

## INTRODUCTION

The 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the CPI (ML) Red Flag has consolidated the organization in much comprehensive way. It has also stepped up the political and ideological reorganization process that the party had been going through. The conference adopted two important documents that advanced the political ideological reorganization further. These documents, such as the “Resolution on International Developments” and the “Political Resolution”, have two major aspects to be reckoned with. The first major aspect is that these documents sustain as the continuum of the political ideological positions of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> conferences of the party. Secondly, the advance of international and domestic class struggle has proven the concurrence and correctness of the said positions once again in these documents.

In 1997, in the 4<sup>th</sup> conference of the party, the erroneous anti-marxist position of ‘Soviet social-imperialism’ had been abandoned and the party resolved to accept the contradiction between socialism and imperialism to be the central or the principal contradiction. This had changed the total outlook of the party. This rectification demanded coherent changes in the program and in the constitution too. In 2000 December-2001 January, in the 5<sup>th</sup> conference held at Raichur, the party made these changes in its program and the constitution and adopted the tactics of the “Left Alternative”. After the split in 2003, the party convened special conference in 2005 to fulfill the task of the 6<sup>th</sup> conference process that was jeopardized by the ‘splitists’; and, the party consolidated the organization in the 7<sup>th</sup> conference in 2009. These two conferences upheld and reiterated the positions of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> conferences fighting the ‘splitist’ and ‘liquidationist’ trends within the party. In between these two conferences the party had an All India Plenum to discuss an Ideological Document in 2007. This document had been further a step ahead in the path that was opened by the 4<sup>th</sup> conference documents. Together, these conference processes differentiated the party from the sectarian and eclectic trends, and, to a great extent, did succeed in placing the organization within the historic continuity of the communist movement in India.

How could the party achieve this? To answer this question it calls for a glimpse of the course of history that the party came through fighting against unprecedented odds, including the split that the organization had faced in 2003. And, what were the obstacles that the party had to overcome in the path to achieve this advancement? By the closure of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, the disintegration of Soviet Union, the integration of the other European Socialist countries into the capitalist system inflicting a temporary set back to the world socialist movement, the beginning of the Imperialist Globalization in an all out way and the bogus claim of a 'crisis free capitalism' inaugurated by the idea and practice of 'There Is No Alternative' (TINA) had created a negative world situation altogether. This adverse experience was quite unfavorable to the progress of the political and ideological reorganization process that the party was consciously going through fighting the attack of 'non-marxist' ideology headed by the then leadership of the CPI (ML) CRC. Though the building up of the party in Bolshevik way as the vanguard of the proletariat, surmounted by the class and mass organizations, capable of wielding all forms of struggle and capable of adopting tactics according to the concrete conditions had been already begun, the ideological precipitations of the old sectarian days were not thoroughly cleared off. This was because of the urgent duty that our party faced at that juncture that was, to rebuff the attack upon scientific socialism and its great leaders such as comrades Lenin and Stalin. For undertaking this duty the Great Debate documents of the Communist Party of China (CPC) were republished and we contextualized the essence of those documents with the slogan 'Glasnost and Perestroika - the crisis is of imperialism not of socialism'. Though we were aware of the erroneous positions of the 9<sup>th</sup> congress of the CPC and the wrong formulation 'the Soviet social imperialism led by the USSR' as put forth by it, we found the then objective condition unsuitable to fight both the erroneous views in the same intensity and with equal emphasis.

Thus, the process of the political and ideological reorganization of the party had to surpass the new negative current of the international counter offensive by the imperialist camp against the very core of scientific socialism itself.

By 1999, the Seattle struggle sprang up and TINA was challenged. Then, the advocates of imperialist Globalization were compelled to resort to 'There Are Many Alternatives' (TAMA). This was mainly to make the quest for socialism deviate from its goal. The World Social Forum (WSF) was one of the main arenas utilized for this. Then, once again the party had to fight against the new version of eclectic and anti-Marxist positions within and without the organization.

The erroneous concept of 'Soviet Social Imperialism' was again parroted by the then general secretary K.N. Ramachandran and the splitters who tried to destroy the organization. They did this to substantiate their position of 'the real left versus pseudo left' and their attempt to build a conglomerate organization. They tried to bring back the wrong theories of 'soviet social imperialism' and of analyzing India to be semi-colonial semi- feudal. Though this dive into the shallow waters has landed them in the quagmire of opportunism of all kinds and the subsequent disintegration of their organization, we have to examine how this could happen causing a split in our party. The answer leads to the incapability of the above said sections to grasp the central or principal contradiction that is 'the contradiction between socialism and imperialism' ; and, the principal role of the modern proletariat in the revolutionary social change. They could not find the prime importance of galvanizing the unity of the working class against the imperialist globalization. They could not understand that the Bolshevik party is not possible by simply self declaring to be the 'vanguard of the proletariat' ; and that, to become the vanguard of the proletariat it is necessary to be the inseparable part of the proletarian class and its movement. What all they were eager was to safeguard their 'noble' existence as a sect. Hence, they found solace in the old formulations

of ‘soviet social imperialism’. This has exemplified the gravity of political and ideological reorganization and the challenges that it faces.

At the same time, the surge of Latin American left by the closure of 90s and in the first decade of the new millennium, including the movement led by Hugo Chavez, and the key role of comrade Fidel Castro came as a brilliant spark. In this period a good number of the Latin American countries found alternate policies being implemented. By this, TAMA became dwarfed and the slogan ‘Socialism Is The Alternative’ (SITA) began to gather strength. Then, the 2008 recession in the US and consecutively in the European nations resulted many proletarian struggles including several general strikes in various countries. This became intense by the Wall Street movement that came up with the slogan ‘we the 99% against you the 1%’. This has reiterated the central theme of the Communist Manifesto in the new millennium; that is, the necessary socialist change for the world.

As on today, the duty of upholding and campaigning for the socialist alternative at the international level has become the prime one. This is so because of the intensifying crisis and the sharpening of class struggle at international level. At the domestic scene, the crisis has caused heavy electoral defeat to the congress that had been persistently implementing liberalization –privatization- globalization policies that had resulted high price rise; increase in unemployment and rampant corruption. The communal fascist forces drew dividends from this popular aversion to the Congress and rose to power. However, when they attained power the policies that the earlier Congress led UPA regime was practicing were continued in intensified pace and in magnified proportions. The Modi government poses grievous challenge to the basic characters of the nation too; such as federalism, democracy and secular tenets of the nation. Hence, the advance guard of the proletariat should shoulder the duty to rebuff this negative tide. This is only possible by the broadest unity in action among the legions of working class; closest possible alliance with the

peasantry and an extensive united front with all the democratic and secular forces.

The 8<sup>th</sup> All India Conference documents, as being published now, had the said purpose. We hope the contents of these documents will lead to serious deliberations from all the friendly quarters and will forge promising unity of forces to achieve the said goal. Our plan to attain this relies chiefly on larger unity among the left forces and on the unity of the communists in our country. By assimilating the experience and resolve inherited from the international communist movement and the positives of the rich history of the communist party in India, we hope to work it out.

Mumbai,

15th July 2014.

