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In Conversation with Ganapathy, General Secretary of CPI (Maoist)

Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha, January 2010

Far inside the jungles of the Eastern Ghats we met the general secretary of the CPI (Maoists) Ganapathy aka Mupalla Laxman Rao. After welcoming us and inquiring from us whether we, in particular Jan Myrdal, faced any problem having to travel the rough terrain, the interview began. Following is the summary of the interview with him. We have retained the interview in the form in which it was given, read and approved by him with some minor language changes. In particular we draw attention of readers to the General Secretary laying down concisely his party's stance on the issue of talks in light of the disinformation spread by the Union Minister of Home P Chidambaram that CPI (Maoist) had "scoffed" at the Indian Government's offer for talks. Indeed he told us:

To put concisely the main demands that the party has placed in front of the government [of India] for any kind of talks are 1) All-out war has to be withdrawn; 2) For any kind of democratic work, the ban on the Party and Mass Organizations have to be lifted; 3) Illegal detention and torture of comrades had to be stopped and they be immediately released. If these demands are met, then the same leaders who are released from jails would lead and represent the Party in the talks.

However, we consider the full text of the interview of importance for all those who want to know more about the policies of the party which the Government of India considers its main internal security threat.

Q: How do you envisage the linking of this struggle with a general struggle in India in terms of class? Chairman Mao after 1935 took the Long March to Yen-an created a base for national level and part of which was the united front with the Chiang Kai-Shek. Thereby it became the main national power in China. How do you envisage becoming to a national power in India?

A: In China, in which condition Long March to Yen-an took place and created a base and a part of its formation of a United Front with Chiang Kai-Shek for national level is different to our present situation of New Democratic Revolution (NDR) of India. Chinese revolution took place in first half of the 20th century. Since then several significant changes have occurred in the world. Those are, firstly emergence of a Socialist Camp and its subsequent down fall, secondly downfall of colonialism and emergence of neocolonialism, thirdly emergence of so-called parliamentary system as the common political system throughout the world, fourthly, a long gap emerged

in the revolutionary upsurge after success of revolutions in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in spite of some upsurges and significant struggles in several countries. If we look into the entire world history, after emergence of working class on the globe, it is confronting with the bourgeoisie class and all other reactionary forces and seized power from them in Paris for a short-while and then in Russian, China and several European countries for a long time and shocked the entire globe. In this trajectory, there were various ups and downs in the World Socialist Revolution but nonetheless the struggle continuous. It is like waves at times and it slowed down, but it never ceased. So we have to see any revolution of a country in the light of historical context.

In relation to our revolution, first of all I would like to introduce our history in a short account to understand the present condition correctly. Our unified Party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was formed on 21st September 2004 by merging two Maoist revolutionary streams of India, the

Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) [CPI (ML)] [People's War] and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). Our great beloved fore-founder leaders and teachers, Comrades Charu Mazumdar (CM) and Kanhai Chatterji (KC) who led an ideological and political struggle ceaselessly for a long time against revisionism and modern revisionism of Communist Party of India and CPI (Marxist).

Through this struggle only backbone of the revisionist parties' had broken down which resulted in a breakthrough in the Indian communist movement. By the result of this great struggle in all spheres by comrade CM and other genuine Maoists, the great Naxalbari armed peasant uprising broke-out like a Spring-Thunder. Then a new history began. Then onwards our two great leaders upheld the red banner of Naxalbari and lead the New Democratic Revolution. The revolutionary movement spread like prairie-fire to almost all parts of the country in a different scale. During this revolutionary course in a short period two Parties, CPI (ML) and MCC were founded on 22nd April 1969 and 20th October 1969 under the direct leadership of comrades CM and KC respectively. Due to several historical reasons we failed to form a unified Maoist Party at that juncture itself. But our basic ideological and political line, path and strategy of the revolution, and several other basic positions on important questions which we confronted at the same time were basically same.

The Indian ruling classes unleashed a reign of terror on all revolutionary movements starting with the Naxalbari armed agrarian uprising. At the end of 1972, after the arrest and martyrdom of comrade CM and even prior to it we lost a large number of leaders and

cadres in the hands of the enemy. Due to these losses we suffered a countrywide setback. Prior to the martyrdom of comrade CM, intensive internal political and ideological struggle started against right arch-opportunist clique SNS and others in 1971 itself. Party had disintegrated into several groupings due to our serious tactical mistakes, state terror, severe losses, lack of proper leadership and negative effect of two line struggle within the Communist Party of China. Since 1972 July to 1980 our Party, the CPI (ML) was dominated by several splinters most of them lead by right and left-adventurist leadership and disarray spread over. But on the other side, under the leadership of MCC armed agrarian revolutionary peasant struggle in Kanksha took-place and it suffered a setback in a short period due to state terror but steadily expanded to Bihar, and to some extent to Assam and Tripura.

We uphold basic ideological and political line of a genuine Maoist Party, learned lessons from practice, seriously engaged in the class struggle and firmly stood for correct positions on several ideological and political questions which confronted in the country and international arena. Due to these positions only from CPI (ML) Stream, on 1978 the CPI (ML)-Party Unity (PU) and on 22nd April 1980 CPI (People's War) (PW) emerged. Due to this only once again we, MCC, PW and PU Parties build armed agrarian revolutionary movement in different parts of the country, particularly Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. We strengthened our Party, revolutionary mass movement and armed struggle considerably in 1980s and 1990s which culminated in the great unity and formation of our new party in September 2004. Since 1977 a large number of genuine Maoist forces had merged and consolidated in the CPI (ML) [PW], MCCI and CPI (ML)-PU and also still this process is continuing to some extent after the

formation of the new Party. But in this period most of the right and left Maoist groups had been gradually disintegrated and disappeared and some of the right groups still exist even though they are weak. Still a tiny section of Maoist forces exist but they are suffering from sectarianism for a long time.

We opine that our struggle within the CPI and CPM is an integral part of the great struggle conducted in the International Communist Movement headed by the Communist Party of China under the direct leadership of comrade Mao. We also opine that the internal struggle within the CPI (ML) which took-place for several years is connected directly or indirectly with the internal struggle of the CPC even before and after Mao's demise. Modern revisionist Deng clique which usurped power in China damaged much not only to our Party and revolution but also to the world revolution. We firmly stick to Mao Thought and opposed Deng clique and Lin Piao clique. Our experience clearly shows that Indian revolution had influenced a lot with the positive and negative developments of International Communist Movement (ICM).

We, the Indian Maoist Party have traversed through a tortuous path for a long period. After formation of Unified Party, most favorable situation emerged for the advancement of revolution. We lost this good chance between 1969 and 1972. The biggest boon of this merger has been the result of synthesis of over 35 years of experience of Indian revolution. It has given us enriched basic documents in terms of strategy, tactics and policies. Our merger brought about a significant change from two different parties working in distant separate areas or small pockets to a Party with an all India character. Before merger, in-spite of both Parties having CC, there was a serious limitation to them in functioning as Central Bodies with all India perspective. But after

merger, our understanding further enriched about the uneven development of the country and uneven development of the revolutionary movement. Now we can plan at an all India level in a better way. It is not at complete but at least the disadvantages have been done away with. A clearer and enriched line has emerged in terms of both India and world context. And other aspect in this advantage, is that it had its effect internationally too. Before this, mostly we could not see this much of international support. But, still it is nascent, nonetheless it had developed. In recent years, we suffered several losses. Despite which we have to think how to avoid this much of losses. But our CC has said that we should avoid mistakes to avoid losses and boldly face the enemy and go ahead.

At present in our country other Maoist Parties are not in a position to provide leadership to the masses due to their right deviationist line and limited strength. The progressive and democratic forces are lacking any revolutionary basic program of action and also at present they are having a limited area of influence. Besides all these limitations no party has people's armed force to defend. I reiterate that at present no one Party or Organization is capable enough to be a rallying centre for all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces and people.

Hence, at present juncture our Party can play a significant role in rallying all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces and people. Because our party has an all India character, good political militant mass base in several States, a People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) fighting enemy in several States and emerging New Democratic People's power in Dandkaranya [an area in central India which comprises predominately tribal districts of five states of India namely Andhra Pradesh,

Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa], Jharkhand and some other parts of India. We have a clear-cut understanding to unify all revolutionary, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and all oppressed social communities including oppressed nationalities against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our New Democratic United Front (UF) consists of four democratic classes, i.e. workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. If we wish to form a strong United Front then it must be under the leadership of proletariat, basing on worker and peasant alliance. If we wish to form a strong United Front then it must be supported and defended by the People's Army. Without People's Army people have nothing to achieve or to defend. Hence enemy is seriously trying to eliminate our Party leadership with the aim of destroying a revolutionary and democratic centre of Indian people. So the condition has matured further to rally around one centre and revolution could go ahead under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist).

At the same time, the world economic crisis, the anti-people and pro-imperialist policies of the Indian ruling classes and the rising state repression, infuriated the masses in the country increasing the revolutionary scope now that there is a single revolutionary party. For a long time, since Comrade CM's martyrdom, India was lacking a single revolutionary platform. Even in the international scenario, there were many cleavages in the Maoist movements. In this particular juncture the emergence of our Party provides new hope to the people.

I want to say that the Party has no illusion about the so called parliamentary system and knows well Indian state's might as well as we clearly know our limitations and shortcomings, even after unity

[formation of Communist Party of India (Maoist)] and the weaknesses of Maoist forces in the country and other countries.

The favorable revolutionary conditions, the widespread bitter class struggle rising in Indian society and the development of the armed struggle are being keenly observed by the enemy who is taking it most seriously. So, no opportunity is being given to these struggles by the Indian ruling classes who are also compradors of imperialism. So immediately in the context of world revolution also putting together the experiences of Philippines, Peru, Nepal, and India, imperialism is most concerned about the development of a bitter class struggle emerging in India. In the present situation of world, if the Maoist revolution in India can advance to a new stage, it will become a grave threat to world capitalist system. That is why imperialism, particularly America has taken these developments seriously.

So, on the one side, there are more favorable conditions for revolution, and on the other side there is enemy's full onslaught to suppress the revolution. In this situation, our entire plan is to fully utilize the favorable conditions while resisting the enemy which will determine our plan.

In this context, at present, main hurdle in the way of Indian Revolution is the all-out war unleashed by the enemy. This war is principally against Maoist movement but not limited to this movement and aimed enough against all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic movements and the movements of oppressed communities of our society including oppressed nationalities. At this juncture, all these forces have to think together how to face this mighty enemy and for this how to unite to go ahead.

How can we resolve the problem of all-out war? For resolution of any problem, we have to analyze it deeply

to identify the root cause of the problem. Firstly, why this war? Who's imposing it? On whom it is imposing? What is the nature of this war? How long it continues? Can we accept this war or not? Who should counter it? How to counter it? What is the aim of resistance to war? etc.

This war is meant for destroying the revolution which is gradually emerging as an alternative political power to the existing reactionary political power in the country and plundering massive minerals and other rich natural resources of the vast areas of Adivasi people and other local people from Lalgarh to Surjagarh. They are imposing this war on those who are against this war, i.e. Maoist revolutionaries, Adivasi and local people of the vast forest areas, workers, peasants, urban middle class, small and medium bourgeoisie, Dalit, women, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities, democratic organizations, progressive and patriotic forces who comprise more than 95% of the population. It is completely an unjust war. This war is imposed by the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie, Feudal forces of this country and imperialists, particularly America. These are real looters, plunderers, corrupters, blackmailers, hoarders, scamsters, murderers, conspirators, oppressors, suppressers, autocrats, fascists, most reactionaries and number one traitors. These reactionaries plan to continue this war for a long time till they achieve their goal.

Any Maoist, democrat, progressive, patriot, and people will not accept this unjust war imposed by the rulers. People will completely oppose this unjust, most cruel, inhumane and treacherous war. It will be defied by all people of our country and people of world. This unjust war is totally against the interest of the people and the interest of the country. People will unite and counter this unjust war by waging a just war. People will never tolerate any kind

of unjust war. In the history of entire class society people never tolerated any kind of unjust war forever but they fought back every unjust war by paying price of their own blood and ultimately won it. Immediate aim of this just war is to defeat the unjust war completely and then advance towards changing present social conditions which are giving scope to unjust wars. If we look at the political developments of the country, this inhumane all-out war is giving a tremendous scope to unite vast masses of people and certainly it will become counter productive to the ruling classes.

After 15th August 1947 we never saw such integration of Indian economy, defense, internal security, polity, culture and entire state with the imperialists, particularly with the US imperialists. Nuclear Deal and several defense deals, glaring interference after terrorist attacks in Mumbai on 26th November 2008 and Union Home Minister Chidambaram's visit to US and crucial agreements related to internal security are some glaring instances. Due to this significant change the Indian expansionists are playing a crucial role in the South-Asia. The fundamental contradiction between imperialism and Indian people has further sharpened. It will give great scope to unite people against imperialists and fight back imperialism.

