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**THROW OUT
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AN APPEAL: MAKE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS OF CPI(ML) A GREAT SUCCESS

THE NINTH CONGRESS of CPI(ML) is going to be held from 7th to 12th November at Bhubaneswar at a critical period both internationally and nationally. Imperialist global system led by US imperialism has led to massive impoverishment of the people, to brutal aggressions around the world in the name of 'war on terror' when US is the actual source of terrorism and to ecological catastrophe. The wealth of the world is concentrated in the hands of a shrinking number of speculative mafias. As a result, in spite of immense wealth produced, and development of technology, what is taking place is an ever-intensifying de-humanization of the society as a whole. All progressive values are thrown over board. Yankees are trampling down sovereignty of all nations. A contradiction between the imperialist system and world people has reached unprecedented levels.

It was reflected a decade ago itself in the people's uprisings in Latin American countries, starting from Venezuela. In many countries pro- US governments were replaced by ones who dare to take many steps against US hegemony. It is now repeated in more massive scale in North African and West Asian countries. US agents ruling Tunisia and Egypt are already dethroned. It is not Islamic fundamentalists or bin Laden like US- created terrorists but millions of people raising pro-democracy slogans and trying to create new history. In spite of setbacks suffered by the socialist forces, once again the world imperialist system is challenged and people's movements are gaining strength. The formation of the *International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR)* at the initiative of CPI(ML) and like -minded forces, 67 years after the dissolution of *Communist International* reflects the growing challenge raised by the revolutionary forces against imperialist system and its lackeys.

Within the country, the neo colonization launched by imperialist lackeys in power intensified manifold with the imposition of the neo liberal policies two decades ago and the demolition of Babri Masjid soon after to divert people's attention. Imperialists, especially the US imperialists, are controlling every field through IMF- World Bank- WTO and MNCs. The ruling system of corporate mafias, bureaucrats and leaders of ruling parties have turned this country to a haven for their corrupt and autocratic rule. As the masses are impoverished increasingly with price-rise and under employment reaching unheard of levels,

the natural resources are wantonly looted and ecology is in peril.

Against these massive people's upsurges are taking place all over the country. But betraying the glorious struggles of the nine decades of the communist movement, CPI(M) led Left Front wherever it came to power pursued the ruling class policies and got alienated from the people as reflected in its massive defeat in Bengal and replacement by UDF in Kerala. On the other hand, refusing to learn from the disintegration of Communist Revolutionary forces due to pursuit of the adventurist line in its initial phase, the 'Maoists' are following anarchist actions alienating people and providing a cover for ruling system to impose fascist suppressive measures against mass movements.

It is by fighting against these erroneous tendencies and making a concrete analysis of the situation after India was brought under neo-colonization, CPI(ML) by uniting the Marxist- Leninist forces across the country could develop its ideological-political line and play important role in the formation of *International Co-ordinatin of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations (ICOR)*. At national level, it has put forward a Party Program and Path of Revolution which calls for mobilizing the masses who are engaged in numerous countrywide struggles against displacement, price rise and corruption and for revolutionary land reforms, through use of all forms of struggle towards a countrywide people's uprising to overthrow the ruling system for leading towards people's democracy and socialism. 300 delegates from almost all over the country and fraternal delegates from about 25 countries are expected to participate in this Party Congress for the revolutionary reorganization of the Party. The Congress shall plan to build up revolutionary alternative of the working class and peasantry including dalits and adivasis and women, and all patriotic democratic forces to fulfill the tasks of revolutionary change.

The Central Committee of CPI(ML) appeals to all progressive, patriotic and democratic forces along with all revolutionary classes and sections to participate and extend all forms of help to make the Party Congress a massive success.

KN Ramachandran
General Secretary, CPI(ML)

ANOTHER CRIMINAL ATTACK ON THE MASSES

THE imposition of another hike in prices of diesel by Rs.3 per litre, of kerosene by Rs.2 per litre and of cooking gas by Rs. 50 per cylinder, soon after the hectic hiking of price of petrol is a criminal attack on the masses of people already reeling under unprecedented, sky-rocketing of the prices of food and all essential commodities and services including cost of education, healthcare, transportation, housing etc. The expression of anger and hatred towards the arrogant action of UPA government which is concerned only with facilitating super profits and loot for the corporate houses and MNCs, is already reflected in the street demonstrations by millions which erupted across the country soon after the announcement of the hike. Not only all opposition parties, even some of the UPA constituents are compelled to join the protest. The way the UPA govt is going ahead with this pernicious attitude towards the agony of the people shows how much barbaric and autocratic the ruling system has become.

Only recently the RBI had pointed out that the core inflation has already overshoot even the most pessimistic projections. In such a situation, this hike is going to provoke another spurt in prices and services all over the country. The share market projections and actual growth in the profit of the petroleum companies show that the statistics given by the govt about the so-called 'losses' to these companies is nothing but a blatant lie. All these companies are flourishing and the central and state governments a amassing huge taxes using the hike.

In spite of growing opposition from the vast masses who are reeling under price hike which is making life miserable for them, when the UPA govt is tyrannically imposing further burdens, the people have no other way out but to resist it in all possible ways in order to compel it to revoke it and to bring down the prices of all essential commodities. CPI(ML)calls on all Party committees to join hands with all forces opposed to the reactionary policies of the government and wage a continuous struggle to militantly resist the price hike. ●

OPPOSE NATO'S NEO-COLONIAL OFFENSIVE IN AFRICA

AS THE US led NATO bombing of Libya is intensifying day by day, destroying many populous suburbs, killing thousands and annihilating its defense establishment, it is raising many serious issues which cannot be answered in just black and white. An over view of what is happening in Libya similar to what has happened in many other African countries earlier prove that US and allies are trying to suppress the democracy movement still continuing in the region by hi-jacking it in Libya and threatening its repetition in other countries also. So the question cannot be reduced to just opposing Qaddafi or to supporting the democracy movement there. The role of US in the region should be subjected to more serious evaluation, while extending support to the democracy movement.

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Following the people's uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, what was started in Libya by a section of the people was a movement for more democratic rights in a country where many welfare policies were still continuing. But due to his patriarchal approach Qaddafi tried to suppress this protest. Like many other leaders of Africa who had taken anti-imperialist positions and nationalized the natural resources, he had a dual character. Till eight years ago, he had nationalized most of the rich petroleum resources in the country and was taking an anti-West stand on world affairs. But utilizing the hi-jacking of a western airline he was threatened to submission and was forced to surrender control of the oil companies to western MNCs. Almost all of the defense equipments he is having was purchased from the very same forces who are now bombing and destroying them. Suffocated by US led coercive policies Qaddafi had called for an African Union (AU) not influenced by US or European Union. He had also talked about nationalizing the petroleum resources again and transferring a part of the income for welfare policies.

The US plans are well drafted: utilizing the Security Council resolution in whichever way it wanted, destroy Qaddafi and hi-jack and undermine the democracy movement to install its own hand picked men in power at Tripoli. If this is not possible Balkanize Libya as part of its plan to Balkanize Africa in line with what was done in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. In spite of recognizing the intentions of US, all other powers like Russia, China who had close relations with Qaddafi's government are keeping quiet as they are also not averse to the plans for Balkanizing Africa and all other regions to facilitate the neo-colonial plunder.

When Obama is talking about putting Qaddafi to trial for "crimes against humanity" he is not talking about his predecessor who committed barbaric crimes against people of Iraq and Afghanistan, massacring 650,000 in Iraq alone. Similarly when Obama has extended the SC resolution to establish a "no-fly zone" in Libya to terrific bombings to destroy most of Tripoli and its defense, under his dictation the SC is not acceding to the Arab League's request to establish a "no-fly zone" over Gaza where more than 1400 people were killed in Israeli raids.

The US led NATO plans are very clear. They want to hi-jack and destroy the democracy movement which had threatened the dictators installed by them in the region. At the same time they are utilizing the SC resolution dictated and interpreted by them to turn Mediterranean Sea in to NATO sea and to Balkanize Africa as they have already started in Sudan to facilitate the plunder of the vast natural resources of this continent. This heinous policy of US imperialists and their allies should be opposed uncompromisingly, and the demand for these imperialist forces to quit Africa and West Asia should be raised by all the democratic forces, while extending their support to the democracy movement coming up in the region.

OBSERVE JUNE 26 AS ANTI- EMERGENCY DAY

COMPARED to the time when Indira Gandhi government had declared internal emergency and turned the whole country in to a prison 36 years ago, today what is going on is an undeclared emergency regime with state terror reaching unprecedented levels. In Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast it is virtually military is in control with AFSPA like black laws. In the areas declared as 'Maoist infested' by the central and state governments, police, special police and paramilitary forces are deployed in ever-increasing numbers making the life of the predominantly adivasi population miserable with many of their villages devastated and women are under brutal attacks.

Whatever democratic rights were won by the working class, peasantry and other toiling masses in the past including the right to public distribution system, education, health-care and housing are taken away under the neo-liberal raj. Millions are facing displacement from their habitats in the name of various SEZs, corporate-MNC projects, expressways etc. An ever larger number of black laws are enforced by the central and state governments.

The state is made more fascistic through these. While everything is done to protect the anti-people state from the wrath of the people, in the name of protecting the right to property all mafia gangs, corrupt officers and political leaders are by and large roaming free. This situation calls for launching a powerful countrywide movement for democratic rights of the masses of people. We appeal to all left and democratic forces to strive hard to utilize the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the declaration of the emergency to awaken the masses and to launch a powerful movement for democratic rights to the people. ●

4th June, 2011

Central Committee, CPI(ML)

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

**(Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(ML)
in its meeting held from 29 to 31 May)**

1. The people's uprisings started by the end of January this year in Tunisia and spreading to Egypt and other countries of North African and West Asian region, and are still continuing have given good fillip to the anti-imperialist movements all over the world. The involvement of tens of millions of people in these uprisings has exposed the myth propagated by the US imperialists, other imperialist powers and their lackeys about the 'war on terror' as if the whole people in the Muslim majority countries are influenced by Islamic fundamentalism and by terrorist groups like Al Qaeda and Taliban. In these uprisings for democracy the monarchs and dictators, Ben Ali and Mubarak, were dethroned. As the uprisings started spreading to Libya and other countries, US imperialists and allies are interfering militarily by bombing the Gaddafi forces with the help of a UN Security Council resolution. Thousands of people are massacred by the US, its allies and lackeys in the region to suppress the upsurges and to divert them from their anti-imperialist orientation. In spite of temporary setbacks, the uprisings are still continuing and the spirit created by them has started changing the situation in the region favourable to the popular forces.

2. While the massive earthquake followed by the tsunami has caused great losses and sufferings to the people of Japan, the meltdown in Fukushima nuclear power plant caused by it has led to Chernobyl like threat to the people of the region. It is once again proved that the use of nuclear energy at the present level of development of its technology shall create more catastrophes. This nuclear mishap has led to worldwide anti-nuclear power movement with massive mobilisations on 26th April across the world, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster. Along with the movement for ecological protection and against 'global warming', the anti-nuclear power movement has strengthened the struggle against the imperialist dictated 'development' policies and for a people oriented and sustainable development perspective.

3. The US imperialists and their lackeys had launched 'war on terror' and campaigned about 'clash of civilizations' to conceal the fact that it is they who had promoted Islamic fundamentalism and recruited and trained bin Laden like thousands from the Arab countries during 1970s and 1980s to dislodge Soviet troops from Afghanistan. After Soviet withdrawal and Taliban coming to power, when it did not bow down to dictates of their mentors, using 9/11 as a pretext, 'war on terror' was launched and Afghanistan was attacked. Thousands were massacred. It was soon followed by the brutal aggression and occupation of Iraq. From the time of Second World War, US led imperialist powers are pursuing these hegemonic acts using their lackeys in the region to impose total control over this petroleum rich region. For using as a base area for these heinous activities, Pakistan was turned in to a den for terrorists. Its areas are continuously bombed by drones killing hundreds. CIA organized the operation to kill bin Laden as an attempt to divert attention from the democracy movements of the region, to continue war in AfPak region and to continue its hegemony in the region.

4. The US imperialists further weakened by the 2008 economic meltdown continue to impose their hegemony through domination over petroleum, and over nuclear, IT and war technology. Every new president has to continue the heinous policies of earlier presidents for it and to launch their own wars to get re-elected, as Obama is doing. Libyan aggression and killing of bin Laden are part of these US manoeuvres.

5. The recent developments show that the contradiction between imperialism, especially US imperialism, and world people has intensified further. Along with this the contradiction between capital and labour is also intensifying day by day as the working class is coming under ever-intensifying attacks following the increasing crisis faced by the imperialist system, both in the imperialist countries as well as in the countries under neo-colonisation. As far as the inter-imperialist contradiction is concerned, the possibility for a war for territorial re-division similar to the First and Second World Wars have lessened with the colonial plunder being replaced by neo colonial plunder utilizing capital, market forces and modern technology. Now it is more manifested through trade and technology wars which are fought by other means than military confrontations. That is why none of the imperialist powers vote against the US aggressions in Afghanistan or Iraq or Libya. In this situation the possibilities for the intensification of the contradiction between the imperialist system and socialist forces, and the possibilities for people's struggles getting strengthened is increasing.

6. The formation of the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations (ICOR) in October

2010 has become a significant step forward in this context. It will help to coordinate international action against imperialist plunder and aggressions. It will also help the ideological-political development through strengthening of the party to party relations among the revolutionary parties. As a member of ICC of ICOR, our Party should be prepared to play active role in it always.

National Situation

7. During the last few months, speeding neo liberal policies, the UPA government at centre and the state governments, irrespective of the party or front leading them, have intensified attacks on the vast majority of the masses through sky rocketing prices of all essential commodities, and through further deprivation of the welfare policies, democratic rights and right to employment, education, health care and housing. The corruption in administration and in all fields of activities has reached unprecedented levels getting exposed through the 1.76 lakh crores G-2 Spectrum case, Common Wealth Games cases etc. Attack on the habitats of adivasis and on the agricultural land of the poor and marginal peasants, throwing out tens of thousands of families from their land and livelihood for SEZs, housing estates and corporate- MNCs projects have pauperised the masses further. At the same time the government has opened the country and its resources for the plunder of the corporate houses and MNCs, helping a small minority of the elite class to become fabulously wealthy at the cost of the people and the environment.

8. The WikiLeaks exposures have brought out how Congress led UPA government had resorted to bribing MPs to get the anti-national Indo-US Nuclear Deal through.

The Fukushima nuclear plant's meltdown has once again proved that the nuclear plants whether they are using heavy water, pressurised water or high breeder reactors are nuclear time bombs, besides their massive waste disposal problems. In spite of it and in spite of the massive resistance to the nuclear project by the people of Jaitapur in Maharashtra, the environment ministry has given clearance for it. Similarly, in spite of the massive resistance struggle of the people for years, clearance is provided to POSCO like projects also. Against the confiscation of vast tracts of agricultural land for Yamuna Express Highway and real estate projects, farmers of western UP are waging a major struggle. All over the country, practically in every state, millions of people are participating in numerous struggles against these neo liberal projects which are devastating their lives.

9. When the US agencies killed Bin Laden inside Pakistan, instead of condemning this violation of Pak sovereignty, Indian military establishment came out with the view that India should also pursue such a policy to get its terrorist suspects from Pakistan, and the RSS Parivar came out in support of it. UPA government did not oppose such belligerency. The foreign policy pursued by it in the neighbourhood or elsewhere is exposing its subservience to US imperialists more and more. So, in spite of immense possibilities for developing relations with Pakistan and other neighbouring governments, it is getting isolated from them.