With Revolutionary Salutes,

The Central Committee,

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA ( MARXIST LENINIST ) RED FLAG**

# **Resolution on International Developments**

[Adopted in the VIIIth All India Conference in Mumbai :  
2013 August 30 –September 1]

## **The Third Depression: The deepening Imperialist Crisis**

1

The Economic crisis that hit the US in the form of recession and the fall of banks and other financial institutions in 2008 did not lighten and give way for an all-round recovery. Temporary awakening can not be counted as the take off that was expected because employment generation is far from the remedial levels. So, what actually happened was, contrary to the expectations of an immediate recovery as had been nearly prophesied by many of the economists, the crisis spread to the eastern side of the Atlantic, to Europe and the Middle East countries. As the latest of this the peripheral countries of the Euro zone are being wrought between debt crisis and the negative effects of the austerity measures being dictated to them. Today one of the examples of this worst situation is Cypress; with a number of countries stepping on its heel in this unenviable race. The stronger European nations like France and Germany, though look to be away from a Cypriot situation have nothing to be complacent of. They are not on a rise that may pull out the rest of Europe from a possible grand fall.

2

The bleak situation of the economic front does not make the political leaderships of the imperialist system rethink. What they could best think of is to find out new places for the activity of capital to generate greater profit, appropriation of natural resources, especially

oil, and the expansion of market. The rulers of the capitalist imperialist countries very well know that domestic re-arrangement or domestic management will not save their economies. So, the formation and sustenance of Euro zone itself is not going to help the ailing European economies. So, the economic packages, either in the US or in Europe, never were to salvage the social depletions like unemployment and destitution. They were targeted to salvage the financial oligarchy. The lamentation by the US president Mr. Obama that the insurance giants and the banks utilized the financial packages to pay dividends for the higher executives of the said financial institutions was mere eyewash. The policy of financial assistance to the financial giants and deeper spending cuts continued for his first presidential tenure and the popular discontent dethroned the democrats from the majority they had enjoyed in the senate and the US congress. The only demarcated step was the legislation regarding the health insurance. But, any step to kick start the economy to redemption with a rejuvenated employment generation was far from the reach or a serious plan at the hand of the rulers of these countries.

### 3

The wall-street struggle that spread through cities all over the US and the European countries brought forth the class contradiction between the forces of labor and capital in unprecedented magnitude and intensity. The 99% versus 1% slogan clearly was reminiscent of the Chicago days; and at the same time of elevated character. This calls for prime attention because just three decades after the socialist set back the working class of the advanced capitalist countries has grasped the political economy of finance capital and the expropriation that it runs in marauding levels. They understood it was this exploitation that has caused the amassment of finance capital and the deterioration of employment and economic prosperity of the society. The malignant war-cry of the rulers who follow the neo-liberal policies that There Is No Alternative (TINA) and the sigh of the detractors that There Are Many Alternatives (TAMA) virtually were over run by the clear and loud battle cry against the finance capital. The re election of comrade

Hugo Chavez and the victory of the candidate of his choice to the presidency of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela even after his death reiterated the nonchalant path in progress in the major part of the south America.

4

Instead, the war plans, violent regime changes, the bullying tactics, the diplomatic belligerence and economic embargos continued as the US masterminds have run all these through even when the new president tried to show that change has come to the US. The inauguration of Putin's presidency in Russia has once again brought back the intensity of Russo-US oppositions in the diplomatic field with accentuated effect. It has proven that Bush being replaced with Obama did not nullify this issue. The ambitions of US imperialism in the oil basin and its eye upon the Iranian natural gas deposits are explicitly playing the key role in the present Syrian conflicts too; because, Syria stands between Israel and Iran on the one hand and Mediterranean waters and Iran on the other. Any hot attempt on Syria becomes the opening up of an Iran campaign plan and becomes fatal to the Russian sphere of influence in the region and the very balance of force in the whole of Europe. So, the present crisis, that is the graduated form and inherent part of the imperialist crisis that began to well in from the late 60s, has begun to reflect in the conflicts between capitalist groups and capitalist nations in clearer forms. The NATO activities inclusive of the missile projects proposed to be established in the Czech Republic and Poland have attracted strong reciprocations from the Russian side. The plan though got stalled in its original form had been substituted by missile systems being deployed in US naval vessels.

5

As hostility between the 'sunni hub' and the Syrian government reached to the raged battles of civil war the US president made a quick visit to Israel in order to patch up the differences between Israel and Turkey so that, more synchronization became possible between these two nations in the operations in Syria. Surely the war cloud is

thickening in the Mediterranean waters and the northern end of west Asia, definitely trying to swirl in even the apparently hesitant European capitalist nations into the forming twister of an extremely sinister armed conflict. The US, the experienced granny of such conflicts in history, plays the chief knitter of this war cloud too. Even then it tries its maximum to achieve the target by defining it to the limits of a surgically precise proxy war in the zone. It is true that the big titans of the imperialist camp does not come face to face in a direct armed conflict or even pose to do so. This had been a maintained position of disengagement after the so called closure of the cold war and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Still, it is a demonstrated fact that after the disintegration of USSR and the fall of former socialist East European countries the new regimes bore different class interests and reasons for new conflicts in the region. The Russo-Georgian war in 2008 August is the best example of it. At present the Russian navy is strengthening its force that is present in the Mediterranean Sea and in the ports of Syria. Russia has banned a number of US officials from entering its territory as quick retaliation to similar US actions.

## 6

The above said facts prove that the inter-imperialist contradictions find newer manifestations after the socialist set back and the disintegration of the USSR. The Warsaw pact vanished but the NATO got fattened. The war in Afghanistan and the two wars in Iraq had been telling examples of the imperialist interests mothering wars of heavy destructions and strangulating embargos; even excelling the WWII proportions. The nuclear arms stock piles never deterred these wars; instead made these wars necessary for, these wars decided the sign of supremacy and they played as the doorways to newer realms of influence even beyond the boundaries of their active theatres. Further, the military interventions in Africa and hostile build up of forces and situations in the Korean peninsula bare the fangs of imperialist interests and their intent to wage military actions to achieve those interests. The present crisis has intensified it in greater proportions.

The resolution of the inter-imperialist contradiction, even for temporary stabilizations, was not been possible through these wars. Again, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq could prove that those conflicts could not decide even a temporary settling of supremacy question and, in effect, left that part as an arrear to be decided in later conflicts. Hence, the program of an Iran campaign unfurls through the engineering of hostilities in Syria now. Earlier attempts were made through the Israeli campaign in Lebanon and in Gaza.

## 7

The much trumpeted ‘end of history’ had its end in the midst of these developments and the history of class struggle again has begun to make the working class sharpen its conscience so that, in turn it may sharpen class struggle. All the main contradictions would be resolved only if the 99% overthrows the 1% that helms the financial oligarchy. The imposed dream of free capital and free market bringing in prosperity along with its growth and the trickling effect that recycles the gains has failed. The world has seen that much of the monopolies are the same after the decades of globalization and wherever the gospel of decontrol had been put to practice the assets and industrial activity in the public ownership and public-controlled sphere went into the mouth of these monopolies. No new spring of industries came up with magnificent employment generation. No technological wonder leap bettered the human living depriving the mankind of its long-left curses of starvation-deprivation-and maladies. The natural riches got plundered more and the ecological balance got mauled dangerously. Socialism and its praxis once again precipitate the finest of human ideas and practice; and, its contradiction with imperialism plays the pivotal role in the course of human emancipation. So, systemic change is shown necessary; and socialism is the necessary path for it.

