

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*

## **Hold High the Prestigious Red Flag of the CPI (Maoist) Party! Celebrate the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of Party Formation from 21 to 27 Sept !!**

At a time when the moribund global imperialist economic system is caught in deep crisis and is facing severe political turmoil, the birth of the CPI (Maoist) and the formation of the PLGA through the merger of the two erstwhile Maoist Parties and Peoples' Guerrilla Armies on 21 September 2004 was indeed a historic event. The third formation day of the Party is approaching. Just in these two years, the Party has gained an important place of its own in a fast-changing international and national situation.

Today, the gang leader of imperialism — American imperialism — the other imperialist forces, their various comprador political parties and the bureaucracy, the feudal forces perceive the CPI(Maoist) as the greatest threat to their interests in the country. Is it anything surprising? No! Not at all. The fascist American imperialism that attacks any

country arrogantly just on the pretext of threat to its country, included the Party in its "terrorist" list. In India; the United Progressive Alliance (UPA)-led Central Government declared that the CPI (Maoist) is the greatest problem to the security of the country overtaking the insurgency in Jammu & Kashmir. American imperialism has been extending all kinds of political and military support to the Indian government to crush the newly formed Party. Various kinds of joint military exercises, imparting specialized counter-insurgency training to the Indian police and military forces to combat revolutionary guerrilla war, opening of FBI (American intelligence machinery) office in Delhi, signing of the Indo-US nuclear deal and various other pacts — all these have become established facts today.

*Contd. on page 3*

**HAIL THE 3<sup>rd</sup> FORMATION DAY OF CPI (MAOIST)!**  
**AROUSE THE PEOPLE IN MILLIONS FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY!!**

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## .....Hold High the Prestigious Red Flag of the CPI (Maoist) Party!

*Contd. from cover page*

The Central and various state governments have established a joint task force under the Joint Operational Command (JOC) to suppress the people's war and have fully engaged their repressive machinery against the Party. Feeling helpless in spite of these measures, the central and various state governments have drawn up plans to increase the battalions of the police forces and the CRPF in a big way. These forces are being equipped with sophisticated weaponry, explosives, launchers, mine-proof vehicles, unmanned aerial vehicles etc. The enemy intelligence network is being expanded from the countryside to the cities, from the state capitals to Delhi, as well as in Washington to deal with the Maoist "threat". The informer network is being expanded in a planned manner and covert agents are being sent within the Party and the movement in order to eliminate the leadership and to sabotage the movement.

In the past two years two PB members of the Party—comrades Barunda and Vijayda—were arrested, a CC member and secretary of West Bengal state committee, comrade Tapas, was arrested along with some state committee members, members of various Party committees, organizers, Party members and sympathizers. A few months back, a fast track court had given a verdict sentencing comrade Barun to five years imprisonment and comrades Tapas and Pratul to life imprisonment. In less than two years, over 500 comrades of the Party, (over 300 in the past ten months) became martyrs. Among the heroic martyrs are veteran Party leaders such as PB member comrade Shamsher Singh Sheri, comrade Saketh Rajan, secretary of the Karnataka state committee, comrade Naemuddin (Ravi), secretary of Uttar Bihar-Uttar Pradesh-Uttarakhand Special Area Committee, comrade Madhav, secretary of AP state committee, comrade Ravi Kumar alias Sridhar, AP state secretariat member, comrade Yadanna, a member of NTSZC, comrade Mangthu, a member of the DKSZC and SMC member, several members of regional, Zonal/divisional/district, sub-zone and area Party committees, members of Party cells, brave commanders and fighters of the companies and platoons, LGS and LOS, people's

militia units of the PLGA, leaders and activists of revolutionary mass organizations, and members of the revolutionary masses had laid down their lives fighting heroically with the state's forces and the reactionary forces.

Since the past one year the UPA-led central government and the BJP's Chattisgarh government had unleashed a massive armed counter-revolutionary campaign against the Party in Dandakaranya in the name of Salwa Judum or peace campaign. Directly led by the comprador-feudal Mahendra Karma of the Congress, the campaign is carried out by the Naga Force, CRPF, the Chhathisgarh special police force, Greyhounds of AP by mobilizing and arming the lumpen and reactionary elements among the adivasis. At least 125 villages have been burnt and totally destroyed by these Salwa Judum goondas. 150 people belonging to the revolutionary mass organizations, organs of political power, and people sympathetic to the revolutionary movement had been murdered. Over 500 villagers were forcibly vacated and 50,000 adivasis were uprooted from their homes and placed in special camps under police control. Censorship has been imposed on the media.

The exploiting ruling classes, while unleashing this campaign of murder, loot and terror, have tried to cover this up under a democratic mask by portraying Salwa Judum as an independent uprising of adivasis against the Maoists and that the state has no role in it. But they had failed to achieve their objective and to fool the people. The Party succeeded in exposing it politically and countering it militarily. At least 60 policemen and CRPF personnel were annihilated in DK in the past one year. Almost 200 goondas and leaders of Salwa Judum including many Special Police Officers (SPOs) were consumed by the people's fury.

During this period, the ruling classes stepped up their suppression campaign in AP, particularly in the Nallamala forest region by deploying huge specially-trained police forces like the Greyhounds and central forces. They specially targeted the Party leadership and succeeded in causing heavy losses to the Party mainly through their extensive informer network. By using their vigilante gangs like Cobras and

Tigers, they also attacked the activists and leaders of revolutionary mass organisations and democratic intellectuals.

The successful politico-military campaign by the forces had not only pushed back the offensive by the state in the name of Salwa Judum but also created schisms within and between the various ruling class political parties. The retaliatory military actions and tactical counter-offensive operations had inspired the Party cadre, PLGA fighters and the entire masses of not only of Dandakaranya but also throughout the country. The Party also succeeded in recruiting people into the three wings of PLGA and in further advancing the people's war.

The tactical counter-offensive campaign and retaliatory military operations by the PLGA and the armed masses under the leadership of the Party in other parts of the country too had advanced considerably during this period creating good political impact. The daring Madhuban multiple raid in north Bihar; the historic 'Operation Jail Break' of Jehanabad; the massive raid and seizure of 200 arms from the Homeguard training camp in Giridih in Jharkhand; the multiple raid and jail break in R Udayagiri in Orissa; the attack on the special police camp in Murkinaar, killing 11 policemen and seizing nearly 50 arms, killing of 24 CRPF troops by blasting the mine-proof vehicle in Padedda, annihilation of 10 Naga Battalion jawans, raids and ambushes on the police and CRPF at several places in DK (Chattisgarh); attack on the CRPF camp in Jhumra in Jharkhand—all these show the onward march of the people's war and the superiority of the guerilla tactics of counter-offensive undertaken by the forces in spite of the massive suppression campaign by the state. Overall, about 200 personnel of the state police and the central para-military forces have been killed and arms, ammunition and explosives have been seized from the enemy on a considerable scale.

The Indian revolution has great significance in the world revolution due to the size of the country. The success of the revolution in India will have an earth-shaking impact not only on the new democratic revolutions in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries but also on the

proletarian socialist revolutions in the imperialist and capitalist countries. That is why the imperialists and the reactionaries all over the world led by the US imperialists have seriously taken up the task of suppressing the Party which is leading the Indian revolution. As the vanguard of the Indian proletariat, which is an important detachment of the world proletariat, the Party too has to relentlessly fight ideologically, politically and practically against all forms of bourgeois and revisionist ideas, political lines, conspiracies and offensives, be vigilant against the emergence of non-proletarian trends and ideology and rectify them continuously until final victory.

CPI(Maoist) is heir to those Maoist Parties that had taken up armed agrarian revolution and protracted people's war from the very beginning and adhered to it consistently as the only means to smash the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system in the country in order to establish socialism and communism after passing through the stage of new democracy. They had engaged in anti-feudal, anti-imperialist armed agrarian guerilla war and building the revolutionary mass movement from the very beginning and won the confidence of the masses. The Party has been striving to fight against the oppression, injustice, and all forms of atrocities let loose on the exploited toiling classes, nationalities, dalits and other backward castes, adivasis, oppressed women and religious minorities, middle classes, and other sections of people and to secure the social and political rights snatched away from them. This task has to be given greater emphasis by stepping up the efforts to organize all the above-mentioned sections of the people. We must step up the efforts to organize the unemployed youth and people deprived of the basic needs of livelihood.

Today, due to the imperialist offensive in the form of globalization-privatisation-liberalisation, the toiling people of the entire world, particularly the people of semi-colonial countries, are adversely effected. And, due to its semi-colonial semi-feudal character, all spheres of economy, society, polity and culture of the country are effected. Vast sections of the people are groaning under the oppressive burden of these pro-imperialist policies. Lakhs of workers in the industrial and service sectors are being retrenched. Wages of the working class are

being frozen. No new jobs are created resulting in massive unemployment of the youth. Thousands of peasants are becoming pauperized and committing suicide. The onslaught of imperialist culture has made women into commodities for sex and has made life highly insecure for the vast majority of women. Due to the massive cuts in expenditure for healthcare, hitherto unknown or rarely-occurring diseases have now become common and are spreading like epidemic. Education has become the prerogative of the rich and the privileged as funds for education have been reduced drastically. The offensive of the MNCs has ruined domestic and household industry, and the handloom sector, pushing the workers to suicides and into the reserve army of unemployed. The informal sector has burgeoned as imperialist and comprador capital finds it more profitable to subcontract much of their work. Lakhs of adivasis and other sections of the peasantry are being displaced to make way for so-called big development projects. In the urban areas, slum demolition is in full swing to cater to the needs of technology and amusement parks, special economic zones, five star hotels, multiplex complexes, shopping malls and big corporations. All this has created more favourable conditions for organizing the masses militantly on their life and death issues and to bring them to the side of revolution.

In such a situation, the exploiting ruling classes have no other alternative but to step up their armed offensive on the people and it is only the CPI (Maoist) that is equipped to lead them. And the people too have no other alternative than to take to the path of militant revolutionary struggle. That is why the formation of the CPI(Maoist) and the unification of the two guerilla armies had enthused the toiling masses who look towards the newly-unified Party to provide them leadership.

The Party shoulders the responsibility of leading the vast masses on their day-to-day demands, intensifying and expanding the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles throughout the country, and advancing the people's war to the next higher stage by defeating the all-round offensive of the enemy. The Party shoulders the responsibility of recruiting thousands upon thousands of working class and peasant youth into the guerilla

army to transform it into a PLA, of transforming the guerilla zones into Base Areas, Red resistance zones into guerilla zones, create many more new zones of armed struggle, transform the urban areas into strong bastions of revolutionary activity with strictly underground Party structures and thus expand the people's war throughout the country.

The great leaders and teachers, comrades CM and KC, had fought uncompromisingly against the revisionism of all hues, established the path of protracted people's war and area-wise seizure of power, and conducted struggles, internal and external, in the most difficult period of history. The Party has seen many ups and downs in the long history of 37 years, built the armed agrarian revolutionary struggle from scratch in a few small pockets and has now expanded the struggle to several states. Thousands of comrades have sacrificed their lives in the course of advancing the people's war. By firmly relying on the ideology of MLM and applying the dialectical materialist method to solve the problems confronting the revolutionary movement, adhering to the revolutionary mass line and the path of PPW, and deriving inspiration from comrades CM and KC, and thousands of the heroic selfless martyrs and avoiding the mistakes committed in the past, the Party can certainly fulfill the diverse tasks of the Indian revolution.

On the occasion of the completion of two years of the formation of the Party let the masses and democratic and revolutionary forces throughout the country commemorate this historic week by taking the ideals of the Party and its programme and tactics deep amongst the masses of the Country. Take up extensive propaganda campaigns regarding the political and ideological line and policies of the Party and the achievements of the New Democratic Revolution of India; the cherished aims and goals of the martyrs, their invaluable sacrifices, and their exemplary lives and high communist values which they upheld. Propagate the ideology of MLM and its historical development with special emphasis on the struggle against revisionism. Let this commemoration become a festival of the people propagating its goals through song, dance, skits, plays, posters, exhibitions, handbills, and new and creative methods of propaganda and agitation.



## Government Prepares for a Massive Clamp Down on Maoists

As though the butchery of Maoists in AP and Dandakaranya are not enough the Hitlerian state prepares for a massive crackdown on Naxalites to please their imperialist and comprador masters.

In AP the fake encounter of the AP State secretary of the party, Com. Madhav, is just the latest in the series of ruthless brutality of the state. This was preceded by the massacre of nine comrades in Rayalseema in end April 2006 followed by four killed a few days later on May 1<sup>st</sup>; the butchery of eight in Mahboobnagar; the killing of state secretariat leader, com Shridhar and two others; and now the state secretary of the party together with another seven to eight. In all the incidents senior leaders of the CPI(Maoist) Party have been martyred. But not satisfied with this level of brutality the AP government is demanding the introduction of the Army.

In the DK area since the Salwa Judum terror was started last June over 250 innocent villagers have been massacred by the marauders. But here the Maoists have been able to effectively hit back. The latest action at Errabore village of Dantewada district in which about 33 SPOs and Salwa Judum lumpens were wiped out, and the camp destroyed, under the very nose of the CRPF, have created even greater panic in the rulers, with the Chhathisgarh government also demanding the introduction of the army.

In Bihar over hundred have been arrested over the last few months and Jharkhand extensive combing operations are going on. Both the states have already beefed up their forces. Yet both the states have also been demanding the introduction of the Army.

**It was not surprising therefore that on August 9<sup>th</sup> at a top secret conclave top brass of the Naxalite affected states and para-military forces gathered at Bhatinda (in Punjab) and held a high level meeting with the army authorities at the local military station. The participation of senior police officials of AP, Bihar, Jharkhand and Chhathisgarh was reported. It was attended by various DGPs, ADGPs, IGs, and even some of SP rank officials from these four states, along with**

**officials from the Indian army, the CRPF and the Intelligence Bureau. The meeting was also attended by the Punjab DGP.**

**In addition the Centre has allocated five of the most sophisticated unmanned aerial vehicles, latterly purchased from Israel, to spy on the Maoist camps and bomb them. These are being allocated to all the effected Maoist states.**

While all other meetings, and there have been a series of them, have been held under the auspices of the Home Ministry, this was the first to be initiated by the army in their own headquarters. In fact the Union Home Secretary, V.K.Duggal, appears to have become an expert on planning and execution of anti-Naxalite activities. In just the last few months he has held a series of such meetings.

In end April itself at a meeting chaired by Union Home Secretary, V.K.Duggal, and attended by the Chhathisgarh Chief Secretary and DGP, besides KPS Gill, CRPF

### US's Growing Control over Indian Army

The number of visits by military delegations from the US have been the highest by any country of late. In 2005, there were over 50 visits, averaging one visit per week.  
Outlook Aug.7 2006

Chief and IB top brass a tentative plan was chalked out to be vetted by KPS Gill.

But the action at Errabore upset these plans and new plans were chalked out at a hurriedly called meeting by the Union Home Secretary, V.K.Duggal. Present at this meeting were Chhathisgarh Chief Secretary, IB Director, CRPF Director General, and senior officials of the MHA. At this meeting the Centre proposed full time arming of the SPOs, consolidation of the camps by bringing down the numbers, drawing up of a proper security plan for the 'relief' camps of SJ lumpens, strengthening of local intelligence and also enhancing the number of the CRPF.

A few days later, on July 21<sup>st</sup> yet again a high level meeting was held in

Bubhaneshwar which was attended by the Chief Secretaries and DGPs of the Naxalite affected states.

And so the preparations for an even more ruthless offensive are taking place. Even the web site of this independent magazine has been illegally banned. Though this is a legally registered magazine the rulers have banned the web site sine May 15<sup>th</sup>.

Two states, Orissa and Jharkhand, have recently banned the Maoist Party and many mass organisations. This was done in a crude and blatant manner to placate the mining mafia don, Laxmi Mittal. The latter, on a recent visit to these states, had openly threatened that he cannot be expected to invest such large sums in his mining projects unless the Naxalites are crushed. Obviously the army and police are to be used for the service of the likes of the Mittals, TNCs and the big time compradors. This fact should not be missed by those who tend to equate the violence of the revolutionaries with that of the state.