10. The hatred towards these policies was revealed by the people in the recently held elections to the Tamilnadu and Pondicherry assemblies where UPA allies, DMK and Congress were routed. In Assam Congress could win for the third time with just 36.5% vote share as opposition votes were divided sharply. Still in Bengal if the CPI(M) led LF suffered a severe beating paving the way for massive victory of Trinamul Congress-Congress combine after 34 years of continuous rule, it is because a big section of the people who had voted for it in the past voted against this time because of growing anger against it pursuing neo liberal policies displacing thousands from Singur, trying to impose an SEZ in Nandigram and degenerating to a corrupt and autocratic regime contrary to its promises. In Kerala, where the difference between CPI(M) led LDF and Congress led UDF was dwindling after every election, with one becoming the continuation of the other, conforming to the usual pattern of last three decades the latter could win a narrow majority. The reactionary camp is utilizing the defeat of the social democrats as a debacle for the left as usual.

11. In spite of the favourable objective conditions created by the growing contradictions between the ruling system and the working class and broad masses of people as well as between the imperialists, especially US imperialists, and people, and as the growing corruption and price rise are increasing the conflicts among the various ruling parties for sharing of power, why the revolutionary left still could not overcome its past weaknesses and make any significant headway in building and strengthening revolutionary left alternative against the ruling class forces and the reformists calls for serious evaluation.

Tasks Ahead

12. The past experiences show that the Communist forces leading the working class movement can develop its strength and advance along the path of revolution only when it correctly analyze the concrete situation

and provide revolutionary orientation to the movement. Whenever it has failed in this, it has suffered reverses. This is what happened during the emergence of imperialist system as the highest stage of capitalism, and later in the post-Second World War period when imperialist system led by US imperialism changed colonial forms of plunder to neo colonial plunder. So the first and foremost task in front of the communist forces is to develop their ideological-political line according to present concrete conditions and to unite all genuine communist forces based on it. It calls for uncompromising struggle against the right opportunist line of CPI-CPI(M) like forces based on the Soviet revisionist line on the one hand and the anarchist line of the 'Maoists' based on the sectarian line which dominated the CPC during its Ninth Congress in 1969, on the other. The experience of the brief period after the Bhopal Special Conference shows that by pursuing its line based on an analyzes of neo-colonialism and a path of revolution according to concrete conditions of India has contributed to bring together many Marxist-Leninists in the Party. Such a unity is the growing trend. The studies taken up on Imperialism: in the neo-colonial phase, and on the Ideological Challenges Confronting the International Communist Movement and the preparations for the Ninth Party Congress shall create more favourable conditions to carry forward this task.

13. The *Path of Revolution* document had pointed out that the possibilities for mass upsurges and countrywide uprisings are increasing in the present international and national situation as happened in the Latin American countries in the beginning of this millennium. The recent developments within the country shows that as pointed out already numerous mass upsurges are taking place against the neo-liberal policies imposed in various forms over the people by the central and state governments. Internationally mighty uprisings are taking place in North Africa and West Asian countries some of which have succeeded in

throwing out some of the fascist dictators. But if these mass upsurges are not succeeding to achieve revolutionary social change it is because of the absence or weak condition of the revolutionary parties all over the world including their incapability to mobilize the masses in a big way. To overcome this weakness the first task is to reorganize the communist parties and make them capable of leading the masses to revolution.

14. Along with rebuilding the Party at all India level uniting all Marxist-Leninist forces who can be united, the next important task is to build the class and mass organisations at all India level to mobilize the masses for revolution. TUCI was the only all India organisation existing under the political leadership of the Party till Bhopal Conference. It is a significant step forward that after it all other class and mass organisations could be built up at all India level. The urgent task is to develop them fast so that the revolutionary classes and masses can be mobilised and prepared to take up day to day tasks and for coming revolutionary upsurges. Similarly the *Democratic People's Front* already launched with a Convention and parliament march has to be developed fast uniting the genuine revolutionary left and democratic forces.

15. The Ninth Party Congress is being held when the political situation in the country has reached a critical stage and the objective conditions are improving for revolutionary advances. The task in front of the whole Party organization is to utilize the campaign and organizational process preceding the Party Congress, the initiative taken to evaluate past mistakes, the efforts made to analyze present situation scientifically and to put forward the ideological and political line with revolutionary enthusiasm.

OPPOSE DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY IN CHHATTISGARH

AFTER months of denials the military is deployed in Chhattisgarh with its first batch reaching the state on 31st May under the cover of training the police and para-military forces for jungle warfare. There are already plans to build a military base in the Bastar region also. So after Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast, now Chhattisgarh is going to become the third region under military control. Though the central and state government may try to minimize the importance of this deployment, it is their usual trick. Once the military is in, it is difficult to get it out as we see in J and K and Northeast. It will dig in along with its AFSPA and other paraphernalia.

The presence of few Maoist squads has become handy for the government to go ahead with its fascist measure which will wipe out even whatever democratic rights are surviving in the region. We appeal to all left and democratic forces to severely condemn the deployment of military units in Chhattisgarh and to demand their withdrawal forthwith. ●

4th June, 2011

CPI(ML)

APPROACH TOWARDS FORMATION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES' MOVEMENT

[Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(ML)]

INDIA has a poor record as far as democratic rights are concerned. From the time of the transfer of power by the colonial rulers in 1947, there was increasing attack on democratic rights in all fields. These attacks reached a new stage with the intensification of neo-colonization with the launching of neo liberal policies. The adivasis, dalits and other economically and socially weaker sections including the landless and poor peasants and the workers in all sectors are coming under severe attacks when they oppose, resist or struggle against displacement and other consequences of these policies. While the elite classes are provided trillions of Rupees of subsidies under various heads and various channels are opened for them to indulge in mega scams, which are intensifying the elitisation of the society, even the meagre rights to public distribution system, public education, public health and housing rights etc., which were available for the masses till the advent of neo liberal policies, are snatched away. The trade union and other democratic rights earned by the working class in the course of more than a century of struggles are also taken away, imposing the casualisation and contractualisation of labour, including the 'hire and fire' policies.

Any radical political movement or people's movements taking up these policies and struggling against them are ruthlessly suppressed. Along with these the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the North East are subjected to ruthless suppression

under the military and para-military forces utilizing Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) like black acts, instead of trying to resolve their problems politically, involving the people of these areas. With the launching of the 'war on terror' by the US imperialists, the central and state governments also started a witch hunt against the minorities subjecting them to inhuman attacks. Even the genocides in Gujarat was organised under this cover. Later when the adivasis, dalits and other oppressed sections started resisting the displacement like policies which are pauperising them and devastating the nature, in the name of meeting the so-called threat from the handful of 'Maoists' in these pockets, widespread attacks are launched in the name of 'Operation Green Hunt' and using many central and state level black acts. As the people's struggles are increasingly resisting the intensifying encroachment against all their basic civil and human rights, the state is becoming more and more fascistic. In this situation it has become an urgent task in front of the revolutionary left and democratic forces to take initiative to unite the democratic and civil liberties movements working in different areas with a broad vision of working against the anti people state policies, so that the interests of tens of millions of people facing state suppression and terror can be taken up.

While approaching the question of the democratic rights movement in India, we have to look at the history of democratic movements and civil liberty movements in general. During the colonial period, movements for equality and against racism, caste system, gender-bias, etc. were launched with democratic orientation, especially in the context of the renaissance movement and later linked with the independence movement. Colonialism was trying to integrate the countries under its domination to the capitalist market system on a world scale, which were in many places still in the tribal, slave and feudal stage of development of society. As imperialist plunder in its colonial phase had reached only the level of requiring a limited supply of raw materials and limited market for sale of its goods, and as it was utilizing feudal forces as its social base, it did not by and large tamper with the existing backward systems in various parts of the world, more than what was necessary.

Still the struggle for the democratic and civil rights had come up in many countries along with the strengthening of the independence and national liberation movements against colonial domination. Immediately following the October Revolution, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was formed which was led by the Communists. Similar efforts were made in some other regions also. But they did not become widespread as these movements for democratic rights were essentially linked to the national liberation movements.

Contrary to this, the neo-colonial phase of imperialism is witnessing massive growth in the international capitalist market. After the Second World War, there was massive growth in the number of multinational corporations (MNCs) and also a sudden spurt in world trade. Capital

became the main commodity of international trade and there was constant seeking for avenues for investment of capital. To enable to open up the massive potential of the neo-colonies for the penetration of imperialist capital, it was necessary to build up various avenues for markets all over the world, even at the cost of dismantling the earlier feudal and semi-feudal or pre-capitalist systems. To this end, laws to rationalize land tenure so that the agricultural market would be stimulated were enacted. Labour laws were enacted to stimulate the labour market. Laws against caste discrimination were enacted. All such laws were given expression under the type of “democracy” pursued under the neo-colonial system.

The transformation of imperialist plunder and domination from colonial to neo-colonial phase did bring about reformist concepts of “democracy” as was passed in the *General Assembly of the United Nations* on 10th December 1948 as the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR)*. This declaration did proclaim that all individuals would have the right to freedom of expression, to form unions and associations, to move freely within the areas of any country, to equality before the law, to freedom from discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, birth or other status. At the same time, the right to property was reiterated as sacrosanct and was given full protection, declaring right to private property as fundamental to human existence, in essence reducing all other rights subsidiary to it in practice.

The UDHR was followed by the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* which was adopted by the *United Nations General Assembly* on 16th December 1966. The ICESCR is in force from January 3, 1976. 160 countries (including India) have signed and ratified the covenant and another six (including the USA) have signed it but not ratified it so far. It commits its parties to work toward the granting of economic, social, and cultural rights (ESCR) to individuals, including labour rights and the right to health, the right to education, and the right to an adequate standard of living. Around the same time, on 16th December 1966 the UN General Assembly adopted the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* also which commits its parties to respect the civil and political rights of individuals, including the right to life, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, electoral rights and rights to due process and a fair trial. The three resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly are loosely referred to, jointly, as the *International Bill of Human Rights*.

These resolutions are supposed to encapsulate the philosophy of the imperialist concept of “democracy” in its neo-colonial phase. All these great rights were declared to be universal and fundamental also. But these were not available to the vast majority of the populace even in words. Besides, all of these rights were posited upon and subject to the right to property. For example, there can be no real freedom of expression where the newspapers are privately owned and financed mainly by the advertisements of the large MNCs and corporate houses.

It is the capitalist system that has brought the democratic institutions and the democratic rights existing now. They did not exist during the feudal period. In the neo-colonial phase, they were codified and given international character under UN agencies. However, none of these rights can be really achieved so long as the right to property exists. That is, as long as the right to property exists, true equality of humankind and,

therefore, true democracy can never be achieved. Even the democratic and civil rights will be continuously curtailed to serve the interests of private property.

After the Second World War, there was a boom in the world economy for few years. However, as is integral to capitalism, this once again gave way to new crises. Since the early 1970s the world was once again plunged into global economic crisis. The Keynesian policies, which were in vogue all over the imperialist world, with their focus on public spending, and so-called welfare policies were replaced by neo-liberal policies. Their imposition became more ruthless, with the collapse of the so-called socialist states in 1990 and as the setback suffered by the international communist movement became more severe. The 1990s saw imperialist globalisation with neo-liberal policies being pushed harder than before. All these have led to all round corrosion of whatever “democratic” rights were promised under the *International Bill of Human Rights*. Declaring 21st century as century of its hegemony, US imperialists wantonly attacked countries in the Middle East, and set up concentration camps all over the world under the banner of ‘war on terror’. The depredation of the environment in the ever expanding search for avenues for investment led to its almost near terminal destruction. “Human resources” are subjected to the same level of inhuman exploitation like natural resources. It is in this atmosphere, the present approach to the democratic rights movement should be discussed and developed.

With the start of neo-liberal policies and the consequent suppression of democratic rights, the movement for democratic rights also got a new spurt all over the

world. To some extent, the mushrooming of NGOs, as a part of the neo-colonial world system, has helped this growth. At the same time, the NGOs have consciously trivialised the democratic movement as their search for these rights are confined within the limits of the ruling bourgeois system. The effect of this is seen upon most of the democratic rights' organisations.

In the 1970s, with the world economic crisis of imperialism and with the increasingly common usage of fascistic powers by governments all over the neo-colonial world, the civil liberties movement showed certain signs of growth in many countries. In India, the declaration of internal emergency of 1975-77 and the state terror during that period served as a great instigator for the growth of democratic right movements. Many democratic rights and civil liberty organisations grew up during this time, especially following it. Many of these were led by left forces and even by those from the Marxist-Leninist movement or people close to them. Their ideas of democratic rights movement were, therefore, clearly influenced by their political lines. For many of them, the only path towards 'real democracy' was through the path of "protracted people's war" and therefore, they almost exclusively concentrated on protecting the democratic rights or civil liberties of only those who were fighting the so-called "protracted people's war". The main democratic issues taken up were of "prisoners of conscience", of encounters and for the release of political prisoners. This trend continues till now. The question of the democratic rights of the masses of people was and is often sidelined as a result.

This does not mean to say that the issues of encounter deaths and release of political prisoners are not

important. The imprisonment of Nagbhusan Patnaik in mid-1970s and the present Binayak Sen are cases in point. The almost exclusive concentration on such matters has made many of the civil liberties organisations and activities of intellectuals linked to them becoming synonymous with the "Maoist" movement. There are many instances of hundreds of Adivasis and Dalits, and people from poor background undergoing years of imprisonment and facing torture in police custody every day in many regions, especially in areas where large scale displacements for mining and SEZs like projects are taking place or where the 'Maoist' squads are supposed to be active. Similarly there are numerous instances of trade union rights being flouted, where the right to education, health-care, drinking water and shelter is being flouted, where the right to a clean environment is being flouted. Under neo liberal raj, gender discrimination, attack on women at work sites and elsewhere and female fratricide have become rampant. Very rarely the democratic rights or civil liberties organisations take up such issues with the importance they deserve. Present attacks on the democratic rights show that the rights granted by the "International Bill of Human Rights" are not enough. While struggling for the implementation of whatever democratic rights are existing, the democratic movement today have to go beyond the concept of democratic rights as adopted in the UN Charters. The very concept of civil liberties has to be liberated from the conception of market. It must encompass human rights and equality beyond the right to property, especially in the context of the depredation of the human and natural resources by imperialism and its lackeys.

Such an organisation should be essentially independent and broad based. The task of civil liberties organisation, firstly, is to create awareness in society of what democratic rights are by organising exposes of various incidents in society. Most civil liberties organisations have limited their activities to this first step, by conducting fact-findings, issuing statements, holding seminars and conferences, etc. But the democratic and civil liberties organisation will have to take up the issue of active struggles for the enforcement and achievement of democratic rights by mobilising the masses, joining hands with the class and mass organisations existing there. Such organisations must also aim at educating the people about the need to struggle against the ruling system in the country and the imperialist forces and the various agencies working under their control who are responsible for the perpetuation of the fascistic policies which are curtailing or taking away even the existing democratic and civil rights. Such organisations should expose those existing organisations which have become synonymous with religious fundamentalist organisations and with ruling class parties. What they do under various pretexts like "civil society groups" etc. is to destroy the possibilities for waging uncompromising campaigns and struggles for the democratic and civil rights of the oppressed and toiling masses under the neo-liberal policies.

Presently, with the proliferation of such reformist organisations which are confining their activities to the confines of the ruling system, it may not be possible to launch qualitatively different organisations everywhere. While efforts should be made to launch such organisations/ movements wherever possibilities exist, in other areas present practice of functioning within existing organisations should be continued till favourable conditions for building qualitatively higher movements emerge. The need of the hour is to intensify all round efforts to launch broad based and active democratic and civil liberties movement at all India level, taking all these aspects in to consideration.

