

and saving the union from the split, what turn events actually take is difficult to say at this particular juncture. However what way the struggle within this mass organisation of the peasants is resolved is not only the concern of the peasants and pro-peasant forces but also of the wide range of democratic and secular forces, because in the pro-peasant political solution of the Punjab problem, the role of the peasantry is crucial, and BRU in Punjab being the main organisation of a considerable section of the peasants in Punjab, what way its crisis is resolved will definitely have a bearing in solving or further complicating this tangled problem.

A. P. Leaflet

Murder Of The Forgotten Yedida Satyam

We published in the previous issue of *The Comrade*, a leaflet issued by the Girijan Sangh in Bhadravari Agency Area of A. P. That leaflet was addressed directly to the People's War Group that was going to extend its activities to the Agency Area and exhorting the struggling people there to follow and support their squad actions. We published that leaflet as a positive specimen of a Sangh's correct political and democratic approach in reacting to the entry of some other revolutionary group into the area of its work as well as in placing the issues before the struggling people and making them judge for themselves the merits and demerits of the policies and practices of different communist revolutionary groups. Presently, we are publishing another leaflet issued by the the same organisation—The Girijan Sangh. Though, this time, the leaflet is not directly addressed to People's War group, yet it continues further the polemical discussion with that group as initiated in the previous leaflet. This time, the Sangh takes up the concrete issue of squad actions in the light of the overall context and interests of the revolutionary movement. Putting forth its political reaction at the PWG's squad action against Yedida Satyam, the Sangh not only upholds correct political and class stand on the issue, but also tries to involve in struggling people into the discussion on the basis of their own revolutionary experience.

—Ed.

The news about the murder of Yedida Satyam in the People's War Group on 28 August 1992 has been prominently in the news papers. We find it impossible to understand with what political aims they committed the murder. For any organisation which declares revolutionary politics as basis of its political conduct, its every act will have to be associated with a revolutionary political purpose. In October last year (1991) we put out a leaflet addressing the People's War Group. We narrated our experiences in it. We explained the conditions prevailing here and the goal we still cherish. We asked those comrades to give their suggestions about the programme the Girijan Sangh should undertake in accordance with the conditions here. But the programme has come from those comrades to our "Girijan Sangh". Those comrades may not have a programme that we can undertake or they may have felt that we do not possess the necessary consciousness to undertake such a programme. However as they are carrying out their activities here, in their own way, we felt it necessary to place a few things before them once again.

After their recent act (of murder of Yedida Satyam) many people are asking our Sangh the question: "Does this act constitute a part of the 'Revolutionary movement?' We have the responsibility to answer it. In our previous leaflet we expressed our views about the People's War Group, saying: "We feel that you too want to end the exploitation by the landlord class". We explained some of our experiences there. In that leaflet we broadly outlined the conditions in which the Girijans were living and the problems they were facing since beginning of the activities of the Girijan Sangh, as also how the struggles were started by organising the Girijans for the solution of those problems and how the Girijan Sangh advanced in that course. It is necessary to say a few words regarding the political

consciousness we acquired as a part and parcel of the same course of struggle.

In 1962 India-China border clashes started. In that context, an officer from the Bhadravari block office went to the village Rella to check the Panchayat records. One Pichuka Naidu, a member of the Girijan Sangh was the president of the Rella Panchayat then. After checking the records the officer returned from the Rella village. In those days there were no buses. The officer was to go on a bicycle. Pichuka Naidu accompanied the officer up to road to see him off. On the way the officer told Pichuka Naidu that China attacked our country, arms have to be bought to repel them and for that purpose every one should give monetary help to the government. Instantly infuriated at these words, Pichuka Naidu, with blazing eyes and enraged face challenged the officer saying: "Chinese are our people. How dare you ask us for money to buy arms to fight them?" The officer was shocked by this righteous outburst. He apologized and speeded on his bicycle. In another instance American imperialists intensified their attacks on Vietnam and were creating havoc there. Then the Girijan Sangh made a straw-studded effigy of American imperialists and tied it to a post in the sun in front of the Girijan Sangh office. The Girijan Sangh declared that it tried the American imperialist for his atrocities in Vietnam and gave the punishment. "The American imperialist shall roast in the sun for two days". All the Girijans who were fighting the landlords in the Agency area went from village to village proclaiming "the American imperialist" as the big landlord of the entire world and hence the Sangh meted out the punishment to him for his atrocities in Vietnam. For two days people thronged as if in a pilgrimage to the site of the effigy. On the evening of the second day, a procession of

1000 people carried the effigy and performed the last rites by burning it.