Unfortunately some human rights activists are unable to understand the ruler's game-plan in this Salwa Judum campaign of using tribals as cannon fodder and tend to condemn both the State and Naxalites for the deaths of tribals. If they do not want innocent tribals not to be killed they should first talk of their upliftment where thousands and thousands die each year out of hunger, disease and poverty. This is no less a brutal violence against the lives of the people. In areas of naxalite influence for the first time ever the tribals saw a better life — of dignity and self-respect. For the first time ever they saw an end of their inhuman exploitation and were able to better their standard of living.

The masses of the country and all progressives need to strongly demand the government to stop the use of the para-military and the proposed use of the army against its own people. Of course the oppressed masses will resist any onslaught on them by these forces and beat back their offensive however ruthless it may be.

□ □

**After banning CPI (Maoist) & many mass organisations, out of 44 'mainstream' MLA's from Jharkhand 21 MLA's were spotted in the backwaters in Alleppey Dist. of Kerala on 8th September as they are feared of Indian Democratic system.**

## The Errabore Incident & Advance of People's War

On the night of July 16<sup>th</sup> over 1,000 villagers raided the Salwa Judum (concentration) camp at Errabore in which hundreds of villagers are being forcibly detained by the para-military forces under the direct supervision of the notorious SPOs (Special Police Officers). While the main forces of the PLGA held at bay the police/para-military forces in their camp the villagers sought to free the innocent villagers and take action on the notorious SPOs. In the process about 30 SPOs and Salwa Judum goons were killed and 10 villagers were injured. In the commotion that ensued in the darkness it was unfortunate that two children also lost their lives. The SPOs and SJ hoodlums are known to use the people and even children as shields for their protection, knowing the Naxalites will not harm them. But in the darkness this was not possible and the unfortunate incident also occurred.

This action has broken the back of the Salwa Judum terror; the ruling classes have been forced to re-think their Salwa Judum strategy of using civilian tribals as the front paw of their military plans. They will no doubt come with a more sophisticated military plan now.

A statement issued by the Dandarkaranya Special Zonal Committee dated July 28<sup>th</sup> of the CPI(Maoist) had this to say about the Errabore action:

*"In Dantewada the so-called welfare camps are being run by the SPOs and goons (called SJ cadres). They oppress the people in the camps and keep a watch over their every movement. If anyone wants to return to the village they are beaten and forcibly kept there. The police/para-military do not directly guard the camps but keep them in the vicinity of their camps so that they can act as a shield for their protection. It is these same SPOs and goons that have wrecked havoc in the Konta, Dornapal, areas. Together with the police and the para-military they created a terror in the area — killing people in the village, gang-raping women, burning houses, looting property, shooting people at random in the fields, preventing agriculture, etc. Without wiping out these elements it would be impossible for the people of this region to live in peace.*

*It was in response to the feeling of the masses that the PLGA pinned down the police and para-military forces while the masses attacked the SPOs in the camp. In the intensive battle between the villagers and the SPOs about 30 SPOs were killed and 10 comrades injured. In the commotion resulting from the darkness two children were also killed, which was very sad. Our people's militia arrested 42 people of which 6 were sentenced to death while the others were released as they were not hardcore criminals and it is not our intention to hurt ordinary people.*

*We once again repeat that the SJ is no spontaneous movement of the Adivasis but it is a repression campaign being carried out in the interests of the likes of Tata, Essar, and the TNCs of the US and Japan who have vast mining interests in the region. And in order to clear the path for these businesses to rob our minerals they are prepared to kill hundreds of thousands of people. The people of Bastar will definitely destroy this conspiracy against them. Some middle class liberal intellectuals say "whether the bullets come from this side or that, it is only the poor Adivasis who are dying" and so criticise the just resistance of the people. But by doing such criticism they are indirectly acting to strengthen the hands of the government. This is a revolt — a revolt of the oppressed Adivasis of Bastar who have seen their women raped, their children tortured and killed, their houses and crops burnt, by a fake democratic system, and who are striving for a real new democracy for the people. We appeal to all democrats to oppose this Salwa Judum and support our just resistance struggle and thereby save the Adivasis from destruction, displacement, and death. In the course of our activities we do make mistakes which you please openly criticise, we will also accept it, but because of these do not oppose the just struggle of the people." (Extracts from the Hindi original statement, translated)*

Many an intellectual have come out in criticism against the action at Errabore, but this itself would not have taken place if the SJ and terror had not been unleashed by the State. If the Maoists were to have sat there 'peacefully' they would have

continued their massacre, rapes, destruction and looting. The losses would have been far worse. Not only that the intellectuals sometimes have a myopic vision and do not see the long-term implications of such an action. For centuries these people were kept in total darkness with no development whatsoever. The Maoists after establishing their power have conducted developmental projects, built tanks, schools, brought medical facilities, fish farming, agricultural techniques and fruit and vegetables, forestation programmes and put an end to their loot by politicians, police, traders, bureaucrats, et al. but now with this massive military campaign the development projects have had to be temporarily curtailed. Besides the final aim of the rulers is to totally wipe out the adivasis and clear the forest for the giant mining mafia ready to enter the region armed with MoUs.

Some so-called intellectual have gone to extremes in their condemnation of this action. A Marathi magazine brought out by the top leaders of the Namada Bachao Andolan had severely castigated the action in their Aug 2006 issue (From Andolan-Shashwat Vikasasathi ). They went to the extent of entitling the article: *Not revolutionaries, Obnoxious Agents!* Then they went on to say:

*On 18<sup>th</sup> July Naxalites from Chattisgarh launched an attack on the adivasi camp at Errabore in Dantewada dist and killed 32 tribals with sharp weapons. No mercy was shown to small children, old people. Then they kidnapped 25 people and in order to terrorise the villagers killed 5 of them in their presence.*

*While condemning this Errabore incident we must note that they have not touched big govt officers, industrialists, and the national and international corporates, ministers, leaders, top police officers who are swallowing the forest lands from Chhathisgarh to Orissa. All progressive organizations should take note of the fact that the Naxalites take money from big industrialists and politicians, give them protection and kill poor, unprotected adivasis and ordinary policemen. This is a self revolt against*

*the people. This group is behaving like a private sena of these industrialists. The so-called Peace campaign salwa judum started by the Govt against NXL in Ch. is leading to displacement of tribals. Their condition is really miserable. But, in order to oppose Salwa Judum killing our own tribal brothers cruelly or laying mines to kill ordinary policemen, if these so-called revolutionaries are going to do such atrocious (obnoxious) actions then ordinary people's faith in other progressive movements will become less.*

*Because of these actions the reports that Naxalites are conducting development works in their "liberated" areas seem artificial and cunning. If the Naxalites want to improve their image among people's organizations and faith then they should show the courage to raise their hands against the exploiters.*

*There are some honest activists and organizations having sympathy for and contacts with Naxalite groups. They*

*should atleast educate these headstrong and stubborn comrades. Those who commit atrocities against and act vengefully against ordinary people can never be progressive or revolutionary. Unbounded love for the people is the foundation of revolt and revolution, this is what Che Geuvara said years ago, Mao also laid the foundation of such a liberal and pro-people revolution. If not anyone else, then the Naxalites should listen to what their Gods have to say.*

This is a statement by those who profess to be on the side of the poor. Such a crude lie that *This group is behaving like a private sena of these industrialists*, even the worst of reactionaries find it difficult to make. The NBA might have its non-violent methods (which have not achieved much) but to turn white into black in the name of non-violence is just what the reactionaries would like. The police do it well; it is surprising to find the NBA on the same plane as the police.

The point is that in the face of a gigantic Raksha the people have only two options: get swallowed up by it or resist it. The NBA have allowed the former, the Naxalites are attempting the latter. It is time these advocates of non-violence reflect on their two decades of passive struggle and see, relatively what the Naxalites have achieved — if they are honest to the people. And as for the point of *Unbounded love for the people as the foundation of revolt and revolution*, there is no all encompassing love. If you really love the beautiful flower you would have to kill the insect or the love for the flower would prove hollow. And if you really love the people you have to destroy the fascists and their army of hoodlums. Waxing eloquent about non-violence, where the oppressed masses face violence daily, nay hourly, and at every second of their life, shows a lack of sensitivity and knowledge of what is taking place at the ground level.

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## JOINT PRESS RELEASE OF CPN (Maoist) & CPI (Maoist)

### On Recent Debates

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the Communist Party of India (Maoist) jointly re-assert their firm commitment to proletarian internationalism, mutual fraternal relations, on the basis of MLM. All tactical questions being adopted in the respective countries are the sole concern of the parties operating there. Both parties will seek to learn from the positive experiences of the other party as also the experiences of the Maoists who comprise the ICM.

While doing so we shall continue debates on ideological, political and strategic issues on which we differ in the true democratic traditions of the international communist movement. These debates and discussions will take place bilaterally and also, occasionally, publicly. Such differences are inevitable as struggles in the sphere of ideas are inevitable in a class society, which, as Engels said, is a reflection of the class struggle in society.

Lately a section of the media has tried to blow out of proportion differences that have been expressed by the two parties publicly. It is in the interests of the reactionaries that Maoists divide and split

continuously. It is then no wonder that a section of the media has sought to exaggerate the differences in India and Nepal.

The two parties once again re-assert their firm unity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism while continuing healthy debates and discussions on issues on which we differ.

### On LEBANON

The CPN(Maoist) and CPI(Maoist) jointly condemn the brutal attack of the America-backed Israeli regime against the people of Lebanon. In the name of attacking the guerrilla resistances they have resorted to mass massacre, killing about 1,000 and displacing 25% of the population of Lebanon. The Zionist genocidal regime, acting as the front paw of the US imperialists, is becoming more and more fierce throughout the world, and this is yet another adventure against an independent country.

Not satisfied by being bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US stooges are facing stiff resistance in Lebanon. The attack on Lebanon is fraught with great dangers as the forces fighting there have the strong backing of Syria and Iran. If the

war escalates it can engulf the entire West Asia.

Even in South Asia the US imperialists are more and more openly intervening in the countries of the region. Particularly in Nepal and India they have been directly intervening in the suppression of the Maoist movements. As part of their direct intervention the US officers have themselves been training the RNA and even entering every sphere of society to subvert the ongoing anti-monarchical movement. In India the US diplomats have been openly visiting Chhatisgargh and the military-run jungle warfare camp as part of their plans to suppress the Maoists.

We, the Maoist parties of Nepal and India strongly condemn the blatant aggression of Lebanon and call for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops and an end to the bombing of civilian targets by the Zionists. The two parties also call for the immediate end to the interference by the US in the internal affairs of Nepal and India and the other countries of South Asia.

Azad  
Spokesperson  
CPI (Maoist)

Satya  
CCM CPN(Maoist)

August 8, 2006

## Press Release Of the 4th Conference of the CCOMPOSA

CCOPOSA has successfully completed its 4th conference recently in August 2006. This conference was held in a situation where the U.S., the foremost enemy of the people of the world, and its lackeys are carrying forward their all out onslaught on the masses through out the world and the oppressed masses are valiantly fighting against it. Though it turned Iraq and Afghanistan into regions of horrifying butchery, the heroic resistance of the masses has already bogged it down forcing it to seek a safe way out. The valiant people of Lebanon and Palestine are fighting out the Zionist murderers who are backed by the U.S. In South Asia, U.S. hatched-up conspiracies with India expansionism to kill the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal has been blocked and the revolution continues, giving rise to a wider and powerful upsurge against the hated monarchy and gaining new victories. Elsewhere in India and Bangladesh masses are scaling new heights on the torturous road of revolution though the fascist and reactionary ruling classes are killing hundreds of brave sons and daughters of revolution. Particular mention must be made of the brutal Salwa Judum campaign in Dandakaranya (India) which has been successfully beaten back by the Maoists. In Bhutan the budding Maoist movement

has courageously taken up the task of mobilising the masses for revolution.

In July, one of the founding member of CCOMPOSA com. Kamrul Master of Communist Party of East Bengal (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag [CPEB(ML) Red Flag] was arrested and cold bloodedly murdered by the Bangladeshi ruling classes. Another founding member com: Sunil Roy of CPI(Maoist) is imprisoned. In the 2 years since the last CCOMPOSA Conference more than 1300 Maoists have laid down their lives for the cause of revolution.

The conference started by paying homage to martyrs, among them another of its founder members, com: Karam Singh of the CPI(Maoist). Its discussions reflected the revolutionary struggles taking place and the determination to forge ahead.

The conference has decided to enhance co-ordination and co-operation among the Maoist forces in its various fields of activity among the broad masses of South Asia. It resolved to fight against India's expansionist designs in South Asia under imperialist guidance. In its resolutions the conference paid homage to martyrs, condemned the cold blooded murders of revolutionaries and repressive campaigns against struggling people, called on the people and join the movement for the release of political prisoners,

condemned US and Indian expansionist conspiracies in Nepal, exposed the sham reforms of the Bhutan King, and declared solidarity with the people of Lebanon and Palestine. It called on the oppressed peoples of South Asian countries to join the struggles against Indian expansionism and imperialism, particularly against the main enemy US imperialism and turn South Asia into a flaming field of revolutionary struggles.

- 1) *Proletarian Party of Purba Bangladesh; PBSP (CC) [Bangladesh]*
  - 2) *Communist Party of East Bengal(ML)(Red Flag); CPEB (ML)(Red Flag) [Bangladesh]* 3) *Bangladesher Samyobadi Dal(Marxist-Leninist) BSD(ML) [Bangladesh]*
  - 4) *Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) CPB(MLM)*
  - 5) *Communist Party of India (Maoist) ; CPI(Maoist)*
  - 6) *Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Naxalbari CPI-ML (Naxalbari) [India]*
  - 7) *Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) CPI(MLM)[India]*
  - 8) *Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist); CPN(Maoist) [Nepal]*
  - 9) *Communist Party of Ceylon (Maoist)*
- August 18, 2006

### POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF CCOMPOSA 4<sup>th</sup> CONFERENCE

We the Maoist parties of South Asia are advancing the revolution under the conditions of a big imperialist and reactionary offensive in this region. Brutal and fascist repression against the revolutionary and nationality forces has become the norm by not only state but also extra judicial forces in the respective countries like the Retaliatory Teams in Nepal, Salwa Judum, Cobra and Sendra in India amongst others, JMB (Jagroto Muslim Bangla) leading Bangla Bhai in Bangladesh, etc. Yet with the intensifying crisis the ruling classes of the respective countries are locked in internecine strife while the masses are rising up in mass discontent.

International events and those in South Asia are developing rapidly. Both are in a deep flux. Development never takes place in a straight line; there are numerous twists

and turns. Over the past year this is to be clearly seen. Of course, this is taking place within the general framework of the present period marked by the massive attacks of finance capital worldwide — economic, political, military and even social, cultural,—going under the signboard of 'globalisation'. Particularly since 2001 and the 9/11 attacks, it is manifested by: a growing economic crisis and political instability worldwide; increasing war-like policies of the number one imperialist, US imperialism, and greater unilateralism; greater and more ruthless attacks (economic and also military) by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, on the backward countries of the world; increased impoverisation of the working class in the developed countries and mass scale destitution in the backward countries; and greater fascisation of the state in all

countries of the world in the name of fighting the 'war on terror'.

US imperialism continues to be the number one enemy of all humankind and the only superpower existing today. It is the most aggressive and hegemonistic power in the world. It resorts to the worst forms of terrorism to maintain and extend its hegemony throughout the world. It is continuing to maintain over 100 military bases all over the world. But it is also facing severe problems.

The economy of the world is showing increasing fragility due to its increasingly speculative character. Though there has been a partial recovery since the severe downturn in the world economy in 2001, this has been faltering, weak and exceedingly fragile. Many an economist is predicting another crash, notwithstanding the high growth rates shown by official

data for the US. Besides, this halting recovery has been accompanied by jobless growth, leading to further impoverisation of the masses worldwide. Also much of the so-called growth is illusory as it is not due to dynamism in the economies of the developed countries but the high growth rates recorded in the backward countries, most of which are based not on a sound economy but on imperialist induced artificial booms accompanied to a large extent by speculative capital.

While the economies of Europe and Japan are virtually stagnant that of the US is like a bubble being blown to the point of burst. Its economy is exceedingly fragile, with mountains of debt and deficits. After gigantic budget and current account deficits in 2004 it has gone up even higher last year. Last year the budget deficit was \$ 400 billion and the current account deficit \$780 billion. The confidence in the dollar as the only international currency is shaky and the Euro, with some ups and downs, has been rising to challenge the hegemony of the dollar. The US must get investments at the rate of \$ 2 billion per day to cover its trade deficit. If governments start investing their reserves in euros or other currencies the economy will be pushed to the brink.

