

Prepare for the Coming Revolutionary Storms

Documents of the
4th Congress
of the
Communist Ghadar Party



Communist Ghadar Party of India
New Delhi

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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Fourth Congress
of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

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Preface

The Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India was convened in the last week of October, 2010.

The Fourth Congress consisted of delegates from all across the country and from Indians resident abroad. The majority of delegates were from the working class. About half of them were less than 25 years of age and about a third of them were women.

The Report to the Fourth Congress was presented by Comrade Lal Singh on behalf of the Central Committee elected by the Third Congress. It was discussed at length and adopted by the Congress. It has been edited for publication by the decision of the Fourth Congress.

The Fourth Congress elected the new Central Committee which held its first meeting and re-elected Comrade Lal Singh as the General Secretary and Comrade Prakash Rao as the Spokesperson of the Party.

This publication also contains the Resolutions adopted by the Fourth Congress.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Comrades!

We have come to this Fourth Congress at a time when the global capitalist system is facing its most acute economic crisis since the Great Depression that broke out in 1929. The crisis that broke out in 2008 has resulted in widespread loss of jobs and downward pressure on wages of workers all over the world. It has led to widespread insecurity and accelerated the ruination of small business enterprises, shopkeepers, peasants and other small producers. It led to a temporary crash in the profits of monopoly capital, until the governments stepped in with their “stimulus” packages.

Capitalist governments have brazenly acted to protect monopoly capitalist profits. They are relentlessly shifting the burden of the crisis on the backs of the toiling masses, adding to their hardships. Capitalist monopolies are continuing to claim the lion’s share of what human labour produces, demanding maximum profits at all times as a matter of right. Basic rights of working people, sovereignty of nations and fundamental rights of human beings have been discarded in favour

of “monopoly right”. These developments have led to an upsurge in mass street protests on the world scale.

Working people and youth have come out on the streets in unprecedented numbers in the majority of capitalist countries. They are expressing their anger against the monopoly corporations and the barons of finance capital. They are disgusted with the politicians and parties that promise what the people want but implement strictly what the monopoly capitalists want. They are revolting against the governments that are protecting the interests of the very parasites who are responsible for the crisis.

More and more people in the United States, Britain and other imperialist countries are angry with governments that have launched wars in their name, with ulterior motives in the service of rapacious corporate interests and hegemonic global aims. Opposition to imperialist wars has converged with the growing struggles of the working class and all the oppressed against the anti-worker and anti-social offensive to further enrich the super-rich.

Democracy in the capitalist countries is being revealed as a system in which economic and political power is concentrated in the offices of the giant monopoly corporations and the Cabinet consisting of their representatives. The ballot and the bullet are routinely used to impose the dictate of the monopolies. The much touted “multi-party representative democracy” stands exposed as a process of legitimizing the fascistic dictatorship of an exploiting and parasitic minority. It is being imposed by US imperialism and its allies on all nations and peoples of the world, as being the most advanced form of democracy. Brutal aggression,

territorial occupation and brazen violation of national sovereignty are sought to be justified in the name of ushering in this form of democracy, which serves the exploiting classes to keep power firmly in their hands.

Uneven capitalist development of countries is leading inexorably towards upsetting the existing power balance, while no alliance has yet emerged to confront the aggressive drive of US imperialism. US President Obama is working out ways to justify new wars of conquest, to assert US military supremacy, strengthen its control over vital sources of global energy supply and also create jobs in the highly militarised US economy. US imperialism is plotting further military adventures, preferably in collaboration with other members of the UN Security Council, at a time when opposition to war is widespread among the peoples all over the world.

Nations and peoples around the world are seething with anger against the imperialist plunder of their economies and fascistic repression by pro-imperialist regimes. The victims of neo-colonialism are less and less willing to tolerate the political repression combined with extreme economic hardships, including unbearable levels of unemployment and inflation. They are less and less enamoured by the western bourgeois prescriptions on democracy and the orientation of the economy.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the intensification of all the major contradictions inherent in capitalism in its highest stage of imperialism is bound to lead to an explosive situation on multiple fronts. Objective conditions are pointing in that direction. It is precisely the fear of revolution breaking out and putting an end to their *paradise* that is driving imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie to resort to brute force as well

as massive disinformation and ideological subversion of the movements against them.

The bourgeoisie and the media it controls paints all those opposing imperialism as being terrorist, fundamentalist or extremist, so as to discredit them and justify using brute force to suppress them. At the same time, imperialism and its intelligence agencies are busy plotting "regime change" in countries around the world in their own interest, and their media promotes such changes as "revolution". Numerous such "revolutions" have been instigated by the CIA in the former Soviet republics, which have been promoted as "*yellow revolution*", "*orange revolution*" and so on. The imperialist powers and their reactionary allies are desperate to prevent the outbreak of the *Red Revolution*, a revolution led by the working class that would dig the grave of their inhuman system. They are relying on the illusion of power that multi-party representative democracy creates to prevent the emergence of a revolutionary alternative to their crisis-ridden economic and political order.

The consciousness of the working class and peoples is rising, but it is at the same time coming under tremendous pressure from the disinformation and lying propaganda of the capitalist class. In the absence of a united organised leadership headed by a party armed with the science of revolution, and with a political program based on a theory suitable for the conditions of a particular country, there is a danger of the mass anger being manipulated and diverted once again. Parties and agencies of the bourgeoisie are active in the mission of manipulating mass sentiments, as they did in the former Soviet republics and other states in Eastern Europe. In such conditions, communist parties are striving to unite the fighting forces against the

anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie and around a program that would lift society out of the crisis.

Communist parties are engaged in preparing the working class to win the battle of democracy – that is, to ensure that proletarian democracy triumphs over bourgeois democracy – by fighting to establish a state structure and political process that would vest decision making power in the hands of the toiling majority. They are engaged in preparing the working class to take the lead in championing a modern democracy fit for this century, thereby opening the path to the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

In our country, the contradiction between the ruling capitalist class and the toiling majority of people has become acute on the question of food prices and security of livelihood for peasants and tribal communities. While the toiling majority faces increasing insecurity and hardship, massive loot by monopoly capitalists, ministers and senior officials is getting exposed through one scam after another. There is widespread anger among the masses of people against the parasitic and corrupt political and economic system in the country.

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of militant protests and resistance to the capitalist offensive among peasants and tribal peoples. The struggle against the privatisation of collective wealth has expanded in scope, covering not only workers in public enterprises and services, but also the users of public services and the victims of corporate land grab.

The monopoly houses, headed by the Tatas, Ambanis and Birlas, have expanded their profits at an unprecedented rate, assisted by large amounts of government

hand-outs in the name of fiscal stimulus. The claims of the rulers that they are pursuing “inclusive growth” with concern for the *aam aadmi* or common man, stand discredited in the eyes of the workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia. The Congress Party-led UPA government is facing a serious credibility crisis just after one year of returning to power.

Contradictions are intensifying within our society between the exploiters, headed by the capitalist monopoly houses, and the exploited majority of people consisting of the working class, toiling peasants and other working people. Contradictions are intensifying between the colonial and imperialist state and the oppressed nations, nationalities, tribal peoples, persecuted minorities and other victims of communal violence and state terror. Conflicts are also growing intense within the capitalist class, among the monopoly groups, between different sectional interests, between all-India and regional capitalist interests, and between the drive of Indian imperialism and the drive of other imperialist powers. Indian society is moving from one crisis to another. The intensity of exploitation, poverty and insecurity are all on the rise, while the minority of exploiters in power crow that GDP growth in India is better than in other countries.

The only way to end this state of stalemate, of repeated and perennial social crisis amidst a widening gap between the rich and the poor, is through a social revolution that would replace capitalism by socialism, sweeping away all remnants of feudalism, colonialism and imperialist plunder. Our science teaches us that it is the modern working class that is capable of leading such a revolution, for which the objective conditions have matured in the present epoch. Enabling the working

class to achieve this revolutionary consciousness has been the overriding aim of our Party and its work ever since its founding.

Our Party is currently engaged in elaborating the vision of a modern civilised society that ensures the wellbeing of all. We are engaged in rallying the working class and toiling majority of people around the program to become the masters of the country by carrying out the *Navnirman* of the state and our society. *Navnirman* means to establish the state and political process afresh, with a new Constitution that enshrines the inviolability of the rights of every nation, nationality and people; the rights of toilers, tillers, women, youth, and the national, linguistic, religious and other minorities; and the democratic and human rights of every individual member of society.

The central political aim of our program is to wrest power from the hands of the parasitic and reactionary bourgeoisie and place it firmly in the hands of the toiling majority led by the working class. On the question of the form of democracy, we agitate for the principle that supreme power must not be vested in the hands of a few “representatives”, but in the hands of the people as a whole, who should delegate only a part of that power to those they elect. Only if this is achieved can the working class, in alliance with the peasants and progressive intelligentsia, set the agenda and ensure that the economy fulfills the claims of all the working people in a planned way. Arming the working class with this program and winning over the majority of people in its support is the key to open the path to the proletarian revolution and socialism in our country.

The working class of our country has the potential to lead the toiling and oppressed majority in revolution.

However, it is being misled by parties that wave the red flag and shout "*Inquilab Zindabad*", while pursuing the aim of bringing a "less evil" coalition of capitalist parties to power through the existing political process.

Peasants and tribal peoples are being misled by rival parliamentary parties including the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its allies, who spread the illusion that capitalism with some "pro-people policies" can protect them from being ruined. In various regions, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is spreading the illusion that an armed struggle waged in the hills and jungles can spread to create a liberated corridor and one day encircle the cities and establish a revolutionary power in New Delhi.

The situation is calling on us communists to sharpen our ideological and polemical struggle in defence of scientific socialism, the vision of modern communism and our revolutionary program. We need to smash all the illusions being spread by the open and hidden agents of the ruling class about capitalism, about secularism and about parliamentary democracy. We must dispel all illusions about the possibility of a state that serves the interests of both the exploiters and the exploited. We have to imbue the advanced section of the working class with the consciousness that revolution is urgently required; that it is possible; and the workers in modern large-scale industry and services have to take the lead.

We have to make the working class conscious that the peoples who are fighting for national liberation from the present Indian Union are its allies, and the slogan of "defending national unity and territorial

integrity” is a reactionary slogan in the interests of the ruling class. We have to make the fighting elements among the oppressed nations and peoples conscious that the solution to their problem lies in reconstituting the Indian Union on a voluntary basis, which only the revolutionary party of the working class is committed to carry out.

We have to imbue politically active sections of the peasants and tribal peoples with the consciousness that their struggle is an integral part of the common struggle of the working class and all oppressed people against the bourgeoisie in power. We must build the alliance of the toiling majority led by the modern working class, the revolutionary united front for the *Navnirman* of the Indian state and union.

Our Party comes to this Fourth Congress with the confidence that we will fulfill the challenging tasks ahead. We are determined to expose and defeat the influence of those who are diverting the struggle of the toiling masses towards the illusory goal of an allegedly better form of capitalist rule, through the ballot or the bullet. Our confidence and determination comes from the steadfast struggle we have waged throughout our history against all forms of distortion of our science and conciliation with the status quo.

We have come a long way from where we started almost 30 years ago. We have remained steadfast to our decision to build a vanguard party of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism. We have built a party with its foundation in basic organisations or cells within the working class and its allies. We have done so in the course of building the political unity

of the working class, and the broad unity of all the oppressed, so as to end the colonial legacy and open the path to socialism and communism. Let us now sum up our work to implement the decisions of our Third Congress, held in January 2005.

Chapter Two

Our Party's Work

Comrades!

The Third Congress of our Party convened in January 2005 summed up the work done during 1998-2004 to build political unity against the anti-worker, anti-people and anti-national program of globalisation through privatisation and liberalisation, accompanied by state terrorism and all-round attacks on basic rights. It summed up the work that had been initiated to arm the working class and people, in the course of this struggle, with the alternative program for the *Navnirman* of the state and our society, to build them on new foundations so as to empower the people and reorient the economy to provide for all.

Positively assessing our work to provide revolutionary leadership to the movement against the aggressive drive of the monopoly capitalists, the Third Congress set the task of further elaborating our program in the course of escalating the struggle in defence of democratic rights, national and human rights. It called on the entire Party to wage relentless ideological struggle in defence of the outlook of the working class and its program to open the path to revolution, against all the

diversions of the ruling class. In particular, it called for a stern struggle to expose the so-called National Common Minimum Program unveiled by the Congress Party in collaboration with the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It called on the Party to deepen the exposure of the harmful lines of parties that swear by communism while collaborating or conciliating with the capitalist drive towards globalisation through privatisation and liberalisation.

The Third Congress emphasised the necessity to build and strengthen the Party and the revolutionary united front in the course of addressing the needs of the class struggle. By adopting the Party Constitution, the Third Congress armed us to consolidate our unity of thought and action, as the necessary condition to expand and advance our work among the masses. It called on us to pay first rate attention to the building and strengthening of party basic organisations among workers and other progressive forces. It called on us to enable the consolidation of the leading body of the revolutionary united front, as well as to strengthen and expand its local organs. It called for the strengthening of mass organisations among workers, peasants, women and youth, and among national liberation movements, as essential building blocks of the revolutionary united front.

Comrades!

Immediately following the Third Congress in January 2005, we mobilised all our organisations into action to step up the exposure of the Congress Party-led United Progressive Alliance in power as an anti-worker and anti-peasant regime of big monopoly capitalists. We have been in the thick of many mass struggles

in defence of the rights of workers, peasants, slum dwellers, shopkeepers, oppressed nations and nationalities, tribal peoples, persecuted minorities and others. In the course of such struggles, we have consistently exposed the illusion that the replacement of the BJP-led NDA with the Congress Party-led UPA had allegedly enhanced "*democratic space*", as was being claimed by CPI(M) and some others. We criticised such supporters of the UPA government for prettifying the latest political arrangement for advancing the anti-people program of the big capitalists.

We have openly criticised and exposed the line of seeking common ground between the working class and the capitalist class, in the name of a "*common minimum program*". We have consistently pointed out that in a class divided capitalist society there can only be two programs. One is the capitalist program aimed at expanding the space for reaping monopoly profits and making Indian capitalists major players on the world scale. The other is the working class program to put an end to capitalism, make the toiling majority the rulers of the country and open the path to socialism and communism. There is no other program possible, no middle road between capitalism and socialism.

Contesting the assertion that there is no alternative to a "market oriented economy", we have argued forcefully that there IS an alternative, which is an economy where the social surplus is invested to raise the living standards of the working people, enhance the means of production and protect the natural environment. An economy that is oriented to invest in the human and material productive forces will ensure the extended reproduction of society without any crisis.

Production of material goods and services is highly socialised in our society, while the claims on what is produced are based on private property rights. This fundamental contradiction between social production and private appropriation is the root cause of repeated crises. We have explained that the solution lies in reorganising and reorienting the economy on the basis of social ownership and control over the means of social production. The socialised economy, reoriented to fulfil social needs, will satisfy the claims of all human beings who make up society, by eliminating all claims for a share in the social surplus on the basis of private ownership of capital.

The privatisation drive further aggravates the fundamental contradiction at the base of society. It is a program aimed at converting every sphere of social activity possible into a source of maximum private profits in the hands of the capitalist monopolies. Far from contributing to the solution of the problems plaguing society, privatisation leads to their further aggravation and creates the conditions for even deeper crises in the future. It is not only an anti-worker offensive but an assault on the general interests of society as a whole.

In the period between our second and third congresses, that is during 1999-2004, the monopoly capitalists carried out a number of strategic acquisitions of state enterprises through outright purchase, as in the case of Modern Foods, BALCO and other central government owned companies. The organised workers in state owned industries mounted a powerful resistance to the privatisation offensive spearheaded by the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Government, leading to a halt in the plans for privatising state-owned oil companies. Our Party was in the forefront

of the struggle against privatisation in that period. We uncompromisingly opposed privatisation and demanded an immediate halt and reversal of this anti-social program. The CPI(M) called for "*selective privatisation of non-strategic and loss-making units*" as being allegedly the alternative to the "*indiscriminate privatisation*" of the NDA Government. We exposed this as a line of conciliating and compromising with the anti-worker and anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie.

In the period 2005-10, the UPA Government led by the Congress Party made a big show of dismantling the Ministry of Disinvestment that had been set up during the NDA Government's tenure. CPI(M) and its allies applauded this and gave credence to the illusion that the Congress Party was going to implement capitalist reforms with a "*human face*". One specific form of privatisation – namely, outright strategic sale as was done with Modern Foods and BALCO – was discontinued. At the same time, the privatisation program was escalated in multiple forms.

The central government continued to sell whichever companies the big capitalists wanted to acquire, in the name of disinvestment. Privatisation of education, health and other basic social services was pursued by state governments in the form of "*public-private partnership*", with technical assistance arranged by the central government with the help of the World Bank and international consulting firms. And last, but not the least, mineral rich lands of tribal communities were forcibly seized and handed over to capitalist mining companies. As a result, masses of tribal peoples have been drawn into the struggle against the capitalist monopolies and their aggressive drive, in addition to the organised working class that has been fighting

against privatisation for over a decade. Associations of urban residents have also been drawn into the struggle against privatisation of basic services.

Our Party has clarified that whether a state-owned company and its assets are sold in one shot or bit by bit to private owners, the end result is the transfer of ownership by the State, as the official representative of society, into the hands of private companies. We have exposed the so-called public private partnership (PPP) as an arrangement for unloading the burden of losses on the public so as to guarantee profits in private hands. We have consistently propagated and agitated for the principle that education, health, drinking water and electricity for homes are basic human rights, which the State is duty bound to ensure, free of cost or at affordable rates. We have opposed the acquisition of land that rightfully belongs to tribal peoples and condemned the use of force by the state governments, backed by the Centre and the colonial Land Acquisition Act.

In addition to tribal lands, capitalist corporations have also targeted agricultural land belonging to peasants for setting up industrial parks and Special Economic Zones (SEZ). The UPA Government gave a big boost to this corporate land grabbing drive by approving hundreds of SEZs in record time, and by enacting an SEZ Act to add to the colonial law. The SEZs were aimed at facilitating super-exploitation of workers by the capitalists in special enclaves.

As the opposition to the privatisation drive and corporate land grab broadened among the people, the class conciliation of CPI(M) got more and more exposed. It started to claim that its Left Front Government in West Bengal had found the best way to implement

privatisation, allegedly without hurting the workers. It started openly arguing that workers in modern sectors do not need unions or to go on strike. It started singing the tune that peasants are better off selling their land to the state government wherever big capitalists want to set up industries and SEZs. Those who refused to part with their land had to face brute force unleashed by the ruling party and state police, allegedly for the sake of the industrialisation of West Bengal. In short, CPI(M) revealed itself as a champion of privatisation and the capitalist offensive.

By unleashing force against broad masses of people resisting their land being acquired, CPI(M) brought disgrace to the name of communism and Marxism. Our Party boldly declared, on the front page of our organ *Mazdoor Ekta Lehar*: ***This is not Communism – it is State Terrorism!*** We reiterated our conclusion that capitalist reforms cannot be given a “human face”; that capitalism cannot be made to provide for the people, no matter which party manages the executive power of the bourgeois state.

We have called for immediate repeal of the Land Acquisition Act and the SEZ Act. We have advanced the demand for new land legislation based on the principle of harmonising the interests of different users of the land with one another and with the general interest of society. The new law must protect the rights of the tillers, of forest dwellers, tribal peoples and other traditional users of land. We have demanded an immediate halt to purchase of land, pending the new legislative framework.

Capitalist development has deprived peasants of any sense of security of livelihood, driving many of them

to ruin. Agricultural incomes have been subject to extreme volatility and uncertainty of market prices, as a result of trade liberalisation and capitalist speculation in commodity markets and futures contracts. To this has been added the threat of land being acquired for SEZs or other capitalist ventures.

Our Party has put forth the scientific approach of the working class towards solving the agrarian crisis. This consists in defending the rights of the tillers to secure possession of their land, to stable and remunerative prices for their produce, and in convincing the small plot holders that their future lies in voluntarily pooling their meagre assets to create cooperative farms. A workers' and peasants' state will extend free technical assistance to peasant cooperatives, along with machines on lease at zero rent, to enable them to achieve higher levels of productivity through large-scale production and the application of modern technology. It will invest adequately in public irrigation facilities and secure input supplies. It will make sure that more is put into the rural economy than is taken out, so that the gap between urban and rural living standards narrows over time.

The 2008 global crisis severely affected industrial and service sector workers in our country. It resulted in massive loss of jobs, first in export oriented sectors of industry and services, and subsequently in other sectors that produce and sell to the export oriented units. The army of the unemployed swelled and job scarcity became a burning concern.