From several decades entire Kashmir and North East are under military and paramilitary domination. On the other hand drastic change has been seen in internal security due to role of military in the internal security. Indian army was deployed at the time of historic Telangana armed agrarian revolution (1946-52) and for a short-while [in 1971] in some pockets of West Bengal after great Naxalbari peasant armed uprising of 1966. But today in long term perspective, the Indian army is being reorganized. Under the dictates of global war against terror, three years

back Indian army has declared its new policy [Doctrine of Sub-conventional Warfare] to deal with internal security and needs of the modern war with other countries. Under this restructured plan Indian army is training a large number of its forces according to needs of wide-spread counter-insurgency operations. Now onwards Indian army is being used in a vast area of our country against its own people in the name of internal security. If it [Indian Government] is really a people's government, how can it use its own army against its own people? The Indian state is functioning as an autocratic and fascist rule in the garb of democracy. All the gains that were made by revolutionary and democratic people's struggles are being challenged by the fascists. But this will also force the vast masses of the people to unite and resist with whatever means to defend and ultimately it will also become counter-productive to the ruling classes.

We must also talk about the current world economic crisis, particularly crisis of US imperialists and other imperialist countries. This crisis is in certain aspects even deeper than the great depression of 1930s. But capitalism does not die on its own without a revolution. Now to come out of this crisis imperialism will try to increase exploitation of working class and middle class of its own countries and increase plunder of third world countries. Multi National Corporations (MNCs) and Comprador Bourgeoisie (CBB), the collaborators of imperialists are concentrated on the large tracts extended from Lalgahar in Bengal to Surjagarh in Maharashtra. To exploit this rich region, primarily Adivasi (tribal) region, state and central governments have signed 100s of MOUs (Memorandum of Understanding). Indiscriminate loot of this region will destroy environment and bring long term ecological changes. The most oppressed community of

Indian society, the Adivasis and local people have come under a great threat. Probably for the first time in the world, such huge populations of indigenous people are being threatened. A new situation is being created and with a concrete program these oppressed sections must advance. It is evident that without the emancipation of these people, we cannot advance nor the Indian revolution succeeds. Our Party is working on this problem and more and more people will unite and fight back the arch enemies of the Indian people, namely the imperialists, CBB, feudals and fascist state.

People of North Eastern oppressed nationalities and Kashmiri are fighting for their liberation for decades. They have advanced to some extent and faced unprecedented sufferings. But they did not succeed and still they are continuing their fight. While we have had some successes in guerilla warfare, they (oppressed nationalities) see some hope in the Maoists. There is a new hope that if the Maoist revolution advances, it will hasten the national liberation struggles also. In this context, in accordance with MLM (Marxism Leninism and Maoism) the Party had always maintained the position of the right to self-determination including secession of all oppressed nationalities. They (oppressed nationalities) understand this policy and their fight need to be strengthened. This has to be utilized to unite with them and try for a united front. For instance, when the Naga forces were deployed in Chhattisgarh or when the Mizo battalions were placed here, there were some protests in Nagaland and Mizoram respectively by soldiers' own family members as well as by the democratic people. They said that they oppose the war on people; they don't want to send their children for suppressing other people. Strategically it is creating a better condition to unite people of all nationalities, workers, peasants, middle class and national

capitalists, and the suppression going on everywhere on the people is gradually becoming counter-productive to the rulers itself.

Overall, enemy has declared all-out war on the people in the name of internal security, and in the name of danger from Maoists. We are relatively strong in several rural areas of the country. But at present our forces are weak, we are weak in urban areas, and we are also weak in workers and among petty-bourgeoisie. People's army too is weak and its weapons are inferior to the enemy. These are our weaknesses in general. To strengthen the people's army and work in urban areas are some of most important urgent tasks. The Unity Congress of our Party has clearly announced a strategic plan and has given enriched documents for improving in these fields. On the other hand, social contradictions are sharpening very fast. Along with above urgent tasks, our Party is concentrating to unite more and more people. If we succeed in this, we can make a leap in the revolution. We are hopeful about the emergence of a united front. In this new situation, it is one of the foremost tasks of Indian revolution. We strongly feel that it is not only our task but the task of all revolutionary, democratic, progressive forces.

Along with this, contradiction within the enemy classes is sharpening. It can be seen in Nandigram and to some extent in the Lalgarh struggles. We are utilizing this contradiction and it is necessary to utilize everywhere to advance the class struggle. We are also working with other democratic organizations and people and some individuals belonging to ruling classes on different issues of the masses by forming tactical fronts. We and all fighting Parties, Organizations and people have to understand the importance of unity between them and formation of a united front. We are providing impetus to unity of the people and building a strategic united front and

tactical fronts. This strategic united front will be between the oppressed people against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. In spite of intensification of the contradiction between imperialism and Indian people our country is not attacked by any imperialist country or has not become a direct colony by any other means. So, at present our condition is different from that of China in mid 1930s in which CPC formed an anti-imperialist united front against Japan imperialism.

Q: How would the Party deal with the difficulties in the formation of the united front and along with the objective conditions, what does the party think about the subjective conditions in today's scenario?

A: Comrades, as the first aspect, Maoist party would like to become a centre for the people of the country and their development, represent their aspirations. We are representing above 95% of population. There is more favorable objective condition for uniting people and people also want a party that will serve their interests. We are not working for partial reform within the bourgeois and exploitative system. We are fighting for the socio-economic demands of the people as well as for the qualitative change of the very basic structure of the society. If we succeed in clearly explaining it to the people, we will succeed to mobilize and organize them in the war and will win.

Whenever protracted people's war, as well as national liberation war had been fought, experience shows that without mass base, army, liberated area, people did not succeed in forming a strong united front. In course of revolutionary struggle, forming army and establishing base areas we can form several tactical united fronts and even fragile strategic united front. We have to strive hard to mobilize masses in the war against their enemies and build own army and establish stable base areas and

march forward to build a strong united front.

Q: What are the ways and methods to win-over friends?

A: For broadest possible unity, we cannot have sectarian approach towards friends of NDR [new democratic revolution]. At present several forces are lined up against the enemy. We have to let them develop too. In the united front on some issues, there would also be representatives of oppressive classes. We can not expect them join our ranks, which is a long way ahead. Right now we need to firmly stick to our strategic goal, and for that tactically we need to remain flexible.

More clearly, there are two different kinds of United Fronts. One, between people, and the other between people and enemy (a section/group/ persons from enemy classes) using the contradictions among the enemy. Party has to do that. This scope is there to some extent on some issues. We call it the indirect reserves of the revolution which can be used carefully. If we have clear understanding that they are not our class allies, then we would not have right opportunist deviations. We need united fronts of this kind for the success of the revolution. The Indian Left largely, like CPI and CPM, had trailed behind the bourgeoisie and degenerated.

Last aspect is each class has a separate class interest and a world view. The united front in this sense is also a struggle front. But overall if the struggle is against the main enemy, then this struggle becomes secondary, while unity becomes primary. The real issue is how this struggle and unity can be balanced and used effectively. The enemy classes will never side with the people. Even after the seizure of power, struggle will continue within the society for a long time. So, united front and class struggle should continue simultaneously. For that it is an utmost important task is to concentrate on the ideological and political education of

the masses. If we can do this successfully, then we can win-over those sections too and allow them to join our ranks. These parties also have people under a corrupt leadership. If we can win-over the people through political and ideological struggle, we can win-over large number of their primary membership. Revolutionary breakthrough is linked to this process. The Chinese and Nepalese Party have developed through leaps and bounds by doing the same. Both the cadre force as well as the army can expand through this politically and ideologically also. If this dialectical relationship between the united front and the political and ideological struggle can be handled carefully, we will succeed in forming a strong united front and isolate the main enemy.

Ideologically the bourgeois class influence can be removed on the basis of the historical lessons of Marxism as a scientific theory. By doing this, we can win-over people and even change their world outlook and transform them with Marxist outlook.

We have talked about our basic understanding of a united front. About the subjective conditions the revolutionary intellectuals and democratic people are aligned in a favorable position for people. But this has to be made practically beneficial. The second question being the fierce repression, how can all this be achieved?

We recognize that we are a small Party still. But our real strength lies in Marxist ideology, the classes it represent, its line and policies. And to achieve united front what are the methods? CBB, landlords and imperialists are the enemy against whom vast masses need to be united on the basis of mass line and class line. If we keep to the interests of the masses and use both the mass line and class line correctly, we will definitely succeed and develop from a small force

to a big national force.

Q. But practically how do you do it?

A. I talked about our strength even while we are physically small. I described where our main strength lies. But physical strength is also needed to fight. We need powerful army and strong mass base along with strong Party. This is practically a must. If this is not there, no matter how strong we are ideologically, it would lead to failure. So, we have to grow. For this, while facing the enemy repression, we have to use the correct tactics. In our assessment, enemy is going for all-out war. But it is creating its own trap. If we can understand that and effectively handle our guerilla war, we will succeed.

In practical terms there are two issues. One, Ruling class contradictions: There exist old contradictions in the society and new contradictions that will emerge among the ruling classes that must and should be utilized for the advantage of the people. Not only to defeat enemy and for immediate gains, but for a longer revolutionary purpose, this is required. We should strengthen our mass base and fronts which are the main shields of our power. Comrade Mao said that for developing army and war people are the decisive. We must mobilize the vast masses against the enemy and utilize the contradictions of the enemy to smash them one after another.

Second, while waging guerilla war in Andhra we had a setback; but we have not completely abandoned; nonetheless it is a setback. From Godavari valley (in Andhra Pradesh) to Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand to West Bengal border, we have to intensify and expand guerilla war. Enemy must be resisted by our forces but it must be according to our advantage basing on the concrete situation. At present we have to utilize cleverly the tactics of hit and run

basically. We have to develop guerilla war into mobile war and guerilla army into a regular army. We need active involvement of people. Our strength lies in the people. The enemy will strive to limit us to armed confrontation only. And they want to limit us to a limited area. They are dividing our areas into various sections and encircle us. But we can also chase their base camps like honey bees by mobilizing the people. In areas where the enemy camps are located, even in those villages, we have Revolutionary People's Committees where work is still going on. Hundreds of people built up ponds in complete knowledge of the security forces in the camps.

So as the enemy is splitting our masses, we are also trying to expand our base, and trying to encircle the enemy camps/bases. We have to keep in mind the strategic importance of guerilla war. They are bringing 1 lakh (100,000) soldiers. They have decided to bring and deploy Rashtriya Rifles (a special contingent of Indian army's counter-insurgency force) from Jammu and Kashmir. But still Lalgargh to Surjagarh means crores (one crore equals ten million) of people. If we succeed in actively mobilizing the masses to fight back the enemy forces, then we can make this very war a basis for revolutionary change. It is definitely a challenge before us but we are confident that there is an advantage in the long run which cannot be achieved in a short period. But unlike what the enemy wants, to finish this in a short period, we want to stretch this war and transform the situation to our advantage favorable to the revolution.

They are trying to limit our area, while we are attempting to expand. They are building Gram Suraksha Samithis to fight so-called anti-socials and thereby doing their best to contain us. But people are inviting us. Even new, less experienced cadres who are meagerly armed are being asked to visit these areas by the people. For example,

Sonebhadra in the Orissa, the villages invited us themselves. Then again our plans to expand from Raigad to Nayagad in the form of Operation Ropeway under which the Nayagad Raid was orchestrated enabled us to expand into this area in as little as 8-10 months. So, the Nayagad raid not only had military significance but also political significance as there was strategic reasons behind the raid. Then again Operation Vikas was undertaken to expand into the Manpur (Chattisgarh) area in the plains. And people are inviting us and their confidence is on the high. If we expand in this way, we will grow definitely and expand the guerilla war. If we proceed like this and successfully stretch the war, then in the longer run the political and economic situations are bound to change and under pressure the state will crumble. Presently, the state is willfully spending in military expenses, but as the war stretches and expand in to newer and newer areas, the more it will spend in the longer run it would lead to failure. We are waging our war with this strategic plan.

I already explained the second aspect of this question in my answer to your first question.

Q: Is it possible at this juncture for the Party to be at the centre of United Front? For instance, while working in Delhi where the Party is weak, how does it envisage a united front?

A: It is an utmost important task to keep the Party in the centre of united front. I already answered first aspect of your question in my answer to your first question.

About my second aspect for your question, in Delhi if you could do that it would be easier to work. But that is not the condition today. So, the party after analyzing the situation, decided to keep the party in centre through various other means possible. There are other means – through other Maoist forces, democratic and other progressive

forces. And therefore, in places like Delhi, where there is limited scope for the Party directly, we have to work in other ways. Our forces must rise to the occasion, deploy capable forces for united front, identify the most reliable forces and organize a joint understanding at any important place. Different arrangements need to be made. Other democratic, progressive and Maoist forces need to be brought together and in the interim they should be made to lead.

Q: The situation in the early days of the Lalgarh movement was such that intellectuals in large numbers came out in support of the Lalgarh movement. But of late, the intellectuals have had differences in terms of the later stages of the movement, and the focus has been shifted to such issues as opposition to laws like Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). How do you perceive the situation?