Today, inspite of the weaknesses in the European economies, it is a major contender to the US. This contention is reflected in both countries seeking to make trade blocs outside the WTO and strengthen existing ones. Though united in their attacks on the backward countries, the economic contention between the two is also reflected in the WTO.

Relatively the economy of Russia has seen some recovery which has enabled it to once again begin asserting their imperialist might in many parts of the world, particularly its backyard. And together with China's their combined strength are becoming a threat to US hegemony. Russia has already pushed back the US in much of the CIS (Confederation of Independent States) countries, and is pushing aggressively in West Asia. China is using its economic clout to gain markets like Sudan, Myanmar, many countries of South East Asia, etc besides their traditional hold of North Korea and Mongolia. Russia and China are forging a powerful bloc in the Shanghai Corporation Organisaion (SCO) which has a clear anti-US trend.

Though collusion amongst imperialists continues to be principle, contention is intensifying, specifically compared to the early 1990s.

If we turn then to the backward countries, the situation is getting worse each day due to the continuous increase in the imperialist/comprador loot. Not only do the imperialists siphon off the loot from these countries abroad so do the compradors destroying the local economies. The compradors too hold about 50% of their wealth in foreign countries. Africa is virtually in a state of chaos with western robber barons looting its natural resources, while Latin America is just coming out of one of the worst crisis it has ever faced. East Asia, that was battered by the 1997 imperialist financial attack, is yet to recover.

South Asia is being devastated with the growing imperialist/comprador loot. The smaller countries are in addition reeling under the jackboot of Indian expansionism, backed by imperialism, particularly US imperialism. The masses are resisting this onslaught in all ways possible and where they are led by the Maoists the struggle is taking a revolutionary turn, as in Nepal, India and Bangladesh. Where the revolutionaries are not present the masses take to spontaneous outbursts, going well beyond the limits set by the revisionist and bourgeois parties, which are mostly crushed by brute force.

The policies of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation have been devastating the lives of the masses throughout the world and each day pushes thousands more into the depths of poverty and destitution. This has affected both the developed and the underdeveloped countries, but it has hit the latter the worst. In addition these policies have given unimaginable wealth to a hand full of global sharks with a spill off to their comprador stooges in the backward countries. The gap between the rich and the poor has gone to unprecedented heights, and continues to grow. Thereby the contradictions between the haves and the have-not continue to sharpen; class contradictions intensify. The deepening crises in the imperialist economies are further intensifying their contradictions. Though no fixed blocs have as yet occurred and

alignments are in a flux the scramble for markets is intensifying.

This situation is resulting in the US flexing its military muscle in many parts of the world. Using Israel as its front paw in the West Asia it is pushing aggression and threatening all the countries of the region. Though bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan by the continued resistance of the people of these countries, using Israel it has launched a new adventure against Lebanon. Though resorting to mass massacre of the people of this country, they have been facing a heroic and stiff resistance. No doubt the entire West Asia will turn into a noose around the neck of the US imperialists and their zionist stooges.

In South Asia, over the recent years the Indian ruling classes are becoming the front paw of the US imperialists in the region and even beyond. While maintaining good relations with all the other countries of the region it is more and more drawing the servile Indian rulers into their geo-strategic interests. Indian expansionists backed by the US gangsters are being used to subvert all movements of the people in South Asia utilizing its gigantic army, paramilitary, intelligence and sophisticated weaponry. They have been ruthlessly attacking the revolutionary and nationality movements in the country, and assisting reactionary governments in the region both materially and physically. Kashmir and the North East states have become garrison states under Indian army occupation, where lakhs have been brutally killed. The Indian expansionist rulers are hated by the people of South Asia, including the people of India. The Indian Army's presence has been strengthened in Bhutan under the pretext of attacks on the ULFA.

But South Asia has also become a burning cauldron of the revolutionary, and more particularly Maoist, movements. The people's war in Nepal is reaching new heights, the merger of the two major Maoist forces in India have created a formidable force in India, the efforts of the Maoists to unite and extend the people's war to new areas in Bangladesh, and sprouts of the new Maoist movement in Bhutan, make South Asia a flaming field of Maoist revolutions. Together with these the armed

nationality movements in the region have created an explosive situation.

The Maoists of Nepal have liberated the bulk of the countryside of their country and have successfully fought back the brutal onslaughts of the RNA and the genocidal monarchy. The US are intervening directly in all aspects of the political and military life of Nepal. Their movement has reached the stage of the strategic offensive with a powerful PLA and a vast militia. The massive people's upsurge in the country led by the Maoists has forced the monarchy to step back, and has created an unprecedented revolutionary situation in Nepal. The heroic Nepalese people, led by the CPN(Maoist), have recently come forward in lakhs to take the revolution forward, exposing the vacillations of the 7-party alliance. Nepal has today reached a critical juncture; and a great bright future awaits the people of that country.

The recent unity of the major Maoist parties in India has been a path-breaking advance of the Indian revolutionary movement and has led to an intensification of the people's war. Some other Maoist parties in India are also making preparations in this direction. The CPI(Maoists) and the PLGA have been able to successfully beat back the massive onslaught on them in Chhattisgarh going on in the name of Salwa Judum. The unification has created panic in the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist backers (particularly the US) and today the Maoists are for the first time being targeted as the number one internal enemy of these ruling gangsters. The growing ability of the PLGA to beat back the state's cruel offensive is creating a new hope in the people of this vast country.

In Bangladesh in spite of the divisions in the Maoist ranks and most brutal repression, particularly by the RAB (Rapid Action Battalion), Maoists have made strenuous efforts to advance the people's war in their country. They have also been making efforts to end their divisions and unite into a strong Maoist force in the country.

In Bhutan the Maoist sprouts continue to grow notwithstanding the massive repression of the feudal State, total lack of democratic rights, and the presence of the large Indian forces stationed in that

country. All are mobilised to crush the new sprouts of the Maoist movement and justice-loving people in Bhutan.

Today, though the worldwide situation is ripe for a major advance of the genuine revolutionary movements of the world the subjective forces are weak. Though the Maoist forces are recovering their strength from the setback in 1976 with China turning revisionist, and are united more firmly on MLM, revisionism has eaten into the vitals of many communists and turned them into a spent force. Today it is revisionism that is the main danger to the communist forces throughout the world. It is impossible to advance the revolution without a consistent and thoroughgoing struggle against revisionism, whatever the form it takes. As part of this dogmato-sectarianism is also having a negative impact on communist movements in the world. Today, more than ever before, there is urgent need for all genuine communists to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, including the experiences of the GPCR, to the concrete conditions of their country and advance the revolutions for the seizure of power by armed force towards building socialism and advancing towards communism. In this process with the advancement of the revolution and the class struggle MLM too develops. Along with major challenges, there are great revolutionary opportunities in the present world and the Maoists must dare scale new heights.

There have been vast people's upsurges throughout the world against the aggressive policies of the US imperialists which have shaken the imperialists to the core. The massive violent outbreaks in France have created a panic in entire Europe. The growing national liberation movements around the world have created a new fear in the imperialist minds. And most important the Maoist People's wars of Nepal, Philippines, India, Turkey and Peru are the sparks of a new awakening towards a bright socialist future. A new wave of great revolutionary struggles are appearing on the horizon. The principal contradiction in the world continues to be between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

CCOMPOSA, an organization of the Maoists of South Asia, vows to deepen and extend the links between the genuine

Maoists of the region, help sharpen the weapon of MLM and increase coordination to fight back the enemies in their respective countries, actively being led by their US imperialist masters. With the ruling classes of most countries of South Asia assisting each other in the region to suppress the revolutionary and nationality movements there is ever greater need for the people's movements of these countries to draw closer together and assist their respective struggles. More particularly it is the Indian expansionist rulers, backed by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists who are aggressively supporting the governments of the respective countries to suppress or subvert the movements. In addition it is the US imperialists that are directly intervening in all the countries of the region, with military training, political manoeuvring, blatant and outright intervention in suppressing the Maoist movements.

CCOMPOSA vows to beat back the attacks of these reactionary rulers, the Indian Expansionists and kick the US and all imperialists out of South Asia. CCOMPOSA vows to deepen and advance the new democratic revolutions in the different countries of South Asia as a part of the world socialist revolution. Let South Asia turn into a flaming field of peoples' revolutionary upsurges and burn to ashes imperialism (particularly US imperialism), Indian expansionism and all reaction in the region.

- 1) *Proletarian Party of Purba Bangladesh; PBSP (CC) [Bangladesh]*
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- 6) *Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Naxalbari CPI-ML (Naxalbari) [India]*
- 7) *Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist - Maoist) CPI(MLM)[India]*
- 8) *Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist); CPN(Maoist) [Nepal]*

## Some Political Resolutions of 4th Conference of CCOMPOSA

### Hail the Martyrdom of com: Kamrul Master of the CPEB(M-L)(Red Flag)

Com. Kamrul Master (alias Zaman, Asad) was one of the top leaders of CPEB (M-L)(Red Flag) and one of the leading lights of the CCOMPOSA. While he was preparing to attend the CCOMPOSA conference he was caught in his shelter by the Rapid Action Battalion and assassinated in cold blood on August 16<sup>th</sup>. On this fateful day Master was arrested from his shelter in Dacca and killed by the night. After that his body was thrown in Pabna district (where he was a popular leader) saying that he was killed in cross-fire.

He was such a popular leader from Pabna district that thousands came to attend his funeral — not only progressives, but people from all walks of life.

Com. Kamrul Master joined the revolutionary movement in the late 1960s while he was a student. He hailed from a village near the Pabna district headquarters (170 kms from Dacca) in Division Rajshahi of North Bangladesh. Pabna district is known to be a traditional base of the left movement in the country. He was 59 years old at the time of his martyrdom.

In the then China-Russia Great Debate he sided with the Maoists and joined the then EPCP(M-L) — East Pakistan Communist Party(M-L) — and later the CPEB(ML). He was a good student and did a diploma in engineering. He participated in the liberation movement of 1971 against Pakistan. After the liberation he participated in the uprising led by the CPEB(ML). When this failed and the movement received a set-back he was

caught and jailed. He served a sentence for a about seven years and was released in the general amnesty in 1977.

After the setback the Party was badly scattered and in disarray. When he came out of jail he returned to his village and set up a high school and simultaneously began efforts to re-organise the CPEB(ML). Since then he has come to be

comrades to try and unite the various Maoist factions in the country. He had in fact just initiated unity talks with the PBSP-CC. Lately he also played a major role in the writing of the summation of the 35-years experience of the CPEB(ML).

Com. Kamrul Master was an invaluable leader of the Bangladeshi revolution. It has suffered a major loss with his martyrdom.

### Join the Movement to Release all Political Prisoners

Capturing and killing or imprisoning revolutionary leaders has always been a key aspect of counterrevolutionary strategy. In South Asian countries the recent years have seen a concerted effort by reactionary regimes to carry this out with the aim of destroying the advancing Maoist movements. Apart from the hundreds tortured and killed, a large number of Maoist leaders and cadres are imprisoned. Among them are veteran leaders like com: Sunil Roy (Shome) and com: Narayan Sanyal (Vijay), politbureau members of the CPI(Maoist), com: Mohan Vaidya (Kiran) standing committee member and com: Chandra Prakash Gajurel (Gaurav) politbureau member of CPN(Maoist). This conference calls on the broad masses to join the movement to secure the release of these valuable leaders of the people and all other political prisoners and resist all attempts to deprive them of personal dignity, health facilities and literature.

know as “Master”. In Pabna district the party was revived by him. As the struggle in his district intensified he once again went underground and led the movement towards building the armed struggle. In 2000 the CPEB(ML) once again split and he joined the major faction — the CPEB (M-L)(Red Flag). He was one of its most senior leaders and played a major role in trying to advance the people’s war in the country. He was also one of the leading

He is survived by his wife, who was with him at the time of his arrest, and an eight-year old daughter.

People’s March pays red homage to this invaluable leader of the Maoist movement in Bangladesh; and sends condolences to his family and all his comrades. We are sure the Maoists of Bangladesh will recover from this great loss and intensify the people’s war in the country. Once again red salutes to com. Kamrul Master

### Hail the Martyrdom of com: Mufakhar Chaudhary and com: Kamrul Master

The heroic martyrdom of two prominent leaders of the Maoist movement in Bangladesh -com: Mufakhar Chaudhary and com: Kamarul Master - has added a new chapter of selfless sacrifice, total dedication, unflinching commitment and revolutionary audacity in the history of entire proletarian movement in the world.

Com: Mufakhar Chaudhary and com: Kamarul Master both started their revolutionary life from student’s movement in the 1960s. Com: Choudhary was the secretary of the undivided

Communist Party of East Bengal (Marxist-Leninist) [CPEB(M-L)]. He was jailed for many years. His life has been such an example of a true revolutionary fighter who sacrificed everything for the cause of revolution. Even the enemy, who killed him in a most brutal manner, was forced to admit his revolutionary dedication.

Like com: Chaudhary com: Kamrul Master (Zaman) was one of the leaders of CPEB (M-L) and was also jailed for several years. The long imprisonment never rusted this Maoist leader, instead he became more

active to reorganise the fragmented party and remained an important central leader of CPEB(M-L) Red Flag till he was killed by the enemy. While he was preparing to attend this CCOMPOSA conference he was caught by the Rapid Action Battalion and assassinated in cold blood.

Both these revolutionary martyrs upheld the spirit of GPCR till their martyrdom. We express deep condolence and hail their sacrifice. We promise we will uphold their ideals and fulfill their dream of making South Asia a strong base of proletarian revolution.

## **Vehemently Condemn Mumbai-type Bomb Blasts Expose and Punish the Perpetrators**

Yet another blast killing nearly 200 and injuring 800 in Mumbai. All those hit were middle class citizens traveling back from work. A Kashmiri group supposedly claimed responsibility. Yet the government and the media first began whipping up hysteria against the SIMI (Student Islamic Movement of India), without any shred of evidence against it; then it dropped that angle and tried to link terrorism and Naxalism after the Maoist action on the Salwa Judum lumpens; and ofcourse it resorted to the standard Pak-baiting technique to serve its geo-political needs in the region. It seems the government and media were more interested in using the incident to whip up hysteria rather than find the real perpetrators of the action or help the victims.

Why should any group or party fighting for freedom, kill and injure such large numbers of innocents who have nothing to do with the cause for which they are fighting? In the first class compartment in a Mumbai train there are middle class employees and professionals going back from work. There could be women and children of all religious faiths amongst them, including Muslims. What was their crime that that they should be so badly and brutally hit?

Besides, the way these bombs are placed in compartments it is the mere work of cowards who are unable to take the risk to hit the real criminals, like a Modi, Advani, Singhal, and their gang, or the police and military mafia, or the Congress-type hoodlums. These gangsters are responsible for thousands and thousands of killings. They are spared while the common citizen is targeted. To plant a time bomb in a compartment, besides sophisticated technical knowledge to prepare them, even a single person can go and plant it.

A similar event took place in Delhi in a middle-class market area. Here too the victims were the same, even more vulnerable as the shopping complex would have a larger proportion of women and children. Similar was the attack on religious institutions in Benaras and Gujarat where the ordinary Hindu worshiper is the target, not the Hindu fascist gangsters. And

whenever the real culprits are supposedly targeted, the 'mission' somehow always seems to be unsuccessful, as in the supposed attack on Parliament, the RSS Headquarters in Nagpur, etc. One begins to wonder as to really who are behind these attacks all over the country.

Such actions are inhuman, despicable, and counter-productive to any genuine people's movement; whether for national self-determination or against minority oppression or for any other cause. But who then are the beneficiaries? Who actually gains from such actions? Though we may never come to know the truth behind such actions it would be one of those who benefit who could be the culprit.