Our Party has consistently fought for the Right to Work to be recognised as a universal right in modern society with constitutional guarantees and enabling mechanisms. We have explained that in a socialised

economy that is geared to fulfil the needs of all, there will be plenty of additional work to be done and all willing hands will definitely find work. It is the capitalist-imperialist orientation of the economy that is responsible for the disease of unemployment.

The UPA government advertised its flagship National Rural Employment Guarantee Act as proof of its commitment to "inclusive growth". CPI(M) and its allies applauded and cheered, asking for more budget allocations to make NREGA cover all rural districts and urban areas as well.

Our Party has explained to the working class and people why they cannot and must not accept the argument that the maximum that can be done is to offer 100 days of employment for unskilled manual labour at the legal minimum wage rate. This is not fulfilling the universal right to work nor does it provide security of livelihood. Skilled industrial and service sector workers being thrown out of their jobs have gained no measure of protection whatsoever, as the so-called employment guarantee program offers only unskilled manual work, and that too only for about one-third of the year and only in rural areas.

CPI(M) and its allies spread the illusion that NREGA was a "pro-people" measure that deserves to be defended and supported. They mobilised progressive intellectuals and political activists to devote their energies to monitor and help to implement this central government program. However, it is widely acknowledged that this program has enriched various contractors and government officials, in spite of all the "social monitoring". To the extent that rural daily wage employment has been created, it has had the effect of raising wage rates

in agriculture, compelling many peasants to lease out their land to larger operators. This has contributed to accelerated concentration of agricultural holdings and faster capitalist growth in rural India, as evidenced by the boom in tractor sales in recent years.

In sum, results on the ground has revealed that far from being a “pro-people” program, NREGA is aimed at expanding the rural market for capitalists who sell consumer products and at accelerating capitalist agriculture.

Increasing insecurity of employment has been accompanied by a prolonged and unending spell of soaring food price inflation since 2008, squeezing the living standards of all families that depend on wage and salary incomes. Our Party has launched numerous campaigns to demand adequate and affordable food as a fundamental and universal human right. We have explained to the workers and peasants that the root cause of the shortage of essential commodities, of unaffordable food prices alongside growing economic insecurity of peasants, lies in the greed of capitalists involved in agro-business, trade and financial speculation in commodity futures. We have argued that the solution lies in establishing the control of workers and peasants over the production, procurement, trade and distribution of essential commodities, eliminating the space for private profiteers in this sphere of the economy.

We have demanded the creation of a modern universal Public Distribution System, based on a comprehensive public procurement system. Such a system must guarantee supply of food and other essential consumption articles to working families at affordable prices. It must guarantee the purchase of all agricultural

produce of peasants at stable and remunerative prices, putting an end to their insecurity.

We have clarified that the State is duty bound to ensure expansion of production of those essential consumption articles that are in short supply. We have demanded strict price controls and stipulated supply requirements on private enterprises that produce such articles. We have demanded that the State must expropriate without compensation any private enterprise that fails to comply.

The spokesmen of the capitalist class claim that it is not possible for the budget to finance the creation of a modern universal PDS. We have pointed out how it is perfectly possible provided the central government stops treating debt servicing and militarisation as top national priorities that nobody can question. Moratorium on servicing the "public debt", cutback on government spending on weapons of aggression and war, and unearthing the unaccounted "black" wealth of the exploiters are measures that can immediately raise resources for fulfilling the basic needs of the people.

The recent global economic crisis was followed by the Government of India handing over massive amounts of public funds to the monopoly corporations and big banks, financed by a massive increase in government debt. In this way, the government protected the profits of capitalist monopolies and the interest earnings of the big banks, while shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people. The "public debt" owed by the Government of India to the domestic and foreign financial institutions, which excludes its liabilities to small savers and pensioners, reached as high as 375% of its annual revenue by the end of March 2010.

Why should the entire people bear the burden of servicing loans that were raised from the big banks and insurance companies to finance investments and hand-outs to benefit various capitalist corporations? Our Party has raised this pertinent question and reiterated our demand for a moratorium on servicing the “public debt”. Moratorium means to suspend debt service payments to the big banking and insurance monopolies, pending an enquiry into why and for whom the debt was incurred, and a judgment on who will bear how much of the burden of this debt. It will force the big banks and insurance companies to take an immediate cut in their profits, which they can well afford and which is long overdue.

Liberalisation and privatisation in the financial sector have been aimed at subordinating all banks, insurance companies and other financial agencies to the motive of maximising profits, irrespective of private or state ownership. In direct opposition to this drive, we have raised the demand to reorient the financial sector from profit maximisation to serving the general interest of society. This is an important enrichment of our program for reorienting the economy.

We have explained that it is essential for a workers’ and peasants’ state power to immediately take over and reorient various key sectors of social production, from being driven by private profit motive to being geared to fulfil social need. Of high priority among such sectors are banking, insurance and other forms of financial intermediation, as well as domestic wholesale trade and external trade. Only if the financial savings and physical stocks of essential commodities are brought under public ownership and control can the economy even begin to be reoriented to fulfil the basic needs of all.

Our Party has continued to play a principled and exemplary role in defending human rights and the national right to self-determination of the peoples of Kashmir, Nagaland, Manipur and other places where central Army rule prevails, backed by fascist laws that empower the armed forces to kill at will. We have been uncompromising in our exposure of the line of *"defending national unity and territorial integrity of India"* as nothing but an apology for state terrorism and violation of national and human rights. We have been a consistent and reliable source of support to the struggle for immediate repeal of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and withdrawal of central troops to their barracks. In the course of participating in such struggles, we have elaborated the vision of India as a voluntary union of republics, with the toiling majority exercising power in each republic.

Our steadfast adherence to the Leninist principle of defending the right of nations to self-determination has enabled our Party to be consistent in opposing imperialism in this entire region. We stood shoulder to shoulder with all anti-imperialist forces in a massive historic demonstration in Delhi against US imperialism during the visit of the then President Bush in August 2006. We exposed and opposed the imperialist propaganda that those who oppose US imperialism in South Asia are "Islamic fundamentalists". We fought against the line of CPI(M) and its allies, who refused to join the anti-imperialist mass action arguing that they do not want to march alongside "Islamic terrorist organisations". We rightly condemned this as conciliation with the reactionary tactic of branding all opposition to imperialism and reaction as being "fundamentalist", "extremist" or "terrorist".

The past six years have been a period of close cooperation between the US and Indian states in the sphere of intelligence, “counter-terrorism” and espionage activities. It is the period when the Indo-US strategic alliance was consolidated and a nuclear deal was struck. It is the period when the terrorist strikes took place in Mumbai on 26th November 2008, followed by an escalated diplomatic offensive by India to brand Pakistan as a “*rogue state*” that sponsors terrorism.

Our Party has condemned the Indo-US strategic alliance as an imperialist alliance which is against the interests of peace and social progress. We have exposed and opposed the imperialist aims of both the US and Indian states and their poisonous propaganda that Pakistan is the main sponsor of terrorism in our region. We have explained that the imperialist system of states, with US imperialism at the head, is the source of terrorism. The inter-imperialist rivalry, the contention and collusion between different imperialist powers, including the Indian state, is the principal factor behind the growing threat of war and terror in this region.

The use of terrorism as a preferred tactic for pursuing imperialist geo-political aims was first introduced in this region by the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet state sponsored covert groups to destabilise the regime in Afghanistan, and subsequently aggressed and militarily occupied that nation in 1978. The US state interfered in the Afghan national liberation struggle against the Soviet occupation and the puppet regime, sponsoring and arming various underground groups.

US imperialism embroiled the intelligence agencies and armed forces of their allies and dependent states,

including Pakistan, in its tactics of covert individual terrorism and overt state terrorism. However, Pakistan was by no means the only state in this region to become involved. The Indian ruling class, pursuing its own imperialist aim, has perfected the use of terror as a weapon to weaken and put down its rivals and crush the people's resistance, and in pursuit of its global ambitions. The Indian ruling class has been collaborating and contending with US imperialism and other imperialist states; it is sponsoring various underground armed groups in our country and in neighbouring countries, as part of its global expansionist pursuits.

If the facts and phenomena are examined dispassionately, without any prejudice, it must be admitted that the people and state of Pakistan are currently facing a grave threat to their very existence. Life has truly become an unbearable hell for the people, with the daily threat of violence and indiscriminate terror. The economy is in deep crisis and the government is sinking deeper into debt to external agencies. The armed forces of the US have occupied neighbouring Afghanistan and have been steadily launching drone attacks in selected regions of Pakistan, killing innocent men, women and children. Imperialist agencies are threatening to penetrate further into all aspects of the domestic life of the country. Various scenarios of carving up Pakistan have become matters of debate.

The reactionary imperialist propaganda is aimed at painting the anti-imperialist struggles in Pakistan as "Islamic fundamentalism", so as to discredit them. In such conditions, the people of Pakistan deserve the support of all genuinely democratic and justice-loving peoples and political parties, especially from neighbouring India. Our Party considers it as part of

its proletarian internationalist duty to defend the right of the people of Pakistan to determine their destiny without any outside interference. We defend this as a right that belongs to every country and people in South Asia, and in all parts of the world.

Our Party has thus boldly contested the chauvinistic position taken by the Indian ruling class in the name of nationalism. We have condemned and opposed the narrow-minded outlook of considering the weakening and even the dismemberment of Pakistan as being in the interests of India. This is the imperialist outlook of the big capitalists of our country, which is reflected in the extremely narrow-minded approach of the Indian state and the politicians of the ruling class.

Our Party has boldly exposed the harmful role being played by the Indian ruling class at the head of the largest and most powerful country in South Asia. Far from defending the common interests of the peoples against imperialist threats from outside, the Indian ruling class is adding to the imperialist danger, and preparing to participate in unjust wars in the region, for its own imperialist aims. It is collaborating and contending with US imperialism, to the detriment of the cause of peace and sovereignty of states in this region.

We have championed the cause of unity among the peoples of South Asia against imperialism and imperialist war. We have participated in ongoing efforts to build friendship and solidarity among the peoples of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and other countries of South Asia.

Our Party has confronted the political offensive of the ruling capitalist class by boldly unfurling the banner

of establishing the Indian polity on new foundations, based on the principle that human beings have rights that belong to them by virtue of being human; that all citizens have equal political rights irrespective of caste, creed or one's beliefs; and that nations, nationalities and peoples have the right to determine their own political destiny. The State is duty bound to respect these rights and protect them from ever being violated.

We have agitated for thoroughgoing changes in the political process so as to vest supreme power in the hands of the people and not in a political party or a coalition of parties. We have propagated the principle that the role of a political party is not to substitute for the people and rule in their name, but to enable the people to rule, by putting forth the vision for society and raising the level of mass consciousness. We have defended in theory and implemented in practice the principle that the vanguard Communist Party is neither an electoral machine nor a military machine, but an instrument for the empowerment of the working class and all the oppressed.

We have succeeded in smashing the enormous ideological pressure on communists to either submit and merge with the existing unrepresentative political process or become an underground terrorist group. Given the repeated use of elections to impose divisive politics and diversionary issues among the people, we concluded that in the present period the question we face is **how** the electoral arena must be used, and not *whether* it must be used. We developed innovative ways of participating in elections to expose the flaws in the political process and agitate for fundamental changes. We have made such exposure a part of our

constant work. We expose the existing system and agitate for the *Navnirman* of the state and our society in the course of dealing with the problems facing the toiling masses, and building political unity cutting across party barriers.

Our party comrades have been in the forefront of the work of building people's *samitis* (committees) elected by *sabhas* (general assemblies) in the urban working class areas and in villages. Our comrades have been in the forefront of building such organs of mass struggle, cutting across party barriers, to resist the attacks of the bourgeoisie, assert the rights and claims of the people, and prepare to become the basic organs of a new political power. Such *samitis* have in some places enabled the people to select their own candidates to contest elections.

We have used the occasion of elections at local, state and all-India levels to extend the reach of the political agenda of the working class. We have fought boldly to defeat the efforts of the capitalists and their parties to lower the level of political debate and mass consciousness. We have championed and supported the campaigns of people's candidates, selected at mass meetings in the electoral constituency. We have agitated for the principle that people must have the right and facility to select, approve and reject candidates for elections to any legislative body. People need mechanisms, such as constituency committees, through which to exercise their right to elect and be elected, to recall those they elect at any time and to propose changes in laws and policies.

We have utilised the electoral arena as a responsible political party of the working class, to put forward our

analysis of what is the problem with Indian society and what needs to be done to solve it. We have used election campaigns to widely spread the message that the need of the hour is a revolutionary worker-peasant government, which would take steps to halt the capitalist offensive, renew the system of democracy, and reorient the economy to provide for all.

The growth in support for our party line is the result of the untiring constant work undertaken by the activists of our Party to provide leadership in the difficult task of building active people's committees in residential areas, places of work and education, in cities and villages. This is an important source of the respect our Party has gained among the people in the areas where we have worked.

Comrades!

We have paid special attention in this period to define correctly the relationship between the task of building and strengthening the Party and the task of building the revolutionary united front. Thorough discussions were held in all the party forums on the symbiotic relationship between the two tasks. It is in the course of building the united front that the party can be strengthened, and only by strengthening the party can the united front be built.

The study of the history of the communist movement teaches us many lessons about the united front. The anti-fascist United Front built to defend the socialist Soviet Union and the entire world from the menace of fascism shines as a superb example of a revolutionary united front. That anti-fascist united front championed by communists led to the advance of the revolutionary movement on the world scale, including the liberation

of many countries from colonial rule. On the other hand, numerous other examples of United Fronts from the Cold War period serve as negative examples, of political alliances that served to keep the working class as a reserve of the bourgeoisie, linked to the geo-political schemes of one or the other superpower. The “coalition of the willing” led by US imperialism is a present day example of an imperialist and fascist warmongering united front.

In our country, workers and peasants have been presented with numerous types of political fronts with high sounding names, such as the United Progressive Alliance led by the Congress Party, the National Democratic Alliance led by the BJP, and numerous other parliamentary coalitions such as the Third Front, the Secular Front, Left and Democratic Front and the Left Front. All these fronts have proved to be instruments for implementing one and the same program of the capitalist class.

On the basis of summing up the experience with different kinds of united fronts, we drew the conclusion that the united front that is needed for revolution to succeed in our country is not a parliamentary front, but a political front of all those who want to vest sovereignty in the hands of the people. This united front for people’s empowerment must be built amongst the masses of workers, peasants and other toiling people, along with enlightened forces who are opposing the imposition of imperialist values on our society. In class terms, it is a united front of the toiling and excluded majority, led by the working class. In organisational form, we decided that it should be a membership based mass organisation open to anyone interested to contribute to the program to vest sovereignty in the hands of the people.

Our comrades have worked untiringly in this period to build and strengthen local committees among the people, by taking up problems for solution based on maximum political mobilisation, cutting across party divisions. Where such work has been carried out consistently and persistently, we can see the results, both in terms of the growth of the united front and the growth in new recruits for the Party. This shows the soundness of the call we gave ourselves at the turn of the century, in December 1999, that every party basic organisation must build at least one organ of struggle at the base of society, where broad masses of people participate in making decisions that affect their lives.

We have paid serious attention in this period to clarify the principles and policy of building organs at the base of society, linked to an all-India central body committed to the political aim of vesting sovereignty in the people. We have emphasised that this organised united front can draw in activists from any party, with unity based strictly on its political program. We have persistently fought for the united front and its leading organ to develop its own initiative, with a life of its own, a program of its own as well as a style of communication suited to its broad constituency.

An important struggle we waged in this period was against a proposal from some comrades to convert the united front organisation into a registered political party. One justification for this proposal was that electoral results of candidates supported by the united front would improve if it were registered as a party. Another justification, which played a role even though it was not explicitly stated, was that the Communist Party cannot allegedly inspire or mobilise the working masses in this period, and therefore some other kind

of party was necessary. After a series of thorough discussions held at all levels of party organisations, the proposal to register the United Front as a political party was rejected, recognising that it would lead to the liquidation of our Party and its leading role.

We reaffirmed that what India needs is not yet another political party legitimised by the present constitution and parliamentary political process. Only the vanguard Communist Party we are building can educate, mobilise and inspire the working class to lead all the oppressed and disempowered masses of people to build a united front capable of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and taking the destiny of the country in its hands.

A great deal of confusion has been created by the followers of Mao on the relation between the Party and the united front. The key thing to remember is that the Communist Party is the leading detachment of the working class, while the revolutionary united front represents an alliance of workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia, oppressed nations and other strata of society that are excluded from power today, led by the working class and its party. A communist party cannot merge itself with the united front or present itself as a substitute for the united front. This important struggle has strengthened the unity in the Party around our line, our program and our principles.

Comrades!

The directive of the Third Congress to build, strengthen and expand basic organisations of the Party in the midst of the working class and other progressive sections has been implemented with significant success over

the past five years. Existing basic organisations have been strengthened and new ones established.

We have upheld the Leninist principle that the mainstay of a revolutionary communist party is its basic organisations, the organs of class struggle among the toiling masses. Building and strengthening of the basic organisations, first and foremost in the working class, and also among peasants, youth and the progressive intelligentsia, is a constant work crucial to the preparation of the subjective conditions for revolution. Basic organisations are the organs of planned and disciplined work to advance the class struggle against the existing exploitative order, and to prepare the working class and its allies to carry out the revolution. They are the cells of the new communist society within the dying old capitalist society.

We have successfully strengthened our Party and expanded its membership, strengthened its class composition and lowered the average age. Young and literate workers and students, women and men, have joined the ranks of the party.

We have waged persistent struggle against liberalism towards the duties of party members. We have insisted that every member must act consciously as a responsible leader of society, which means to participate actively in the decision making process of his or her party organisation. We have successfully enforced the discipline that regular meetings of the party organisations are sacrosanct; and that all decisions must be taken in the full meeting of the organisation and duly recorded. Maintenance of minutes at all levels of party organisations, their approval in the forum, regular and prompt submission of approved minutes and periodic reports to the higher bodies after

full discussion in the forum are some of the measures that have been strengthened. Such measures are very vital for building and strengthening the Party as an organisation that thinks and acts in unison, and turns its words into deeds.

The successes we have achieved in terms of strengthening our Party and expanding its ranks confirms the wisdom of the timely step taken by the Third Congress in January 2005, of adopting the Party Constitution.

As we all know, the Leninist concept of the Communist Party has been under constant attack ever since it came into being. It has been attacked with ever greater ferocity in the present period. This is the concept of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, its most organised and leading detachment. Such a party is united like steel around its single revolutionary line on the basis of democratic centralism, with basic organisations as its foundation, with all members subject to one uniform discipline and required to work in at least one party organisation. Affirming the Leninist party concept through discussions that were organised at all levels and in all regions prior to adopting the Constitution has strengthened the unity of our Party and enabled us to overcome the varied pressures we constantly face to abandon our work and liquidate the system of organisations we have built.

We have waged persistent inner-party struggles in defence of our line and program, and in defence of democratic centralism and our Party Constitution. We can say with confidence and pride that we are building a revolutionary party of the Leninist type, free of factions and united like steel around its revolutionary line.

We have provided the fighting forces with revolutionary consciousness through our Party Paper, and through a variety of media and cultural forms, including world-wide web, non-party journals, visual presentations, cinema, street theatre, *yatras* and mass contact campaigns. Our Party Paper is being strengthened as the scaffolding to build and expand the communist vanguard of the working class.

While we have recorded important successes in building and strengthening our party in this period, we are yet to make a breakthrough in building communist cells among the advanced section of the working class. The Central Committee initiated a discussion in December 2007 on the question of who constitutes the working class. ***Who is a worker in present day Indian society?***

The capitalist class creates maximum confusion on the very definition of the working class. The law and official statistics use categories to divide the class into “workers” and “employees”, into “wage earners” and “salary earners”, regular and temporary or contract workers, organised and unorganised sector workers, etc. The ideas emanating from the caste system are used to perpetuate the harmful notion that only those who perform unskilled and menial jobs at the lowest prevailing wages are workers, while educated and skilled workers who are above the official “poverty line” are part of the “middle class”. All this is aimed at preventing workers from recognising their class identity and strength.

The working class in our country has grown from the time the hired soldiers in the British East India Company revolted against their employers, to become the largest class in our country today, including educated workers

armed with modern communication skills. Wage and salaried workers numbered 19 crores (190 million) according to the 2001 census; assuming two workers per family of five on average implies that working class families added up to nearly 50 crores, or half the entire population. The conditions of work, level of organisation and extent of legal protection of rights vary widely within the working class, reflecting the uneven development of capitalism across regions and sectors.

