extremely disputed circumstances. This undemocratic and anti-people acquisition has remained the core reason of the dissatisfaction and unrest by the people of Manipur against the Indian state. Since then, Manipur has been witness to relentless struggles for self-determination, which have been met by violent military response by the Indian government.

The people of Manipur have done – and continue to do – their utmost to register their protest against AFSPA. There have been naked protests by mothers, self-immolation by students, mass demonstrations, petitions to the Supreme Court, complaints to the United Nations, etc. However, the Indian state has remained unrepentant. Notwithstanding the fact that the ills of the AFSPA stand totally exposed today, it is still the law of the land. On the other hand, Sharmila who has become the icon of the protest against this draconian law is treated as a petty criminal, charged for attempting to commit suicide and the Government of India continues her detention in isolation as a high security prisoner for a decade.

Sharmila's struggle lies not only in defending the most basic and fundamental human rights of her people, but also in questioning the very foundations of the 'world's biggest democracy', which resorts to fascistic repression whenever and wherever people stand up for their rights. She is the symbol of protest against the ruling class, a beacon of hope for all people – from Dantewada to Kashmir, from Kalinganagar to Vidarbha – valiantly confronting the might of the Indian state. It is significant that although many national and international civil rights organizations, NGOs and even the Indian Institute of Planning and Management have showered awards and accolades on Sharmila for her courage and 'non-violent' protest, none of these has spoken in defence of the Manipuri people's right to self-determination. Thus, these elite persons and organizations, while supposedly glorifying Sharmila, actually stand opposed to the very fountainhead of her struggle. It is only by building up a struggle in solidarity with the right to self-determination of peoples and nationalities across the country can we pay genuine tribute to Sharmila. It is only by unleashing a struggle to overthrow the rule of the present ruling classes and instituting a real people's democracy in its stead can we uphold the right of the Manipuri people to self-determination.

Thus, on the 10th anniversary of Sharmila's political fast, AIRWO pledges its solidarity with

the people of Manipur and upholds their struggle against the Indian state. AIRWO calls upon all revolutionary and democratic-minded women to support Sharmila's demands and put pressure on the Indian state to repeal the AFSPA, withdraw the military from Manipur, other north-eastern states and Jammu & Kashmir, and recognize their

right to self-determination. Only then can we hope to set up an effective resistance to the Indian state's atrocities against women and pave the way for true women's emancipation.

(All India Revolutionary Women Organisaon)

Ayodhya Judgment: A Travesty of Justice

RATHER THAN pronouncing a judgment on the crucial issue of whether the Babri Masjid was illegally occupied and destroyed by the Sangh Parivar, in gross disregard of historical and archeological evidence, the Allahabad High Court has come out with what is called a 'reconciliation formula' which arbitrarily upholds the Hindutva forces' arrogant claim on the 'disputed structure' as the birth place of Rama. The verdict has overstretched the court's jurisdiction by denying the Sunni Waqf Board's legitimate claim on the historical monument and extending legal sanction for Hidutva forces to construct a temple at the very site where a Rama idol was surreptitiously smuggled in, in 1949. It will also pave the way for white-washing the heinous crimes perpetuated by the Sangh Parivar in 1992 in demolishing the Babri Masjid with the connivance of the then Congress government at the Centre. This judgment which is a travesty of justice and which is wholeheartedly welcomed by all Hidutva leaders is intended to extend credibility to the malicious communal propaganda of the Hindu

fundamentalists over the past years in justifying the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

This 'reconciliation formula' delivered by the Court smacks of the 'consensus formula' for which the ruling Congress with its soft Hindutva was trying in view of the forthcoming judgment. The Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPI(ML) which met in New Delhi during September 11-13 had already pinpointed that the Congress will take maximum mileage out of the forthcoming Babri verdict by manipulating such a judgment. This is now proved true.

The judgment also has fanatic, unscientific and illogical conclusions where at least one judge has held that Rama was actually born on the disputed site, on the basis that Rama is everywhere. We call upon all progressive, democratic and secular forces to condemn this communal and arbitrary verdict which flies in the face of law and the evidence and expose the unholy alliance of both soft and hard Hindutva forces behind it.

CC, CPI(ML) 30 September 2010

Ayodhya Verdict: Repercussions and Response

A meeting of concerned citizens, academics, writers, lawyers, social workers and activists took place on 15 Oct 2010 in Delhi to discuss the issues arising out of the judgment on Ayodhya.

They were unanimous in their dismay over the judgement of the three judges of the Special Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court, who recently passed their final verdict in the 60 year old title suits over the bitterly contested property in Ayodhya. They were distressed with the grave implications of this judgement for Indian public life, and the principles of justice, secularism, democracy and rationality.

The judgments of Justice DV Sharma and Justice Sudhir Aggarwal are based on language and arguments which effectively and dramatically invert the principle of a secular state, which subordinate faith to law, by making the law subordinate to faith. The non-secular, nay, anti-secular idiom of the judgments of the two Judges is deeply disturbing.

The meeting was of the opinion that verdict constitutes a dangerous precedent, which can be used against other vulnerable groups in future, like dalits, tribals and women. For almost 500 years, Muslims had worshipped routinely in the Babri Mosque, while Hindus worshipped at the Ram Chabutra in the open area adjacent to the mosque, in a spirit of mutual communal goodwill. The disputed claim of Hindus to the land on which

the mosque stood is based on naked aggression from 1949 to 1992. With this judgement, the movement which challenged India's secular Constitution and took hundreds of lives, and fostered fear and hate has triumphed.