A: If I had the latest state committee report, it would have been easier for me to answer this question. But still I would like to say that initially there was lot of support among urban intelligentsia. Now depending upon the enemy's onslaught and the nature of struggle, it will also lead to changes in reaction to the support base. Some people may also go over to the opposition side of the Lalgarh movement. In Bengal, our influence in the Civil liberty groups and in urban areas is not much strong. We need to do more to develop this. We need to strengthen our work in urban areas. A lot would depend on our work there and the development of Lalgarh movement to a higher stage. There is a lot of difference between working among the basic masses and working among intellectuals as the latter involves several complex factors. In this context, if the intellectuals are united around any issue, even being UAPA, considering that it is not in contradiction to the larger struggle, it would be positive for us. Those who

cannot come to directly support the violent phases of the movement can come together in other issues like that. So, demands may change but these must be slogans of the people. And both Lalgarh and new slogans need to be balanced.

I would say that the Party will definitely take positive criticisms from any quarter of people even those who may not agree with our basic line but stood up for people. We welcome criticism from people to rectify our mistakes and strengthen our Party. The movement against UAPA is bound to be used in immediate and long term interest of the people. And in general terms, as such any mobilization in this field in the longer run is not contradictory to the interests of the Party.

Q: Where do you place democracy in the working of the Party? Meaning the right to strike, the right to dissent, and the right to freedom of expression.

A: This is a very important question; however there is no confusion in our Party. We need a new democratic state in which other than CBB, the landlords and imperialists all others will have real or genuine freedom. Other than enemies of the people, for everybody there would be real or genuine democracy. In addition, I may say that while preparing Policy Program of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs)/Janatana Sarkars, we have studied the experience of Gram Rajyas of historic Telangana armed agrarian revolution, Policy Program of Chinese Soviets, People's Barrio committees of the Philippines, Revolutionary People's Committees of Peru, United Revolutionary People's Councils of Nepal and also studied the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In accordance with above we have all the fundamental rights including that every voter has the right to recall any elected person. Even has the right to bring any one in position of authority who works

against interest of the people to court in order to prosecute them.

In terms of the four great freedoms declared by Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution, other than the character posters on the wall, all the rest freedoms have been ensured by the Policy Program of the RPC/Janathan Sarkar. As the level of development in the Janatana Sarkar advances we would also follow the freedom for character posters. According to the constitution no physical punishment for political opposition will be allowed, anybody had right to politically differ and even unionize. The Indian state is trying to control dissent and therefore people want revolution. We would not repeat the same mistake. Besides, for any mistakes in prosecution, the person has the right to appeal to the village Revolutionary People's Committee, to higher levels and even to the Party. For instance, in one of the extension areas, there was an incident where in collusion with the Inspector General of Police, 33 members belonging to two villages became agents of the enemy. In this context our comrades went and handled the issue. While villagers wanted to give capital punishment to the main agent of the police, party interceded to give a chance to that person to realize his mistake.

Q: In a united front, everybody might not join. Some Maoist outfits and democratic organizations can even remain outside. How will you handle that?

A: Those in opposition are people's enemies and more than 95% of the oppressed people would be against them. But even 5% is a big number in the Indian context. Our Party believes that over the course of the protracted peoples' war it gives scope to destroy the enemy's political power both directly as well as culturally as many followers are helped to transform. In China, Madam Sun Yet Sen till the last day was in power, although never a member of the Party. They can stay only

as long as they serve people and have support of the people. When socially and politically they will become irrelevant, they will automatically vanish. It is possible for them to win in elections if such parties have support of the people. This provision is there in our policy Program of RPCs too even other persons belonging to other Parties/Organizations can join RPCs if they are voters and they have right to be elected to RPCs. This being our understanding, it has to be practically practiced on ground too. We have to develop this sphere. Nepal had made some advances in this respect.

We give scope to small and medium bourgeoisie to grow with some restrictions so that they may not become anti-people, and black marketing, stock piling and speculating can be controlled. We only restrict big capital of CBB and foreign. For instance in 1998-99 the government had stopped small traders to deal in forest products, so as the Khirjas (local traders) protested we fought for them in a movement, though we stopped usury and have controlled indiscriminate exploitation, we are not stopping products from outside to come in. This is capitalist development of one kind, but we are controlling it. It is needed to develop the people's economy. If traders did not cooperate, how would we have survived? Under the Janatana Circar, the trade and industry department is handling the small traders so that the bourgeois outside cannot take advantage. So full freedom continues even if there are collaborators attempting to win them over. It is only in life and death context, that physical punishment is allowed. However right now, while facing repression and war, we are in a complex situation which has to be acknowledged.

Q: What is your party's stance on talks?

A: In general people and Maoist revolutionaries do not want violence or armed confrontation with anybody. In

unavoidable condition only they take-up arms and resist their enemies and they are waging liberation war by learning from the history. So, we see this as a war of self-defense. In this context of all-out war, we must recognize that the state of Andhra Pradesh has 130 thousand forces; there are 45 thousand forces in Chhattisgarh (to soon increase this by more than 20 thousand forces), 160 thousand forces in Maharashtra. Thus each state has a police force which is more than the national level forces of many European countries. The most cruel and dangerous special forces have been trained by the state along with various anti-people draconian laws. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh along with Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh has between them more than 700 to 800 thousand of police forces. Out of this, 250 to 300 thousand police forces are directly engaged against the people. And alongside 100 thousand central paramilitary forces have been deployed in these areas. Here people are combating against a stronger force than the movements in North East and Jammu-Kashmir. This is a brutal and violent repression campaign aimed at the suppression of the political movement of the people, and for exploitation of the minerals.

In this context, if possible we can hope for some respite. Longer the respite is better for people. Democratic work needs this context. But while government is holding automatic gun on one hand, one cannot talk about this. People will keep fighting. While pumping bullets people never drop weapons and people never surrender. All democratic, progressive, patriotic forces need to unite and fight against the all-out war on the people by the central and state governments. To put concisely the main demands that the party has placed in front of the government for any kind of talks are 1. All-out war has to be withdrawn; 2) For any kind of democratic work, the ban

on the Party and Mass Organizations have to be lifted; 3) Illegal detention and torture of comrades had to be stopped and immediately released. If these demands are met, then the same leaders who are released from jails would lead and represent the Party in the talks.

Introduction on the Development of our Party

Since Jan Myrdal wrote the book "India Waits" in 1980s in which he talked about the movement there have been several developments in various aspects both political and military. It was since then, that we saw the development of a perspective, taking into account the concrete Indian specificity. There were only few experienced leaders that were left from the days of Com. CM. Many had gone into right deviation, some into left deviation and only few had come here. So, largely it was a new generation, a new youth, and to turn them into experienced cadre, a lot of time had to be invested. When you Jan Myrdal had come here in 1980, the party was still undergoing this problem.

It was only another 6-7 years that proper leadership would emerge in the context of PW. When JM visited AP in 1980, that time there was only CPI (ML) state committee along with the Tamil Nadu State Committee. There was also a Central Committee but of course only confined to these two states, its scope was limited. The MCC was working in Bengal and Bihar in that period; however in Bengal it was very weak. In the same way PW was working in AP and Tamil Nadu, but in TN it was very weak. It is a retrospective observation of work in these two centers, in these two regions. Com. Kobad Gandhi and some other comrades from Maharashtra later joined PW. In MCC Com. KC started some work including Assam but in a very limited way. Now we have presence in 20 states but the Party is

still very weak in many of these areas. So there is an uneven development under the protracted people's war where according to our strength there are different levels of the movement in different regions. In this context, we must observe the development and the role of a revolutionary party which is important and which I will say.

Comrades, in 1980s the Party was trying to emerge from a setback. It was trying to reorganize and consolidate. On the one side, there was the problem of sectarianism and on the other hand, the mass base was largely lost. So we had to revive every thing both in terms of mass struggle and military. Accordingly, our tactics also changed. At that time it was mainly the anti-feudal struggles and the anti-imperialist propaganda-agitation that had been launched to create an anti-state opinion and open movements in the urban areas.

Previously, under Com. Charu Mazumdar the line had been to disregard mass organizations. Later we rethought and after going through an intense self-critical review, we acknowledged that there were some mistakes in the earlier years and on that basis, in order to advance, we rebuilt the movement. The Self-Critical Review was made in 1974; it was by 1977 August that forces within the party were convinced. And in practice it was reaffirmed by Party AP State Conference in September 1980 that marks the beginning of a new practice.

It was since then, that we saw the development of a perspective, taking into account the concrete Indian specificity. There was only few experienced leadership that were left from the days of Com. CM. Many had gone into right deviation, some into left deviation and only few had come here. So, largely it was a new generation, a new youth, and to turn them into experienced cadre, a lot of time had to be invested. When you had come here, the party was still undergoing this

problem. It was only another 6-7 years that proper leadership would emerge in the context of PW.

First a revolutionary party needs a leadership for understanding national and international conditions, as well as the economic and political conditions to make tactics accordingly. Some of the perspectives that I talked of, in the post-80s period, if we add those experience, we would see that in later years we had made some developments in this sphere of understanding.

Secondly, a revolutionary party needs to organize people and lead class struggle. From the strategic perspective plans were made and spots were selected and some development was made since 1980s in terms of people struggling under leadership of the party which came up as a concrete development.

Thirdly, for a revolutionary party, it is important to organize armed struggle. The CP Reddy group had the name of the CPI (ML) and was part of the PCP under the leadership of SNS. It was only they who had some squads in the Godavari area at that time which you had visited. People's War had started some armed squads in the shape of peasant squads only then, while they already had 60-70 armed cadres by that time.

Later as we developed class struggle according to the idea of area wise seizure of power, to build people's army, the PW here and the MCC there started making armed guerilla squads at the levels of 5,7,9,11. Some platoons and guerilla zones thereby emerged. In some areas just before the 2004 merger, even companies emerged. The erstwhile PW had People's Guerilla Army while MCC had People's Liberation Guerilla Army. In the merger process we found the PLGA under CPI (Maoist). The next stage is battalions moving progressively towards the formation of PLA. Depending on the basic tenets, we have evolved the higher

stages of political and military power and the political power of the people. The vision was there even before the 80s. MCC was also there. But practically it was only achieved in terms of concrete development after the merger.

There are two more developments that I would like to point out. A party which in practice is evolving tactics or policy involving a large mass in its rank and files has to practice involving people in thousands and lakhs (a lakh equals one hundred thousand). In practice, while facing the problem and while rectifying the mistakes there were bitter internal and external struggle. It is only through the process of this bitter ideological and political struggle that we have reached today's position. After the rectification and review of 70s, the PW had emerged and it had to face grave internal crisis in the form of 1. Sectarianism and dogmatism in the mid-80s, and 2. the hurdle posed by the leadership of Com. Kondapalli Seetharamiah in the beginning of 90s. Then again, the clashes between MCC and PW had been a bitter and unforgettable experience, a black chapter in history. In order to face ideological and political challenges, the party tactically evolved two approaches: discussion and review and struggle. All three times the party emerged successfully from the crisis. The MCC also in the same way emerged from its own internal crisis. A section of it intended to continue the fight; there were also differences pertaining to Maoism and dogmatism through which it emerged successfully. The PU too fought against forces that opposed protracted people's war and agrarian revolution and emerged successfully. The PW and MCC even at this stage get smaller while the Vinod Mishra and Satya Narain Singh groups get stronger and influential. While VM moved to left opportunism, SNS moved into right opportunism. And in practice, they split and finally faced virtual

liquidation with extremely nominal presence today.

Earlier, along with the fight against revisionism we faced the problem of having a line that only talked of seizing state power and that other political question like the nationality question, the women question, the dalit (untouchables or scheduled castes) question and the question of religious minorities would automatically be addressed. However, later we rectified this stand and merged both immediate slogans and ultimate slogans together. This was a must for the success of NDR and development towards it. While various other ML groups only raised immediate slogans and thereby went into reformism, we for a long time only gave the ultimate slogan. But now, by putting together both immediate and ultimate slogans we move towards better development.

For Party education, there are several Party Magazines at Central, State and District level. Around 25 of them are Party's. Several others are Mass Organizations' Magazines, e.g. centrally we are publishing People's War/Laal Pathaaka, an Ideological and Political Magazine simultaneously in English and Hindi and in other languages; Awami Jung, a Military Magazine in different languages; Maoist Information Bulletin in English. (In DK we are publishing following Magazines(1. Prabhath (Hindi, Party Political Magazine)(2. Viyyukka (Ideological and Political Magazine, in Gondi/Koyam) (3. Padiyora Pollo (Military Magazine, Gondi/Koyam) (4. Sangharsharath Mahila (KAMS Magazine, in Hindi) (5. Jhankar (Literary and Cultural Magazine in multi-lingual) (At Division/District level in Gondi/Koyam: South Bastar Division: Pituri (Rebellion); West Bastar Division: Midangur (Fireplace); Darbha Division: Moyil Gudrum (Thunder); North and South Divisions of

Gadichiroli: Poddhu (Sun); Maad and North Bastar Joint Division: Bhoomkal (Earthquake); East Bastar Division: Bhoomkal Sandesh (Rebellion Message). Other than this the Janatana Sarkar also has made a Magazine called Janatana Raj (People's State).