## 8

So, the Leninist understanding of imperialism that it is the phenomenal stage of interpenetration of industrial monopoly capital

and the bank capital forming the giant parasite the finance capital; that, it is moribund in nature by holding alliance with the decadent forces of archaic and patriarchal nature including religious-ethnic-caste parochialism; that, it goes for rabid and aggressive moves for the division and re-division of territories and spheres of control resulting destructive wars have been once again proven by the global events. Above all, it has been proven that imperialism is not a phenomenon of policy as Kautsky and the second-internationalists claimed, on the contrary, it is the systemic character of the present, the highest, stage of capitalism. So, its follies are not of the wrong policies wielded by the masters at the helm of the imperialist order. So, a change of managers and rulers can not remedy the disease. It could be remedied by the overthrow of the whole pack: the imperialist system. Thus the pinnacle of change is once again that of the socialist alternative that challenges the imperialist conception of the epoch and its designs of development and emancipation of mankind.

9

## **The imperialist crisis and The challenges before socialism**

The present imperialist crisis has not just thrown the capitalist imperialist countries into the dark eye of the deadly whirl pool of it. All the nations that follow different economic course are also being dragged towards it. This has been a qualitative change that has come to exist after the fall of the USSR and former socialist republics, which had changed the balance of forces in favor of the imperialist camp. Again, this phenomenon has been a fruit of increased integration of different national economies to the neo-colonial world order run through its various institutions such as WB-IMF-WTO etc and the amalgamative currency policies and fattening transnational banks and finance institutions. Sustenance of independent and socialist economies in such situations is highly challenging. This is because the imperialist world order is transforming all the economic activities more and more

integrated at International level. Manufacturing, trade, collecting resources, banking, currency regime etc are no more curtailed and no more possible to be curtailed. So, the sustenance of socialism in the present world depends upon how it can surpass the ordeal of the octopus-integration with the crisis ridden imperialist system; how the socialist system will be able to do manufacturing that essentially is webbed to different parts of the globe; how it can do international commerce evading the neo-colonial rough tackles; how it can acquire technological acumen from the sources of it breaking the embargos and other depriving tactics and so on. This has to be necessarily evaluated by socialist forces and communist parties so that, these challenges could be met with needed correctness. The dogmatic positions that had been sermonized through decades have shadowed the path for a search for a way out. So, a thorough introspection and self criticism is needed to enable the concrete analysis of this concrete condition.

10

Our political resolution (2009) says:

“... This economic crisis has once again silenced those who were raising argument that Marxism was a theory of class reductionism, that was unable to see the multitudinous planes of issues and that, it was unable to conceive the multitudinous ways of solutions.

The above said category thoroughly believed that the fall of USSR and Eastern European socialist countries meant to be the fall of socialism and the rest of the socialist countries would not be able to go forth in the socialist path and that, in the situation of globalization socialist countries could make advancement only by means of cooperating with bourgeois market and that, the market socialism put forth by China was a higher form achieved by realizing the present reality.

But, history did not progress in the path of this ‘realization of reality’. The East Asian countries called the ‘Leaping Asian Tigers’ declined by mid 90s, Indonesia fell in ‘97 and Argentina fell in the

beginning of the new Millennium. In Yugoslavia, West Asia and Afghanistan wars were unleashed, inflicting bloodshed and disasters. Huge Strikes hit USA and France in 90's. Many countries like India witnessed general strikes, peasant struggles and peasant upheavals. Along with this, due to economic reforms, production, distribution and service sectors began to cripple, indicating that globalization has got into the grip of crisis. The advancement in the fields of technology such as IT & BT couldn't be of any help for imperialism to get out of the crisis.

Quite different from the defeatists, Cuba that upheld scientific socialism surpassed US embargo and other challenges and became a brilliant motivation to the people of other Latin American countries, fighting legions of working class all over the world and to the people of various nations." This has clarified to some extent a very important factor regarding the existence of socialism in the present situation, especially in the face of the unfavorable balance of forces and the highly integrated political economical world situation under the gravitational concentration of finance capital. It is vital for the further advancement of socialism that this peculiar situation should be studied comprehensively and corresponding strategy and tactics should be adopted by the proletarian vanguard all over the world. Only with such scientific steps the victory over imperialism will be possible.

## 11

When we look back, the last four years after our 7<sup>th</sup> conference have asserted the stated findings of the political resolution adopted by that conference. This has necessitated development and elaboration of those findings with a view to achieving advanced position based on those findings. Till 1990s, world over the ML parties and groups were of the position that Cuba was just a satellite of the Social Imperialist Soviet Union and hence, that satellite was bound to fall as its gravitation center the Social Imperialist Soviet Union had fallen. To the present day these dark prophesies happily stand disproved. So, an introspection

and self criticism are needed about why such expectations came up among communist revolutionaries and how those expectations went wrong. Glossing over of such mistakes regarding the axiomatic principles of historic materialism will be substantially harmful to the class interest of the proletariat and subversive to Marxism. In effect such glossing over will be abetting imperialism obliviously. So, we have to correctly peruse this mistake. In 1997, in our fourth conference itself we had categorically rectified the wrong perception regarding the main contradictions at international level, our former erroneous understanding about the interrelations among these contradictions and of the central position of the contradiction between socialism and imperialism among the main contradictions. We clearly found that the former perception of social imperialism suggestively embodied by the USSR was gravely erroneous; found that the three-world-theory apologists fell to that collaborationist position through this black hole; and had found that this position had maligned our movement too in the judgments when and where to take sides in the fight for socialism against imperialism.

## 12

Comprehensively speaking, the erroneous perception of ‘Soviet Social Imperialism’ had made the ‘ML’ sections and groups incapable of correctly comprehending the capitalist restoration that happened in the 1990s in the course of the dissolution of the USSR and the integration of the former East European socialist countries including Albania (that had been despising the ‘Soviet Social Imperialism’ vehemently) into the imperialist system. These ‘ML’ groups took this course to be eventual, some what fatalistically eventual, result of the deviations committed by CPSU and the respective communist and workers parties of the former East European socialist countries after comrade Stalin’s demise and the 20<sup>th</sup> party congress of the CPSU. The ‘ML’ parties world over had declared that the capitalist restoration had happened in the USSR and it had become social imperialist, that it had become a wolf bearing sheepskin, and had to be bracketed with the imperialist forces in 1968-69 itself. So, to them, the

disintegration of the USSR was not at all strictly amounting to the set back of socialism. All it had to do was to ratify their dark prophecies regarding the 'Soviet Social Imperialism'. Similar was the attitude of certain sections of the 'ML' groups towards China after the demise of comrade Mao Zedong and the coup conducted by the Hua Quo Feng clique. From that date onwards the 'ML tendency' unflinchingly went on collecting evidence for their categorization of China to be capitalist and 'expectations' for the fatally eventual fall of the 'renegade' grew along with that quest. Noticeably, the lessons of the fall of the USSR and the former East European socialist countries and the global phenomenal impact of that could not be grasped by these 'ML' sections in inferential way to understand the complexities of the historical course of developments; and, to adhere to class position at every turn and turbulent shifts of the current. So, the spectacular events in the final decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century could not effect as a negative teacher to these 'ML' forces to correct the subjective idealist positions regarding the socialist set back. Instead, these 'ML' forces and groups gleefully acknowledged the fall of the USSR to be a telling example that ratifies their positions regarding capitalist restoration in socialist countries and have asserted their gravely erroneous subjective idealist positions.