This movement demanding that a grand Ram Temple should be built on the site in Ayodhya where the Babri Masjid stood, is often understood to be a clash between Hindus and Muslims. The meeting affirmed that there is indeed no such clash, and there never has been. It has always been a dispute between two alternate visions of India; between Hindutva and secularism; between a minority of persons unreconciled to the secular democratic idea of India, and the majority of Indians of every faith who believe in and live this idea.

The judgement reopens again the question about the terms on which people of minority faiths would have to relate to cultural domination of the religious Hindu majority. In effect, it interrogates the guarantees of the Indian Constitution, which pledged equal rights and equal protection of all persons, regardless of their religious persuasion. Both in courts of law, but more importantly in the arenas of society and the polity, the meeting resolved to battle for the restoration of the values of the freedom struggle, and the Constitution which the people of India gave themselves.

Democratic People's Front Formed

A meeting of the representatives of the CPI(ML), PCC-CPI(ML), NSM (Gujarat), MLC-AP and Bahujan Vam Manch was held on 25th September in Delhi which discussed the international and national political developments. All parties agreed to fight against the increasing stranglehold of imperialist powers and interference and the ever-intensifying anti-people policies of the central and state governments which are pursuing the neo-liberal policies in a frenzied manner. All the participants supported the various people's movements developing in different states against SEZs, corporate-MNC projects, infrastructural projects, etc. which are displacing hundreds of thousands of poor families and devastating the life of the masses and the environment. The meeting condemned the deployment of army and AFSPA like black acts in Jammu and Kashmir and North-Eastern states. It also condemned the expansionist policy of the central government towards the neighbouring countries. Based on these discussions it was decided to form **Democratic People's Front (DPF)** with following ten points:

1. Smash imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies. Oppose imperialist domination through IMF, World Bank, WTO and MNCs.
2. Defend existing Constitutional, democratic and secular rights and fight for their expansion. Judiciary should function within the Constitutional framework, not under neo-liberal framework.
3. Confiscate black-money deposited in foreign banks.
4. Fight Against all Displacements for Neo-liberal Projects. Confiscate all lands from

5. mafias, big landlords etc: Implement land reforms based on land to the tiller.
5. Fight price-rise. Struggle for universal Public Distribution System. Ensure Education, Healthcare, Housing and Employment for all.
6. Struggle for need based wages, job security and democratic rights of working class. Stop contract and casual labour system.
7. Ensure Adivasis' right over their land and natural resources. Enforce Sixth Scheduled in Adivasi areas. Organise dalits, adivasis and minorities to resist casteist and communal oppression. Struggle for casteless and secular society.
8. Fight all forms of gender discrimination. Ensure women's equality in all fields.
9. Scrap AFSPA, UAPA and all other black laws. Withdraw military from Jammu-Kashmir and Northeast. Fight state terror.
10. Fight imperialist promoted 'development' policies which devastate nature and pauperise masses.

The meeting decided to organise joint campaigns and agitations based on the above ten point programme at all India level. The DPF shall organise an all India Convention at Delhi and a parliament march following it. Efforts will be continued to bring other like-minded revolutionary left and democratic forces also into the DPF.

The meeting also decided to organise a campaign against US president Obama's India visit in the first week of November with the slogan *Obama Go Back* uniting all like-minded forces at state level.

Posco Project is Illegal: Majority of Enquiry Committee Confirms

Three of the four members of the committee set up by the Ministry of Environment and Forests confirmed that the Posco project is illegal and that all of its clearances were obtained by breaking the law. The Committee has also found that the project has potentially very dangerous impacts on issues like water, air pollution, and the coastline, and none of this was ever properly evaluated. After a detailed discussion of the huge number of criminal actions by the company and the Orissa government, the Committee says (in the conclusion of the report):

"The Posco project is an example of how a mirage of "development" can be used in an attempt to bypass the law. Such attempts, if allowed to succeed, will result in neither development nor environmental protection, but merely in profiteering. This will cause immeasurable harm to the nation and to the rule of law and justice in our society."

We particularly draw attention to the fact that the majority found that:

- The Orissa government *and* the Central government have violated the Forest Rights Act and tried to grab forest land that belongs to the people. This is the *second* official committee that has reached this conclusion.
- The project could cause environmental devastation particularly in regard to water, air pollution, coastal damage, danger of industrial disasters in case of cyclones, etc., all of which was ignored by the government.
- Posco suppressed facts and tried to get around the requirements of law.
- The environmental, forest and coastal regulation clearances obtained by the project were all illegal and should all be **revoked**.
- The forest clearance can only be given subject to the recognition of rights and the consent of the gram sabha under the Forest Rights Act.

Those who keep talking of the Posco project as one of “national importance” should answer these questions: *would any other country in the world tolerate such violations of their law? Would South Korea tolerate an Indian company grabbing their land, breaking their laws and threatening to cause an environmental disaster? Is this what development means – robbing thousands of their lands and threatening lakhs with water shortage and other catastrophes?*

As for the dissenting report of Ms. Meena Gupta, her position reflects her own interests. She was the Secretary that granted the environment clearance, and asking her to review it is like asking a thief to don a police uniform. Naturally she has said that all the clearances should continue. Her report is full of distortions, such as claiming that there are only 700 families in the area (when over 4,000 will lose their lands and homes). She tries to cover up crimes by saying that it does not matter if the law was broken; all that is required is to impose some additional “conditions.”

We call upon the Central government to heed the voice of the people and the findings of the majority report, withdraw all clearances and cancel this unjust, illegal and brutal project.

Posco Pritirodh Sangram Samiti (PPSS)

18/10/2010



Declaration of Formation of ICOR on 16 October at International Cultural Festival at Berlin, Germany