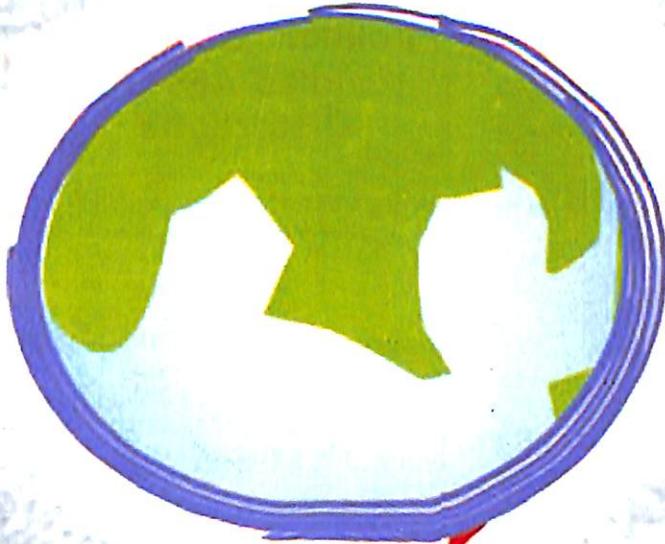


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*



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# Uphold the Revolutionary Traditions Of May Day !

## Win back Genuine Proletarian Ideology to the Working Class !!

This day has been immortalized in the history of the working class as the day, not only in remembrance of the heroic Chicago martyrs, but as the day symbolising the assertion of the workers as a class. Such true assertion is impossible without the consciousness of the workers for the total destruction of all forms of wage slavery and bondage to capital. Historically, trade unionism was one step forward in this assertion of working class rights; but in itself it does not bring freedom from bondage. For this proletarian ideology is a pre-requisite, as without communist thinking and action it is impossible to break the chains that bind the working class and all other oppressed sections to this cruel and exploitative system. Mere struggles for petty economic gains for oneself, though necessary, does not build the consciousness for total emancipation. This comes from an understanding of the need to struggle not merely for oneself, but also for one's fellow brethren, and against all forms of injustice afflicting this system. Besides, the working class can liberate itself only through liberating the entire oppressed humanity.

It is the revisionist of all hues who have kept the workers chained hand-and-foot to big capital. May Day has ceased to have the importance it once had, and if at all celebrated it is more a routine affair divorced from struggle and the political significance of working class emancipation. No matter what the intellectual hacks of the bourgeoisie may say about the "end of history", it was Marx who opened the doors to a scientific understanding of history and its inevitable development forward, achieved through the emancipation of the working class and involvement of socialism.

That was over one-and-a-half centuries back. But, time does not stand still; nor can one turn the clock back. Much has happened in this period. The 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed not only two major socialist transformations, it also ended with their reversals. The victory of socialism in some major parts of the globe, and its development for some three decades in both countries, is a vindication of the science of Marxism, first put forth by Marx and Engels and later developed by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Their reversal indicates some lacunae in these first ever experiments where the oppressed become the ruling class. Generations and centuries of class thinking obviously take time to uproot, while the privileges of power can intoxicate

even the best, unless coupled with the antidote of continuous struggle against bourgeois values and bourgeois right. And herein lies the brilliance of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which further developed the science of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The echoes of the GPCR — fight revisionism, fight self; restrict bourgeois right; partake in social production and labour; deepen the socialist education movement; take class struggle as the key link; red and expert; grasp revolution, promote production; it is right to rebel; etc — resound even today reminding the genuine revolutionaries of the pitfalls that push one into the mire of revisionism and class collaboration. On this May Day we cannot but recall this major contribution of Mao that can help us keep on the true proletarian path.

Betrayal of the working class in the name of the working class is the fashion of the revisionists, Trotskyites and other fake Marxists the world over. Marxism does not need idolization of the workers or any individual — it is a science, which evolves and develops, to be wielded for the furtherance of democratic and proletarian revolutions as steps towards the ultimate goal of communism. Marxism is no dogma, but a guide to action; an outlook, an approach, a tool with which to understand all and any aspect of society, in order to change it for the better.

On this May Day in 2005 it is particularly necessary to uphold the revolutionary traditions of the working class; as the earlier and current betrayals by the revisionists have pushed them deep into the morass of reformism and economism making them open prey to the massive attacks of Capital. In this period of Globalisation, and more particularly since Sept 11 2001, capital's offensive on the working class is on a scale not seen since World War II. Though the workers have been leading heroic battles in defence of their rights, the continuous betrayals by their union leadership has been blunting the edge of these struggles resulting in horrific conditions for the workers. Unemployment, hunger and poverty which are endemic in the backward countries are now beginning to haunt the workers even in the developed countries. Wage cuts, casualisation of labour, longer working hours, reductions in social welfare and pension schemes, labour flexibility and removal of Trade Union rights, etc etc are all being pushed through by governments

throughout the world in the interests of Big Capital. In addition, the fascist teeth of the bourgeoisie are beginning to show in all countries and the mask of bourgeois democracy is being torn asunder.

Imperialism/capitalism in crisis will seek ever-greater attacks on the working class in the days-to-come and unless freed from the trammels of bourgeois/revisionist unionism success in battles against capital cannot be expected.

So, on this May Day in the year 2005 the clarion call of the working class could be: "*Resist the Offensive of Big Capital*"; "*Free the working class movement from the betrayers*"; "*Ally with all other Oppressed sections for the Total Emancipation of the masses of people*".

But to realize these slogans it is not possible without once again taking stock of the present state of the working class within the overall framework of the international situation and the challenges and opportunities it poses to the working class in general and its vanguard in particular.

### Finance Capital's Offensive on the Working Class

Notwithstanding the higher growth rates reported last year, unemployment is shooting through the sky. In just the one month of March this year, Germany lost 90,000 jobs to push the unemployment rate to over the 5 million mark (unofficial figures put it at nearer 6 million) amounting to 12% of the labour force — the highest since World War II and parallel to what existed during the Great Depression that saw the rise of Hitler to power. The figures in France are much the same. So also is the case in the US and other imperialist countries.

The worst case scenario in the imperialist countries has been those of the earlier Soviet bloc. Poverty levels in Russia have gone up from 2% in 1990 to 40% in 1998 while the handful of conglomerates has made billions in this period. Life expectancy has gone down drastically. And in these horrifying conditions Putin has just brought a series of 'reforms' that push the already starving population deeper into poverty. In January the government sought to remove all benefits to pensioners, the military and police. It replaced free public transport, free medicines, reduced payment for power and gas, etc, with a nominal hike in cash payments. It plans further reforms in the health, education and housing sectors. Massive militant demonstrations

throughout the country forced a partial reversal of the measures.

In China the closure of 3,300 public sector units has led to the displacement of 6.2 million workers. Recently the government has decided to open up four vital sectors of the infrastructure to private investment: power, telecom, rail and civil aviation. This would mean lakhs more thrown out of jobs. France has been rocked by massive demonstrations against the government's attempts at raising the working hour week from the existing 35 hours.

The US leads the way in matters of anti-labour legislation. In the public sector, about 40% of all workers are denied basic collective bargaining rights. Over two million employees of the federal government fall under the 1978 Federal Labour Relations Act, which outlaws strikes, proscribes collective bargaining over hours, wages and economic benefits and imposes extensive management rights. Legislative restrictions on trade union rights exclude 32 million workers from collective bargaining while private companies continue to harass trade unionists and discourage all attempts to unionise. In addition, the massive shift from blue-collar to white-collar employees is rooted in the process of extracting monopoly super profits in a world economy that is stagnating at the level of production. Similarly, another important change in the composition of the working class – the growing shift from permanent to temporary/part-time/flextime employment – is to a great extent associated with a changeover from the old Fordist model of mass production to lean production or just-in-time (JIT) production. The latter means producing – and supplying to the market – the exact quantity, quality, and specification of products or services demanded within a very narrow time-frame. It utilises high-speed transport and communications and computerised accounting to establish instantaneous reciprocity between demand and supply, thereby reducing costs of keeping big inventories and stocks of finished products. Such a system can operate only on the basis of unrestricted hiring and firing of workers or a high degree of casualisation. Thanks to the internet, in many cases it is possible to get the job done by workers at home. Apart from JIT, non-standard employment is resorted to for other purposes like reducing the wage bill and avoiding the hassles of dealing with a unionised workforce. It takes different forms and is popularly known in America as "Brazilisation", i.e., the extension of labour practices initiated in Brazil. We can gauge how rapidly such practices are spreading in the advanced industrialised

countries from the fact that in the European Union the percentage of employees with a temporary contract increased by about fifty percent between 1985 and 1998: from 8.4% to 12.8%. In 1996, no less than 49% of European employees with a length of service of less than one year were working on a temporary contract. Indeed, the most striking development in the New Economy for many has been the end of the 40-hour week: **Americans now log more hours on the job than workers in any other industrialized nation.** But growth in real hourly payment has dropped. Most jobs are of a casual nature and now many have to take two jobs to earn as much as they did through one a couple of years back. Besides, in the US 2 million prisoners (the largest number in the world) are used as modern-day slave labour – the bulk of the big TNCs, including those like Microsoft use this labour for which barely any payment is made.

Another important development in the composition of the working class is feminisation: the transfer of mostly low-skill jobs to a workforce that is expected to be more pliant and less costly. The process has been going on for a long time in industry, agriculture, mining and service sectors, and more or less in all countries. In the European Union, for example, 20 million out of 29 million new workers joining the labour force between 1960 and 1990 were women.

High technology and the internet is being used on a huge scale to shift jobs out of the country to low wage enclaves like East Europe, India or other backward countries of the world. The so-called BPO business is thriving. *The Guardian* revealed that the National Rail Enquiries service is likely to move to Bangalore, in south-west India. Two days later, the HSBC bank announced that it was cutting 4,000 customer service jobs in Britain and shifting them to Asia. BT, British Airways, Lloyds TSB [and many other firms] have already begun to move their call centres to India. In August, *The Evening Standard* came across some leaked consultancy documents suggesting that at least 30,000 executive positions in Britain's finance and insurance industries are likely to be transferred to India over the next five years. In the same month, the American consultants Forrester Research predicted that the US will lose 3.3 million white-collar jobs between now and 2015 which will shift to the backward countries.

The following table gives the extent of the attacks on the working class of the developed countries:

From the above table it can be seen that during this period of globalization that the cost of labour has been actually dropping;

*Average Annual Rates of Change of Unit Labour Costs in Manufacturing, G7 Countries: U.S. Dollar Basis*

| Countries      | 1985-90 | 1990-98 |
|----------------|---------|---------|
| U.S.           | 1.6     | 0.2     |
| Japan          | 10.8    | 1.3     |
| Germany (West) | 15.9    | 0.3     |
| France         | 11.6    | -2.0    |
| United Kingdom | 11.4    | 1.8     |
| Italy          | 14.4    | -2.3    |
| Canada         | 7.1     | -2.3    |

in real terms it would mean an actual decline in living standards.

Finally, the top 500 TNCs of the world have seen their net profits grow by a gigantic 60% in 1993 and over 45% in 1994. These huge increases in profits have been squeezed from the blood of the working class.

The situation in the backward countries is ten times worse than in the developed countries. Here, aggressive finance capital in this period of globalization has destroyed the lives of millions of workers and employees. The Latin American countries have been devastated. Countries like Argentina, Ecuador, etc have not only seen unemployment rise to 25% but the entire savings of the population wiped out due to a run on the banks to pay off foreign debts. All other countries too have been badly hit by the policies of liberalization and privatization, as in India.

In India the massive displacement of organised labour has led to a virtual end to any opportunity for a permanent job (except in the army and police). During the last six years 8.4 million people have come of employable age. Where will they go? Temporary jobs, casual jobs, contract jobs are all that is available. In the organised sector the number of jobs have actually been declining. As per the World Bank instructions jobs have to be reduced in the public sector even further. The railways plan to reduce it by a further 3 lakhs; the state governments by 2-5 lakhs and the centre by 5 lakhs. Banks have already given 1 lakh employees VRS reducing its force by 12%. All private sector companies are continuously downsizing. For example TISCO has reduced its labor force in the past five years from 75,000 to about 45,000. The situation has got so bad that the unorganized sector in manufacturing has jumped from 28% in 1993/94 to 39% in 2000. The extent to which the workers are being squeezed by capital is indicative by the fact that the percentage of wages in value added has drastically dropped while that of profits have risen. In the two decades from 1981 to 2000 the percentage of wages dropped from 30% to 18%; while that of profit rose from

47% to 62%. All trade union laws in the country are being amended to totally bind the working class of the country to the ruthless domination of capital.

Such then is the scenario world wide for the working class. But the workers throughout the world are not taking this attack quietly; they are rising up in more and more militant attacks on capital.

## Rising Tide of the Worker's Movements

This year has witnessed a massive upsurge in the working-class movement in Europe, Russia and the USA, besides other countries of the world. There has, in fact, been a rising tide in these movements ever since the impact of globalization began to be fully felt. Prior to the massive movements against globalization and war, initiated by the actions against the Seattle meet of the WTO in 1998 there were huge political mobilizations. Kim Moody wrote in 1997 that there were at least two dozen political general strikes in Europe, Latin America, Asia and North America between 1994 and 1997 - more than at any time in the 20th century. In 1996 alone, there were over seven general strikes in various parts of the world against privatization plans, pension cuts, unlivable wages, anti-worker, anti-strike legislations and other anti-people policies entailed by imperialist globalization. In Germany in 1996 1.1 million workers stuck work against the cancellation of the continuation of wage payments in case of illness planned by the then Kohl government.

In Germany the massive strike at the Opel (General Motors) plant in October last year was accompanied by working-class strikes at Bosch, Siemens, Daimler-Chrysler as well as the Monday demonstrations and the March on Berlin. Though the Opel strike was betrayed by the Union leadership there is now much more assertion of shop-floor level leadership.

In February this year strike activity swept entire France. Over three lakh workers demonstrated against the government's plan to extend the working hour week. The changes could result in workers working 48 hours instead of the present 35 hours. In total 3,21,000 people joined 140 demonstrations across France.

In January this year militant demonstrations stuck entire Russia after the government's new legislations to cut welfare measures particularly of pensioners and government employees. Road and rail blocks, occupation of government buildings were accompanied by student protests and tacit support from the army and police.

In the USA tens of thousands of workers have either threatened to go on

strike or have gone on strike. This is because the corporations have tried to reduce the impact of the current economic crisis by either firing workers, reducing salaries, freezing raises, or reducing benefits. The traditional tactics of the trade union leadership to broker deals with management has not worked. The workers are now undertaking shop-floor level initiatives and leadership is emerging from the rank-and-file. In 2003 there has been a surge of strikes and protests. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) led many struggles against the plans for retrenchment. ILWU has traditionally been one of the most militant unions and even struck work in solidarity with the Seattle protests and shown solidarity with international workers from South Africa to El Salvador. The lockout of 10,500 dockworkers caused 29 docks on the western coast to shut down causing an estimated \$2 billion loss per day to the US economy. The US President invoked the Taft-Hartley Act which forced the workers to get back to work.

Britain has seen massive strike activities this year in February and March against the huge cuts in pensions. Employment in the manufacturing sector has been falling for years and has dropped by one million since Labour came to power in 1997 to a record low of 3.5 million. 26,000 more jobs were lost in the first three months of this year.

In India too we have seen big strike activities particularly in the Public sector, but all these have been brutally crushed by the governments at the Centre and States and betrayed by the revisionist and bourgeois leadership. The strikes of the state government employees of Rajasthan, Bihar, J & K, Tamilnadu have gone on for months. In Rajasthan 2,500 were arrested; in J & K ESMA was invoked; in Tamilnadu over 5,000 were removed from their jobs and hundreds arrested on the very second day of the strike. In the UP strike of the Electricity Board workers against privatisation 17,000 were arrested and 3,000 dismissed. Though most have been given their jobs back they have had to re-start work in even more humiliating conditions. Also there were the all-India strike activities in 2001 and 2002 against the draconian amendments to the labour laws and Maharashtra even saw a successful bandh call, these struggles were not taken forward due to the bourgeois/revisionist union leadership.

So we see all over the world there is a rising tide in the working class movement but it is a continuous losing battle due to the betrayals of the leadership and the viciousness of the rulers. The hard won rights of the workers are being gradually eroded and their standard of living pushed

down drastically. Continuous defeats in battles for economic demands also tend to lead to demoralisation. And this is just what the revisionists desire to maintain their hold as brokers of the management. But, through these defeats there is also arising a new shop-floor leadership. Also there is utmost urgency to devise the ways and means of organising the unorganized sector which are growing by leaps and bounds particularly in the underdeveloped countries.

On this May Day of 2005 let the class conscious proletariat take stock of their victories and defeats and work out new tactics to face the challenges of the day and thereby beat back the growing offensive of capital. The workers no doubt have a "world to win", but only if they are able to shake off the shackles that bind them to reformist trade unionism.

Today, in this period of imperialist globalization, the slogan "*Workers and oppressed people of all countries unite!*" is all the more relevant.

## US Imperialism; The No.1 Enemy of All Mankind

Enhanced economic exploitation is coupled with growing political enslavement, particularly by US imperialism, throughout the world. This is likely to have serious repercussions for the oppressed people of the world as wars and aggression will hit them most. On this May Day one has to take stock of this growing danger.

It is clear, using the 'mandate' Bush received in the elections, the US imperialists plan to continue their aggressive war-mongering policies abroad, while increasing fascist repression at home. The root cause of the present volatile world situation is the deepening crisis in the imperialist economies, particularly that of the US. The growing crisis is pushing the US imperialists particularly into a frenzy to seize markets and sources of raw materials and keep other imperialist powers (specifically Europe & Russia) away. Faced with a record trade gap of \$617 billion in the last year (a massive 24% increase over the previous year), a huge budget deficit of \$450 billion, a public debt of \$1,500 billion (the highest in the world) and a continuous fall in the value of the dollar — US imperialism is desperate. With the value of the dollar having fallen by 40 to 50% vis-à-vis the Euro, central banks of many countries have already started shifting their reserves away from the \$ to the Euro. The trend will gather momentum if even a part of the global petroleum trade starts getting invoiced in Euros (a trend started by Saddam, but reversed after the US

aggression). There is speculation that given the present geo-political scenario, Russia may start that trend, followed by Iran and Venezuela. This is the first time that the US has had to face a serious challenge to the dollar. Today it is no longer able to sustain primacy of the \$ through mere economic competition, but by flexing its military muscle.