The most organised and potentially most powerful detachment of the working class consists of those employed in large-scale industry and services, who experience the strength of collective labour on a daily basis. While this section is a minority in relation to the class as a whole, it is very large in absolute numbers. It includes workers in diverse sectors of capitalist production and distribution – mining and a wide range of manufacturing including textiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, cement, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, machinery and machine tools, automobiles and auto parts, petroleum, fertilisers and electricity generation including thermal, hydro and nuclear plants. It also includes workers in a wide range of services such as banking and insurance, railways, road, sea and air transport, telecommunication, postal and courier services, IT and IT-enabled services, media and entertainment, electricity distribution, education and health care, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants.

From the time of its birth, our Party has been based in the working class. We have been waging an ongoing struggle to further build and expand basic organisations in the most advanced section of the class. We have consistently defended this orientation of our

organisational work in the face of continuous pressure to give it up and be satisfied with organising some other strata of society. Such pressure comes from erroneous bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas that are prevalent in our country, such as the notion that only the poorest of the poor are revolutionary while those with regular jobs are allegedly privileged. Such ideas have nothing to do with Marxism, which identifies the modern working class as the most revolutionary not because it is the poorest but owing to its position in social production and its relation to the other classes in society.

The Third Congress had assessed our performance in building the political unity of the working class and pointed out that the main weakness during the period 1999-2004 had been our failure to build and strengthen communist cells among the advanced section of organised workers. We have made some efforts to overcome this weakness but are yet to make a decisive advance. We have to make sure that this task gets accomplished over the next few years, through all-sided work targeted at the advanced section of the class, and by combating all forms of unscientific thought parading around as revolutionary theory.

Comrades!

Even as our Party has become stronger in this period, the communist movement in our country is facing a grave situation resulting from the activities of parties that call themselves communist while acting openly against the interests of the working class and its movement for communism.

Communism is being disgraced today by the violent warfare between the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

and the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in West Bengal. The use of force by these two parties against one another brings discredit to the entire communist movement.

The CPI(M), which heads the Left Front Government in West Bengal, has been using state power to suppress resistance among peasants and others to its policy of land acquisition for new industrial investments by monopoly capitalists. It has been unleashing police violence against anyone who questions its policy, branding all opposition as being right reactionary or "Maoist".

The CPI(Maoist), which claims to be organising to overthrow the centralised Indian state in order to establish a New Democracy, is also unleashing violence against anyone who disagrees or questions its actions, branding them as police informers or agents of the ruling party.

The violence unleashed by the CPI(M) and the CPI(Maoist) is creating serious roadblocks to strengthening communist leadership of the class struggle in the present situation. It is providing ammunition to the bourgeoisie and all its anti-communist ideologues to vent their fury against the movement for socialism and communism.

Besides publicly condemning the state terror unleashed by the CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal, our Party organised special Communist School sessions in 2009 and 2010 to study the major ideological and political forces that call themselves communists, to identify the role they are playing and the role communists need to play. This work was aimed at clarifying what

is communism and what is not communism. Preparing and ideologically arming our vanguard communist force is the necessary condition to take up the challenging task of settling this question in the movement through open ideological and polemical struggle.

When we assessed the present period, our Party concluded that the ideological and polemical struggle to restore the unity of Indian communists cannot be waged in the old forms. The line of demarcation between what is communism and what is pseudo-communism will not become clear to the masses of working people by repeating old debates over issues of the past, or over methods of struggle. The line of demarcation will become clear only if we wage the ideological and polemical struggle around the burning issues of the present time and around our General Line of March in this period.

We therefore began by studying our own Party's response to the abrupt changes that took place on the world scale with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. We then studied the lines of thinking and action of the CPI, CPI(M), CPI(ML) Liberation, CPI(Maoist) and some other groups. We analysed what facts and phenomena reveal about the role that each of them is playing, and how the struggle between communism and pseudo-communism actually appears at this time.

Comrades!

The First Congress of our Party convened in December 1990 took note of the major turmoil and sudden change in the political situation unfolding on the world scale. The Soviet Union was on the verge of disintegration

and Socialist Albania on the verge of capitulation to the pressure of imperialism. Truth was being turned on its head. Socialism and proletarian democracy were being presented in the darkest colours, as a “command and control system” and as “one party dictatorship”. Capitalism and its democracy were being promoted as the most modern system possible.

The ruling class in our country was facing a fiscal crisis and an acute balance of payments crisis, and was pushing the slogan of *modernisation* to take India into the 21st century. It was defending with fire and sword the old political institutions and their colonial foundations, escalating state terrorism as its preferred method of rule.

The capitalist class and its spokesmen were exploiting the collapse and discrediting of revisionism in the Soviet Union and other hybrid societies of Eastern Europe, to launch an unprecedented offensive against the theory and vision of communism. *There is no alternative to multi-party democracy and market oriented economic reform* – this became the clarion call of the international bourgeoisie.

In the difficult conditions of 1990, our Party boldly declared that we would be our own models. This meant a clean break with the disease of looking towards some foreign model for the Indian revolution, whether from the West or from the East. It meant deriving afresh the fundamental conclusions of our science through a concrete analysis of the present conditions, summing up the rise and fall of the Soviet Union guided by contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, elaborating the General Line of March and continuing to pay attention to the task of developing Indian revolutionary theory to

illuminate the path to liberation for our working class and people.

Our Party recognised that the world had entered a new period, a period of ebb in the tide of revolution. Even though the fundamental character of the epoch had not changed, the balance of forces had changed in favour of reaction and against the revolution. Collective mass consciousness had temporarily turned against the revolution and socialism; the middle strata had gone over to the side of the big bourgeoisie, and the working class had been temporarily sidelined. We concluded that this calls on us communists to adopt diverse methods of struggle, appropriate tactics and innovative forms of organisation, to preserve and expand the revolutionary forces, and to capture advanced positions from which the offensive can be launched in the future.

Our party recognised that this new period opens up new possibilities for communists to make an advance in preparing for revolution, provided we look at the world afresh from a perspective consistent with the times. The capitalist class and its spokesmen are promising modernisation while imposing the law of the jungle, calling on every human being and family to fend for itself. They are implementing measures to enable the monopoly capitalists to grow even more powerful at the expense of the livelihood and rights of the majority.

A feature of the present world conditions is that broad masses of people are increasingly demanding their right to exercise control over their lives. Our Party recognised that this striving for people's empowerment can become an invincible revolutionary force, provided the spontaneously rising consciousness is transformed into a planned activity towards a definite goal.

We drew the conclusion that communists have to win over public opinion by working out a modern perspective, a modern definition of democracy and of social progress, while exposing the perspective of the ruling capitalist class as outdated and a roadblock to progress.

Our Party carried out theoretical work to expose the fact that what was being pushed by the capitalist class as the model of civilised society is nothing but a remix of old 18th century and 19th century European notions of bourgeois democracy, private property rights and the exploitative capitalist economic system. We exposed the retrogressive essence of the slogan that each individual must fend for oneself, while the State looks after the interests of corporate investors and big banks. We put forward the modern definition of democracy and of rights, demonstrating that only the working class and its vanguard communist party are interested in and capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the people at this time to gain control over their lives.

The subject matter of political theory is political power. It includes the *content* of political power – by whom, for whom and for what end it is exercised. It also includes the *form* of political power, the way in which it is exercised – that is, the institutions and political process through which ministries are formed, decisions are taken and implemented, and a particular system of social production is defended and developed.

The central question concerning political power is where *sovereignty*, the supreme decision-making power, resides. Old forms of power, such as parliamentary democracy, facilitate the old content, the dictatorship of a minority of exploiters. The new content – the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the toiling majority – requires a new form of representation. Modern institutions and a political process are required that do not vest sovereignty in the hands of a party or coalition of parties, but in the hands of all adult members of society who have the right to elect and be elected.

Vesting supreme power in the hands of one party or coalition that commands a simple majority in the legislative body, with the other elected members making up an “opposition” camp, is a state form and political process suitable for the dictatorship of the capitalist class, which is naturally split into rival camps. The working class, on the other hand, is characterised by the unity of its class interest and singularity of its class aim of eliminating all forms of exploitation. Its rule requires the elected body as a whole to be responsible and accountable to the electorate for all decisions and for their execution, without any split between ruling and opposition camps. It requires a political party to play the role of enabling the electorate to exercise supreme power by holding elected deputies to account.

Summing up the experience of Soviet democracy and the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union, we drew the conclusion that a modern democracy of the proletariat must vest sovereignty in the hands of the people as a whole. It must guarantee to every adult member of society the right to elect and be elected, which means to have a decisive say in the selection of candidates. It must ensure that executive power is accountable and subordinate to the elected legislative body, which in turn is accountable and subordinate to those who elected them.

Drawing on the lessons from the experience of the struggle against capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, we reiterated the need for the Communist Party to act as an instrument of the class rule of the proletariat. We rejected the theory and practice of "party rule", be it through the ballot or the bullet, and be it by one party or different parties exchanging places periodically. We concluded that "party rule" is a form that serves to maintain the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as the content of power.

We put forward the modern perspective and definition that human beings have rights by virtue of being human, and that it is the duty of the State to ensure that such rights are not violated under any pretext. Whether it is a question of the right to work or the right to food, there is a clash between our proletarian outlook and the modern definition of rights on the one hand, and the self-serving outlook and outdated definitions of the ruling capitalist class on the other. We say these rights belong to every person by virtue of being a member of human society. Our enemies want to deny that these are inviolable rights, and that their fulfilment is a social obligation and state duty. They want to convert them into privileges and favours that are handed out to some and not to others, or can be given at one time and taken away at another time.

The bourgeois economists argue that it is not possible for the state to guarantee jobs, food, education, health and other essential needs for all members of society as a matter of right. The truth is that it is perfectly possible, but what stands in the way is the capitalist orientation of the economy, the domination and dictate of the monopoly houses and their greed for maximum profits.

There is an integral link between the immediate demands around which we agitate and our strategic aim of bringing to power a workers' and peasants' state to open the path to the proletarian revolution and socialism. The universal and inviolable rights that we are organising people to fight for cannot be won within this system. The right to work, for instance, cannot be guaranteed as long as the capitalist system continues to thrive.

Just because something is not possible within the existing system is no reason for the working class and people to stop demanding and fighting for it. We do not restrict our demands to suit the existing system, as the class conciliators do. We demand that the system should be such that it fulfils our claims and protects our rights. We demand that the available human and material productive forces should be preserved, enhanced and deployed to provide prosperity for all.

We call on the people to place immediate demands on whichever government exists, and fight for these demands as a matter of right. We know that a bourgeois government will at best offer some concessions in place of rights, as it cannot and will not act against the capitalist monopolies. We call on the people to continue and escalate the struggle until our just demands are fully met, which will be when workers' and peasants' rule is established.

Comrades!

Recognising that *Eurocentrism* is retarding the movement for communism in our country, our Party concluded that the theory of communism must be derived from Indian conditions. By settling scores

with the old conscience of India, we must develop theory suitable for the practice of Indian revolution. To bring forward what is best from our history and elaborate modern Indian political theory is an essential requirement for illuminating the path to liberation for our toiling and long-oppressed people. Karl Marx pointed out that the working class is the heart of the revolution while philosophy is the head. An Indian heart cannot be directed by a European or Chinese head.

We have made a decisive advance in recent years, in terms of summing up our work of developing Indian theory and drawing some definite conclusions. In 2007, the Central Committee decided to use the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Ghadar of 1857 to organise Communist School sessions on the significance of this war of independence and its contribution to Indian political theory. This work has armed the entire party against all forms of Eurocentric rendering of our revolutionary history and of Marxist-Leninist science itself.

Our Party's investigation and analysis of Indian thought material has shown that the demand for rights has a very long history in our subcontinent. The demand for a right is an expression of the extent to which human society and the human personality have developed. According to the ancient Indian view, the conception of right was integral to the performance of duty. Rights and duties were not just rights and duties of an individual, as an abstraction. They were rights and duties of an individual within society.

A vital element that existed in the early Vedic period was the right of people to select the ruler, as one from among themselves. The very word *praja* means the one

who gives birth to *raja*. It was considered to be the *dharma* of the raja to satisfy the needs of the *praja*, and he lost the right to rule if this duty was not fulfilled.

The right to select the ruler was negated at a subsequent stage, when kingdoms arose with caste-based village systems as their economic base, with the social surplus being appropriated by a minority that was "born to rule". *Dharma* as a means to prosperity for all became transformed into *dharma* as an end in itself, to preserve a hierarchical order in which a minority prospered while the majority had only duties and no rights.

During several centuries preceding the British colonial conquest, the producing classes in our society gave rise to the assertion of rights in defiance of the authority of the time. The *bhaktas* invoked the principle of the right to conscience being essential for human life, and revolted against the orthodoxy of the caste order.

The principle that the people are sovereign was invoked at various times by insurgent peoples, such as during the Ghadar of 1857. During the anti-colonial struggle, after the suppression of the Ghadar, numerous patriots invoked the revolutionary traditions and best of our theoretical heritage to assert that freedom from colonialism was our birth right. This was a continuation of the struggle to establish a modern Indian definition of rights and duties, drawing on the wisdom of our ancestors.

The call of our martyrs who rose in revolt in 1857 was: *Hindustan belongs to us, we are her masters!* It was a culmination of numerous revolts in all parts of this subcontinent, by the healthy forces in our society against the hated British colonial power. It was

a continuation and concentrated expression of the centuries' old struggle against the oppressive caste order and foreign invaders.

The assertion that sovereignty vests with the people was an important contribution of the Ghadar of 1857 to Indian revolutionary theory. While the rebellion was crushed brutally by the British colonialists, the principles of political theory established by it have left a deep imprint on the conscience of all Indians. It added a new element to the centuries old struggle for the right to conscience. It gave birth to the consciousness of the need to unite as Indians, cutting across caste or creed, language or nationality, in order to free our motherland from colonial subjugation.

Sovereignty over India was vested in the British Crown following the bloody suppression of the Ghadar. It was transferred from London to New Delhi in 1947, but it did not reach the hands of the toiling masses of our people. The Constitution of the Indian Republic promulgated in 1950 vests sovereignty, the supreme decision making power, in the hands of the Prime Minister in Parliament, with the President as Head of State, bound to act according to the advice of a Council of Ministers or Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister, and the Judiciary as the umpire and ultimate interpreter of the Constitution when disputes arise between the executive and legislative power. The fact that this system is essentially an exclusive *Cabinet Rule* was revealed in its naked form, shorn of any cloak of legitimacy, following the National Emergency declared in 1975.

Our people have over 5000 years of experience with statecraft, with forms of political power and definitions

of rights and duties. The colonialists spread the notion that our people have no philosophy or scientific thought, that we are a backward people divided into warring castes and religious groups. This prejudice is kept alive by the present day ruling class and their ideologues, headed by those trained in British and American universities. Some with a similar background call themselves Marxist scholars and socialists, but look at Indian history with European eyes. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his book called *Discovery of India* that the Ghadar of 1857 was a "*feudal reaction*"! The 1950 Constitution was formulated by such Indians with colonialist education and Eurocentric outlook, who made no effort to draw on any wisdom from Indian political theory and statecraft.

The capitalist class in our country was born and grew up by collaborating with British colonialism, and allying with the big landlords and all the backward and medieval forces. During the anti-colonial struggle this class fought for space within the colonial system of limited representation. The representatives of the big capitalists and big landlords who sat in the legislative bodies in the provinces of British India were elected by the small minority of the population who had been trained in British educational institutions, subscribed to Eurocentric thinking and were men of property.

After the end of the Second World War, the mass upsurge of workers and peasants compelled the representatives of the capitalists and landlords in the Constituent Assembly to adopt universal suffrage, that is, to extend the right to vote to all adult members of society. This popular demand was conceded, while adopting a Constitution that legitimises the continuation of the state power created by British colonialism. The bourgeoisie and all its parties are dead opposed

to extending political rights any further, let alone redefining the fundamental law to vest sovereignty in the people where it belongs. It is up to the working class and its vanguard party to champion this cause.

The right of the people to select and elect their representatives and to dethrone them at any time needs to be restored, but in modern conditions. It is not a king that the people must select and elect, but a group of deputies who will carry out the collective will and be accountable to the electors at all times. With due consideration to the multi-national character of the people in this subcontinent, we fight for the principle that the Indian Union must be a voluntary confederation, like the Soviet Union was, recognising the rights that belong to every national constituent of the union, including the right to secede from the union if and when it desires.

We have thus elaborated the theoretical considerations underlying the program of our Party for the reconstitution of democracy and the Indian Union, showing how it addresses the striving of our people to exercise their right to set the agenda and determine their own destiny. It responds to the call of our martyrs that sovereignty belongs to the people as a whole. It is a modern rendering of the best of political thought emerging from the heroic struggle of our forefathers over many centuries. It serves the aim of the working class to lead a revolutionary united front against the capitalist class, become the ruler of society and carry out the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

Comrades!

The response of our Party to the turn in the tide of revolution from flow to ebb stands in stark contrast to

the response of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the followers of Mao Zedong Thought.

CPI(M) responded to the Soviet debacle by using it as the occasion to go further down the road of conciliating and collaborating with the bourgeoisie and its anti-worker and anti-social offensive. This party used to conciliate with the Nehruvian "socialistic pattern of society" and with the Soviet social-imperialist strategy in the previous period. In the present period, it has conciliated with privatisation, liberalisation and the global "*war on terrorism*" being championed by US imperialism.

At a time when the wind was blowing against communism all over the world, and the bourgeoisie was trumpeting that there is no alternative to privatisation and liberalisation, CPI(M) submitted to this pressure by emerging as a staunch ally of the Congress Party, alleging that it was the "lesser evil" as compared to the BJP. With the slogan that the immediate task is to avert the "communal danger", it diverted the working class from waging united struggle against the capitalist offensive. To save its position at the head of the state government in West Bengal, it committed itself to find an allegedly *better way* to implement privatisation and liberalisation.

CPI(ML) Liberation hailed the capitalist reforms introduced by Gorbachev in the mid-eighties. It overturned the correct conclusion of the international communist movement that the Soviet Union had become a social-imperialist power. It started conciliating with the positions of CPI(M) on the "communal threat", and on participation in reactionary bourgeois governments.

Other followers of Mao's thought, including those who subsequently formed the CPI(Maoist), responded to the turn in the revolutionary tide by ignoring the changes. They declared that *"we had known all along that the Soviet Union had become revisionist and capitalist"*. They continued to repeat the same old formulas and adopt the same old tactics, slogans and methods of struggle as in the previous period. They acted as if it did not matter that the wind was blowing against the revolution on the global scale. They continued to wage *protracted people's war*, moving increasingly to forests and other remote areas, ignoring the broad masses of workers and peasants who were facing all-sided attacks on their livelihood and rights.

Our Party took account of the changed situation without giving up our principles and the aim of our movement. We followed the teachings of our classics, that Marxism-Leninism is not a finished set of ideas to be learnt by heart and repeated for all time to come. It is a living guide to action. As is the case with all living things and ideas, Marxism-Leninism also undergoes development. Those who convert Marxism-Leninism into a dogma, a finished set of formulas, remove its revolutionary essence and end up serving the interests of the capitalist class and the reactionary forces. As Lenin said, *"It is precisely because Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a final, finished and ready-made immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action, that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life."*¹

Just as every science develops in the course of dealing with new data and new problems posed by

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism*.

developments in real life, so does the science of social revolution. The scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism has developed through the summation, in general form, of its application to the class struggle. This includes the struggle to construct socialism and the struggle against capitalist restoration and modern revisionism, including both the Soviet and Chinese variants. It also includes the struggle against fascism, militarism and imperialism, and all forms of medievalism and remnants of age-old systems.

The summing up of the experience of the victorious revolution and forward march of socialism in Lenin's time is to be found in the works of Stalin. Our Party upholds Stalin's definition that *"Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."*² We are still living in the epoch that Lenin analysed and characterised as the epoch of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. It is mandatory for communists to be guided by Leninism.

The struggle to accomplish the complete construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to raise the level of participation of working people in governance to new heights, and the victorious struggle against fascism, were led by the Bolshevik Party after Lenin's time, with Stalin at the head. After the death of Stalin, the Party of Labour of Albania waged a heroic and principled struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and Chinese revisionism. The summing up of these experiences, which we and other Marxist-Leninist

² J. V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*

parties have carried out, has further enriched our theoretical armoury. So has the summing up of the three decades of experience in building and strengthening the Communist Ghadar Party of India.