Further on, the consciousness demonstrated by comrades like Rengin who died heroically fighting the police face to face, by those who stood undaunted in the face of unaccountable atrocities of the police and by those who refused to budge whatever be the brutal repression in the police camps or the jails, is outstanding. Then at a time when the movement was on an ebb and when scores of hundreds were facing repression in jails, the slogan of boycotting the courts was given. We were wondering about what purpose can be served by boycotting the courts except that of staying on in jails. Taking advantage of this situation the C.P.I. came forward promising to arrange defence for all the courts. We, while saying that we will be joining the CPI, accepted the defence provided by it. With this the CPI started beating its own drum, thinking that they were about to conquer the hills. When the Girijans were returning to the Agency after getting acquitted in the cases, the CPI leaders used to organize public meetings with the Girijans. They used to make speeches as if they were criticizing the government. But they could not provide leadership with a programme befitting the aspirations and consciousness of the Girijans. They could not stay at the top of the hills they intended to conquer. We explained in the previous leaflet how in these conditions, the Girijans revived their Girijan Sangh and started occupying the lands everywhere. That struggle for the occupation of the landlords' lands and our practice, to the extent we occupied the lands, shook the foundations of the landlord class.

When Yedida Satyam fired at and killed comrades Koranna and Mauganna, the Agency was swept with the anger of the Girijans. In the face of it, the state machinery, naturally as its inherent responsibility, provided all

protection and security with all comforts, to that murderer. It had to thus protect that murderer throughout the period of struggle. The Girijan movement advanced in leaps and bounds. It was not a situation where Yedida Satyam and the like could stand in the way. It was the state machinery which had to come into confrontation. When the Girijans, who were steeled in the struggle, started occupying the lands on a large scale after returning from jails, even that state machinery started donning new garbs and singing new tunes. In those conditions our aim was to strike at the foundations of the landlord class but not one of chasing and finishing off Yedida Satyam as an individual. That is why, while the foundations of the landlord class were shaken by our practice, Yedida Satyam, fell aside and remained just as an individual. If such an individual is killed, by a Girijan, we would take it as a manifestation of the imbedded class hatred in that Girijan. But it becomes a debatable issue, when such killing becomes a main task for a revolutionary organisation wanting a radical transformation, of the existing system. We are unable to comprehend, what political purpose, such energy and capability as employed by the Peoples War Group (in the recent murder of Yedida Satyam) will serve. It is a different matter, if the purpose is to make News and to retain their own or others revolutionary enthusiasm with the help of such News. Any action that does not become an integral part of the peoples' revolutionary practice cannot become a part of the revolutionary movement. That is why we feel that the People's War Group's recent action cannot be a part of the revolutionary movement.

According to the news in the papers, the sealed cover left at the site declared that the murder of Yedida Satyam is carried out, as an act of revenge to the killing of comrades Koranna and Mauganna on October 31, 1967 and it cautioned a warning to all such persons that they will meet a similar

fate. Thus the People's War Group left a policy statement while killing Yedida Satyam by concentrating their capabilities and spending their valuable time and resources. If there is a revolutionary political organisation that is their main political policy, what the People's War Group is contemplating to do in relation to the murder of more than 120 Girijans and to the murder of Vempatapu Satyam and Adibabai Kailasam during the entire period of struggle after the martyrdom of Comrades Koranna and Mauganna? Here there are experiences of such actions also, but they were undertaken when the struggle was proceeding at its peak. We can not expect that without the people getting prepared for revolutionary action, the landlord atrocities can end with such warnings alone. Now, even though some clashes are taking place here and there on the land issue, why are the landlords here are not resorting to such atrocities as in the past?