It has renewed its aggressive posturing in West Asia, once again openly threatening Iran and Syria. It is said that the Americans already have commandos working in Iran and is heavily pursuing old monarchial elements to destabilise the country. Israel has openly stated that it does not rule out missile attacks on Iran's nuclear installations; and the US openly states it is willing to give diplomacy a chance before a direct attack. In Lebanon it master-minded the assassination of the ex-Prime Minister and then put the blame on Syria. It then organised the so-called 'cedar revolution' to oust Syrian troops in Lebanon and put pressure on the popular Hezbollah. In Palestine, Israel puts pressure on its new puppet, Mahmoud Abbas, to destroy and disarm the militant Palestinian groups. In addition, the new hawkish Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, has extended the so-called 'Axis of Evil' to 'Outposts of Tyranny' including in addition Burma, Zimbabwe and Belarus. According to her all these are in need of "regime change".

In Russia's backyard it organised the so-called 'orange revolution' in Ukraine and a repeat in Kyrgyzstan, dislodging legally elected governments. In this they had the backing of Europe against the pro-Russian rulers. Since the last couple of years Washington has been expanding its influence in the arc of the former Soviet republics — in the Baltics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), the Balkans (Bulgaria, etc), the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, etc) and Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan) — with an aggressiveness that has disturbed Russia. But in both the latest cases the Russians have outmaneuvered the US and have, to some extent, won over the opposition put in power by the US. Besides, soon after the Bush-Putin Summit, Russia formally signed a nuclear fuel agreement with Iran; and took a decision to sell arms to the (anti-US) Chavez government in Venezuela.

In Europe, in spite of a high profile Bush visit after getting elected, conflicts continue to aggravate. Trade disputes are intensifying with the EU now having slapped sanctions against the US for not implementing a WTO decision to cut subsidies. The acute disputes between the two have continued to put the WTO into a

Aggression abroad and fascist attacks at home are always the twin policies of imperialism in crisis. The hysteric campaign in the US to win the public to the Bush establishment's policies can be likened to that of Goebbels during the rule of Hitler. Journalist, film stars, academics are paid thousands of dollars for propagating the lies of the Bush regime and attacking the dissenters. The hysteria has reached such proportions that now 63% of the population sees dissent as being unpatriotic. And if any one dares to attack the policies they not only face threats but also the sack from their jobs. Two recent instances are indications of the type of terror let loose. When a senior journalist of the CNN, Jordan, raised question on the killing of 63 journalists during the Iraq war as having been possibly targeted by US snipers, he was sacked within days. When Churchill, of Hamilton College, New York wrote an essay "*On the justice of roosting chickens*", where he argued that those who worked in high finance at the World Trade centre should not be seen as innocent victims of terrorism" — he was not only sacked but faced numerous death threats, with open threats issued by the right-wing radio and TV commentators, with his essay being treated as treason.

state of freeze which has been continuing ever since the Doha round of negotiations began. On Iraq the major EU countries give lip sympathy to the fake regime but are not willing to send its forces. In a most strange incident an Italian secret service agent after being released by her Iraqi kidnappers faced a volley of fire by US forces as her car entered Baghdad airport. She miraculously escaped, with injuries, though her bodyguard was killed. This created a storm in Italy and till now it is not clear as to why she was targeted!!! American dealings worldwide are getting murkier and murkier.

The US's aggressive plans worldwide can well be understood by its two latest appointments. The new president of the World Bank appointed by the US in end March is none other than Paul Wolfowitz, the ex Deputy Secretary of Defence. He is known as one of the most aggressive hawks of the 'neocon' establishment of the Bush administration and the main architect of the Iraq war. It was he who demanded occupation of Iraq even during the 1991 war and openly advocated attacks within days of the 9/11. He is passionately pro-Israel. He was one of the early theorists of pre-emptive strikes against nation states. He was also ambassador to Indonesia when Suharto butchered 2 lakh East Timorians. And now this Wolf (Bush affectionately calls him Wolfie) is to take control of the World Bank which lends countries \$20 billion a year. One can well imagine now how these funds will be used by this megalomaniac.

But this is not all. A couple of weeks earlier Bush appointed a new ambassador to the United Nations Security Council. This is one John Bolton, a State Department's senior arms control official and a known UN-baiter. This notorious cowboy once said "*the UN security Council should have only one permanent member, because this would correctly reflect the distribution of world power*". He is also known to have said that the "*UN is valuable only when it*

*directly serves the US*". He has made no secret of his belief that the body should be radically restructured to make it more acceptable to the US.

This is only the extreme military face of the US administration. It means merely the pursuance of economic interests through military means. Those that do not face direct military attacks will face increasing forms of bullying, arm-twisting, economic and political blackmail, etc. if they dare resist US dictates.

In India we see this all-round attack of the imperialists — in industry and finance, in agriculture, in health care, in education and culture, in the military, police and intelligence services, and in fact in every sphere of the life of the country. Military aggression has not been necessary as the ruling class servilely fall at the feet of the imperialists. They docilely implement all their dictates as can be seen with the latest enactments of the new Patent Act the new tax reforms in VAT, the further opening out of banks to foreign investments, the reduction in customs duties even further, etc etc. All these are having a disastrous impact on the lives of the people of the country. In India though all imperialists compete it is primarily the US imperialists that call the tune.

So, throughout the world there is need to propagate the call to the people to "*fight back the Aggressive war designs of US imperialism*" and mobilise the masses worldwide against all the war steps of the US throughout the world.

### Conclusion

So, on this May Day in the year 2005 there is need that the working class of all countries be aroused by the following three main slogans:

\* *Win back Genuine Proletarian Ideology to the Working Class*

\* *Fight back the Aggressive war designs of US imperialism*

\* *Workers and oppressed people of all countries unite*

# Expose, Resist and Defeat the UPA's New Offensive War On Maoist Revolutionary Movement!

## Regain Initiative by offering Stiff Resistance!!

*Arjun*

The 7<sup>th</sup> Asian Security forum meet was held in Delhi in the end of January 2005, where the U.S. Foreign Secretary, Condolizza Rice, attended and expressed her government's opinions on the political situation in Andhra Pradesh. It was the third time within a few months' gap for the US government to intervene directly in our own country's affairs. The 'Honorable' Defence Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukharjee, never dares to counter the American Secretary instead with a nervous sense he utters that the problem of Naxalites exists, but it is under control. The same Defence Minister on 4 Feb issued a statement at Hyderabad that through Talks should be continued in AP, the Naxal threat increased, becoming main danger to internal security. The Defence Minister never saw even in his dreams — about American government posing as the main danger and threat to the Indian masses and for world peace. People will not forgive the 'honorable' Defence Minister.

Under the chairmanship of Mr. Sivraj Patil regular meetings of DGPs, security affairs committees, joint operational commands, internal security meetings, Naxal 'affected' states CMs' meetings and his personal visits to the North-East, J & K, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattisghar etc. are regularly taking place. In end March the Special Task Force specifically appointed by the Congress presented its report directly to Sonia Gandhi in a two hour meeting. The outcome of all the meetings was the same — a) Naxalite problem is the main threat to the internal security of the country, b) modernization of forces along with special training, c) construction of roads as part of reforms, d) further coordination between the states, e) deployment of central forces on a permanent basis, f) newer and newer draconian laws to curb all the nominal rights which have been publicly pronounced and g) the war of vicious propaganda against the Maoists by utilizing all the govt. resources, etc.

Meeting after meeting and the co-ordination between the states forces with the Central forces are meant to crush the revolutionary mass movement. Company after company, battalion after battalion of central forces are being deployed. At the time of the NDA rule, in the name of an 'Indian Reserve Force,' a new para military

organisation emerged in areas of higher level of class and nationality struggles. A number of new battalions have been added to the existing structure of the para-military forces. After, the 9 states Chief Ministers meet on 21 September, a new force comprising 50 Battalions — named as STF — is going to be formed exclusively against the revolutionaries, that too from the local youth. All other preparations are geared to 'root out 'terrorism' with the blessings of American imperialism.

After assuming power the UPA at the Centre temporarily toned down the anti-Naxalite sloganeering, compared to the BJP-led NDA period. The May 2004 parliamentary elections changed the political atmosphere for a few months, merely in the expressions of opinions. There was no liberal approach in government policies. One alliance fell and another took charge. The NDA was thrown out of power and the UPA assumed office. A change of Parties might have taken place, but the general policies continued at the same pace. One can see the change in presentation of the problems, as well as the tone of the Home Minister of India. Mr. Sivraj Patil replaced Mr. Advani. Home Secretaries too were changed, the bureaucracy in the PMO and the men in special cells too were transferred to appease the 'new' ministers, but the policies laid down by them are being implemented by the new bosses without any delay and interruption.

### All State Governments Adopting the Same Old Policies !

From the last quarter of 2003 till date, various states faced assembly elections and in April-May 2004 General elections were held. In this period propaganda and debate revolved mainly round the Naxal issues in nine states. When, in 2003, assembly elections took place in Chhattisghar and Madhya Pradesh, when the Andhra Pradesh assembly was dissolved prematurely and a debate was initiated by the TDP from October 2003 to May 2004, and even now in the latest phase of the Jharkhand and the Bihar assembly-elections — the Naxal issue has occupied the center stage. When in power, the BJP as the leader of the NDA and now as the opposition parties has never paused to consistently launch an offensive vicious propaganda war against the leader of the

Indian Maoists. When resistance broke out in new areas after the May 2004 elections like in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, North Bihar, Uttarakhand, borders of Chhattisghar-Jharkhand, Bengal-Jharkhand and Orissa-Jharkhand, suddenly the Chief Ministers of the concerned states started a hullabaloo against the Maoists, which is spearheading the Indian revolution against all dark forces.

The 'Marxists' in Bengal deployed big contingents of para military in South Bengal and are now planning serious attacks in North Bengal too. Whereas in Jharkhand the deployment of forces and repression increased with a long-term perspective. After the formation of the new states of Jharkhand and Chhattisghar, the military equipment in their arsenals is soaring and new battalions with young recruits are being deployed in the battlefield. Mulayam in Uttar Pradesh too stepped up the police attacks in some parts of the state. Congress led state in the Uttarkhand is threatening the people and is trying to crush the CPI (Maoist) movement in its infant stage itself. When the movement gained momentum in North Bihar and borders of UP, the Laloo-Rabri govt. was over active in deploying extra forces. The STF of Bihar has been regularly attacking selected targets of the Maoists' technical mechanism and on the leadership. The Orissa and the Madhya Pradesh governments too are planning various reform programmes and side-by-side sending new forces to the battlefield. Then Maharashtra government too has been continuing the repression without any break.

Whereas in South India the Karnataka govt. deployed Special Forces in the Western Ghats and repression was let loose in 4 districts. In Tamilnadu the fascist Jayalalita has now engaged its STF against the Maoists. These forces were earlier engaged against Veerappan. A recent DGP's meet at New Delhi discussed the deployment of the Indian Army in Dandakarnaya at a 'right time' to cordon off and attack the guerrilla bases there. Where as in AP the truce broke down and the govt. unilaterally started attacks on the Maoists.

In fact, on April 8<sup>th</sup> the newspapers announced that the first steps are being taken to bring in the Army against Naxalites. It was announced that the Army will soon start training state polices to fight Naxalites. To start with a school is being set up in

Chhattisgarh to train the police. The Army Chief, J.J.Singh, said that "one of our best brigadiers is being sent as commandant to this school." This Chief further added "we're analyzing the state of Left extremism and coordinating with the Home Ministry and the state police to ensure that the threat to internal security is effectively countered."

In Jammu and Kashmir and North-East the attacks of Indian Para military forces and army goes on without any lull or gap in the degree of the offensive. At this juncture stiff resistance too has been going on from the side of revolutionaries and nationalist forces. Actually after the Parliamentary elections a song on talks was sung by various state govts. In this background statement after statement from various state governments, regarding talks were released. In the later period, the opposition parties set out to voice in chorus for a central policy on Naxalites. A full-scale debate started among the ruling classes, irrespective of their party background, with the core argument that what happened, happened — but there should not be further consideration on the Naxal issue, like allowing them for talks or open activity, when they are carrying arms. Laying down of arms became a central point from Nov. 2004 onwards. The RSS supremo, Shiv Sena Supremo, Jaya, Chandrababu Naidu, Navin Patnaik, Fernandez or Buddha, Munda, Ramon or Sonia, Monmohan, YSR, Jana are all now singing the same song without any major difference. So we have to understand that the Centre and states government, led by various ruling class parties; approach to policies are in essence the same.

### **Regain initiative where it was lost!**

When the enemy forces are continuously adopting the method of encirclement and suppression, new forms of repression, new tactics, advanced technology, superior equipment, training additional forces and a well oiled mechanism will give temporary advantages to it in some battles. But the sharpening contradictions among the ruling classes will weaken these advantages of its offensive war. However the Maoist who are waging a strategical defensive war will try to counter resist and improve their strength day by day. Mao said that, "In any war, the opponents contend for the initiative, whether on a battle-field, in a battle area, in a war zone or in the whole war, for the initiative means freedom of action for an army. Any army which loses the initiative, is forced into a passive position and ceases to have freedom of action, faces the danger of defeat or extermination." (Selected Articles of

Mao Tse-Tung; *New Vistas Publication*, December 2003; p.220)

The path of revolution is protracted and the sustained guerrilla war is advancing in the guerrilla zones. And in all these zones the war has sustained for a long period, but later faced an ebb particularly in North Telangana from 1999-onwards. In Maharastra particularly Gadchiroli, Bhandara, Gondia areas the movement is also facing continuous serious repression without any relaxation. In these areas guerrilla war has traversed a long distance and advanced with serious losses. In any guerrilla zone of India, under the leadership of the Maoists, the war of defence will obviously develop through difficult circumstances, without a sufficient rear area in the country till date or in the border countries and as the weak forces are facing the enemy's strong forces. So in this adverse situation the initiative in some pockets went into the hands of the enemy forces. In those areas initiative can be regained by fighting with the enemy forces and engaging them daily whenever the state forces enters the guerrilla zones. Generally, the political initiative will be retained in the hands of the Maoists because they are waging a just war against the system. To overthrow this existing rule and establish the alternative, hundreds of battles would have to be fought to capture power through the final battles. All these battle rehearsals would have to be waged keeping the initiative, flexibility and planning in the hands of guerrilla forces and their leader the Maoists.

In this type of zigzag war of guerrilla resistance for a temporary period in some areas the enemy forces will get the upper hand. In such places along with resistance people need to be consolidated in secret form of mobilization but the main form will be resistance itself with active participation of the people and then the resistance will transform into a regular one.

Now in DK, since the last one year, particularly since the Chhattisgarh Assembly elections, an active harassment and misleading of the enemy forces continue with the participation of large number of base forces. This model needs intensification with a need to adopt such a process in the NT, Gadchiroli, Balaghat type Guerrilla zones, in order to regain the initiatives in the process.

### **Expose and Fight Back the Centre's and States' Offensive**

The ruling classes are trying to focus the debate on AP talks on the one hand and on the other they are gearing up fully,

to launch attacks in all the areas simultaneously. On September 21 when the two major parties, which were sphereheading the Indian revolution merged into a single party the ruling classes of India took it as a serious threat to the existing system. The World Bank and US foreign departments have since been pursuing the Indian government to follow the hard-line to tackle the problem. So Home Ministers, the Defence Minister, the PM and leaders and officials at state levels came to an understanding that it is high time to suppress the movement. So the guns of the state armed forces, para military forces started booming in AP and other areas. At the time in some states on this or that pretext the trigger-happy state continues its fire without break.

The situation in Nepal too broke the daydreams of the Indian state. On the one hand it was forced to condemn the emergency but simultaneously it is gearing up its army to extend all logistical support to the king to crush the liberation movement of Nepal under the leadership of the Maoists. It is further trying to cut the relationship between the CPN (Maoist) and CPI (Maoist) and to minimize the impact of the war of liberation of Nepal on the Indian people: It has planned to double its forces on the Nepal border, by a massive recruitment of youth from the area.

Whatever be the tall claims of the UPA, within a very short span of time, it is nakedly exposed before the Indian toiling masses that in the final analysis it serves the interests of imperialism particularly US imperialism. Whatever mask it wears it will be temporary. However temporary it will be, the vanguard party of the proletariat needs all the weapons to fight against the state, to mobilize the people against the state and to consolidate the gains of the movement achieved. So far, to reorganize its forces for the new battles, to propagate revolutionary politics in a larger way is needed to intensify the war of resistance. This is Mao's line.

Different tactics will be adopted in different circumstances and in the given specific conditions. But the aim of all these tactics is the same i.e. to advance the war, strengthen the three magic weapons, to establish bases and to extend the war to newer areas.

The past developments show this, but the Indian Maoists need train their leadership from top to bottom to understand the basic line of for revolution and stick to that line in order to face the enemy forces. The formation of the new party has had a positive impact on the revolutionary masses, which needs to be consolidated further without delay. ■■

# Agrarian Crisis in Punjab; Indicator of powerful struggle of Peasantry

*Amrit*

Punjab, known as the most developed state of India is going to be a centre of people's struggle. The model of green revolution projected in the sixties by the Indian rulers as a part of the policies of the American Imperialists started turning yellow in 1973-74. Now even its leaves have withered. Its negative effects on every sphere of the people's lives have clearly emerged. The peasants and rural workers associated with and dependent on agriculture, who are a larger part of the population of this predominantly agricultural state, have been crushed the most under this so called model of development. They came out on the roads right from their villages to the national capital to safeguard their interests. The centres of their struggles are becoming the villages, instead of the cities. The issues of their struggles no longer pertain to the decade of the 70s-80s, these have transgressed the wishes of any subjective intellectual. Newspapers in Punjabi are also wailing about it. This extremely crisis ridden situation is presented thus by a prominent bourgeois paper, Punjabi Tribune.