There are also study classes that are organized with study notes and syllabus. Political classes are organized at different state levels, some times rectification campaigns are organized for 4-6 months to one year when the history of the Chinese, Philippines and Peru revolutions are discussed for political and ideological training. There are military instructor teams for military schools and Awami Jung as the military magazine of Central Committee.

The Party in the DK area faces the problem of illiteracy and lack of primary education and so we organized the MAS (mobile education) for the purpose of primary academic education of party cadres. Hundreds of cadres have been trained since its beginning. The mass organizations also run academic programs with their own syllabus which is made in consultation with the leadership and committee members.

Introduction on the Development of People's Army (at present called People's Liberation Guerilla Army)

I request you refer our central documents for complete picture of our army development in specific conditions of the country and in which international situation it is formed. I request you to give attention on this due to its vitality in any revolution

Introduction on the Development of UF

In terms of mass organizations, we over the years, developed in several fronts including peasant, women, students, youth, civil rights groups, literary and cultural groups, children, nationality, workers, employees and so

on. The stronger the party in a state, the larger the organization and the fronts. In the weaker areas there are fewer mass organizations at the state level in accordance with the strength of the party. Right now, the party has mass organizations both at the state and all India level, and the idea is to represent the four-class organizations in accordance with the four-class alliance and other sections too. With the emphasis is being to mass organizations, we presently have 30-40 of them working in various fronts. During by the 80s MCC had few mass organizations working secretly in a limited scope. In AP the peasantry, the students and the literary-cultural sections along with the youth had some influence but now with the development of our understanding different mass organizations from village level to the state level to the all India level exist. In the 9th Congress of the PW it was decided to develop mass organizations and united fronts which would be issue-based and tactical. At some issues even enemy classes and local leaders could come together in immediate and medium terms. These developed further after the merger. So the class struggle needs to be waged at sectional, underground as well as open levels. Legal opportunities needs to be utilized, there are some mass organizations working with MLM general guideline, while there are some that are working under complete cover

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Though these favourable conditions exist for the advancement of the movement, we are facing limitations in the following matters - the strength of Janathana Circars, mass base, military strength, the extent of the area of our movement, the help and assistance this movement is getting from all over the country and from other countries, the stronger areas of movement in our country. Added to these, the setback of the AP movement, the severe leadership losses our party suffered in the country

even with others.

On International Relations

In the 1980s beginning both MCC and PW had been regional in scope, because of which we failed to a large extent in connecting at the larger international movements. However mid-1990s onwards, both Parties and particularly after the formation of the CPI (Maoist) is now playing a role internationally too. We are participating in international debates and sending delegations to international forums though much progress needs to be made in this front. It is nonetheless better than in the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of RIM, MCC had joined it in 2002. The PW however opposed to join in RIM as it believed that it is only after thorough deliberations, understandings and discussions that such an international platform could be evolved in order to avoid a sectarian approach. Therefore the PW did not join the RIM, while MCC went ahead. After merger, though it was decided that whatever the new Party decided would be put to practice. And since then as per the decision of the whole Party, it kept itself out of RIM. We kept outside RIM which by now has become virtually defunct.

It is important for the success of the Indian revolution as an inseparable part of great world socialist revolution to actively defend MLM, fight

and DK becoming the focal point for the enemy's offensive etc are the actual conditions which should be kept in mind while formulating tactics and we should prepare ourselves for tough battles.

We had already decided from a strategic view, the following tasks for the liberation of DK – extension, strengthening party, people's army, people's organizations and Janathana Circars and enhancing their quality, united front – utilizing the

imperialism and support the class struggle throughout the world and also take the support of the International Maoist Parties/Organizations/Forces, proletariat and people. For this purpose, we maintain fraternal relations with Maoist and anti-imperialist forces. We believe that it is both important to extend help as well as take international help for the success of any revolution but because of the ongoing repression. Overall, I once again say that we stuck to basics of MLM. We invite critical suggestions from any Maoist Party/Organization.

We believe that CPI (Maoist) is a detachment of world proletariat revolution. If it succeeds, we would say one part of the world would succeed - it is not independent. It would work as a part of the world socialist revolution and it is strictly related to the success or failure of the world socialist revolution. More working class struggles in the imperialist/capitalist countries will have a favorable impact on Indian revolution.

Jan Myrdal is a Swedish author, political writer, journalist, and advocate of anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and popular liberation movements; Gautam Navlakha is the editorial consultant of EPW (Economic and Political Weekly) and also a leading democratic rights activist attached to People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), Delhi.

PM

contradictions among the enemies, developing the mass struggles breaking out spontaneously into consolidated struggles, education, training, arming, preservation of our subjective forces, rectification etc. All these tasks should be carried out in a planned manner. We must strive very hard to carry on all political, military, organizational, educational etc campaigns with more coordination. We must utilize the new power – the Janathana Circars to fulfill these tasks successfully.

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India's Dubious Role in Copenhagen

THE Government, says the author, needs to replace its self-righteous 'development' rhetoric with concrete action on the environment. For a start, it could reconsider the planned mining projects that will damage the environment on a gigantic scale.

Handcuffed nation

Kobad Ghandy proposes that India begins making amends primarily by reconsidering its planned mining projects.

His name no longer draws a blank. More than the reams of revolutionary essays he has written since turning rebel, it was Kobad Ghandy's dramatic arrest in Delhi last September that set people abuzz, people who he would have termed the 'petty bourgeoisie'. After his arrest, there were debates even among people who normally skip the main newspaper for the glamour supplements. They wondered how a man who studied at the prestigious Doon School along with Sanjay Gandhi and Kamal Nath, and who lived in a sea-facing Mumbai flat, could join the Maoist movement, becoming a dyed-in-the-wool Naxalite. As Home Ministry dossiers will tell you, Ghandy could well be called the foreign minister of the CPI (Maoist). He is a Central Committee member, the highest decision-making body of Maoists. Currently lodged in the high-security ward of Tihar Jail in the Capital, Kobad Ghandy considers the Copenhagen Summit a diabolic failure. Here, in an Open exclusive, he lays out his charges. For a man believed to be suffering from prostate cancer, and who has no access to research material, not even a desk and chair (for which he has applied to the court), barring an odd newspaper, this is a remarkable effort. Kobad Ghandy writes from high-security Ward 8 of Tihar Jail no. 3W

After two years of preparation, a number of high-profile meetings and a mammoth event at Copenhagen, the summit could not even produce a commonly accepted declaration or accord. What was finally manipulated by the US, of which the summit only 'took note', was a step back from what had already been achieved under the Kyoto Protocol and Bali Action Plan. After 12 days of meetings, with 110 heads of the state and about 45,000 others, including ministers, top bureaucrats and NGOs, in attendance, the high-profile meeting achieved virtually nothing.

The deal recognizes the need to keep warming below 2° Celsius, but does not commit to do so. It kicks back the big decisions on emission cuts and fudges the issue of climate cash. It says developed countries will seek to raise

Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe.

They are only its possessors, its usufructuriers, and, like bonapartes families, they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition.

KARL MARX

\$10 billion a year for developing countries over the next three years and step-wise raise this amount to \$100 billion a year by 2020. But it gives no commitments on how and who will raise these funds. It does not commit any nation to emission cuts. There are no overall targets for rich countries, which existed in the Kyoto Protocol.

It was a victory of the powerful energy and car lobbies (the main polluters) over the need for urgent environmental protection of the globe. Greenhouse gases have resulted in global warming, which, if it continues, can have catastrophic implications. There are six greenhouse gases (GHGs), of which two is the main—carbon dioxide (CO₂) and methane (CH₄). Uncontrolled growth in emission of GHGs, coupled with the destruction of two major carbon

sinks—forests and the sea—are resulting in an abnormal rise in temperatures. Year 2010 is forecast to be the hottest on record. Deforestation on a gigantic scale has seriously impacted climate change as leaves absorb CO₂ through a process of photosynthesis. Earlier, forests and seas used to absorb half the CO₂ produced. It is estimated that deforestation accounts for 20 per cent of the world's emissions. Also, the oceans are fast losing their ability to absorb carbon. Just between 2000 and 2007, the sea's ability to absorb CO₂ fell from 27 to 24 per cent.

It has scientifically been established that warming above 2° Celsius (from pre-industrial levels) will result in the earth's natural processes beginning to break down, and the world then would be set to get warmer and warmer. Now, 2° Celsius looks like a small amount, but we must remember we are a mere 6° Celsius away from the last ice age. There are, for example, massive amounts of warming gases stored in the Siberian permafrost; at 2° Celsius, they melt and are released into the atmosphere. The world's humid rain forests store huge amounts of warming gases in their trees; beyond 2° Celsius, they lose their humidity and begin to burn down, releasing them into the atmosphere.

With global warming, the Arctic and Antarctic have already been melting at an alarming rate, threatening to inundate low-lying islands and coasts. East Antarctica, for instance, has been

losing at least 5 billion tonnes of ice every year since 2006.

So 2° Celsius is the threshold level and Copenhagen should have sought to limit the rise to 1 or 1.5° Celsius, as suggested by Cuba and a number of other countries. But what needs to be done to keep temperatures this side of 2° Celsius? There is solid scientific evidence to show that we need a cut of 40 per cent in the most polluting country's emissions by 2020 and 80 per cent by all countries by 2050.

The US has offered a pathetic 4 per cent by 2020, and once you factor in the loopholes demanded, it was actually demanding the right to a significant increase in US emissions. China vetoed the 80 per cent target by 2050 and opposed basic checks. Only some Latin American and African countries came out strongly against the farce enacted at Copenhagen.

In spite of the total failure, Jairam Ramesh, India's environmental minister, said it was a "good deal and satisfactory solution". The same was the approach of the EU, US, Australia, China and Britain. But Lumumba Di-Ping of Sudan, who chaired the G-77 bloc of 130 countries, called the draft deal the worst in the history of climate negotiations. Cuba had earlier stated that the summit was a failure from the start and had urged Latin American leaders to devise their own plan to cope with climate change. The presidents of Bolivia and Venezuela vehemently opposed impositions, blaming climate change squarely on capitalism and demanding billions of dollars in 'reparations' from rich countries.

For India, climate change is only part of the environmental devastation taking place. The destruction of forests, fertile land, the drying up of underground water aquifers, pollution of rivers, etcetera, is only the tip of the iceberg. Poisoning of food and water by fertilizers and pesticides and heavy pollution of the very air we breathe, plus the worst levels of hygiene, is

resulting in a country of sick people.

All this coupled with the occasional Bhopal gas leak and the fact that India is the world's largest dumping ground of toxic wastes—a veritable time bomb is ticking, set to explode. Over and above all this, India is the fifth largest emitter of GHGs in the world, spewing 1,370 million tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere every year.

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

From the very first day of the summit, developed countries sought to sabotage it by sneaking in the 'Danish Text', purportedly drafted by the US,

There is evidence to show that we need a cut of 40% in the most polluting country's emissions by 2020. The US has offered a pathetic 4%, and once you factor in the loopholes, it was actually demanding the right to a significant increase in US emissions.

UK and Denmark (the hosts). The document, which was not a part of the agenda, was leaked to the press (The Guardian). It not only negates the earlier agreements (Kyoto and Bali), but also seeks to hand over effective control of climate change finances to the World Bank, taking it out of the jurisdiction of the United Nations (UN).

The document set unequal limits on carbon emissions for developed countries (2.7 tonnes per person) and developing countries (1.44 tonnes) in 2050. It forced developing countries to agree to specific emission cuts and measures, not part of the original UN agreement. It divided the poor countries further by creating a new category of developing countries called 'the most vulnerable'. It also mentions a sum of \$10 billion a year over 2012–15 to help poor countries adapt to climate change.

Due to vehement opposition from the developing countries, though this document could not be tabled, it became the de facto framework for negotiations by developed countries, particularly the US. Also, the US aim was to turn the issue of climate change into a commodity, whose permits could be bought and sold in the market. These deals amount to accounting tricks that will give the impression of cuts, without the reality. In fact, a study has shown that most projects that are being funded as 'cuts' either don't exist/don't work or would have happened anyway.

For example, the nations of the world were allocated permits to release greenhouse gases back in 1990, when the Soviet Union was still a vast industrial power—so it was given a huge allocation. But the following year, it collapsed and its industrial base also disappeared, along with its carbon emissions. So, it was never going to release these gases. But Russia and East European countries have held on to them in all the negotiations. Now, they are selling them to the rich countries who want to purchase 'cuts'. It is no wonder that Russia, witness to the world's worst nuclear calamity at Chernobyl, was particularly silent at the summit. It backed developed countries whose emphasis on trade in carbon emissions suited it. Russia has a massive 10 giga tonnes of CO₂ to sell. By comparison, if the developed world cuts its emissions by 40 per cent by 2020, that will take only 6 giga tonnes out of the atmosphere. Imagine the level of fraud being perpetrated in the name of climate change.

In essence, Copenhagen has pushed the climate agenda back by putting forward an accord (not agreed upon) that negates even the limited gains that Kyoto and Bali had achieved. Copenhagen thus was a victory for the powerful energy and car/vehicle lobbies that control the likes of US President Obama. It was a great loss to the world.