### **Who Gains From Blasts**

The first and major beneficiary is the Hindu fundamentalists as they hope that the anti-Islamic hysteria will help them regain their lost glory. In the doldrums ever since they lost power, and the victims of intrigue, internecine battles, they desperately need a cause to revive their lost fortunes. Even their rath yatra turned out to be a damp squib which was conveniently given up on some pretext. Preceded by the Bhiwandi events where Moslems objected to the building of a police station leading to the death of two Muslims in police firing; followed by the mayhem of the Shiv Sena over the supposed defiling of the statue of Bal Thackeray's wife; the bomb blast took place in this already tense environment. The Hindu fascists vowed that the police station will be built in Bhiwandi in a bid to further communalise the atmosphere.

The Muslim fundamentalists and the ISI-type bodies also seek to gain by attacking ordinary Hindus in order to polarize the two communities and thereby win more support to their fundamentalist cause from ordinary Moslems. Besides this narrow interest the cause of the Kashmir people suffer as it turns a large section of the Indian population against them.

Ofcourse the main gainers of such action is the Government and the rulers, backed by the moneybags and imperialists. Why?

Firstly, because it acts to divert the oppressed masses away from their

genuine problems. Today, when the country is reeling under massive hike in prices, unemployment and when over one lakh peasants have been made to commit suicide in the last decade a great anger is building up against the policies of LPG implemented by the government at the behest of the imperialists, particularly the US. The media blitzkrieg after the Mumbai event has helped to focus away from these real problems. With over a thousand middle class people affected by the blast it can have a spiraling affect in the vast middle classes who too are getting discontented with the growing mafia rule. Such diversion helps the moneybags and the imperialists who gain the maximum from the policies of LPG, and are its chief promoter.

Second, the ruling classes, fearful of the growing anger of the oppressed masses and their rising discontent, seek to bring in more and more fascist measures (like the amendments to the CrPC, the proposed Act to gag the Press, so-called anti-terrorist legislation, curbing the rights to union activity, etc). Such bomb blasts create the right atmosphere for such fascist measures. Particularly they are panic stricken with this discontent being led by the revolutionaries, the Maoists, for this they are making preparations of genocidal proportions. Such blasts act to legitimise any of the genocidal policies of the government on its own people. The media has played an effective role in building up the necessary hysteria.

Third, such blasts help turn the entire populace against the Moslems and further the ruler's conspiracy of 'divide and rule'. Moslems are made the scapegoat for the ills of the country and the 'enemy' within; thereby diverting from the real enemy ..... the traitors who sell our country for a few dollars to the US gangsters. In Mumbai a veritable witch-hunt has been unleashed against any and every Muslim and roughly 1,200 have been arrested.

And finally, such regular blasts in public places create a sense of insecurity in the entire populace and a fear psychosis, which subsumes all the other insecurities in life, particularly economic insecurities. Utilizing this weakness the rulers then seek to build a fascist mentality amongst the

populace targeting a community and desiring a monolithic state.

So, in short the main gainers of such actions are the two types of fundamentalists and more particularly the Indian and Pakistani rulers. It is not only the intelligence wing of the Pak government that is known to do such actions, also that of the Indian government, RAW, is notorious for using such methods. All the bomb blasts, successful and unsuccessful, need to be thoroughly investigated by an independent citizen's committee.

#### **Who Loses from the Blasts**

First, the main losers are the ordinary citizen who loses their near and dear ones for no reason what so ever. Suddenly, and overnight one thousand families are hit by a terrible tragedy. All government compensation, if it ever reaches them, cannot compensate for the loss, particularly if it was the main earner in the family. While the Congress and BJP are seeking to make political capital out of the tragedy, the innocents have to suffer in silence.

Second, it is Kashmiri cause that suffers as inevitably the blame is put on a Kashmiri group. As it is, due to a massive government propaganda, there is not much support for the Kashmiri cause in India;

this only further distances the Indian people from the just struggle of the Kashmiri people for self-determination.

Third, it is the struggle against the Hindu fascists and for the rights of the minorities that suffer. By such acts secular opinion is undermined and the two communities tend to get polarized. One major victim is a secular polity.

Fourth, peoples' movements suffer as such actions give legitimacy to the governments repressive policies, most of which are turned against the struggling people of the country. This particularly hits the revolutionary movement which in the forefront of such battles for justice and equality.

And finally, democratic opinion suffers as people are not able to distinguish between necessary revolutionary violence and such terrorist violence. This blunts the struggle against the ruthless terror of the State, thereby weakening the genuine democratic movement. Today in the face of a monstrous fascist State mere peaceful resistance can lead to a dead end as the rulers could not care. Resistance often has to go beyond the bounds set by the rulers. In the present hysteria this too can be branded as 'terrorism', thus affecting the overall democratic movement.

#### **Do Not Fall into Trap**

The oppressed masses of the country should not get diverted by such actions, they should firmly oppose it and call for an independent citizen's commission to inquire as to who is responsible. They are suffering enormously due to the policies of the government and their imperialist masters. Living itself is becoming a nightmare for crores living in the villages and slums of the country. The bulk of the middle classes are also getting more and more affected due to the lack of jobs and any gainful employment. The masses are frustrated with the political parties as all are corrupt and serve the rich moneybags. There seems no alternative, except for the Naxalites, who the ruling classes and media try to portray as black. In this state of frustration and insecurity the people could fall prey to the vilest propaganda.

But the people have seen a lot. No longer will they easily fall prey to such a hoax and will join with the masses fighting the anti-people policies of the government. They will try the perpetrators of such evils no matter who they are — ISI, RAW or any of the fundamentalists. They will take to struggle and militant action against the rulers and their hangers on that run this corrupt system.

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#### **Contd. from page 14**

*townships catering to all the needs of the work force including housing, education, medicare remain only on paper.*" Women will be exposed to sexual harassment at work, fear of molestation on the way to work and no mechanism for redressal.

A large number of workers in these SEZs will be on contract. This means that they will be denied many of the facilities that are due to them. Women for example will find it difficult to get maternity leave. The CPM has been claiming that they forced the Central Government to drop the clause where maternity leave and similar rights would not be implemented in SEZs but will this prevent the managements from actually denying them to the workers? The condition of contract workers in big companies today is one of unlimited exploitation and denial of all rights guaranteed by the law. Whether it concerns hours of work, minimum wages, and facilities at the work site all these are violated with impunity. So what will

happen in the SEZs whether run by the Government or by these private "developers" who are out to reap unheard of profit levels can be easily imagined. Trade union rights will also be severely curtailed if not formally denied.

*"There are restrictions even in going to the toilet. The supervisor will shout if we take more than a few minutes,"* says Sajitha, a semi-skilled worker in a ready made garment unit. *"How much ever hard we work, we are scolded and shouted at in front of others. There are very few days when I've not cried."* The workers are reluctant to talk, and are afraid of being quoted. Sajitha [not her real name] and other women workers who spoke about the intimidating atmosphere in the Cochin zone insisted on changing their names when quoted." This is the situation in Cochin which is one of the better run SEZs where they say conditions are better than elsewhere, so what the situation will be in SEZs in places like Haryana and Gujarat can only be imagined.

Women will be forced into working for long hours to meet production targets. They will be stuck in low paid, low skill jobs with no scope for promotion and advancement. **Mcjobs** these are now called in modern parlance, a take-off on the kind of jobs that the MNC McDonalds creates wherever it sets up shop. Thus though job opportunities will be created for women in these modern enclaves, in reality the conditions of work will be akin to those in the early period of industrialisation. These are the ways in which the woman worker in India is experiencing globalisation.

The proletarian forces in India have to take account of this situation and plan their tactics for organizing this large workforce coming into existence. Gender sensitivity too is extremely important if women workers have to be brought into the forefront of the struggles within these SEZs and the wider struggle to boot out the imperialists and the compradors from this country.

□ □

## What SEZs mean for women

*Avanti*

In May this year the Lok Sabha passed legislation under which the Special Economic Zones will function and the process of sanctioning SEZs to private players has also begun in right earnest. This process was already under way for the past couple of years but with the present steps by the Central Government the process has picked up speed all over the country. State Governments are vying with each other to invite the comprador capitalists and MNCs to pick up stakes in and run the SEZs or at least invest in them. The so-called left parties like the CPM have been trumpeting the fact that they forced certain changes in the regulations for SEZs which will be of benefit to workers employed in the SEZs. But the reality is far from what they claim. The setting up of SEZs is representative of the kind of regime the imperialists would like to work under in the third world countries and it is a major victory for the forces of globalisation. The minor controls regarding work conditions the CPM and allied forces have tried to ensure in no way change the basic nature of SEZs as foreign territory where the laws of the country whether related to taxation or to labour laws will not be applicable.

### Policy for SEZs

The preamble to the SEZ policy in Maharashtra (2001) states that the "SEZs are specifically delineated duty-free enclaves treated as a foreign territory for the purpose of industrial service and trade operations, with exemption from customs duties and a more liberal regime in respect of other levies, foreign investment and other transactions". The developer of the SEZ is granted income tax exemption for 10 years and so are those who invest inside an SEZ. The environmental clearances have been made far more liberal and all permissions made smooth with the single window clearance. From the working class point of view labour laws are also being amended for the purposes of the SEZs. Several State Governments have already announced the changes they are making in the labour laws for the SEZs to make them more "attractive" for the imperialists and compradors. The West Bengal Government, for example, has made all

industries in SEZs 'public utility services' thus making strikes illegal. They have also amended the trade union act so that only internal unions are allowed. The Maharashtra government has already stated in its policy document that section VA under the Industrial Disputes Act which made it mandatory for a company with more than 100 workers to get state Government permission before closure will be amended to 300 workers. Also provisions of the Contract Labour Act will be changed so that contract system will be allowed in many more industries and services of a permanent nature. In brief we can say that through announced and unannounced measures workers will be denied even the meager and inadequate protection that they have at present. Already the Central Government has amended the factory Act in March 2005 to make it possible for women to be employed in the night shift in many more industries. This has been a bonanza for the garment and the IT industry. They had been hankering for this amendment for some years now. The consequences of the night shift for women are being felt in the major cities like Bangalore where call centers are concentrated.

### Conditions for Women Workers

The rape and murder of Pratibha Shastri a young call center employee in Bangalore in December last year highlighted this problem sharply. She was on her way to her "graveyard" shift at around 2 a.m. in the night when the driver of the vehicle which picked her up raped and killed her. Yes, the IT industry has a shift which begins late in the night and is called the

graveyard shift. It has become common in the USA but is not yet well known in India outside the world of call centers. So the Central Government's claim that they have ensured transport facilities in the amendment rings completely hollow. Providing transportation to the women does not solve the problem of security for women. They remain vulnerable to violence. Women are exposed to the constant fear of violence against them. Their health is also affected.

A large number of workers in these SEZs are and will be women. 60 % of the workers in the Cochin SEZ are women. Large numbers of women are employed in the electronic factories in the Santacruz SEZ (formerly SEEPZ) are women. As special IT SEZs are set up and garment industries concentrated in these zones the condition of women workers is going to be a matter of grave concern for all those who realize the importance of organizing the working class. In a study of the Cochin SEZ journalist Venugopal writes, "Despite employing more than 3500 women, the zone does not provide accommodation facilities nor are there any creches. Transportation facilities are inadequate. The workers are taken by vehicles to the factories for the morning shift, but they are left in the lurch once the shift is over." "After the night shift, we are taken in a vehicle and all of us are forced out in front of the first house where some among us stay. All the rest run for their life in the dead of the night," says 25-year-old Mallika working in a ceramic unit. The lofty ideals of each zone developing into

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### Foreign Enclaves in the Heart of India

The Indian government is virtually carving out enclaves in the country which will exempt from all Indian laws and taxes in the name of these so-called Special Economic Zones. The Haryana government has planned to give 25,000 hectares to Reliance and UP 30,000 hectares. On the outskirts of Mumbai two SEZs are planned of 14,000 hectares and 7,500 hectares. Another is planned in Pune. Slowly these SEZs are spreading their tentacles throughout the country including the CPM-run states. The government has already approved 150 SEZs and expect that 33% of all industry will shift to these enclaves. These are being handed over to big business (including foreign) at throw-away prices. It has been estimated that the defacto subsidy to big business through these enclaves will amount to a massive Rs.90,000 crores through the loss of revenue per year in just income tax, and excise and customs duty. Here there will be no tax on profits, no income tax, no service tax, no registration fee, no octroi, no sales tax, etc. No labour laws will apply. They only have to use 35% of the land for putting up factories the rest can be used as they wish — for hotels, trade, malls, gaming centres, whatever they want.

## Collapse of the WTO Trade Talks & Intensifying Economic Contention

Arvind

The deadline earlier set for the conclusion of the Doha Round of Trade negotiations was the last Hong Kong Ministerial meet. That failed. Then April 30 was set for completing the negotiations. This was again postponed to end June demanding a "heightened sense of urgency". But the mini-Ministerial Meet in Geneva in June was abruptly terminated amidst growing animosity with no date fixed for any further negotiations. It was vague when the next meeting would take place with negotiators saying it may take six months or even a year. For the present, the Director General of the WTO has been given the task to bring the negotiators closer to an agreement.

The main point of contention is the question of agricultural subsidies in which the very draft presented for discussion had 760 points of difference (bracketed). The main point of conflict is between the US and EU on agricultural subsidies and also between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. **The main cause for the collapse of the talks was the US's aggressive posture and its total intransigence towards negotiations.** From all appearances it came with the intention to directly sabotage the talks.

The US not only refused to reduce its agricultural subsidies it put forward a defacto increase in subsidies amounting to \$3 billion. At the same time they demanded of the EU and the underdeveloped countries to cut their import tariffs to upto 90% on farm products, manufacturing goods and services. The US took a very aggressive stand that it wants real market access for its farmers, for its industrial producers and for its service sector. At the same time it was not prepared to reduce even by one dollar its proposed

\$22 billion subsidy on agricultural products. Its present subsidy is \$19 billion and the demand was to reduce it to \$12-13 billion; in effect the US demanded an increase in its subsidy while demanding other countries reduce their subsidies on all products by as much as 90%.

This was not 'negotiations' it amounted to sabotage of the WTO talks as the one-sidedness was crude and blatant. It was like holding talks at the point of a gun. In fact from the very start it was the US inflexibility that smashed the talks. While all the other five delegations (EU, Japan, Britain, Brazil and India) made their offer to break the deadlock, the US blamed Brazil and India for being inflexible and the EU for refusing to open up farm markets.

And now with the sabotage successful the very Doha Round is in danger of collapse. One of the key factors in the urgency for achieving a consensus soon is that the US's Fast Track Authority to get trade pacts passed in Congress expires in mid-2007. If nothing is agreed to by then it is unlikely that the WTO will survive.

The main reason for the US's increasingly aggressive posture is the impending recession in its economy and the burgeoning trade deficit (coupled with the rising budget deficit). Goldman Sach's recent report said that the conditions in the world economy and the US economy in particular are worsening. The root cause for the 2001 recession has not gone away but has been temporarily postponed but the burst technology bubble being replaced by the real estate bubble. This too is on the verge of busting. Besides the US's trade deficit has doubled in this period. These are the main reasons for the US's aggressive policies in trade negotiations.

This, the US is seeking to achieve by sabotaging the WTO and going for Free

Trade Agreements (FTAs) at a bilateral and regional level where its arm-twisting methods are likely to be more successful. In FTAs with underdeveloped countries, it has imposed labour and environmental standards, free capital flows, and other such conditions which would have been impossible in the WTO deal. In all its FTAs, the US provides duty free treatment for garment imports only if the garments are made from cloth exported by the US. Besides the US has continued with its protectionist policies, introducing bills violating WTO rules. For example one such recent proposal was to slap an import duty of 27% on Chinese goods if it failed to revalue its currency. It is for all these reasons that the US focuses more on FTAs and gives lower priority to the WTO.