"There has never been a phase after independence when the granary of our country has become so depressed, so gloomy and so helpless as it appears now. The incident of Chathewala seems to have pushed this depression to the extreme. This tale of woe is this that a poor peasant of Chathewala got a loan from an Arthiya, (commission agent/money lender) which according to the news, he couldn't repay. The case went to the court, in which the honourable Judge passed orders for the auction of 35 Kanals of his land for the recovery of the loan. Now the police were pressed into service to get the orders implemented. Whereas according to peasants, they would not let it be auctioned. Thousands of peasants assembled in the village. On the other hand, the police established check posts on the kucha and pucca roads and even in the fields to prevent thousands of peasants from entering the village. On seeing the gravity of the situation the police postponed the auction of the land to 20th January. If today the land of this peasant is sequestered, it will open up the path of sequestering the lands of lakhs of peasants under debt.

"The incident of Chathewala has shown that agriculture in Punjab is badly crisis-ridden. In this once prosperous state, when peasants take to suicides, a concrete

programme should have been chalked out to solve this agrarian crisis."

The same bourgeois paper notes in another editorial that, "*A heart rending report about Punjab has been received and that too by the Government itself and not by any non Governmental agency. This report was put up in the Parliamentary committee constituted to assess the suicides last month. According to the report 2116 peasants have committed suicides in Punjab alone since 1988 to date.*" According to the paper, "*the main point is that most of the suicides are being committed by those peasants who own either very small land holdings or negligible land holdings. When the crops of the peasants under this category are destroyed by natural calamities or for any other reasons, these peasants are unable to repay the loans procured from banks and Arthiyas. When the bank officials or bankers make rounds of the houses of these peasants along with the police party in order to recover the loan, the hard pressed peasants are forced to end their lives out of humiliation. A notable fact about suicides is that many of such events are not recorded by the police or the Government. The main reason is the harassment of the people by the police at the time of investigating such event. Thus according to the unofficial sources the number of suicides by the peasants has crossed 4,000,.....Another important notable fact is that most of the suicides are taking place in the Malwa region and within this, Dist. Sangrur tops the list*".

## Debt Crisis and Its Impact on Peasantry

These are extracts from a bourgeois paper, the Punjabi Tribune. Due to the natural flow of rivers Punjab is divided into three regions Malwa, Doaba & Majha. The peasants of Punjab produce wheat, rice, cotton, sugarcane and potatoes. A complete belt of districts of Bathinda, Sangrur, Mansa, Muktsar, Ferozepur, Faridkot, Moga of the Malwa region is known as the cotton belt. The devastation of the cotton crop from 1990 to 2003 has crushed the peasants. The peasants by taking loans to the tune of lakhs of rupees rendered their land fit for the production of paddy. But the peasants of this area, inclined towards paddy, have been further pushed to the wall due to the ever increasing prices of inputs, lack of satisfactory arrangement of irrigation and power, and indifference of the Government

towards the paddy crop.

Even some villages are on sale. One of them is village Kishanpura which has passed a resolution to be on sale. One of the links in this chain is village Chathewala of tehsil Talwandi Saboke in Distt. Bathinda, which has become a subject of headlines of all the newspapers of Punjab. Two or three news items in the newspapers of Punjab bear the heading: "The attempts of the banks and revenue officials who came to sequester the land of the peasants were foiled". Not to speak of the whole of Punjab or the Malwa region, in the courts of Bathinda district alone there are 340 cases between usurer Arthiyas and peasants. There are several such cases as are settled through negotiation by the peasants organisations. Or the peasants under pressure sell their land to the usurers and big capitalist type landlords. Only those usurer Arthiyas who cannot reach any agreement with the peasants for some or the other reason mainly go to the court are, on account of their connections in the corridors of power, adamant to subdue the peasants. They are patronised by the Congress, Akalis etc., ruling class vote-parties. Through the incident of Chathewala the conflict surfaced between usurer Arthiyas, police, courts, rulers on the one hand and peasants on the other. This is a manifestation of the usurious cancer in the body of the entire agricultural economy of Punjab.

Not only this cancer has been spreading its tentacles for a long time in the entire agricultural economy of Punjab which has been further strengthened under the umbrella of imperialist finance capital in recent times. This class of Arthiyas, concentrated in cities under the market law enacted by the Britishers, has come into existence by transforming itself from a part of the old usurers and big landlords of the villages. Whereas this class uses its usurious capital for further usurious exploitation, it also uses bank finance by various means for the usurious exploitation of the peasants. For this purpose, under the policies of liberalization, the bank limits of the Arthiyas are fixed by the government on a large scale. This class is an exploiter class and extracts surplus in the form of commission from agricultural commodities; in the form of enhanced rates while selling purchasing fertiliser, diesel, sprays etc; while auctioning the commodities; in the form of gobbling up a part of the bribe in official work, thus decimating the peasant

income. This exploitative class is systematically bound up in alliance with the bureaucracy.

Although a part of this class is limited to commission agents alone, yet the whole class is not confined to commission agents alone. Although in Punjab, in order to get agriculture moving, co-operative societies, co-operative banks and (after the policies of liberalization), commercial banks also advance loans to the peasants under various schemes, yet the peasantry of Punjab, particularly the landless, poor peasants and middle peasants continue to depend mainly on usurer Arthiyas, big capitalist landlords and rich peasants for loans in various forms. These classes not only exploit them through usury and other means, but also subjugate and bully them.

A report on the indebtedness of the peasantry prepared and released by Prof. H.S. Shergill in 1996-97 at the behest of the Punjab Government, presents a glaring example of this phenomenon. According to the report 71.43% peasants having land holding upto 5 acres are dependent upon Arthiyas and 28.57% on co-operative societies and commercial banks (26.14% + 2.43%) for their agricultural loans. 68.83% of the lower rung of the middle peasants owning 5 to 10 acres of land get loans from Arthiyas and 31.17% from co-operative societies and commercial banks (20.99%+10.18%). 48.67% of upper rung of middle peasants owning 10-15 acres of land got loans from Arthiyas and 51.33% from co-operative societies and commercial banks (47.93+3.40%). It was also noted from this report that the burden of loans was not uniform on all the layers of the peasantry. According to the report the peasants owning land upto 5 acres were under a total debt of 1229 crore 59 lakh rupees. There was a burden of debt of Rs. 10,105 per acre on such peasants. There was a loan of Rs. 1,651 crore 31 lakhs rupees on the lower rung of middle peasantry owning 5 to 10 acres of land. There was a burden of debt of Rs. 7,991/- per acre land of theirs. There was debt of Rs. 1694 crore 49 lakhs on the upper rung of middle peasantry owning 10-15 acres of land. There was burden of Rs. 4228 /- per acre land of theirs. There was an outstanding loan of Rs. 1125 crore 53 lakhs on the rich peasants and big landlords owning land above 15 acres. There was a burden of Rs. 4230/- per acre of their lands. *There was a total debt of Rs. 5700 crore 92 lakhs in 1996-97 on the peasantry of Punjab. On this loan the peasantry of Punjab paid an annual interest of Rs. 1100 crore. During the last 8 years this loan has risen to*

*Rs. 12,500 crore.*

According to the reports of the newspapers half of this is due to usurers and the other half to the banks. The debt on the different layers of the peasants has doubled. This report is prepared by the Government agencies themselves. The real situation is far more explosive. Apparently, the interest rates look lower in the Indian market as a part of world market and also in the bank market, but the rural labourer, landless poor peasants have no other way for loan facility and also the middle peasants don't get the loans to a satisfactory extent from banks and they have also no official connections, so these peasants are forced to get loans at higher rates from usurer Arthiyas, big capitalist type landlords and rich peasants. These exploiting classes on account of their property and official connections get loans from the banks at lower rates of interest and advance these loans to agricultural workers, landless, poor and middle peasants on higher rates of interest, either directly or through the usurer Arthiyas. In this way bank capital also becomes a means of usurious exploitation.

In Punjab, the peasants have to pay an interest at the rate of 2 to 5 % per month for the usurious loans. The different layers of peasantry of Punjab are dependent on the exploiting classes for other agricultural needs to various degrees. The poor, landless and marginal farmers neither have sufficient land, nor implements and capital. They generally rent the land on high rates of rent from a section of mainly big capitalist landlords. Even for renting the land and for investment on agriculture, they are dependent upon big capitalist landlords, usurers and rich peasants. According to the fresh instructions to cooperative societies, co-operative and commercial banks as part of the World Trade Organisation they have refused to accept the landless peasants as agriculturists. The cooperative loans to them as agriculturists have been stopped, although the marginal farmers own a little land, yet they rent the major part of land from these classes. Their condition is similar to that of the landless peasants. A part of these two layers of peasantry have started engaging in wage labour like agricultural labourers due to the agricultural crisis or lack of means of agriculture. The middle peasants have subsistence land, this land is corroding continuously. They are apparently the owners of this subsistence land, but internally a major part of their land is pledged to big capitalist type landlords, usurer Arthiyas, banks and companies.

Generally they rent the pledged land so that there is no slur on their social status. They also face severe shortage of capital, means of irrigation and power connections. They are over head and ears under debt from usurers and banks. The bazars of tractors, scooters and motorcycles in the cities presents a telling example of this phenomenon. New tractors, motor-cycles and scooters are bought against land pledged with the banks and these newest models are sold at lower rates in the markets. This money is used by the peasants to repay their loans.

## The Devastation of the Crops and Debt-Crisis

As a part of the World Trade Organisation policies and due to pressure from the imperialists the measures taken by the government in the agricultural sector — like the cut in subsidies in this sector, Punjab agriculture import/export-oriented, deliberately not increasing the rates of the crops like wheat, rice, cotton, sugarcane, potato etc. — is aggravating the situation. Due to these policies the potato crop is so neglected that on account of their proceeds running short of investment on them, the peasants find it unviable to get their potato crop out of the cold storage. They simply deposit their fresh crop along roadsides and on waste lands.

The rate of sugarcane has been stable at Rs. 100/- per quintal for the last several years. Sugar is not being lifted from the sugar mills of the Punjab. It is damaged every year. Under this pretence or that, the sugar mills of Punjab have held back 25% of the price of already sold sugarcane recently as arrears. These arrear ranges from Rs. 68 to 100 crore rupees. On the contrary, the central Government has decided to import 20 lakh tons sugar from Brazil and some other countries. Its objective is said to stall the recent rise (from Rs. 15-16 to Rs. 20-21 per Kg.) in the prices of sugar. This in reality is the policy of shutting down the co-operative sugar mills of Punjab and handing them over to the Private sector. It is also the policy of doing away with the production of sugarcane by devastating this crop. Recently, due to this policy the production of sugar has been continuously falling. Last year production was 125 lakh tons. It was 138 lakh tons in 2003. A few years before it was 300 lakh tons. The price of wheat was raised by Rs. 10 per quintal this time. This drama is being played for the past several years. The attempt has been to appease the peasants with a paltry increase of Rs. 10 to 20. The same policy

applies to paddy. Moreover, the Govt. adopted a policy of indifference to the purchase of paddy in the markets of Punjab during the last few years. The peasant's organisations had to blockade rail traffic for the purchase of paddy at viable prices.

During this Kharif season the crash in the rates of cotton has again shattered the peasantry. The rate of cotton last year was Rs. 2,800 per quintal. This time at the beginning the rate was Rs. 2600/- per quintal, but when the cotton was brought to the market on a large scale its rate fell to Rs. 1700 to 1800 per quintal. The peasants had to suffer a loss of Rs. 1000 per quintal. The situation has been aggravated as the peasants have bought the B.T. cotton seeds at the rate of Rs. 2500 per kg. The cotton crop had been damaged by the American ball-worm during the previous 15 years. Only this time the crop was good. Due to the lack of timely purchase by the Govt. procurement agencies, due to purchasing 16 lakh bales of cotton from the world market and depending more on synthetic yarn than cotton yarn, the pro imperialist policies of the Govt. have badly crushed the peasantry of Punjab and all

over India who are dependent on the cotton crop. It has further sharpened the debt crisis of the peasantry.

### Advance the Peasants Movement with A Maoist Orientation

In brief, recently due to the devastation of the crops like cotton, potato, tomato, kinnu, grapes etc., the continuously decreasing per acre yield, the indifference to the produce in the market, the sky rocketing prices of agricultural inputs and consumer goods, and the lack of agricultural facilities, even the middle peasants have found themselves incapable of repaying the loans of usurers, Arthiyas, big capitalist type landlords, rich peasants and banks. A part of this section, humiliated by usurers, Arthiyas, bank and police, is being forced to commit suicide out of frustration. Under pressure by the Govt. a part of this peasantry is forced to sell their property to these exploiters in spite of their misdeeds. Right from the revenue officials to D.C.'s, judges etc., in complicity with the usurers, they grab the land of the peasants of the villages adjoining the cities at cheap

rates. Later, by turning this agricultural land into urban property they have rendered it swiftly into immense value. To this end they have propped up gangsters in each city, who capture the disputed properties forcibly. The revenue officials, in complicity with them, manage to get legal sanction to these captured properties. This land mafia operates in cities as well as villages. Usurer Arthiyas are directly involved with these gangs. Whenever there is a dispute with peasants, their association and goonda gangs turn up in their support.

The case of Chathewala is one such case in which usurers, Arthiyas, courts, police, civil administration and the Congress rulers of the state are on one side and the peasantry on the other. The peasantry has raised the peasant struggles to great heights on their own strength. The auction of land of the peasant has already been deferred twice. The chief minister of Punjab, by his direct intervention on 26 October, got it postponed. He adopted the path of direct bargaining with the concerned peasant by side tracking the peasant organisation. He has attempted to patch-

*Continued on page 12*

Dear Editor, People's March,  
Greetings.

Peoples march (PM) is the voice of Indian revolution, i.e., voice of revolution. But how is it that PM published the report given by the non-revolutionary, economist, reformist, revisionist MLPD of Germany.

PM has published a report on the Worker's movement of Germany with reference of the MLPD in March05 issue, including in some previous issues. It is a fact that the worker's movement is organizing in Germany continuously. PM can publish that report of the worker's movement on the basis of its revolutionary position. But my question arises when that is published with reference of MLPD.

Here is a concrete example of the revisionist political role of the MLPD. The 7th Congress of a notorious revisionist party in the name of Worker's Party of Bangladesh under the leadership of Rashed Khan Menon was held on 23rd to 27th Feb. '05. In this Congress, a representative of the MLPD attended, as also revisionist CPM leader Biman Basu of West Bengal with so many native and foreign revisionist parties & organizations joined. In the 90's, the MLPD and PKK (Turkey) joined a seminar in Kolkata under the leadership of the CPM. Is there any necessity to explain further?

Footnote: The Worker's Party of Bangladesh is not only a huckster of parliamentary politics, sometimes they even organize movements unitedly with the BNP and sometimes with the Awami League Party, the agent ruling class parties of imperialism & expansionism. They also rebuke the Maoist movement of Bangladesh as terrorist. Their party chief Rashed Khan Menon, was once elected as MP (member of parliament) of the pigsty; as the only one member from their party.

I hope PM will review this matter. I will be glad if PM prints this opinion in the next issue.

With greetings.

Mohan Sarker.

29/03/'05 Dhaka, Bangladesh

### Letter to the Editor

Reply:

We are happy to receive your letter and welcome your response to the report published in the magazine. In your letter you have drawn our attention to the character of the MLPD. Our report in the last issue of the GM workers struggle was intended to highlight the struggle of the working class that is growing in Europe, without going into the politics of the various parties involved in leading it. Though we do realize the success or failure of a struggle/movement depends, to a great extent on the leadership of these movements. As you must have observed we only sought to present a picture of a big movement of the working class in Germany, but did not seek to analyse the class forces leading it.

— Editor

On 6th April 2005, People's March distributed 3,800 kgs of Ponni rice as Tsunami relief in Pachankuppam and 450 kgs in Parangipettai in Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu in consultation & coordination with Federation for People's Rights, Pondicherry

## TKP/ML hits back Against the Fascist Government of Turkey

(In a statement issued by the TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/ Marxist-Leninist) on the internet the following report was received:)

The ruling *Justice and Development Party (AKP)* of Turkey has been stepping up its fascist attack on the people to the extent that it even prevented the organising of March 8<sup>th</sup> — International Women's Day — programmes. It also ruthlessly suppressed the SEKA working class struggle in the month of February. In retaliation against the governments actions against the workers and women the TKP/ML militants blew up six offices of the AKP.

SEKA is a state-owned paper producing factory which the government tried to privatize. For over 70 days, paper workers were in strike. They didn't leave their factory during the strike. The strike ended in the beginning of March. The factory was transferred to the municipality, and the workers gained some rights. The reactionary trade-union tried to stop the strike. Workers resisted not only the government they also resisted the trade union. But because of not having a revolutionary leadership, this strike could not get it's main demands — primarily to stop the privatization. A TKP/ML statement said "*State-owned enterprises are trying to be privatized according to the looting policies of imperialism that will result new members for unemployment army. Because of this, we should learn from the SEKA resistance. The resistance in SEKA did not gain victory completely, but it showed the worker's and peasant's how they can protect their economic, democratic right's; but the ending of this resistance also*

*showed us the capability of the Turkish ruling classes and their "success" in blowing out the spark before it became a fire. Once more, this resistance showed us that before the yellow trade-unions end strikes, we should unite and struggle against these aggressive policies. To solve these problems, we should combine the economic, democratic struggle with the struggle for political power. There will be exploitation, cruelty, unemployment, poverty as long as the Turkish ruling classes are in power. Because of this, we should organize and struggle to establish a People's Democracy. We, the TKP/ML militant's, express our solidarity with the SEKA worker's, and to show the legitimate and rightful hatred of our people to the Fascist Turkish Republic's aggressive policies over the working class and labouring people, we destroyed 2 AKP offices in Istanbul and 1 office in Izmit on the 26<sup>th</sup> of February".*

Then again on March 6<sup>th</sup> the entire country was shocked at the level of fascist attacks on the demonstrations commemorating International Women's Day. The attacks were so brutal that even the EU delegation demanding democratic norm for entry into the EU were surprised. In a statement of the TKP/ML it was said that "*also because of the government's fascist terror over protesters that was celebrating March the 8<sup>th</sup>, we destroyed AKP offices in Istanbul, Ankara, and Mersin on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March".* The

statement further added "Of course the wild attack on protesters on March 6<sup>th</sup> is not independent of the Turkish Republic's fascist character. This was not a surprise for anyone who knows what kind of democracy there is in Turkey? The reality regarding EU membership can be seen by our people even if some 'leftist' writers, having sold their pen and soul to the ruling classes, await a democratic revolution through entry into the EU. It is clear to us, that democracy can only come through struggle that is against the system. We know that democracy cannot be exported by any foreign power such as the EU imperialists. ... The real reason for this brutal intervention by the police is because the revolutionaries organised this demonstration and that the initiative was in the hands of the revolutionaries not in the hands of the state. The fascist Turkish republic wished that wishes that the revolutionaries accept the lines it draws. This was the real reason for the wild attacks of the police to hinder revolutionaries from celebrating March 8<sup>th</sup>. The first intervention of the police against the masses was done a half-hour before the demonstration began. The police's aim was to scatter the masses before the protest began. But just one hour later, a bigger crowd gathered to celebrate the day and to protest against fascism. It was this that made the police mad. The terror of the police is because of the determination of the masses. ■ ■

### Continued from page 11

up this conflict, but one thing is certain that the issue of remission of debt of usurers and banks and the prevention of sale and pledge of land of the peasants have emerged as an important issue of struggle.