Our Party is guided by contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, which is Marxism-Leninism as enriched by the practice of revolution. It is not the final form of Marxism-Leninism but its continuation and enrichment.

Comrades!

The leadership of CPI(M) refused to fulfill its promise to its own membership that it would analyse the fall of the Soviet Union to arrive at the warranted conclusions. The 14th Congress of CPI(M) convened in 1992 presented some “initial thoughts” on the subject, and promised to carry out a thorough analysis. The 15th Congress in 1995 admitted that such an analysis had not been done and adopted the “initial thoughts” as the final opinion of the party. The essence of this opinion is that while various weaknesses had existed in the socialist Soviet Union, the main problem began after 1986, when the party deviated from defending socialism to the position of opening the door to capitalism.

The refusal of CPI(M) to delve deep into the causes of the degeneration of the Soviet system and its ultimate disintegration lies in its reluctance to look critically at its own past. Throughout the period when Soviet social-imperialism was expanding its empire through fire and sword, in the sixties, seventies and eighties of the 20th century, CPI(M) had supported and hailed these as acts in favour of socialism. It had hailed and supported the Soviet aggression and

military occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and of Afghanistan in 1978.

Without a thorough analysis of the factors underlying the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its ultimate disintegration, CPI(M) began to adjust its position so as to maintain its space within the capitalist state. This process of adjustment revealed itself first in the slogans and political positions of CPI(M), and were subsequently consolidated in the form of an *Updated Programme* that was adopted in 2000.

On the eve of the 1996 Lok Sabha elections, both the Congress Party and BJP stood highly discredited in the eyes of the broad masses of people. The experience of the anti-Sikh pogrom in 1984 and the anti-Muslim violence unleashed in 1992-93 had exposed these two parties as the principal organisers of communal violence and other crimes in their fight to capture the seats of power in New Delhi. In such conditions, the leadership of CPI(M) became excited about the prospect of joining a coalition government at the centre, a "Third Front" to manage the rule of the capitalist class.

The 1964 Programme of CPI(M) posed limits on the extent of its collaboration in bourgeois governments, especially at the centre. As a result, Jyoti Basu was compelled to decline the offer to become the Prime Minister of the first Third Front government. Following these events, a serious debate broke out within the CPI(M) on the need to make some amendments in the Party Program. The changes that were made in the 1964 program to create the updated program of 2000 shows how CPI(M) has adjusted its positions and policy to become acceptable to the ruling capitalist

class in the present period of globalisation through privatisation and liberalisation.

A careful comparison of the 1964 program and the 2000 updated program of CPI(M) shows that there is no change in its line of conciliating with capitalist democracy and engaging in parliamentary games, while talking about revolution as some distant future prospect. At the same time, various clauses in the 1964 program, borrowed from the revolutionary 1951 policy document of the undivided Communist Party of India, were removed or revised to make the program look absolutely harmless to the bourgeoisie.

The clauses that were removed included, for instance, *"All banks, financial institutions and other monopoly concerns will be nationalised"* and *"All foreign capital in plantations, mines, oil refineries, shipping and trade will be taken over."*³ These clauses were replaced with *"Regulate finance capital flows in the interests of the overall economy"* and *"Allow foreign direct investment in selected sectors for acquiring advanced technology and upgrading productive capacities."*⁴ Instead of nationalisation of the concentrated means of production, CPI(M) in its updated program introduced the idea of "breaking up the concentration of assets". The communist program is to convert private monopoly capitalist property into social property. To talk about "breaking it up" is to promote the idea that social development can grow backwards, from larger to smaller scale. It is an unscientific and anti-Marxist idea to deceive the people.

³ Both quotations are from Para 90(1) of the 1964 Programme of CPI(M).

⁴ Both quotations are from Para 6.4 (iii) of the 2000 Updated Programme of CPI(M).

In the section relating to participation in coalition governments with capitalist parties to provide "immediate relief" to the people, the 1964 program presented this as a tactic to be used selectively. It was reiterated in several congresses that this tactic may be used at the state level, but the party would not participate in any coalition government at the centre. The updated program of 2000 advocates "*forming such governments in the States or the Centre.*"⁵

As far as the class character of the existing parliamentary democracy is concerned, CPI(M) had compromised with bourgeois ideology ever since its founding. This is clear from the following statements in its 1964 program, which have been retained in the 2000 updated program: "*The threat to the parliamentary system and to democracy comes not from the working people and the parties which represent their interests. The threat comes from the exploiting classes. It is they who undermine the parliamentary system from within and without by making it an instrument to defend their narrow interests*"; and "*It is of utmost importance that Parliamentary and democratic institutions are defended in the interests of the people against such threats....*"⁶

While admitting that parliamentary democracy is serving the exploiting classes today, CPI(M) blames the exploiters for "*undermining the parliamentary system*". It calls on the people to defend this system. It is fostering the illusion that the existing state and parliamentary system of democracy are instruments

⁵ Para 7.17 of the 2000 Updated Programme of CPI(M).

⁶ Both quotations are from Para 5.23 of the 2000 Updated Programme of CPI(M).

that are above classes. It is spreading the illusion that this system can be used by any class, and hence by the working class to proceed towards its goal of socialism and communism. In other words, it has emerged as the champion of the line of achieving socialism without revolution and through the parliament, the very line it pretended to oppose when it split the CPI in 1964.

One of the points added in the Updated Program is about the importance of allowing many parties to compete under People's Democracy. This is a sign of complete subservience of CPI(M) to the bourgeois notion that competition among many parties is the yardstick for measuring democracy.

CPI(M)'s line of defending parliamentary democracy is in complete violation of the basic teaching of Marxism that the capitalist state cannot be wielded by the working class to achieve its aims. The working class needs to replace the capitalist state with its own state. CPI(M) is offering its services to the capitalist class as a loyal defender of its system and its rule.

A paragraph added in 2000 declares the party's commitment to defend the 1950 Constitution of India and implement its Directive Principles, which have not been implemented by the bourgeoisie. CPI(M) has taken pride in getting one of its prominent leaders appointed as the Speaker of the Lok Sabha in June 2004. It is committed to keeping the organised sections of workers tied to the illusion that parliamentary democracy can serve their interests.

CPI(M) presents the struggle for democracy as a struggle in **defence** of the Indian state and its fundamental law, the Constitution. In other words, it defends bourgeois

democracy and is opposed to proletarian democracy. It is opposed to the efforts of our Party and other progressive forces to innovate a new political process by campaigning for candidates selected by the people and their local organisations. It looks upon all such attempts as factors that "*undermine the parliamentary system*", which it has committed to defend. This is completely in tune with the outlook and strategic aim of imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie at this time, of obstructing all efforts to transfer sovereignty from elite institutions into the hands of the broad masses of people.

With respect to the characterisation of the state structure of People's Democracy, which CPI(M) proclaims as its strategic goal, the clause in the 1964 program that the "Indian Union will be a federation based on democratic centralism" has been deleted and the phrase, "to develop a federal democratic state structure"⁷ has been added. By deleting reference to democratic centralism, CPI(M) has reiterated to the capitalist class that it poses no threat whatsoever to the existing state.

The existing Indian Union is a *federal democratic state* according to its Constitution, which CPI(M) accepts. In other words, CPI(M) has made it clear that it is committed to defend and develop this existing state, which means to prolong the corrupt and parasitic rule of capital headed by the monopolies.

CPI(M) plays an extremely harmful role with respect to the national question in our country. In 1972, just eight years after its formation, CPI(M) openly embraced the official ruling class position of suppressing national

⁷ Para 6.3 of the 2000 Updated Programme of CPI(M).

movements within the country in the name of defending the unity and integrity of India. It rejected the Leninist principle of defending the right of nations, nationalities and peoples for self-determination. Its justification was that there is no single oppressor nation in our country. However, national oppression by a single oppressor state, serving the interests of big capitalists, is not any less oppressive just because there is not a single oppressor nation. There is one oppressing class and one central state, whose foundations are colonial in character.

Violation of Marxist-Leninist principles on the national question has led CPI(M) to always stand on the side of the central state and its brutal suppression of national rights and human rights. It is the only party that calls itself communist but adamantly refuses to support the just demand to repeal the fascist Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in operation in various parts of the Northeast and Kashmir.

CPI(M) has consistently supported the Indian bourgeoisie's hegemonic ambitions towards the neighbouring countries including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It supported the military intervention of the Indian state in the then East Pakistan for the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. It supported the Indian Army's military intervention in Sri Lanka in the eighties. It has been mediating on behalf of the Indian ruling class in its efforts to influence the political transition in Nepal.

CPI(M) tries to justify its line with the erroneous view that the ruling bourgeoisie in our country has both a reactionary and a progressive aspect. This notion is used to mobilise workers and peasants to line up behind the so-called progressive faction or the "lesser

evil" among the parties of the status quo. It is used to buttress the illusion that the Congress Party is a "lesser evil" as compared to the BJP because it espouses secularism while the latter espouses *Hindutva*.

The resolution adopted at the 18th Congress of CPI(M) in 2005, entitled *On Congress Party and UPA*, says, *"Nonetheless, we recognise the Congress as a secular party. As the biggest political party in the country, its role has relevance in determining the secular character of the State at this juncture. It is this concern, which led us to extend support to the Congress-led UPA government; a government that has to fulfil the people's mandate that rejected the communal alliance and called for the restoration of the secular principle in the institutions of the State ..."*

Communalism and secularism are both part of the arsenal of the Indian state, used by the ruling class to divert and divide the working people and drown their struggles in blood. They are two sides of the divide and rule strategy inherited from British colonialism and further perfected by the bourgeoisie of our country. The official ideology of secularism is based on the colonial concept that the people of our country are communal, divided into warring religious groups, while the State established by the European colonisers is the instrument to restore communal harmony by promoting "tolerance". CPI(M) is promoting this colonial and anti-Indian outlook when it calls for the defence of the *"secular character of the State"*.

The outlook, thinking and political position of CPI(M) on the question of Indian parliamentary democracy, on the national question and on the character of the state show the complete subservience of this party to

Eurocentrism. It considers parliamentary democracy and secularism, imported from 19th century Europe, to be the most advanced political institutions and values that Indians have gained. It looks upon everything from our own past, our philosophy and heritage of statecraft, as being feudal, backward and communal. It looks upon anyone who attempts to bring forward any lesson from our pre-colonial past as being part of the “saffron brigade” or *Sangh Parivaar*. It looks upon national liberation movements within the country as factors that threaten the Indian Union, which must be suppressed.

With slogans such as defence of the “secular fabric”, defence of “national unity and territorial integrity”, of parliamentary institutions, of India’s “independent foreign policy”, the line of CPI(M) has helped the ruling capitalist class to line up the working class and people of our country behind its narrow imperialist aims, in defence of its dictatorship.

The line of CPI(M) has led it to emerge as a sworn enemy of the modern definition of rights. As a party that seeks power in its own hands, it looks at the electorate, the broad masses of people, as nothing but voting cattle. It does not respect the rights that belong to every human being, including the right to conscience, as inviolable. It considers all such rights to be limited to those who have “appropriate beliefs”, thereby justifying the use of force by the state to suppress those who have “inappropriate beliefs”.

CPI(M) supported and justified the use of state terror to crush the communist revolutionaries of CPI(ML) soon after its birth. It supported the escalation of state terrorism by the Indira Gandhi regime in the decade of the 1980s, in the name of putting down

"Sikh fundamentalism". It supported the Soviet social-imperialist invasion and armed occupation of Afghanistan in 1978, under the pretext of supporting a progressive faction against Islamic fundamentalists in that country. It justifies the negation of human rights and national rights in Kashmir and the Northeast by branding these movements as "fissiparous tendencies".

The line of CPI(M) has had and continues to have extremely harmful consequences on the unity and level of consciousness of the working class. The very birth of this party in 1964 signalled the division of the advanced vanguard party of the working class, depriving it of unified political leadership. In 1970, CPI(M) split the communist-led trade union federation, the All-India Trade Union Centre (AITUC), to form its "own" federation called the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU). This was the second major blow inflicted on the unity of the working class.

Within the past two decades of the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie, the struggle of the working class in our country reached a peak in 2004. The entire class united in action to defend the right to strike, and against the "second generation reforms" being pushed by the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government, headed by Vajpayee.

During the period 2004-08, the resistance of workers to the capitalist offensive weakened. The line of CPI(M) assisted and enabled the capitalist class to deceive and pacify the working class. The UPA-Left Coordination Committee, in which the leaders of CPI and CPI(M) sat, was used to spread the illusion that the interests of the toiling masses were being looked after within the capitalist-imperialist program. The

Congress leadership under Sonia Gandhi also set up a National Advisory Council, to accommodate various liberal bourgeois critics of official policy, so as to give a “human face” to the capitalist reform program.

The period of UPA rule during 2004-08 witnessed the advance of the capitalist class headed by the monopolies, at the expense of the vast majority of workers, peasants and other middle strata of society. The leaders of the “recognised” all-India trade union centres, led by the CPI(M) and its trade union arm CITU, were busy spreading the illusion that the workers do not have to fight any more because their interests are allegedly being looked after by the “communist” parties in parliament. They claimed that their leaders were allegedly telling the Manmohan Singh government what to do. The subordination of workers’ unions to the parliamentary games of the CPI(M) and others was a big blow to the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation in recent years. The wave of mass resistance, after reaching a peak in 2004, receded in the following years.

The support extended by CPI(M) and its allies enabled the bourgeoisie to stabilise its rule for the time being, divert the working class and weaken the mass resistance, so as to forge ahead with its imperialist offensive based on intensifying the exploitation of labour at home. The period 2004-08 witnessed the most rapid global expansion of the Tatas, Reliance and other monopoly corporate houses. Investments took place in infrastructure to support the heightened plunder, financed by national debt, taxation of labour income and commodity sales, inflation and other means of making the people pay for the imperialist drive of the bourgeoisie.

In the resolutions adopted at the 19th Congress of CPI(M) held in 2008, it is stated, *"To sum up, because of the government's dependence on the Left in the parliament and the struggles and popular mobilisation undertaken, we have succeeded to some extent in fulfilling two goals. Some of the more retrograde policies and legislations have been checked because they cannot be passed without the support of the Left in parliament. On the other hand, the Left pressure and the struggles and movements have led to some of the pro-people measures being adopted and getting implemented. However, the UPA government's overall direction has been to push through policies, which are to the benefit of big business and foreign capital. We succeeded in slowing the pace at which the government wishes to push through neo-liberal reforms."*

Even CPI(M) has to admit that *"the UPA government's overall direction has been to push through policies which are to the benefit of big business and foreign capital"*. The conclusion that CPI(M) is not being honest enough to admit is that its line of collaboration with the Congress Party-led UPA government served the capitalist class and not the working class. In the name of implementing *"pro-people measures"* without upsetting the capitalist-imperialist economic orientation, this line served to disarm the working class in the face of the capitalist onslaught.

Regarding its so-called tactic of participating in managing the capitalist state, the official document of CPI(M) says, *"The purpose of this tactic is quite modest – to provide immediate relief to the people, educate them about the basic goal of the Party, show them in practice the difference between a Communist Party and the bourgeois-landlord parties, and thus give*

a fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people."⁸

The 32 years of uninterrupted rule by the CPI(M)-led front in West Bengal has not relieved the workers and peasants of being super-exploited and plundered. Neither has it given a fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people. On the contrary, it has led to the exposure of the capitalist content of CPI(M) rule, landing this party in a serious crisis of credibility at this time.

CPI(M) declared that the governments in West Bengal and other states ruled by it would act as instruments of class struggle. In practice, the West Bengal government has acted as an instrument to reconcile class contradictions in favour of the bourgeoisie, and as an instrument to forcibly crush the resistance struggles of the workers and peasants. It has emerged as a party that is ready to crush all opposition with fire and sword for the sake of fulfilling its promises to big capitalist monopolies.

In the late seventies and the decade of the eighties, CPI(M) consolidated its hold over the state and society in West Bengal by serving the rich peasants, contractors, rice-mill owners and other regional propertied interests, and by distributing legal rights to private property over tiny plots of land to poor peasant families. It refused to organise rural wage workers. Since the nineties, CPI(M) has been eager to prove itself to the biggest capitalist monopolies headed by the Tatas and Ambanis.

The experience in West Bengal under the CPI(M)-led Left Front has exposed the limitations of the bourgeois

⁸ H S Surjit, "CPI(M) Program: Updated in Tune with Changing Times", *The Marxist*, Vol 16, No 03-04, July-December 2000

approach to the agrarian question. Land reforms to consolidate private property and expand commodity production for the capitalist market have not liberated the peasantry from insecurity of livelihood and extreme poverty. An ownership right over tiny plots of land is what the Left Front regime headed by Jyoti Basu provided to landless peasants and former tenant cultivators. This bourgeois land reform program helped CPI(M) to consolidate its rural vote bank in the early years of its tenure.

Life experience has shown that tiny plots of land and legally protected private property rights cannot in themselves provide security of livelihood to poor and middle peasants, in the face of increasing exposure to global markets dominated by giant capitalist monopolies. CPI(M) and its Left Front took no step in the direction of collectivisation of peasant farms. It evolved as a party of rich peasants and other regional propertied interests in the eighties, and has emerged since the nineties as a party of the big bourgeoisie and its anti-social program.

The experience of the CPI(M)-led Left Front in West Bengal disproves the notion that a party can support capitalism in this epoch while being opposed to the domination of monopolies. CPI(M) had always claimed that its program of People's Democracy was anti-monopoly while it was not anti-capitalist. It argued that the non-big bourgeoisie was an ally of the workers and peasants at this stage of revolution. The results in West Bengal clearly show that once a party merges itself with the existing capitalist democracy, which defends the state monopoly capitalist system, it will inevitably end up serving the big bourgeoisie.

Faced with the anti-communist offensive of the decade of the nineties, CPI(M) and its Left Front bent over backwards to satisfy the monopoly capitalists. Competing with other state governments to attract monopoly capitalists to invest in West Bengal, it ran roughshod over the rights of workers and peasants. It declared that workers in the IT sector are highly paid and need not enjoy the right to form unions, let alone strike. It promised Indian and foreign multinationals land at highly subsidised rates, and unleashed brute force to deprive the peasants of their land, in Nandigram, Singur and in Lalgarh. For three whole years, police forces and the unofficial military force of the ruling party unleashed rape and terror against the peasants and tribal people of West Bengal in the interests of monopoly capitalist investors.

The evolution of CPI(M) rule in West Bengal into a reign of terror demonstrates that a party which seeks power in its own hands within the existing system of bourgeois democracy will necessarily end up serving the interest of the capitalist class headed by the monopolies. It will emerge as the sworn enemy of the struggle for the realisation of democratic rights, human rights and national rights.

The program of CPI(M), adopted at its founding in 1964 (and retained in its updated Program of 2000), talks about “proletarian statehood” as necessary to build socialism. This is presented as a long-term goal that is different from People’s Democracy, which is the strategic political aim at the present stage. CPI(M) deliberately uses the word “proletarian statehood” to achieve two aims. To the bourgeoisie, it is sending a clear message that it is opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, to communists, it

can claim that actually it means the dictatorship of the proletariat. This two-timing has been a characteristic feature of CPI(M) since its founding. The line of march of CPI(M) shows that it is committed to defend the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, both in immediate and strategic terms.

Comrades!

The followers of Mao Zedong Thought present themselves as opponents of the “parliamentary path” of the CPI and CPI(M). However, by focusing the debate on the form and method of struggle, they divert attention from the crucial question of the *content* of the political power that needs to be established for our society to advance. Just like CPI(M), they too advocate an improved version of bourgeois democracy, which they call New Democracy or People’s Democracy, claiming that it will allegedly be a joint rule of several classes including capitalists and the working class.

In our country we have many parties and groups that swear by Mao Zedong Thought as their guiding ideology. Two of the most well-known among them are CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(Maoist). In addition, there are numerous smaller parties and groups who subscribe to Mao Zedong Thought. There are national liberation movements, as in the Northeast, which are influenced by the “Chinese model” and various thoughts of Mao Zedong.

The main postulates of Mao that have a direct bearing on a country like ours are the following: (i) the society in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, in which the conflict between feudal forces and broad masses of people constitutes the

principal contradiction; (ii) the targets of revolution are the feudal landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and foreign imperialists, while the national bourgeoisie is an ally; (iii) the motive force of the revolution are the peasants, led by the Communist Party; (iv) the path for overthrowing the existing state is by establishing bases in rural areas through a people's army, and by encircling the cities from the countryside; (v) the revolution should establish a state of New Democracy, a joint rule of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, including the working class, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; and (vi) capitalism should be allowed to flourish during the prolonged period of New Democracy, and socialism should be placed on the agenda only at a later stage, after many decades. The followers of Mao in our country are all influenced by this fixed set of formulas.