And as the crisis in the US economy deepens and its trade deficit grows the contention with other economic powers will intensify. Today not only is the EU a major contender other centers of trade conflict are growing like that of the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation). The SCO is emerging as a counterweight to the US in their region. The SCO controls a large part of the world's oil and gas reserves. They have already agreed on 125 joint projects related to trade and investment and have set up seven specialist panels to coordinate cooperation in fields such as customs, transportation, investment promotion, telecommunications and energy. Beijing recently announced a \$900 million loans for other SCO countries in the form of preferential buyer's credits for SCO members that buy Chinese goods. In addition bilateral trade between Russia (whose membership of the WTO is still being opposed by the US) and China has soared to reach \$30 billion in 2005 — a 37%

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### Decline of the Dollar

Since 1999 the share of the dollar in the total reserves of the governments of the world has dropped from 71% to 66% in 2006. In the same period the share of the euro has increased from 18% to 25%. Even a comparison of the exchange rates (2000 to 2006) shows that the euro has appreciated by a staggering 24% against the dollar. An increasing number of countries are removing the dollars from their foreign exchange vaults and replacing it with alternative currencies. Syria recently ended its dollar peg and shifted its reserves to the euro. Similarly the UAE (United Arab Emirates) decided to reallocate its reserves from the dollar to the euro by as much as 10% of its total reserves. The most frightening aspect though for the US is that, as on July 16, 2006, 46.4% of US treasuries globally were held by just two countries — Japan and China. Japan alone holds a staggering 31% of the total US treasuries. If just one of these countries were to start converting their currencies to the euro the crash of the dollar would be more devastating than ever recorded in history.

*Business & Economy; July 28-Aug.10, 2006*

## PM's Vidarbha 'Package' a Big Hoax

*Arvind*

The Prime Minister's visit to the cotton belt of Vidarbha in early July was a big hoax for the cotton growing farmers of the area. The so-called package had virtually nothing for the affected farmers and so it was quite natural the number of suicides have in fact gone up after his visit. Though crores were spent for this show-piece visit the outcome was nothing. For the meeting with a select 35 farmers at Waifad in Wardha district, a special helipad was built; massive security was put in place in every corner of the village and enroute, and he was accompanied with an entourage of officials and politicians.

Meanwhile suicide deaths continue at an even faster rate. Rural distress is increasing. While the PM's 'package' will only be a boon to the big farmer, the seed company, the textile magnates, the banks and moneylenders.

The major amount of the 'package' of Rs.3,750 crores comprised Rs.2,177 crores for 82 major and 442 minor irrigation works. This was anyhow part of existing programmes and was nothing new. Anyhow, even if implemented, it would only irrigate a further 3% of the area where the irrigated land at present adds up to a mere 11%. But while supposedly giving this benefit the PM was totally silent on the Maharashtra Water Resources Regulatory Authority Act, 2005 which puts irrigation beyond the reach of all except corporate farmers. It compels farmers to use drip irrigation and could raise irrigation costs by thousands of rupees per acre. Those unable to pay the huge hikes in the offing could be fined of up to ten times the new charges. So what is the purpose of even this limited irrigation for the poor and middle peasants with such an Act in place?

Then, another part of the package is Rs.180 crores for "seed replacement". This is nothing but a gift to the multinational Monsanto whose Bt cotton seeds badly failed in Vidarbha.

All that the package really gives is a Rs.712 crore waiver on the interest on bank loans. But this too will go primarily to the rich farmers to whom the bulk of the institutional loans go to; the poor being primarily dependent on the moneylenders.

So, notwithstanding all the fanfare, in the PM's package there was little for the poor farmer, but it was, in essence, yet another step to push commercialization of agriculture in the interests of the big TNCs and compradors. In addition Rs.50 lakhs has been given to each of the six collectors of the region for immediate relief. One knows how such funds are primarily diverted to the corrupt officials.

Not even a word was mentioned on raising the price of cotton which was drastically reduced by Rs.500 per quintal last year. Even when the price was Rs.2,200 per quintal farmers were in deep distress; yet the Maharashtra government further reduced the price to Rs1,700 per quintal last year. When prices of all commodities are going up this reduction has been the major cause in the increased spurt in suicides in the current year. Not only that, there was no word from the PM to reverse the decision that now allows big corporations to freely purchase the cotton. Prices will be steadily pushed down by the powerful cartels.

In addition there was no waiver on the actual bank loans (not to mention those of the moneylender), 80% of which are up to a mere Rs.25,000. If these small loans to banks were written off it would have cost a mere Rs.1,200 crores which is insignificant compared to the massive amounts written off to big business in the

name of NPAs (non-performing assets), and the huge subsidies given to seed companies. While 60% of the land has switched to Bt cotton, the use of pesticides has not reduced, in fact there has been an increase. And with this years floods a large part of the high-priced seeds have been washed away adding to the farmer's woes.

So, the farmers are pushed deeper into the clutches of the rapacious moneylenders. Sahibrao Adhao in his suicide note profiles the state of moneylending in this belt. He says, *here there is no mortgage. You just give the moneylender a straight deed of sale for your land. In theory, he returns the land when you pay up. In truth, he holds on to it even after you have paid up. In fact, he demands more money.* When he was alive he made a police complaint against the moneylender for cutting down the trees on his land. The police arrested him for trying to stop the moneylender from cutting trees on land grabbed from him.

Till now in the last one year about 1,000 farmers have committed suicide in the six districts of Vidarbha. The number of suicides since the PM left Vidarbha on July 1<sup>st</sup> is now (August 3<sup>rd</sup>) well past the 100 mark. Before his visit, 101 farmers took their lives in 49 days. The same number killed themselves in 33 days after the visit ended. That is, the rate of suicides rose from around two a day to over three each day.

### People Hit Back

People's tolerance has its limits. In a village 70 kms from Akola (in the Vidarbha region) the villagers hacked to death a notorious moneylender and his henchman in a display of spontaneous anger. In 1997 two brothers, Anadrao and Ganpatrao Thakre, of Pimpalgao Chambhar village had mortgaged his 13 acre land to moneylender Yogiraj Donade for a Rs.1 lakh loan at a monthly interest of 5%. Over this past decade he has returned roughly Rs.1.4 lacs to the moneylender; yet he was not prepared to return the land to the Thakre brothers. He took a loan from the bank of Rs.4.5 lakhs and was willing to use this as well to pay off the moneylender. All these discussions took place before the police. The Shiv Sena MLA of the area also intervened. All indirectly backed the powerful moneylender. Finally one day when two of Thakre's sons went to the land the hoodlums of the moneylender beat them so badly that they had to be hospitalized for over a month. Seeing this, the entire village gathered and beat Donade and his henchman Pramaod Chambhar to death with lathis, axes and rods on May 20 2006. When the court sought to take action on the villagers over 1,000 villagers from the nearby villages gathered in their support. Though this was a spontaneous action the Times of India screamed "Naxalites in Akola". Though this was no naxalite action the people's limits of tolerance should not be tested beyond a point. For intellectuals waxing eloquent over non-violence in their protected atmosphere they had better learn the ground realities of what people really have to face.



*Sons as Bullocks*

One in every eight hours!! This means that July 2006 saw an eight-fold increase compared to the same period last year. But, these are the understated official government figures; the actual deaths would be much higher.

In this season as pesticide spraying starts and they lie in the hands of the farmer and the debts continue to mount the number of suicides can only go up further. One must remember that the actual suicides are only the tip of the iceberg. Lakhs and lakhs would be in a similar situation but would struggle somehow to stay alive and not take the fatal step.

Meanwhile as we go to the press it is reported that even with the interest waiver the banks are not giving new loans as they are well aware that with the low price of cotton the farmers will not be able to repay the loan any way. The tragedy is that, except for a few journalists, the bulk of the media and intellectuals are silent on this horrifying tragedy unfolding in rural India. If in just one region there have been 1,000 suicides the figure in the whole country could well be imagined. The figure of the number of those killed in so-called Naxalite violence in the last one year is, according to official figures, about 500 in the last year

— a small fraction of those who died by suicides. But the government and the media (also some intellectuals) make a hue and cry about it as those killed are often the pillars of the establishment or their henchmen (whether police, informers, lumpens, contractors, or village elite who have been ousted from their power base), while those who go for suicide are the helpless poverty stricken rural masses. A Salwa Judum ‘activist’ has been given a high-flying label by Mahendra Karma of being a tribal revolt (though actual a lumpen or an agent of the ousted village elder), while a Rahate in village Kavita of Amravati district, who committed suicide is a non-entity.

The cause of the suicides is basically hopelessness of the poverty stricken masses. They see no way out of their spiraling debt. They see no future for their children except to be born into debt and die in greater debt. It is this horrifying scenario that is pushing many a farmer to the brink. But if Naxalites were present they would immediately call for the abolishment of all the debt to both the banks and the moneylenders. They would build their armed forces to beat back the hoodlums of the banks/moneylenders who attempt to seize their property with the assistance of the police. There will be deaths in the

process but the villagers will witness a new awakening of the possibility of a better future, if not for themselves, at least for their children. The deaths here will have a meaning, as it will give birth to a new hope, a new future. It would then be ridiculous to cry over the deaths of the rapacious moneylender or his ‘poor’ (lumpen) henchmen and police/SRP associates. Thousands of lives will be saved from suicides.

The birth pangs of any new society are indeed painful; and no amount of modern technology can do away with the pain. **The Naxalites would put forward the following immediate demands:** abolish all the debt of the poor and middle farmers, ban Bt cotton and kick Monsanto out of the country and punish their agents here; increase the subsidy to agriculture and raise the price of cotton to Rs.3,000 per quintal; reduce the prices of inputs; punish the moneylenders, corrupt traders, and their rapacious touts; reverse the decision to privatize sale of cotton; and compensate the small and middle farmers for the losses they have faced.

**In the long term the Maoists would demand:** thorough-going land reforms and the redistribution of land along the lines of “land to the tiller”; with only 11% of the land irrigated, undertake massive irrigation works (focusing primarily on small projects); undertake projects for re-forestation, water conservation and water harvesting; encourage organic farming suited to people’s needs and not that of the market; improve health care which has reached terrible proportions today; and organise people’s committees and the entire masses so that the people can run their own lives with a new confidence.

No doubt if the Maoists were to enter the region and organise the masses along these demands they would have to face the bullets of the state for which they would have to defend themselves with their own people’s army. But what is the alternative? Is there any ‘peaceful’ answer? Or should the mass suicides continue, no doubt ‘peacefully’?

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## Israeli Zionists Get a Bloody Nose in Lebanon

*Suman*

After devastating Gaza, the Israeli marauders have now turned their venom on Lebanon. In this one month since the July 12<sup>th</sup> incident when the Hizbollah captured two Israeli soldiers, they have devastated Lebanon displacing one-fourth of its population and killing 845 of which 743 were civilians and over 4000 wounded. Already Lebanon, a country of just 3½ million people has suffered damage of \$ 9.4billion (a gigantic Rs.45,000 crores)

Earlier these same marauders devastated Gaza (after they evacuated it); and also kidnapped 26 Hamas parliamentarians. In June Israeli bombing killed 50 Palestinians and injured 200. The capture of two Israeli soldiers came in the wake of Israel's "Operation Defence Shield" against the hapless residents of Gaza. It was the biggest military operation undertaken since 2002 against the Palestinians.

Since Israel withdrew from Gaza its army has fired between about 9,000 artillery shells on the territory. This was planned well before the much-publicised withdrawal. The only power plant in Gaza, which supplies electricity for its 1.5 million people, was destroyed on the very first day Israel launched the attack. At the best of times, Gaza has been an impoverished city. It is also the most densely populated area in the world. Since the last week of June, Gaza has been without electricity and water. Hospitals and other essential services have closed down. Lack of sanitation has led to a public health crisis. Raw sewage has clogged many of the streets. The almost round-the-clock military raids, coupled with the sight of Israeli tanks rumbling on the streets of Gaza, have traumatized the people, especially the children. The state of Israel has kidnapped half the elected government of Palestine. And ever since the Hamas got elected the EU have cut off all aid to Palestine on which the government, to a large part, depended for its survival.

In the last decade Lebanon emerged painfully from the rubble of the 1980s war. More than one lakh Lebanese perished as a result of the Israeli occupation in the 1980s.

It is once again being pushed to the wall. But as earlier the Lebanese people are not so easily cowed down and they are giving the Israelis a serious fight. In this battle they have killed 158 Israelis, of which 119 have been from their military.

The Hezbollah (Party of God) though Islamic, arose as a national force against Israeli aggression. The background to the rise of Hezbollah can be traced to the repeated aggression on Lebanon. In 1958 US marines landed on Lebanon; Israel aggressed twice — in 1978 and 1982. It was in 1978 that Israel first captured a large swath of territory in the predominantly Shia region of southern Lebanon, until the Hezbollah put an end to that occupation, except for a mountainside at the point where Israel and Syria meet with Lebanon, known as Shebba farms. Hezbollah itself came into existence some four years after the invasion of 1982, when Israel occupied about half of Lebanon, destroyed much of Beirut and oversaw the infamous massacres of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps. Until 2000 it was devoted to almost exclusively fighting the Israeli occupiers. After evicting the Israelis from virtually the whole of Lebanon, it entered Lebanese politics as a party and now has 12 members of Parliament and two in the Cabinet. Its own list of candidates include not only Shias but also Christians and Druze. The Hezbollah has never been a sectarian force and has built its popularity amongst all sections. In fact as per a study of the 41 suicide bombers of the Hezbollah only 8 were Islamist and as many as 27 were from Leftist political groups like the Lebanese Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Union; three were Christians, including a women secondary school teacher with a college degree — all Lebanese. It, of course, has the tacit backing of both Syria and Iran.

As for the incident of July 12<sup>th</sup> which is said to have provoked Israel into attacking Lebanon, the primary fact is that Israel holds in its prisons hundreds of Lebanese nationals, whom they do not even acknowledge for well over a decade — not to speak of some 10,000 Palestinians who are currently in Israeli prisons. The Hezbollah seeks to exchange the Israeli prisoners for Lebanese.

Behind the present attacks on Gaza and Lebanon is the "New Middle East" that Condoleezza Rice now mentions in every

speech she delivers on the affairs of the region. Risen from the corporate offices of Chevron and serving as secretary of State, she dismisses all the destruction as the "birth pangs of the New Middle East". As late as July 23, when a sixth of the Lebanese population had been rendered homeless, she opposed the idea of a cease-fire saying "we have to be certain that we are pushing forward to the New Middle East, not going back to the old one".

The "New Middle East" plans to reverse the whole history of oil nationalization and transferring all oil assets into the direct control of the giant oil TNCs, with Israeli "energy security" guaranteed. Moreover, the water and land resources of Palestine shall come under permanent Israeli control, and the water resources of Lebanon may also be partially diverted to Israel. Various military arrangements are envisioned for the realization of this project.

And to realize this dream of Empire besides the continuing devastation in Lebanon, a dozen or more keep getting killed in Palestine and a hundred in Iraq every day. But in Lebanon the guerrilla forces have been beating back the Israeli offensive heroically.

Merely for the capture of two Israeli soldiers which were demanded for exchange of Lebanese prisoners, Israel began its devastating attack. It bombed the three runways and fuel depots of the Beirut international airport, all the country's seaports, most highways and roads connecting various parts of the country and also those leading to Syria, tens of bridges in Lebanon's South and East, factories, army bases, trucks, ambulances, hospitals, schools, television transmitters, the whole of southern Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Baalbek, other towns, other villages. Within a fortnight one out of five Lebanese citizens had been rendered homeless. But all this destruction could not stop the counter-attack.

Hezbollah rocket attacks started after Israeli forces entered Lebanese territory and its air force began its carpet bombing. They have hit as deep as the town of Haifa and a large number of Israeli soldiers have been killed. For the first time Israel is panicky. They are not sure when and where the next rocket will hit them. They expected that with the

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## Food Scarcity in Peril

-Sujan

The govt. of India (GOI) is moving surreptitiously to dismantle the public distribution system (PDS). Whatever little food security the poorest of the poor has that too is going to be dwindled. This plot has been orchestrated by the imperialist institutions like the World Bank, IMF, and WTO etc. And this very plot is being implemented by the UPA Govt. adopting one after another policies which go against the interest of the country and its people. It is nothing strange to see that a Govt. committed to serve imperialist forces, does not hesitate to implement their dictates when the everyday media cover the harrowing tales of hunger, starvation deaths, suicides and malnutrition.