### 13

Now, while understanding the present world situation and assessing the qualitative and quantitative struggles that various nations and collaborations of various nations put up against imperialism and its neo-colonial world order, we have to have a clear understanding about our former follies along with the associated derogatory effects of such follies. Without this we can not understand the political economical essence of the above said struggle and can not place it appropriately in the light of the perception of main contradictions pivoted by the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as the central contradiction. The attempts of aggression and domination by the US led Imperialist camp are being manifest and are being resisted mainly in three continents such as Latin America , Africa and Asia.

In Latin America the US had been time and again trying to subdue and integrate Cuba into the imperialist system; and, to undermine the democratic and left victories in a number of countries like Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Ecuador etc through economic, political and military designs of embargos, interventions, intrusions and intrigues. The increased political articulations of the people of these countries by repeatedly electing and backing the left rulers are not just representing the national fervor against imperialism. The people of these countries are attracted to the systemic resistance that socialist Cuba puts up against the US imperialist designs. The motive of socialism plays vital role in the Latin American resistance. Their forming the bank of the south, their de-linking the oil trade from the dollar regime, their exchanges with nations friendly with them at free will, their open and astounding anti-US imperialist pronouncements and criticisms at global forums etc were all helmed and propelled by this ideological influence.

In Africa the imperialist camp tried to interfere in Zimbabwe and that move was thwarted by Peoples China and Russia by exercising veto power in the permanent security council of the UN along with the struggling people of that nation. The jasmine revolution that spread to North Africa and a number of Arabian countries has upset the US plans as it dethroned the trusted lieutenants of US from the saddle of power and breathed in the democratic air that those nations were waiting for long. The jasmine revolutions have put new rulers in seats and have unleashed even the women folk of those nations in the fight for democratic rights. Even Saudi Arabia had to do relaxations regarding their sharia led laws permitting girls to play sports. This awakening has every potential to get translated into more vivid anti-imperialist movement. This the US has maneuvered to an extent with enflaming anti-regime sentiments in Libiya and annihilating Gadafi. The same they are trying by instigating the ‘sunni hub’ for induced hostilities

in Syria sending mercenaries over there. The US plans in the southern and eastern coasts of Mediterranean waters have great significance along with the French intervention in Mali. The taming of Africa through the opening that the imperialists have managed to create in Libya has two aims; plundering the continent of its natural riches and curtailing the growing Chinese sphere of influence. So, South Africa becoming the component of BRICS and a good number of African countries upgrading trade and relationship with Peoples China has great significance.

## 16

The Syrian domestic hostilities being manipulated and intensified through covert operations; and, at the same-time it being utilized to portray Syria as an oppressive and terrorist state in all the diplomatic circles are part and parcel of the grand plan to achieve hegemonic supremacy in the oil basins of west Asia and Iran. These developments again show that an unbridled hegemonic campaign of the US is stalled by Peoples China playing its role in thwarting such moves. The East Asian waters of the South China Sea have become hot of naval activities. The US has been poking at the North Korea by way of aggressive military exercise along with South Korea. Even though the North Korea reiterates that it will not be the first to strike even in self defense, it is being portrayed to be a war-hungry nation and diplomatic games are on to isolate it. This has an obvious aim to corner the China too. The reason behind the US moves in the East Asian region has definite design. This design is to contain the Chinese advances in various realms. The pentagon has assessed that it had underestimated the naval power of China as the latter had been maintaining a low defense budget. The pentagon plans getting unraveled in the western and eastern ends of Asia are ambitious; and, have eyes on curtailing the Sino - Russian combine getting strengthened day by day. The formation of BRICS really annoys the US. Its scheming insinuations to turn India against China have to be viewed in this milieu seriously. All these facts and developments show that the US finds its stumbling blocks in the Atlantic and the Pacific in the form of Cuba and the China.

The above said contradictions give a panoramic scene where we can palpably feel the socialist countries playing core to the defense against imperialist plans of aggression and domination. These socialist countries are not ready to be integrated into the capitalist-imperialist system; that is why this immense pressure is on to tame them. If this is overlooked and the facts are seen through the reflections of old distorted mirror, distorted will be our reciprocations and malignant will be the result. That surely will harm the much needed and possible grand alliance against imperialism; and, the main objective of the world proletariat.

The present world developments are vivid of emboldened struggles against stifling liberal economic measures that have frantically cut provisions to masses in order to save financial oligarchy. It witnesses democratic upheavals in the realms that have never seen such longings for more than five decades. It has failed to see the much told economic recovery; and, it has portrayed socialist ideas in action in more solidifying forms. This has enhanced the objective situation for greater efforts in wider unity against imperialist neo-colonial order. Let us avowedly take up that task for the victory of socialism over imperialism and a resolute march to the communist world.

# **Political Resolution**

[Adopted in the VIIIth All India Conference in Mumbai  
: 2013 August 30 –September 1]

## **International situation**

1

The crisis that had intensely hit the US finance institutions in 2008 triggered an unprecedented recession of its kind in history. Even after the claims by the head quarters of finance capital that remedial measures are taken and recovery was on its way the impact of the recession did not lighten; instead, the negative shock wave from the western shore of Atlantic traversed to the eastern shore and did hit a number of European countries like Greece, Portugal and Spain too. Now it has devastated Cypress. There is reasonable fear that Luxemburg is likely to follow. Actually, the existence of Euro is being seriously discussed by the economists world over. In short, the imperialist crisis that got aggravated through the economic crisis in the US proved that by no means these immense crises could be set aside for long. Every new package that has been offered to set right the economic system actually intensified the crisis in newer ways. The remedial measures that were put forth for lessening the fiscal crisis helped to intensify and transform the recession into Third Depression.

2

The sequester cuts ordered by the US president recently has explicitly proven that the spiraling slide-downs of employment opportunities to deeper positions have possessed the economies of major capitalist countries. The great fall in employment opportunities has made unemployment worsen in hellish proportion and to go ulcerous to the already pale economies. The rulers of almost all these countries and the major political parties and formations have learned to turn

blind eye to this glaring truth and fiscal control measures have become the religion of neo-liberal managers. Even in Obama's words (in his weekly radio address), '...Americans were weary of seeing Washington "careen from one manufactured crisis to another."' This betrays the inevitability of the course of the capitalist crisis in the imperialist era.

### 3

The sorry state of economic fall is no way being taken passively by the people. The economic crisis has readily gifted a social crisis too; resulting vigorous political upheavals. The Wall Street movement triggered from the US with the slogan 'we are the 99%' became emblematic of these upheavals. It was a markedly qualitative struggle much higher than the Seattle struggle in 1999 for, it has clearly signaled the demand for systemic change. An objective analysis can bring out the truth that by the fresh volley of struggles that have sprung up in resonance with the Wall Street movement in more than 1000 cities across the American and European countries, the audacious argument of unchallenged sustenance of liberal capitalism has been vitally weakened. It also shows that the temporary set back of socialism has got far alleviated by more legions of workers and other sections of masses favoring socialism all over the world.