On the otherside, in the plains, in the village Kassagadaba Valasa just by the side of our Agency, the landlords murdered 5 Girijans in broad day light. In Ravi Valasa they beat up and terrorised the Harijans (we narrated these instances in the previous leaflet) why had these happened in these villages (and not in our area)? Because the landlords controll most of the lands in the villages and while exploiting the labour of all those who are working on these lands, they keep the entire village on a tight leash. While driving the people into dire poverty, they exercise their brute authority over the lives of the people and subject them to all kinds of attacks and atrocities. The people reeling under dire poverty are reduced to being sacrificial lambs to hunger and illness. The children, the mothers, the aged and the young, all are deprived of food, medical facilities and proper dwellings. Death has become a common and frequent occurrence to them. Thus these people are dragging their lives

between the devil and the deep sea. The question before the people is : wheather to die with hunger, illness and landlord atrocities without getting prepared to destroy the feudal system? Or to get organised in the fight to destroy the feudal system and be prepared for sacrifices and to some of them being martyred on the path of such a fight? If the latter is chosen, even if some of them lose their lives in struggle at least the next generation will break free from the feudal oppression. Even our own limited experience proves this truth. Before the Girijans got organised into the Girijan Sangh, their lives too were reeling under landlord-t-ader exploitation and were being similarly driven helplessly between death and life. In the struggle more than 120 Girijans lost their lives. Thousands of Girijans suffered in jails and police camps. It is only because of those struggles and sacrifices that today we are in a situation where we can live and go around at least with some self-respect by holding our chains a little up.

However, with larger areas remaining still without at least that much of mobilisation as we underwent, our situation remained like a wayside halting situation on the long journey.

The misdeeds and atrocities of the landlords and tyrants will not end without preparing the people for revolutionary action in a way that the lands of the landlords are seized and possessed by the rural poor and thus for shattering the class foundations of the landlords. Wanting to check the atrocities of landlords individually, while keeping intact the class foundations of the landlords, is like trying to get rid of the mosquito bites by catching and killing each mosquito that flies out from the breeding pits, without clearing the muck and filling up the breeding pit, in which the mosquitoes grow endlessly. When we attempt to fill the pit in which the mosquitoes breed, the mosquitoes flare up desperatly. Should

we divert from the attempts to cover up those pits by getting engrossed in killing these mosquitoes? Or to start attempting earnestly to cover up the pits and steadfastly continue and carry forward these attempts, by warding off or getting rid of any mosquitoes that obstruct these attempts and if necessary even by bearing some mosquito bites in unavoidable circumstances. We are of the opinion that our practice should proceed giving primacy to the attempts to cover up the breeding pits. With the experiences we got and with the knowledge we gained, we explained our understanding and practice in the above paras. If you think that our understanding and practice are not correct, we request you to give us the necessary explanation.

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potential *profitability* of the units. By this logic, the units which cannot, under the present system of production relations, make a profit, should be closed.

Workers do not have the same faith in the market. Knowing well the social, political and economic hurdles to the successful running of cooperatives within the present political economy, and being quite unwilling to throw their job security and wages to the winds of the market, workers are themselves not eager to take the plunge. "Most workers", says V. A. Gore of the ICICI, "would prefer an external promoter if their jobs are guaranteed" Thankappan, however, ascribes this reluctance to a "psychological barrier" to workers cooperatives among workers : 'they don't trust the banks and they don't trust the government to effectively support them'. (*Business Standard* May 11, 1992). The role of the cooperative protagonist, then, appears to be to instil such trust among the workers.

A 'successful' cooperative, on the other hand, would have to fashion itself according to the market in the manner of other profitable firms today. For example, a cooperativised firm making consumer goods may find that its goods will only sell with a foreign collaboration ; a cooperative producing scarce goods may find that it can enter into cartels with other producers in order to keep down production, or manipulate price hikes ; a construction firm may find that, like all other private sector firms, the only way to win contracts is to offer under-the-table commissions. All these would be logical extensions of the drive for private profit within an economy that encourages precisely such activities.

In order to make the unit run 'successfully', the new management will have to do the above, and would also have to cultivate the bureaucracy in a thousand and one slavish