### **Recommendations of Food and Public Distribution department**

*Amid this appalling condition of the people, it is revealed, that the department of Food and Public Distribution has prepared a note for the Cabinet Committee of Economic Affairs incorporating their recommendations. All these recommendations are for further downsizing the provisions of food security. Under "Prudent food management with special reference to management of wheat stocks" the following recommendations have been made – Withdraw food grains allocation from the Samporna Grameen Rozgar Yojana as part of wage payments; reduce wheat allocations to the states; allocate coarse grains instead of wheat; reduce allocations for drought hit areas; increase in prices of food grains for APL (above poverty line) and BPL (below poverty line) cardholders; reduce quantity of food grains by 5 kg from the existing 35 kg for both APL and BPL cardholders; stop sale of wheat in the open market to control market prices.*

*Some of these recommendations have already been implemented. The GOI has reduced wheat supplies to states. The fair price dealers' Association in Bengal expressed their resentment and placed a memorandum stating that the GOI had reduced the quantity of wheat allotment for both APL and BPL cardholders. It was 2.22 lakh tones in '04-'05 and in the current year it is only 1.05 tones. According to Madhura Swaminathan, in*

*Kerala, which is well known for its most effective rationing system, the ration shops are closing down. The income of the ration shops had reduced to such an extent that those are becoming unviable. The average monthly sale per ration shop was 7500 kg of rice and 2000 kg of wheat in the early 90s. These figures have reduced to 1400 kg of rice and 200 kg of wheat by 2001 and gross monthly income of a fair price shop was Rs. 3,711 prior to March 2000 and it has dwindled to Rs. 1,493 in August 2001. This is according to an official estimate of the Kerala State Govt. It can well be said that since August 2001 to these days the situation has become far more precarious. Now more than five lakhs fair price shop owners are facing a disastrous condition. The All India Fair Price Shop Dealers' Federation accused the UPA govt. of its policies to destroy the public distribution system and threatened to go on indefinite strike if the problem was not solved. The senior vice-president of the organization Srikanth Labh, talking to media persons, stated that despite no shortfall in production the govt. had to import wheat due to its policy of allowing private agencies uncontrolled procurement of wheat from the domestic market. He further commented, "The big private players managed to buy the entire buffer stock in the country creating an artificial crisis."*

*The GOI has also reduced the quantity of wheat which was provided as a part of the daily wages payment in the Samporna Grammeen Rozgar Yojana. Instead of 5 kg at present it is 3 kg. Even this 3 kg is not available now. Most of the states have complained that wheat allotment for this programme has in fact stopped. The Department of Food and Public Distribution's prudent management of wheat stock is also remarkable. In five major centres FCI godowns do not have stock at all. In April, '06 though dispatch instructions were given for 59 rakes, only 15 rakes actually arrived.*

### **Big Players in Agri-retail market**

This condition was created by the GOI deliberately. Wheat procurement is being reduced every year. In 2001-02 it was 206 lakh tones. This year ie '06-'07 it is only 92 lakh tones. This low procurement is not

the result of low production of wheat. For the last several years there was no shortage of wheat production. It was around 70 million tones. This is the result of the pro-traders policy of the GOI. The Agricultural Produce Act has been changed to serve the traders. So far everyone had to buy wheat from the market through artheyas (Commission Agents) on license. Now traders have been permitted to go into the remote villages to buy wheat directly from the farmers in the major wheat producing states. They need not to wait in the market for the arrival of wheat, whereas FCI has to purchase wheat from the market through artheyas. Moreover, as the private traders do not purchase from the market they evade market charges which the state agencies have to pay. The argument of the govt. is that these changes in policy help the farmers get a better price for their produce. In fact the farmers get slightly higher prices than the procurement price of Rs. 650. Thus on the plea of providing benefit to the farmers the GOI allowed the private traders in the retail market in Agriculture. Who are these private traders? They are both the indigenous and foreign big companies like Cargil, ITC, Australian Wheat Board and Reliance. By April this year these big companies almost completed their purchases, the GOI entered into the market and offered a 'bonus' of Rs. 50. If the GOI played its role in proper time offering bonus, the FCI would have benefited and consumers too need not pay such high prices. Moreover the FCI could have better stocks for distribution through PDS. But the GOI averted this path. It wants to serve the interest of MNCs and the comprador big bourgeoisie. It wants to dismantle the PDS following imperialist dictates. Consequently the role of the FCI in procurement and distribution of foodgrains in being weakened more and more. The ability of the GOI to intervene in the market to control prices has also reduced. The UPA govt., champions of the market economy, is not concerned about that. Rather they are very busy to provide more and more scope to the MNCs and comprador big companies to penetrate into the agricultural market. ITC, Cargil, Australian Wheat Board, Bharti,

Pantaloon, Godrej, Mahindra and Mahindra, and Reliance Retail are into agriculture. Reliance Retail is now in the process of grabbing about 900 acres in Punjab to process grain, fruit and vegetables. On June 25,06, the Punjab State Council of ministers approved Mukesh Ambani's proposal to set up a Rs. 5,000 crores agricultural project. It has also planned to develop 52 rural business hubs and 300 sub rural hubs in different parts of the state. Reliance Retail will sell agricultural products from these hubs through its 22,000 outlets. It has also planned to develop similar projects in Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Haryana and Andhra Pradesh. Other MNCs and comprador big companies are not sitting idle. They are also preparing their projects to enter into the agricultural market in a big way. Thus the retail market for agri-produce is going to be dominated by the big companies. These big companies – MNCs and their subservient indigenous companies will pressure, board and distribute food grains. And the process of weakening the FCI will be further intensified endangering food security of the countrymen.

### Dual Pricing System

The plot to dismantle the PDS does not end here. The GOI is also going to finalize a system of dual pricing for the public procurement of food grains. One will be a fixed minimum support price (MSP) recommended by the Commission of Agricultural Cost and Prices (CACP). This already exists. And the other one will be “*a variable procurement prices system at the discretion of the department of food, depending on market conditions in different seasons and regions of the country.*” It is argued that with the introduction of a dual pricing system for

public procurement, the GOI would procure necessary quantities of food grains to meet the needs of both buffer stock and PDS, in competition with MNCs and the monopoly houses. At present the FCI procures at MSP rates with no fixed limit. In the dual pricing system FCI would procure food grains upto a fixed limit at MSP rates. It is further argued that as the MSP is higher than international market prices of food grains it rendered country's food grain export uncompetitive and has reduced domestic consumption as the price of food grains become unaffordable for the poor. According to the GOI in the dual pricing system MNCs and big companies will have a greater role in improving the efficiency in distribution of food grains and help minimize subsidies which can be used as public investment in agriculture.

The intention of the GOI is very clear. By introducing a dual price system more space will be provided to MNCs and domestic big companies who will happily spread their tentacles throughout rural India. Instead of open-ended procurement of food grains which is at present in practice, the GOI will procure a fixed quantity of food grain through the FCI at MSP rates; and the MSP will be determined in competition with MNCs and domestic big companies (Private traders). Consequently, the importance and role of the FCI will be undermined and large numbers of farmers will not be able to sell their food grains at MSP rates to the FCI. These farmers have to sell their food grains to the private traders who will export food grains to the private traders at a price even lower than the MSP. As the private traders will export food grains, they will fix procurement prices according to international market prices of food grains,

as far as possible. This will affect formers adversely. These private traders will dominate and control the domestic market of foodgrains, will enhance the sales prices of food grains and sell those through their distribution centers all over the country. The fairprice shops will become more and more irrelevant. This is what the GOI wants to do following imperialist dictates.

Prudent Food Management Policies, as it is termed by the GOI, have already led the FCI to a devastating condition. Its buffer stock cannot meet the demand of the country. It has slashed the allocation of wheat for APL from around 14 lakh to 1.9 lakh tones and for BPL by about 1 lakh tones. The GOI has imported 5 lakh tones of wheat at a price Rs. 789.20 per quintal from the Australian Wheat Board who bought wheat directly from the farmers at a price slightly above Rs. 650. The GOI has also decided to import another 57 lakh tones at an exorbitant cost. The first consignment of 5lakh tones, as it is reported by the Chennai Port Committee, contained pesticides which if consumed could cause serious diseases and fungal infections. It is also complained that imported wheat is sub-standard, disease-stricken and contaminated. The GOI does not bother about that. It has allowed MNCs and domestic big companies to procure standard wheat direct from the farmers at a price lower than the imported one for export while it has been importing sub-standard wheat at a higher price for the countrymen. It is really a unique food management policy! A policy to serve imperialists and the comprador big bourgeoisies subservient to the imperialists! A policy to keep crores of people in hunger, starvation and in malnutrition. A policy to smash the food security of the countrymen!

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extensive attack they would wipe out the guerrillas but they do not seem to have been significantly touched as the retaliation continues. It is because of this resistance now the US has brokered a ceasefire through the UN which they had vehemently opposed earlier.]

Such brazen acts by the US-Israel-British Axis are to roundly condemned by the people throughout the world. The Indian government has given a cautious statement condemning both Israel and Lebanon. Can

the capture of two soldiers be equated to the devastation of the Israeli forces? It is nothing but hypocrisy and amounts to tacit support to Israel. And of course the BJP is silent, being in full support of the Zionists. But the people of India stand by the people of Lebanon and Palestine and strongly condemn the Zionists and their US sponsors. No doubt the deeper they get entrenched in conflicts in West Asia, it will act to tighten the knot around their necks.

Meanwhile, as we go to the press, it is reported the Israelis/US have accepted the

cease-fire that they first refused. This is in words, as Israeli attacks continue in Lebanon. They first said that nothing but the destruction of the Hezbollah and their disarming would be agreed to. The heroic resistance of the Lebanese and Palestinian people has not only forced this ceasefire but has also forced the Zionists to negotiate for the release of some political prisoners. The struggle of the people of West Asia is an important part of the overall anti-imperialist/anti-US struggle in the world today.

## Reply to Article in AWTW on tactics towards WSF and MR-2004

{This reply to the AWTW article printed in the 2005/31 issue of their magazine, was written in Jan.2006 and sent to the CoRIM for printing in their magazine, 'A World To Win', as part of the ongoing debate on the WSF. But we now find that the next issue of AWTW, 2006/32, is now out and does not contain our reply. That is why we are now printing the reply in this issue of our magazine..... Editor}

The article replying to the PM critique chiefly repeats the points mentioned in the letter of CoRim of Dec.8<sup>th</sup> 2003 and re-asserting the points therein. We will not repeat the points mentioned in the People's March critique but merely deal with the points at a larger plane, and the implication that these have on tactics against the enemy.

Here we will deal with the question of class analysis (pt II in the article) then come to the question of UF and tactics (dealt within point I of the AWTW article, printed in 2005/31) and lastly deal with the question of ideology in the same three points that the article has taken up.

### 1) Question of Class Analysis

After once again denying that the CoRIM views the WSF as an "anti-imperialist organisation" the entire section **II. Class Analysis of the WSF**, does not anywhere take a clear-cut stand on the class character of the WSF. It deals with a number of other factors but does not conclude what is its class content. Any real revolutionary tactics can only follow first from an understanding as to the class nature of the WSF. Afterall, to have a thorough understanding of the class forces at play in any given situation is a pre-requisite for devising correct tactics. This is fundamental to the issue, but the AWTW article seeks too obfuscate the issue. Let us see what it says regarding the class character of WSF and its leadership.

Firstly, the closest the article comes to defining the class content of the WSF is in the earlier section where it says that "*There are many arenas in which leadership is in the hands of opponents of proletarian revolution.....*". This is a very vague statement as *opponents of proletarian revolution* can be pro-imperialist, but they can also be petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, petty-bourgeois reformists, national bourgeois, etc. It is fundamental to understand what the exact class nature is if we are to devise correct tactics. It is not correct to lump all non-proletarian class forces together for devising tactics as then the proletariat will not be able to differentiate between those non-

proletarian forces that may be positive and those reactionary. Also the statement says that there are many arenas where the *leadership is in the hands of opponents of proletarian revolution*. It is not clear which these are. It should be clearly stated, otherwise all such statements made, only add to the confusion.

The methodology adopted by the author of the article, particularly in this section, is that in order to avoid making a clear-cut stand it takes subsidiary issues and makes these the basis of giving a picture of the WSF. Like it says that, *some of the leaders or financial backers of the WSF do see it.... as "a safety valve" for the imperialist system*. But what about the overall leadership!! Do some of the leadership not see it as a "safety-valve". It would be best if the AWTW identified these leaders. Such an eclectic approach is visible throughout — *some of the leaders, many arenas in which leadership, etc, must be qualified with what is the principle character of the leadership and the line that it gives the WSF*. Without understanding the principle aspect of an entity it is impossible to have a full understanding of it.

So, without analyzing all the forces in the WSF leadership and the programme of the WSF, it merely makes a reference to one of its constituents, that too somewhat favourably. It gives a clean chit to ATTAC and is silent on the ruling-class social democrats and NGOs that basically wield control over it. Even assuming there is a debate on ATTAC what about all the other forces and financiers? At the International plane there is Lula's party, Social-democratic leaders/ministers from Europe, etc., and in India there was the CPI/CPM that dominates these bodies in conjunctions with high-flying NGOs. Why is the AWTW article still silent about these forces in the leadership of the WSF? Also why again does not the article say a word on the role of these imperialist-funded NGOs which have become a major weapon to infiltrate the poor and their movements to divert them from the revolutionary path? Also why is it silent on the massive source of funds to the WSF from well established

imperialist agencies? Finally not a word is mentioned on the WSF programme and structure. No doubt many positive elements have been associated with the WSF; but it is not these that determine its class character — that is decided by its leadership.

One would have expected that these issues would have been analysed to get to the class character of the WSF. But this is not done but instead takes up a number of issues that seeks to divert from such an analysis. In fact in section II which is entitled **Class Analysis of the WSF**, it does not even make an attempt to analyse the class character of the WSF, and mostly deals with other factors, which too we shall discuss below. People's March (as also Aspects of Indian Economy) has had a series of articles analysing the WSF, NGOs and even the elements that dominated the Mumbai WSF event. No such attempt is made either to counter those detailed analyses or to do an independent analysis. Without a proper understanding into its class essence, what tactics can it devise?

Now let us look at the numerous issues most of which are unrelated to the issue of the **Class Analysis of the WSF**:

**1<sup>st</sup> Diversionary Point:** The AWTW article says: *There is also the important contradiction between the leadership and the organisations and masses participating in the WSF.....* This is an obvious fact and if it was not so there would have not been any MR. It is precisely because there is a huge mass of people being pitted against imperialism and war that the sponsors of WSF have sought this "safety valve". But, more on this later. In fact PM's contention is that because of the growing movement such a WSF was necessary to act as a safety valve. So, on this there is no debate; the contradiction is obviously there between the leadership and the mass attending. In fact in every bourgeois and revisionist organization there is such a contradiction between the rank-and-file and the leadership. It is a fact that even the movement led by Gandhi, the most trusted stooge of the British imperialists, drew millions of people, yet he too served as a safety-valve for people

to vent their anger and to divert the movement from the revolutionary path. The mere participation of the masses and progressive forces does not alter the class character of the party of individuals leading the movement. So this is not such a complex point as AWTW seeks to make out. Revolutionaries must seek to win over the rank-and-file in all cases, while isolating the leadership. Here the article also sought to distort the reality and there was no bar on those taking part in WSF coming to MR. Precisely in order to impact on the positive forces attending the WSF the MR was in fact organized right opposite the WSF to try and attract those forces to the MR alternative. And there were no such criteria as taking a stand on postmodernism to be a part of MR. This flexibility was precisely the difference between the MR approach and that of the boycottist/sectarianism of the CPI(ML)New Democracy and SOC {State Organising Committee of Tamilnadu} type organisations.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Diversionary Point:** On the issue of safety-valve the article says: *But what is more to the point is that however people may deceive themselves, or others, any political programme that is not linked to the fight for proletarian political power will ultimately become a "safety valve" for the reactionary system, even if it does not begin as one.* This is an excellent example of formal logic as opposed to dialectics. To equate a conscious plan of the imperialists/reactionaries to diffuse movements with the spontaneous movements led by non-proletarian forces is dangerous as it plays down the seriousness for understanding imperialist tactics and planning measures to counter it, and also because it, in effect, looks down at the spontaneous movement of the masses just because it is not led by MLM forces. Logically what the AWTW article says may sound correct, but from a class point of view it is dangerous. The British established the Congress Party in India to act as a safety valve; then there were thousands of anti-British upsurges not led by any proletarian forces. Can we equate the two? So also, WSF came into being during the huge mass upsurges, which continued even after its establishment. We cannot equate these movements with the WSF. Unfortunately the RW has done just that in its earlier reports on the WSF. Today

the vast network of imperialist-funded NGOs also plays a similar role of a "safety-valve". To reduce spontaneous movements and imperialist conspiracies to the same common denominator of "safety-valve" negates a class view point to understand the objective situation and our ability to effectively intervene in it.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Diversionary Point:** As a corollary to the above the article says: *Can we conclude that the communists need not participate in the different struggles, movements and forums involving the masses that they do not lead?..... With the logic of PM, communists would have had to refrain from participating in many or most of the important political actions that have taken place in the West in the last few years against imperialist globalisation, the Iraq war and other crimes of imperialism. Most of these actions were also led by forces, in many cases the same forces involved with the WSF, who could be considered "pro-imperialist" by PM's criteria.* This is precisely the point. The struggles with the Seattle demonstrations were intensifying and getting more militant when the WSF was formed; they existed before the WSF and also after it was formed. The situation was getting so bad that it was getting difficult for the imperialists to hold their gatherings. Of course, many of the forces in WSF were involved in the huge demonstrations. Some try and divert these very forces into pacifist opposition, others continue to go beyond the confines set by the WSF leadership. We all need to ask that after 4-5 years of Porto Alegre has it helped the movement advance or not. If not, why? The very purpose of the WSF was to deflect these very forces from greater politicization and militant struggles. It is in this situation that the WSF comes along with its vehement opposition to all forms of violent protest and seeks to replace the venue of struggles from the streets and barricades to the carnivals of Porto Alegre. Communists must not just be part of those demonstrations but stand in the forefront. No one will listen to our MLM treatise if we merely lecture them; it is while being in the forefront of such struggles that we can impress on others with our views. But the WSF is quite different, though the forces involved may overlap. It is a consciously planned

platform with a definite agenda. The topics are pre-planned and most (as in Mumbai) are those linked to the NGO/postmodernist agenda with millions of dollars pumped in. As already mentioned the two are not the same ..... i.e. a spontaneous mass upsurge and a consciously planned platform. Quite obviously the methods of intervention (we will deal with this later) are quite different and should not be lumped together as the AWTW article does. Of course if we have a mere one-point agenda of propagation of our MLM view then these fine distinctions have little value as we merely distribute our handbills and give our speeches everywhere. But the key aspect is not mere propaganda but organizational and political consolidation and the intensification of the class struggle. . Propaganda is of significance only if it is accompanied by both organizational and political consolidation and the intensification of the class struggle. For this the distinction between political platforms organized by the moneybags and mass spontaneous upsurges must be clearly made.