### 4

The present precipitation of imperialist crisis and the reciprocation of the working class and the toiling masses to it through intense struggles all over the world have proven two things to be wrong: (a) the argument of the proponents of imperialist globalization that the world has witnessed the end of history and the capitalist imperialist system has been proven to be the only sustainable system; especially after the fall of the USSR and the other former socialist countries in Eastern Europe in the last decade of the twentieth century; (b) the argument of the anarchists that the imperialist globalization is the unhindered fall of the global system of production under capitalism

and that a catastrophic destruction of the whole global economic structure is on its path as the inevitable prerequisite of any redemption. The fallacy of these two sections' arguments mentioned above makes them incapable to see class struggle to be the motive, the element and motion of change. They do not see the intensifying struggles of the working class and the toiling masses that are getting united to it increasingly day by day, the development of class conscious orientation that it causes and the vital role of these in the course of changing the system itself. The former argument is of mechanical materialistic character and the latter is of subjective idealistic character; both are sharing the same class base and despise and alienate proletarian world view.

## 5

So, once again the imperialist crisis has proven the Leninist grasp of the era that it is the Era of Imperialism and Proletarian revolutions; as manifest by the sharpening of contradiction between capital and labor in developed capitalist countries and the increased socialist aspirations of the struggling people raging against imperialism world over.

## 6

The imperialist forces have become more malignant in their attempts for hegemonic control over the Asian-African – Latin American countries after the fall of the USSR and the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, even to the extent of rapacious violation of the sovereignty of such nations by means of economic embargo, diplomatic destabilization tactics and military measures of aggressions. This has become the emblematic part of imperialist globalization and the neo-colonial policies; and, has intensified the contradiction between Imperialism on the one hand and the oppressed people and oppressed nations on the other to unprecedented levels.

As the measures of patch and repair show little alleviation of the crisis, and in actual field these doctoring activities have added to the economic disease, the capital looks hard for employment and realization for, the unhealthy heaping up of finance-capital makes the system obese. This has further turned it cannibal forcing it to eat up investments, natural resources, markets and labor force disregard of national borders. This rabid wolfing of primitive accumulation of capital has its inherent quarrel with in the pack between the imperialist countries and monopoly capitalists.

The more the crisis sharpens the more these contradictions sharpen with turbulent interrelations. The recent conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa have exemplified it. In the Middle East the Zionist Israel had been once again unleashed to train its military fangs on Palestine inflicting more brutalities up on the people there. Still, the US tactic was rebuffed and Israel got reversals at international arenas including UN; as had happened in the case of the last Lebanese aggression. Russia has taken a defiantly oppositional stand and even France and Germany did not back Israel. At the end we have witnessed Palestine obtaining the seat of observer state in the UN. In the case of hostilities in Syria, Russia has openly criticized the US camp that its methods of destabilization would not be welcomed or passively viewed at. In fact Russia has sent its naval vessels in so obvious way to Syrian ports nearly recalling the old days of cold war. Russia has categorically stated that aiding and abetting hostilities against Syrian government is no less than aiding and abetting terrorism. These exchanges of oppositional nature are no small fight of local interests. The greater scenario is of the war plan against Iran. Obama hurriedly patching up the differences between Turkey and Israel is telling evidence of US efforts for gathering all the belligerent forces against Syria and encamping the sunni hub to go for war on Iran in a fresh bid to enlarge the field of hegemony in the oil basin dwarfing the domain of Russian

influence in its back yard. It is notable that all the major European nations have acted independently in the case of UN voting when the question of observer-state status to Palestine was to be decided. France voted for Palestine whereas UK and Germany abstained. Only Czech Republic stood with US and Israel.

9

The inter imperialist contradiction has no way diminished; rather the contradiction is finding newer ways of manifestation inflicting its negative results over the people and nations of the world in various hostile forms of economic deprivations, wars and other kinds of discrimination. The argument that this contradiction has not brought about full scale world war hence, this contradiction is lightened will amount to rallying behind any of these forces conveniently taking them to be democratically inclined, progressive and positive to a more plural world.

10

Anti imperialist forces of all countries should find all plausible forms and active platforms to forge greater unity in action because, the need of the hour demands it for successful campaign and struggles against all imperialist machinations, wars, aggressions and exploitations over the globe. Hand in hand, the communist and socialist forces have their vital duty to elevate the socialist aspirations of the fighting working class, forge the legions of different national, linguistic, continental varieties of it, in theoretical and practical character and to higher organizational oneness at the international level. The absence of the Communist International enhances the seriousness of this duty for; such solid organizational state can be achieved only through this course.

11

### **Indian Situation**

After independence and formation of the republic India had taken the path of non-alignment and of five year plans to the

consolidation and to its destiny in the post war world. This was with a view to the realization of sovereignty and self reliance in a sustained nature. Assaying the 65 years that have passed since 1947 we can see a varying graph of progression that has come up to quite dismal results today. The nation that had obviously proclaimed to be on the path of complete literacy is still on small steps to that goal. 80% of the population is just having per day income of less than 20Rs in average. Per head consumption of food grains have deteriorated. Nutrition level and infant mortality rate have put the nation in near comparison with some of the pathetic African countries. Foreign debt is at dizzy heights. Health care standards, food security, education, employment generation, women empowerment, human rights protection, social justice etc. are all lamentably stooping to menacing levels. The nation is spending its income at the most in the defense expenditure columns. The manufacturing and agricultural production index has fallen to clownish lows. The meaning of the republic is difficult to be drawn from any source of social growth index. Instead, it is depicted by the rulers to be on its higher standards as they substantiate with the quotient of the GDP alone.

12

The graph of economic, social and political historic course was not of a uniform fall as the final inference shows. The path of our nation has been subject to positive and negative helming done and influenced by the domestic class balance and by the balance of forces at the international arena from time to time. Immediately after the WWII and the victory over fascism the international scene witnessed the expansion and consolidation of the socialist camp to appreciable levels qualitatively enhancing the lives and dignity of one third of the world population under its flag. Simultaneously this course tilted the balance of forces in favor of the emerging free nations to take sovereign nationhood and be with sustained peace. The advancement of material production and of fraternal help corroboratively helped to create the objective situation for these nations to rely on it in nation building.

This situation was utilized by the Indian big bourgeoisie to suit its class interests. It had aligned with the US prompted military moves against Korean liberation and had been active participant of the UN forces that had been a guise for imperialist military campaign in the Korean peninsula in early 50s. By 1955 it turned away from this pro-US position and at the Bandung conference Nehru took to five principles of non-interference and supported Chinese premier Chou En Lai to ward off pro US positions from distorting the move to unite Afro-Asian nations' unity against imperialist domination. But this primarily was weighed in content by the interests of Indian big bourgeoisie to hold on to its profiteering ends and to utilize the balance of forces between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp for this. This line had been evident through out the course of 50s, 60s, and 70s; facilitating the establishment of steel and core industries, dams and roads and the creation of space and nuclear scientific infrastructures. Still, India's commitment to non-alignment movement was marred by negative influences of insinuations from the US and the imperialist camp in number of occasions; like on the instances of India - China hostility, Tibetan issue and early stages of Vietnam War etc. This again reflected the inherent class character of Indian big bourgeoisie and the state it leads in alliance with the landlord class.