APPROACH TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF CASTE EXPLOITATION

[Adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(ML)]

THERE are many theories for the origin of the caste system. There is a popular theory which states that the Aryan race invaded India and defeated the Dravidians, who were living here before them, and therefore converted the Dravidians, who were living here earlier, into their slaves which was the origin of the caste system. This theory has been largely debunked by writers like Ram Sharan Sharma (*Looking for the Aryans*). It is now clear that the Aryans were never a "race". They were made up of a mixture of cultures collectively having certain distinguishing cultural traits like the horse and male dominated society. In fact it is today quite well established that the concept of "race" is itself faulty. Further, linguistic and ethnic studies have shown that the "Dravidians" the present inhabitants of South India have also probably entered India from the North West through Afghanistan at a slightly earlier period of time. Thus it is quite clear that the origins of caste do not lie in "racial" divisions but in pure and simple "social" division of labour.

Regarding the roots of caste, and in relation to the tendency of certain jobs becoming hereditary (and of course, with reference to India), Marx wrote: "Castes and guilds arise from the action of the same natural law, that regulates the differentiation of plants and animals into species and varieties, except that, when a degree of development has been reached, the heredity of castes and the exclusiveness of guilds are ordained as a law of society" (*Capital, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 321*). DD Kosambi, in his book *Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India*, has observed that castes and sub-castes have formed out of tribes from different geographical locations in the country and later consolidated. More studies are required to unravel the intricacies and interrelationship between caste and the agrarian social structure that survived in the so called 'self-sufficient village communities.'

It requires to be stated here that our stand is quite different from the stand of those who say that the Aryan invasion never occurred. These persons, in the service of "hindutva" try and hold that the "Aryan" culture began in India. Therefore they have to debunk the position of an "Aryan invasion". There have been, recently many such apologists of Hindutva writing to popularise this theory like Koenraad Elst and Michael Danino/Sujata Nahar. However, these theories tie themselves up in knots and fly in the face of historical evidence that the people who wrote the *Vedas* came from outside India.

There is no evidence of the caste system existing in the same form in any place outside of India and its surrounds. The Aryan people and culture travelled over most of Asia and Europe as can be seen from the spread of the Indo-Germanic or Indo-Aryan language. However, they did not establish the caste system in any place other than in India. From this we may conclude that the caste system reached its present form only after the Aryans settled in India and transformed the economy by introducing settled agriculture.

The caste system was not rigid from the very beginning. There are many instances of persons of low caste becoming famous rishis like Jabali (Satyakam) or Matang. However, it is not known if persons attaining a high caste after having been born in a low caste was common or was rare and exceptional.

Here we must remember that the word "caste" is itself of Portuguese origin and denotes lineage depending on birth. The original words in India were Varna and Jati. Jati was more in the sense of a tribal identity. With many different kingdoms there have been cases documented of jatis who changed their social status by migrating from one place to another.

The rigidification of the caste system into immutable compartments took place along with the establishment of a Brahminical order. It is the Brahman "shamans" who traversed the length and breadth of Northern India and introduced a system of settled agriculture to the nomadic people's existing there at the time who engaged mainly in slash and burn cultivation. This, no doubt, greatly enhanced the level of productivity of society. With the horse, and extensive cattle rearing, which only came with the Aryans, this productivity was even further enhanced. At the same time, with settled agriculture came the establishment of private property in land. This led to the establishment of the patriarchal family and the Brahminical state system. As tribes were conquered

and assimilated into the Brahminical order, their positions, in the nature of castes became fixed and rigid.

Tribes were not the only origins of "jati". Jatis were also based upon occupation like carpenters, potters, cobblers, barbers, etc. With self-sufficient villages being established, it was necessary to have such artisans in each village. Thus each village had its "bara balutedars" - the barber, the cobbler, the potter, the sanitary worker, etc.

The question is asked why the caste system became established in India in such a rigid form, whereas in other areas, where the Indo-Germanic Aryan people inhabited, the same rigidity was not observed. One of the plausible theories is that the land and environment in India, the bio-diversity, the fertility of the soil, the climate and other factors were so favourable for the agricultural-pastoral form of life that there was no real impetus for development. The land was capable of sustaining a far greater density of population than elsewhere in the world, with the result that the existing division of labour became rigidified and barred any development. With this amount of plenty, the villages were largely self-sustaining and there was not much need for trade and commerce. Such trade and commerce as was necessary was provided by weekly bazaars. As a result, each village required its own artisans leading to further stratification of the caste system. This may also explain why so many different languages developed and why there was never any common culture throughout the Brahminical areas.

India also therefore became a great attraction for adventurers and conquerors. The Rajputs, Mangols, Central Asians, Iranians and even Greeks and Romans

always held India to be an excellent prize. The Americas were "discovered" by the Europeans and the Horn of Africa was rounded only with the intent of finding sea routes to India. The Brahminical philosophy, with its fatalism found it very easy to assimilate all the different peoples who came into India. In this the caste system was an obvious asset. All new conquerors (or vanquished) could be assimilated into Brahminical society as new castes and fitted into the rigid hierarchy. The Brahmins, of course, retained their pre-eminent position as the "dvij" or the "twice-born". This was merely a reflection of how it was possible to accept the most divergent of views in Brahmanism as a separate "panth".

The main difference to this came with the coming of the Muslim rulers in the 9th century onwards and later with the coming of the Europeans in the 16th century. These rulers were not to be assimilated into the Brahminical religion and set up religions in direct conflict with it. Also, unlike the earlier invaders, these were proselytising invasions, with the express intent, among others, of converting the "heathen" masses of India.

These invasions had many effects on the caste system in India. No doubt, a portion of the lower castes converted to the new religions, sometimes forcibly and sometimes voluntarily, more so in the case of the Muslim invasion than with the European advent. However, this was not the main effect. The invaders found that to rule effectively, they had to make their peace with the feudal system that was then in existence. They therefore consolidated the caste system rather than destroyed it.

This continued into the era of colonialism. With the permanent land settlement of the British in the early part of the 19th century creating a new class of Zamindars and Jagirdars, the caste system got further consolidated and the worst exploitative feudal practices were put into force. After 1857, with the take over by the British Crown from the East India Company and with the establishment of a proper colonial system, some laws were put into place against old feudal practices. However, they did not abolish the caste system. In fact, they relied upon it to strengthen their links with feudalism. It is a well accepted fact that with their policy of "divide and rule" and with their rigid enumeration of the people into various castes, the caste system became more rigid and more inflexible under British rule.

The major change in the caste system has come only with the change from the colonial system to a neo-colonial system. With this change, and with the concomitant preparation of a labour market, there came new laws for the "abolition of caste". However, the real politics of India is different. The caste system remains with many new facets added to it.

The major inequity in the caste system was that the dalits never owned any land. With the coming of the neo-colonial system, though Zamindari was abolished, though untouchability was abolished, though reservation in employment and education was implemented and though there were laws supposedly for giving "land to the tiller", in fact, the land was usurped by the tenant middle classes like the Marathas of Maharashtra, the Patels of Gujarat, the Yadavs and Kurmis of UP and Bihar and the Khammas of AP. These castes were the ones who were registered as tenants and therefore the real tillers of the land, the dalits, were left landless.

The reason for the Zamindari abolition, untouchability abolition, reservation, etc. was that the new neo-colonial system was dependant on the market. The old semi-feudal structure was not conducive to the market. The Zamindars had no interest in buying tractors, seeds and fertilisers. If

the dalits were to make their labour power available on the labour market, then untouchability would have to be abolished and reservations were necessary. Such was the stuff of neo-colonial democracy. However, even such limited “democracy” did have some effect. A small section of the dalits was able to come up and hold positions of power in the bureaucracy, in politics and in the corporate sector.

With the economic crisis of 1972, the Keynesian welfare system gave way to the new monetarist system. The new system called for a withdrawal of government regulation of the economy. This idea was accentuated with the coming of globalisation and neo-liberal policies. In the system of caste, this new policy had a strange effect. The Mandal commissions report of 1980 had already recommended broadening reservations for “Other Backward Classes”. This, combined with judgements of the Supreme Court where they restrict total reservations to 50% has led to a mad scramble to be labelled as OBC.

Dalit politics also went through a sea change. From the reformist democratic stands of the RPI of yore, through the militant revolutionary period of the dalit Panthers to the advent of BAMCEF and finally the BSP of Kanshiram and subsequently Mayavati. Today, dalit politics is only a question of vote-bank politics. There is no democratic content left in this politics whatsoever. Today, there is not even the land question or the question of abolition of the caste system being taken up in a concerted manner, as a movement, by any of the parties calling themselves as “social justice” parties.

In this situation, the only liberation for the dalits is not to go back to the welfare system and strengthen the system of reservations but to move forward to socialism. The so-called “social justice” parties can offer no alternative to the dalit masses. The task of organising the dalits for the abolition of the caste system must be taken up by the communist party.

In this context we have to also critically evaluate the attitude of the communists towards the question of caste oppression. During the colonial period, the CPI did not properly understand the question of caste and therefore created a schism between the movement against caste oppression and the working class movement. That is not to say that the CPI had no line on caste. Annabhau Sathe was a leading cultural activist of the CPI and they were able to win elections even against Dr. Ambedkar himself in Mumbai. The CPI could build up grass-roots level links in those places where issues of untouchability and caste oppression were taken up. In the Telengana struggle, a deliberate policy of distributing land to the dalits existed with a view to abolish caste and untouchability. However, the fact remains that they were not able to draw the masses of the dalits into the communist movement and the mainstream of the dalit movement went either with the Congress or with the Ambedkarite movement.

To properly understand the criticism of the CPI, we must also evaluate the role of Dr. Ambedkar. There is no doubt that Dr. Ambedkar was a staunch social reformer who led radical social change in the position of the dalits, especially of the Mahars of Maharashtra. He was the successor of a great line of social reformers against the caste system starting from Buddha and Mahavir to the Bhakti sants, Swami Vivekananda, Narayanguru, Periyar and Phule. However, Dr. Ambedkar also has his limitations and he had hopes from religion and the constitution which time has belied. However, instead of forging a front with Ambedkar against the upper caste, upper class combine which ruled India in colonial times,

under the British, the CPI succeeded in making an enemy out of him. This led to the worst type of internal fighting within the working class, among dalits and others.

This divide is today being further exploited by imperialism in the form of “neo-Ambedkarism”. Most of such neo-Ambedkarites lose sight of the most basic of questions raised by Ambedkar, namely, the question of confiscation of land and the question of annihilation of caste. They are willing consorts of imperialism in “globalisation”, raise merely the demand of reservation and use caste as a vote bank. The “subaltern” theories of caste, where caste is opposed to class, are giving rise to many pseudo-intellectual theories, which are naught but a part of the post-modern ideological onslaught on Marxism. Such subaltern theories, including those based on “neo-tribalism”, “identity politics” or “post Marxism” are also the basis of numerous caste based NGOs which idealise caste and make caste into a private fiefdom.

The CPI failed to correctly draw the link between caste and class in India and to strongly assert that socialist or people’s democratic revolution in India will require a firm and unrelenting struggle against caste oppression and will require abolition of the caste system. The CPI failed to smash the social taboos of the caste system like marriage only within one’s caste and the taboo on social intercourse across castes. It did not see the need to take up movements against the exploitation of the dalits and left this aspect of the class struggle to social reformers alone. In short, the CPI only applied the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin in a mechanical manner, without concretely analysing the concrete situation in India.

Again, after the advent of the neo-colonial system, the CPI did not take up the struggle for land to be given to the dalits. Under the Khrushovite delusion that imperialism had been fatally weakened and that the need for revolution had receded, they believed that the neo-colonial reforms of providing reservations and of making some marginal laws like abolition of untouchability would automatically destroy the caste system. The CPI (M) did not take a position very different on this issue.

The CPI (ML) correctly recognised that the question of redistribution of land is the basic question in the agrarian revolution which was recognised as the axis of the New Democratic Revolution. However, history has proved that this understanding was also mechanical and not based upon a concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Even the CPI (ML) did not take up the specific demands of the dalits, more or less acquiescing in the dominant belief of the "left" that caste was only a part of the super-structure and need not be addressed separately. Sectarian forces like Maoists, having restricted themselves to squad actions, have a very limited role to play in the social movement for abolition of caste.

The real demands that must be taken up today for caste liberation are

1. *That land must be distributed to the dalits of this country, as a part of land to the tiller,*
2. *That caste must be abolished.*

The latter demands that social and state encouragement must be provided for inter-caste marriage and for inter-caste social intercourse. We must demand that positive discrimination will be

practised in favour of those who marry and socially interact outside of their caste. Similarly there must be penal sanctions and prohibitions against those who disallow such inter-caste social intercourse. Today the trend is exactly the opposite. With the deepening of the economic crisis and with the growing fascisation of the state, Khap panchayats are freely operating all over India. Young people marrying outside their caste are being tortured and killed. The movement for abolition of caste must take steps to see that the Government takes action against such Khap panchayats and also to see that inter-caste marriages are not only not disturbed but are positively encouraged.

Besides these two main demands, the movement for abolition of caste must be seen as a part of the class struggle. It must take forward the renaissance movement begun by Buddha and Mahavir, the Bhakti saints, etc. This can only be done by making the movement for abolition of caste as a part of the New Democratic Movement, by fighting for a system that is more truly democratic than the one ushered in by neo-colonialism, which introduced the laws for protection of civil rights and reservation. While accepting reservation as a democratic right, such a movement will have to fight to expand the very conception of democratic rights for Dalits, leading to the abolition of the very caste system itself.

To take up this movement, the Party shall encourage formation of a Revolutionary Platform for Caste Abolition which shall take up democratic issues like distribution of land based on "land to the tiller" slogan, progressive implementation of reservation based on caste till the caste based discriminations are abolished, struggle against caste discrimination and oppression etc. leading to complete abolition of the caste system through countrywide campaigns and as part of the struggle for transformation of the superstructure.

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Marxwadi-Leninwadi (kannada Monthly)

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LESSONS OF THE FIVE STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

Observer

THE RESULTS of the elections to the state assemblies of the five states which was described as a quarter final to the Lok Sabha elections of 2014 by many have thrown up many important political indications about the depth of the crisis of the ruling class politics and the challenge faced by the 'left parties' and their fronts. As far as the spokespersons of the ruling system and the corporate media are concerned, they are competing with each other to prove that the left forces have suffered serious setback following the defeat in both Bengal and Kerala, especially in Bengal where the LF was in power uninterruptedly for 34 years. Though at a smaller level compared to what happened when Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, the reactionaries are celebrating the heavy defeat suffered by the LF in Bengal as a point of no return for the left. Some of them go to the extent of even declaring socialism as dead or as an obsolete ideology.

Much before Soviet Union disintegrated it was clear as day light that it had deviated from socialist path and pursuing capitalist path and that it had become a bureaucratic dictatorship. Still its degeneration was celebrated as a demise of socialism. What happened to CPI and CPI(M) was almost a similar degeneration by pursuing the Soviet revisionist line. The LF had come to power in Bengal with a huge majority in 1977 when the people hated Congress rule including its 1972-77 fascist rule in the state and the black days of the emergency rule. But after coming to power, beyond 'Operation Barga' it did not try to initiate land reforms based on 'land to the tiller' challenging the ruling system. When the comprador rulers imposed the neo liberal policies, instead of fighting it, it started implementing it, giving it a left cover. While supporting the UPA government during 2004-09, it went ahead with Singur, Nandigram and Lalgarh. The general public who went on voting for it till 2004 to avoid the return of the hated Congress rule, could not tolerate any more. The result was a massive defeat. So it is not the left politics which was defeated, but the social democratic policies pursued by the LF government.