**4<sup>th</sup> Diversionary Point:** Question of practice: In this same section the AWTW article says: *Nowhere is PM's confusion more evident than in the way it tries to distinguish the armed struggles led by forces such as the armed social-democrats of the EZLN in Mexico (the Zapatistas) and the armed revisionists of the FARC in Columbia from the kind of generally unarmed social-democrat and revisionist forces playing a leading role in the WSF. Whether one pressures the existing state structures through a single dramatic armed action followed by a decade of seeking a negotiated participation in the reactionary state machinery, as the EZLN has done, or whether one tries more consistently to advance one's goals through strikes or elections, as some WSF leaders have done, is really not a fundamental distinction. Revolutionaries, reformists and counter-revolutionaries alike can use violence or relatively peaceful forms of struggle, such as negotiations, strikes or gheraos (mass encirclements). What fundamentally distinguishes one from another is what line, what strategy, and what objectives are followed by a political grouping and*

*the different tactics that flow from this. It is reversing cause and effect to focus on the armed or unarmed nature of a given political force and then try on that basis to extrapolate its political nature.* Here we have quoted at length as this point is given much importance and repeated in a number of places.

Firstly it goes without saying that for there to be real/radical change in the system it must be led by genuine proletarian forces which today are those that have MLM as their guidance, adopt a revolutionary political/organizational/military line and have serious practice on that basis. On this there is no debate.

But, to merely say the above is an absolutist approach to the question. Marxist dialectics teaches us that nothing in this world is absolute; everything is relative. An absolutist approach goes against dialectics. One divides into two and every phenomena, when broken down will have two aspects ..... the positive and the negative. An absolutist approach does not try and understand the aspects at play but only looks at the phenomena as it finally appears. It does not understand that all phenomena are in a process of continuous change due to the unity and struggle of opposites within it. It is only by understanding these aspects in struggle can communist intervention help the process of transformation and development of all forces in the interests of revolution. Not to see this results in an academic approach which serves little tactical purpose. And without tactics no strategy can be implemented.

So in order to have correct tactics we must study such political formations in depth, and not lump all in one category. Though none of the forces mentioned above may have a revolutionary programme (and also they are not reactionaries), for the sake of tactics it is necessary to study their practice and role in class struggle. So, non-proletarian forces involved in people's movements, can be of various kinds: those involved in armed struggle against an imperialist power; those involved in militant actions and strikes; those involved in mere reform work, those involved only in TU negotiations and passive economism; those involved merely in electioneering; etc etc. ( we are not even considering those floated by reactionaries

to divert movements and act as safety valves) Quite naturally the former type which are more deeply and actively involved in the class struggle have a more positive element to them while the latter are more negative. More in depth analysis of each in relation to the on-going class struggle would also be necessary to understand the specificity in each case. Such analysis is fundamental if we are to devise correct tactics to win over the maximum force to the revolution and build effective UFs. Besides, at any one time it is necessary to pin-point the principal enemy and unite all forces fighting against it, under proletarian leadership. The problem with the AWTW approach is that it negates the need to understand the role of such forces in the on-going class struggles. So, it equates the WSF carnival with the struggles at the barricades, it lumps together, strike activity and election politics; strikes/gheraos and negotiations; and finally peaceful and violent struggles. So in reality, however compromising they may be politically, the armed struggles in Columbian and Chiapas is directed against America for which hundreds have given their lives. The US is determined to crush them either with guns or through peace talks. There too lakhs are taking part (not just in the WSF), most of whom are the most oppressed. Even if the AWTW is unable to distinguish between these, the imperialists and reactionaries do —brutally crushing the violent and militant, while pampering the peaceful and reformist.

The practical role in the class struggle is an important criteria to assess forces for any tactics. Mere repetition of strategic concepts without having tactical plans is abstract and counter-productive.

Finally to conclude this section, we repeat once again that it is the leadership that gives the class character of any organization as it is they who set the line for the organization, its structure, its orientation, etc etc. For this reason as the WSF leadership is basically pro-imperialist it has that class character and acts as a safety-valve to diffuse the ongoing struggle against imperialism. But as regards its constituents many will be positive forces. In concrete struggle activities we shall definitively unite with them on the streets. We do not therefore put in the same category much of the rank-and-file of these organization and the masses being rallied by the hundreds of

organizations, in the same category as the leadership. Our entire approach has been to precisely bring these forces out of the ideological influence of the WSF leadership.

## **II Question of Intervention and UF**

Regarding the question of “participation” in the WSF the AWTW article says: *The fact of the matter is that tens of thousands of leaflets with a revolutionary orientation were distributed at the WSF by forces associated with RIM. Wasn't this a good thing?* No doubt it was. But how effective was it given each of the hundreds of organisations also distributed such leaflets on a big scale. The involvement of revolutionaries in MR did not in anyway restrict such propaganda. Infact as already mentioned in the PM article CCOMPOSA and others such organisations also distributed leaflets in both the programmes. They even booked stalls for the sale of their literature within the WSF. Forces associated with the sponsors of the MR even went the venue of the WSF to raise questions, etc and participate in the debates, though not officially.

Carrying revolutionary propaganda is only one aspect of political intervention, and not the most important. The main point is the need also for political and organizational consolidation and a deepening of the struggle against imperialism with a long term perspective. This is to be done, not only at the Party level which is mentioned in the CoRIM letter, but also at the UF level. What CoRIM and the AWTW article seems to ignore is the latter. In this case it would mean political and organizational consolidation of the maximum number of anti-imperialist forces on the programme set by the revolutionaries and to draw them from the sphere of endless debates to actual struggles against imperialism. This would have been impossible from within the WSF given its structure, controls, politics and amorphousness. So, the need for an MR type programme to facilitate the building of an alternative pole within the anti-imperialist movement. In organizing it there may have been some lacunae; that is not the point. This can always be improved with more experience. The point is the perspective and the class standpoint to be

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# Without a Struggle against Revisionism It Is Impossible to Take even one Step Forward in the Revolution

{Translated from the Hindi original}

**Kishan**

In the history of International Communist Movement the emergence of Khrushchevite Revisionism in 1956 and the history of intense struggle against it, has today crossed 50 years. Yet today Revisionism is the main danger for the International Communist Movement. So in the sphere of theory, politics, ideology and methodology the main task must be to wage continuous struggle against all manifestations of revisionism and side by side draw clear-cut lines of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. The 150 year history of the International Communist Movement and particularly that of the Paris Commune, Russian Revolution and Chinese Revolution, have taught us that without waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism we cannot move even a single step forward in the Revolution. This is a universal truth.

In fact, with the very birth of Marxism revisionism, revisionist thought and revisionist methods came into existence as a contrary theory. During their life time itself the great Marx and Engels had to fight and defeat the contrary thoughts of Prudhonism, Bakuninism and also the idealism of Hegel. At that time all these thoughts were identified as contrary thoughts and not as revisionism. It was Bernstein who revised Marxism amid a big hue and cry, and the ideology he propounded was identified as revisionism. In fact, in the field of politics revisionism had dropped the basic foundations of Marxism i.e. of class struggle and the establishment of Socialism by smashing the capitalism through class struggle and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of course, revisionism is an international phenomenon. The manifestation of the essence of revisionism can be summed up in the one sentence — ‘*The Final goal is nothing; the immediate struggle is everything*’.

Com. Lenin said that, “*At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the ideological struggle of revolutionary Marxism against Revisionism was able to advance*

*successfully towards victory in spite of the vacillations and weaknesses within the proletariat*”. (Marxism & Revisionism – Lenin). When in 1917, in Russia, under the leadership of the Great Lenin the Great October Russian Socialist Revolution achieved victory, the roots of Marxism got strengthened. Because, till then, Marxism was only in the books, now it became a living reality. The Russian Revolution smashed the capitalist-imperialist system from one part of the globe and gave birth to the Socialist Society, a new system of workers & peasants rule, which is the basic concept of Marxism.

In the process of the Russian Revolution, at every stage, Comrade Lenin had to fight a fierce struggle against Revisionism at the international as well as national level — from Plekhanov, Kautsky to the whole of the Mensheviks, including Martov & Trotsky, and defeated all those revisionist and counter-revolutionary thoughts. Only then could the Russian Revolution emerge victorious.

Comrade Lenin analyzed and described imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and about the immediate possibility of revolution in the wake of the increasing & intensive contradictions of capitalism at the stage of imperialism. Very often Comrade Lenin had identified the stage of imperialism as the eve of Revolution. On the question of imperialism and in the situation of imperialistic war what would be the responsibility of the proletariat and its communist party – Com. Lenin and Com. Stalin had to fight a fierce struggle against the ardent revisionist leaders like Bernstein and Kautsky in the second international as well as against the revisionists within their own Russian Communist Party. For fighting against the thoughts of traitor Kautsky – defend the fatherland at the time of the imperialist war, Lenin propounded new thoughts – of converting the imperialist war into a civil war; that means fighting for the victory of revolution in the respective countries by their proletariat parties. By establishing this view Com. Lenin put forth the true responsibilities of communists and smashed the revisionist theory of Kautsky

during the war. Finally, in continuation of these ideas the Great Russian Revolution under the leadership of the Great Lenin and Stalin, succeeded by defeating all the conspiracies of the revisionists. And in this process Marxism reached to its second developed stage of Leninism. In the process of succeeding in the Russian Revolution, in the stage of imperialism by intensive struggle against revisionism and taking class struggle as the basis and by advancing class struggle it was required to sharpen theory and by developing Marxism to the level of Leninism this was achieved.

After the demise of Lenin, in the process of developing socialist construction in Soviet Russia, Comrade Stalin had to fight a fierce struggle, at every step, against the revisionists and conspirators. To further the work of Socialism and Socialist construction and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, Stalin had to contend at every step with reactionary conspirators and revisionists; particularly the revisionist-conspirators like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin etc. had to be fought with.

In 1953 the Great Stalin died. Only after that Khrushchev, who was sitting silent in the party since long, came to the scene with his real face. In 1956, in the twentieth Congress, Khrushchev put forth the theory of “peaceful transition”, “peaceful competition”, and “peaceful co-existence”; and later on with the theory of “the nation of whole people” Khrushchevite revisionism emerged as an elaborate line. This Khrushchevite revisionism has been identified as modern revisionism in place of the old time revisionism. There are two fundamental reasons for this:

- a. There was no State Power in the hands of the earlier revisionism and revisionists. So there was no question of using & misusing the State Power. Basically, earlier revisionism was playing the role of opposing revolution in the sphere of ideology.
- b. Khrushchevite revisionism emerged after the death of Com. Stalin, after acquiring control over the strongest socialist society and state power related

to this, which was formed by the proletariat under the leadership of the great Lenin-Stalin. Thus, by using state power, in implementation of the anti-revolutionary theory of transition to socialism by peaceful means as a strategic principle, had a greater impact, due to control over the state.

Basically due to these two reasons Khrushchevite revisionism had been identified as modern revisionism.

After the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism most of the divisions and splits within the various Communist parties world-wide were seen. Particularly by implementing the revisionist theory of peaceful transition to socialism as a strategy all of the revisionist parties and their leaders adopted the programme of taking part in elections as the major programme. The only goal of the peoples' movements and peoples' organizations organized by them was restricted to prepare MLAs, MPs and Ministers absorbed into the parliamentary stream.

The leadership of the undivided Communist Party of India, which betrayed the great Telangana struggle, started participating in elections since 1952 and made it their only task. Khrushchevite revisionism gave this line international acceptance which resulted in taking them further towards their destruction.

Whatever it may be, Khrushchevite revisionism, with the collaboration of imperialism, particularly US imperialism, and conspiring with it, took over soviet state power, and in the garb of socialism misused the state power to intensify its offensive. Its agent revisionist parties and their leaders in their respective countries adopted revisionist principles with more aggressiveness than ever and became the followers of the "peaceful transition to socialism" line. Socialism in words and imperialism at heart was the nature of the new Khrushchevite state, and by using state power Russia first transformed into a social imperialist or social fascist power, and then a superpower.

In the Second World War under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the Russian Red Army defeated and smashed the Nazi forces of fascist Hitler and secured a historical victory and a socialist camp emerged. And after that in 1949 under the leadership of the great Mao another world

shaking revolution happened — through the protracted peoples' war the Chinese revolution became victorious. The line of protracted people's war propounded by Comrade Mao became the only correct line of liberation for the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For establishing this line Com. Mao had to fight an intense struggle against the right and 'left' revisionists, like Chen-tu-shu, Li-li-shan, Wang-ming, etc., within the Chinese Communist Party and also in the International Communist Movement, and only through such struggles could the Chinese Revolution be victorious. Com. Mao held high the flag of struggle against revisionism.

After the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism the theoretical and ideological struggle waged by Comrade Mao against Khrushchevite revisionism and modern revisionism has come to be known as the "Great Debate". Though, since the birth of Marxism the struggle against these opposing views, i.e. revisionism & Marxism, has continued uninteruptedly, the struggle in the form of the 'Great Debate' against Khrushchevite revisionism was ever more intensive than earlier ones and it proved to be a decisive Debate to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with revisionism.

As a result of this Great Debate an intensive struggle of Marxism vs. Revisionism (the central point was the line of armed struggle and the line of the Parliamentary way) started at the international level and in the process of the struggle a polarization of the two camps of genuine and fake Communists clearly emerged. The camp of genuine communists under the leadership of Mao became strengthened and the struggle against revisionism got ever more intensive. As a result, the ongoing armed revolutions in some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became more effective.

Later on, under the leadership of Comrade Mao a complex and intensive struggle was waged within China against the line of the capitalist roaders and the Chinese Khrushchev, Liu-Shao-chi & Co. who rejected the dictatorship of proletariat and class struggle and were for restoration of capitalism. This was known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Through the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, through a active participation in the international class struggle (as the Great Debate), and an unprecedented role in the different branches of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao developed Marxism-Leninism, which we see in the form of Mao's Thought (now Maoism), to a qualitative & third stage of development of Marxism-Leninism.