CPI(ML) Liberation says in its party program, *"Imperialism, big capital and feudal remnants also present themselves as a veritable nexus and the masses of our people are groaning under the dead weight of this alliance. But this alliance can only be overthrown by grasping and resolving the principal contradiction between feudal remnants and the broad Indian masses, for the feudal remnants constitute the biggest stumbling block on the road to free and rapid development of productive forces in the country."*⁹

The formula of Mao that CPI(ML) Liberation repeats is not in tune with the fact that India has emerged as an imperialist power today, with its ruling class exporting capital to all continents. Could such a thing have been possible if "feudal remnants constitute the

⁹ Party Program of the CPI(ML) Liberation adopted at its 8th Congress, 2007

biggest stumbling block" to the rapid development of productive forces? Even though the facts are showing this formula to be invalid, the followers of Mao repeat it as if it is a permanent truth, ignoring the changes that have taken place over the past six decades of capitalist development in our country.

It is undeniable that the age-old relations of discrimination and oppression based on caste hierarchy and gender still persist in our country and affect all spheres of social life. Big landlords continue to dominate poor peasants in less developed regions, while in the more developed areas they have become capitalist landlords and integrated into the globalised capitalist economy. The caste identity is reinforced by its integration into the polity, in the form of reserved constituencies. The main fact to recognise is that the motion of the economy as a whole is determined by the laws of capitalism. The deployment of the social surplus is driven by the striving for maximum capitalist profit.

Our Party concluded at its Second Congress in 1998 that it is capitalism which is the motor of the economy and the driving force behind globalisation through privatisation and liberalisation. It is capitalism and the rule of the bourgeoisie which is responsible for perpetuating the remnants of feudalism, the caste hierarchy, as well as the legacy of colonialism and the imperialist plunder of our land and labour. Putting an end to capitalism and the rule of the bourgeoisie is the condition for the completion of the anti-feudal, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle.

Facts show that the capitalist class, headed by the monopolies, is the principal exploiting class in our country. Not only is the surplus value produced by the

working class pocketed by the capitalist class, but an increasing share of the value created by peasants' toil is also being appropriated by capitalist corporations and banks. The widespread demand for remunerative prices and for public procurement is a reflection of the struggle of commodity-producing peasants against the private profiteers in trade, headed by Reliance and other monopoly corporations, Indian and international.

CPI(ML) Liberation refers to the nexus between international monopoly capital, Indian monopoly capital and the feudal remnants in our country. Of these different forces in alliance, the monopoly capitalists are growing year by year, in their economic might and hence their weight in society. The feudal remnants, by definition, are what *remains* of an old system that is no longer the dominant one. Big capital is the leader of the alliance of reactionary forces. Without uprooting capitalism, and replacing bourgeois democracy with proletarian democracy, it is not possible to eliminate the influence of the caste hierarchy and all remnants of feudalism.

The idea that feudalism or feudal remnants are the main roadblock to social progress serves the capitalist class to expand its space. It diverts communists from the task of awakening the peasants to the reality that their biggest threat comes from the capitalist corporations and big banks; and that the drive towards the globalisation of capital spells ruin and devastation for the peasantry.

The characterisation of our country as semi-colonial is also erroneous and not in conformity with the facts and phenomena. CPI(ML) Liberation characterises the Indian bourgeoisie as comprador in nature, having an "*acute*

*dependence on finance capital including an alarming indebtedness to imperialist dominated commercial and multilateral lending agencies."*¹⁰ This is not consistent with the fact that India's external debt to GDP ratio is lower than in many advanced capitalist countries today, while its external reserves are significantly higher than average. CPI(Maoist) characterises our society as *"semi-colonial and semi-feudal under a neo-colonial form of indirect exploitation and control."*¹¹ It justifies this characterisation by saying *"imperialism influences, exploits and controls all aspects of social life in India."*¹²

Facts and phenomena show that not only is our country a victim of imperialist domination and plunder, but Indian capital is also plundering the land and labour of others. The bourgeoisie in our country is an imperialist bourgeoisie. It has established properties and markets abroad, and is striving to expand its sphere of influence through collusion and contention with the US and other imperialist powers. To call this class comprador, an agent of foreign powers, is to cover up its imperialist character. It implies that when the ruling class of our country colludes with the US, it must be opposed as being a sell-out, but when it contends with the US, it must be supported as being "nationalist". This is the position of CPI(M) as well, which calls for an "independent foreign policy" and not for an "anti-imperialist" foreign policy. In actual fact, both when it colludes and when it contends with the US or any other imperialist power, the Indian state is acting in the narrow imperialist interest of the big capitalists, which deserves to be exposed and condemned.

¹⁰ Party Program of the CPI(ML) Liberation adopted at the 8th Congress, 2007

¹¹ 9th Congress of CPI(Maoist), "Strategy and Tactics", 2007

¹² 9th Congress of CPI(Maoist), "Strategy and Tactics", 2007

Between the CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML) Liberation, there is broad agreement on formulas regarding the nature of our society, the nature of the bourgeois class in our country, the stage of revolution, its motive force and the kind of state and economic system to be established. They oppose each other mainly over the method and tactics of struggle.

The root of the problem with the line of thinking and action of both these parties lies in the ideology of Mao Zedong, the thinking that guided the Chinese revolution, which one of them calls Mao Zedong Thought and the other calls Maoism. Our critical analysis of these parties and the role they play will not be complete and thorough if we do not probe into the source of the problem, that is, the ideology or thought of Mao Zedong.

Comrades!

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in China, and the historical evolution of that country into the fastest growing capitalist economy today, has had a major impact on our country. The Chinese revolution and the thoughts emanating from its experience had a major influence on Indian communists. The performance of China today has a major influence on the thinking of the Indian bourgeoisie and all its fronts.

Our critical study of the role of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML) Liberation has reaffirmed our Party's conviction that Mao Zedong Thought is unscientific, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist.

Mao Zedong Thought is an ideology that appeals to the peasants and others of the middle strata, those

with a small amount of private property who wish that the contradiction between capital and labour should disappear, and dream that small-scale production can be made to survive. It is an ideology for lining up the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie behind the capitalist path, thereby sidelining and isolating the working class, as has happened in China.

Some of the followers of Mao claim that China was progressing along the socialist path as long as Mao was alive, but changed course after his time. However, it is an indisputable fact that Mao advocated and led the establishment of a state that would end feudalism and foreign imperialist domination, while encouraging the growth of Chinese capitalism. Mao sowed the seeds for a national bourgeoisie to thrive, and the inevitable result is the rise of China as a capitalist-imperialist power. Hence the theoretical roots of Chinese revisionism and the march of Chinese capitalism lies in Mao's thought, not merely in what his successors did.

The theory of revolution propounded by Mao was promoted by the Communist Party of China (CPC) as a further advance of Marxism-Leninism, allegedly to a higher level. The Constitution of the CPC, approved at its 9th Congress in 1969, proclaimed Mao Zedong Thought to be Marxism-Leninism of the new era. The "new era" was declared to be one in which *"imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory"*.

While the CPC declared a "new era" at its 9th Congress in 1969, it did not stick to this position for too long. At its 10th Congress in 1973 it declared that this is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Subsequently, it declared that the contradiction

between imperialism and oppressed nations had become the principal contradiction, and that the “third world” had become the motive force of the world revolution. It even called on progressive forces to ally with US imperialism, the “lesser evil”, to oppose Soviet social-imperialism. In short, the CPC headed by Mao refused to be guided by the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

According to Leninism, the fundamental contradiction of this epoch is between the new and old social systems, socialism and capitalism. Within the capitalist system, this appears as the contradiction between social production and private appropriation of its fruits. It is this fundamental contradiction that gives rise to repeated crises. It is the driver of the sharpening of the three major contradictions of the imperialist system – that is, between exploiters and exploited within each country, between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples, and among the imperialist powers. The sharpening of these three major contradictions together brings the fundamental contradiction to the point of resolution. Only the resolution of the fundamental contradiction can resolve all the contradictions and problems of society in this epoch. In other words, only the revolution and socialism can put an end to imperialist wars, end national oppression and neo-colonial plunder, and eliminate capitalist exploitation along with the remnants of feudal and other systems of oppression within a country.

Mao theorised that any one of the three major contradictions can become the principal contradiction at a particular time, thereby negating the Leninist conclusion that the fundamental contradiction remains the same throughout this epoch. He postulated the anti-

Leninist thesis that the problem of national oppression can be addressed on its own, without proletarian revolution and socialism. This was the main content of the CPC's infamous Theory of Three Worlds. It is a negation of the Leninist conclusion that the confrontation between capitalism, which has reached its ultimate and moribund stage of imperialism, and the proletarian revolution, for which conditions have matured on the world scale, defines the main content of the present epoch.

The CPC put forth the Theory of Three Worlds in the seventies, following the visit of the US President Nixon to China. Just like the peasantry was presented as the main motive force for revolution within the country, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were presented as the motive force of the global struggle against imperialism, headed by the superpowers.

The US and Soviet Union were characterised as the First World, the other advanced capitalist powers of North America, Europe and Japan were called the Second World, while the rest of the countries were collectively called the Third World. This Third World was promoted as the main revolutionary force in the world, not the international proletariat. In the name of *Third World unity*, the Chinese leadership cultivated friendship with the Shah of Iran, Mobutu in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) and other imperialist agents and butchers of their own people. It also cultivated friendship with the US imperialists, proclaiming that within the first world, Soviet social-imperialism was the more dangerous power.

In our country there are parties and groups that condemn the Theory of Three Worlds as being

opportunist and counter-revolutionary, but still try to save Mao by claiming that he was not the author of this theory. Facts show that Mao Zedong was very much there at the head of the CPC when this theory was floated. It was floated to serve the imperialist aims of the Chinese capitalist class, its desire to cultivate alliances with various states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, posing as their leader in the common struggle against the big powers, and to ally with the US in its contention with the Soviet Union.

Mao's line of "encircling the cities from the countryside", which is claimed to be an advance over Marx and Lenin, is actually an expression of distrust in the working class. It is a complete deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a backward step in thought. To justify his assertion that the peasantry is the motive force of revolution, Mao pointed to the fact that peasants constituted the most numerous class in Chinese society. This is in violation of the dialectical materialist outlook and method that guides the Communist Party to base itself on the rising and most revolutionary class, the proletariat, which holds the key to the future, and not on a class which is bound to disintegrate.

The working class, which was a minority in China at that time, was already showing its revolutionary character in the uprisings against imperialism. It was bound to grow in size and political strength with the advance of industrialisation and large-scale production. The peasantry, which was the majority in semi-colonial China, was bound to get differentiated and to disintegrate over time. Mao Zedong advocated basing the vanguard party on a disintegrating class, tied to private property in land, simply because it was numerically the majority at that time.

The followers of Mao Zedong Thought often use the phrase “led by the proletariat”. However, if one probes further, they say leadership by the proletariat is nothing but leadership by the Communist Party. In other words, they equate the Party with the class, negating Lenin’s definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party leads while the class rules; this is the Leninist concept. Mao replaced this with the revisionist concept of the rule of the Communist Party of China, which was not even built as the advanced detachment of the working class. It was built as the party of several classes interested in getting rid of feudalism and foreign domination. It has become consolidated as the party of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, which is an imperialist bourgeoisie at this time. The doors of the Communist Party of China stand open to billionaires today.

Mao Zedong Thought departs from the science of Marxism and its materialist outlook on the important question of characterising the Chinese bourgeoisie. Marxism derives the nature of the classes in society from their objective position within the existing system of social production, i.e., the economic relations at the base of society that determine how and by whom the means of social production are owned. Mao put forth the idealist notion that the nature of a class can be changed through the correct handling of contradictions by the Communist Party.

In an essay written in 1957, called ***On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*** Mao wrote, *“In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support for the constitution and its willingness*

*to accept socialist transformation constitute the other ... The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is therefore antagonistic in nature. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods."*¹³

According to Marx, the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the working class are in irreconcilable contradiction with each other. From this it follows that the bourgeoisie will always strive to defend and expand capitalism and prevent the advance of socialism. Not in China, says Mao, arguing that they can become supporters of socialism "*if properly handled*". This is idealism and a negation of Marxism.

Mao's argument that the contradiction between capital and labour can be reconciled "*in the concrete conditions of China*" is a manifestation of Chinese exceptionalism. In essence, it conveys the message that Marxism does not apply in China, only Maoism does.

Based on the unscientific false premise that Chinese capitalists can be converted into allies of socialism, Mao put forward his class conciliatory concept of New Democracy, presenting it as a joint rule of exploiters and exploited, and as an intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism.

In his essay ***On New Democracy***, Mao wrote in 1940, "*This new-democratic republic will be different from the*

¹³ Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. V, pp.384-421

*old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, which is the old democratic form and already out of date. On the other hand, it will also be different from the socialist republic of the Soviet type under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is already flourishing in the USSR, and which, moreover, will be established in all the industrially advanced countries. However, for a certain historical period, this form is not suitable for the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. During this period, therefore, a third form of state must be adopted in the revolutions of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, namely, the new-democratic republic."*¹⁴

*"Thus the numerous types of state systems in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power; (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes."*¹⁵

It is useful to compare and contrast these statements of Mao with the well known statements of Marx and Lenin on this question. At a time when the German working class had organised itself in a political party, and an active debate was taking place on the program to be adopted, Marx presented his views in a famous essay called the ***Critique of the Gotha Program***. Marx wrote, *"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political*

¹⁴ Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. II, pp.350

¹⁵ Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. II, pp.350

transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

At a time when the Russian working class was approaching the revolutionary overthrow of the Czarist autocracy, and there was active debate within and among the revolutionary parties on the nature of the state power to be established in place of the Czarist regime, Lenin wrote his famous book called the ***State and Revolution***. In this Lenin wrote, "*The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a **single class** is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat that has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from classless society, from communism.*"

It is clear from this comparison that Mao's political theory is entirely different from, and in fact the complete opposite of, the political theory of Marx and Lenin. The so-called joint dictatorship of several classes that was built in China has metamorphosed into nothing but the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The most fundamental conclusion of Marxism, which Mao negated, is that if the dictatorship of the proletariat is not established, then the bourgeoisie will establish its dictatorship sooner or later.

Mao also wrote in his essay ***On New Democracy***, "*Enterprises such as banks, railways and airlines, whether Chinese-owned or foreign-owned, which are either monopolistic in character or too big for private management, shall be operated and administered by the state, so that private capital cannot dominate the livelihood of the people ... but the republic will neither*

*confiscate capitalist private property in general nor forbid the development of such capitalist production as does not 'dominate the livelihood of the people', for China's economy is still very backward."*¹⁶

To give the capitalist class a position in the state power, claiming that it is an ally of the workers and peasants, and to declare that the Chinese Republic will never *confiscate capitalist property in general* – means to lay the foundations of a capitalist society and not a socialist society.

Mao argued that capitalism must be permitted to flourish because China was very backward, implying that capitalism would be eliminated at a later stage, when China was no longer backward. This was only a convenient excuse. In actual fact, the CPC never had the aim of eliminating capitalism and constructing socialism. Its aim was limited to the elimination of feudalism and foreign domination, to pave the way for Chinese capitalism to flourish and develop into Chinese imperialism, striving for world domination.

There is a fundamental difference between the historical experience of the revolution in the Soviet Union and in China. In the Soviet Union the revolution advanced to the stage of having eliminated capitalism and the economic base for exploiting classes. The exploiting classes had actually gone out of being as classes, by the mid-thirties. There was an about turn in the course being followed when the line of the Party was changed in the fifties; subsequently the exploiting classes re-appeared and became the rulers.

¹⁶ Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, Vol. II, pp.328

In China, on the other hand, feudalism and foreign domination were put to an end, but the elimination of capitalism was never placed on the agenda. The exploiting capitalist class was never eliminated. Capitalists were given space in the state power, to pursue their interests allegedly in non-antagonistic contradiction with the working class and peasantry.

Within the economy of *New Democracy*, which was supposed to be an intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism, the space for private enterprise and capital accumulation was never eliminated. That is why the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in 1982, reflecting already prevailing conditions, contained Article 11 defining the *"individual economy of urban and rural working people"* as a *"complement to the socialist public economy"*. In 1999, individual and private economic entities were no longer considered a complement, but were treated as *"an important component of the country's socialist market economy"*. In 2004, private property was declared inviolable and land use rights were permitted to be commercialised.

While Mao Zedong must be credited with having led an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in China, he bears responsibility for defining a Line of March that was a recipe for ensuring that capitalism and not socialism would be consolidated in China.

Comrades!

There are, in the main, two trends within the followers of Mao Zedong Thought in our country with respect to the method of struggle. One trend consists of those who believe that armed struggle is the only revolutionary form of struggle. Those belonging to this trend call for

permanent boycott of the electoral process. The other trend consists of those who participate in elections at one or more levels, considering it a tactic to build a "united front" of various classes, including sections of the bourgeoisie who are called nationalist or secular.

CPI(ML) Liberation responded to the turn in the tide of the world revolution by overthrowing the historic conclusion of Naxalbari that the system of parliamentary democracy cannot lead to the liberation of workers and peasants from their exploitation and oppression. It entered the electoral arena in a way that is qualitatively not different from that of CPI(M). CPI(ML) Liberation has sought to occupy the old positions that CPI(M) has abandoned in this period, attracting to its fold those within CPI(M) who feel betrayed by the "rightist shift" in their party's position.

CPI(Maoist), the principal proponent of armed struggle as the only revolutionary form, says in its 9th Congress Report of 2007, *"We have to first concentrate on those areas where feudal exploitation is at its worst ... where the enemy is relatively weak and where geographical conditions (mountains, hills, forests, and other favourable terrain) are more favourable for conducting the guerilla war"*. As the capitalist corporations and state security forces penetrate one area, CPI(Maoist) shifts to another area, leaving the broad masses of people defenceless in the face of state repression.

CPI(Maoist) admits that it cannot wage armed struggle in the plains, where the vast majority of peasants live and work. It has promoted the vision of a so-called *Red Corridor*, running through the mineral rich forests where tribal peoples live, from Andhra Pradesh in the south through Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and all

the way up to Nepal. This spectre is promoted in the capitalist media as being the main threat facing India.

The question is: *how can a revolution succeed that leaves out the workers and peasants?* The centralised state power of the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown without a centralised revolutionary power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, tribal peoples and all the oppressed. Workers in modern industry and services have to lead those living in under-developed villages and isolated hills and forests, not the other way around.

The tribal peoples in our country have a long revolutionary history of fighting against the colonial state and its usurpation of their rights. What they need today is the leadership of the modern working class and the guidance of its vanguard party in the theory and practice of revolution. The intervention of a party guided by Mao's teachings in the struggle of tribal peoples has a negative impact. Individual acts of terror, killing of police and army men, carried out in the name of guerilla warfare, feed into the apparatus of state terrorism. The ruling authority gets a convenient excuse to unleash brutal repression on anyone who refuses to comply with its dictate.

Dividing the fighting forces by insisting on this or that form of struggle has played a negative role in the history of our people. Mohandas Gandhi promoted the notion that only non-violent forms were legitimate in the struggle against colonialism. The CPI and CPI(M) consider the parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle. They engage in extra parliamentary forms of struggle when it serves to increase their strength in parliament, and abandon it when they enter into an

alliance with the ruling coalition, as they did during 2004-08. The CPI(Maoist) considers armed struggle, in the form of guerrilla warfare, as the highest and main form of struggle. It ignores the workers in large-scale industry and services, who are waging various forms of struggle against capitalist exploitation and are being misled by the parliamentary parties and bourgeois reformist politics.

The notion that armed struggle is the only form of revolutionary struggle at all times is erroneous and harmful to our cause. The class struggle assumes different forms independent of anyone's will. Such forms include economic and political struggle, ideological and theoretical. The vanguard party of the working class must study the forms of struggle characteristic of a particular period and adopt appropriate tactics, rather than trying to impose some pre-determined form as being the most revolutionary. We must engage in varied forms of struggle, knowing that at the decisive moment, the revolutionary alliance led by the working class will need to seize political power through the force of arms, as the bourgeoisie will never give it up peacefully.

The Marxist Leninist teachings on the armed insurrection advocate close combination of the struggle in the city and that in the villages and forests, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party. An armed struggle that does not have the involvement or even support of the working class plays into the hands of the ruling capitalist class. The ruling class uses the slogan of fighting terrorism to justify large-scale repression on all forms of resistance to its oppressive rule.