In domestic policies the 'Nehruvian Socialism' had further advanced nationalization of banks and insurance companies, restricted monopoly take over by MRTP (Monopoly Restrictive Trade Policy), FERA (Foreign exchange Regulation Act) and other legislations and taxation modes. Still the comprehensive effect went in favor of Indian big bourgeois class. Besides, as systemic cleansing of feudal strangle hold over the peasant population was never done with sincere effort, the revolutionary change in the agrarian sector, both regarding the means of production and production relations, got crippled and

distorted in furtherance. The green revolution, white revolution etc were structured from above and lacked the organic incorporation from below. This resulted in aborting the revolutionary elimination of feudal and other primitive forms of relations and the superimposition of anti-peasant bourgeois means. That is, the transformation of agrarian sector to modern means and modern relations of industrial character was not at all the target or aim of the Indian big bourgeois class. It took to parasitic measures and continually lived feeding up on the decay of the peasant world.

15

The social decadence has led to the development of the communal fascism that bore colonial character that has acted hand in glove with the imperialist globalization. The Hindutwa Fascist forces and the other kinds of communal fanaticism have the traits of their history of collaboration with the colonial forces in their sinister policy of divide and rule. Time and again, as was obvious during the demolition of the Babri Masjid, these forces have worked mutually enforcing and for dividing people in order to undermine the formations of solidarity among the people in the fight against the neo-liberal policies. The country now faces a serious threat of tailored communal strives at different places with the sure markings of conscious conspiracies from behind. The increased influence of imperialist propelled cultural degeneration, obscurantist ideologies in the name of religion and the frustrating rise of unemployment have played significant role in generating this derogatory development. Only by fighting hand in hand with the democratic and secular forces, the working class and the toiling masses can defeat this negative trend.

16

As corruption has struck at the roots of governance and has spread up to the heads of all the estates; And, as attempts to whitewash the PM, the Finance Minister and the former Chief Justice have bared the banal character of the ruling class, the peoples' wrath has boiled

up in unprecedented levels. The much trumpeted Lokpal Bill was pruned down to save the shady PM and was enacted to decelerate the escalation of the social wrath. So, once again the truth that the question of fighting corruption and the selling out of the natural resources and the PSUs etc are inseparable and are part and parcel of the grand fight against the LPG policies.

17

### **Impact of Imperialist Globalization And the result of New Economic Policy**

By the fall of USSR and the set back received by the socialist camp on the one hand and the transgression of economic policy from that of Keynesianism to that of Neo-classicalism on the other, as the shift happened in the US, UK and the capitalist countries, opened the flood gates of Imperialist Globalization by the closing years of 80s and the beginning of 90. This cataclysmic change in the closing decades of twentieth century caused serious reversals in the Asian African Latin American countries leaving no room for any more maneuvering in the balance of forces of the world where capitalist and socialist camps existed.

18

These developments caused serious and hazardous changes to the structure and sectors of production and other spheres of economic activity in India. These changes that were inflicted up on the industrial and agrarian fields of production in the interest of monopoly capital have been derogatory in character and destructive to the republic. The new industrial policy quietly shifted the key role of public sector to the hands of monopoly and scrapped the promotional policy for small entrepreneur for giving impetus to monopoly investment and changed mineral policy and land policy to favor the mining giants of the world. The result was devastating deindustrialization and drastic destabilization of vast populace. It even tends to hand over all the natural resources including watersheds to profiteering monopoly

business. Employment generation is not at all attended to as a quotient of national planning rather; it is taken for granted that this monopoly-led-shuffling will do a kind of anarchic-settling of such issues. The agrarian field was to be handed over to monopolies hence, the inputs for small and medium peasant were squeezed, the subsidies and props for them were drastically cut down, the market of their produces were merged with the merciless sea of international market and banks were shut off from giving effective monetary aids and loans for them . The PDS was tuned down to meager mockery and sustenance for agrarian work force was made practically impossible triggering an exodus of agricultural workers to cities and towns, transforming themselves into backyard industrial work force and gangs of construction workers. The present state of destitution is a manufactured one, due to LPG policies, to suit it for monopoly take over of agriculture. Already agri-business is on its way in that process.

## 19

These landslide changes have carried along a concurring social effect too; and the same has unfailingly made its precipitation in the political arena also. The state led by the big bourgeoisie also undergoes elemental changes. Its centralization has phenomenally escalated to new dimensions. All the representative and democratic institutions including the parliament have been deformed to benefit the interests of the monopoly capital. Parliamentary vote is being purchased time and again to favor the victory of pro –monopoly and pro –imperialist decisions. This has been obscenely evident on the occasion of non-confidence motion against the first UPA government. The executive have proven to be corrupt from top to bottom. The gigantic corruption cases are coming out every year on close heels making the public weary to hear about. The judiciary is not out of this vicious net. Armed forces have become the hot bed of corruption. All of it means that finance monopoly capital has instilled the poison of oligarchic culture

of lobbying, corruption, nepotism, and treason well in the fountains of the systemic stem of the nation.

20

Only the most organized force of the vast nation and its most organized forms of action can counter this degenerative course, with a solid and scientific alternative. And, that is the growing legions of proletariat that bear most of the negative effects of this transformation. The prime production sectors, industry and agriculture, are now at the mercy of monopoly finance capital. The state is acting as accomplice to it. The state policy of depriving small and medium peasants of all the state support mechanisms and subsidies by cutting them short to meager amounts and the internationalization of market without any effective procurement of crops with support prices is the menacingly growing trend now. Our Party program had foresaw this and had the programmatic perspective of change as stated in its article 5.4 :

“5.4 Only the Indian proletariat can mobilize all revolutionary classes, sections and masses, challenge the ruling system, and provide the left alternative at this crucial juncture in the history of our country. The Indian proletariat and its vanguard party has to shoulder the responsibility of completing the tasks of the long pending democratic revolution and national independence by mobilizing all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces for settling accounts with imperialism, the comprador classes and pre-capitalist relations including feudal decadent relations. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist party has to complete these tasks of the New democratic revolution and lead the people towards socialism.”

21

This pathetic picture is the result of LPG policies inaugurated by the Rao government in 1991. The LPG policies axed the root of the beneficial character of the land reforms that were playing the life line for small and medium peasants with the corroborative legislations such as land sealing regulations, state procurement of crops with support prices etc. In essence the land reforms were to wipe out feudal

world of 'production for the lord' and to bring in the market laws to benefit the farmer by making both the land and the produces of the land commodities that the farmers can buy and sell without the fear that only the 'lords' can do so. Still, even in 1957 itself the communist party led government of Kerala had seen the mercantile take over of the land given to the tenants, the unequal trade by the selling of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides on higher price to farmer and buying of their produces on cheaper price by black marketers, the rural rich and the speculative traders. So, by legislation of land sealing, expansion of co-operative banking, and provisions of agri-input material supply and support priced procurement of crops it regulated these market laws. Now, the central government lifting the flood gates of monopoly rush to the field and closing the taps of pro-farmer subsidies, close noosing of co-operative banking, etc has made farming impossible to farmers. This has become a killer policy beyond any possibility for the state governments to do any effective maneuver.