INDIA'S DUBIOUS ROLE

While the media gave the impression that it was with the developing countries, in actual fact, it was among the select few that were used in pushing forward the Obama agenda and final draft. But this is not surprising if we see the role played by India in the run-up to Copenhagen. Of course, it was in the company of the world's largest emitter, China, which was also a party to the draft.

It was at the Bangkok meet that it became apparent that India had shifted from its earlier position. At that meeting, the US negotiator said that Indian Minister of State for Environment and Forests Jairam Ramesh had taken a broader interpretation (read: in accordance with the US proposal), even against the views of Indian negotiators. Owing to this apparent shift in stance of the Indian Executive, much to the discomfiture of Indian negotiators, India would seem to have lost the trust of the G-77. This was particularly in evidence in Barcelona.

Then came Ramesh's controversial letter to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, in which he openly advocated abandoning the G-77 and aligning with the G-20; and his statement at the pre-CoP ministerial conference in Copenhagen on 16-17 November reflects the Indian Executive's submissive acceptance of developed countries' abandoning the Kyoto Protocol. In fact, Singh sent Shyam Saran as his special envoy on climate change—the main architect of the Indo-US Nuclear Deal.

The final outcome at Copenhagen reflected the common understanding of Obama and Manmohan Singh during the latter's visit to the US on the very eve of the summit. A joint statement released on 25 November talks of transparency of mitigation actions through 'appropriate process', a euphemism perhaps for the Australian or US framework. It talks of an 'agreed

outcome' and not a legally binding outcome at Copenhagen (which is exactly what happened). In fact, the PM had already capitulated to the US by signing extensive climate and energy agreements on the very eve of the Copenhagen Summit. India and the US announced numerous programmes, from the joint deployment of solar electricity to the strengthening of India's environmental regulatory and monitoring capacity. Most important was the announcement of joint scientific R&D for renewable energy technologies. India's dubious stand resulted in not only its near isolation from the G-77/China in Barcelona, but also its being kept out of the

Russia and East European countries have held on to [permits given to the Soviet Union in 1990 to release greenhouse gasses]. Now, they are selling them to rich countries that want to purchase 'cuts'.

preparations of the G-77/ China document, 'Options on Possible Forms of Agreed Outcome'.

So arbitrary had been the functioning of Ramesh that even India's top negotiators were not informed of the changed stance. In fact, things turned so ugly that two of the major negotiators, Chandrashekhar Dasgupta and Pradipto Ghosh, refused at first to go to Copenhagen. The climax came when the PM, who was not to go to the summit, changed his plans immediately after Obama announced that he would be attending the summit.

It was clear from the start that the Indian Government was not at all keen on the issue. In fact, just prior to the summit, it signed climate agreements with the two countries most aggressively pushing the developed countries' agenda—the US and Australia. With the US, it was a multi-faceted agreement, as already

mentioned. With Australia, it has agreed to joint solar research. No wonder Obama lavished praise on India just prior to his departure from Copenhagen.

India's role is not surprising, as it has one of the worst records of environmental destruction. India is projected to lose 4.5 per cent of its GDP due to environmental problems. A recent *Forbes* magazine survey has listed Mumbai and Delhi as the 25 dirtiest cities of the world. Also, as a result of rising (untreated or not recycled) filth, 80 per cent of the urban waste ends up in the country's rivers. The amount of pollution it creates can just be imagined by the fact that India produces 200,000 tonnes of waste water every day and three billion litres of waste is pumped into India's rivers every day.

No wonder the Indian delegation was not serious at Copenhagen, keener on toeing the US line, which is also beneficial to big business and transnational corporations operating here. Any restrictions will affect them primarily as they will have to install expensive equipment to prevent emissions. Particularly, massive mining projects, one of the worst polluters, will be affected. So, India's continuous refrain that emission restrictions will not be allowed to prevent the country's development is all about preserving the profits of big business and the unrestrained mining projects which destroy forests, water resources and, in addition, create huge amounts of pollution.

And as for Ramesh's refrain on having protected India's sovereignty, hardly was the summit over than senior White House advisor David Axelrod claimed that the US would not only 'review' the implementation of the domestic actions by India (and China) in tune with the Copenhagen Accord (India was one of the few countries to have signed it), but also 'challenge' them if these goals were not met.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE?

The Copenhagen Accord should have built on the basis already laid in the Kyoto Protocol and Bali Action Plan. It needs to plan restriction of global warming to 1-1.5° Celsius and not the maximum permissible 2° Celsius. There needs to be a concrete and accountable plan to cut emissions in reality and not play fudging games of trading in emissions. Also, clean technologies—like wind and solar—need to be developed. Global spending on clean tech is small, around \$2 billion annually. Experts expect it to reach \$100 billion, but that still would be barely 2 per cent of global GDP.

Also, if India is to be serious about environmental protection, it should take

the following steps on a war footing: systematic afforestation programmes and a total ban on cutting forests (whether for mining or any other purpose); extensive schemes for

Just prior to the summit, the Indian Government signed climate agreements with the two countries most aggressively pushing the developed countries' agenda, the US and Australia.

watershed management to rejuvenate groundwater sources and putting an end to the rampant sinking of borewells; develop proper drainage systems and clean disposal of waste and/or its

recycling; implement strict environmental restrictions for industry and mining and stop the pollution of air and water resources; and reduce carbon emissions in a planned way with a focus on developing wind and solar power.

Even a small step in this direction can work miracles. India's Government needs to replace pompous and self-righteous phrases on 'development' with concrete action on environment at the ground level. A start could be a reconsideration of the planned mining projects that are set to destroy the environment on a gigantic scale. **PM**

This article appeared in 12th February, 2010 issue of OPEN magazine. Considering its importance we publish it for our readers. Editor.

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up by the CRPF when his locality was encircled by the security forces. However, as there was nothing against him, he was released.

After the break-up of the CPI (M-L), Swapan Dasgupta joined the CPI (M-L) group led by Kishore-Santo-Mahendra Singh in Orissa in 1973. At that time that organization was fighting against the SNS (Satyanarayan Singh) parliamentary line and the left adventurist line. One section of this faction (led by Santo) later set up the CT, CPI (M-L) in 1978, but Swapan Dasgupta did not join it. The organization led by Kishore became defunct after Kishore's death. From 1992 to 1996, he participated in different programmes organized by the MCC. It was in such a situation that he came into contact with Vara Vara Rao at the time of the first conference of the AIPRF when he had been working as a stenographer. Later on, he came into contact with the leading comrades of the CPI (M-L) Party Unity. That was the time when Radical Publications was set up and Swapan Dasgupta became associated with it. When the CPI (M-L) PW and the CPI (M-L) PU merged to form the CPI (M-L) People's War,

he was associated with a number of publications of the new organization. This process culminated in his being the editor of *Bangla People's March* since its inception.

Facts relating to his arrest and murder: On 6 October 2009, Swapan Dasgupta got a phone call from the Special branch of the Kolkata police around 3 PM when he was present at a press conference organized by the Lalgurh Manch in central Kolkata. He knew that he was going to be arrested and reported the matter to some of his friends who were present at the conference. While he was there, he received the news that his residence in Garia had already been raided by the police. He was arrested at night near a tea shop in the Garia railway station by one S.A.Khan of the special task force of the Special Branch (SB) of the Kolkata Police. He was arrested on the basis an FIR made by a special branch sub-inspector named Nabaranjan Mondal. He was kept in Bhawani Bhawan and Lalbazar police station for 28 days and had been subjected to continuous interrogation without hardly any break allowing him no sleep for nights together. He was forced to sleep

on the floor without any sheet or blanket throughout those cold winter days; when he told the police that he was an asthma patient and would need bed and woolen garments, his request was disdainfully brushed aside. Such physical and mental torture told on his health and aggravated the situation.

He was booked under Sections 18(conspiracy), 20(organizing terrorist camps), 39(support given to terrorist organizations) of UAPA 1967 and 121/121A/124A of IPC that deal with sedition against the State.

On 3 November 2009, he was sent to Presidency Jail. When his relatives friends went to meet him in jail, they learnt from him that he had been admitted in the jail hospital with inflammation of the gland. On 9 December, he was taken under police escort to the outdoor section of the Bangur Hospital for enlargement of the spleen and prostrate-related problems. On 17 December, he was admitted into the Mackenjee Ward (Bed no.20) of the SSKM Hospital with asthma and respiratory troubles. Blood test was made under Dr. Sumit Choudhuri and his friends came to know on 11 January that he had been suffering also from

leprosy. When his friends went to meet him inside the ward and started talking to him, they were prevented from doing so by the policemen on duty. Swapan Dasgupta was kept in a general ward without any attendant, and the friends noticed blood oozing out from the mouth. When they sought to help him rub off and wash his face or to help him respond to the nature's call, the policemen stood in the way. Conditions thus further deteriorated. Everyday altercations with the police followed. The second day, some friends (women included) entered again and started talking to Dasgupta. The policemen on duty poured out abusive words of all conceivable types and stated that had there been no women, they would have assaulted them physically. On that day, Swapan Dasgupta complained that the police were not allowing anyone to bring the medicines; even they were not giving the patients Horlicks biscuits which were handed over to them for Swapanbabu's consumption by relatives and friends. As blood was flowing out from the body, he needed blood transfusion. The government was doing absolutely nothing in this respect. When the friends asked the doctors, they said that they had been placing requisitions for many essential things, but the jail authorities were doing nothing; 'what can we do in such a situation?'

It may be noted that Madhupama Das of Express India highlighted the callous attitude of 'Indian democracy' towards Sapan Das Gupta on 15-12-2009 by bringing out facts like Justice KN Ray & Sri Ramesh Gupta of Press & Registration Appellate Board, New Delhi on 07-08-2009 quashing and setting aside the order dated 15-01-2009 of District Collector, Ernakulam, Kerala banning People's March monthly.

On 17 January, eleven democratic and civil rights forums issued a press statement charging the government with indulging in political persecution of dissident voices by refusing to give medical treatment to a political prisoner booked under the draconian UAPA, and in this way driving Swapan Dasgupta in a planned manner to his death. These bodies were BMC, APDR, LMSM, GPM, BSSKM, LM, UAPABM, NAPM, GMP, SU and MKP.

On 18 January, the doctors asked the friends to bring medicines, as the police were doing nothing. On 19th the friends discovered requisition papers signed by doctors under the bed of Swapan Dasgupta, which clearly showed that those were concealed by the policemen themselves. Then the friends raised money and went from one blood supply centre to another for collecting A positive blood. Blood platelets were procured with increased difficulty. On 26 January, the friends procured 12 such platelets. Meanwhile the news

spread and more and more people were coming and putting pressure on the jail minister to intervene in the matter. The IG (Prisons) was then forced to come to the hospital and a medical board was formed. By then, it was too late. Swapan Dasgupta's condition further deteriorated and he was shifted to the ICU on 30 January and kept in ventilation. He died at 5 AM on 2 February and his friends who were on night duty as they had been throughout these days were informed about his death by the media at 8 AM. After post mortem, his body was taken to Peace Haven for the night and on 3 February, his body was taken out at 10 AM and taken to the Keoratala crematorium in a procession joined by around 200 people. His body was put on the funeral pyre around 2.30 PM. Processions were held on 2nd and 3rd February inside the book fair complex joined by many people. Among those who were present during the last journey at hospital as also on the road were Kabir Suman, sitting TMC MP, Bibhas Chakrabarty, playwright, Nabarun Bhattacharya, writer, Sujato Bhadro, civil rights activist, Ashim Chattopadhyay, Santosh Rana, Basudev Basu, Pradip Singh Thakur—political leaders, as also civil rights activists and other democratic people.

Swapan Dasgupta's death under custody is case of state-sponsored murder.

PM

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Comrades!

We must gain immense strength by learning from all the positive experiences in the revolutionary history which were gained while fighting out for political power under the leadership of the proletariat in our country, particularly from the positive experiences of the political power organs. Let us fight bravely for the liberation of DK imbibing the spirit and sacrifice of all known and unknown martyrs who had laid down their invaluable lives for the seizure of

political power. **Our aim is lofty and great. Our path is full of twists and turns, filled with difficulties and is afar. But the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in which we were trained is scientific. The protracted people's war which we have chosen is invincible. All our strength lies in the strength of the people. People and people alone are makers of history. Imperialists and all kinds of reactionary rulers are nothing but paper tigers.** Let us advance with determination for the liberation of DK by creatively applying to our practice the Maoist strategic and tactical

principles which say that strategically put one against ten and tactically put ten against one. I hope that the Janathana Circar magazine which you are launching would serve as a powerful instrument in achieving this lofty aim. I whole heartedly wish that your venture would be a complete success.

With revolutionary greetings,
Ganapathy, **General Secretary,**
Lenin's birthday, 2009
CPI (Maoist)

PM

Sugar's Bitter Policies

-Kobad Ghandy-

At Rs. 50 per kg sugar prices have never been so high. With sugar prices soaring, prices of all sugar linked products—sweets, mithais, tea etc.—have also sky-rocketed. Not only will festivals for most become a drab affair, children's wailing for the little sweet or toffee will get louder. At the rate at which sugar prices have been rising it will be out of reach of many a poor and middle class life.