In Kerala, during the 1967 government itself, the line of demarcation with the Congress led front had started disappearing. Almost from that time the UDF and LDF are ruling five years in turn as if in a musical chair game. This time the difference between the two is reduced to just 1.5 lakh votes and four seats. It is an indication that the people have very well understood that whether it is the case of Smart City, or 'Self-reliance colleges' or giving protection to the land mafias like Tata and Dalmia, or running a corrupt government system, one is just a continuation of the other. So the defeat of the CPI(M) led LF rule in Kerala is also not a defeat of the left politics but of a social democratic party and its front which was implementing the neo-liberal policies just like any ruling class party or regional party.

There is no doubt that the ruling class parties and the corporate media will continue to celebrate the defeat of the CPI(M) led governments for a

long time to attack the left forces as a whole. Besides this they have got other sticks also to beat the left forces like the CPI(M) dissidents joining the Congress camp, a CPI national council member joining Muslim League after defeat of the LDF in Kerala, CPI(Maoist) working for TMC etc. The wash out of CPI-CPI(M) parties in Assam and the role of these parties during 2006 elections with DMK and now with AIADMK in Tamilnadu where like in Andhra Pradesh, they have destroyed the possibility of building a left alternative for a long time, are also used as sticks to beat the left forces by the rightists in general. **The Marxist-Leninist forces who are participating in the parliamentary struggles** also could not overcome their weaknesses so far and play a significant role in the parliamentary struggles. As a result, when the international and national situation is becoming favourable for revolutionary forces, they are not in a position to utilize them.

Take the national situation for example. The Congress spokespersons and the corporate media are trying to conceal the fact that Congress performance in these elections are not so victorious as it is projected.. Though it could combine well with TMC in Bengal and other forces in Kerala and defeat the LF governments, in Tamilnadu and Pondicherry where the G2 Spectrum like scams and price rise like attack on people have led to almost wash out of the DMK-Congress alliance. In Assam, though Congress could get a comfortable majority, it is more because of sharp division of the votes as its 36.5% vote share reveals. Besides, in Karnataka in the three by-elections to the assembly, BJP won all seats including the sitting seats of Congress. In AP, it suffered a severe setback as the Congress rebels won both Kadappa Lok Sabha seat and a nearby

assembly seat with record majority intensifying the crisis it faces in the state. Its share in the 828 assembly seats for which elections were held is just 166, with 78 of them from Assam alone. Its front partners could get only 250 seats, and thus Congress and UPA partners got only half of the total seats. Besides the Rs. 5 hike in petrol prices immediately after the election results which has hiked the prices of all essential commodities further and the threat of another increase in petrol price and prices of diesel and cooking gas, along with the decay in the socio-political sphere under the impact of the mega-scams, intensifying subservience to US imperialists etc. are increasing the anger of the people against UPA government. Contrary to what is propagated, Congress and its government at centre are getting alienated from the people very fast.

The condition of BJP, the main opposition party is no better. Including the three seats it could get in Karnataka, it could not make its tally double digits. Though it may console that these states were not its support areas, even in such states like MP, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Bihar etc. its influence is not increasing. Its only hope is that since CPI(M) has suffered serious setback, it will not be able to go ahead with its 'third front' concept as intensely as before. It hopes that this will provide opportunity for expanding the NDA by uniting some of the parties like AIADMK, BJD of Orissa and TDP of AP. But it is not taking in to consideration that its communal fascist image is still persisting and it has no alternative to provide to the neo-liberal policies. On the contrary, it is more dedicated to them and to serve the US imperialists as past experience reveal.

Along with these, against the neo-liberal policies imposed by the

central and state governments and against their consequences, numerous struggles are breaking out and continuing for years involving more and more people in almost all states. They are becoming more and more militant also as the struggle against the nuclear plant in Jaitapur in Maharashtra and the farmers movement against confiscation of their land for Yamuna Express Highway and real estate projects in UP show. People's anger against unprecedented price rise and mega scams are also mounting. The crisis being faced by the ruling system increasingly is a reflection of the growing contradiction between the anti people ruling system and masses of people and their growing realisation that all these parties which are sharing power at center or in the states pursuing the imperialist dictated neo-liberal policies are worsening their lives and devastating the nature.

This situation demands the building of a people's alternative which rejects the imperialist dictated policies which intensify neo-colonisation and devastate the nature. It is a historically proved fact that only the left forces with socialist perspective can lead such an alternative. But as their history and their analysis of the present serious election reverses reveal, the leaderships of CPI(M) led LF parties are not ready to change their social democratic lines and work for an independent left alternative at all India level. As in Tamilnadu, AP and other states they are happy with aligning with the ruling class parties or regional parties. In states where their LF governments come to power they are not ready to change their style of functioning and to develop methods to utilize the parliamentary work to advance the cause of the People's Democratic Revolution. As far as the CPI(Maoist) and other sectarian groups pursuing anarchist policies are concerned, as proved in the recent elections once again they were supporting the ruling class parties after giving the call for boycott of elections. The approach of many of the splinter groups is also not different towards building a countrywide anti-imperialist, anti-state democratic front.

This is a very difficult situation which calls for serious introspection among all those who are committed to left politics. It also calls for serious discussion among the forces who want to build a genuine alternative to the ruling system. The serious problem confronting the left movement is that even after such continuous setbacks, the leaderships of most of the parties and organisations belonging to its wide spectrum are not ready to make a serious introspection for the setbacks suffered or the reasons for the left movement not advancing in spite of increasingly excellent objective situation. Their analyses do not go beyond rectifying some organisational problems. They refuse to take up the ideological and political reasons responsible for the movement degenerating from the great heights it had reached by early 1950s to present plight internationally and within the country.

The significance of the initiative taken by CPI(ML) at theoretical, organisational and practical levels to reorganize the Party at all India level should be seen in this context. It is consistently pointing out that when it is the failure to analyse the post-Second World War neocolonial offensive by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism that led to rightist deviations and weakening of the international communist movement, the movement can advance once again only by taking up this analysis and developing the revolutionary line accordingly. Similarly, if the bureaucratic tendencies developed in the communist parties and in the erstwhile socialist countries, speeding up their degeneration, the reasons for it should be found out. Answers should be sought for the ideological

challenges faced by the communist movement with regard to developing proletarian democracy leading to achieving the transfer of all powers to the people, and regarding the development of a people oriented and nature-friendly development perspective basically different from that of the capitalist-imperialist system. The past mistakes in linking the socialist construction in countries where the communist parties had seized power to the cause of world revolution, and in giving primary importance to the latter should be rectified.

The revisionist influence in the communist movement has led to erroneous approach towards the utilization of the parliamentary struggles for advancing the class struggle.. As the CPI-CPI(M) experience shows, from the time of the 1967 elections they were influenced by parliamentary cretinism. Within a few years, instead of utilising parliamentary institutions for advancing revolutionary cause, they became part of the bourgeois parliamentary system, their differences with the other political parties started disappearing. As the experience from the time of the Second International shows, this was one area where the communist parties suffered serious deviations and still it is haunting them. While the answer to this is not the 'boycott line' as the anarchist trend argues, in a country like India where the parliamentary system is continuing for decades the communist party has to master how to utilise it for advancing revolutionary movement. Especially when the whole ruling system including the electoral system has become corrupt in all respects, it is a

very difficult challenge before the communist movement. The Marxist-Leninist forces should not be contended by criticizing the CPI(M) like forces alone, they have to develop methods for utilizing the parliamentary forms of struggles.

The challenge before the Marxist-Leninist forces is very serious. As the objective situation is becoming increasingly favorable for revolutionary changes, they have to become masters in leading all forms of struggles to mobilise the masses and to march forward to people's democracy and socialism. Necessary lessons should be drawn from the elections to the five state assemblies and their results, especially from the severe setback suffered by the CPI(M) led LF forces, to overcome present weaknesses.

CONVENTION ON SEDITION AND STATE TERROR

THE *Law of Sedition* promulgated during the British colonial rule continues to remain on the statute books of *independent* India and a large number of citizens are charged and convicted under this obnoxious law. In Chhattisgarh a number of people have been convicted under this Colonial-era law including a human rights defender & medical doctor, a writer, a journalist etc. Besides, a large number of adivasi-peasants, social and political activists, lawyers, journalists and artists have been implicated in false and fabricated criminal charges under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, the Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act 2005, and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), etc.

Similarly, people's struggles carried out peacefully and democratically all over the country for the people's right over Jal, Jangal & Zameen (Water, Forest and Land) and also against displacement due in the name of development projects are suppressed using such laws. The State is taking repressive steps to crush struggles for the Right to Life & Livelihood. In addition to Central Laws like UAPA (which is nothing but a new avatar of TADA & POTA), many states are promulgating similar draconian and anti-democratic laws, like the CSPA, 2005. Its constitutional validity has already been challenged by the Chhattisgarh state PUCL in the Chhattisgarh High Court.

It may be worth noting that during the British Rule, MK Gandhi & Bal Gangadhar Tilak were also charged under the Sedition Law, and they had themselves argued their cases challenging the illegality and draconian character of such a law which cuts at the root of the Fundamental/Human Rights of an individual. The First Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru had called it an obnoxious section (124-A of the IPC) in the statute

books. The Supreme Court of India has also expressed concern at the continued use of such a repressive law of Sedition, and has given landmark judgments such as in Kedar Nath Singh Vs State of Bihar, AIR 1962 SC 955.

In this context, a national debate has started on the issue of Sedition in relationship to patriotism and power of the state. There is need to carry forward such a national campaign against such repressive and un-constitutional laws in the courts of law and also on the streets.

The use of such repressive laws resulting in the violation of civil liberties and democratic rights demand a broader alliance of secular, left and democratic forces. With this orientation a State Convention is being organized on 25-26 June 2011 at Raipur, on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of declaration of emergency.

WITH no sign of any let up, the world economic crisis that started in mid-2008 in USA in the form of the “sub-prime crisis” and spread to other imperialist countries and to the entire world, is intensifying with more vigor. In relation to the decline of real incomes of the working class and toiling people, which are set forth to contract for the fourth successive year since 2008, the imperialist countries especially US and UK are facing the worst economic scenario since 1870s when capitalism was transforming into imperialism.

Employment situation in imperialist countries, especially USA is gruesome. On an average, an American worker gets only less than 200 days work and the official unemployment rate of 18.4 percent is a record high. The growth rate of US economy, still the largest in the world, which was 2.3 percent in 2010, has been reduced to just 1.8 percent in the first quarter of 2011. During the same quarter last year, the growth rate was 3.1 percent. However the over all growth rate in 2010 was only 2.3 percent, less than the 2.5 percent required to provide employment to the labour force in the country.

On the other hand, the British economy could grow only by 0.5 percent in the first quarter of 2011 and apprehensions are strong there regarding the fact that Britain is already in the grip of a double dip recession. In view of the irreversible crisis that is devastating several countries of Europe ranging from Greece and Spain to Britain, in the third week of June, 2011, the European Union has taken the policy decision to create a European Stability Mechanism with a corpus fund of 700 billion Euros, which will directly flow to the coffers of pan European corporate capital.

Meanwhile, the hope of an imminent global recovery from the

DIMENSIONS OF CONTINUING WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

PJ James

crisis is totally shattered by the latest economic figures released from Britain and USA.

In spite of this deterioration in the living conditions of the people, joblessness and the stagnation in productive sphere, the profits of the financial oligarchs, especially in USA are increasing. This rise in profit is not a sign of real economic recovery as it is not due to any expansion in production and market, but solely due to the deliberate reduction in the wages of workers. According to the data released by US Bureau of Statistics, the index of labour’s share of national income which was 100 in 2005 (base year) has fallen to 95 percent in 2010. On account of lack of profitable investment, the cash holdings of American MNCs had risen to \$1.93 trillion in the third quarter of 2010, indicating a 14 percent growth over the same quarter in 2009. So the present economic trend is not towards a going back to a “pre-crisis situation” as was the case before the advent of finance capital.

For instance, Marx said: “A crisis always forms the starting point of large new investments. Therefore, from the point of view of the society as a whole, more or less, a new material basis for the next turnover cycle.” (Capital, Vol. 11, p 189) This observation of Marx in relation to the recovery and boom phases of cycles that push real capital investment and production to a level far exceeding the pre-crisis situation was applicable to competitive capitalism. Under finance capital, whose major essence is speculation, the nature of crisis itself has changed and it has become more prolonged and severe. On account of growing unemployment and rising inflation, which are concomitants of speculation, the consuming power of the masses is always at a low level compared with the productive capacity of the economy. So unemployment and stagnation continue unabated. Though profits are increasing, they are not ploughed back into production, but redirected to further speculation.

The international manifestations of this continuing crisis are complex. One ingredient of the “stimulus package” offered to big businesses by Obama administration as an imperialist solution to the crisis was the massive injection of dollars into their hands at ultra-low levels of interest. The consequence of this massive flooding of dollars into world currency markets has been the growing lack of confidence in dollars, undermining the role of dollar as international currency and an unprecedented rise in the price of gold followed by large-scale purchase of the yellow metal by several countries. Recently, the price of gold has risen to more than \$ 1500 per ounce.

On the other hand, deterioration in the value of dollar has led to rapid rise in the prices of all items including food. According to Food and Agricultural Organisation, food prices have soared by around 30 percent over the past year, adding to pressures on living standards in the poorer regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By the end of 2010, the number

of hungry people in the world had crossed the 2 billion mark. A corollary of the depreciation of the dollar has been an appreciation of the currencies of several neocolonial countries adversely affecting their exports leading to deindustrialization and stagnation, further driving down the living conditions of workers, peasants and toiling people. Amidst this crisis, corporate capital everywhere is demanding more budget supports, reduction in taxes and imposition of more austerity measures on the broad masses of people including curtailment of subsidies and welfare measures which call for concerted offensives on the part of working class and toiling people against imperialists and their lackeys everywhere.

Rather than being a mere cyclical downturn, the world economic crisis that erupted in 2008 has the potential to unleash several centrifugal forces in the imperialist world economy which may even challenge the special privilege of dollar as the international "vehicle currency", and which may also shake the American hegemony over the Breton Woods institutions, the IMF and the World Bank. One reason for such an eventuality is the unsustainable levels of US debt and balance of payments deficit, which are directly related to the extreme levels of parasitism and decay associated with American financial giants that were the immediate cause behind the sub-prime crisis. The pumping of trillions of dollars into the American financial corporations with a view to revive them is directly leading to world inflation and bubble economy of speculation as American

dollar is still used as the world currency. Several countries led by China, which has the largest export surplus today has questioned the rationality of the dual role of dollar as the currency of crisis-ridden America on the one hand and world currency on the other, and have demanded the creation of a new international currency. The economic superiority of USA that made dollar the international money is fast vanishing. If American economy has been growing at an appropriate rate, this problem would not have become so acute as it is now. Today America is subsisting on the massive inflows of credit from China which has already replaced the former as the world's leading manufacturing country.

WSS CONDEMNS CRACKDOWN ON RAMDEV'S SATYAGRAHA

WOMEN *Against Sexual Violence and State Repression* strongly condemns the midnight crackdown on thousands of people staging a 'Satyagraha' and hunger strike at Ramlila Maidan with Baba Ramdev for demands related to corruption and black money. We are astonished at Mr. Manmohan Singh's defense of police action saying that there was no alternative. The attack on the protesters was absolutely unwarranted as the 'satyagraha' was neither causing any law and order problem nor was it disrupting the peace of the city in any manner.