Those waging guerrilla warfare as part of a "protracted people's war" in the present period, when revolution

is in ebb, are either compelled to give up arms or to become terrorist gangs. Lack of mass support drives such underground parties and groups to use force to collect "taxes" and "fines" from the people, or carry out killings for a fee. Rival capitalist parties use such groups to settle scores among themselves, and to destroy popular movements.

The strategic aim of the communist movement cannot be achieved if the working class is not made conscious and organised to lead the toiling masses in revolution. The most organised sections of the working class live and work in the cities and towns. The most important task confronting communists is to wean such workers away from the influence of bourgeois politics. Those who advocate encircling the cities from the villages or forests are effectively abandoning the crucial work of preparing the working class to lead the revolution. They are abandoning the working class to the politics of the capitalist class.

Comrades!

While the CPI(M) and CPI(Maoist) are engaging in bitter warfare against one another, the fact is that both of them are acting in the service of reconciling workers and peasants to the rule of the bourgeoisie. The former is promoting the illusion of a Left Front or a Left and Democratic Front, a Third Front or a Secular Front, or some other front with supposedly progressive bourgeois parties, to deliver an allegedly improved capitalism. The latter is also promoting the vision of a joint rule of several classes including the working class and the bourgeoisie, and some form of non-monopoly capitalism, both of which are impossible.

The trend of becoming a part of capitalist democracy, and the line of waging guerrilla war in remote areas, appear to be opposed to one another. However, while they adopt different tactics and methods, they are pushing a common content and serving a common aim. They are creating illusions about capitalism and about bourgeois democracy. They are serving to lower the level of consciousness of the working class and preventing it from recognising its potential as the leader of society. Both trends are acting as roadblocks to the proletarian revolution in our country.

Ever since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the theory of communism and the institution called the Communist Party are being maligned on an unprecedented scale. Established principles are being overturned to roll back the victories achieved by the working class and peoples on the world scale. In such conditions, the advance of the communist movement is being blocked by those who swear by communism but conciliate with the notion of *a better path of capitalist development* or a *middle path* between capitalism and socialism, under the "*joint rule*" of the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Our Party recognised in the nineties that the ideological struggle had to be waged in a new way in the conditions of the new period that was unfolding. The advance of the movement for communism in our country was being blocked by those who called themselves communist but submitted to the imposition of European social-democracy. Such forces collaborated or conciliated with the Congress Party, to justify the perpetuation of an alien political system and economic orientation inherited from the colonialists. They presented communism as a "left-wing" of the Congress Party. We called for the

restoration of unity of Indian communists on the basis of rejecting and breaking with bourgeois ideology of all forms, including European social-democracy and liberalism, American pragmatism, Chinese exceptionalism and sectarianism of all kinds.

Taking into account the changed conditions, we have waged the ideological and polemical struggle to preserve the revolutionary forces and prevent their isolation. We have repeatedly called for an open debate among all parties that call themselves communist, to define afresh what is communism. We have worked to unite all communists around one General Line of March and one common communist program, breaking with all forms of conciliation with bourgeois ideology and forms of capitalist rule.

We were always aware that submission to bourgeois ideology exists within those who call themselves communist in our country. We have believed that the line of demarcation will become clearly exposed and understood only if we wage the ideological struggle around the burning issues of the present times. We have waged this struggle with the aim of raising the level of consciousness in the movement, to arm all communists and activists of the working class to distinguish between communist class struggle and conciliation with capitalist rule.

We believe that the harmful lines poisoning the communist movement have revealed themselves. It is essential for relevant conclusions to be drawn in this regard, so as to further advance the work to restore communist unity on a modern revolutionary basis.

The times are calling on us to step up the ideological and polemical struggle against those in the movement who claim that the working class can share power with the bourgeoisie and that capitalism can provide for the people if it is properly managed. We must call on all sincere communists to unite around the aim of ushering in proletarian democracy, which would enable the working class to rule and steer society in alliance with peasants and the toiling majority. We must strengthen our Party as the most crucial instrument for restoring the unity of communists. We must invite all progressive forces to join the work of building the revolutionary united front to vest sovereignty in the hands of the people.

Comrades!

We have come to this Congress with a balance sheet of successes in implementing the decisions of the Third Congress held in January, 2005. We have defended and elaborated our program in close connection with the class struggle, and in opposition to all the diversions including the Congress-Left concoction called the "National Common Minimum Program". We have waged polemical struggle against those who are bringing a bad name to communism. We have advanced in strengthening our Party, and in leading the strengthening of the revolutionary united front organisation. Our work has had a visible influence on working people's organisations and their collective consciousness.

Numerous organisations among the people are demanding food, housing, employment, education and health as their inviolable rights, compelling

the government of the day to introduce new laws in response. The demand for a universal Public Distribution System has become the clarion call of workers' unions and peasant organisations all across the country. The trend of people's candidates rising to contest the candidates selected by the "recognised" parties continues to spread.

Workers and peasants of our country refuse to accept the *mantra* that the economy is best left to so-called *free market forces*. Our Party's theoretical arguments to back up the demands of the people for their inviolable rights, along with our practical political actions, have contributed to the advance in the collective consciousness of the people.

While our Party has recorded significant successes and gains over the past five years, what do the facts show gains or losses did the working class record during the period 2005-10? What do the facts show with respect to the class struggle and where it stands today, in our country and internationally? This is the question that we must now turn our attention to – that is, a concrete analysis of the present situation in the world and in our country. This is essential in order to derive our tasks and decide on our plan of action over the coming years.

Chapter Three

Present Situation and Our Tasks

Comrades!

The most striking feature of the global situation in recent years is the intensification of the contradictions within capitalist countries, between the exploited masses and the exploiters headed by the monopoly capitalists. Massive street demonstrations have taken place all over North America and Europe against imperialist war and against government hand-outs to the monopoly capitalists and big banks. Anger and hatred is being expressed by the working class and peoples in all continents against financial speculators, capitalist profiteers, arms merchants and governments committed to fulfil the greed of such parasites.

The global economic crisis of 2008, with its epicentre in the United States, the most powerful capitalist power, caused serious damage to the banner of the “free market”. The United States, the epitome of “free enterprise”, has witnessed massive government hand-outs to private financial institutions and other monopolies, to protect their profits and shift the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working people. It has become exposed for all to see that in the so-called free market there are a privileged few who are more equal than others. The

government bails out the biggest capitalist banks and corporations, with the justification that they are “too big to fail”, while demanding that working families had better fend for themselves. Workers, unemployed youth, pensioners and immigrants demanding their rights have been pouring on to the streets in protest, with rising frequency.

Official data show that the real wages of the working class, which is the largest class in American society, has been declining for many years at a stretch. This sowed the seeds for a recession, which was postponed for a long period through the enormous expansion of consumer credit, and through the cheapening of consumer goods by shifting their production to countries where labour power and raw materials are cheap. When the economic crisis finally broke out, in the form of the collapse of the housing loan market, it did so with the accumulated effect of several years of squeezing the real wages of workers. Widespread anger among working people against the financial barons of Wall Street is combining with rising resistance to the curtailment of democratic rights, attacks on immigrants, racial profiling and persecution, all in the name of national security and the “war on terrorism”.

The US imperialist bourgeoisie brought Obama to head the administration, claiming that this first-ever Afro-American President would bring about *change*. While the slogans and the rhetoric have changed, there is no change in the class nature of the US state, which remains imperialist and militarist, acting in the service of the most rapacious capitalist monopolies. It remains racist and continues to become more and more fascist. The economy is in such a sorry state that the US imperialist bourgeoisie is looking for another

round of escalated aggression and war, as the only way to keep pocketing maximum profits, generate a few new jobs at home and shift the burden on others. There is no change in the aggressive and dangerous character of US imperialism in world affairs, except that Obama is seeking to rope in old European allies so that US war plans can regain a multilateral look unlike the unilateralism of the Bush regime.

In Britain, the General Elections in May 2010 revealed the strong sentiment among working people and student youth for an alternative to the anti-social and pro-war agenda of the ruling class. None of the three major parties could win a majority. A Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition has replaced the Labour Party. The first act of this government has been to initiate a massive cutback in health, education, and other public services, in the name of a "Comprehensive Spending Review". This has been accompanied by job cuts in the state sector and steep hikes in higher education fees. The working class and student youth of Britain have come out on the streets in mass protests, against war and cutbacks in social spending.

In Canada, the blatant police brutality unleashed against protestors at the G20 meeting held in Toronto in June 2010 has led to further escalation of the mass movement in defence of their right to dissent and fight for an alternative. There is widespread and growing opposition among the people to the anti-social economic and political offensive, to the violation of human rights, to the US domination and the pro-war position of the Canadian government.

The working class and middle strata in the US, Britain, Canada and other advanced capitalist countries are

refusing to accept a system in which a financial oligarchy accumulates its wealth by robbing and exploiting the toiling majority, and periodically plunges the whole of society into deep crisis. They are seeking an alternative to the outdated system of democracy that reduces citizens to voting cattle and tramples nations and their rights in the mud, while empowering rival parties of monopoly capital to dominate the polity. They are unwilling to put up with unjust wars waged with imperialist aims of domination and hegemony, accompanied by fascistic suppression of rights in the name of fighting terrorism.

Stop paying the Rich! Invest in the people! – this is becoming the clarion call of the working class and the toiling majority in many capitalist countries. They are protesting against cutbacks in social programs and demanding a halt to debt servicing and other hand-outs to the super-rich. Protests are growing against the destruction of productive forces and the natural environment by the drive of capitalist monopolies for maximum private profits at all times.

Massive working class demonstrations, unprecedented in the scale of mobilisation and in intensity, have shaken France in recent weeks and months. Each strike action has involved over two million workers, from all sectors of the economy. School and university students have been an active contingent of the struggle. The French working class is determined to oppose and defeat the pension reform program, through which the state wants to rob workers' savings in the interest of capitalist profits.

In Greece, mass protests have taken place against further "austerity" measures being imposed by

international money lending institutions, as the condition for restructuring the external debt of the government. This has sent shock waves all over Europe. In Spain, Portugal, Italy and other countries of Western as well as Eastern Europe, the threat of further wrecking of socialised services in the name of "fiscal responsibility" has provoked massive street protests. More and more people are expressing their refusal to bear the burden of the capitalist crisis on their backs.

In India, the UPA government had handed out enormous tax breaks to capitalist corporations and "recapitalisation packages" to the big banks to recover from the economic crisis, at the cost of a massive increase in national debt. The working class has come out on the streets in defence of its livelihood and against the capitalist-imperialist offensive. Peasants and tribal communities are courageously resisting the corporate land grab that is being legitimised by the old colonial law and by the new fascist SEZ Act.

The Congress Party-led United Progressive Alliance is facing a serious crisis of credibility just one year into its second term. It has not been able to stabilise the political situation, as the capitalists had hoped. The reason lies in the intensification of contradictions within our society, between the exploiters and the exploited as well as among the exploiters themselves.

Comrades!

Contradictions have become increasingly visible in recent years between countries, nations and peoples fighting for their sovereignty and the dominant imperialist powers that are imposing their model and vision on everyone. Even though the colonial system came to

an end in the latter half of the 20th century, it was replaced with the neo-colonial system of domination and plunder of politically independent countries. The struggle against the domination of foreign capital and the legacy of colonial rule has continued in varied forms. Today we are witnessing colonial occupation under the pretext of fighting terrorism, making peace or promoting “democracy” and “human rights”.

The peoples of Afghanistan and Iraq are courageously persisting in fighting to rid their motherland of foreign occupation troops, led by the United States. The outright criminality of the imperialist powers in concocting false pretexts for naked aggression, colossal destruction and colonial occupation stands exposed.

Resistance is mounting against the criminal acts of the Israeli zionists against the Palestinian and other peoples of the region. The exploited and oppressed masses of people in the Arab and other countries of West Asia and North Africa are seething with anger against the corrupt and repressive regimes that the imperialists have propped up to facilitate maximum plunder of their natural resources and super-exploitation of their labour, and to divide them in the face of Israeli aggression and expansion.

The destruction and colonisation of nations, slanderous propaganda against ancient civilisations in the name of opposing “Islamic fundamentalism”, and the imposition of Anglo-American institutions and values in the name of nation building are leading to rising opposition and anger against US imperialism and its allies. The imperialist propaganda brands all opposition among peoples of Islamic faith as being inspired by “Islamic fundamentalism”, in order to hide its anti-

imperialist content and justify using force against such mass movements.

Anger and opposition to the growing US imperialist domination and interference in their country is extremely widespread in Pakistan. The vast majority of people consider US imperialism to be the number one enemy and danger facing Pakistan. Even the ruling circles are divided in relation to the growing US domination. Sentiments against US imperialism are so strong and widespread that any party or General in power is caught in a bind. A leader cannot maintain any credibility with the people in Pakistan if he or she is seen to toe the US line. But the US imperialists will not let a ruler remain in power if he or she does not toe the US line. As a result, the political crisis continues. No regime is able to stabilise the situation.

Struggles for national self-determination are raging within many multinational states around the world. In our country, national liberation struggles have continued since colonial times in the Northeast region, and since 1947 in Kashmir. Workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and masses of people in these regions are persisting in their struggle for national self-determination and for human rights, for the repeal of fascist laws and end to army rule. They are stepping up their struggle in spite of brutal repression by the central armed forces of the colonial style Indian Union carried out in the name of defending "national unity and territorial integrity".

The people of Nepal arose in a popular rebellion that deposed the monarchy in that country. The struggle continues against the attempts of imperialism to impose an Indian style parliamentary democracy there so as

to preserve the system of exploitation and plunder of Nepal without the monarchy.

Several countries around the world are persisting in exercising their right to have a political and economic system of their choice, braving enormous imperialist pressures, such as Cuba, North Korea, Venezuela and Iran. The politics of sanctions is being questioned, contested and opposed by more and more peoples and governments all over the world.

The struggle has advanced in Latin America against the dictates of US imperialism, and of the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO, with the formation of an alternative financial institution and an alternative trading arrangement by eight countries that have come together in the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA). These countries have also initiated a common electronic currency called *sucre*. US imperialism has sponsored a coup in Honduras to overthrow the legally elected President, after which Honduras withdrew from ALBA. The US is continuing with its attempts to destabilise the governments in Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua, all members of ALBA.

Two decades of unfettered expansion of international trade and the futures market has led to enormous concentration of trading capital, and a high degree of speculation and manipulation of commodity prices. Speculation in commodities has become a preferred option for finance capital to keep pocketing maximum profits even at times when there is no growth in production. This has resulted in extreme levels of insecurity in the case of several countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are dependent on exports of one or a few commodities.

The resistance of peoples and governments around the world to unequal trade agreements and impositions of the WTO has, along with the deepening of inter-imperialist conflicts of interest, led to a stalemate in the Doha round of negotiations.

Opposition to imperialism and the enslaving rule of finance capital exists in all continents – in Europe, Asia, North and South America, Africa and Australia. There are anti-imperialist movements of the working class and people even in advanced capitalist countries, such as against US domination in Canada and against EU domination in several countries of Europe.

Comrades!

The operation of the law of uneven development can be seen today in the extremely lopsided and skewed structure of the world economy. The most advanced capitalist economies are characterised by destruction of many sectors of social production and increasing militarisation alongside stagnation or decline in production of consumption goods. They are characterised by record levels of unemployment, along with growing indebtedness of the people and governments. On the other hand, the less developed emerging economies are experiencing rapid growth in capitalist production based on super-exploitation of labour, led by sectors that are highly integrated with markets around the world.

The technical-scientific revolution of the last decades of the 20th century led to a rapid rise in the productivity of labour and in the organic composition of capital, that is, the portion of capital advanced to purchase material inputs in relation to the portion paid as wages

of labour. This caused the average rate of capitalist profit to decline, in conformity with the objective law discovered by Marx. The response of finance capital, which is satisfied with nothing less than the maximum rate of profit, has been to raise the degree of speculative profiteering and to intensify the degree of exploitation of labour, through various means.

The multinational companies have shifted production of consumer goods to countries where skilled labour is available in plenty and is relatively cheap. More and more workers are getting super-exploited all over the world to supply goods and services at lowest cost to the retail monopolies in the US and some other advanced capitalist countries. The result is relatively rapid growth in production in the countries endowed with abundant supply of skilled labour, such as China and India. The growth of these economies is also being spurred by massive investments in infrastructure, to support rapid growth of their respective capitalist classes.

The US government enjoys unlimited access to global credit to finance massive trade deficits and any military adventure of its choice, as long as the Dollars it prints are in demand in the rest of the world. The “national debt” of the US is merged with its external debt, which has reached US\$ 13.5 trillion, equal to 94% of the GDP of the country. The consequences of rising government debt are not as severe in the US as in Europe, because the US rulers are able to keep shifting the burden on others by printing more Dollars. However, uneven development is leading inexorably towards the undermining of the supremacy of the Dollar as the preferred currency of international trade and finance.

The aggressive drive of US imperialism towards a unipolar world is being resisted by other imperialist powers that want a multi-polar world divided among several super-powers. The unity that was initially seen among the G8 powers behind the US led international offensive is now showing several cracks.

The European Union (EU) consists of 27 countries of which 16 have adopted a single currency, the *Euro*. Germany is the leader of this Union, and the formation of this Union has greatly strengthened German imperialist domination over Europe. The EU, consisting of 500 million people, is the world's largest economic bloc, slightly ahead of the US in its combined economic strength. However, it is militarily tied to NATO, which is dominated by US imperialism. The US strives through all kinds of diabolical methods to prevent the emergence of the *Euro* as an alternative to the US Dollar as the preferred currency of international transactions. One of the reasons why the US imperialists aggressed on Iraq was that the Government of Iraq was attempting to promote the *Euro* as the preferred currency in international oil trade.

The global economic crisis has hit Japan and the countries of Europe very severely. One manifestation of this is that public debt is higher than 100% of GDP in the case of Japan, Italy and Greece. It is higher than 70% in the case of France, Germany and most other European countries. Resentment is growing among the working class and the middle strata in these countries against the financial oligarchy in power, as the burden of servicing the rising national debt falls on their heads.

Japan has the third biggest economy of the world, which is in severe crisis at this time. The foreign

markets of Japanese corporations are being challenged by China and South Korea in recent years. Japan is still under US military domination, and there is a powerful movement building up amongst the working class and people of Japan against US domination and the presence of its military base in Japanese territory.

Russia is a major imperialist power straddling Asia and Europe, with perhaps the world's largest reserves of oil and gas. It has been weakened as a result of the loss of the former Soviet republics and other East European countries and neo-colonies that were part of its social-imperialist empire. It has also been severely affected by the global economic crisis. Russia is losing out to China in the Central Asian republics, and to the US in the former Soviet republics in Europe. However, Russia still has one of the biggest stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, second only to the US, and it has shown its readiness to wage wars to regain and preserve its imperial empire.

Contradictions are visible within the G8 on the response to the global economic crisis. While Germany and some other European states want to adopt "fiscal austerity" measures and introduce a tax on international banks, the US and some other states are opposing this and pushing for continued government spending in the interest of propping up capitalist economic growth. The US is showing a preference to debate such issues in the broader G20 because it believes its position would have the support of China, India and other growing powers. Contradictions are sharpening as each government wants to shift the burden of the economic crisis not only onto the backs of the working people at home, but also on its rivals abroad.

Chinese imperialism has emerged as one of the biggest potential threats to the dominant position of US imperialism in the world. China has developed into a massive manufacturing centre for cheap consumer goods sold all over the world and is growing as a major exporter of capital. Investments by Chinese corporations are growing rapidly in Africa, where they are building infrastructure in exchange for mining licenses. China hopes to take advantage of the weakness of the Japanese imperialists to expand the markets and spheres of influence of its companies in South-East Asia.

Chinese investments are growing in Central Asia and Myanmar, in oil and gas, copper mines, and uranium. There is a plan to build a railway line through Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan to link China with Europe through Central Asia. The Chinese imperialists have invested in copper mining in Afghanistan, taken over three oil fields in Iraq, and are active in Iran and Pakistan as well. They are planning a rail link parallel to the road link to Pakistan, to link up with the port of Gwadar, which they are assisting to build. Chinese investments are also growing in Latin America. China has the largest foreign exchange reserves among all countries in the world.

The capitalist class of our country, headed by the monopoly houses of Tatas, Reliance and others, is also pursuing imperialist aims. It is seeking to expand its spheres of influence beyond South Asia, which it has always regarded as its own backyard. It regards the Indian Ocean region and its littoral states as its “natural” sphere of influence. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it has carefully built up a strategic relationship with the US, and at the same time sought to build on its traditional friendship with Russia and

with various states of West and Central Asia. It is trying to expand its spheres of influence in South East Asia, Central Asia and Africa.