One would have thought, given the free-market mantra of the rulers that high sugar prices would at least convert into higher prices for the producers—the fifty million sugarcane farmers. But that was not to be; the so-called free market functions only to benefit big business, traders and politicians. In this case both the producers and consumers are being crushed by the cane and sugar pricing policies of the government dictated by the millers and international sugar cartels.

It is indeed a policy that has resulted in windfall profits for a few at the cost of millions of farmers and crores of consumers. And the solution being suggested—huge duty free imports—will help no one except the importers, the foreign traders and the bureaucrats/politicians who will get their commissions on each order. The entire people of our country are made to suffer so that a few may make fortunes. It is indeed tragic.

And while the entire people suffer the politics of sugar is diverting the entire issue with the central and UP governments throwing the blame on each other.

Farmers being crushed

In October last year the Ministry of Consumer Affairs (Food and Public Distribution) changed the pricing regime for sugarcane and introduced a Fair and Remunerative Price (FRP)

mechanism, replacing the Statutory Minimum Price (SMP) system that was prevailing till then. Soon after passing the ordinance the central government declared an FRP to the millers to purchase sugarcane at Rs. 130 per quintal, when, according to the NAFA (National Alliance of Farmer's Association) the input cost of one quintal of sugarcane is roughly Rs. 233.5 per quintal. This FRP therefore amounts to a massive loss to the farmer.

Immediately after the announcement farmers (from UP) took to the streets stopping rail and road traffic. They marched to Parliament. They seized trains that sought to bring imported raw sugar and prevented them from reaching the mills. Some took the extreme step of self-immolation. Others burnt their crop. With the rabi season approaching many resorted to distress sales, selling their crop to local gur manufacturers at Rs. 155 per quintal. Under pressure from the farmers the UP government banned the import of raw sugar.

According to the new order the FRP shall be fixed by the Central Government from time to time. It also specified that any other authority fixing a price for the crop above the FRP would have to bear the difference. (the latter points were retracted after the farmer's march to Parliament). The practice so far was for states such as UP, TN, Punjab and Haryana to declare state advised prices (SAP) that mills are required to pay farmers. This was usually higher than the SMP which was announced by the Central Government on the basis of the cost of cultivation estimated by the Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices (CACP).

As it is, for a number of years, sugarcane growers have been squeezed by the low prices paid by the millers and the spiralling input costs. This has

led even to many suicides of sugarcane farmers who had at one time earned a good amount for the crop. In fact in the four years from 2004/05 to 2008/09 the SMP for sugarcane barely rose from Rs. 79 per quintal to Rs. 81 per quintal while input costs increased phenomenally. In addition, the millers cheat the farmers in varied ways—weighing, recovery rate etc. So it is not surprising that sugar production dropped drastically from 27.8 million tonnes in 2007-08 to 16 million tonnes last year. In the coming year production is not likely to be more than 15 million tonnes.

The government did not create a buffer stock in 2006/07 and 2007/08 when production was at its peak. In 2006 when international prices was high (20680 per tonne) and local prices was low (Rs. 13000 per tonne) the government banned exports. At that time due to large stocks and ban of exports the millers harassed the farmers paying them late. In 2007-08 when international prices crashed to Rs. 13000 per tonne the government exported 68 lakh tonnes of sugar even though sugar production was dropping. Later when there was shortage the government imported sugar at Rs. 10-35 per Kg.

It is these short-sighted policies of the government which has played havoc with the lives of the sugarcane farmers. In its report for 2008-09 the CACP warned the government that unless it raised the SMP for sugarcane the net area under the crop would continue to fall. But the government could not be bothered. They expect the millers will import raw sugar and continue to make money. The area under sugarcane cultivation dropped from 4.38 million hectares last year to 4.21 million hectares—i.e. a drop of about 1.5 lakh hectares in just one year.

Farmers are shifting away from sugarcane cultivation.

Consumers Robbed

Sugar prices have tripled in the last one year from Rs. 17 per Kg. a year back to Rs. 50 today. In just the last four months it has risen by over 40 percent from Rs. 32 per kg. Notwithstanding the claims of the Agriculture Minister sugar prices are unlikely to drop. When production is estimated at a mere 15 million tonnes and consumption at 23 million tonnes without a single kg of buffer stock (compared to 10 MT at the beginning of last year) the price will be determined by the cost of imports. Given the shortfall a minimum of 8 million tonnes will have to be imported.

Raw sugar import cost to the miller will not be less than Rs. 38 per kg. With such high costs, what the consumer has to pay is not likely to be below Rs. 50 per kg. And with India entering the international market with huge purchases the international prices are only likely to go up—expected to be up to Rs. 70 per kg.

The question that arises is that when the millers are paying Rs. 13 per kg to the farmer (FRP rate with recovery at 10 percent) why should sugar be so expensive? Even if we calculate that for every kg of sugar produced the transportation and processing charges come to Rs. 5, the cost of production would be a maximum of Rs. 18 per kg. If we add another one-third as profit the selling price comes to Rs.24. Then if we count the wholesaler's/ retailer's profit sugar should not cross a maximum figure of Rs. 30 per kg. Then why Rs. 50? Even if they give the sugarcane grower the rate that is remunerative—say Rs. 23 per kg or Rs. 230 per quintal for sugarcane the maximum price to the consumer will come to Rs. 40 per kg. This would be still less than the cost of imported sugar or raw sugar.

So there is no reason for sugar prices to sky-rocket as millers continue to pay a price lower than the remunerative price. Though this may vary from state to state the plight of the farmer in the two main sugarcane growing states—UP and Maharashtra—is pathetic. In Maharashtra, sugar mills are cooperatives dominated and controlled by powerful politicians like Sharad Pawar. In Maharashtra, every farmer is tied to a particular cooperative mill and is not free to sell it to any other. So they are at the mercy of the cooperative bosses who keep the prices of sugarcane low. In UP many mills are owned by big business houses like Birla, Bajaj etc.

Depending on imports is no solution to the sugar problem—whether shortage or high prices. The only solution must be to promote sugarcane production by investing in agriculture and subsidising the farmer. In this way not only would the farmer and rural economy flourish, the consumer too would get sugar at a reliable price.

Need for a Pro-active Agrarian Policy

With 9 lakh tonnes of imported sugar stuck at the ports since the last month due to the UP government's ban on processing it, the centre has been blaming the Mayawati government for the high sugar prices. The Mayawati government, on the other hand, instead of announcing a high SAP, has clamped cases on the miller under the Essential Commodities Act in order to share the booty made by them. The plight of the millions of sugarcane farmers and crores of consumers is not on the mind either of the Congress or the BSP. They are interested in only extracting their share of the windfall profits being made by the millers, cooperatives, big traders and hoarders.

The only policy that would benefit both the producer and consumer is for the government to invest heavily in agriculture and subsidise sugarcane production. Sugarcane production

requires large quantities of water, so irrigation projects should be its first focus. Unfortunately the government has systematically been cutting investment in agriculture. Rural development expenditure of the government averaged 14.5 percent of GDP in the 1985-90 periods. This dropped to 8 percent in the early 1990s and since 1998 it has dropped even further to a mere 5.6 percent of GDP. In real terms, there has been a reduction of about Rs. 30,000 crores annually in development expenditures on average in the first five years of this century compared to the pre-reform period.

When investment in agriculture should be increasing as it is there that the bulk of our population live, the above figures indicated a massive reduction with disastrous consequences. Rather than become dependent on imports and thereby compromise the food security of the country, the government needs to invest heavily in agriculture (with focus on irrigation) to boost the production of sugarcane and other crops. To solve the sugar/sugarcane problem the government needs to increase investment in irrigation, subsidise input cost (fertiliser, pesticide, electricity) and ensure a remunerative price is paid to the farmer. To maintain consumer prices it should put a halt on the profiteering, hoarding and illegal methods of the millers and subsidise sugar particularly for the poor. If the government can announce a massive bail out to the 3 to 4 oil companies and Air India why does it shy away from bailing out 50 million farmers and a few crore masses? The amounts being suggested to the 3-4 oil companies and Air India amount to Rs.20000 crores, a lesser amount would be needed for the millions of sugarcane farmers.

Kobad Ghandy
Tihar Jail No.3
Ward No.8- H/R

PM

Guns, gags and lies in a war that no one sees

Javed Iqbal (The New Indian Express)

Aaj kal bandook se zaada khatra laptop mein hai. (In today's world, the laptop is a lot more dangerous than the gun)," the thaanedaar of Dornapal camp in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district says, checking my bags on one of my visits to the war zone. He knows the war against the Maoists is not being fought by guns alone. The greatest weapon, which both sides utilise well, is silence and misinformation. And what if there's no information or just selected bits released now and then?

Maybe that explains how a virtual civil war in the heart of the country got so little coverage for more than four years. Salwa Judum started around 2005. More than 640 villages (official figures) were forcibly emptied out. There were numerous encounters, and an infant was shot dead by the CRPF in the village of Cherpal. People were arbitrarily arrested and left in jail without lawyers. All this produced little ferment. But when the police camp of Ranibodli was attacked and 55 policemen were killed, that was widely reported. As was the attack on the Salwa Judum camp of Errabore, by the Maoists.

Maoist atrocities hit the wire services with no trouble at all, and like a phantom their presence was acknowledged, yet they could be mostly ignored as a threat. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh may have called the Maoists, 'the single biggest internal security challenge' in 2006, but apart from that, what did he say in three years until Operation Green Hunt?

In January 2009 when I went to

Bijapur, people said: "When there's an attack in your village (Mumbai) it's international news, but there's an attack here every day, yet no one reports anything."

Barring occasional visits from the international press and a few mainstream publications, the issue only got mainstream attention after Operation Green Hunt was surreptitiously declared by the Home Ministry, and then condemned as a media creation. By November, the local administration was informing local reporters and social workers to cease working in the jungles as Operation Green Hunt was taking place.

Police officials told a press conference in Jagdalpur during the commencement of Green Hunt that if anyone was shot in the crossfire, they shouldn't be held accountable. Many reporters were personally threatened or 'requested' to keep out of the jungle.

"People come to us with problems, and yet we're not allowed to talk to them," said N R K Pillai, a veteran journalist of Chattisgarh's Working Journalists Union. "It is our job to verify, yet who goes in here? The police are telling our journalists that you get your story from the IB, you get your story from the police station, why do you want to go inside the jungle?"

Over the last four years, many independent witnesses and reporters who reported state atrocities or Salwa Judum crimes were beaten, harassed and some even imprisoned. With Green Hunt the environment is far worse as independent fact-finding teams are

often stopped, sent back, or in the case of Narayanpatna and Lalgah, attacked. Activists are treated to orchestrated Salwa Judum protest rallies and national reporters are prevented from living in the only hotels in Dantewada and risk the life of every local source and contact by simply talking to them.

Money of course, makes silence easier. I was with a reporter from a Hindi daily, printed out of Raipur, whom I accompanied to the Essar complex at Kirandool, to collect his two cheques of Rs 5,000 as advertising revenue. Rural reporters need to collect their own advertisements to earn a living and therefore will not risk their lives for a story where there is no money. In return, he had to omit all mention of Essar Steel in his reports. So when an estimated two lakh villagers hit the streets of Dantewada in 2007, screaming "Essar Essar hai hai." or "Mahendra Karma chor hai," he didn't write a word.

Reporters on the Andhra Pradesh-Chhattisgarh border have a different way of working. They say the camp officers at Dornapal, Errabore and Konta have been instructed not to allow any reporters from Andhra Pradesh into Chhattisgarh.

They never travel through Dornapal, Errabore or Konta — they go straight through the jungle. And interestingly, there hasn't been a single incident of violence around the Chhattisgarh-Andhra border even as the violence has got worse further north — out of reach of the free, independent, local press.

PM

The Dandakaranya Janathana Circars of today are the basis for the Indian People's Democratic Federal Republic of tomorrow

- Message sent by Com. Ganapathy on behalf of Polit Bureau to the magazine of Dandakaranya Janathana Circar

The people's war is developing in Dandakaranya under our party's leadership and as a result New Democratic Power is emerging there. Our party is striving hard for this New Democratic Power in the form of Janthana Circars to gain flesh and blood and strengthen itself day by day and take a qualitative leap as Dandakaranya level People's Power. The Janathana Circar leadership is launching this magazine with the aim that this should serve as a powerful instrument for this revolutionary practice. The Polit Bureau sends its heartfelt greetings to the Janthana Circar leadership on the occasion of the publication of their first issue. The PB whole heartedly wishes that this endeavour of the Janathana Circar leadership would be a success.

The new state power developing in Dandakaranya is strategic, has a concrete historical background and is one which is assuming great significance in the contemporary world socialist revolutionary situation which is passing through a complex phase.

In any social revolution, including the Indian New Democratic Revolution, the most crucial, central and main question is that of (state) power. Our party is striving to establish area wise power by mobilizing people politically into the protracted people's war, building the people's army (in the form of guerilla army) and destroying the state machinery of the enemy-ruling classes. It is as part of this revolutionary process that it is establishing Janathana Circars in Dandakaranya. Janathana Circars are completely opposed to imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. They are being formed through the destruction of enemy's state machinery. The majority of the conscious peasantry is establishing them in the countryside

under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat party. They politically represent the proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. They strive to implement real democracy for the people and people's democratic dictatorship on the enemies of the people. They are determined to change the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of today in a fundamental and complete manner politically, economically and culturally and are striving day and night with enormous perseverance. As the embryonic form of the people's democratic system which would be completely established all over the country in future, they are sprouting in Dandakaranya and strengthening themselves. They represent that system of future.