We are not supporters of Baba Ramdev, but clearly see the role of dissent in upholding a democratic society. We also condemn the secret parleys between the government and Baba Ramdev as both parties are ready to compromise with each other and show no regard for the genuine mounting anger that people are feeling towards corruption and theft by those in power for personal and corporate gains. It is the breakdown of these parleys which prompted the attack on innocent 'satyagrahis'.

We also question BJP and Sangh Parivar's opposition to this act of repression. It is selective and opportunistic; whenever it has suited BJP it has deployed the same means to quash opposition and questioning. In Chhattisgarh, most recently, it is proposing to ban People's Union for Civil Liberties which has been an above board organization espousing the cause of civil liberties since the dark days of emergency leave alone frequent burning of villages, and violent attacks on the villagers. We wish to highlight that such attacks are an everyday occurrence in large areas of Adivasi and Dalit habitats where land is being grabbed to subserve corporate greed. Except that they are more vicious and batons are replaced by automatic rifles, but unfortunately they do not make the headlines though they have rendered millions homeless.

All these developments point to the inherent systemic crisis of the neo-colonial global order built up on the economic, political and military might of US imperialism. As usual, in view of the gloomy prospects ahead, American imperialism has unleashed a new wave of militarization and aggressions in North Africa and West Asia including the replenishment of its military bases in strategic locations of the world, along with the encouragement given to domestic armaments production and their export at the expense of civil production.

The Obama administration is also compelling its European counterparts to substantially increase their outlays to NATO. The US government has entered into new arms deals with several countries including India to give a boost to its "military-industrial complex." It is the solemn task of world proletariat and oppressed peoples to rise up to the occasion by putting an alternative to this decadent order based on a comprehensive ideological political perspective.

PLUNDER OF JAL, JUNGLE, ZAMEEN, MINES: SECRET OF GDP GROWTH

Observer

THE corporate media and comprador economists and intellectuals are celebrating the great growth of GDP in India and it continuing to remain almost at the level of 8-9 % in spite of the latest meltdown in the financial sector starting from 2008 in the imperialist centers. They are attributing it to the economic wizardry of Manmohan Singh and company who initiated the globalization-liberalization-privatization (GLP) regime and opened the economy for capital-market forces. If one dares to penetrate a little, pushing aside the absurd propaganda offensive of these elite propaganda offensives, it is not difficult to realize that apart from the growth in the IT sector, almost all of the GDP growth is taking place through a new form of 'primitive accumulation' by plundering the natural wealth of water, forests, land and mines.

And what is happening in the IT sector is also nothing but a plunder of the skilled human resources through 'out sourcing' by the imperialist centers. What Manmohan Singh and company are doing is a modern day adaptation of what the merchants and the feudal classes did for the British colonialists for their fabulous primitive accumulation in 18-19 centuries. It is nothing but a "sinister and pernicious neo-colonial subservience" by the modern day compradors who promote the interests of corporate-MNC sections by providing facilities for the loot of the natural and human resources the so-called

'economic wonder' is achieved. A glance through the various factors about the extent of this loot will expose the secret of the economic wizardry of these imperialist lackeys who themselves get fattened through this process.

Water

ALL OVER the world, under neo-liberal policies the looting of water is providing the great profits for the MNCs and their local agents. In a way a big water-mafia has emerged at international level engaged in this with their influence spreading to every corner of the earth. India has become one of the biggest centers of this great loot of water. The fabulous profits cornered by the Pepsi-Coco colas and their collaborators during the last two decades will expose this great loot.

In the beginning, helped by the data of this loot in Latin America and Africa a movement was started to oppose the *privatization of water* and its sources. But as usual the NGOs with their great resources took over or hijacked this campaign to dump it later. In the meantime, the government started openly promoting these companies providing legal cover to them with the help of the judiciary which always look the other way round whenever the cases concerning MNCs come up before them.

As a result, these MNCs, many corporate houses and numerous of their collaborators have entered this field which is an area of great plunder developing a grand network of agencies engaged in the 'water business'. Even it has gone to the extent of privatizing stretches of rivers as happened in the case of Sivanath river in Chhattisgarh. Including Delhi, Chennai and other major cities in a big way, the water supply in the cities and towns are getting privatized in with the promotion of World Bank. It is now spreading to rural areas also as in Punjab, Haryana etc. This transformation of water from a socially owned wealth to private property, while boosting the fictitious GDP growth for the promoters of neo-liberal policies, is destroying the ecology in a major way and intensifying the pauperization of the masses in a country where 60% of the villages are not having drinking water facilities still.

Where corporate-MNC projects are coming up like in the mining areas the problem has taken gigantic proportions with most of the water resources in the Adivasi areas coming under the control of these agencies. In a country like Bolivia, in Latin America, it had led to a major struggle to kick out Pepsi and Coco colas, leading to people's upsurges and Morales leading the movement getting elected as president in the national elections. At least in Bolivia and some other Latin American countries like Venezuela the privatization of water is abandoned and water is declared as a common property of the people. Such a great movement is called for in India also where the privatization of water and lack of drinking water for the vast masses are becoming a major problem.

The Great Land Grab

AFTER Western Europe, India is one of the most densely inhabited regions where most of the land is under cultivation. Under neo-liberal raj when numerous corporate-MNC projects, infra structural projects, *Special Economic Zones (SEZs)*, real estates etc are taken up, and when *land has become a commodity* with ever increasing value, a *great land grab* is started all over the country with the powerful land mafia operating on a major scale with the support of the state machinery and *ruling political class*. As a result, millions of families of poor, marginal and middle peasants including adivasis and dalits on a major scale are uprooted from agriculture and their *habitats*. As this land grab has become one of the major factors contributing to the fictitious GDP growth, enforcing the laws continuing from British days and employing the police and para-military forces, and sometimes even military as in certain cases in J and K and Northeast the central and state governments are providing all assistance to it. A glance through the great land grab that is taking place all over the country shall show that it is a multi-trillion scam which is one of the major sources of the black money in the country. The worst losers in the process are the adivasis and dalits who are deprived of their livelihoods and thrown to the slums in the cities or towns. Though the UPA leaders have started talking about a new law to 'regularize' the land take over, the contradictory voices coming from the ruling parties as well as from the opposition parties who are in power in many states create skepticism about its scope and intentions.

Let us first take the case of UP where major land grabbing and recent resistance to it were major news. Continuing and expanding the various projects involving major land grabs taken up by the former state governments, the BSP government during last four years has gone ahead with many projects like the Yamuna Expressway allotted to a private company, JP Infratech Ltd which is given a contract to construct with right to collect tolls for 36 years. Along this 165 kms eight lane super highway a hi-tech city is also planned comprising industrial parks, residential colonies, shopping malls, professional colleges, schools, hospitals etc. This 9500 crore project needs 43,000 hectares of agriculture land of 1191 villages uprooting tens of thousands of families who are entirely dependent on this land for their livelihood. This is besides the Greater NOIDA project adjoining Delhi which is continuously swallowing most of the land in Ghaziabad district for the continuous expansion of housing projects taking place.

Another major public-private partnership project with JP Infratech is Ganga Expressway from NOIDA to Ballia in Eastern UP, 1047 kms long, with Rs. 40,000 crores outlay. It requires more than 10,000 hectare land which will displace more than 5000 villages. Similarly in the name of so many pet projects of Mayavathi large tracts of land are already taken over, many times using force, devastating tens of thousands of families. A major resistance struggle has developed in the state with even middle class and rich peasants joining in it. While the central and state governments and ruling political class is focusing the discussion consciously on compensation and method of its payment only, they are by-passing the cardinal issue of livelihood of the displaced people.

In Haryana, another state bordering Delhi, the land grab for Gurgaon and other urban projects is intensifying day by day. Besides the numerous real estate projects, many MNC-Corporate projects are taken up and now

the proposed nuclear plant in Gorakhpur village of Fatehabad district is eating up tens of thousands of hectares of agricultural land uprooting villages and making thousands of families destitute. During the last few months several districts such as Faridabad, Rohtak, Sonapat, Ambala, Nuh and Fatehabad witnessed prolonged farmers protest movements. While the corporate media is ignoring these movements, state government has deployed huge police forces for forcible eviction of the farmers who are struggling for their existence.

Punjab is witnessing extensive urbanization of the worst sort as corporate forces and NRIs along with land mafias are purchasing land, often using force with the help of state machinery and converting tens of thousands of hectares of prime agricultural land for real estates and different projects. This is one state where a shrinking of land under cultivation has taken place as a result. This has started affecting the agricultural production in the state also.

Chhattisgarh is another state where large scale land grabbing by corporate houses like Jindal, Essar, Vedanta etc and by land mafias is taking place. In this mineral rich state large areas of forest areas are transferred to these agencies by the state bureaucracy as a result most of the IAS officers have become *crorepatis* overnight. In Dantewada and other Bastar districts land grabbing is taking place at a very large scale utilizing the police and para-military forces deployed in the name of suppressing the 'Maoist' forces. In Raigarh district for Jindal power and steel company, in Jangir-Champa for DB Power, in Korba for Sterlite, subsidiary of Vedanta, in Jashpur with 80% of adivasi population for plundering the bauxite, gold, diamond and iron ore deposits

the land grabbing is taking place at extensive scale in almost all districts. In many districts like Rajnandgaon people have successfully resisted and defeated the plan for a 7000 acre SEZ. But nearby areas of Raipur is witnessing large scale land grab for new capital construction and urbanization. All the ruling BJP leaders and bureaucrats along with the land mafias and contractors have become super rich as a result.

Orissa is notorious for land grab from the days of construction of Hirakud project during 1950s. Now hundreds of thousands of acres of forest land, agricultural land and land from sea coast are cornered by with the connivance of notorious BJD government in the name of MNC-corporate projects, mining, tourism development, real estate expansion and numerous schemes. People are resisting this land grabbing in Posco, Kalinganagar, Puri and various other regions practically in all districts of this state with very rich mineral deposits.

This pattern is repeated practically in all districts all over the country. Through the grabbing of agricultural land, extensive areas of forest lands, areas under government control, and the rich mines trillions of Rupees are plundered every year which are contributing to the growth of the GDP in a big way. A large amount of the black money is produced in this manner which is stashed away in foreign banks or deposited in *mutts* or with the so-called *sants*, *babas* and he-gods/she goddesses.

What is taking place is a primitive type of capital accumulation in new forms. Delaying the promulgation of a new land procurement act to prevent all forms of coercive methods, the grabbing of prime agricultural lands and the land of

adivasis and dalits who are totally dependent on the pieces of land belonging to them, and devastating the agricultural workers who lose their livelihood once the agricultural land is taken over for various projects and urbanization, the central and state governments are helping the land mafias of all sorts to corner most of the land using coercive methods. In most of the places using pressure tactics the land is grabbed giving only paltry amounts and the adivasis and dalits are cheated in a big way. As in almost all cases the farmers refuse to sell their land all forms of state repression is used.

The details of the land grabbing should be seen in the context of the looting of the mineral wealth taking place in all the mineral rich districts. In many areas land grabbing especially grabbing of hundreds of thousands of acres of forest land is taking place for opening the mines through which leading corporate houses like Tatas, new comers like Jindals, Essars, Vedantas and mining mafias like the Reddy Brothers of Karnataka are earning billions of Rupees every year, once again helping the finance managers at central and state level to boast that the GDP is growing.

It is nothing but the looting of natural resources including agricultural land in the country which is making a small section fabulously rich while the vast majority of people are pauperized at a faster rate. In present Indian context depriving the agricultural land means loss of their paltry livelihood for almost all the marginal and poor farmers. Besides it make the agricultural workers in the area who are already poverty stricken also unemployed rendering them further impoverished. It is in this context even spontaneously the affected people including women and children are resisting the eviction and many people's upsurges are taking place in different parts of the country sometimes they developing in to even confrontations with the state machinery to protect their land.

Mobilize the people's movements in to nationwide struggle

THE task in front of the revolutionary forces in this context is to concentrate their efforts to bring these movements on which are breaking out in different areas in the country and continuing for years without surrendering to the state in a common platform and transform them in to a mighty upsurge to compel the government to revoke its policies and punish all bureaucrats responsible for land scams. Develop these struggles to establish the right of adivasis over their "jal-jungle-zameen" and the dalits to get the land based on "land to the tiller" slogan, to stop privatization of water and declare all water resources as social property, to throw out all mining mafias and nationalize all mines, to throw out all MNCs, Corporate houses and land mafias.

**From First to Ninth Congress
Nine Decades of the Communist Movement In India**

(In English and Hindi)

K.N. Ramachandran

Contribution : Rs. 25

**C-141, Sainik Nagar
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BAN ALL FORMS OF TRADE IN EDUCATION

*Interview with Professor Anil Sadgopal
by Vivek Kumar, President, AIRSO*

Vivek: How do you view UPA-II government's announcements in the field of education?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: The UPA-II government's frequent announcements in the field of education since June 2009 are characterised by three-fold strategic objectives viz., (a) to test the public mood through media-generated feedback; (b) to prepare the public mind for its central agenda of abdication of its Constitutional obligations leading to privatization and commercialization of education by revealing it only in parts; and (c) to divert the public focus from the emerging people's resistance to its neo-liberal programme of putting Indian education for unabashed sale in the global market as per WTO-GATS dictates.

Let me explain this through an example. In June 2009, just before announcing his much-hyped 100-day agenda, the HRD Minister Kapil Sibal called a press conference and talked at length about how agonised he was due to the increasing reports of student suicides and the rising levels of tension in schools. He recalled his own tension-filled school days and resolved to free the young people from the oppression of overloaded curriculum and the repressive exams. He then proceeded to announce his panacea of making Tenth Board exams *optional*. This announcement, as expected, led to a high decibel media-promoted debate on the pros and cons of this move, especially in the middle class. Parents, students, school principals and teachers, CBSE and state examination board officers and even state education ministers issued statements and engaged in the debate while newspaper editors wrote elaborate editorials.

At the peak of this debate, Sibal steps in with his 100-day agenda and unfolds his 'grand' design of commoditization of education through the farcical Right to Education Bill, the dubious Yash Pal Committee Report, Public-Private Partnership (PPP), foreign universities, foreign direct investment (FDI) and facilitating global market entry into India's education *bazar*. In between, he slips in the issue of making Tenth Board *optional*, while this time also hinting at the possibility of *abolishing* this exam altogether! Yet, the media for the next several weeks remain hooked on to the issue of Tenth Board exam. While interviewing me, the leading TV news channels would insist that I restrict myself to the Tenth Board issue and not state my views on the neo-liberal design of selling India's education to the global market. No one was interested in knowing how Sibal's agenda would raise the cost of education beyond the reach of even the middle class, apart from providing education of questionable quality.

Back to the Tenth Board exam issue. Ironically, Sibal never cared to explain how the making of the Tenth Board exam optional or abolishing it altogether will reduce the tension level of the students. Here are three observations. One, he did not tell the public that his panacea would be

applicable to *less than one-third of the high schools* (i.e. up to Class X) which have senior secondary sections (i.e. Class XI-XII) and where the children would have the option of foregoing the Tenth Board exam and appearing directly at the Twelfth Board. This means that the students of more than two-thirds of high schools would continue to suffer from the proverbial tension Sibal is concerned about as they have no option but to appear in the Tenth Board exam and get the critical certificate for moving forward in life.