Indian monopoly capitalists are investing all over the world by buying companies to access new markets, technology and sources of raw materials. These include coal mines, steel plants, automobile and pharmaceutical companies. Indian capitalists have emerged as the second largest foreign investors in Britain last year. Capital exported by Indian monopoly capitalists to buy companies in other countries this year has exceeded the inflow of capital to India from other countries.

The developments since the end of the Cold War period have both spurred, and created problems for the drive of Indian imperialism. With the occupation of Iraq by US-led troops, the Indian bourgeoisie lost an ally and a source of oil. The US pressure and blockade of Iran is also creating problems for the Indian capitalists' attempts to secure their sources of energy supply, to fuel their global expansion. In these conditions, Indian monopolies have been exploring for oil and gas, and seeking supplies of nuclear raw materials, in a wide range of countries. These include Russia, Vietnam, Sudan, and even as far as Venezuela. India is shopping for uranium in Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Namibia, Australia and some other countries.

The Indian state is arming itself for launching and participating in wars of conquest. It is now the largest arms importer in the world. It is building up its capacity to wage war on more than one front at the same time, that is, to launch an aggression on Pakistan while at the same time securing the eastern front against a possible counter-attack from China. The ruling class of our

country is interfering actively in Nepal, and taking steps to cement friendship with the regime in Bangladesh, as part of securing its eastern borders. It is also seeking an understanding with Sri Lanka to ward off any rival power gaining access to the Indian Ocean.

Collusion and contention characterise the Indo-US relationship, as is the case with relations between imperialist powers in general. The US is egging on India to expand eastwards, to contest China's growing influence, while it seeks to coordinate and regulate her expansion in West and Central Asia, leading to inevitable contradictions. In Afghanistan, Indian capitalist corporations are involved in building roads, hospitals and living quarters for the NATO armed forces. The Indian state is at the same time trying to work with Russia and Iran to advance common interests in Afghanistan, which is being resisted by Pakistan and the US.

The contradictions among imperialist states over territorial control are closely linked to, and are concentrated expressions of, the intense rivalry among giant monopoly corporations and their combines. Global corporations and combinations of them are fighting each other for capturing sources of raw materials, monopolising markets, grabbing the most lucrative contracts and expanding their respective spheres of influence. Cut-throat competition among global giants, including Indian multinationals in some cases, is acute in banking and insurance, in energy and steel, automobiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and other industries, as well as in agribusiness, retail trade and other services.

The conflict over control over global oil reserves, as a key to control the lifeline of rival powers, is an

important factor underlying the US-led aggression and occupation of Iraq, and threats of aggression against Iran and other countries.

There is an acute struggle developing between the states that have already established their colonial or neo-colonial territories, their spheres of economic and political influence, and those that are now growing rapidly and claiming their "share".

The position of US imperialism, the most powerful capitalist economy, is being challenged by other capitalist economies that are growing more rapidly. There are growing cracks in the alliance led by the US, increasing opposition in Asia and growing revolt in Latin America, considered as its own "backyard". Inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying, while they have not yet reached a stage when any group of powers is willing to take military action against the aggressive drive of US imperialism. At around US\$ 700 billion, annual military spending by the US is as much as the military spending by all other countries combined.

US imperialism has shown its readiness to wage wars to defend its dominant position and those of American multinational corporations. It has unleashed death and destruction in Afghanistan and Iraq to strengthen these positions in Asia. It is bound to unleash more destructive wars to defend the Dollar hegemony and its military hegemony, and to keep its highly militarised economy growing. President Obama is talking about multilateralism and the need for united action against "rogue states", reflecting the fact that US imperialism is adopting new tactics to pursue the same aggressive imperialist strategy.

Tension is mounting on the world scale. There is a possibility of the theatre of war spreading further in North Africa and Asia, to envelop Iran, the Persian Gulf, or the Korean peninsula once again.

Comrades!

When we look at the world today we see a common revolutionary element in all capitalist countries, including ours, which is that the working class and other toilers want their economic claims to be met, and to have a say in how their society is run. They want to gain control over their lives and not be helpless victims and powerless voters. They are refusing to accept that only the claims of the super-rich owners of capital must be guaranteed. They are expressing their aspirations for a new world without wars, without exploitation and poverty, for a life fit for human beings in this century. ***These phenomena reveal the fundamental contradiction between the new socialist system that is striving to be born and the old capitalist system that is being kept alive with fire and sword.***

The global phenomena show that the three major contradictions of the imperialist system that Lenin identified are all becoming more acute – between the exploiters and exploited within capitalist countries, between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples and among the imperialist powers. However, can we say that the tide of revolution has turned from ebb to flow? Such a conclusion is not warranted.

Contradictions are still getting resolved mainly in favour of imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, showing that we are still living in a period when the wind is blowing against the proletarian revolution.

Within this situation, objective conditions are becoming more favourable for the tide to turn. However, the subjective conditions, the consciousness and readiness of the working class to lead the discontented masses in revolution, lag significantly behind what is needed for the victory of revolution.

The ruling powers are reacting with brute force and fascist measures to quell the mass resistance and prevent it from becoming a revolutionary storm. They are also reacting with diabolical schemes of ideological subversion, to mislead public anger and organise counter-revolution while creating the impression of being sympathetic to the popular demands. They are continuing to impose their worn-out prescriptions of multi-party democracy and market oriented economy as the only civilised course for all nations.

Imperialism and world reaction are activating their open and hidden agents to sabotage the revolutionary movements building up in various hot spots of the world. These include the modern revisionists and pseudo-communists of all hues, as well as reformers of various kinds. They are trying to promote the kind of governance reform that does not threaten their representative democracy and the kind of regime change that would strengthen the imperialist system. They are trying their utmost to prevent the working class, led by its vanguard party, from emerging as the leader of the mass movement.

Comrades!

Within the crisis-ridden global imperialist system, India appears as a country that is full of extreme contrasts in all aspects of life. It has emerged as an imperialist

state, while being unable to shake off the legacy of its own colonial past.

Ours is a country that boasts of increasing membership in the list of richest men in the world. However, it ranks 134th in terms of human development. The combined wealth of the 10 richest capitalists in our country reached the astronomical level of Rs. 8,40,000 crore (US\$ 200 billion) by June 2008, more than one-fifth the total national income. At the other pole, more than 80% of the rural population spends less than Rs. 900 (US\$ 20) per head every month, and 80% of the urban population spends less than Rs. 1800 per month, according to the National Sample Survey of 2006–07. Malnutrition among women and low birth weight among children remain widespread in this country that wants to be counted among the rising powers in the world today.

We have modern skyscrapers and metro rail systems alongside dirt roads and insanitary urban slums. Hundreds of millions of people live in villages where oil lamps still light the homes, or on footpaths and railway platforms in over-crowded towns.

Medical tourism is flourishing in the biggest cities, where patients from all over the world come to receive sophisticated hospital services. On the other hand, millions of pregnant women and infants die every year because of lack of access to basic reproductive health care.

Our people's brains are at work in responsible positions in modern industry and services all over the world, while the majority of sons and daughters of our workers and peasants do not have access to schools that function and impart quality education.

The ruling class prides itself for having developed nuclear technology and for having produced Indian multinational companies. But agriculture, on which a very large proportion of the population continues to depend, is characterised by low levels of technology and labour productivity, with millions of small land holders struggling to survive in a globalised market.

Our country is blessed with vast tracts of fertile land. Favourable and diverse climatic conditions ensure that literally all crops grown anywhere in the world can be grown in one or the other region of our country. However, large sections of those who till the land go hungry to bed, either because they have no land and not enough work, or because their crops have failed to earn them sufficient net income after paying the bank or local money lender.

The large and youthful population of our country is being recognised today as our most important productive asset. Our youth are being sought after by multinational corporations in the most modern productive enterprises. At the same time, millions of our children suffer from malnutrition and preventable diseases, millions are out of school, and youth unemployment is rising.

The most precious human productive asset of our country is being ruined by the existing economic system in which one section of the labour force is intensely exploited while another section is partly or fully idle for lack of employment. Of those employed, some are using state-of-the-art technology while others are gathering garbage with their bare hands or carrying heavy loads on their heads in construction sites.

The ruling class claims our country is the largest democracy in the world, and the Constitution claims to express the

will of “*we, the people*”. However, a small minority decides the course of society in its narrow self-interest, while the vast majority of our people are deprived of the most basic rights. The political process reduces them to vote banks of rival parties of capitalist rule.

Young women and men are persecuted and even killed for marrying someone outside their caste. Women suffer from multiple forms of discrimination and oppression, burdened by the legacy of the past including patriarchy and the caste order. Girls are killed in the womb, and women are killed after being declared “witches” in many parts of the country. They are super-exploited in the workplace, earning less than men for the same work.

Nations and peoples fighting for their right to determine their own destiny are subjected to Army rule and treated like outlaws in their own land. The central armed forces roam the towns and villages, with special powers to shoot anyone on suspicion. People in such regions are not even free to come out of their homes after dark, for fear of being hit by a bullet or arrested and tortured on suspicion of being a terrorist, extremist or secessionist. Individuals or collectives who question the unjust authority and demand their human, democratic or national rights are deemed to be a threat to the unity and integrity of India.

Comrades!

The root cause of the contradictions and contrasts that characterise our country today lies in the nature of the state power that exists and the economic system it defends. The state is colonial and imperialist in nature. It facilitates capitalist growth while preserving and

perpetuating feudal and other backward relations as well as the imperialist plunder of our country. The economy is driven by the laws of capitalism, which has developed to the stage of monopoly capitalism.

Indian society is composed of varied nations, nationalities and peoples with their distinct cultures, languages and territories, united by common civilisational roots, philosophical heritage and the history of a common anti-colonial struggle. The British colonialists established a state power that negated all national rights, in order to plunder this rich land and all the industrious peoples who inhabited it. They created a centralised bureaucracy and armed forces to divide and rule over India, recognising no nation or people but only a majority "Hindu community", a minority "Muslim community" and other religious minorities.

The rulers of post-colonial India declared what the people wanted to hear, that they would strengthen "unity in diversity". In actual fact, they preserved the communal foundations of the colonial state; the 1950 Constitution legitimised the arrangement and institutions of power left behind by the British rulers. The Indian Union is legitimised by a Constitution that preserves the colonial legacy of defining India territorially, while negating the existence of historically formed nations, nationalities and peoples. While proclaiming itself as a federation, the Indian Union is in fact an instrument of colonial suppression of national rights within its territory. It is a prison house of nations, nationalities and peoples. The striving of every nation, nationality and people is either subverted by accommodating regional bourgeois interests in the state power, or violently suppressed in the name of defending "*national unity and territorial integrity of India*".

The bourgeoisie of our country has defended and further perfected the institutions of state power inherited from colonial times. In essence, this is a state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is based on an alien concept of “rule of law” according to which capitalist property is to be protected while any resistance to exploitation and plunder is considered a “law and order problem” to be forcibly suppressed.

The two principal state organs of oppression are the armed forces, including the paramilitary and police, and the bureaucracy. They remain structured in the same way as in colonial times, with communal regiments in the army and a privileged stratum of all-India civil service officers at the top of the bureaucracy. The authority wielded by the bureaucracy and the use of violence by the armed forces are justified by a judicial system based on an alien definition of law, and by a political process that excludes the toiling majority.

The state in our country is an instrument and an arrangement for the big capitalists to accommodate various other propertied interests at different stages of capitalist development, while suppressing the toiling majority and depriving them of power at all times. The big capitalists accommodated the interests of the big landlords in the early period following independence, then the rich peasants in the Green Revolution areas, the elite of various caste groups and others. The political process has enabled various regional capitalist groups to form their parties and be accommodated in the state. Institutions and mechanisms have also been developed for accommodating a narrow stratum from within the working class in the ruling arrangement, headed by the central bureaucracy of recognised all-India trade unions affiliated to various parliamentary parties. Brute force

is unleashed on anyone who challenges the existing democracy and on those nations and nationalities that refuse to compromise with the colonial foundations of the Indian Union.

The aggressive drive of the monopoly capitalists, their efforts to streamline the policies of all state governments to facilitate their imperialist expansionist plans, has led to further aggravation of contradictions between the monopoly capitalists as a whole and various regional propertied interests. This is taking place alongside the acute conflicts among the monopolies. The struggle for control over the state has become more and more violent. State terrorism has become the preferred method for the monopoly capitalists to preserve their domination, by crushing their rivals as well as all the progressive political forces that are challenging the capitalist offensive in any way. The dictate of capitalist monopolies is being enforced through the ballot and the bullet.

The British Indian state was an instrument of colonial conquest and territorial expansion through annexation – an instrument for imperialist empire building on a global scale. Having inherited it, the Indian bourgeoisie is using this empire building state to expand its global clout and influence.

The past two decades have witnessed different coalitions of parties in charge of the executive power. The results show that one and the same program has been implemented by all those in power – the program of globalisation of Indian capital through privatisation and liberalisation. The existing system of parliamentary democracy serves to legitimise and perpetuate the dictate of monopoly capital, while creating the illusion that it is the people who are setting the agenda.

While the economy of our country remains a mosaic of varied relations and systems of production, it is large-scale capitalist production that is dominant and growing in weight year after year. Modern technology and large-scale capitalist production characterise industry and many modern services, where private and state corporations own the means of production and hire wage labour. Small scale cultivation is widely prevailing in agriculture, with mechanised farming and a rich peasant economy growing unevenly across the country. Individual and family enterprises are widespread in retail trade and many personal services. The peasants and other small owner producers have been rapidly integrated into the capitalist world market, and are at the mercy of the big players. They are being squeezed by the monopoly corporations that supply their inputs, by the trading companies and wholesale merchants that purchase their products, and by the big banks and local moneylenders that extend credit to them.

The production of the principal means of production such as iron and steel, cement, energy, machinery and machine tools, financial and other technical services that are essential to the socialised production process, as well as modern consumer goods from toothpaste to automobiles, is in the hands of monopoly capitalist corporations, state-owned and private, Indian and foreign. The monopoly corporations in food processing and other agro-business, integrated wholesale-cum-retail trading firms and big banks are increasing their claims on the value of agricultural output, at the expense of the peasantry.

Alongside up-to-date and modern technology and large scale production, there are remnants of feudal and patriarchal relations, including bonded labour and other

forms of servitude to big landlord and rural moneylending families. Caste hierarchy persists and the low status of *dalits* is used to super-exploit them.

There are also remnants of collective ownership of the means of production, in the form of tribal property rights and common property resources in villages. Capitalist groups and the governments that serve them are running roughshod over such rights, just like the British colonialists did in their time. Collective property is being grabbed by private profiteers, and anyone who opposes this is deemed to be opposing the growth prospects of India and is brutally crushed.

The capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses of the Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas and others, is economically and politically the dominant class in our society. The monopoly houses control the bulk of the means of social production through a variety of forms, including private ownership and state ownership of limited liability companies and banks. They control the massive financial resources of the country, which are concentrated in the hands of a few banks, non-banking financial institutions and insurance companies. The representatives of the monopoly capitalists sit on the Boards of Directors of both state and private financial institutions and decide how the concentrated financial savings of the people should be deployed. The big capitalists constitute the financial oligarchy whose interests are protected and promoted by the central state and all its institutions and agencies.

The interests of the big capitalists dictated the creation of the state sector of heavy industry, infrastructure and banking in the early decades after independence. The state sector, called the “public sector”, assisted the big

capitalists to become bigger and enhance their monopoly position in the domestic market. By the eighties, they had become big enough to compete globally in various sectors. By the end of that decade, the wholesale loot of the state treasury and accumulation of public debt had become so large that government finances were in crisis at the central and state levels. The decade of the eighties ended in a balance of payments crisis, with exports failing to keep pace with import growth, and foreign exchange reserves at an all-time low.

The capitalist class used the occasion of the disintegration of the Soviet Union to launch its program of liberalisation and privatisation, aimed at rapid globalisation of Indian capital and rapid growth of production for export. It blamed the Nehruvian model for the crisis and ills of capitalism. Tax and other bars to the flow of capital and commodities in and out of the country were lowered, and public assets were put up for sale to private bidders.

It is the big capitalists whose interests dictated the creation of the “public sector” in the past; and it is again **their** interests, their drive for maximum profits and rapid global expansion, which is dictating the privatisation of state owned assets in various sectors today. The appetite of monopoly capital has grown so large that maximum profits are sought to be made from even education, health, drinking water, electric supply and other services that the working people consider as being the state’s responsibility to provide free of cost or at affordable rates for all.

The ruling class in our country has been propagating the myth in recent decades that it is reforming the economy allegedly to minimise state interference and

encourage free competition. In actual fact, it is only the **form** of state intervention that has been restructured to suit the present needs of the big capitalists. The state continues to intervene in the interest of the capitalist monopolies, which is especially evident at the time of every annual budget. The capitalist monopolies continue to dominate the state, which is becoming more and more exposed at the present time through numerous scams.

The system of exploitation and plunder that is growing in our country is a form of state monopoly capitalism. *"State monopoly capitalism means the subordination of the state apparatus to monopolies, the establishment of their complete domination in the economic, political and social life of the country. In this way the state intervenes directly in the economy in the interest of the financial oligarchy, in order to ensure the maximum profit for the class in power through the exploitation of all the working people, as well as to strangle the revolution and the peoples' liberation struggles."*¹⁷

The capitalist monopolies use their control over the state to extract tribute from the whole of society. Capitalists of different regions and caste groups form political parties and compete for space in the state legislative bodies, for a share of the wealth accumulated through the exploitation of labour, robbery of peasants and plunder of natural resources. The bureaucracy at all levels is managed by officials trained in the British colonial traditions of administering a colonised people. Capitalists cultivate connections with the ministers and senior officials. They give them suitcases full of

¹⁷ Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Selected Works, Vol 5, pp 414.

cash in exchange for various favours. The officials and ministers use their positions to accumulate private wealth and capital.

The system of plunder in our country is integrated with the global imperialist system, creating an unbearable burden on the backs of the toiling majority. Monopoly finance capital, Indian and international, extracts tribute from the vast majority of people – from the wages of workers, incomes of peasants and even from profits generated in non-monopoly capitalist enterprises.

Not only is the economic system destroying the human productive forces, through super-exploitation and unemployment, it is also destroying nature. The fertility of the soil has fallen, as also the ground-water table in many parts of the country, and forest wealth has declined – all as a result of the anarchy inherent in an economic system based on competing private interests. While the system favours the creation of new infrastructure assets, productive assets created by the labour of past generations are neglected and left to decay, such as tanks and irrigation canals, roads and bridges.

The most rapid growth is taking place in producing commodities that can be sold for maximum profits, leaving the fulfilment of essential human needs to chance. Production of many basic necessities consumed by the toiling majority in our country is lagging behind what is needed, leading to serious shortages. A stark example is the case of pulses or *daals*, the main source of protein for the toiling masses, whose per capita availability has been declining because it is not a source of maximum profits for the capitalists.

The drive to globalise Indian capital is leading to extremely lopsided economic growth with dangerous consequences for socialised production of use-values that the working people need. The faster social production grows, the more rapidly does wealth accumulate in fewer and fewer hands, and the more viciously does poverty and extreme insecurity grip the toiling majority of workers and peasants. The degree of exploitation of labour becomes more intense. So does the robbery of peasants through monopolistic trading arrangements.

At the heart of “rising India” is the hard reality that our land and labour are being offered for maximum exploitation and plunder to the biggest robbers of the world, Indian and international. To sell our national assets cheap, including human labour power itself, to attract maximum foreign capital into the country, to be used as the springboard for global expansion of Indian capital and its empire – this is the vision of “advanced India” that is being pushed today by Manmohan Singh and his bourgeois class.

The more modern the ruling class claims our country has become, the more glaring her backwardness appears. More of the same kind of development, more rapidly than before, is the call of Manmohan Singh and the capitalist monopoly houses. This will only lead to further accentuation of all the contradictions that are tearing our society apart.

Human labour, in interaction with nature and the products of past labour, produces the material needs of reproduction of society. For any society to advance, the social product has to be more than what is required for simply reproducing society at the

same level. The accumulation of this surplus creates wealth. In a capitalist society, those whose labour has produced the wealth get no share of it. The owners of capital, those who have means of production as their private property, pocket the entire surplus and enjoy all the benefits of wealth creation. Under monopoly capitalism, the exploiters even pocket part of what is required for simply reproducing the working people at the same standard of living. Real wages, which is the money wage adjusted for inflation, have declined for the majority of workers in our country since 2000. It has fallen drastically over the past two years, as a result of the soaring food prices and the massive closures and layoffs in export oriented sectors that followed the global crisis of 2008.