Basing on this new power, the leadership of party, army, and Janathana Circars are striving to mobilize people on a vast scale into people's war, consolidate them well, strengthen the people's army, fulfill the tasks of production, defence, training etc., extend the movement to neighbouring areas thereby extending the guerilla war and new power and helping to fulfill the political tasks in the neighbouring states by coordinating with them to help today's power. In one word, the leadership of party, army leadership and the Janathana Circars are striving to fulfill political, military and organizational tasks to liberate DK by basing themselves on this newly emerging power. They are fulfilling these tasks with the strategic view too of using DK as a main prop to bring about qualitative changes and to speed up the pace of development of Indian revolution. That is why the new power and Janathana Circars developing in DK are strategic. Depending on how

much our leadership can mobilize the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeois and democratic-revolutionary forces in the country and on how much these forces can fulfill their revolutionary role the people's power developing in DK would be defended and would develop into base areas. Depending on this there would be change in the strategic role of the Janathana Circars.

During the historical Telangana armed revolutionary peasant struggle 'village governments' were established in three thousand villages. The communist party leadership surrendered to the Indian ruling classes, withdrew the armed struggle and betrayed the Indian revolution immensely. As a result the village governments were nipped in the bud. Comrades CM-KC fought against the parliamentary-economist-reformist line of the CPI, CPI (M) leadership ideologically and politically and broke their back. Out of the flames of armed peasant revolutionary struggles headed by comrades CM-KC by creatively applying the protracted people's war line to the concrete conditions in our country, the 'revolutionary committees' and 'revolutionary peasant committees' emerged as the revolutionary peasant power organs. But within a short period they were suppressed. The Indian revolution suffered a temporary setback. The revolutionary peasant committees could not develop to a higher level in time. It was as a result of summing up of the experiences of village governments, revolutionary committees and revolutionary peasant committees that the Janathana Circars are being established in DK as their higher, consolidated form with the task of fulfilling the higher aim. The merger of two main streams in the Indian revolution on September 21, 2009 and

the formation of CPI (Maoist) had created unprecedented favourable conditions for the building of new power organs, their development and establishment of base areas. This is the historical background for the Janathana Circars.

But what this historical background is clearly stating is that the leadership should be very firm regarding the strategy, line and policy; it should fight with determination to protect and develop the power organs; it should strive hard to protect the new power and subjective forces by defeating the enemy offensive; it should advance in time with higher tasks and lead efficiently in establishing base areas. Only by keeping in mind this invaluable historical background, can the party leadership and the Janathana Circars' leadership give efficient and skillful leadership for the successfully fulfilling the task of establishing DK and Bihar-Jharkhand base areas as formulated by our Unity Congress-9th Congress.

In 1976, immediately after the death of our great Marxist teacher Com. Mao, the reactionary, revisionist clique of capitalist roaders in the China Communist Party had usurped power. As a result the last base area of the world proletariat had collapsed. However, the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed nationalities are resisting the imperialists and the reactionary ruling classes in various forms and at various levels. This resistance was carried out at a higher level in Philippines, Peru and Nepal. Due to internal and external reasons these revolutions had faced ups and downs. Peru is facing long term setback. The Philippines revolution was damaged considerably and has again picked up by correcting its mistakes. After reaching the stage of strategic offensive, the Nepal people's war is facing the grave danger of opportunism in leadership. Though revolutionary parties had been formed in many countries in the world and are organizing the people, they have not developed to the stage of setting up a

strong confrontation with the imperialists or with the ruling classes in their countries. In our country, though our party had formed the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA), is developing the people's war and forming new organs of power, we haven't still established base areas. It is striving hard for that. On the whole, the proletariat revolutionary subjective forces in the world are still weak.

On the other hand, all the countries in the world, including the US imperialism are neck-deep in trouble due to the severe economic crises. The fundamental contradictions in the world have sharpened further. Immense frustration is seething among the working class, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people. The objective condition is becoming very favourable for social revolutions to break out.

Today the world socialist revolution is passing through a complex phase where objective condition is very favourable and the revolutionary subjective forces are weak. In these conditions, our party is mobilizing lakhs of adivasi peasantry and striving hard to develop people's liberation guerilla army into people's liberation army and guerilla warfare into mobile warfare in order to turn Dandakaranya into base area. On the basis of Janathana Circars established from the village level to the division level, it is striving hard to establish power at Dandakaranya level. In these conditions, the imperialists and their Indian compradors are creating massive hurdles to prevent us from fulfilling our aim. The liberation of Dandakaranya by resisting the offensive of the Indian ruling classes would also depend on how much support our party leadership is able to garner from the world proletariat-revolutionary-progressive forces and on how far these forces would fulfill their international responsibility too. That is why the newly emerging power in Dandakaranya is gaining significance in the complex situation of the world proletariat revolution. With the

liberation of Dandakaranya this significance would increase considerably.

Increasing the participation of people considerably in all the state affairs will become the most vital issue in defending, consolidating and expanding Janathana Circars.

There are two fundamental aspects in the revolutionary process we follow to liberate DK – destruction and construction. Of the two the first one would be the principal aspect. Only by carrying on these two aspects in coordination we can liberate DK. The active participation of the people would be the decisive factor in this process from the beginning till victory. Unless we rouse people for political power we cannot stir them militantly and in vast numbers into class struggle. We cannot mobilize them effectively into guerilla war. We cannot bring unity among them; we cannot turn them into an invincible force by bringing out their enormous energy and creativity; we cannot effectively implement the people's democratic dictatorship; the established power may not only become unstable but also get destroyed. This means that unless we mobilize people politically and the people participate actively, we will not only be unable to win even one considerable victory in the process of establishing base area but we may even lose the victories we had won.

If we wish to enhance the active participation of people in the affairs of the state it is necessary to have vast democracy of the people. In conducting the affairs of the state, we would be able to effectively implement the people's democratic dictatorship only when we have vast democracy of the people; only then we would be able to consolidate people's democratic power, state machinery and administrative departments; only then we can ensure that the people's democratic power doesn't become unstable.

To enhance people's democracy the leadership of the party and Janathana

Circars should politically arouse the people continuously and follow the democratic methods given here. We should ensure that the village meetings of the Janathana Circars, people's councils, departments of people's government and standing committees are run on the principle of democratic centralism. Even at the higher levels, we should ensure the mass character of the Janathana Circar organizationally by not depending just on the party and army professionals. They should work in such a manner that they represent the interests of the oppressed classes and oppressed social sections. We should solve the contradictions arising among people in a friendly manner which would help to develop unity among the people. In all our activities we should adhere to class line and mass line. We must grasp the significance of class struggle and carry on the development and welfare activities of the people. We should not generally resort to physical punishment to counter political opinions. We should win over people with correct politics and democratic methods. In the matter of correcting mistakes, we should implement the policy of 'treating the ailment to save the patient'. We must ensure that the people participate actively in internal struggle, in criticizing the wrong trends and mistakes inside the party and Janathana Circars. In the matter of education, our aim should be to develop it in such a way that it would help in bringing about transformation, increasing unity, solving problems and achieving higher aims.

The shortcomings in broadening the people's democracy would lead to the wrong trends of corruption, malpractices, lavishness, careerism, selfishness and bureaucracy among the party, government leaders and cadres who lead in running the government-state affairs. Due to this, the danger of the party and government leaders getting isolated from the people increases. We have the experience in fighting against such wrong trends. So the leadership should always be

engaged in the service of people under the continuous surveillance and control of the working people. We must strive to enhance people's democracy and ensure the huge participation of the people in government-state affairs. This is most essential to liberate DK.

In order to establish this power at the DK level by consolidating the people's democratic power, we have to accrue cadres, professionals, technicians and experts who could work in various spheres at that same level and as widely.

Talking about state power means – giving actual form to it, developing it and creating an alternative system. In any country which takes up the line of area wise seizure of power, the leadership should think seriously about this. For this, depending on the people in the areas where we wish to establish base areas would be the basic policy. For establishing base area, depending on other areas in the country would be secondary. Regarding revolution in one country as a whole, dependence on the assistance of foreign, progressive revolutionary forces would be but secondary. When we take into consideration the social conditions of DK and the historical process through which the movement developed here, though the policy is the same, assistance from other areas assumes more significance.

The central leadership of the party should keep this in view and develop the new power in DK. With regard to the development of political power, i.e. in the matter of building the minimum and necessary machinery what we had done or have been doing till now is much inadequate.

By increasing the participation of the people in the people's government-state affairs, by expanding the people's democracy, by augmenting mass character in the higher level Janathana Circars too, by increasing our political work in people's organizations, by taking up special organizational-training campaigns, by enhancing the

capabilities of the cadres and experts working in this sphere, by working creatively to accumulate resources and by developing cadre policy in this sphere we would be able to ensure considerable development in the establishment and development of Janathana Circars.

People are establishing Janathana Circars by defeating the people's enemies and demolishing and destroying the enemy's power locally. Due to this phenomenon, the class struggle has directly and indirectly only intensified and has not ended. The class struggle had extended to all spheres of social life. Now it is being carried out not only in the political and military spheres but also in the ideological, economic and cultural spheres.

The local landlords, bad gentry, a section of the tribal chiefs, reactionary bad elements, a small section of parasitic, anti-people rich persons who had colluded with the exploitative government and depend on its funds had surrendered to the people in the areas where the Janathana Circars have captured power. They tried to conspire internally against the people's power in various ways but had failed. As the offensive of the central and state forces on DK had intensified and with the launching of the reactionary Salwa Judum, most of them had joined the Salwa Judum or had joined hands with the enemy forces and are resorting to cruelest attacks on the people to destroy people's power. The class struggle had intensified to an unprecedented scale between the people and their enemies, between the newly emerging power and the enemy's power. These enemies are carrying on the attacks with double the vengeance in order to gain their lost authority and to continue their exploitation and oppression again. Even while carrying on attacks openly, they are also severely trying to carry on treacherous activities by utilizing the various kinds of government reform schemes and clandestinely using the links they have with their relatives, friends or clan. The state is building up

its intelligence network among the people depending on these people's enemies.

So, in order to preserve their power and develop to the level of DK, the Janathana Circars should not only fight locally but also carry on class struggle with the state in all spheres sharply. In this context, there is great need to adhere to the class line and mass line and to mobilize people actively. To the extent we carry on the class struggle sharply and to the extent we mobilize the people actively in this struggle, we would be able to suppress the enemies of the people, defeat the state offensive and defend the new power.

After we had formed the new power organs and had established the political power locally, they are striving to transform the economic, cultural spheres in the rural life to be pro-people and democratic. They had carried out revolutionary land reforms, come forward to form mutual aid teams for development of agriculture and had taken up preservation of forest, education, health and culture. This revolutionary work along with improving the living standards of the people is also helping in fulfilling the main political task of developing people's war. There is need to double our efforts in this field.

We can say that we have made considerable progress in this matter in the recent years. Due to the reactionary Salwa Judum mopping up campaigns conducted by the central, state governments and their police, paramilitary forces, hundreds of villages had been completely destroyed along with the people's economy in Dantewada and Bijapur districts (South and West Bastar). The PLGA, Janathana Circars, all people's organizations and people had mobilized under our party leadership and had earned great experience in the struggle to defeat the campaigns of the enemy. In the guerilla zones and in the areas where Janathana Circars were formed, the PLGA with the armed assistance of the militia and the consolidated force

of the people, continued agricultural production again. Along with many people's militia members, the fighters in PLGA's main and secondary forces, Janathana Circar leaders, members and people were martyred in battles while defending these campaigns.

Likewise the enemy had closed the markets completely, obstructed all supplies, destroyed the economic life of the people completely and tried to get them to surrender. They wanted to stop supplies not only to the people but also to the ever increasing people's forces and Janathana Circars and destroy the initiative of the revolutionary camp. We had countered even this unprecedented grave situation in DK movement and had emerged victorious to a large extent.

One need not have any doubts that the enemy would carry on ruthlessly the most brutal offensive in future, with a long term perspective. So there is a need to devise a plan to fulfill the ever growing needs of the people, people's forces and Janathana Circars, to improve the life standards of the people, to stop forceful migration, to develop production (agriculture, forest, handicrafts etc) and develop trade in DK. There is a need to bring the necessary developments in the people's economy in accordance with the situation where the needs of the people, people's forces and the Janathana Circars are ever increasing and becoming inter dependent. If we wish to devise the plan by keeping in mind these needs, we will have to make average estimates about the whole of DK. If we can make estimates about the areas depending on the local Janathana Circars, the Division level Janathana Circars can prepare correct estimates basing on these actual estimates. If we can completely and correctly utilize the situation where people are taking their destiny into their own hands and can formulate and implement, even if at a basic level at present, a plan which coordinates needs, production, consumption, market and capital, then we will be able to take a leap in the economic sphere.