Two, Sibal never explained how would the students cope with the tension which they would ultimately have to face at the Twelfth Board exam at probably an enhanced level. Delaying the students' suicide by two years is all what he wished to achieve! Three, the real tension both the students and the parents face is at the level of entrance tests for engineering, medicine and management courses following the Class XII Board exam. On this third issue, Sibal has maintained a careful silence. The media of course merrily went along by ignoring all the three issues.

Thus Sibal succeeded in pushing forward his hidden agenda of diverting public debate on his step-wise escalation of the pace of putting India's education on sale. He almost won the first round. In the process, he also managed to persuade the state education ministers at the CABE meeting to accept the questionable proposal of either abolishing the Class X Board exam altogether or at least making it optional. The CABE decision lay the basis for making it difficult for the majority of the students (mainly *dalits*, tribals, OBCs and muslims, with the majority of them being girls) to pursue higher education or careers,

both requiring Class XII certificate which in turn would not be accessible unless two-thirds of the high schools are upgraded to senior high schools!

Sibal managed to kill *two birds in the bush* with a single stone!!

Vivek: What is your opinion regarding the Right to Education Act?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: Let me pose three questions. Can there be a Fundamental Right to unequal education? Can there be a Fundamental Right to discriminatory education? Can there be a Fundamental Right to substandard education? If your answer to any of these questions is a resounding NO, join our struggle to get this Act repealed and replaced by a new Act rooted in the framework of Common School System wherein all schools from pre-primary stage to Class XII, including private unaided schools, will be genuine neighbourhood schools.

Few realize that the Act is designed to legitimize both multi-layered discriminatory school system and privatization-cum-commercialization of education as per the neo-liberal structural adjustment regime imposed on Indian economy jointly by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). In education, the WB-IMF regime was institutionalized through the flawed District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) of 1990s and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) from the year 2000 onwards. Indeed, the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act (2002), leading to the introduction of Article 21A in Part III, was itself a result of neo-liberal intervention in India's Constitution. It is this Article 21A in which the neo-liberal Right to Education Act is embedded.

The Act fails to guarantee (a) free education; (b) neighbourhood

schools of equitable quality; (c) dignified socio-economic status for school teachers; (d) freedom from *ad-hoc* fee hikes and profiteering by private schools; (e) pre-primary and secondary education; (f) education through the medium of mother tongue as well as proficiency in English language; (g) quality education to the disabled in regular schools; (h) required public funding; and (i) justiciability of Fundamental Right to education.

Clearly, in pushing this Act without holding a single Public Hearing, the Central Government had the following three cynical objectives:

First, abdicating its Constitutional obligation for providing free and compulsory education of equitable quality;

Second, demolishing the government school system, except the schools of specified categories (e.g. Kendriya Vidyalayas, Navodaya Vidyalayas, XI plan's 6,000 model schools and similar elite schools of the State/UT governments); and

Third, increasing the pace of privatization and commercialization of school education through Public-Private Partnership, school vouchers, adoption of government schools by NGOs/ corporate houses and sale/ lease of government school campuses.

Those who argue that let us work within the limited space provided by the Act do not understand either the nature of neo-liberal assault or the nature of the Indian State pushing such anti-Constitutional, anti-people and anti-education provisions in the name of Fundamental Right. The only option for the people is to expose this design and seek its replacement by a pro-people legislation as indicated above in accordance with the Constitution!

Vivek: Can you briefly explain about the Common School System and the possibilities of implementing it in India?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: The Common School System (CSS) envisages a fully publicly funded school system where all schools in the country, including private schools, will be neighbourhood schools (NS) and shall have common i.e. equitable infrastructural, curricular and pedagogic norms and standards. This implies that all schools shall have a neighbourhood specified under law and all families residing in this neighbourhood shall be required to send their children to this school, irrespective of class, caste, religion, gender, language or any kind of disability, physical or mental. It means that the children of MPs, MLAs, ministers, bureaucrats and technocrats, police officers and corporate executives will study and socialize together with those of clerks, industrial labour, hawkers, plumbers and electricians, agricultural labour and other workers of the unorganized sector. This CSS-NS model is the only model known in the world that can guarantee free education of equitable quality to all children without discrimination. No scheme or project (SSA, DPEP or otherwise) can ever substitute for such a systemic transformation.

There are three misconceptions that are being deliberately promoted by the neo-liberal Indian State as well as the private education lobby to discredit CSS-NS. First, this will be a uniform school system with no space for creativity or innovation. Ironically, it is the present school system that is a uniform system rigidly holding on to centralized syllabus, textbooks and examinations. In contrast, the 'commonness' of CSS-NS is rooted in diversity, not disparity. Any system in a plural country like India that ignores diversity will end up promoting discrimination.

Second misconception. It is argued that the fully publicly funded school system will centralize decision making and make the management of schools bureaucratic. This misconception arises out of the colonial legacy wherein government funding was presumed to come along with government management and control. In CSS-NS, the obligation to guarantee adequate funding for schools of equitable quality shall of course lie with the government, central or state. However, this does not mean that the management must be centralized in the government. In Canada and US, the publicly funded CSS-NS is managed through decentralized and relatively autonomous elected School Boards (comprising 40-50 schools) but the entire funding comes from the government. We have Constitutional space for local bodies in both the rural and urban areas which can be assigned the responsibility of decentralized management. Or some other variant can be thought of.

Third misconception. The Kothari Commission Report (1966) or KCR, while advocating CSS-NS, excluded private schools from the system. **This is the result of a misreading of KCR - reading the report out of its historical and economic context.** The period when KCR (Kothari Commission Report) was written, there were only a handful (may be 30-40) of elite public schools (like Doon School) and no more than 4-5 thousand private unaided schools, the majority of them being the church-sponsored schools. Unlike at present, there was no state-supported policy of privatization and commercialization whatsoever. None of the few thousand private unaided schools that existed were profit-making schools either. In short, the neo-liberal economy that provides the basic framework today for commoditizing education did not exist. We may perceive KCR as the last official document of the Nehruvian bourgeois liberal era. Therefore, **any attempt to read KCR for extracting guidelines for building the CSS-NS today shall be both misplaced and misconceived. The CSS-NSS in this neo-liberal economy can not succeed if trade in education is promoted simultaneously by the State and private elite schools continue to be protected, despite their profit-seeking character.**

You want to know whether CSS-NS can be implemented. **It can be implemented only through an uncompromising legislation and a resolute political will embedded in public consciousness of equality (not the neo-liberal notion of inclusion!) as the guiding principle of educational planning.** For achieving this goal, the political challenge is to build a people's movement to compel the State to undertake a systemic transformation from the present multi-layered school system to CSS-NS. None of the advanced countries in the world, including the G-8 countries, have reached where they are without practicing a CSS-NS in one form or another. Let me quickly add that this does not mean that India's CSS-NS will be a poor carbon copy of the western model. **Our CSS-NS will succeed only if it emerges by critically engaging with our plural traditions and understanding of the role of education in building a socialist, democratic, secular, egalitarian and enlightened society.**

Let us recognize that CSS-NS is not a luxury that we can ill-afford, as some neo-liberal intellectuals may claim. **It is the only historical option that we have for guaranteeing universal education of equitable quality to all - a Constitutional mandate and a Fundamental Right.**

The government may tell us that we don't have the necessary resources for CSS-NS. There can be no greater farce than this for a country whose GDP is about Rs. 65 lakh crore and is likely to rise at the rate of 7.5

to 8.0 % this year despite global economic recession. **If there is a lack of resources, how did the central government find resources for the ten-day *tamasha* called Commonwealth Games 2010 costing almost Rs. 1.5 lakh crore to the public exchequer. Clearly, it is a question of priorities, rather than of lack of resources!**

Vivek: Is it possible for the state governments to implement the Common School System?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: The above analysis shows that the decision to move towards CSS-NS has to be a national policy decision and resetting of national political and economic priorities. It would be foolhardy to think of undertaking this political transformation at a state level or any other local/regional level. This is one of the chief reasons why the Bihar State Common School System Commission Report (2007) was a non-starter, though the myopic state government led by CM Nitish Kumar lost an opportunity to use the report to build a national debate. Given the federal polity in India, the idea of CSS-NS is theoretically untenable at the state or local/regional level but immensely feasible at the national level!

Vivek: The Kothari Commission Report (1966) recommended the spending of 6% of GDP in the field of education. The 1986 policy resolved to implement this recommendation. Several political parties also endorsed the recommendation. However, this has never been put into practice, irrespective of the dispensation at the centre. Would you throw more light on the subject?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: There is some confusion on this matter of 6% of GDP as public expenditure on education. **What Kothari Commission Report (1966) or KCR said was that, starting from 1966,**

the educational expenditure should be increased such that it reaches the level of 6% of GDP by 1986 and then be maintained at that level. The expenditure growth rate during 1966-86 was much lower than estimated by KCR and in 1986 we were spending only 3.5% of GDP. As a result of the progressive teachers' and student movement in the wake of the 1986 policy, the expenditure rose to 4% of GDP by 1990. However, due to WB-IMF structural adjustment regime, the Indian State started steadily decreasing budget allocations year after year, thereby leading to a fall to the level of 3.5% of GDP again by the middle of this decade (the rise of 0.2% of GDP since 2006-07 is for the benefit of the elite and the middle classes which we won't discuss here due to lack of space). This means that each year, from 1986 onwards, there has been a gap of roughly 2.5% of GDP, resulting in a rising cumulative gap of investment in education. **Therefore, the rhetoric of 6% of GDP diverts attention from the cumulative gap which needs to be filled up before 6% of GDP will make sense as a maintenance level.** A Govt. of India report in December 2005 attempted to estimate this gap and suggested that we may need to raise the investment above 10% of GDP for 8-10 years and then gradually settle down to 6% of GDP.

We should also note that the KCR estimates did not take into account three critical issues: i) universal pre-primary education within schools; ii) education of the disabled in regular school and college classrooms; and iii) Fundamental Right to education of equitable quality from pre-primary to Class XII and Right to equal opportunity in higher and technical education. Inclusion of these three factors in computing the required educational expenditure will have major implications for

economic priorities of national economy. This is why questioning the spending of Rs. 1.5 lakh crores on Commonwealth Games 2010 and all other such non-priority expenditures incurred for the benefit of the ruling classes and global market is a matter of urgent political significance!

Vivek: What is your critique of UPA's initiatives like the 'centers of excellence', 'FDI in Higher Education', 'allowing the entry of Foreign Universities' etc. in the higher education sector?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: If you want to improve the quality of higher (including technical) education, you must have a broad all encompassing base of reasonable quality institutions accessible to all those who wish to pursue higher studies. Access under India's Constitution implies access without any discrimination whatsoever due to a person's class, caste, religious, language, gender and geographical background or disability, physical or mental. **This means that the priority agenda for the government is to overhaul the entire present system of 500 odd universities and about 22,000 colleges plus significantly increase its outreach.** This can't obviously be done at the cost of quality. Therefore it requires a major increase in allocation of public resources - may be by a factor of several folds in the near future. The minimum target for the XI Plan should have been to have 30% of the relevant age group population in higher and technical education and then increase it to 40-45% by XII Plan. The 'centers of excellence' would then have emerged organically from this broad base which provides equal opportunity for creative participation to the entire genetic pool, rather than restricting the access to the elites and the upper middle classes. Instead of moving in this direction, the government is diverting our attention to a handful of central or foreign universities to be introduced through PPP and FDI.

Anyone who has knowledge of eminent universities in the west knows that these have emerged through decades of building rich intellectual traditions and not by transplanting a foreign university from one locale to another locale. The Yashpal Committee, while recognizing this historical fact, has contradicted itself by welcoming the so-called world-class universities. We all know that only second rate or third rate foreign universities will set up colleges or self-financing courses in India. This will be with the sole objective of making quick profits or extending the vested interests of some powerful corporate lobbies (e.g. Bt Brinjal lobby). All this neo-liberal patchwork by the UPA government must be halted forthwith. Instead, it should be replaced by a conscious policy of providing liberal financial, academic and technical support, as well as the necessary academic freedom and leadership, to the Indian universities and colleges **to let them gradually build their own intellectual traditions and emerge into 'centers of excellence' through an organic process.** We have lost 62 years by wrong policies. Let us compel the government to start on a radical but obvious path of reconstruction before it is too late!

Vivek: At this crucial juncture, the neo-liberal assault on education is gradually increasing day by day. In this situation what is the role of the progressive student movement in fighting against this?

Prof. Anil Sadgopal: First, a progressive student movement must undertake a critical assessment of the present status of education at all levels (from pre-primary to higher education) and the trends of change therein.

Second, the above assessment should be subjected to analysis in the historical context of the neo-liberal stage of capitalism with a view to

work out feasible strategies to move forward. The objective has to be to unite all other progressive forces in order to wage a united struggle for reconstructing the education system for recovering the India of our dreams.

Third, make the masses aware of what you have learnt in order to mobilize them for socio-political action. Also, join and support the initiatives that are currently underway, even if one finds that there are some ideological lacunae or differences. These issues would be resolved in the process of working together as long as the basic premises are shared.

This is why I would appeal to a progressive movement like AIRSO to closely work with All India Forum for Right to Education (AIF-RTE). We need to explain to the people to understand the nature of the neo-liberal assault on the nation's education system (and other resources as well) and struggle for reversal of the policies adopted during the past 20 years since the formal declaration of globalization. We need to boldly place the agenda of "free education of equitable quality from KG to PG" before the nation. This will include the agenda of building a fully public funded Common School System based on Neighbourhood Schools from pre-

primary to Class XII along with a call for complete ban on all forms of trade in education, including Foreign Universities and FDI and withdrawal of the offer of higher education from the WTO-GATS framework. Let this be the beginning of a dialogue among various progressive forces on the kind of education policy that we need for rebuilding India.

(Prof. Anil Sadgopal is Member, Presidium All India Forum for Right to Education (AIF-RTE) & Former Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Delhi)

MF HUSAIN: A TRIBUTE

MF HUSAIN, "the Picasso of India" died in London on the 9th of last month. His death brings a close to one of the sorriest chapters in India's secular history. He lived in Dubai and London after being forced to leave India, in 2006. It is a shame that an artist of Husain's calibre and stature was compelled even to think of opting for another citizenship.

He was an artist genuinely and deeply committed to the composite, multi-religious values of Indian civilisation. But, the "Hindu" fundamentalists and chauvinists successfully carried out a vicious campaign of harassment against him citing his artistic depiction of Hindu deities. (RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat's "advise" that the "artists and writers should learn to speak with a full understanding of the community in which one's expressions are received" was the words of Fascism.) Husain's house was attacked by Hindu groups like Bajrang Dal and art works were vandalised. The "secular" Government of India did nothing to protect the inalienable rights of MF Husain. All of us who call ourselves "progressives", failed to uphold the rights of MF Hussain during all these years of his forced exile, in the way it should have been done. The whole narrative of his exile revolves round the issues of freedom of expression and creativity and the responsibility of a so-called secular government in this respect.

The Hindu fundamentalists were not alone in attacking the secular artistic creations of MF Husain. His film *Meenaxi: A Tale of Three Cities* attracted

controversy and was pulled out of movie theatres after the arguments of some Muslim organisations like All India Muslim Council and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, that one of the songs in the film contained words directly taken from the Holy Quran. It was the Congress men who found fault in him for his painting of Indira as Durga during the emergency. Again, they found fault in him when he had done a painting on the murder of Safdar Hashmi by Congress goondas.