Now the peasants struggle is focusing on the issue of land. In these struggle usurers, Arthiyas, courts, police, big capitalist type landlords, the civil administration along with the Congress/Akali rulers which represent imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, big capitalist type landlords and comprador bourgeoisie are on the one side, and the vast peasantry and its supporting forces are on the other. Numerous Chathewalas are bursting forth out of the cancerous tumour of usury on the body of the agricultural economy of Punjab, which

demands not only the temporary solution on only a single issue of the peasants or a Chathewala, but demands an operation with a sharp edged blade of the very cancer of usury. While fighting for concessions there is need to get to the roots of the cause for the growing problems of debt, usury, Arthiyas, etc and the growing agrarian crisis in Punjab. This factor is ignored by most of the existing peasant unions.

The political line and leadership of the struggle is badly afflicted with right reformist-economist understanding of treating the cancer of usury by use of mass organisations and mass struggles alone. The radical operation is beyond the capacity of mass organisations of peasants, mass and legal struggles alone. In such a struggle the revolutionary mass organisations of peasantry can play a complimentary and important role, can

resolve some issues like Chathewala, and certainly they should do so, but also a force must be built up that is able to effectively hit at the very system that is generating this crisis in Punjab's agrarian economy. That can only be achieved by destroying the authority of the existing rural elite/state forces in the villages. This cannot be done by mere mass movements but by building up the armed forces of the people and the establishing of the power of the revolutionary peasant committees in the villages. The genuine Maoist forces are bound to think along these lines, while at the same time to take measures to strengthen the revolutionary peasant organisation to face the worsening situation. Only then can the Maoists successfully ride the rising wave of peasant struggles.

20-01-2005

# Liberation's 'Political Observer' Peddles Age-Old Distortions

(This article is in reply to one written in Liberation by "Political Observer" before the merger on MCCI and PW was announced. After the merger another article has been written by them. In the coming issue we shall give a reply to that article — Editor)

**Dr. Gupta**

Liberation's 'Political Observer' has written a doleful defensive piece in Liberation, September 2004, tinged with a fair dose of resentment against the erstwhile CPI(ML)PW's tactics of talks with the state governments while "*waging war on Revolution*". Here the CPI(ML) Liberation wishfully equates itself with "Revolution". Such equation is as much stunning to us as to any genuine political observer and Liberation's sincere cadre too. Our analysis pertaining to Liberation's metamorphosis from a revolutionary group to a revisionist outfit wedded to the dirty world of parliamentarism, jettisoning all that symbolized revolutionary Naxalbari politics has cut the 'Political Observer' to the quick. It is political exasperation, rapidly dwindling political base, continuous degeneration of leaders and activists and most of all its badly dented prestige, which was born out of and painstakingly built up by earlier armed struggles, have pushed this decaying organization to such a sorry state that it feels palpably hurt to hear such words of criticism like "metamorphosis" or "betrayal" of the Naxalbari politics. One can not help feeling sorry for its pathetic defence, going to the extent of positing itself as 'Revolutionary'. Such ridiculous effort reeks of hypocrisy, basking in the past days of glory; the revolutionary days now consciously buried as futile adventurous exercises.

To reply to the allegations and hurt feelings of the Liberation's critic, we have decided to confront their main points. For convenience sake, we take up the 'Political Observers' most serious cum self-soothing conclusion worth quoting. It runs "*As revolutionary Marxists we are not surprised to see the open and unambiguous counter revolutionary turn the PWG is taking in Bihar ..... Before PWG ideologues talk about Liberation's "metamorphosis" and 'betrayal', should they not be asked to look at their own continuing degeneration in Bihar?*" [Liberation, September 2004]

In Bihar the CPI(ML)Liberation once ignited the fire of Naxalbari politics i.e. violent armed struggle in the mid and late 70s. In Bihar too this CPI(ML)Liberation since the mid 1980s began its topsy turvey by reverting to the same political positions of the CPI/CPI(M), which were polemically shredded and practically demolished through the spring thunder of Naxalbari. In the same Bihar the Liberation group with a

u-turn like the CPI after the betrayal of the Telangana uprising in the early 1950s went hunting for friendship in its earlier camp of political foes and in this state it began training its gun on the forces upholding Naxalbari politics facing state repression. Like Ajay Ghosh and his trusted men in the CPI, Vinod Mishra, a period after comrade Jauhar's glorious martyrdom, steered the organization towards the same beaten track of parliamentary politics. Armed squads were disbanded, all underground set-ups were destroyed, forms of struggle and activities were basically and fundamentally dragged to the electoral arena, theoretical justification was made for so-called mainstream politics arguing the futility of the path of carrying on armed struggle and what not. Now while the erstwhile PW and MCC forces have been facing the bullets of the para-military and police forces, Liberation leaders at various levels have kept themselves busy liaising with the government administration for securing bank loans, relief's or such material gains for which all parliamentary parties vie with one another to expand their vote bank.

## Belated Recognition?

Liberation's 'Political Observer' appears to feel elated for the PW's "belated" recognition of the Liberation's past revolutionary history. The 'Observer' had better brush up his/her memory to find the consistent and unequivocal appreciation from the revolutionary camp of the armed resistance struggle once led by this organization. It is never a 'belated' recognition as the Observer projects. There is a striking resemblance between the CPI(ML)Liberation in the period consequent upon abandoning the Naxalbari path for choosing parliamentary politics and the CPI in the 1950s. The CPI leadership (later the CPM) seldom publicly condemned the Telangana uprising, rather has always tried to project it as a symbol of glowing struggle but the path it formulated after discarding the Telangana model was pure parliamentarism. History has repeated itself in a new garb in the name of Naxalbari brushing aside and rejecting the very alternative path synonymous with the Naxalbari uprising. Like Ajoy Ghosh, Rajeswar Rao and such revisionist betrayers who felt no qualms in swimming in the turbid water of anti-Marxist parliamentarism betraying the death-defying sacrifices and martyrdom of many hundred, these new-comers to revi-

sionism rank into a similar morass. Like the earlier announcements of the CPI for the withdrawal of the Telangana armed struggle in the name of "new situation" or such nefarious arguments as, "vast Political changes necessitating the withdrawal of armed struggle," the Political Observer gravely adds "*.... it (PW) is incapable of understanding the dialectical interconnection and combination of these different aspects into a single revolutionary and historical entity*". Such a *maya* or illusory theorization is meant for simple unconscious souls: the glorious line of revolutionary armed struggle rejecting the parliamentary path and the abandoning of such struggle, disbanding armed squads, destroying the under-ground set-up recanting the very principles of Naxalbari are, the Liberation wants us to believe, "*a single revolutionary and historical entity*". Now if we are to assume that the CPI/CPI(M)'s practice of dirty spineless parliamentarism, martyrdom of Kayyur (Kerala) comrades, the path of the Telangana uprising, sacrifices of the hundreds and the politics of marriage, short-lived divorce and re-marriage with the Congress or other reactionary parties are all "*a single revolutionary and historical entity*"!

In similar fashion Rameshwar Prasad, the Liberation leader sums up in 2003 (like the betrayers of the Great Telangana uprising as Sundaraya, Gopalan, etc.) this way: "*Following the trail blazed by Bhojpur and Bihar, the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat of India have already embarked on a higher course of political assertion against the powers that be....*" [Introduction, All India Agricultural Labour Association, Documents, First All India Conference 14-15<sup>th</sup> November 2003, p.7, Emphasis added]. It is pure and simple hoodwinking the people. It is really difficult to consume such a claim as Mr. Prasad makes as to how the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat have now embarked on a higher course of political assertion through vote-catching politics, and assertion of low-keyed demands within the Constitutional boundaries under the leadership of the Liberation? The Liberation theoreticians would have us believe that sliding down to such an arena of struggle is actually "*Following the trail blazed by Bhojpur and Bihar*". Fine and sweet argument of the Revisionists! Such argument was blurted out by the CPI/CPI(M) while sliding down and down to the murky world of constitutional politics as carrier of "*Lessons From*

*Telengana*". The CPI(M)'s recent Andhra Pradesh state conference concluded with the call: "Carry Forward Heroic Telengana Struggle Legacy" [People's Democracy, Jan. 31-Feb.06, 2005] The Liberation ideologues may be greatly elated by this call but is it not a fact that the CPI/CPI(M) leaders consciously betrayed the Telengana Struggle and have always put in all efforts to dump that legacy? Mr. Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee at the rally after the conclusion of that state conference went a step forward distorting facts "that the Bengal unit of the Party learnt a lot from the struggle waged by the Andhra Party." [Ibid] The killers now want to prove that the West Bengal 'Left' government is busy translating the Telengana dream. Buddhadeb said that "the land issue thrown up by the Telengana armed struggle was taken to a successful conclusion by the Bengal Left Front...." [Ibid] Is it not shockingly ridiculous to tarnish the glorious image of the Great Telengana uprising? And here is a telling symmetry between Mr. Bhattacharya's conclusion on Telengana heritage and Liberation's Mr. Rameswar Prasad's assertion that the legacy of the Great Bhojpur Struggle is carried on by higher (read small-scale movements on minimum demands) and basically electoral battles by this the Liberation and its frontal organizations! Is it the way to pay tribute to immortal martyrs of the Bhojpur peasant struggle like comrades Jauhar, Keso, Sahtu, Jiut and many others?

### Liberation's Dream of a Peaceful Change

Kavita Krishnan, in October 2003 in her rejoinder to a *People's March* critique of the Liberation practice captioned "Deeper into the Revisionist Garbage Can" had exercised all her skill to establish her stinking logic already heard from the CPI/CPI(M) camp many times over. The writer was pained for quoting a crucially relevant Liberation assertion that "the affairs of Indian State are generally conducted within a constitutional and parliamentary - democratic framework" Kavita hurled her charge for not presenting the rest of that revisionist gem that "like our political independence, parliamentary democracy in India too rests on a rather fragile foundation...." Does the omitted sentences blur the basic political contention of Liberation's deep faith in the politics of parliamentary democracy after withdrawing from the path of establishing People's Democracy through People's War? We are much too much familiar with such rubbish.

The CPI, CPI(M), CPI(ML)Liberation etc. harp on the same string to preach the view that comrade Lenin also accepted participating in elections. The context, the

socio-economic structure and all such aspects have been discussed too repeatedly to refer to here anew. What was Lenin's first and foremost task was to get the party and the masses prepared for the revolution. In Russia Plekhanov was bitterly criticized by Lenin for preaching the liquidationist politics of "transformation of the Social-Democrat Party into a self-governing organisation" by "drawing the masses of the workers into open social and political activities in all their manifestations" [V.I.Lenin, "The Illegal Party And Legal Work" in Lenin, Against Liquidationism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1988, pp.206-207]. The same liquidationist view forced open Liberation's secret structure under Vinod Mishra's leadership. And this dangerous line inspired the Liberation activists to be oblivious to the higher form of struggles and reduce activities to various "open social and political activities". Sometimes the Liberation leaders like the CPI(M) ideologues defend their participation in elections by stating that they are actually destroying the illusion of parliamentary democracy from the people's minds. The actual record in assemblies and Parliament, however, blast such hypocrisy. Take for example, the CPI(ML) Manifesto for the 14<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections. Nowhere one finds such a clear statement that the system needs to be destroyed not by the electoral process but by a revolution. Rather illusions are galore to highlight how the CPI(ML)Liberation M.P. and MLAs "have also been playing an outstanding role on the development front, in terms of utilization of MP/MLA development funds and implementation of local area development schemes as well as leading popular struggles against bureaucratic lethargy and corruption." [Liberation, April 2004, p.19]. So vote the CPI(ML)Liberation candidates! This is a specimen of how the Liberation, like the CPI, CPI(M) and the known bourgeois-feudal parties, have been duty-bound to sow the seeds of illusion in the minds of the people about the rotten system of electoral politics in India, and thus to smash the so-called anarchism of the Maoists. Well, carry on Liberation, carry on for sheer survival!

Let us now quote from the Liberation's tricky argument after rejecting the armed struggle. It reads: "The Party does not rule out, the possibility that under a set of exceptional national and international circumstances, the balance of social and political forces may even permit a relatively peaceful transfer of central power to revolutionary forces...." Like the CPI (M) Programme this one too indulges in creating such a smoke screen with the tame rider like "the party of the proletariat must prepare itself for winning the ultimate decisive

victory in an armed revolution..." [The General Programme, The Party Constitution, 7<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Patna, 25-30 Nov. 2002, p.11]. It is well known to the senior Marxists in India that the CPI(M) leadership faced stiff opposition at that time from the revolutionary forces for incorporating that para on peaceful means for establishing people's democracy. After nearly three decades the renegade Liberation too inserted a similar possibility in its programme adding some confusing words like 'exceptional circumstances', 'balance of social and political forces', etc. This is nothing but Krushevism with left phraseology. Do the developments after abandoning armed squads, destroying secret organisations, and unmitigated zeal for electoral politics, etc. show that the Liberation keeps open the alternative path of armed struggle and its dispirited leaders are prepared for such a Himalayan task?

### Liberation Worships CPM Revisionism

The Liberation group sent feelers to the CPI(M) on the so-called Left-confederation but the later showed its back on it. At this, Liberation lamented "As we have already noted, no headway could be made in this direction as the CPI(M),... continued to rule out any interaction with the revolutionary posture in this regard..." [Documents of the Special Conference 22-24 July, 1990, New Delhi, p.44]. However this renegade Liberation derived some satisfaction later for "The CPI(M)'s 14<sup>th</sup> Congress talked of a positive approach towards CPI(ML)Liberation/IPF as well as some other Naxalite organisation...." [Political-Organizational Report adopted at the 5<sup>th</sup> All India Party Congress, Calcutta, 20-26, 1992, p.42] This was obviously an example of requited love. The CPI(M) overture was a balm to the heart-broken Liberation. The question naturally comes to the fore as to which Naxalite organisations the CPI(M) has shown such a "positive approach"? There is no gainsaying that it was none but those poor organisations which had also already abandoned the Naxalbari politics of armed struggle.

Following basically the Dutt-Bradley Thesis, a rightist directive, the CPI began to reconsider the Government of India Act 1935 Act that it initially repudiated as rubbish. The Party's entry into bourgeois politics gained momentum and with the imminent elections the CPI plunged into the electoral arena declaring ".... We want to utilize the election for furthering the anti-imperialist struggle and raising it to sharpen their consciousness and make elections a lever for consolidating the class forces of anti-imperialist masses". [On Election, circular No. 5, PBCC, In

Arindam Sen and Partha Ghosh (ed) *Communist Movement in India, Historical Perspective and Important Documents, Vol. I, (1917-1939), A CPI (ML) Liberation Presentation, 1991, p.613* We have been listening to the same refrain on every occasion of the election drama. The colonial state first floated this platform and then the semi-colonial Indian state made meticulous advancements upon it to deflect any possibility of a sharp anti-state movement with this dampener. The CPI first swallowed the bait followed by the CPI(M) and then the CPI(ML) Liberation-like renegades.

Despite some vague contrary claims the Liberation nurtures a dream to do a CPI(M) in Bihar and other states when the CPI(M) itself has degenerated into a social fascist organization. Liberation's actual hope resides in the 1964 CPI(M) Programme, also a Programme that smacks of parliamentarism coated with left phraseology. Even more than a decade back it bemoaned that "*almost all the dissident forces coming out from the party [the CPI(M)] are accusing the party leadership of deviating from the 1964 programme...*" [CPI(ML) Liberation, *Firm Defender of the Revolutionary Legacy of the Indian Communists*, not dated, p.10]. Apparently favouring the CPI(M) dissidents' grievance the Liberation actually let out its own position. With all supposed resentment for the CPI(M) deviation from the 1964 Programme the Liberation actually trained its gun on the fundamentals of Naxalbari, Maoist formulations and all that were the salient features of the new revolutionary path. It made devastating attacks on the "revolutionary position" for its "opposite extremes". Such was exactly the charge of the CPI(M)/CPI, etc. And then for defending the revisionist legacy in the Indian communist movement the above document (read Dange or Sundaraya or the likes of Jyoti Basu written document) presented this precious gem to buttress its revisionism. It charged that "... *Agrarian revolution was visualized strictly on the Chinese lines and primacy of extra-parliamentary struggles was interpreted as permanent exclusion of the entire stream of parliamentary struggle. These perceptions did work to an extent in a situation of revolutionary upswing, but desperate attempts to stick to these slogans even under vastly different circumstances of a real retreat of the movement could produce nothing more than empty anarchist pharse-mongering*". [Ibid, p.11].