Comrades!

As taught by Karl Marx, the proletariat is the grave-digger of the old capitalist society. Among all the classes and strata of society whose interests are clashing with the ruling authority today, the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class. With nothing to sell except its labour power, with the strength of collective labour and the experience of organised resistance to its exploitation, it is the only class capable of and interested in leading and carrying the struggle against capitalism through to the end.

Workers have been drawn into large-scale industry and services from the South to the North, from East to West, as a result of which the modern Indian working class is multi-national and multi-lingual. It has close links with the peasants in every part of the country. It also has links with the emigrant workers of Indian origin in various countries abroad.

The degree of exploitation of labour in the “organised sector” – which rose from 108% in 2003 to 148% in 2007 according to the official National Accounts Statistics – is understated due to the large portion of unaccounted profits that add to the black wealth of the capitalists. Corruption and bribery are so institutionalised in the system that capitalists hold illegal wealth on a permanent basis, including massive amounts stashed away in secret Swiss Bank accounts. A significant portion of the surplus value produced by the workers is siphoned off every year into such safe hiding places, to be used whenever needed for financing party campaigns, bribing ministers and officials, organising terrorist and other clandestine acts, etc.

The labour aristocracy, the relatively privileged stratum of the working class, headed by those who “represent” labour in the legislative bodies and by the central trade union bosses linked to them, acts as an organised channel for spreading bourgeois consciousness among workers. It is a channel for spreading the illusion that the interests of workers can be accommodated within the existing system, by voting to power a party or coalition that would allegedly implement some “pro-people’ policies.

For workers who want to avoid all parliamentary parties, there is a non-affiliated trade union centre that shuns communist politics in the name of keeping all politics out of the trade unions. Together, both kinds of established trade union centres strive to keep the consciousness of workers at the lowest possible level, to think and act as a special interest group and not as a class in itself and for itself. They implicitly accept the division of workers into the categories imposed by the existing laws and official definitions. They all accept capitalist democracy as the

best possible system and create maximum illusions among workers that their interests are being defended in this system. With the outlook of the capitalist class, such trade union leaders weaken the unity of the workers and compromise even their economic struggle against the intensification of exploitation.

The parties of class conciliation that call themselves communist have repeatedly disrupted the unity of the working class and diverted its struggle with their tactic of supporting a capitalist front which they deem to be the "*lesser evil*". CPI(M), in particular, has perfected the method of extending "*critical support*" to a capitalist government, until the time it gets discredited in the people's eyes, at which time it withdraws its support and joins the street demonstrations against the very government it had been supporting. This deceptive parliamentary game has been played many times in the past by CPI(M). It was enacted once again recently during 2004-08, ending with its withdrawal of support to the Manmohan Singh government on the Indo-US nuclear deal.

At the present time, the exposure of the parasitic and corrupt system of state monopoly capitalism and its democracy is bringing workers' unions from all sectors on to the streets. In the new modern enterprises that have been established in diverse sectors in recent decades, from automobiles and auto parts to airlines and mobile phone services, workers are struggling to establish their unions and organise collective actions today. They are typically more educated than average, and are able to manage their own union affairs.

It is crucial for communists to arm the advanced section of the working class with the political consciousness

that they have to take the lead in uniting the class and organising to become the rulers of this country. We must organise to ensure that the modern working class wages uncompromising struggle against the capitalist offensive in the coming period, and is not once again deceived by those who hunt with the hounds and run with the hares. We must arm the advanced section of the class with the revolutionary perspective and theory, so as to escalate the struggle against the capitalist offensive and prevent it from being once again subordinated to parliamentary games. We must make use of the fact that the old methods of the parliamentary parties cannot work so easily with educated and skilled workers – that is, the method of exploiting their illiteracy to convert them into appendages of rival electoral machines.

Comrades!

Peasants constitute the second most numerous class in our society, next to the working class. Workers and peasants together constitute the vast majority, over 90% of the population, in every region and in the country as a whole.

The average annual income of the peasant household, which includes net income from cultivation, wages, animal husbandry and non-farm business, was as low as Rs.25,380 (just over Rs.2000/ per month) as per the NSSO study conducted in 2003. The annual data presented in the official National Accounts Statistics overstates peasant incomes by using wholesale prices of their produce instead of the actual price at which they sell to some middleman or trading agency. The actual conditions facing the vast majority of peasants can be gauged from numerous unofficial studies and from the spate of peasant suicides in recent years.

Heightened insecurity has gripped peasants of all categories – tiny, small, medium and even relatively large land holders. Rapid integration with the capitalist global market and the lowering of import duties on agricultural products, the expansion and domination of giant capitalist corporations in seeds, fertiliser supply and procurement of crops, along with the wrecking of whatever existed as the system of public procurement and distribution of food grains, have together driven peasants to unbearable levels of insecurity and indebtedness in many regions. In addition, the insecurity of peasants has been aggravated by the drive of capitalist monopolies to grab the most lucrative land to set up SEZs and industrial parks.

Capitalist parties and their governments have been promoting the idea that the problems facing the peasants are the result of too much government regulation and control, and that the path to prosperity lies in easing these controls and giving more freedom to the market forces. This was the justification given for liberalisation of agricultural trade, both within the country and with the rest of the world. Today, after more than 20 years of trade liberalisation, millions of peasants are demanding state guaranteed procurement at remunerative prices and a universal public distribution system. This is a sign of the failure of the bourgeoisie to win over the peasantry.

By presenting the question as being Market versus State, the economic experts of the imperialist system try to cover up the crucial question as to which class controls the State. The class nature of the State is what determines whether the market will be for mutual benefit, or a means of exploitation and plunder of the peasants and other small players by capitalist monopolies.

The struggles of peasants are being diverted today by the line of targeting one or another party or capitalist front instead of targeting the class in power and its system of rule for maximum plunder. Rival parliamentary parties, including CPI(M) and CPI, subordinate the peasants' demands to the parliamentary game of replacing one capitalist front by another. Peasants are also being diverted by parties that follow Mao Zedong's teachings, who advocate "*encircling the cities from the countryside*" with the aim of establishing a state that would allegedly manage capitalism to provide for all classes, exploiters and exploited.

The situation is calling on communists to boldly present the program of putting an end to the entire legacy of colonialism and the enslavement of peasants in this subcontinent. The British colonialists smashed the security of tillers of the soil by introducing private property in land and by orienting agriculture in our country to serve profiteering in the global market. The big capitalists and big landlords of our country have further developed the system of plunder inherited from colonial times. The program of *Navnirman* will end this legacy of robbing those who till the land. It will establish workers' and peasants' rule in every constituent of a new voluntary Indian Union – a state that would protect and develop social and collective property in land and other means of production. It will open an era when more will be put into the rural economy than is taken out of it.

Comrades!

A significant aspect of the class struggle in recent years has been the heroic resistance of tribal peoples to the accelerated drive of monopoly capitalists to gain control of the precious mineral resources lying beneath

their land. Faced with the threat of being evicted by the armed forces of the state, people in various places in Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and elsewhere are waging militant struggles in defence of their traditional land and natural resource rights.

The tribal and other such oppressed sections are important allies of the working class. Many of them are being led astray by rival parliamentary parties and by the followers of Mao, either onto the dead-end road of relying on capitalist parties in power to look after their interests or onto the suicidal and criminal road of becoming underground terrorists. The situation calls on communists to step up the ideological struggle against the diversionary lines that are preventing tribal peoples from rallying around the vision and revolutionary program of the working class.

Followers of Mao organise tribal peoples to say “no” to the plans and projects of the ruling bourgeoisie, but do not put forward a clear alternative vision and perspective of development. The situation calls on communists to elaborate the path for tribal collective property to develop into socialist collective property, without going through the process of capitalist development. A socialised economy and a market governed by a workers’ and peasants’ state power will enable tribal communities to achieve progressively higher levels of productivity and standard of living, in contrast to the present capitalist state and market that are threatening tribal peoples with wholesale ruin.

Comrades!

Dark war clouds are gathering around us, as US imperialism is sinking its claws deeper in this area.

Indian imperialism is on an aggressive drive to expand its sphere of influence. This places a very specific responsibility on the shoulders of our Party, to uphold proletarian internationalism and develop political unity against imperialism. We have to make the working class and our justice-loving people conscious of the fact that the ruling class of our country is playing a dangerous imperialist game, which deserves to be condemned. We must continue to clarify that the imperialist system is the source of terrorism, fascism and war, and only the struggle to end this system can bring about lasting peace. We must step up our efforts to build unity among the peoples of South Asia against US imperialism and other rapacious powers in this region.

The contradictions among the capitalist monopolies are sharpening, which is a factor that leads to more media exposures and weakens the ruling class as a whole. There is acute rivalry among the monopoly groups – the Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas, Mittals, Vedanta and others – over control of oil and petroleum products, over iron ore reserves and the steel market, over bauxite reserves and the aluminium market, and so on. Sharpening of such conflicts finds its reflection in intensified dogfight between the Congress Party and the BJP, as is taking place at the present time.

While clashing with each other over control of raw material sources, over markets and spheres of influence, the capitalists and their rival parties come together when it comes to defending their common interests against the working class and broad masses of people. This can be seen in the collaboration of the BJP with the Congress Party in passing the Nuclear

Liability Bill, and in whitewashing the criminal act of permitting Warren Anderson, CEO of Union Carbide, to leave the country after the Bhopal gas tragedy of 1984. At the same time, the intensification of their rivalry and internal conflicts is a factor that weakens the capitalist class.

Contradictions are intensifying between the Indian state and the collective rights and aspirations of the peoples who make up this country. More and more of the nations, nationalities and peoples who inhabit India are expressing their discontent with the existing political system and the colonial style union that negates their specific identity and collective right to shape their own political destiny.

The contradictions that are threatening to tear our society apart can be resolved if and only if the existing state of the exploiting minority, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is replaced with a new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, so as to carry out the transition from capitalism to socialism. Investing in the people will then become the fundamental orientation and end goal of the economy, from being merely the means to expand the private wealth of the capitalists and others who do not work, as at the present time.

The most crucial task facing our Party is to make the broad masses of people conscious of the necessity to carry out the *Navnirman* of India by organising to become her masters, and to make the advanced section of the working class conscious of its role as the leader of the revolution to end capitalism and build socialism.

Chapter Four

Plan of Action

Comrades!

The situation in the world and in our country is full of dangers as well as opportunities to hasten the turn in the tide of revolution. The key is to smash the illusions that are being fostered by the class collaborators and conciliators within the working class movement. This is essential to make sure that the class struggle intensifies and converges around the aim of bringing the working class to power in alliance with the toiling majority, to open the path to the progress of our society.

We have reached a critical stage in the work of our Party. We have created a new quality, in small quantity. We face the challenging task of spreading this line of thinking and action among the advanced section of the working class, so that it can envelop all who are fighting for their rights and for a society without exploitation and poverty.

The tasks we are setting for ourselves at this Congress flow from, and are a continuation of, the decisions taken at our previous congresses. Laying new foundations for India, with a new Constitution and a

new economic orientation is the only way out of the crisis. Developing this revolutionary consciousness and building political unity around this aim remains central to our work. Our Party's work has had a positive impact on the popular consciousness, and the times are calling on us to develop this work to a higher level.

We must aim to train all party members to be exemplary communist politicians, armed with contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, with Indian revolutionary theory and the General Line and program of our Party. With such a conscious force in the lead, we must step up the struggle against all theories of class collaboration parading around as communist.

For the revolutionary line of action to capture the hearts and minds of the working class and its allies, it is essential to expose and defeat the poisonous lines that spread illusions about capitalism and its democracy. We have to step up the ideological and polemical struggle against those who are diverting the working class and destroying its very identity and dignity as the most productive and revolutionary class in our society.

Comrades!

With full confidence in the Program of our Party, that it is the only truly revolutionary program, we must forge ahead with our practical work of arming the working class and people with this program in the course of fighting against the anti-social program of liberalisation, privatisation and so-called war against terrorism and fundamentalism.

We must continue to champion the struggle in defence of human rights, democratic and national rights, the rights of labour and of the tillers of the soil, of women and youth, in uncompromising opposition to state terrorism in all its forms. We must step up the struggle to expose the slogan of defending “national unity and territorial integrity” as nothing but a reactionary justification for national oppression and violation of human rights. We must reject and expose the path of individual terror and anarchist violence, practised by various parties and groups in the name of revolution, which provides the rulers an excuse for stepping up state terrorism.

Our Party’s work, along with the efforts of others in the movement, has succeeded in creating the embryo of the organised revolutionary united front for vesting sovereignty in the hands of the people. However, this united front is still only an embryo, which needs to be nurtured to grow and envelop the entire movement. We must pay special attention to ensure that this organisation keeps elaborating its program and vision of people’s empowerment, combating the theories of parliamentary democracy and bourgeois reforms in governance. It must do so in close connection with the struggle to build new institutions of power at the base and at the top, to vest sovereignty in the hands of the people.

We must strengthen the mass organisations of workers, peasants, women and youth. United and uncompromising struggle of the working class against the capitalist offensive is essential for our movement to advance. We must hence pay particular attention to developing our work of building the political unity of the working class in defence of its rights and its singular aim of resisting the intensification of its

exploitation while organising to replace capitalism with socialism through revolution. We must make activists of the working class conscious of the need to forge political unity with nations, nationalities and tribal peoples who are fighting against the colonialist Indian Union.

Comrades!

The decisive factor for success in our work is the building of party basic organisations, the cells of communism, in the midst of the workers in vital sectors of large-scale industry and services. This is our target to be achieved over the coming four years. Building and strengthening party organisations must go hand in hand with the work of building the unity of the working class and defeating the divisive and diversionary forces. The party cells we establish will enable us to build and strengthen suitable forms of political mass organisations committed to working class unity around one program.

Every regional committee must develop, through its branches and units, persistent work in selected sectors of large-scale production. We must gain deeper knowledge and understanding of the issues such workers face and the current state of their struggle. We should mobilise and nurture reporters for the Party paper and providers of audio-visual content for our Party web site. Using the party media as the scaffolding, and in the course of providing leadership to the class struggle, we must recruit more members and establish more basic units among such sections of the class.

We are entering a phase of expansion in our work, which calls for organisational strengthening and

professionalism of a high order. We must work to establish written policy guidelines for different fronts of party work, on the basis of summing up our experience guided by contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought. We must organise to see that a second line of younger comrades are trained in the various fronts of specialised work of the Central Committee, so as to secure the future of our Party.

Comrades!

The Indian diaspora constitutes an important reserve of the proletarian revolution. The diaspora includes both those who have settled abroad as citizens or permanent residents, and those Indian citizens who are being super-exploited in various countries with no legal status there.

Workers, students and youth of Indian origin are targets of super-exploitation as well as racist attacks and humiliation in many countries. We must continue to steadfastly defend their rights as workers, as human beings and as people of Indian origin.

Indian workers abroad have an important role to play in developing the class identity of the Indian working class and its unity with the workers of all countries. People of Indian origin settled abroad have a critical role to play in defeating the imperialist aims of the Indian ruling class and of Anglo-American imperialism in our region.

We must learn from the rich experience we have gained in organising political and cultural work among our working people abroad, and take fresh initiatives in the coming period. We must strive to mobilise them to hoist the banner of unity of workers of all lands, and of

anti-imperialist unity against war and for lasting peace in South Asia.

Comrades!

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is the instrument of revolution which the most conscious elements of our class created thirty years ago. It is the instrument for ending the domination of bourgeois political consciousness over the Indian working class. The building and strengthening of our Party in the midst of the working class, and amongst its revolutionary allies, is crucial for the victory of revolution. It is crucial for establishing proletarian leadership of the class struggle that is raging in our country.

The collective wisdom of our Party is embodied in our Constitution, our Program, and in the decisions of our Congress and our Central Committee, which we must all defend and strive to implement under all circumstances. We must fight against all tendencies that divert attention from our program and the tasks we have set for ourselves.

We must further strengthen and develop our party and non-party media, in varied forms, to spread our line far and wide, so as to achieve the target of mobilising the advanced sections of workers and peasants to take up our Party's program as their own.

We must pay serious attention to arming the fighting forces with the theory of modern communism, as distinct from the various distortions and phantasms that are being paraded today as trends of communism. Systematic and organised communist education must occupy very high priority in the work of every party

organisation. We must find ways to extend this education to persons outside our Party who have serious interest in communism.

The basic organisation of our Party is the primary school for communism. We must fight to ensure that communist education is taken up in earnest in every basic organisation. Only those who are educating themselves in the course of their day-to-day work can benefit fully from Communist School sessions organised by a Regional Committee or the Central Committee. Study of our Party paper, other party publications and the classics of Marxism-Leninism, discussion of current problems and their solution in the light of this study, have first rate importance and must become part of daily life within our Party.

From Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Mumbai to Manipur, the Communist Ghadar Party of India is known in political circles as a highly responsible and principled political force. We are known to be above the petty rivalries and sectarian strife that prevails among what is generally called the "Indian left". We must now step up the ideological and polemical struggle against the harmful class collaborationist and class conciliatory role of pseudo-communist parties. The aim of this struggle is to make the path to revolution very clear to the advanced detachment of the working class, so that it can lead the disempowered masses of people and carry out its mission of opening the path to the all-round progress of our society.

Comrades!

Let us single-mindedly focus our energies on implementing the plan to prepare the working class

to become the leader of society, by smashing the fog of confusion, disinformation and deception that is befuddling the communist movement and diverting the working class and revolutionary forces at this time.

Long Live the Fourth Congress of CGPI!

Workers of all countries, Unite!

*Uphold Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian
Internationalism!*

Inquilab Zindabad!

Resolutions

On the approval of the Report presented by CC

Having discussed the Report presented by the Central Committee on the work of building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle; and on the work of building the revolutionary United Front led by the working class; and

Noting that the analysis and assessment of the present situation in India and the world presented is consistent with Marxism-Leninism and the General Line of the Party;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010,

Resolve to adopt the Report and call upon the Central Committee to release it for publication and dissemination to all sections of the people and to every part of the country.

On combating and defeating harmful trends in the communist movement

Having noted that at this present stage of class struggle, the biggest roadblock to the advance of the revolution is the distortion of Marxism-Leninism by the two harmful trends in the communist movement – those who follow the “peaceful and parliamentary path to socialism” and those who follow Mao-Zedong Thought;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010,

Endorse the main thrust of the Plan of Action of the Party in the coming period to firmly establish the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the communist movement, and expose the unscientific content of the two harmful trends.

On the need for communist education

Having discussed the distortion of Marxism-Leninism by both the harmful trends in the communist movement and the confusing signals that they are sending to workers and peasants;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010,

Call upon the Central Committee to continue to pay serious attention to arming the fighting forces with the theory of modern communism and the communist education of all our members and supporters.

On the building and strengthening of the Party

Having discussed the necessity to build and strengthen our Party as the vanguard of the working class to lead it in achieving its mission of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to build a socialist society; and

With full confidence in the Program of our Party;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010;

Resolve to build and strengthen the Party in the midst of the working class, and among the revolutionary peasantry and intelligentsia;

Continue to forge political unity against the anti-social program of the capitalist governments and around the program of *Navnirman* of India;

Build and strengthen the mass organisations of workers, peasants, women and youth;

Build and strengthen the revolutionary united front to envelop the entire movement for social change;

Resolve to forge ahead with our practical work of leading the struggle of the toiling masses against the capitalist ruling class; and strengthen the party and non-party media so as to achieve the above-mentioned goals.

On the need to establish leadership of the Party among organised sections of the working class

Having discussed the necessity for establishing the leadership of the working class in the revolution; and

Observing that while the working class is growing with millions of young workers joining the workforce, they remain divided and splintered without a clear vision and political unity around their common goal due to the nefarious activities of the capitalist class and its agencies within the working class movement;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010,

Call upon the CC to pay serious attention to establish the leadership of the Party over the most advanced, organised sections of the class in the coming period.

On the need to champion the cause of unity among the peoples of South Asia

Having noted that US imperialism is increasing its military and intelligence presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Indian imperialism is on an aggressive drive to expand its sphere of influence;

We the delegates who have assembled at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi in October, 2010,

Call upon the Party to champion the cause of unity among the peoples of South Asia against imperialism

and imperialist war, take the lead in mobilizing workers, peasants and justice loving intelligentsia of our country to support the people of Pakistan and their right to determine their destiny without any outside interference, support all the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles in the region, and boldly expose the harmful role played by the Indian ruling class, at the head of the largest and most powerful country in South Asia.



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