This leap would definitely consolidate the people's political power. For area wise seizure of power and for carrying on people's war, such efforts in the economic sphere are very much necessary. Mobilizing people politically into the economic affairs and enhancing their participation and active role would be decisive.

The PLGA had been formed as a new people's army due to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of our country by our party for the building of New Democratic Revolutionary movement and due to the efforts we have put among the people in the ideological, political and organizational spheres. From the moment it had been formed the PLGA and it has become the backbone of the revolutionary movement. It is carrying on guerilla warfare and political, organizational work. As a result of this effort new people's power is being created. It was due to this effort that Janathana Circars have been formed in DK. The Janathana Circars are strengthening and expanding and in turn are helping in the strengthening and expanding of PLGA. It means that while the party had imparted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the people, the people had created the people's army. While the people's army had helped in creating their power and the people's power is helping in strengthening of the party and army. As the party, people's army and the people's power are gaining strength, people are increasingly joining the political work and people's war. In DK, this strategic practice is continuing as our basic and central practice. This strategic effort should be the focal point of all our practice.

In the catastrophic situation where the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes are bogged down in economic crises and gasping for breathe, they are getting terrorized with the developing people's war in the country. They are implementing the LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) policy to counter the people's war.

In the case of Dandakaranya, they are quickly changing their tactics as each of the tactics they had used against the people have been foiled and had failed. With the full support and backing of the imperialists and full assistance and help of the Indian army, with the full support of Andhra Grey Hounds and are carrying on attacks with unprecedented level of coordination with para-military and state police forces. With the strategy of suppressing the newly emerging power, the reactionary ruling classes have chosen DK as the focal point for their offensive.

The reactionary ruling classes had built up Special Forces, special intelligence mechanism and terror gangs using modern methods in order to carry on their LIC policy effectively. They are carrying on psychological warfare to distract the people ideologically and politically and to confuse the people and revolutionary camp and smash it to smithereens. They are resorting to unending deception. For this, they are utilizing reforms, media, old and new false NGOs, religious organizations and all reactionary structures. They are carrying on centralized offensive in all spheres by mobilizing all resources and by bringing all the government departments in the administration under the police department. They are cruelly suppressing those who put forth revolutionary demands and they themselves are falsely focusing them. They are studying every detail which may either help or hinder the counter revolutionary war at the micro-level and are working to utilize the favourable factors to the hilt, and to turn the unfavourable ones in their favour or destroy them completely. In order to justify and legitimize each reactionary action by them they are posing every action in favour of the revolution as illegal and suppressing it. They are modernizing all spheres at high speed (weapons, communication, transport, security, maintenance of records, propaganda, decisions, implementation, coordination etc) in

order to get effective results by carrying on high-tech warfare. If we have to explain LIC policy in one sentence, it is a reactionary warfare which carries suppression in the cruelest manner utilizing high-tech and by resorting to endless deception.

We all know that our enemies had developed LIC as a complete reactionary war as part of their strategic and tactical policy, in the process of countering the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. However, in countering the people's war in our country they had modified the LIC policy according to the concrete conditions here and implementing it. We should also put efforts in all spheres to develop our warfare to suit today's new war situation, for liberating Dandakaranya and to preserve and expand the people's power established in DK. One of the greatest lessons which the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary movement had given to us is – we should prepare ourselves according to the new war situation. As we could not prepare ourselves in AP the movement suffered a setback there. Or we can say this is also one of the main reasons for our setback in AP.

We will have to carry on an all-out war to counter the enemy's LIC warfare in DK. If we want to counter the enemy effectively and liberate DK, we must definitely develop war according to the new war situation in all spheres such as ideological, political, military, psychological, organizational, economic, cultural, ecological etc. At present, our people's war in this country is in strategic defence. In such a situation, it is not so easy to develop our present day war into a complete war with a correct and comprehensive plan. Our CC and DKSZC have to strive very hard to solve this most complex problem. However, this is not impossible if our central and DK leadership mobilizes our whole party, PLGA, people's organizations, Janathana Circars and people to solve this problem. This is a crucial political-military-organizational task in front of

our party today.

Another crucial political-military-organizational task in front of us today is to develop the backbone of people's war i.e. the people's army (PLGA at present) into an invincible army which counters the enemy's reactionary war effectively.

The successes or failures which our party, army and people's government leaderships gain while implementing these crucial political, military and organizational tasks would have an effect on the DK revolutionary movement for a long time to come. So, to advance the people's war successfully and liberate DK, we have to develop people's war into complete war according to the new situation, as a counter to the reactionary LIC warfare of the enemy. At present, the conditions in DK are favourable for this.

Comrades!

The successes we had gained till now in people's war which is carried out with the immediate, aim of liberating DK are considerable. The liberation of DK would lead to a great change in the Indian New Democratic Revolution. In order to advance with greater victories for the liberation of DK, we must definitely analyze the favourable and unfavourable conditions faced by our new power from an all-India perspective and formulate tactics.

The favourable conditions which would help the advancement of the struggle for the liberation of DK are as follows– the DK people had tasted power; the revolutionary subjective forces are relatively consolidated; struggle is at a higher level; the positive and negative experiences of AP are in front of us; people's war is continuing in the country. Not only that, the struggles waged by the oppressed people, oppressed nationalities and the workers in our country and in the world are very much favourable to us in gaining victories while we strive to achieve our aim.

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Let us unite to fight back the countrywide brutal offensive by the imperialist-backed Central-state governments on the revolutionary and democratic movements in India!

An Appeal by the Central Committee, CPI (Maoist), to all revolutionary Parties and individuals

Dear comrades!

We convey our comradely revolutionary greetings to the rank and file of all the revolutionary Parties and organizations and to the revolutionary masses in the areas of class struggle led by your Parties.

As we all know, the reactionary ruling classes of India, with the total support and backing of the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, have been carrying out the most brutal state terror on the revolutionaries and struggling people in India, particularly on the armed agrarian revolutionary war that is raging in the vast adivasi-inhabited region stretching from Paschim Midnapur-Bankura-Purulia in West Bengal to North Andhra Pradesh. The state governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, West Bengal and others are spending huge amounts to strengthen the special police forces to suppress the revolutionary war in their respective states. The Centre has deployed 50,000 central forces, set up special anti-Naxal force called the Cobras, and is planning to raise and deploy several more battalions of para-military forces for suppressing the revolutionary movement. The state and central governments have set up vigilante groups like Salwa Judum, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Sshanti Sena, Hermad Bahini and the frontal organizations of the social-fascist CPI(M) and other political parties which are carrying out cruel state-sponsored terror against the entire population in the areas of armed agrarian revolutionary war.

Ever since the UPA returned to power at the Centre for the second time in May last, it has stepped up this state terror on an unprecedented scale, imposed an All India ban on the CPI (Maoist), declared it as a terrorist organization, and has declared its intent to brutally suppress the Maoist revolutionaries even if it meant carrying out a blood-bath in the entire adivasi-inhabited region. The US and other imperialists are actively goading on their Indian comprador agents to unleash such a brutal war. As part of this plan the US delegation had visited Chhattisgarh several times and Washington is actively overseeing the counter-revolutionary preparations in other states. The comprador big business houses of India—the Tatas, Jindals, Mittals, Ruias (Essar), Birlas, Ambanis & others—and imperialist MNCs like Vedanta, all of which are itching to lay their hands on the abundant forest and mineral wealth of this vast region, are holding secret parleys with their representatives in the political establishment to use all means to brutally crush the Maoist movement. Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique has been carrying on hectic consultations with the various political parties, top bureaucrats and Army officials to deploy the notorious Rashtriya Rifles—the counterinsurgency wing of the Indian Army—against the Maoist movement.

A united struggle by all the revolutionary-democratic forces in the country against this unprecedented cruel state terrorist offensive on the Maoist movement is the urgent need of the hour. The support and solidarity extended by the various revolutionary and democratic forces in India and abroad to the Lalgadh mass uprising and their protest against the massive state offensive has greatly enthused the adivasi people of the region and the people of the entire country. This show of solidarity has opened up a new chapter of unity among the revolutionary and democratic forces.

Comrades!

It is a fact that the revolutionary forces in India have been driven by serious differences for a long period of time. There is still some bitterness owing to several reasons and sharp differences exist in the ideological-political-organizational-military lines. There is need to address these and achieve stronger unity among the entire revolutionary camp on a principled basis. Notwithstanding these differences prevailing at present, our Party earnestly hopes that all the revolutionary parties and organizations in the country will come forward at this critical hour in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement and unite in action to form the broadest united front against this state terrorist offensive. This revolutionary act will give immense confidence to the vast adivasi masses and other sections of the people who are being crushed, displaced and even decimated in accordance with a well-hatched conspiracy of the reactionary rulers.

Let us keep aside our ideological-political differences and join hands to fight back this imperialist-backed state offensive in order to defend the interests of the oppressed masses. The current state terrorist attack by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique is not just on the CPI (Maoist) and the people's war going on in the country but on the entire revolutionary camp and the democratic people's struggles. The aim of this state terrorist offensive is to suppress the revolutionary leadership of the people so as to intensify the exploitation and plunder of the country's wealth by the imperialists and the CBB.

There is no time to ponder. LET US ACT NOW.

10 September, 2009

With Revolutionary Greetings,

Central committee, CPI (Maoist)

Swapan Dasgupta

(19 April 1949—2 February 2010)

Swapan Dasgupta, the editor of *Bangla People's March*, published from Kolkata, died in jail custody as the first political prisoner to die as a UAPA/Unlawful Activities Prevention (Amended) Act of 2008 prisoner. He breathed his last on 2 February 2010 in the ITU, Mackenjee ward of SSKM hospital, Kolkata as a result of physical and mental torture in the police lock-

up since his arrest on 6 October 2009 and utter negligence on the part of the government to give him proper medical treatment both inside Presidency Jail, Kolkata as also in the SSKM hospital. Many people and democratic forums described his death as murder and sections of urban literati have raised the demand for enquiry



about the circumstances leading to his death. Swapan Dasgupta was the editor of *Bangla Peoples' March* since its inception in August 2004 and carried on his task to the best of his ability with courage, dedication and sincerity. Even when the English *People's March* was banned by the government, he continued to publish the journal disseminating revolutionary ideas and news about revolutionary struggles in different parts of the country and also beyond, braving all odds. Intimidation from the state could hardly make any impact on his mind. Swapan Dasgupta's case is a case of deliberate brutal state-sponsored murder in custody. The following information about his life and his days under detention has been collected from the members of his family as also his friends who stood by his side till he finally closed his eyes at the age of 61 and was cremated at Keoratala crematorium.

Swapan Dasgupta was born on 19 April 1949 at Timarpur in Delhi in a middle-class family. His father was Sisir Kumar Dasgupta and mother was Manika Dasgupta. His father was central government employee and connected with swadeshi activities and the *Anushilan Samiti*—the revolutionary organization in British India. Swapan Dasgupta had three brothers and two

sisters, of whom he was the middle brother. At the time of his death, he had one younger brother and mentally disabled sister from child-birth, who was totally dependent on him. Swapan Dasgupta did not marry.

Swapan Dasgupta studied at the Bengali Boys' Higher Secondary School in Delhi till Class VIII. After that he came to Kolkata and settled at Jadavpur Garfa in south Kolkata. There he got enrolled in Dharendra Nath Memorial High School and passed his Higher Secondary from in 1967. For getting jobs, he learnt typing, shorthand (stenography) and sat for examination. In 1972, he got a job in central excise and worked as the PA to the Collector, Sambalpur Central Excise in Orissa. In late 1974, he left his job to work underground as a political activist. He was offered reinstatement in the job if he agreed to disown his ideology. Remaining true to his commitment to

the people's cause, he disdainfully turned down that offer. After his father's death in 1980, he returned to Kolkata. In order to make both ends meet, he had to do a number of low-pay jobs such as doing type-writing in High Court premises, working as stenotypists under court lawyers, doing stenography in a Bombay Dyeing branch office. As he was involved in

office workers' movements, he was dismissed from office by the employers in 1992. After that he worked as a stenographer under many advocates in the Kolkata High Court.

Political Career: He took part in the anti-price rise movement that engulfed large parts of Bengal in 1966 as also in the movement for the release of political

prisoners. As a student, he first joined the CPI and then the CPI (M). When the 'a peal of Spring Thunder crashed over' Naxalbari in north Bengal, he developed close relationship with the revolutionary comrades associated with the martyr Ashu Mazumdar (A student in the Political Science department of Jadavpur University, Ashu Mazumdar was one of the many revolutionary youths influenced by Charu Mazumdar's leadership, and was killed in cold blood by the Indian army in 1971 in south Kolkata). Swapan Dasgupta also had links with the MCC, known as the *Dakshin Desh* group (Dakshin Desh was the mouthpiece of the MCC, which stood apart from the CPI (M-L) at that time and, after many decades, merged with the CPI (M-L) People's War to form the CPI (Maoist). When the CPI (M-L) was formed in 1969, Swapan Dasgupta joined it and got associated with youth squads activities. In 1971, he was once picked

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