What a surrenderist argument to conceal Liberation's fleeing the revolutionary arena! Such pretentious justification of joining the parliamentary contest were preached by the CPI/CPM leadership after betraying the Telengana struggle. Yet, the CPI(M) Central Committee adopted a resolution in Oct. 1996 on the rectification cam-

paign to be conducted at all levels against "*the bane of parliamentarism should be seen as a deviation among some leaders and cadres for holding elected positions and power.*" Our Liberation leadership has every reason to discover the great revolutionary anxiety of the CPI(M)'s leadership about this Party's call to go on battle gear against parliamentarism, fearful of losing its vote base. With the same unprincipled political-ideological positions like those of the CPI(M), the Liberation too has occasionally mouthed slogans against pure parliamentarian, also with the perspective that it may lose its vote base. In the nearly past one decade after uttering so much against parliamentarism has not the CPI(M) proved its deeply-entrenched parliamentarism? Mass struggles are also conducted only to further deepen it. Is not the Party now married to the reactionary Congress(I) to prop up the Congress government at the Centre? Has not the CPI(M) frantically tried to forge electoral alliances with parties of dubious distinction to get a foothold in many states for its advance? The Liberation's love particularly for the CPI(M) brimmed over during Vinod Mishra's leadership, and though the CPI(M) praised it officially too it was not too eager to leave its own election-oriented political base. And the CPI(ML) Liberation is now nearly love-lorn with few feelers from the CPI(M).

For the Liberation, the word 'revisionism' and the very concept of revisionism now sounds Greek to them. In order to pass off its parliamentarism as a sacred anti-state effort, this outfit gushes such arguments that it is the State that encourages to "*either follow the parliamentary path like the CPI or CPI(M) or quit the electoral arena like the PWG and MCC*". Which state is perturbed by its basically parliamentary politics with a minimalist programmatic activities? Who does not know that, be it in the U.S.A. or India, two or many political parties get locked in electoral contests in a sham and mock battle; and in India even in the early days when the CPI and then the CPI(M) tested positive for parliamentary cretinism, they too received criticisms from various political quarters for their friendly anti-government articulations? The RJD in Bihar or the BJP in another state may criticize the Liberation on this or that score which is the part of the political game in so-called mainstream politics. The Liberation tries to evade the basic question: Why the then PW/MCC or the present CPI(Maoist) in the state's perception, stands diametrically opposite to the entire spectrum of constitution-abiding parties like the CPI, CPI(M), CPI(ML) Liberation, RJD, TDP, etc.?

- When the Liberation leadership faces a barrage of criticisms that it deserves for the

betrayal, hypocrisy and all such traits it flips its lid crying hoarse over its supposedly truly revolutionary colours. The beginning of the end of Liberations' revolutionary days synchronized with steadily sending in the open the underground activists and leaders during about the middle of the 1980s, streamlining the party activists to be familiar with a way of political life having striking similarity with the revisionist stream and marshalling the organizational structures with equal gusto to make them ready for elections and minimum demands. It has sunk into its own mess, further aggravated by its unethical methods. The irony is that instead of doing a CPI(M)/CPI on Bihar's soil its electoral record has not been that impressive over about the past two decades. Rather its increasingly marginal position is further pricking the already sapped morale of its honest activists.

Comrade Stalin had warned many years back that a communist party "*can not be a real party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think, if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to overcome the inertia and political indifference of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to rise above the momentary interests of the proletariat, if it is unable to raise the masses to the level of understanding the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must stand at the head of the working class, it must see farther than the working class, it must lead the proletariat, and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement...*" [J.V.Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism, In Problems of Leninism, Peking, 1976, p.99*]

The Liberation's present election-oriented minimalist programme scaling down from its earlier position of leading and organizing the masses for the protracted war is purely a conscious dragging at the tail of spontaneity. Like the CPI(M) the Liberation too smells 'adventurism' or 'anarchism' in raising the masses' revolutionary consciousness to a higher plane for establishing red power centers in the rural India.

## Liberation as Rumour Monger

The 'Political Observer' has taken great pains to prove the underhand link of the PW with the RJD in Bihar. Liberation's story of underhand dealing of the Maoists with the RJD is crassly unconvincing. The Liberation has for many years been synonymous with falsehood and deception and its tricky politicking has permeated the lowest rungs as well. It has taken upon itself an onerous assignment to destroy the revolutionary forces by militarily engaging with them to the satisfaction of the state and

various hues of bourgeois feudal political formations. By this, Liberation not only remains in the good books of the administration but tactfully misdirects its cadres. In the early 1970s it was the deeply-laid conspiracy of the betrayer CPI(M) leaders to target the naxalites killing them and destroying their rise in West Bengal in particular, in cahoots with the state administration. The sleazy side of the game plan was using the red flag, the name of a communist party and uttering fiercely left rhetoric like 'Get prepared for the partisan war', etc. to bamboozle the unconscious CPI(M) activists into getting embroiled in the armed actions not against the state but against the revolutionaries. The same old game was repeated by the CPI(ML) Liberation. During the 1970s the CPI(M) killer leaders emblazoned the walls with slogans crudely highlighting the supposed alliance between the Naxalites and the Congress. The stark reality was, however, that Naxalites regularly got killed by the Congress as well as CPI(M)

butchers. In Bihar, the revolution-fearing Liberation chose the same old policy of the CPI(M): it incited its scattered armed activists to get engaged with the erstwhile P.U, P.W or the MCCI and thus sided with the state to finish off the latter, particularly in those areas it saw its mass base threatened by the growing revolutionary influence. While facing the bullets of the state those revolutionary organisations had to go in for retaliation against the Liberation's attacks. And it is true many honest and good activists of the Liberation were killed in such clashes thanks to the diversification cunning tactics of the Liberation bosses. These organisations now merged into one called the CPI(Maoist), has already shown its great concern to unilaterally cease all such clashes in order not to harm ordinary cadres of the Liberation, but to wean them away from their fraudulent and revisionist leadership. At least one could justifiably conclude that although the Liberation failed to emerge like the CPI(M) did

in West Bengal on the Bihar electoral arena it could outshine the CPI(M) in killing the revolutionaries and pushing its activists into the dangerously wrong stream of gunning down the revolutionaries. For the organisations like the CPI(ML) Liberation or the CPI(M) such tactics of channelising activists' energies to do battle with the revolutionaries has caused great damage to the revolutionary Marxist Movement in India.

The fantastic claim of the *Liberation*, falsely charging the Maoists with unholy links with the RJD, falls flat in the light of real-life experiences of bloody clashes between the RJD led administration and the Maoists at regular intervals in Bihar. A clearly panicky *Liberation* 'Political Observer' has gone crazy to disclose the group's worst pathologies by stating that the PWG as having ties with a "whole range of bourgeois parties" and with "sowing illusions" about them. It sounds like issuing sermons by the culprit himself. Such

## Roots for the Clashes between Liberation & Maoists

We give here a concrete example as spoken by a victim himself of the causes behind the clashes that often take place at the ground level. The location is village Dhavaryya, District Giridih of the state of Jharkhand. It comes within the constituency of the Liberation MLA, Mahinder Singh at the hands of the BJP and local SP.

This village was a Liberation stronghold till 1998. The MCC was spreading fast in the area and it had spread its influence to within fifteen kms of the village. The oppressed masses were welcoming the MCC.

It was in this background that a local doctor, Vijay Yadav was having a land dispute with his neighbours. On land being cultivated by Yadav the neighbours in 1998 took control of it. They were activist of the Liberation. With this harassment of the Yadav family began. Though Yadav's land papers were found to be OK, Liberation did not take any steps against their activists. The harassments only increased. Meanwhile both the neighbour and Yadav had presented their case before the MCC who were seeking entry into the village.

On August 18, 1998 one day when Yadav's father went to the forest to graze cattle the neighbour together with other Liberation activists brutally beat him and then murdered him. They also beat a friend who was eyewitness to the incident.

Meanwhile the doctor's contacts with the MCC increased. He was a popular doctor and would do practice during the day and propagate the MCC at nights. Due to his popularity the MCC influence grew rapidly in the area. On two occasions the Liberation activists, acting as police informers, informed the police that the doctor was with the MCC. As the police did not have evidence nothing came of these complaints; but the Liberation's threats increased. Meanwhile in mid 1999 the MCC punished with beating one notorious Narayan Yadav, who also happened to be a member of the Liberation. Finally they hatched a plan to murder the doctor and on June 12 1999 they cornered him in a school, but as a large public gathered in support of him they could not do anything. Finally on June 16th morning, 17 Liberation activists cornered him about 2 kms from the village as he was doing his doctoring work. They took him to the house of one Ganpat Mandal and then beat him mercilessly breaking his hands and legs in three places. Then they took him near the river with the intention of finishing him off. It was now afternoon and 300 Liberation supporters had gathered near the river. Also the MLA reached but a decision could not be taken on whether to finish him as he was a popular doctor. Meanwhile the squad got information of the events and finally reached Ganpat's house. They demanded the doctor but people said he would by now probably be dead. They asked for the body. Finally they beat Ganpat and he died. Panic spread in the area and people rushed to the river stating that the MCC had surrounded the village. Liberation activists, panic stricken, fled and thereby the doctor was able to escape and take refuge in a relative's house. There he recovered from his injuries while hiding from both the Liberation and the police. On improvement the doctor went underground with the MCC.

Liberation's lack of a revolutionary political orientation results in them indulging in all sorts of factional, caste and sectional politics, even at the ground level. Justice is not primarily on their agenda; support goes even to the worst elements if they render support to the Liberation. This results in them allying with the most dubious elements at the ground level and indulging in activities according to narrow electoral expediency. Invariably it is they who resort to violence when they see their electoral mass base slipping away. This has happened not only with the then MCC and the PW, but also with reformist unions like those of A.K.Roy.

ridiculous utterances are actually coming from a befuddled *Liberation* scurrying for cover.

With the steady decline of organizational strength, lumpenisation of activists, the leadership's inclination towards cozy life, bitter criticisms from the revolutionary ranks, the failure even in the electoral front, deactivation of the cadres, etc. have thrust the CPI(ML) *Liberation* to take recourse to such slanders as its *raison d'être* for existence. Its reliance on rumour and expertise in cooking stories assume the dizzying height of absurdities when the 'Political Observer' seemingly chanced upon "an open leader of the PWG (which) mentioned a meeting they had with Sonia Gandhi" on various issues. The imaginary open leader in Patna, the Observer wants us to believe, added "a complaining note how Sonia Gandhi and the Congress had refused to accept their call for a joint national campaign against black laws!" *Liberation* is now busy oiling its rumour mill. The Political Observer has relied on the black lie to establish the story that the Maoist are making some sort of understanding with the Congress (I). With its failure to stem the rot in its organization, the frustrated *Liberation* bereft of any revolutionary agenda is now taking recourse to cock and bull stories.

The observer being devoid of any real-life rational observational capability has discovered the story that the erstwhile PW had direct talks with such top brass of the Congress as Ms. Sonia Gandhi. The Observer has degenerated spreading such cheap rumours. The CPI (M) during the Naxalbari uprising later discovered Comrade Charu Mazumdar's C.I.A link and the notorious revisionist Mazaffar Ahmad unfolded the story that it was the C.I.A. radio, not the Peking radio, that showered all glowing praises on the rebels in Naxalbari and the great upsurge. People should not be considered as a pack of fools to consume such stories. Such a canard only points to the nadir of political frustration the *Liberation* has now reached.

## Desperation Leads to Misrepresentation

At one point the 'Political Observer' lamented that the PW had called on *Liberation* to "Open and unambiguously" declare its dismissing of the Naxalbari uprising and the formation of the CPI (ML) in 1969. It is a misreading of a clear proposition. It is a charge that *Liberation* is deceiving the people capitalizing on Naxalbari politics that it has already abandoned. A palpably nervous and apparently irked *Liberation* lost patience to be driven to a different conclusion as if it had been said it had abandoned the name of Naxalbari, CPI (ML), etc. What

is meant is that it had already theoretically rejected the feasibility of the Naxalbari path and for that matter the very process of dissociating with the revisionist CPI (M) to launch the CPI (ML) for carrying on the armed revolution in India. Vinod Mishra openly called for a united communist party stringing together the CPI, CPI (M) and such rotten parliamentary organizations minus the 'anarchists' like the then PW, MCC, etc. How did the Political Observer conclude that the PW would think that the *Liberation* was going to fold up its Naxalbari signboard, stop uttering Mao's name, or to desist from flying the banner of the prestigious CPI (ML)? With the badly dented prestige, the increasingly decreasing influence, political compulsion to stay afloat in the so-called mainstream parliamentary politics and such tactical consideration despite close proximity to the CPI (M)/CPI and other openly bourgeois-feudal outfits make it expedient to the *Liberation* to capitalize on the glorious names, events and the death-defying sacrifices associated with the Naxalbari path. Once Bhojpur had become synonymous with the bloody revolutionary struggle and this was a beckon light to the Indian revolutionaries in the late 1970s. It is the sullied role of the *Liberation* to dampen the revolutionary spirit, drag the activists to the murky world of elections and thus project Bhojpur as a battleground for ballots. It is the *Liberation* path of betrayal preaching the state-friendly version of struggle in the name of a Naxalite formation.

In our last critique of the *Liberation's* betrayal of liberation reference was made to the unholy electoral alliance between the CPI(ML) *Liberation* and the notorious Samata Party in Bihar. The 'Observer' grudgingly accepted the charge citing some tame revisionist arguments favouring the alliance, and in retaliation the Political Observer preferred to bluff it sway out by triggering such a cheap rumour like the meeting with Sonia Gandhi or the PWG's connection with the RJD. This is not polemics; this is a nefarious game for sheer existence.

The *Liberation* under Vinod Mishra at first withdrew from the basic line of armed agrarian revolution by concentrating, or in other words, prioritising issues of general mass struggles along with electoral politics. Once armed struggle received secondary importance Vinod Mishra could bamboozle the activists with great élan and then the burial of the politics of armed struggle or the Maoist path was sanctified with the mantras of the CPM/CPI. In 1990 with a near-complete U-turn the *Liberation* declared with all revisionist wisdom.

"From the beginning of 1980s the main form of Party activities began to change. And in subsequent years the realisation dawned on us that mass political struggle

should be the main form of party activities, while armed struggle was relegated to a secondary position. The form of struggle underwent a radical change, yet the Party structure remained the old one that was built upon and meant to guide the old forms of struggle.... However, soon it was found that the old party structure was no longer capable of providing the necessary guidance and leadership to the MPO whose mass political activities went on expanding including even the Parliamentary form of struggle." [In Documents of the CPI(ML) adopted at special All India Party Conference, 1990, Ibid, p.67] With this overturning of the principal form of struggle the *Liberation* declared, "The party must get prepared to function more or less openly. This has become all the more necessary in order to defend Marxism and the Party from the growing attacks of the bourgeois world..." [Ibid p.69] What a crude display of revisionist logic — to defend Marxism and the Party, destroy the kernel of the highest form of Marxian class struggle embodied in the People's War!

As a corollary of this revisionist downslide the hypocritical *Liberation* made the Indian state happy by its declaration "As regards armed units, we must clarify that at present stage there are no prospects of taking armed struggle to any higher phase." [Ibid. p.69] In the particular situation of Bihar for sheer political existence it knew that some armed squads were necessary on a temporary basis for electoral gains, facing various private senas and of course for resisting the march of Maoist forces. Except some stray attacks on the Ranvir Sena (and that have perceptibly dwindled in recent times) the armed squads (read armed gangs) have been used against the Maoists, not the state. With no question of painstaking armed struggle on the agenda, the regular election and engagement in petty demands have reduced the armed units to a lumpen force. Way back in 1992 itself the *Liberation* Party Congress admitted that "In a majority of cases these armed units degenerated while peasant association could not be organized." [Political Organisation Report adopted at The 5<sup>th</sup> All India Party Congress, (Calcutta, 20-26 December, 1992).

It went on record that "...One sided emphasis on general political issues and mass political organisation while neglecting the specific issues of peasant masses and building of peasant association, a trend which continued even afterwards ultimately led to a slackening of grassroots work in villages, and stagnation in peasant struggles was the obvious outcome." [Ibid. p.45] This was the period of beginning the rot and over the past decade the *Liberation* has become incurably deceased

as a pure and simple social democratic organisation, abandoning the revolutionary politics of Naxalbari which set the CPIML apart from the 'left' demagogy of the CPI(M) way. It declared in its 5<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1992 resolution "... We, in turn, have moved over to incorporate some of the abandoned CPI(M) positions into our overall revolutionary perspective, like for example, the concept of forming Left-led government in some states as a weapon of struggle..." [Ibid p.42]

We don't know if the day-dream of forming governments in some states would come as a boon from the state, but we can not forget that the CPI(M) has never flinched from such a curious pledge: "*Left Front governments are weapons in people's struggle*". The extraordinary example of such 'struggle' was set by the West Bengal UF government in 1967 by unleashing brutal attacks on the Naxalbari peasants and sending out the CRP, ERF to crush peasant movements elsewhere. Examples are galore in this respect and the Liberation too has been waiting in an unpredictably long queue to seize on such an opportunity to form state governments! One can not but be sorry for the failure of the Liberation to reach that end.

There is a striking similarity between the CPI's left verbiages during the early stage of dipping into the parliamentary stream and those of the CPI(ML) Liberation during its dragging the organization to the parliamentary path.

In its 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Congress held in 1982 the Liberation had radically altered its basic line by deciding to participate in elections. It is noteworthy that when the die-hard revisionist Satya Narayan Singh made a headway in presenting his rightist line of parliamentary participation, open party organization, rejecting the possibility of developing armed struggle in India, as a state-friendly 'Naxalite' in the late 1970s, Vinod Mishra like leaders were perturbed by Satya Narayan's stealing the limelight and started criticizing more on his personal sincerity than the politics of reformism. Basking in the glory of the Bhojpur struggle Vinod Mishra surreptitiously pushed forward the same Satya Narayan line, to the confusion of many in the Liberation group itself.

But Vinod's topsy turvy not only outshines the likes of Ajay Ghosh, Namboodiripad, Satyanarayan, etc., his capability to channelise the whole of Liberation's militant movements into the low-keyed, mellowed and conciliatory parliamentary stream deserved all the state-sponsored rewards meant for the constitutional Marxists. Way back in 1980 Vinod Mishra at first brought forward the concept of a mass democratic front but never disclosed his real motive to destroy the

armed struggle. In its 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Congress in 1982 the Liberation rubbished the cardinal principles of people's war by pushing forward the notorious line of electoral politics withdrawing the boycott elections call. With all his cunning skill Vinod Mishra did not immediately disclose what was up his sleeve. Left phraseology was, however, not lacking.