22

So, it is this killer policy that leads peasants to suicide points. The rural oppressor of the peasantry is predominantly the merciless market laws. The central government policy that supports the merciless market laws add to the marauding run over by inverting the preferences of the economic activity altogether. Actually the neo-classical economic perception has made the state policy to this reversion; that, the agriculture has to be sacrificed to the benefit of industry to keep the growth buoyant. This evil sermon is the venom spewed by finance monopoly capital; and it will spread its hell to all nations it visits. This perception has penetrated the left conceptions even, resulting serious chinks in worker - peasant alliance, the vital core of class alliance and creating grievous flaw to economic activity that is sure to bring serious negative slide in industry too; for, this perception gives up the basic tenet that growth in agricultural production is the corner stone to the whole growth. Besides, a nation of more than one billion population

will dry up its granaries and employment opportunities if it goes on practicing this fallacy. So, the reversion of policy should be reverted to put the national production on straight rails.

23

This can not be reverted unless state policy is reverted. The struggle to revert this malevolent state policy is already raised by the united working class forums such as joint trade union movement that has struck work for 48 hours in 2013 and had struck 24 hour work in the preceding year with such demands. Still, a programmatic and conscious interference in the form of program, demands, extra-parliamentary and parliamentary struggles for the demands and creative interference of governance wherever possible are needed for breaking open an alternative path. It should be to usher in novel forms of organization, control and management of agricultural production as it could be understood from the present experience that this primary sector of production to have essentially surpassed the stage of petit-owning and petit-farming. 'Either monopoly finance capital or the proletariat' is the struggle in this field too. At the same time transcendent forms of ownership has to be introduced to facilitate the advancement of the course of agrarian production activity towards truly large, collective and planned forms. Farmers' producing co-operatives, other kinds of collectives and public sector farming methods could be used to play this role. In short the banner of socialist aim has to lead changes in this production sector as it had affirmatively been decided of in the industrial sector by the revolutionary program much earlier.

24

It is notable that our seventh conference had a far sighted perception of this issue as it had stated: "We can begin with the measures to solve the basic crises that India is facing now if only we gain and retain food – security. 830 million people of our nation just get Rs.20/- per day. We should note that the UPA government is trying to destroy PDS and to practice TPDS in its place in the back

drop of the above stated fact. Immediate need of the nation is to restore PDS in order to take initial step for food security. Another step is to give new impetus in the agriculture sector giving emphasis to food production. And, this will be an important measure to solve the question of rural unemployment along with attaining food security. Total land reforms are the central point of this. In order to free the peasants from the existing feudal – semi feudal land relations, ownership of land should be given to peasants. At the same time we should implement policies and legislations to prevent domestic and foreign agri-business monopolies and real-estate lobbies from taking over the land of small peasants who is pauperized by globalization.” Only the left alternative can take up this challenge; but, it faces problems to be overcome.

25

### **PROBLEMS OF LEFT ALTERNATIVE**

The programmatic drag did not pertain with the ML organizations alone. We had found that THE CPI (M) had for a while been speaking about re-colonization; even when the 1964 program of THE CPI (M) had cautioned about the neo-colonization threat. This had created enough room for ambivalence. Then, the major left parties began to find more time to conflict on the matters of tactics employed to tackle the imperialist globalization. Even when the working class stood up with ever intensifying struggles against imperialist globalization and did broaden its unity, the left parties did not graduate themselves to give the necessary historic lead to this proletarian movement. While coming to this assessment of the left political consolidation it does not and must not mean that it was devoid of the key role of left parties that the united action of the left TUs became possible. Actually that was initiated and led by left political leaderships. Still, it was a work half done. The crucial part of the work lied with the task of galvanizing this joint TU movement with the other toiling and democratic forces. The worker-peasant alliance had to be the prime-core of such alliance. This could have been built a national resistance movement against imperialist globalization and especially would have

kick-started a movement for nationalization of the already sold industries and natural resources. This would have further given the due positive spearhead to the anti-LPG policies struggle and would have crystallized on to the solid program of the Left Alternative; as the Left Alternative is not at all a mere oppositional gathering that the circumstances conveniently provide in order to just vote against the LPG policies 'Nay Nay'.

26

This would have given impetus to extra parliamentary struggles in a big way; surely with a far creative substance. Apart from the initial advances, especially when the left parties had fair parliamentary strength, the left has shown its inability to rely on the extra parliamentary struggles and to widen its support base relying on the extra parliamentary struggle too. It has shown up one more weakness that is, it could not find fighting space in the areas where the globalization policy has caused severe social wounds. The whole central India has become a socio-political ravine along with the undermining of land by the mining giants. The states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh has similar socio political crisis. The left parties drawing it poor there both in and out parliamentary activities, is a matter of serious concern. It is high time to examine the correctness and sustainability of the left tactics in handling the questions of globalization.

27

This is vital with regard to the formation of left alternative; as, the left alternative has to find its forces among workers and peasants. The worker peasant alliance has to act as the prime core of any socio political formation that can ensure the left alternative. If only the left parties and left forces come to the active rallying of workers and peasants and find workable ways to solve the contradiction among them in order to sharpen their contradiction with the monopoly capital, then only the worker peasant alliance can find its natural stream of development. Any parliamentary or extra parliamentary growth of the

movement for left alternative could be undertaken with vigor and substance if the above stated unity grows day by day.

28

Instead of understanding this key issue the left forces, wherever they come to office, are seen to follow a malignant tactic; that is, to implement the liberalization policies of the central government saying that there is little chance of resistance in the field of governance. Examining a number of policies implemented by the last left front government in West Bengal and the last LDF government in Kerala and some of the still sustaining policy of the left in opposition benches in those states regarding such policies pursued by the right wing governments in those states this fallacy could be clearly understood. True that the left governments that had ruled in those states had fought many an anti-people policies of the central government and had acted as weapon in the hands of the people to certain extent; still, some of the erroneous policies that it pursued eclipse the political brightness of it and provided ample room for the rightwing bandwagon of all hues to paint it as equally anti-people as the UPA regime. This confusion made it a more murky and slimy ground in the practical work among the peasantry and provided advantage to the rightwing to win them over against the left and at the same time to make them part and parcel of the treacherous design to eliminate the peasantry itself as a class for the primitive accumulation of capital. In short the right wing has been utilizing the mistakes of the left and the lack of indoctrination and conscience among the peasantry, to get to their goal of eliminating the peasantry itself as a class in order to pave way for the monopoly bourgeoisie to take over the deserted/evicted land.

29

How to overcome this infernal concoction? How to ready our shoulders for the responsibilities of governance and to keep on holding the banner of class-struggle on high mast? How to galvanize workers

and peasants into a formidable worker-peasant class alliance against globalization policies? How to tilt the movement from the phase of resistance to the phase of a positive programmatic Left Alternative? The answer is that any solid move in that direction is only possible with the correct understanding of Anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism without the anti-monopoly capital content is empty vessel. The neo-colonial danger is escalating on the mounting expropriation rabidly unleashed by monopoly capital. It is the clawed paw of the international finance capital. Without putting up chief fight against the monopoly capital that takes over the fields of production and market form step-one nobody can put up a serious fight against imperialism; nobody can put up a valid positive alternative. Without a positive alternative for the development of the producing classes and the nation all the rest would amount to just lip service to revolution. The fight against the monopoly capital is being increasingly proletarianized as the older methods of agrarian production and trade are being replaced by the monopoly bourgeois. So, the working class has to convey a strong message to the peasantry that there is only one way to escape extermination and that is the way of more socialized existence; and, that is possible through a worker-peasant alliance and the alternatives put forth by that alliance in the fight against the monopolies. There is no via media. Who is going to vanguard this message is the question. That is the question the left should answer very positively. A non-ambivalent tactic is the need of the hour to discharge this duty. The experiences such as the Singur-Nandigram, the pro-monopoly investment drives and the BOT-Toll regime are the negative teachers in this regard. Without learning these lessons the left forces can not move ahead.