To say something on the works of a major contemporary Indian artist, we must consider issues relating to the particularity of India. In India the pre-modern, the modern, and the post-modern are all co-existent. The meanings of these categories transcend their limited routine sense. Husain's creative works express all these particularities of India in its minutest details. MF Husain with his secular heart and nomadic eye walked barefooted through out India and created paintings and films with the spirit of progress, and tolerance. We mourn the loss of an iconic painter, a true genius, a wonderful human being. ●

Vijaykumar

INQUILAB

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UP: LIBERATION ACTIVISTS JOIN CPI(ML)

AT THE culmination of ideological-political discussions continuing for many months, the comrades who were working for more than a decade with CPI(ML) Liberation and leading the organization and struggles in Sitapur, Barabanki, Lakhimpur Kheri, Shahajahanpur and Baraich districts, north of Lucknow, have merged with CPI(ML) and decided to work under its ideological-political line and organizational leadership. This decision was declared in a Convention at Sitapur on 14th June 2011 attended by more than 300 party members, and members of various mass organizations. It was preceded by a rally of the party members and members of the mass organizations.

Addressing the Convention, com. Brij Bihari, who was working as the secretary of the core committee which was leading the comrades who had left Liberation about three years back, stated that following the adoption of an amendment in its Programme that “peaceful capture of political power is also possible” in the ‘party congress’ in 2007, and due to the reformist policies being pursued by the leadership had led to erosion of mass base in the former struggle areas. In the present circumstances, when imperialism, especially US imperialism, and its compradors and running dogs are intensifying neo colonial plunder through various means and indulging in barbaric aggressions as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and elsewhere, speaking about peaceful transition amounts to nothing but a repetition of the CPI and CPI (M) lines. As a result, all over the country, especially in UP, a large number of comrades have left Liberation. The declaration that all the comrades of these districts are merging in and shall work in CPI (ML) was received with enthusiastic applause and revolutionary slogans.

The meeting was addressed by com. KN Ramachandran, general secretary, and com. Satpal Singh, president, AIKKS, welcoming the comrades’ decision. Com. KN explained the present international and national situation which is becoming increasingly favorable to revolutionary forces once again, in spite of the intensifying neo-colonisation and increasing attacks by US- led imperialist forces. The people’s uprisings in North African and West Asian countries on the one hand, and the numerous people’s resistance struggles in the country indicate this change. What is required in this situation is the growing unity of the communist forces and reorganization of the Party fighting the right opportunist and sectarian trends. While ICOR is a step in the direction of reorganization of the Communist International, the Ninth Party

Congress being held at Bhubaneswar is another important step towards developing the ideological-political line and reorganization of the Party. Com. KN explained that the merger of comrades from these districts shall create conditions for the revolutionary forces to take initiative to forge ahead in the Hindi region.

Following the merger, the State Committee was constituted with com. Mona Sur continuing as the state secretary in the meeting of leading comrades including the members of the existing committee from Kanpur, Unnao and Hardoi and leading comrades who have merged with the Party. The SC decided to take up the Party organizational work vigorously, so that the Party activities can be developed fast and the Party Congress can be made a great success. While strengthening the existing class and mass organizations including the TUCI committee, it was decided to form state level committees of AIRWO, AIRSO, and AIKKS by convening state level conferences soon.

The meeting decided to launch a campaign against corruption and price rise starting with a Convention in Hardoi district and culminating with a rally at Lucknow on 9th August, the anti-imperialist day. Meanwhile the agitation against displacement of the farmers shall be continued with full vigor joining hands with all struggling forces. Following the merger of Liberation members from Punjab, Tamilnadu, AP and Gujarat during the last two years, the merger of such a large number of its members and leaders of class and mass organizations in UP will strengthen the Party reorganization.

MANIPUR: CAMPAIGN ON PEOPLE'S ISSUES

THE CPI in Manipur is part of the government led by Congress and no more supported by the masses because they have also become as corrupt as the Congress. They have defamed and distorted the fundamentals of communist ideology. They do not work for the weaker sections of the society. Its leaders have become crore-patis by doing contracts of the government and also they formed various anti-social groups for threatening even CPI(ML) comrades. While state terror is rampant, the numerous insurgent groups, most of them propped up by the military and RAW,

along with Congress and CPI goons have made democratic functioning very difficult.

In this situation, for taking up the burning issues of Manipur, the CPI(ML) state committee has started a campaign. An organisation called "Manipur People's Struggle Committee" is formed to fight against corruption, Human Rights violations etc. and burning issues of Manipur. "Manipur People Struggle Committee" as mass organization shall launch a campaign against these forces.

ABHUJMAD TRIBALS OPPOSE ARMY BASE

THE TRIBALS of Abhujmad region of Narayanpur district in Chhattisgarh came to district headquarters on 20th June to submit a memorandum addressed to President of India, opposing deployment of Army in the area. Led by Chamru Ram, hundreds of tribals from different parts of Abujhmad handed over the memorandum to District Collector LS Kain. During discussion they raised the issue for easy access to public distribution system (PDS), as presently the distribution points are too far and they have to travel 40-50 kilometres for acquiring the food-grains. The four-point memorandum addressed to President of India raised various issues like providing information on land acquisitions carried out in 150 square kilometres, Para Military Force CRPF not vacating the school premises even after Apex Court order, unavailability of teachers in schools, failure of PDS system for monthly ration and no doctors and paramedical staff at hospitals.

Bisel Ram Nag, Zila Panchayat President, said that the deployment of army in the Abhujmad region will disturb the custom and culture of the tribals and their livelihood. "We are totally depending on forest products and firewood, how can we be able to manage the daily affairs once the army is deployed and military camp is established. The most important factor the tribals of the area is that they are afraid that their land will be acquired by the government." He adds, "We are here with the village heads, sarpanchs and other prominent people to submit the memorandum opposing the army in the Abhujmad region." Bijja Ram a resident of Abhujmad said, "For the last many days we are listening that the army will be coming here, this will make our life more miserable. The starting of the army training camp in the Abhujmad region was strongly opposed by CPI (M-L) Chhattisgarh State Committee in a press statement issued after its meeting on 1st June. It has decided to campaign against it.

KARNATAKA: STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION IN REHABILITATION

SINCE September 2009 lakhs of people from 15 districts of state are living on footpath who lost their houses and livelihood due to severe flood. Still they are not rehabilitated. They are fighting against state government which failed to provide them with proper shelter. There is rampant corruption in construction of houses meant for poor. Chief Minister BS Yadiyurappa leading BJP government is busy in purchasing of MLAs for his survival. State government could not utilize fund allotted by central government. Only 30% of houses are constructed which is advertised as a great achievement of BJP Government. Congress and JD(S) leaders are also colluding with contractors and not raising this issue.

Karnataka Raita Sangha (affiliated to AIKKS) Raichur district committee is struggling against corruption in construction of houses and for complete rehabilitation of people. Struggle is still continuing.

Koppal district committees of TUCI and KRS have started struggle on this issue. On 25th May a demonstration was held demanding reconstruction of 425 houses in Naregal village, which were constructed by Wipro Company contractor, Ascent Builders Co. which has many criminal cases against them. DC and other officials tried to break the struggle. Chief Minister Yadiyurappa was gheraoed on this issue. The police arrested 300 comrades and abused the women. They were released only in the evening. Due to vigorous resistance of people Yadiyurappa had to cut short his program and to leave the town. TUCI leaders com. DH Pujar, com. KB Gonal, Basavaraj Naregal and AIRSO and AIRWO leaders led this struggle.



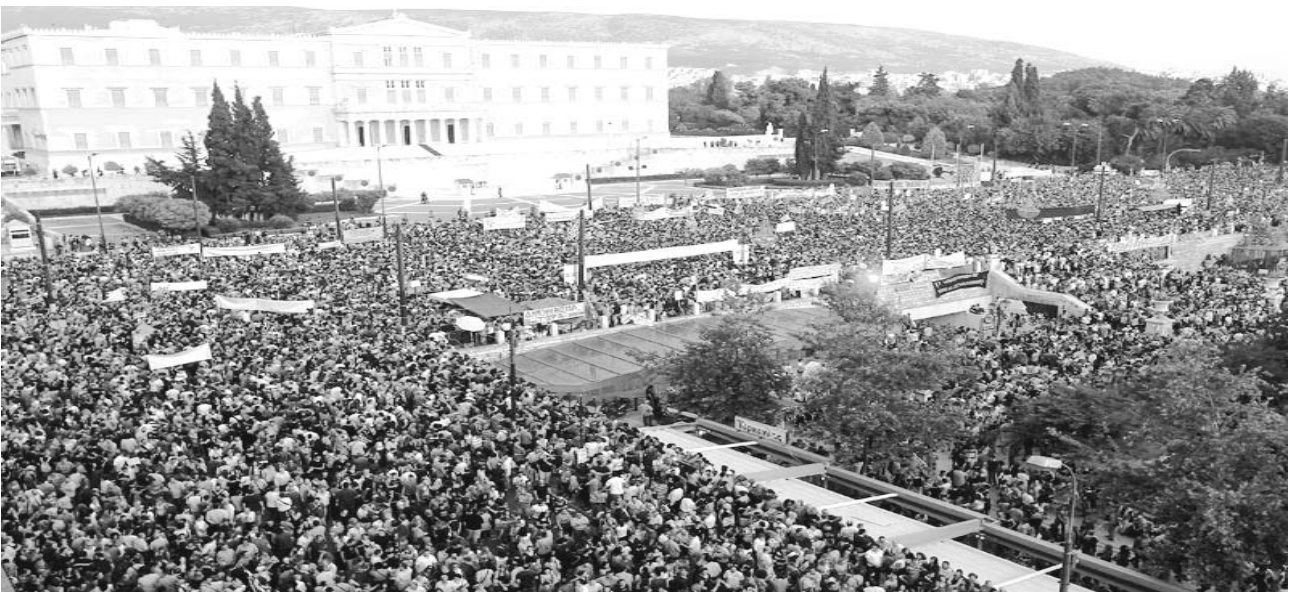
GREECE: DOWN WITH BLOODY IMF-EU PAPANDREOU "GOVERNMENT" !

HUNDREDS of thousands of people (from 300000 to 500000 according to various estimations) took part in Athens on 5 June, for more than 6 hours, in one of the most impressive popular protests of the last 20 years. A human sea covered the whole center of the Greek capital; in Constitution square, in front of the Parliament, the crowd was so dense that for several hours it was practically impossible to walk. The police vainly tried to block the of the people to the center of the city at several points.

The political establishment and its supporters in the mainstream Media have panicked by the massive participation and the resolute stand of the people, who were united by the slogan: "We will not quit until this government goes and until the IMF-EU-ECB troika is thrown away"! Dozens of thousands occupied the central squares of 35 more cities all over Greece. This time the Media did not attempt to ridiculously underestimate the popular participation, as they did 10 days ago (the most blatant case was the pro-government private TV channel "Mega", which was obliged last week to block the access to its own website as, within a few hours, more than 50,000 visitors posted their not so kind comments about the way this TV channel covers the protest). The same evening, the Popular Assembly at the Constitution square adopted a resolution calling for the blockade of the Parliament starting on 14 June, the day that the government plans to present to the MPs the new Agreement with the

troika, including the selling-out (in the form of "guarantee" for the external debt) of all the public property. In the same resolution, the Popular Assembly calls for a general strike, while it invites the people of Athens to continue the daily presence in Constitution square and marks 12 June as another day of national protest.

We are today completing two weeks of continuous, daily protest, despite the establishment's propaganda and calumny. Each day, step by step, the popular demand strengthens: Real democracy, smash the political system, overthrow the government, the troika and the Agreement! Each day, the fear is more and more changing sides, going to the opposite camp. The people are smiling, and the corrupt and sold-out political system feels the popular rage: Last week, several MPs of the government party were obliged to escape from the Parliament building through the National Garden, in the darkness. Other MPs and EU officials, which were spotted by the people having dinner by the sea in the island of Corfu, were obliged to escape the location using small boats. On several occasions, ministers, government MPs, as well as the government spokesman, have been besieged by the angry masses. Nowadays, the whole establishment's representatives avoid appearing in public. The Greek people are more and more united in their resolution to impose real democracy, and to punish all those who trampled the popular sovereignty and the national independence.



Statemnet of Communist Organization of Greece (KOE)

LET'S RISE UP AND MAKE THEM GO!

EVERYONE OUT! FLOOD THE SQUARES!

THE MOMENT is critical for the course of the country. The popular sea that covered 29th May evening the Constitution square in Athens, as well as the similarly unprecedented meetings in dozens of cities all over Greece, mark the entry into a new phase. The movement that was born on 25 May, out of parties and trade unions, is a most important development. The people invade impulsively the scene and make the first steps towards a **big social, democratic and national uprising**. Such an uprising is a necessary precondition in order that our people succeeds to impose a real change; in order that a popular transition takes place, which will bring the hope and the smile in our society; in order that those policies and those politicians who governed during decades and brought the destruction will never return.

The government, the IMF-EU-ECB troika, the pro-Agreement parties, the corrupt and bankrupt political system, the pro-establishment Media persons, must now listen to the voice of the popular indignation: **Enough is enough! It's time that they go!**

During a whole year, the establishment's politicians, the bankers and the foreign creditors are intriguing, mocking and terrorizing, pushing the working people to the cliff of poverty and unemployment, condemning the youth in fear and depression. Do they still think that they can continue undisturbed their destructive policies? One year ago, the Parliament voted in favor of the Agreement with the IMF-EU-ECB troika, violating the Constitution. Today the sacrifices demanded by the people are unbearable, and they keep asking for more. They bring the masses in the limits of survival, and they prepare the bankruptcy.

Since one year the government, the troika, their political system and their Media have imposed the transformation of Greece into a "third-world country". The Agreement transformed Greece into a rubbish dump, filled with unemployment, poverty and social deadlock. Within a few months, we lived a huge regression. The government of Papandreou/PASOK sacrifices the soil and the blood of Greece. This government is politically, morally, nationally and legally liable and guilty. The destruction that keeps taking place is unprecedented. In the past, plundering and social barbarity of similar level took place only during wars and during the Nazi Occupation. The "prime minister" Papandreou is consciously

perpetrating crimes; he must not remain in power anymore!

The movement of 25 May broke out and demands **real democracy**. This is a rightful and timely demand, because in our country, as all over Europe, it is the "markets" and the banks that are in power, and not the peoples. At the same time, the troika tramples the dignity and the Constitution of our country, trying to impose in the most arrogant way a forced consensus of the political parties.

The Greek people produced in the squares a stirring statement to the "government", the troika and their lackeys: Not only we do not consent with you, but **we do not recognize you, we do not consider you legitimate, we ask you to leave**. 29th May declaration of the popular assembly of the Constitution square, that "**We shall not leave until you leave**", has transformed the squares of the whole country into bastions of democracy, hope, participation and solidarity. This struggle must not end until it sends to the history's dustbin the political system of bankruptcy and corruption!

These critical moments, the Communist Organization of Greece addresses an appeal to the whole membership and to the friends of KOE: Comrades! Offer your best in this unique popular outbreak! Work hard in order to make it even more massive and resolute! Play your role so that new hundreds of thousands and even millions of people flood the squares and the streets of the country! Fight in order to drive out the responsables and to achieve a better future!

The Communist Organization of Greece also addresses an appeal to the whole Left: The best service that the whole Left may offer today is to get, at last, out of the frame of this political system, and to not be afraid to contribute to its overthrow! Moreover, the Left must respect the independent popular movement, and to not try anxiously to impose this or the other particular analysis on the people. Until today, the independent, resolute and democratic nature of this great movement secures its mass character, and makes it a genuine expression of the popular will.