Knowing all the revisionist treachery too well in the name of electoral politics practiced and justified by the CPI, CPI (M) etc. Vinod showed no qualms in his over-enthusiasm to choose the dirty but cosy politics of parliamentarism abandoning the Naxalbari path. Yet plunging the entire armed formations and other organizations into this stream was not a cake walk journey. Circumstances forced Vinod to abandon one after another pillars of Naxalbari politics with all meticulous skill in a gradual manner. By 1988 Liberation declared the Soviet Union as a socialist country overturning the Maoist analysis of capitalist restoration there to turn it into social imperialism. This *volte face* not only altered the CPI (ML)'s analysis of considering the Soviet Union as Indian people's dangerous enemy to be removed it turned upside down the great revolutionary tradition of the Great Debate in the 1960s led by Mao and a shameless surrender to revisionism. With those two decisions of reversal the Liberation virtually became a great worshipper of the CPI(M) type of revisionism.

### Talks – A Political Battle

The Political Observer like the Liberation Secretary seems to consider the issue of talks in Andhra Pradesh as a weapon to politically thrash the revolutionary Maoists. Embracing the state as a way out of the tortuous path of revolution, Liberation was apparently jubilant with the wild dream of roping in the Maoists into what it values as mainstream-electoral politics. It was not to be and like the State the Liberation too was at a loss when the guns boomed again and battle lines were drawn by the same revolutionaries as well as the A.P. state administration. In general, Maoists consider talks/temporary ceasefire, etc. as part of the people's war; to be utilized only when it helps further, the people's war. When and how of course always depends on the situation prevailing. No doubt any serious Maoist party would seek to assess any method they adopt.

They mobilized the masses and narrated their political objectives and prepared the masses to wage an unremitting political battle, which was taken as a part of specific tactics in AP. They intervened directly and openly in the policies of the state and asked the people to rally under their leadership to fight back imperialism, feudalism and the

Indian big bourgeoisie. They stuck to their open announcements and exposed the TDP and the Congress government's hollowness to implement the real agenda of the masses. They addressed the key issues and problems faced by the people and a clear stand was taken publicly that "*armed agrarian revolution and putting down weapons is not a negotiable subject.*"

During this period the Maoists in A.P. were able to send out the call of revolution to the millions, forcing the state to reckon their mammoth and increasing support base despite martyrdom of many thousand communists and the wide and forceful presentation of the reality of the alternate path to solve the problems of India and to establish a new society. In the ongoing people's war to resist, to counter, to expose, to intervene and to isolate the enemy there is no *Laxaman Rekha* to use different forms in the course of the battle, but one condition should be strictly followed, that all the efforts should be served to advance the people's war and to strengthen the three magic weapons: the party, the army and the united front. All the developments since talks had commenced and ended only blast the Liberation hope that the Maoist would join their filthy mainstream.

### Conclusion

As Com. Mao once said that it is the political line that determines everything. The Liberation's metamorphosis from a once revolutionary group with heroic martyrs like Jowhar, into a revisionist group took place gradually, step by step. The poison was introduced gradually, at each step testing the level of the cadre's acceptance to their turnaround — isolating the reticent and promoting the enthusiastic drum-beaters. Now, there is little to distinguish it from the CPI/CPM. Only they maintain the Naxalbari label for the credibility that is associated with it. Their programme is similar to the CPM, their practice is similar to the CPM, their politics is similar to the CPM, their electoral opportunism is similar to the CPM, and their tactics is similar to the CPM. Only their scale of operations is a fraction of that of the CPM. Quite naturally they are a stagnant force as revolutionary elements in their ranks will turn to the new Maoist Party while the reactionary opportunists would find it better to be with a larger outfit like the CPM. The increase in the number of seats in Bihar from 5 to 7 was not because of a growth in ground strength, but due to the fractured polity in the state. What is important is to tear off the fake Naxalite mask of these revisionists that are corrupting the name of the heroic uprising and the politics associated with it.

# The Dream That Lives On

JOY

It is that sinking feeling when the real world around seems to betray in every respect. The sky above comes down heavily with roaring thunder and the earth shakes beneath the feet. The windows through which ray of hope enliven closes one after another. Almost overnight all the pillars of ideals and dreams collapse, and one is find being a captive in an isolated island of gloom and despair, surrounded by a hostile sea - threatening in roaring arrogance to overflow the last frontiers of resistance. It may not be an easy task to fight back, since the possibility of any help from the world outside is none, not in the beginning at least! There are, indeed, distant and scattered islands where the flag of resistance still flies high with great pride and determination. It certainly takes some time to see through the darkness of confusion, and to reach the comrades sailing across the turbulent sea. The initial phase of lone battle is the toughest, since one has to dig out optimism from within oneself. And then, to protect that tiny lamp of hope from a treacherous wind.

Such is the situation in several parts of the world today, following a temporary setback of revolution in many countries. The reactionary forces of global capitalism are baring fangs and claws in a jubilant mood since the fall of the so-called socialist regime in eastern Europe. Those who do not want to yield to the forces of global capitalism and imperialism, but cannot find an immediate way to join the mass-struggle against these monsters, are desperately trying to keep the dream of equality, freedom and peace alive, nonetheless in their hearts! To reject and retaliate temptation and pressure from outside, it is necessary for them to take refuge in a dream-world, to create and nurture it as a parallel reality, stronger and truer than the world that exists in the space-time of immediate vicinity.

Utopian as it may be in the beginning, soon it becomes a unique source of inspiration and moral strength. Like a luminous star - millions of light-years away, yet brighter than anything compared on the earth, it guides the lone sojourner on the long and difficult path of individual struggle till he reaches the forefront of mass-struggle against capitalism. Its bright rays pierce through dark mist and clouds to bring the assurance that the revolution will emerge out of the ashes of yesterday's failure like a nascent Phoenix. And as one advances along this path of battle, the dream-world appears to be more and more real and within ones reach.

It's not a mere coincidence that the urge of keeping the dream of socialism alive has found very similar expression in the contemporary cultural media in Germany and West Bengal almost simultaneously. In spite of the vast geographical distance and difference in the social, political and cultural history, there is one thing common for people of the present generation of the erstwhile east Germany (D.D.R.) and West Bengal; namely the disillusion about a regime that had proclaimed itself as socialist but in reality has sabotaged the revolution.

While in D.D.R., the regime formally threw away symbols of socialism and openly merged the state with the capitalist western part in the name of the grand reunification, the left-front Government of West Bengal still calls itself communist and performs rituals like uttering hollow promises of revolution. However, it has since long proved itself to be a trusted protector of the class-interest of the bourgeois by openly joining hands with the national and global forces of capitalism, adopting pro-rich economic policies, and finally by unleashing a reign of terror against all those who want to take sides with the oppressed people. This regime in West Bengal has been sharply criticized and the quest for a revolutionary alternative has been given voice by a contemporary play "Winkle Twinkle" written by Bratya Basu and directed by Debesh Chattopadhyay. This is already so much discussed and debated here that it does not perhaps need any introduction to the readers. Just to remind one, the play depicts the struggle of Sabyasachi Sen, an ex-revolutionary who reappears after having vanished into the thin air 26 years ago while trying to escape from the police, to cope with a world far different from what he had dreamt of and to search for a way to revive the spirit of revolution. The play ends with a strong message of optimism when Sabyasachi wins over his son Indra, who had initially joined a right-wing political party out of his frustration and disillusion about the so-called leftist parties. In a dramatic and symbolic scene, the two generations unite for a struggle against capitalism.

It is remarkable but not surprising that a film with very similar political message but in a completely different spatio-temporal perspective, has occupied the cultural centrestage of Europe in recent years. "Goodbye Lenin" directed by Wolfgang Becker based on the story by Bernd Lichtenberg, narrates the extraordinary personal struggle of Alex, a

young man from D.D.R., against the changes brought by the Fall of the Berlin Wall and its aftermath. The mother of Alex, who was a devoted follower of communist ideals, went into coma following a severe heart-attack resulting from the shock she had received to see her son being arrested by the police from a protest-march against the 'socialist' regime. By the time she recovered from the state of coma, the Berlin Wall and D.D.R. had ceased to exist. The similarity between the long coma of Alex's mother and the supernatural hibernation of Sabyasachi of "Winkle Twinkle", both in a sense symbolizing a long phase of political confusion and inaction, cannot be overlooked...however, the analogy cannot be stretched too far since unlike Sabyasachi who had to face the new and alien reality himself, Alex's mother is protected by her son, who is determined not to let her know about the changes. The doctor warned that the feeble heart of the mother could not stand any more shock, and thus Alex wages a lone battle to prevent the outside world from encroaching into her mother's 79 square meter room, where the old D.D.R. needs to be re-created and restored. Thus the making of the dream-world begins...however, even though initially it was out of his personal emotion for his mother, gradually he identifies himself with the ideal socialist world that her mother dreamt of. This dream could not touch him earlier, when he had seen only the deteriorated form of a 'socialist' state which had already been taken over by the reactionary forces. In such a suffocating and oppressive regime, he could not identify himself with his mother's optimism and her ideals of socialism, and naturally fell prey to the capitalist propaganda that a better and happier world was waiting for them on the other side of the Wall. However, now he faces the stark reality of a capitalist state, where the uncertainty of life haunts him and his sister every moment, where he finds his sister brutally beaten up by the boss at the place of work for slightest absent-mindedness, where the rich marginalizes the poor in every sphere of life. In a symbolic scene, when he tries to console and comfort his sister, he identifies the new, united Germany with a fat, greedy customer at the Burger-King (the workplace of his sister) munching french fries with his ugly and ferocious teeth, symbolizing the super-rich bourgeois depriving the poor of all the means of subsistence and survival.

Thus, Alex is getting disillusioned about the capitalist system, and the belief that an

alternative can be found only in an ideal form of socialism as his mother had thought of is growing stronger within him. As he carries on with the material restoration of D.D.R. in his mother's room, which ranges from replacing the labels of bottles and cans of packaged food and other things having new brand-names by the old ones to using a projector and old video-cassettes obtained from the archives of the national TV-channel of D.D.R. to "telecast" news for his mother, Alex also discovers the dream of socialism for himself day by day, bit by bit, and falls in the love of it. This dream is identified with the life of his mother, as if the need for keeping this dream alive is synonymous with her survival.

We cannot go into too many details, but mention must be made of a few significant scenes. The windows of the room of Alex's mother are kept shut on the pretext of doctor's advice but actually to hide from her the changes in the surroundings of the house. One day she requests to open the shutters for a while, and the first thing catching her sight is a hoarding of Coca-Cola, a taboo in the socialist D.D.R. In order to pacify her, Alex has to fabricate an "evening news", shot with a friend's help, reporting that the rights of Coca-cola was reverted to D.D.R. following the revelation that the secret formula had actually been discovered in D.D.R. and thus an intellectual property of the socialist country. Then comes a day when the mother comes out to the street on her own to be confronted by a stunning scene: The big statue of Lenin is being shifted elsewhere by a helicopter! She almost collapses to the ground, just when

Alex and his sister come to her rescue. In the evening, Alex invents an explanation for the incident, interpreting it as part of a conspiracy against the socialist regime which could be foiled. The film is indeed full of many such episodes for which Alex is supplying explanations suitable for her mother through his "domestic channel"...it is not only for the mother but also for himself, as his increasing emotional attachment with the imaginary world he's creating becomes more and more clear as the film progresses. This really reaches its height when he adds commentary to the scenes of the Fall of the Wall to make the mother believe that the western part has merged with the D.D.R. to form a united socialist Germany. This is something she had wished throughout her life, and now it is also the dream of her son, a dream that he knows not achievable in a near future, perhaps not even in his lifetime...yet he is convinced that this must come some day. Following his mother's request, he searches for their father who had fled to the west long back, and finds him out. The film then ends in a symbolic and emotional scene where the re-united family, also including Alex's girlfriend, his sister's husband and child, watches the extravagant celebration of the first anniversary of the re-unification of Germany... to the mother, however, it is the celebration of the triumph of socialism over the capitalist west. The others in the room, while being fully aware of the reality, are identifying themselves, though in varied degrees, with the dream-world of the mother. For Alex, the jubilation outside the room seems as illusive and short-lived as a mirage, and his optimistic

vision as if propels through the dark sky of the night cutting a fiery path, like the rockets shot by the people on streets, to reach far beyond today's world of despair and failure, to usher the new world which he can feel with all his senses, and for which he is determined to struggle.

As the author Lichtenberg puts it in an interview:

"Der real existierende Sozialismus ist nicht aufgegangen, aber der Gedanke lebt weiter. Das ist vielleicht naiv, aber auch sehr stark." (The socialism has not yet come in reality, but the thought lives on. It may be just too naive, but at the same time very strong indeed.)

This strong optimism is the bridge that connects Alex and his mother with Sabyasachi and Indra of "Winkle Twinkle", and which will eventually bring all those fighting for the fulfillment of the dream of socialism to a common battlefield where the final and fatal blow can be inflicted on capitalism.

For further information about "Goodbye Lenin": see the website [www.good-bye-lenin.de](http://www.good-bye-lenin.de)

Some of the awards received by the film: *Blue Angel Award* for Best European Film Berlin 2003, *8 German Film Awards* 2003, *German Screenplay Award* 2003, *FIPRESCI Award* Belgrade 2003, *Premi Internazionali Flaiano* for Best Foreign Language Film & Best New Talent Pescara 2003, *Special Jury Prize & Youth Award* Valladolid 2003, *6 European Film Awards* 2003, *Goya* 2003 for Best Foreign Film, *Best Non-American Film* from the Danish Film Critics' Society 2004, *César* for Best European Film 2004 ■ ■

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gradually squeezing the economy of Nepal and the Royal Nepal Army, despite considerable international assistance, has not been able to check its growth. The Maoists seem to be able to operate at will and have a substantial presence in a majority of Nepal's districts. Meanwhile, in Kathmandu, there has been a game of musical chairs in the appointment of prime ministers since the dismissal of the elected government and dissolution of the elected lower house. Even before these exercises of the royal prerogative, the political parties of Nepal had not distinguished themselves in any worthy manner. Within a short period of the restoration of democracy in 1991, Nepali politics was characterized by inter- and intra-party feuding arising largely from personality conflicts and the desire for power."

One correspondent says that: "Nepal is the 12<sup>th</sup> poorest country in the world, where, according to the World Bank, 42 percent of the population live below the poverty line. The Asian Development Bank estimates that the annual national income is just \$241 per capita."

### **Political and Military Victories By The CPN(Maoist) Forces the Political Crisis of February 1, 2005**

According to the same correspondent the main causes for the royalist coup in Nepal were these: "But the real reason appears to be a chimera, a fantasy that the government can win a military victory over the CPN(Maoist). It is an illusion fueled in large part by an avalanche of modern weaponry, plus military training, that has poured into the country from India, the U.S., and Britain."(details below)

According to Sujan Dutta, correspondent of a Kolkatta Telegraph, Feb 6, 2005, the balance of forces in Nepal are as follows: "Nepal's army of about 78,000 troops is in the middle of an expansion and is largely equipped, funded and trained by India but the Maoist rebels are no pushover. Military assessments doubt the ability of the RNA to pursue a highly mobile war in Nepal's rugged landscape that gives the guerrillas a huge advantage."

"The most crucial and mobile units of the RNA are in the Kathmandu valley. Among these are a special operations brigade, a reconnaissance squadron, a parachute battalion, a special forces regiment, a ranger battalion, an aviation brigade, an artillery brigade, an engineers brigade, a signals brigade and an armed police brigade."

"According to Paul Soren, a researcher under Sukh Deo Muni, professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University and an expert

who has the ear of policymakers in New Delhi's security establishment, the People's Liberation Army of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has its headquarters in the mid-western region near Rolpa" In a side bar, the figures for the PLA was estimated at 7,000 to 12,000 fighters organized in three divisions."

According to another report, the heavy arms aid to the royalist junta and the resulting balance of forces are configured as such:

"More than 12,000 U.S. M-16s (automatic rifles), 5,000 Belgium FN sub-machine guns, and some 20,000 rifles from India have filled the arsenals of the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) since 2001. Britain has added helicopters armed with machine guns and rockets. The size of the RNA has grown from 50,000 to 73,000 and is due to reach 80,000 next year. If one counts the police, Royalist forces now number 138,000."

"While the insurgent (Maoist) forces are small — 4,000 core soldiers and about 15,000 supporters — virtually no independent observers believe the central government can defeat them, because the roots of the war are in the social and economic poverty of the nation."

In an Asia Times article, correspondent Sudha Ramachandran (May 6, 2004) stated that: "The Maoist insurgency in Nepal is in its eighth year. What started as a small band of idealists and intellectuals is a battle-hardened guerrilla army today, capable of taking on not only the country's police force but also its armed forces. The Maoists control large swathes of territory - around two-fifths of the Himalayan kingdom's land. Their influence runs across almost all of Nepal's 75 districts."

The US, China, India and Britain are backing the government's efforts to quell the Maoist insurgency. These countries have contributed military hardware and training to the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) in its operations against the Maoists. The US, for instance, is said to have provided aid to finance Nepal's purchase of M-16 rifles and night vision equipment. It is also training RNA officers in counter-insurgency warfare. In August 2003, the US enhanced its grants to Nepal from US\$24 million a year to \$38 million a year in wake of the insurgency." In another news source, it was reported that the US government helped the Royal Nepalese Army acquire two Russian made Mi-17 helicopters, last year. These are among the world's largest troop carrying helicopters.

### **First Legal Challenge in Nepalese Court**

According to Agence France Press, (February 9, 2005) "the first court action since the (Nepalese) king sacked the government, seized power and imposed a state of emergency, a Supreme Court (of Nepal) judge Wednesday ordered his newly-appointed government of loyalists to explain the arrest of a former bar association (of Nepal) chief, a court source said."

The court issued the order in response to a habeas corpus petition by Nepal Bar Association president Shambhu Thapa, after former bar association president Sindhunath Pyakurel was arrested the day the king seized power on February 1.

### **Human Rights Groups demand end to the February 1, 2005 Royalist Coup and press for UN Intervention**

According to the BBC of February 6, 2005:

"Human rights groups in Nepal have appealed to the international community to press the authorities to reverse harsh emergency measures. They say the government headed by King Gyanendra who has taken direct power is spreading terror and panic. Journalists as well as political figures have been detained following the introduction of emergency measures."

"The 25 human rights groups have sent a message to some of the world's top leaders, including the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, President George W Bush and many other heads of state and government."