## **THE LEFT ALTERNATIVE AND THE TASKS OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

The left alternative is necessarily the tactical step to achieve the goal of democratic revolution in our country. The programmatic premise of democratic revolution has grown to that of an appreciated socialist content. This has become so for the increased role of monopoly capital in squeezing the producing classes even in the rural areas. Both the industrial and agrarian production has been thrown to the anarchic whirlwind of an unpredictably destabilized market and an ever-drying government expenditure that formerly used to facilitate production-inputs in a moderate expense. So, losing the support of planned investment and witnessing a fast drying welfare, the agrarian production and the agrarian producing class get bankrupt and withered. This dismemberment has narrowed their path of emancipation. If in the former days it was the feudal lord that pauperized and plundered them, curtailed their social development in all forms and used the decadent social institutions like caste in the main, now that is largely transferred to the hands of monopoly capital and its henchmen. Any how, the anarchy had not done away with the ills of the former decadent society; instead, it has accelerated both its malignance and complex nature. So, the eradication of the old hunchback is to be undertaken and carried with more vigor by stepped up class unity among workers and peasants. At this juncture of increased involvement of monopoly capital it has called for the increased involvement of working class in the rural areas too. Similar enhancement follows regarding the content of the agrarian revolution also. Redistribution of land proprietorship can not work as the main remedy to this malice for, all the input for agrarian production has lost the government support as it has decided to minimize all subsidies below 2% of GDP. Further, the support price mechanism is abandoned and it was replaced by speculative market. The disappearance of pro-farmer banking and the pending plan of

privatization of the state bank have given the bleakest chances for the small and medium peasants. So, petit production has become non-viable and crop procurement on support price is an old story now. As it has become clearer that the agrarian sector has been put to be preyed by the market, that is ruled by monopolies, it is just matter of time how and when the actual activity of production in that sector is going to be taken over by monopolies.

### 31

What then is the remedy? How that remedial proposal could be made programmatic within the ambit of a Left Alternative? It is the question of the path of development; not merely that of resistance to monopoly take over. The question about the kind of development the left has in its program should be answered with affirmative and assertive positives. For this, 1) the existing nationalized industries, banks and financial institutions should be guarded and protected from a marauding drive of privatization by a rabid state of neo-liberal policies run by the UPA, 2) the new industries and sectors of production should be initiated and operated by strictly subjecting those to the measure whether such ventures meet the need of the people both by the produces, services and employment generation created by those industries, 3) a continuous counter push to the privatization spree demanding nationalization of the vital sectors of production and services such as oil, natural resource extractions, edible-supplies, drinking water, power and transportation, 4) tireless effort for achieving more socialized existence and growth of the producing classes, that are at present segregated in the fragmented and isolated petit-production modes, are needed. A conscious Left Alternative can not allow itself to be gullible to the populist belief that investment that may fall from skies will suffice the said needs. Instead, it must know and indoctrinate that such anarchic induction of investment that is part and parcel of monopoly capital will only create cacophony. This kind of investment will not provide sustained development; instead will create at the most

a temporary false boom. Adding to this, such wild investments do crush the existing employment, housing, living milieu etc. to create fewer employment opportunities, costlier housing in minimal number, expensive and reduced living milieu. Above all, it not at all is concerned about the fatal harm that it brings about to the ecological balance and the social harmony of the people. A left formation that is complacent of these questions is the weakest proponent to achieve the above said Left Alternative; and, that is the main challenge in envisaging the left alternative in the tactical design to the ends of the program of democratic revolution.

32

The above said appreciation of the tactical understanding that is, the Left Alternative, has attained dimensional importance in the grasping of phenomenal changes regarding the goal of democratic revolution; that is, inclusive of the nurture of secular social values, establishing of casteless society, achievement of emancipative women-empowerment, more sensitive ecological conscience, higher reasoning about the necessity of urban-rural balancing and the sociopolitical-economic facilitation for the tribal people to achieve a democratic path of development. This again, should reflect in the activities and efforts in the field of action, especially of the cultural organization.

33

Imperialist globalization has whipped up a hysteric cry for 'development' that has darted mad and rapacious drives to extract the natural riches including the flora and fauna and the geological deposits world over. It also maligns the atmospheric serenity up to the etching away of the ozone layer. The imperialist countries and the monopolies while shedding crocodile tears over the ecological destruction and resulted global warming are working overtime to erase their own carbon footprints and preach sermons of green living to the Asian African Latin American oppressed nations and the oppressed people. The imperialist countries and monopolies are bent to dump their nuclear waste and their decadent nuclear technology in the

oppressed nations and are eager to clamp oppressive and depriving treaties and agreements up on the oppressed nations to facilitate their malicious designs of neo-colonial exploitation and hegemonic domination.

34

In our country the above said imperialist outrage up on the ecological balance has escalated along with the exploitative and ulcerous globalization policies. The Indian ruling class has spread this disease to the last village and to the heart of the remotest tribal hamlets. People do resist this marauding gluttony of finance capital; and, the state machinery has unleashed its military forces to suppress this resistance. The proletarian vanguard is absent to spearhead and lead the people's resistance in these places and imperialist prompted agencies also do land there as toxic fillers to hijack the cause staging phony struggles.

35

India has attained a shameful nickname 'the rape-country'; only to be challenged by Congo. Its capital is notorious for woman-killing and biased policing. The women's rights are overlooked at workplaces where sexual outrages run common. All the new-generation businesses unfailingly follow this shady nature. The right wing brigands daringly raid the pubs and molest women in targeted ways to enforce purdha-veil culture. The child prostitution, pedophilia and trafficking flourishes with the help of abetting authorities and blind judiciary. North east, central India and Kashmir have witnessed uniformed men, protected by AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act), go on rape-kill routine in horrendous levels. Khap Panchayats have shown that neo-liberalism cannot dull the edges of feudal weapons of oppression. In the neo-liberal regime women are made and unmade as dolls in the market. The need of democratic revolution's specific address to the cause of women's liberation is magnified by these conditions. The immediate demands for this should bear the 33% reservation to the legislative assemblies and the houses of parliament.

The dalit and tribal people were further pushed down to a merciless receiving end of oppression, evictions, and ethnic cleansing and caste atrocities. They are made to kill each other as seen in Orisa and Chatisgarh, or gunned down and burnt alive as happened in Bihar. The privatization spree is fast drying up their little oasis of reservation to jobs even. These are the fruits of LPG policies. The fight against the LPG policies will be victorious only when the question of social justice finds prime place in its demands. The organized proletarian vanguard should see to it with unfailing urgency and gravity.