We live important moments! Feeling the strength of the dozens and hundreds of thousands of people who occupy each and every day the squares of the country, let's give all our forces for a big change!

Throw away the government, the troika and the Agreement!

Overthrow the political system of bankruptcy and corruption!

Real Democracy, NOW!

Athens, 30 May 2011

BRITAIN SET TO GO ON STRIKE

COME 30th June and the public sector workers in UK will strike work to express their strong opposition to the Cameron's government's plans to privatise the public sector services. This is likely to be followed by a much bigger role-on strike in August. The strike will roll on from one sector to another. The strike follows the biggest demonstration in 10 years in London on 26th March 2011 when an estimated 500,000 people marching through the streets of London against the austerity measures being initiated by the government in the form of cutting unemployment/disability benefits and cuts in public services. This was preceded by massive protests by students in November 2010 against the university fee rises.

The strike on 30th is against the decision to raise pension contribution of the public sector workers by an average of 3.2 percentage points increase the retirement age to 66 and move to a career average scheme to replace the final salary version in existence currently. The workers feel this is an additional tax on public sector workers, as additional contributions is a de facto pay cut - used to reduce deficit rather than to fund pensions. This also comes in the background of government having already unilaterally cut around 15% off the value of public sector pension by changing its indexation from RPI (Retail Price Index) to CPI (Consumer Price Index).

The strikes will begin with one-day co-ordinated

walkout at the end of this month by unions representing about 750,000 public sector workers, the majority of them either teachers or civil servants.

The strike is already being compared to the general strike of 1928 in its coverage. The comparison is not unwarranted as the anger of the working people of the Great Britain against the government is growing by the day. The demolition of the welfare state structure started by Thatcherite reforms of the 1980s had not reduced the availability of the free or concessional housing to a great extent but other aspects of the welfare state were still there. Now Cameron plans to privatise the free National Health Services, private pensions, and so on.

Affected people are raring to go at the government like the people of Spain and Greece. This was seen in the student struggle in last November when they went on a rampage in London and huge turnout in the March demonstration.

The cuts in public services are necessary to save the country from debt is not convincing to the people as they can see the bank and corporation bosses have increased their earnings even in these bad times. People are realising that the housing market collapse and huge debt is being used as an excuse to push forward the ideology of the free market and take away from the working classes the many rights they have earned through decades of struggle. ●

Student's Protest Against Autocratic Mangament of TIT

Technocrats Institute of Technology, Bhopal, MP, faced the anger of students due to arbitrary fine collection and autocracy of management. It was told that if student does not pay the total amount of Rs. 1475 [Rs. 975 (annual magazine, annual function, etc.) and Rs. 500] their form will not be forwarded. Against this autocratic attitude all the students unitedly agitated, compelling the management to change its stand. Com. Vivek, president of AIRSO led the struggle.



DIVERTING THE ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT

THE 36th Anniversary of the declaration of the internal emergency in 1975 was observed when many parts of the country is already in a state of undeclared emergency with military, police-paramilitary and other oppressive forces engaged in the name of suppressing insurgency, terrorism or Maoist threat. But this question did not come up for a major discussion in the corporate media or by the ruling party leaderships because most of the month witnessed a series of anti-corruption campaigns, first by Hazare and then by Ram Dev. Only when those who had come for Ram Dev's fast were beaten up by police in the midnight there were mentions about emergency days.

When corruption at all levels has become rampant and intensifying, and when trillions of Rupees are stashed away in foreign banks by corporate houses, bureaucrats, ruling political party leaderships, and mafias of all sorts, anybody coming out in protest demanding the confiscation of this stashed away trillions is a positive thing. That is why all these protest actions whether it is led by *civil society groups* or Babas, they get so much public support. This anger against scams and scamsters are going to further increase in coming days as it along with price rise are turning the life of the masses in to a nightmare.

As the movement is now focused on the speedy adoption of the *Lokpal bill*, which consecutive governments have postponed, the Congress government is engaged in an exercise to postpone it as much as possible and to dilute it by keeping the prime minister out of its purview. The whole debate with Anna's team centered on this. Finally the ball is put in the parliament to scuttle it and dilute it as much as possible like the *women's reservation bill*.

Of course the UPA leaders are fully aware that even if this *Lokpal bill* with stringent provisions is adopted, there are already well established methods to make it also another corrupt institution as all state apparatus including the judiciary is made corrupt. In spite of it, whatever is taking place is part of a well-orchestrated game to hoodwink the masses. All those who want this corrupt and reactionary system to continue are engaged in a major effort to reduce the whole question of corruption to *Lokpal* issue, when it is this very ruling system which is responsible for the ever intensifying corruption. Even then the UPA is trying to prevent inclusion of the prime minister in its purview, since they want to protect the big fish even when *2G Spectrum* like cases come up by arresting few junior ministers and assistants of the corporates .

This is a time when the people will have to come out in the open and react against the corrupt rulers as they did in Tunisia and Egypt and trying to do elsewhere. What is required is direct action to expose and punish the scamsters and to make the government responsible for it.

ON BREAKING UP OF RAMDEV'S FAST

THE way the Delhi police broke up the fast of Ram Dev at Ramlila Maidan just after midnight on the orders of the central government is most reprehensible. The government had known about the details of the fast from the time the matter was initially announced and the Maidan was booked for a month. It had held discussions with him at the highest level. And the government very well knew the antecedents of him. So the way his fast is broken up resorting to lathi charge and tear gas shelling smack of the fascist tendencies of Congress, which it has proved many times, and of the government led by it.

CPI(ML) has expressed its strong criticism of religious leaders dabbling in politics and about the godmen and godwomen acting like the foreign banks for helping the scamsters to stash away their loot. But how could the Congress leaders preach about the criminal record of Babas like Ram Dev when from the time of Indira Gandhi they had helped them to prosper and to dabble in politics?

So, if they found Ram Dev unacceptable now, it is because they do not want to take any effective action against the scams and scamsters eating in to the vitals of the country. As proved in the *2G Spectrum* case, they want to save the main sharks responsible for it including the prime minister, the senior bureaucrats and the corporate giants like Ratan Tata and Ambanis, by imprisoning small fries. They are afraid of the growing anger among the people against unprecedented corruption and price rise which is encouraging Anna Hazares and Ram Devs to put on the mantle of saviors. It is because the govt. has many things to hide all on a sudden it has turned against Ram Dev and broke up his fast in a criminal way.

CPI(ML) appeals to all democratic forces to severely condemn fascist move of the government and to launch concerted struggles to expose this govt. of the scamsters with the demand to arrest all scamsters and confiscate all the black money stashed away in foreign banks and with maths and babas. ●

05 June 2011

CPI(ML)

RIGHT TO UNIONISE UNDER ATTACK !

THE strike at Maruti Suzuki in the plant at Manesar points to a certain lesson. The ruling classes are hell-bent upon taking back the right to unionise. It is no coincidence therefore that most of the major strikes in recent years have all revolved around this most basic right of the working class.

The strike of the pilots in Jet Airways some years back was because the management refused to recognise the union and immediately dismissed four of the union leaders without any hearing, or even notice, merely for having formed a union. The strike in late 2009 in the plant in Ricoh was for the right of workers designated as contract workers to form a union. The strikes of Air India engineers, last year, after the Mangalore air crash was for the right of the union to address the press. The strike of the Air India pilots this year was met with immediate de-recognition of the union. Finally, the strike of the workers in Maruti is merely for the right to form a union.

Though the Trade Union Act was passed in Britain in 1871, the right to form unions was not extended to workers in India till 1926. The act of 1926 may be said to be due to the effect of the formation of the ILO, which was itself set up as a reaction to the Great October Revolution in Russia. The ILO includes the Right to Freedom of Association, which includes the right to form or join a union of your choice, in what are called the "core labour standards". This right is included in the Constitution of the ILO and in the Philadelphia Convention of 1944 which was incorporated into it. ILO convention no 87 of 1948 again asserts this right. Further, in 1949, convention 98 was adopted which guarantees the right to collective bargaining. The right to form or join any trade union was asserted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations. India is a signatory to all these conventions and has further ratified convention 87 and 98 as required. Even otherwise, being "core labour standards", the ILO examines complaints of violation of these conventions even in respect of countries where they have not been ratified. This means that they are binding on all, irrespective of ratification.

Our Constitution enacted article 19(1) (c) which laid down the fundamental right to form unions of your choice, in 1950, following on the above conventions and "democratic norms" accepted all over the world. In 1955, the Indian Labour Conference, in a tripartite meeting adopted the "Code of Discipline" which also asserts the right to form unions of your choice and also enjoins upon the management to

recognise a union if it represents a substantial number of workers of a certain category.

In spite of all this, the percentage of workers in our country organised into trade unions is on the decline. Today, almost a hundred years after the passing of the Trade Unions Act in 1926, managements are still able to dictate such crass and undemocratic demands like the one they are making of the workers at Manesar. The management is saying that we will not recognise or allow the Maruti Suzuki Employees Union which is affiliated to AITUC but insist on a unaffiliated internal union. This is akin to the workers telling the management that we insist that you must have no collaboration with any other company but must have an unaffiliated internal management. This is totally unacceptable and flies in the face of the very democratic right to unionise. It is even more shameful that the Haryana Government has chosen to back the management and has obliged them by using emergency provisions to prohibit the strike.

This shows that in the present phase of globalisation, especially in times of global economic crisis (which are going to be a common phenomenon), international capitalism is trying to roll back even the basic bourgeois democratic rights which were put in place during the transformation from colonialism to neo-colonialism. The bourgeois democratic rights which were conceded to the workers, as a result of the massive struggles of the working class and the toiling masses all over the world and also because these rights were necessary to set up an open global labour market, are now being sought to be retracted one by one. We can already see that the right to strike is under attack, the right to social security is being pushed out of the canvas and now the most basic right, the right to form unions is also being critically undermined.

The working class has to close ranks and come together to fight such fascist attacks.

Sanjay Singhvi, General Secretary, TUCI

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

**Documents Adopted by the All India Special
Conference of the CPI(ML) in 2009**

In Hindi and English

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OBSERVE ALL INDIA MARTYRS DAY ON JULY 28

IT WAS on July 28 in 1972 comrade Charu Majumdar, the founder leader and first general secretary of CPI(ML) became martyr at Lal Bazar police headquarters of Kolkata, where he was subjected to continuous questioning and torture after his arrest a week back. Along with him thousands of comrades all over the country including many of the leading comrades from different parts of the country who came forward in the course of the struggle against revisionism of CPI and neo-revisionism of CPI(M) and inspired by the Naxalbari uprising, to complete the People's Democratic Revolution, have laid down their lives during many glorious struggles and under brutal state repression.

In the beginning of the 1980s when the Communist Revolutionary forces initiated the reorganization of the party, evaluating the past experience and trying to develop the ideological-political line based on concrete analysis of the present international and national situation, it was decided that the day of martyrdom of comrade Charu Majumdar shall be observed as the *All India Martyrs Day*, in memory of all comrades who have laid down their lives for national liberation and social revolution from the days of imperialist aggression against our country.

From the days the Portuguese ships reached Kozhikode in 1498, which marked the beginning of the western imperialist powers' colonization of the country, countless patriots have laid down their lives to resist the colonial domination. During British colonialists' efforts to transform this country into their colony and after British crown took over India as its colony in 1857, in the glorious anti-British struggles, starting with the saga of the struggles of the adivasis of Jharkhand and central and South India, during the numerous anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles, tens of thousands of comrades struggling for the rights of the people and liberation of the country have sacrificed their lives. Many millions of people have faced bitter sufferings and years in jails during this period. Fighters of the 1857 First War of Independence, comrades like Bhagat Singh of different revolutionary streams, the working class, the oppressed peoples and the peasantry in the anti-feudal struggles led by the Communist movement, the fighters of the INA under Netaji's leadership, the heroes of 1946 Naval Revolt, and thousands of other heroes and heroines who fought for national liberation and revolution had become martyrs in the course of these countless struggles. We remember all of them on the occasion of

the *All India Martyrs' Day*.

After the 1947 transfer of power, in the struggle against the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-big landlord state serving imperialism and its neo-colonization drive, which has reached unprecedented sinister and pernicious forms through the present neo-liberal policies, in the course of last six decades and more of fierce struggles against imperialist dictated policies, landlord system, corporatization of agrarian sector, attacks on working class and other oppressed sections and classes, displacement etc. thousands of comrades have sacrificed their life for social justice and revolutionary transformation of the country. We remember them also on this occasion.

There is a special significance to the observation of the Martyrs Day this year. Forty one years after the holding of the last Party Congress, which was the First Congress of the CPI(ML) or Eighth Congress of the Communist movement in the country, which succeeded to bring back People's Democratic Revolution (PDR) under the leadership of the working class back to the agenda of the communist movement, and after four decades during which the international communist movement suffered severe setbacks, when the rightist trend represented by CPI-CPI(M) degenerated to social democratic positions and the CR forces disintegrated under the influence of the sectarian line dominating CPC during late 1960s, the CPI(ML) is going to organize its Ninth Congress after developing its ideological-political line and putting forward the Programme and Path of Revolution based on it.

These achievements are made possible as we firmly adhere to the revolutionary past of the ICM as well as the nine decades of the Indian communist movement while taking up a self-critical analysis of the past, with the dictum: *let the past serve the future advances*. Irrespective of all the shortcomings in the past, when we are trying to advance to people's democracy and socialism, it is our responsibility to remember all the martyrs and millions of other comrades who struggled before us for the cause we are fighting for today. Similarly, let us uphold the glorious heritage of the past movement, irrespective of the mistakes committed by the leadership in the past.

Upholding the memory of the martyr and the heritage of the nine decades of the movement, Let us observe the *All India Martyrs Day* militantly with the determination to make the Ninth Party Congress a great success.

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CPI(ML)

[The CC meeting held at Raipur, Chhattisgarh,
on 29-31 May adopted the following resolutions]

1. Against the unprecedented petrol price hike and the impending increase in the price of diesel and cooking gas. This is the 12th increase in price of petrol within a year. Following the abolition of 'administered price mechanism' in petrol pricing and entrusting this task to market forces the prices are hiked at their will to reap super profits. It is giving rise to rise in prices of all essential commodities.
2. Against plans to impose nuclear plants in various parts of the country including Jaitapur in Maharashtra at the behest of nuclear MNCs.
3. Against the plans for speeding up the displacement of people, especially marginal farmers, dalits and adivasis in the name of development.
4. Against enhanced privatization of all infrastructural projects including transport and communication in the name of 'public-private participation' (pps).
5. Against further liberalization of FDI and FII flow to all sectors including opening up of even pension funds and provident funds to FIIs.
6. Against further de-nationalization of banking and insurance, including allowing 100% foreign capital in these sectors.
7. Against curtailing of all types of subsidies including food subsidies by reducing the people below 'BPL' by redrawing the 'poverty line'.
8. Against further boost to agribusiness and corporatization of agriculture under the guise of "second green revolution" led by MNCs such as Monsanto who are the custodians of GM crops and modern agricultural inputs.
9. Against forceful displacement of people inhabiting the area earmarked for POSCO project.
10. Against the government policy on pesticides like Endosulfan to favor agribusiness. Condemn the pro-agribusiness policy pushed forward by UPA government in the Pesticide Review Committee meeting at GENEVA.
11. Against institutionalizing corruption as integral component of neo liberal policies.
12. Against intensifying attacks on working class rights and democratic rights of people.
13. Against the displacement of farmers in Western UP districts in the name of infrastructural projects.
14. Against growing attacks against women including fratricide.
15. Against communal attacks, especially against minorities, and caste based discrimination and oppression.