"They say the Nepalese people are now living under what they call an illegal military rule headed by the king and that the monarch's actions violate international practices and legal standards."

"They say human rights activists are being increasingly monitored and harassed."

"The BBC's Charles Haviland in Kathmandu said the general-secretary of the Federation of Nepalese Journalists had also been detained."

"The rights groups are urging the international leaders to end military support for the new government, press it to say where detainees are, and refrain from torture."

"It asks them to use diplomacy to make the king lift censorship and restore the cut telephone lines and, more broadly, to urge the restoration of democracy."

One correspondent reports that the "civil war, which has claimed some 11,000 lives, has been an ugly one, the brutality of which has sharply escalated with the recent influx of arms and counterinsurgency training. Over 800 people died this past December (2004) alone."

The same correspondent says that: "According to Amnesty International, there has also been a "dramatic escalation" in the number of "disappearances," some 378 in just the last year, more than in the previous five years combined."

"Amnesty has called on government security forces to halt the practice and to stop blocking investigations into the disappearances by the courts and Nepal's Human Rights Commission. Amnesty also charges widespread use of torture and extra-judicial executions by the RNA and the police."

The same correspondent also writes that: "Some Scandinavian nations have already proposed UN intervention, as has the Asian Human Rights Commission. In a recent statement, the Hong Kong-based rights group said, "If no serious intervention is made at this stage by the United Nations and the international community to stop the escalation of violence, a bloodbath could easily take place while the movement of the people and news is restricted."

Human Rights Watch a US based international Human Rights Group underlines its concerns as follows:

"Because the constitution does not allow the King's actions to be challenged in court, Nepal's population is effectively at the mercy of the security forces, which have a history of widespread and serious violations of human rights."

"With all power concentrated in the hands of the King, he is now responsible for what happens to the people detained after the takeover," said Brad Adams, Asia Director for Human Rights Watch. "In handing the army unbridled power, he will also be responsible for the predictable human rights abuses the army commits under the state of emergency."

"Although information from areas outside Kathmandu remains limited due to the cutting of telephone and internet services, Human Rights Watch said that at least 150 political leaders and student activists have been arbitrarily detained or placed under house arrest since the February 1 royal takeover."

"During past crackdowns and the last state of emergency (2001-2002) the security forces arrested numerous journalists, student leaders, political activists, lawyers, and suspected Maoist sympathizers who were then "disappeared"—arrested and never seen again, and presumably killed in custody."

"We are not just concerned about the arbitrary arrests that are taking place across Nepal," said Adams. "Our chief concern is that some of those being arrested may never be seen again, that they might 'disappear' or be killed in custody, as happened during the last state of emergency."

## Role of Indian Expansionism and US imperialism in Royal Nepalese Coup — the script of a coup foretold

The Feb 1, 2004 royalist coup in Nepal was many things, but one thing it definitely was not. It was not a surprise. Imperialist magazines have long been predicting it, even encouraging it. This is how imperialists use propaganda to prepare public opinion in the western (OECD) countries for their interventionist activities in the east and south. The British weekly, Economist, of December 2, 2004, pretty much laid out the script for the February 1, 2005 coup. Confidently proud of the on-going arming and training of the Royal Nepalese forces by India and US, the Economist magazine wrote:

"This (the foreign military aid) helps contain the Maoist threat. But it also bolsters those in the king's camp who think that a military victory is possible and might be easier if the trappings of democracy were jettisoned. The information minister, seen as the king's man in the cabinet, has dropped hints of a more 'authoritarian' government. Many human-rights activists and politicians in Kathmandu expect the king and the army to assume more direct power and, blaming the war, suspend many civil liberties."

On Feb. 4, 2005, Reuters News Agency reported that the RNA Chief of Staff Gen. Pyar Jung Thapa, said the coup was aimed at forcing the CPN(Maoist) back to the negotiating table. As the arrest of trade union and political leaders continued in Kathmandu, the army chief said that, "Now we can solely go after the Maoists in a single-minded manner without having to worry about what's going to happen on the streets, people's agitation." Clearly the royalist coup was a maneuver to defend the capital, Kathmandu, against a national uprising. As Reuters reported, the royalists were definitely anticipating "people's agitation".

That comment by Gen. Thapa on "forcing" the Maoists to "negotiate" echoed a statement made last year by former U.S. Ambassador to Nepal, Michael Malinowski, that the CPN(Maoist) "literally have to be bent back to the table." It does not take much to see that what the US Ambassador really means by "literally ... bent back to the table" is actually an attempt to force an abject surrender of the CPN (Maoist) at the negotiating table when the results of the large number of military engagements, is the exact opposite. Through a series of sustained military victories, over the last nine years, the CPN(Maoist) have besieged the royalist military forces to within a few kilometers of the capital—(see above)

The logic of Indian expansionism dictates that India will try to internationalize the political crisis created by the royalist coup in Nepal.

The 1950 India Nepal treaty which gives India the right to unilaterally send in military forces to occupy Nepal. In fact this relationship is so overwhelmingly one-sided that according to a United Press International article, by Harbaksh Singh Nanda (February 8, 2005) the current head of Indian Army, General J.J. Singh, is also the honorary chief of the Royal Nepalese Army. There are no other examples in the world today of two neighbouring countries, where the commander of one country's army is the honorary chief of the other country's army.

The more so to cover up India's real domination of Nepalese political and military sectors of society. If Indian invaded Nepal by itself to save the Royalist neck, it would not only stand condemned internationally but would run the risk of replaying its defeat when it acted alone in invading Sri Lanka and splitting East Pakistan into Bangladesh. Indian expansionism is overwhelmingly unpopular in those two countries. This coup by the Nepalese king is a sign of keen desperation. It is highly unpopular in Nepal with all classes of society. The Nepalese king may not be the most credible Indian agent today. For the next stage and as a way out of this crisis, the Indian government may wish to change horses and find a more pliable puppet, who has some temporary credibility with the Nepalese people. By arresting all the parliamentary party leaders, without exception, the Nepalese king has given the Indian expansionists in New Delhi, a prison full of recycled politicians from which to choose his own future replacement.

Just a few days after the coup, the reactionary Indian press was already posting the new moves. "In today's globalizing world, no one should consider geography crucial to its strategic influence. So, it would be in India's interest to internationalize the Nepal crisis and try to win over as many nations as possible to our point of view," said The Times of India in an editorial. "It is imperative that India take up the issue at the U.N. and lobby to work out a consensus on the best way to restore democracy in Nepal." The consensus referred to above is the hyper-activity of the imperialist super-power and its local power broker, Indian expansionism, to suppress all forward movement to the Democratic Republic called for by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). No one should mistake why Indian ruling circles want to "internationalize" the political crisis in Nepal. It is the only way that they can credibly cover up their on-going interventionist and expansionist activities.

## Revolutionary Cultural Movement

(This Article was written before the merger of the two parties so it only deals with the cultural forms in the areas of the former PW party. In the coming issue we will print an account of the Jharkhand Abhen which has grown to have a powerful influence in the entire state — Editor)

It is the sound of labor. There is no labor without it. It is like a tonic for work. It is not possible to work without it. It makes them forget the toil. It makes them forget hunger, their burdens and fills them with inspiration. It is an expression of everything in their life. It is an outlet from hard work for toiling masses.

And that is their song; their dance. Song and dance continue to have an important place in the life of the masses, the exploited, the voiceless, the changing and the forces of revolution.

Adivasis are known for their rich cultural heritage. Song and dance are the expressions of adivasi life. They are part of their life right from the inception of history, only next to architecture. In the process of socialisation a lot of changes occurred in the cultural life of adivasis. There have been a lot of outside influences. However it continues to maintain its native character.

In the recent times, the ruling class is promoting adivasi culture to attract private investment. In the name of presenting their culture and heritage it is using the adivasis as show pieces in the various 'utsavs' held all over the country. But the adivasis have not only realised the partisan attitude of the government but also their marginalisation and exploitation in terms of the economy. Though Gond and Santhali folk-lore is much propagated by the bourgeoisie in their numerous 'utsavs' in India and abroad, the bulk of Bastar and Jharkhand Adivasis have interwoven their rich culture with the new revolutionary awakening taking place there.

The Adivasis of Bastar are very much a part of the revolutionary movement in the area. The revolutionary movement is obviously bringing in a lot of changes in their economic, social and cultural life. As a part of the ongoing revolutionary movement under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) Party they are increasingly revolutionising their culture.

The festivals are no more purely customary. They include the performances of the local revolutionary cultural teams that speak about adivasi life, their problems, the root cause and the alternative. It is the *Jana Natya*

*Mandali* in Andhra Pradesh. It is the *Chethana Natya Manch* in Dandakaranya. It is the *Jharkhand Abhen* in Jharkhand. It is *Pithuri Endana Dalam* in Orissa....and many more.

These organisations are the cultural expression of revolutionary propaganda. The art forms of the organisations are absolutely native and in essence New Democratic. The organisations are cultivating New Democratic Culture as a part of the New Democratic Revolution.

Propaganda is an important aspect of any political system either existing or in the making. Cultural forms of propaganda is their most powerful instrument. The history of Revolutionary parties all over the world reveals the importance given to this instrument. The experience presents a catalytic effect.

So is the experience of the above-mentioned organisations. *Jana Natya Mandali* is undisputedly the most popular revolutionary cultural organisation in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Its influence spread to other states also thus giving it a

place in the history of the cultural and social movement of this era.

These newly formed organisations owe their heritage to *Jana Natya Mandali*. They have gone a few steps ahead of it. While JNM initially started off in the cities and gradually spread to the villages and the adivasi areas in the later period, the latter organisations were started in the adivasi areas itself.

It is clear that they have a more native fragrance. Let us see how they started, how they continue to enthuse the masses and help in raising their revolutionary consciousness.

The then People's War party established the CNM in Dandakaranya in 1998. It started with organising cultural meets of a few villages. The local Sangh held competitions in song and dance. Youth participated enthusiastically. Collection of folk forms started from this point.

The Party brought together few activists and started the CNM. They started with songs. The songs were written collectively. A local tune was selected. The essence of the song was discussed and then set. They received tremendous response. Villagers started demanding their performances in their villages. It is because the songs photographed their life.

Thus the stage was set for the revolutionary cultural teams in DK. In the later period CNM held workshops and discussed the concept, tune and other related issues of song. There were churning discussions on the selection of the tune and presentation of the song. In the course of time it wrote songs on the aims and objectives of the organisation. It went ahead with depicting the well known armed actions of the People's Army in Bastar district. There are also songs heckling the police forces visiting the villages. There are songs that tell about the collective work of the people, the necessity of the armed struggle, the importance of revolution and highlighting the People's Army (PLGA) of the Party established in the year 2000.

These songs reverberate all through Dandakaranya. People

*From this issue we begin a new regular column entitled "Sprouts of The New Revolutionary Power". Through these columns we wish to portray all aspects of the life of the people undergoing transformation in the guerrilla zones being led by the Maoists. This will cover all spheres: as the new political system, the new economic system, the new justice system, the new culture and social life of the people; and also the new values of selflessness, the new anti-feudal approach against patriarchy, upper-caste and communal biases and untouchability, and also against superstition and archaic health methods (like witchcraft, mantras) etc. We will also outline the development process, health and welfare clinics, the irrigation projects, the educational system, etc developing in these zones that have changed the living standards of the people. The ruling classes seek only to distort the movement of the Maoists, ignoring the historic changes taking place in the lives of the people. We will also bring out articles on the people's role in this transformation and in defending this new power emerging in these areas. In these columns we will strive to present the truth. For this we request that all comrades send such reports to the magazine. — Editor*

Continued on page 25

## Women can taste emancipation from all exploitative shackles only in a classless communist society — Comrade Anu

[Comrade Anu is a woman member of the Purulia-Bankura-Midnapur Zonal Committee. While talking to us during an interview she narrated her colourful experiences gathered in the struggles in Belpahari, in Midnapur district in West Bengal]

**Peoples March; Belpahari now stands out as a model to the revolutionary masses in West Bengal. What initiatives have you taken to organize the people and launch struggle there?**

Com. Anu: I had gone to Belpahari. Since our entry into Belpahari we started discussion with the village people concerning various problems. We started giving suggestions. The local people started talking to us about their problems with enthusiasm. We then noticed that the livelihood of the people to a great extent revolves round procuring *Kendu* leaves. We felt that if the movement against low-wages could be initiated then it was likely to lessen the financial stress to an extent. There remained other problems too, as for example, regarding the cord spun out of *babui* grass, low level of wages (*Kami Majuri*). However, we first organized a mass movement for suitable wages for *Kendu* leaves: We formed the peasant front committee with the people rallying over the demand for raising wages for procuring *Kendu* leaves. We carried on extensive propaganda and organized movement. In many places the contractors too conceded to our demand.

In many places the CPI(M) tried to crush this movement and persuaded the people into believing that 'Naxalites are hatching a conspiracy to put a stop to the *Kendu* leaves business; etc. Through all this the real face of the CPI(M) got unveiled.

**P.M. What problems have you faced to rally the masses in the areas where the CPI(M) and other Jharkhandi parties are active?**

Com. Anu: The area where we started our propaganda first faced the strong presence of the Jharkhand organisations and the CPI(M). We faced attacks from both sides. We were attacked by the Jharkhand organisation in Shimulpur while in Banshpahari — Bhulabheda the CPI(M) launched attacks on us. For example, when a three-member team of ours was carrying on propaganda, a gang of 10 JKP activists fell upon us in an inebriated state, shouting threats to us. When we firmly faced them they beat a retreat. While leaving, they said threateningly, "Nobody shall be allowed to practise party politics here other than that of the Jharkhand Party." We also replied, "We must fearlessly propagate our politics in all the areas!"

In Banshpahari area too the CPI(M) fell

upon us. A woman leader of the CPI (M) women's organisation tried to hand me over to the police. I could only escape arrest after taking shelter in a house with the help of an elderly woman of the village. However, the police came and collected my name. The very next day we rallied the entire village masses, issued threats to that CPI(M) woman and gave her a mild punishment. The villagers also raised slogans against the woman.

In reality, the economic crisis of the Belpahari people is so acute that they are always bitter with all the parties mired in electoral politics. They were searching for an alternative. They found that alternative path in our politics. Besides that, we organized a large section of the masses through the movements on the issues of *Kendu* leaf, *babui* cord and wage-rise.

After the Banshpahari incident, the CPI(M) organized some attacks on us. In retaliation, when we offered counter-resistance they beat a retreat and became dependent on the police. In a similar way, we had to take a counter-resistance campaign programme against the attacks of the Jharkhand Party in Shimulpal. All such incidents teach us that it is struggle alone that is the determining force to break the deadlock in the people's movement.

**P.M: The CPI(M) say 'In West Bengal democracy exists, here is no need for armed struggle'. Then on what grounds have you taken up arms?**

Com. Anu: If you want to see the real face of the CPI(M)'s democracy, you have to go to the backward villages. Come to Belpahari, Lalgarh, Shalbani areas to see for yourselves the picture of repression let loose by the B.S.F/C.R.P.F on the people demanding two morsels of food of the government. You will see how people are being framed in fake cases and sent to jail. It is such a democracy where the opposition leader Mamta Bandhopadhaya too is forced to say that without arms power can't be captured. It is such a democracy that the leader of mass killing in Chhoto Angaria, Mr. Tapan Ghosh, is appointed the CPI(M) Zonal Secretary and District Committee member. The police allows him to go scot free, so does the CBI. It is such a democracy over here where a minority section in the CPI(M) Zonal Conference capture the committee at gun point.

Is it possible to establish democracy in the state without taking up guns where the

gun alone matters?

**P.M. As a woman district committee member you have gone to lead the masses, what sort of response have you received?**

Com. Anu: In this patriarchal society it is the men who want to keep the women under them using their domination. It is the reality of the society. But communist ideology teaches women to be at par with their men. Yet still now the influence of patriarchy is noticed in the communist party. Now women are emerging as leaders fighting against this trend. Among the masses in the area the problem was quite evident initially but later it got reduced to a great degree. Now generally the acceptability has greatly enhanced. Yet, socially speaking some problems are still there. In fact, the more the struggle has intensified, the more have I received acceptability. There was a problem as regards accepting me as a leader. It was particularly in the middle class families. Comparatively speaking such a problem is much less with the families of toilers. Even the women too are not free from such a wrong trend. In the minds of the women of middle class families such a trend is greatly perceptible.

**P.M. What sorts of initiatives are you taking to organize the women with an eye to the specific problems of this area?**

Com. Anu: We have not been able in that sense to take specific problems of women in the area. We have not been able to build up any women's organisation as such. Some primary steps were taken to celebrate the occasion of 8<sup>th</sup> March along with some other programmes. In the area women's villages committees were also formed. Generally speaking, women have played a very good role in peasant movements. It is the women who have taken special initiative in wall writing, propaganda campaign, resisting police terror, etc. In some villages it is the women who have taken upon themselves the duty of supply food and other necessities to the squads.

Now at this moment, a good number of women are working as squad members. Right at this moment among the professional revolutionaries of Bihar-Jharkhand-Orrisa border region one third are women. A good number of women comrades have been imprisoned. In the families in which the male members are in

jail it is the women members who have been shouldering all their family responsibilities, simultaneously with extending various types of help and cooperation to the Party. Though the CPI(M) indulges in tall talk on women's freedom, whenever the women plunge into struggle it sends them to jail.

**If the struggle does not develop it remains a great problem for the women to participate in the movement overcoming the hindrances of the patriarchal society. The struggle is still in a weak state; this situation will undergo a change for the better with the development of the struggle.**

**P.M. The incident at Bandwan is a milestone for the revolutionary movement of West Bengal. What sort of change has come up in the situation after this incident?**

Com. Anu: The Bandwan ambush was the first resistance against the ruthless

methods adopted of crushing the struggle undertaken, by the CPI(M) in cahoots with the state machinery, since the process of developing the struggle started. This incident has brought back great confidence in the minds of the people. Discussions kept going on among the masses that the Party is able to cope with the police terror and that revolutionaries never do any harm to the common people other than their hated enemy. All the conspiracies of the Police and the CPI(M) primarily failed. After that the people's resistance campaigns in Daldoli, Lalgargh, Kankrajhor have boosted the morale of the people further.

However, after such incidents, the deployment of para-military forces has increased manifold. Police raids and combing operations have also increased many times. The Buddhadeb government

in league with the central government, has now been trying to set up a police raj in those areas. Yet the state machinery now-a-days fails to create fear in the minds of the people as before.

**P.M: What message do you like to send to the oppressed women as a woman leader of the Communist Party?**

Com. Anu: **Women can be free from all types of exploitation only in a communist society. So integrate the women's movement with the movement for the emancipation of the whole society. Participate in class struggle breaking loose the narrow social barriers. Lead the struggle against patriarchy being armed with a correct scientific outlook.**

*Continued from page 23*

were not simply amused. They are overwhelmed with these heart touching enthusiastic, committed songs. They sing in chorus. They return home dancing to the tune and singing the songs they heard just then.

The organisation marched ahead with composing plays on the existing unscientific and exploitative issues in adivasi life. They perform a play on gambling in the 'hen race'. The man in the family puts the little savings on the race and drinks. He returns home drunk without buying the needed food. There is a rupture between the wife and the husband. He beats her. The issue is presented before the local Women's Organisation. They hold a 'panchayat' and make the husband realise his mistake. Another play is on the unscientific thinking regarding treatment of illness.

Now the organisation is about to present a new form of 'peto', the singing story. Coming to the organisations in Orissa,

it is part of the organisation of the CPI(Maoist) Party in the Andhra Orissa Border Special Zone. It started one year back and is making headways with its songs, dance and playlets. The way of functioning is the same as that of the organisation in DK.

The performers in both the organisations have local attire. Collective functioning is given utmost importance.

The interesting aspect of the organisations is that more than ninety nine percent of the teams are the local adivasis themselves. Those basically interested in cultural activity are picked up for the purpose. Once they join the team and later the party they are not mere traditional adivasi singers. They transform themselves into revolutionary singers and revolutionise their consciousness and vice versa. The activity of the team is like any other armed squad. They have a regular timetable for physical fitness, literacy, political education and other such things. They move along

with the Local Guerilla Squads, or on their own and take part in all of its activities. They prepare cultural forms as per the programs of the concerned Area Committee. Thus their activities are interlinked with the overall organisation.

One more point needs mention. The performance of the organisations is not like the traditional one where some perform and some view. Viewers join the performers on the stage, which is normally nothing else but a relatively plain piece of land under a shadowy tree. Enthusiastic villagers and members of other squads join the performers there and then. The artists are not disturbed with the 'intruders' because the later are clear of their role.

So, is it not modern theatre?

And, it is something more than modern theatre. The Revolutionary Cultural Organisations of the CPI(Maoist) Party are bringing forth lot of genuine modern views regarding the economic, political and cultural life of the adivasis.

## **An Example of Heroic Struggle and Sacrifice**

*(Based on news clippings from the local press)*

Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra is witnessing the 12<sup>th</sup> consecutive year of extreme repression, but with no let up whatsoever. The terror of the armed forces of the government, no matter which party is in power in the State, is most brutal.

The first incidence occurred in the first week of October 2004. two comrades got injured when their squad was attacked by the para-military. A third comrade fell into a pit while retreating. The comrade was asked to surrender. He refused. The enemy dragged him out and shot him directly in the chest in cold blood. Some villagers were witness to the incident.

In another incident in the first week of December, two were injured in an incidence of firing in Etapalli taluk. In this incident about 50 police surrounded the squad. Com. Bhumanna was injured in the ankle, under cover fire. He was carried by his comrades who were aggressively pursued by the enemy. Then the comrade carrying the injured was hit by bullet. The injured comrade pleaded to the others to flee and leave them or the lives of all maybe jeopardized. Bhumanna blew himself up with a grenade and refused to fall into the hands of the enemy. The other comrade hid himself in bush and managed to escape the notice of the marauding forces. At nightfall he came out and was rescued by the people and met by the squad the next day.

Such are the type of comrades born in the guerrilla zones that are emerging in various parts of the country; dedicated to the cause of the Indian people and selflessly working for the revolution.

## International Women's Day in Jharkhand

Chameli

It was a mass education campaign by the Nari Mukti Sangh against patriarchal oppression and for women's liberation, conducted in league with the popular cultural troupe 'Jharkhand Abhen' (Jharkhand Jagruti or awakening) all over Jharkhand. The campaign began from March 1<sup>st</sup> and went on till March 20<sup>th</sup>. Over 10 public meetings were held in different districts of Jharkhand coupled with extensive campaigns in the respective regions, prior to the public meeting. While intensive campaigning started from March 1<sup>st</sup>, the NMS had begun its campaigning in the villages of Jharkhand in February itself. The main political focus of the campaign was the focus on linking women's liberation with the revolutionary transformation of society. The roots of patriarchy were traced to the existing semi-feudal system in the country, further aggravated by imperialist culture. The speeches, songs, street plays, slogans, etc, spoke of equal rights for women, women's liberation, democracy and the need for socialism through revolution.

The campaign comprised a central programme in Dhanbad, followed by a series of public meetings in the various districts of Jharkhand. In a revolutionary festival like atmosphere the message was taken far and wide. While the Dhanbad programme was done jointly by three women's organisations the rest were organised by NMS alone.

### Dhanbad Preparations

The three organisations that jointly organised the Dhanbad programme were the NMS, the *Marxvadi Nari Morcha* (affiliated to A.K.Roy's Union) and the *Mahenatkash Mahila Ekta Manch* (Oppressed Women's Unity Platform). To make the March 8 Dhanbad programme the NMS formed and 'International Women's Day Campaign Committee'. A team of about 100 volunteers belonging to the NMS

and 'Jharkhand Abhen' reached Dhanbad on March 1<sup>st</sup> itself. Most were women and young girls. A commune was set up in a Dharamshalla in the heart of the city and an office was opened.

On the night of the first, a meeting was held with all the propaganda teams, including the poster teams, the wall-writing teams, the fund-collection teams, the banner writing team, the cultural teams, the street theatre team, and even the team for preparing the food for the commune. From the very next day the propaganda campaign began and went on non-stop till the sixth. About 60 meetings and cultural performances were held in Dhanbad and neighbouring townships as in Sindri, Katras, Jharria, Topchachi, Gobindapur, Baliapur, Kendua, etc. By March 7<sup>th</sup> entire Dhanbad was covered with banners and red festoons. Also at major road crossings Chinese festoons with five stars were put up. In six places decorated gates were set up with the banner saying that the Nari Mukti Sangh welcomes you.

### Dhanbad Programme

Then March 8<sup>th</sup> arrived. The 'Jharkhand Abhen' troupe dance their way to the flag-hoisting ground with red banners, and bow and arrow in their hands. The people gathered to watch. The communist flag, with the hammer and sickle was hoisted by the Committee's convenor, Asha Hembrem, while the NMS flag (which has five stars on it together with a hand holding a masha) was hoisted by an NMS activist, Com. Chameli. This was followed by a song/dance on the red flag and a song on the NMS flag by the young girls team of 'Jharkhand Abhen'. This was followed by laying wreaths on the martyr's column, a song on martyrs and two minutes silence in memory of the heroic martyrs who laid down their life for the revolution.

Then the entire gathering got ready for the procession, forming into two lines. At the head was the banner of the organisers.

Behind it were five women comrades with big placards in their hands. This was followed by the 'Jharkhand Abhen' team of hundred youngsters in two lines performing the now famous "war dance" with bow-and-arrows in their hands and sung to traditional tunes of the region. Throughout the procession it was this "war dance" and its revolutionary son that attracted the maximum attention of the public. This troupe was followed by the mass of women, many with children in their arms. And finally the procession was made up by the men participating in it. The procession, which continued for over two hours wound its way through all the main streets of Dhanbad, with the city ringing with the slogans of International Women's Day.

Finally the procession reached back to the grounds and by 4.00 pm the public meeting began. The programme began with a song on martyrs by 'Jharkhand Abhen' and then the meeting was conducted by a presidium, comprising comrades Salina, Namita and Asha Hembram. Com. Hembram gave the welcome address. Then the Jharkhand secretary of NMS, Com. Chandmuni Hansda, spoke on the significance of International Women's Day in the present context. She spoke of the important role that women must play at a time when imperialism is launching vigorous attacks from all sides, as it is the women who are more oppressed. She spoke further of the necessity for the wide mobilization of the masses, particularly the women, if at all success is to be achieved in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles.

Next com. Tridev Ghosh of the *PUCI*, Ranchi spoke. He said that today women who are struggling is not just for their own liberation but that of entire society. He added that we must take others struggles as our own and that only if we are able to also draw in the intellectuals into the struggle will women's liberation be possible. The next speaker was the famous Dhanbad lawyer, Satyanarayan Bhattacharyya, who traced the history of the NMS saying that he saw himself the NMS March 8<sup>th</sup> programme in 1990 and its growth since then. He added that the NMS is leading a genuine struggle for women's rights, self-respect and equality. Also it is importance that women are in the forefront of the battle against exploitation in which

### Programmes in Bihar

A number of programmes were held throughout Bihar but the reports are yet to come in. The programme in Muzaffarpur was conducted again this year though a number of leading women activists are in jail. After an extensive campaign in the villages of the area, 600 people attended the programme. Besides others the meeting was addressed by com Sukhwinder Kaur of Punjab and com. Manju from Bihar. The meeting too was interspersed with a lively cultural programme.

the entire workers and peasants are involved. Then the convener of the Jharkhand unit of the *Jan Pratirodh Manch*, Jiten Marandi, spoke of the need for the women's liberation movement to unite with the ongoing revolutionary peasant movement for the victory of the new democratic revolution with the aim of establishing a socialist system. He added that the government is cruelly suppressing this just struggle and resorting to all types of false propaganda against it, yet it is growing in strength.

Besides this there were a number of other speakers like Comrades B.P. Rakshit, Santoshi, Aloka, Aroop Chatterjee, etc. All speeches were interspersed with lively cultural programmes. The meeting finally culminated at 8.00 pm.

### Reports from the Districts

March 8<sup>th</sup> programmes were held in a number of districts of Jharkhand and Bihar. Many of the reports of the meetings have not yet reached as those in Gaya and North Bihar. Some are reported below.

One of the most effective programmes was held in the East Bihar district of Jammui-Jhajja which culminated in a rally and public meeting of 8,000. For the success of this programme one troupe of the '*Jharkhand Abhen*' reached the area for campaigning on Feb. 25<sup>th</sup> itself. They held over 15 programmes with cultural performances in the districts of Bhagalpur, Banka, Jammui and Munger. The final public meeting and rally at the Jhajja Chandramari Football Ground was the first ever March 8<sup>th</sup> programme by the NMS here. The public meeting had a presidium comprising comrades Salma, Vinita and Lallipadi. The speeches, rally and cultural programme went on till 12 at night.

A programme had been fixed for March 12<sup>th</sup> in Vijaygiri of Ranchi district (South Chota Nagpur region). To foil the programme a huge contingent of police occupied the ground from 12<sup>th</sup> morning itself. Seeing this, the NMS decided on a protest demonstration defying the police action. On March 13<sup>th</sup> International Women's day was held with a public meeting and rally in which 1,500 women participated. This too was the first ever programme of NMS held in this place.

On March 15<sup>th</sup> International Women's Day was celebrated at Rajarppa Project in Hazaribagh district. 2,500 people participated in this programme. On March

### Report of the March 8<sup>th</sup> Programmes in Punjab

In Punjab the women are organised under the banner of the Aurat Mukti Manch (AMM). Under this banner three major programmes were organised.

The first and largest was at the Mehraj village near Rampurphul in Bhatinda district. Mehraj village is a very big village of the area and an important centre. For days prior to the programme the AMM did a door to door campaign in the village and also propaganda in about 20 neighbouring villages. Throughout the area posting and distribution of handbills were undertaken and a fund-raising campaign was also undertaken. About 1,100 people attended the meeting on March 13<sup>th</sup>. Speakers at the meeting included the General Secretary of the AMM, com. Sukhwinder Kaur, a state executive member of the students org. com. Verpal Kaur and other speakers from various mass organisations. Besides this there was a lively cultural programme which staged two plays and a song and choreography performance. One of the plays was on women's rights and the other was the famous Gursharan Singh play "*Daughter of Begmo*".

The second programme was in Ajitwal village of Moga District also on March 13<sup>th</sup>. Here too, prior to the programme a campaign was conducted in 15 neighbouring villages and a fund-raising campaign for 10 days. Roughly 600 people attended this programme which was addressed by the state president of the AMM, com. Jasvinder Kaur amongst others. Here again two plays and a song/choreography were performed by a troupe linked to Gursharan Singh.

The third programme was on March 6<sup>th</sup> in village Sahuwalla of Ferozpur district. Posting and campaigning were done in neighbouring villages and 400 attended the programme. A revolutionary cultural troupe from Moga performed on the occasion.

16<sup>th</sup> there were two programmes — one in Jamtalla district of Santhal Parganas, and the other in Meenas Bazar of West Singhbhum district. About 600 people gathered in both places for the public meeting/cultural programme and rally. This was the first such function in Santhal Parganas.

Also on March 16<sup>th</sup> a programme had been fixed in Medninagar of Palamu district. On the day of the programme Medninagar was virtually turned into a police camp. NMS supporters had begun to reach Medninagar from the morning itself from different directions. The police resorted to a cane charge in various places and arrested about 200 women activists. They were detained for two days. On the third day the women gheraoed the police station in protest against the repression and threw stones at the police officials, in which some were injured.

On March 19<sup>th</sup> a programme was held in Palganj of Girdhi district. Here the cultural performance went on through the night. About 1,000 people attended the public meeting and rally. This programme was coordinated by Comrades Salma, Pinki,



Santoshi and Mahesh.

Every year the Nari Mukti Sangh has been holding such programmes all over Jharkhand and Bihar on the occasion of International Women's Day. This has been going on since the year of its formation in 1990. In the process it is able to widely propagate its views and draw more and more women into the revolutionary movement for change. Also it has helped spread the significance of March 8<sup>th</sup> throughout the area and increased the consciousness of women regarding their rights.

## Royalist Coup Besieges Itself in Kathmandu — Imposes great suffering on Nepalese people

(We reprint some news clippings that give an indication of the post-coup situation in Nepal)

The correspondent of Kolkatta Telegraph writing on Feb 6, 2005 noted how successful the CPN(Maoist) Bandh was. **The King of Nepal's writ ran only 25 kilometres outside the capital Kathmandu.** The correspondent said that : "Quoting a local policeman— "Beyond this you drive at your risk. But it'd be better if you don't," the policemen warn us at Sangha, about 25 km east of Kathmandu, on the Arniko Highway that winds through the mountains up to the Chinese border."

"We decide to take the risk and drive up to Dhulikhel, another five kilometers, but can go no farther. The road is blocked beyond this little town, a popular tourist

from Kathmandu, it is not difficult to guess how things are in remoter parts of this mountainous country. It is generally agreed that the Maoists run parallel governments in about 40 of the 75 districts of Nepal."

Sharat Pradhan, Press Trust of India correspondent writing from Bardia, Nepal on February 11, 2005 (see Rediff.com) confirms the above correspondent's report and reports that:

"The monarchy may be holding fort in Kathmandu and the other large urban pockets of this Himalayan kingdom, but the writ of King Gyanendra does not appear to lie beyond these places. As one moves away from the bigger towns, the presence

forces can be seen at every step as one crosses the Indo-Nepal border at Nepalgunj from India's most populous northern state, Uttar Pradesh. Nepalgunj is northwest Nepal's busiest commercial hub"

"Uniformed men of the Nepalese civil police and the Nepalese Armed Security Force can be seen poised for any eventuality inside their barbed-wire fenced units in different parts of Nepalgunj town. Every road junction here is a police picket with barrels of semi-automatic rifles peeping out of holes between systematically stacked sand bags, which serve as bunkers."

"The impact of the royal regime is visible for the next 20km along the east-west national highway from Nepalgunj. However, barely 15 km further down in Bansgarhi village in Bardia district, the scene is different. Not to talk about men in uniform, even the local police station looks abandoned. "No government functionary dares to come here; the Royal Nepalese Army personnel come and survey from helicopters these days", remarked a local shopkeeper."

"The last that we saw the Royal Nepalese Army here was some three months ago, when a huge contingent raided the local lodges and some houses in search of Maoists... but it was of no avail", the shopkeeper told this correspondent."

The Bandh (a form of strike) call by the CPN(Maoist) to protest this illegal Royalist coup has been extraordinarily successful. According to the BBC report of Sunday, February 13, 2005: "The Maoists' call for a blockade coincided with Sunday's ninth anniversary of their uprising. The call for transport to stop moving into and out of the main cities

appeared to have been effective. Traffic around Kathmandu has been reduced to a trickle; the same has happened in the western cities of Pokhara and Nepalganj." The same BBC report further said that : "Purna Shrestha, of the Nepal Transport Entrepreneurs' Federation, told the AFP (Agence France Press) news agency: "Very few vehicles except minibuses are operating in the south eastern part of the country with long route bus services and public goods carriers at a standstill."

In a Kolkatta Telegraph article (February 7, 2005), Deb Mukharji, the former Indian Ambassador to Nepal, states that: "The almost exponential spread of the Maoist insurgency over the past few years was

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resort, in Kavre district. The Maoists have banned all traffic on the road beyond — as part of their three day bandh in protest against King Gyanendra's takeover of the government."

*The same correspondent further adds that: "More than the Maoists, it is the army and the policemen who seemed to be besieged. And that pretty much sums up the situation in large parts of Nepal, five days after the king's dismissal of the government and declaration of the state of emergency."*

**"If the Maoists can so push the security men on one of the two main highways of the kingdom** (the other being the Tribhuvan Highway running down to the Indian border to the south) that is only 20 km away

of Maoist rebels becomes visible. The rebels appeared to be in full command in large parts of Bardia district in north-western Nepal."

"The Maoists have their own FM channel—Rashtriya Jan Gantantra Nepal—blaring out their daily news bulletin in violation of the government ban on news on all 43 private FM radio channels across Nepal."

"While local cops, including the armed police, rarely venture out once it gets dark, military soldiers too move only in groups or contingents and only in vehicles. Everything comes to a standstill at 8pm, when even uniformed gun-toting cops and soldiers are as reluctant to step out on the streets as any commoner. Nepalese security