In the same period in India there was an intensive debate within the undivided Communist Party. Particularly in 1962, after the incident of aggression on the then socialist China by the reactionary Indian government, the internal struggle within the party got more severe & intense. As a result of the thunderous impact of the Great Debate, the world-shaking Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution and the great peasants revolt of Naxalbari, the revisionist camp and communist revolutionary camps were clearly demarcated in India.

But after the death of Comrade Stalin, and the takeover of the Party and the State power by the traitor Khrushchev, and replacement of the dictatorship of proletariat with the dictatorship of bourgeoisie — the first socialist fatherland that was established under the leadership of the Great Lenin and Stalin collapsed. Then, immediately after the death of Comrade Mao, four revolutionary comrades were identified as the "gang of four" and through a counter-revolutionary coup-de-ta, the Teng-Hua clique changed the colour of socialist China and established the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China also. That was the fall of a powerful fort of socialism established by the C.P.C. under the leadership of the great Comrade Mao. Now not even a single country in world today is in existence having socialism as the form of a social system. The takeover of the Party & State Power and the restoration of capitalism by the disguised revisionists and reactionary elements within the party was the basic reason behind the defeat (even if temporary) of the proletariat class and socialism.

As a result of these negative incidents in the international communist movement, revisionism, revisionist thoughts, methodology and procedures got a chance to raise their head and made its impact once

again. Specially, after the Teng clique changed the colour of socialist China, the international communist movement had to go through one more process of splits and so the movement faced a severe set back.

But, this setback to the International Communist Movement, with revisionism once again asserting itself is not an absolute thing, if looked at from a dialectical-materialist viewpoint, but is a relative matter. Thus, if we put strong reliance on the laws of dialectical-materialism and adopt a practice according to the present objective conditions, and stand steadfastly on the line of armed struggle and protracted people's war, put full faith on workers-peasants and the toiling masses and involve them in our every task, then only can we transform this setback into advance, thereby beating back the heightened spread of revisionism, and once again we can make Marxism as powerful as ever. Everything in the world exists according to the law of the unity of two opposite things, where the aspect of struggle is permanent and absolute and unity is temporary and relative. So, to change bad into good, unfavourable into favourable, everything is possible through struggle.

That revisionism is a principal danger, many people accept this in words, but while in practice, they fail to implement it. In the course of practice since revisionism is a principal danger, there is a need to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with the revisionist methodology & procedures in the field of practice or procedures. If we do not do this the result is that the struggle against revisionism remains incomplete. So, the struggle against revisionism is required to be undertaken continuously from beginning to the end, deeply and unhesitatingly, both in theory and practice (in words and in deeds). Weakening the struggle against revisionism, due to whatever reason, would mean to extend help to perpetuate revisionism.

Revisionism cannot remain static and come in just one form. Revisionism constantly shifts its positions and constantly like a chameleon changes its form. Revisionism that came onto the scene at the time of Lenin and Stalin is quite different from the Revisionism of today, and it will emerge in different forms in future. To oppose the Red flag by waving

the red flag, to oppose the revolution in the name of revolution, to oppose Marxism-Leninism in the name of Marxism-Leninism and opposing the Mao Thought in the name of Mao's thought or opposing Maoism in the name of Maoism – are the existing forms of revisionism. It could be called as ultra-modern revisionism.

Giving a contradictory analysis of the international situation and giving depressing analysis saying that the situation is not ripe for revolution; negating the historical and international importance of Maoism; by putting forth the question of a new situation, concrete analysis, power balance etc.; analyzing that “the situation is not mature for armed struggle”; and through manipulations advocating and adopting the parliamentary path – are all characteristics of today's ultra-modern revisionism.

In India also, the traitors of the Telangana Movement, the leaders of the undivided Communist Party had since long abandoned the armed struggle and adopted the Parliamentary path, and since then the only task of the revisionists was to praise the parliamentary path and through participating in elections prepare their MLA, MPs and Ministers to oppose the revolution by every means and in this way to serve the exploiters — the ruling classes. But in 1967 after the outbreak of the great Naxalbari peasant revolt, by unleashing an onslaught on the movement the counter-revolutionary character of the CPM leaders got exposed in broad daylight. That was the clear-cut line of demarcation between these traitors, the newly revisionist CPI (M), and the Revolutionary Camp. Today, revisionism is so adorable for imperialism, that in West Bengal, for the last 30 years under the leadership of the gang-leader of the revisionists, the CPI (M)-led left front government is ruling its reign of terror by suppressing all democratic and revolutionary forces through their social fascist methods and playing the role of a confident agent of the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and feudalism. During the last 30 years rule of the CPI (M), it has misused the state power to organize its party organs at every level for erecting them as a powerful social fascist power, who, in the garb of Marxism, wielding red flags in their hands, are

playing the role of an organized counter-revolutionary force. The situation has arisen that in some states of India it is impossible to advance the democratic and revolutionary struggle without fighting the fascist offensive of the CPI (M).

Then in 1972 after the martyrdom of Comrade C.M., in the name of rectification of the “Left” line, people like Satya Narayan Singh adopted the Rightist line and proceeded to take part in elections. Besides, the pseudo followers of Mao's thoughts, the CPI (M-L) Liberation and an M-L party under the leadership of Kanu Sanyal had long back departed from the line of armed struggle and adopted the parliamentary path, and plunged into the existing election game of fraud and manipulation for securing two or three seats in the parliament, assembly and panchayat elections to get crumbs from the plates of the exploiting classes, as a reward for their surrender. Playing the role of counter-revolutionaries in the field of the class struggle by launching vicious propaganda campaigns against the revolutionary struggle, to get the revolutionary activists arrested and even get them murdered – are some samples of the misdeeds committed by the Liberation. The disgruntled Kanu Sanyal has become so adorable for the exploiters-rulers that the central as well as state governments in collaboration with their police departments are printing and distributing thousands and thousands of copies of Kanu Sanyal's statement against the CPI (Maoist) — that violence is not useful for the masses and revolution will not happen by these means. The statement distributed in Jharkhand and Bihar by the Police-Administration is a living example of this.

It is next to impossible to advance the Revolutionary movements without fighting the armed offensive unleashed by these types of revisionists. The world-wide history of revolution also gives us the same lesson.

Ever since the emergence of the Proletariat movement, the bourgeoisie has indulged, theoretically as well as ideologically in making the workers corrupt so that the workers' movement could remain under the interests of the bourgeois class and the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the country could become weakened and diverted.

With this objective the bourgeois ideological trend adopts different forms at different times, sometime it may be rightist or sometime “Left” deviationist. The history of development and emergence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism remains the history of acute struggle against these trends of bourgeois ideology, whether it may be rightist trends or “Leftist” trends. It is the duty of the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoists not to be afraid of and run away from the challenges posed by the bourgeois ideological trends but to follow the ways adopted by great Comrade Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, that means whenever there is an attack on the theory, basic line and policy by bourgeois ideology and revisionist ideology then this attack and offensive has to be smashed and to ensure the road of victory for the struggles led by the proletariat class, oppressed classes and castes. The long history of struggle between Marxism and revisionism shows us that some pseudo communist parties had completely become revisionists in their essence and form. For example the famous European parties of Italy, France etc. and the CPI and CPI (M) in India. Some parties have already decayed as socialist fascist powers and some parties are forcing their revisionist line and procedures more aggressively and some are dangling somewhere in between.

But even any genuine communist party will also have the existence of opposite thoughts to Marxism in the form of revisionist, bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends. One also sees the existence of revisionism in our party. Though it is not a principal form, but manifestations of

revisionism, bourgeois and petty bourgeois thoughts exist. Particularly, it takes the expression of economism, militant economism, legalism, spontaneity etc. exist within us and within our party. Besides these we also have the expression of sectarianism, subjectivism and dogmatism in ourselves and we also notice a lack of modesty and courtesy within us. Besides this, we also have individualism, bureaucratic trends and ego within us, which are posing hurdles in unifying and strengthening the newly formed party.

In fact we have both Marxism and Revisionism. If we say revisionism, it means both the forms, right opportunist and ‘Left’ deviations, exist in the party. Though the principal aspect is Marxism, expressions of revisionism exist in the form of a secondary aspect. So, on the one hand we have to take part in the real class struggle and class war to strengthen us like steel, while on the other hand it is essential to wage a continuous struggle against the revisionist expressions that exist within ourselves. And this process is not required for a short or limited period but it must be a continuous process.

We have to staunchly stay with the saying of Comrade Lenin that, “*the question of state power is the basic question for every revolution*” and it is our duty to advance the class struggle and establish the dictatorship of proletariat and also we have to steadily stand by the saying of Comrade Mao that “*snatching political power through armed struggle, settling the issues through war are the central task and supreme form of revolution.*” Along with this we must have to try to adopt the

maxim of – practice Marxism not revisionism; be open and aboveboard; do not conspire and split but unify – in our revolutionary practical life.

The founder leaders and teachers of our party Com. C.M. and Com.K.C. had waged an uncompromising struggle against the revisionism of the CPI and CPI(M) and had drawn a clear line of demarcation with revisionism and succeeded in establishing the line of protracted peoples war as directed by Comrade Mao. In continuity of that struggle in the reflection of this practice was the great Naxalbari peasants’ revolt under the leadership of Com. C. M. proved to be a “*Spring Thunder*” in the struggle against revisionism. How the uncompromising struggle against revisionism is advanced and how revisionism is smashed – we have to learn from the teachings of Com. C. M. and Com. K. C. and we have to firmly follow these teachings.

Let’s, stand firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; participate in the revolutionary class struggle and the ongoing agrarian revolutionary guerilla war with full activeness. Fasten the task of building base areas and building the people’s armed forces. Wage struggle against revisionism and its concrete manifestations, in words and in deeds. Remember that without waging struggle against revisionism it is not possible for revolution to advance a single step forward.

*The Author is a senior politburo member of the CPI(Maoist)*



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increase over the previous year. Besides China and Russia both have huge trade surpluses.

Is it then any wonder that the US should be desperate for markets and will flex its muscle — military or otherwise — to seize markets on its own. And in the process if the WTO acts as a stumbling bloc let it be peacefully buried. Anyhow with the growing regional trade blocs the WTO is bound to reduce in its significance, if not meet its demise.

Also as the crisis in the world economy deepens the contention for markets will get

all the more fierce and each of the major imperialist players will put more emphasis on trade blocs of its own and the WTO will become superfluous. This trend can also be seen to be growing not only by the US but also the EU, Russia and even Japan to a lesser extent. In the phase after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war the imperialists needed the WTO for a joint offensive of finance capital to prize open the markets of the backward countries to an unprecedented extent. This it achieved in the name of globalization, and the WTO helped this

process. Then, with superpower contention having disappeared (with the collapse of the Soviet Union) collusion of the imperialists was the major factor and they were able to jointly launch their attack on the backward countries. But now the situation is changing; and as the economic crisis deepens contention is growing, at least in the sphere of trade. In such a scenario the WTO would have outlived its usefulness to the imperialists as a whole. This is already clear in the US’s attitude.



**Contd. from page 23**

taken, propagated and consolidated. It is only through such a process that the anti-imperialist struggle can grow in a spiral like way — both in its extent and in depth.

The problem with both the RIM letter and the AWTW article is that it does not see the need for uniting with all anti-imperialist forces on a minimum programme, but only sees the need to propagate the “revolutionary line”, that too mostly in abstraction. In the present case pushing the “revolutionary line” would entail a thoroughgoing exposure of the WSF and then presenting an alternative. In addition the CoRIM does not seek to try and analyse the affectivity of such intervention in real practice. Good intentions and “pure” politics serve little purpose unless they are linked to the concrete practice of advancing the class struggle at the ground level and thoroughgoing and concrete political exposures and solid organisational consolidation of all positive forces against the main enemy.

In this section the AWTW article does admit that *It is true, but tautological, to argue that the possibility of putting forward a revolutionary viewpoint will be greater in forums organised by revolutionaries.* But it is also a fact that in its approach the AWTW tends to put both WSF and MR in a similar bracket eulogizing in fact the thousands that come for the WSF with little or no mention of the political advantages to have been gained from the MR. On the contrary its political standpoint on MR has, in essence, been viewed as being over-critical of the WSF (as on the question of the WSF slogan, postmodernism, analysis of ATTAC, etc). In effect the approach of AWTW is to focus on the WSF and giving no real role to the MR-type event. Overall this comes from a positive approach to the WSF and not, in real terms, considering it as some form of “an anti-imperialist organisation”. That is why even in section II it avoids a clear-cut stand. That is why it wanted MR to tone down its criticism of WSF. But, if it did that, the very reason for holding the MR event would cease to exist.

Then again, as in Section II, the AWTW article says: *From the days of Marx and Engels to the present, communists have participated in trade unions, co-operatives, cultural associations, organisational*

*committees for political campaigns, etc. - the list is endless.* And then adds: *no serious revolutionary movement in any country can avoid intervening in diverse forms and organisations. So the question of the leadership of an organisation alone cannot answer the question of whether or not it is correct for communists to participate in a given political event.* We have no argument with this whatsoever. The point however is can a political platform like WSF, floated by its sponsors, be compared to the *trade unions, co-operatives, cultural associations, organisational committees for political campaigns, etc.* We think not. In addition what should be the nature of the intervention? Let us look at both these points:

The WSF is a political platform set up by its sponsors and financiers while the other organizations are those of the workers to fight for their interests. How can the two be compared? They are quite different. The former is set up for a political purpose while the latter come up in the course of the struggles of the working class against the bourgeoisie. So, the method of intervention will quite obviously be different. On the question of the nature of the intervention, MR too was a method of intervention. The propagation of revolutionary politics was not done by MR but by the parties directly and their literature. This was done widely in both MR and WSF independently of the MR constituents. So, what AWTW/RIM says should have been the main task was anyhow done. But the point was how best to effectively expose the fake opposition of the WSF leadership and help the process of developing an alternative and genuine anti-imperialist pole within the anti-globalisation movement. This was best done from without the WSF than from within. One reason for this being that from within it was not possible to draw clear lines of demarcation as numerous trends exist. Earlier dissent from within at the Porto Alegre has shown this. Besides, the very structure of WSF would not allow effective opposition to the political content. Secondly, anarchy reigns at the WSF (for the participants, not the leadership who run the show and plan the major political content), so the consolidation of positive forces is not possible within the WSF. Thirdly the MR created a platform for all those anti-imperialist forces that saw

through the hoax of the anti-imperialism of the ruling social-democrats and the NGOs. Fourthly, it was able to pose this alternative internationally and throughout India on a large scale to those who even went to the WSF.

There is no all-encompassing theory on how and when to intervene in on-going events. No generalizations in such questions help develop creative tactics. The important question must be a clear-cut class approach to the events (in this case the WSF) and clear cut aims and plans on how best to use the situation to intensify the class struggle (in this case the anti-imperialist struggle); which entails the most effective process for political exposure, organizational consolidation (at various levels ..... party, UF, etc) and intensified struggles. The tactics in a given situation will be determined by these factors. With the AWTW/RIM vague on its stand towards the WSF and with no approach for uniting all anti-imperialist forces to create a genuine anti-imperialist pole within the on-going movement, it is reduced to the one point approach of merely propagating the MLM ‘line’ within the WSF (and MR). There can be no real MLM “line” on this issue (or for that matter any issue) without a clear-cut class analysis on the event being dealt with!!!

### **III The Question of Ideology**

When the PM article has already clarified the CoRIM accusation that *“in MR rejection of post-modernism a prerequisite for unity in what should be a united front effort like Mumbai Resistance can only lead to unnecessary divisiveness”*, we wonder why this is repeated in the AWTW article. Nowhere was this made a criteria, the point made in the PM article was that post-modernism is a dangerous anti-Marxist ideology and should be widely attacked and there should be no ban on attacking it in MR as suggested in the RIM letter.

In fact this entire section on “ideology” has only created a bogey unconnected to what PM has ever said (regarding MR there certainly may have been some flaws in the method of building a broad front) as there has been no question of denying *that there are different ideologies that are contending within the movement of opposition to globalization* and that there was need for communist intervention. It

has been explained earlier and repeated now how this was also done. The point to be repeated is that this can only be done not by repeating again and again the need for *independent ideological work*, but by a concrete class analysis of WSF and a political and organizational plan for the consolidation and intensification of a genuine anti-imperialist movement.

Further, to deflect from the serious political error in RIM's approach the AWTW article has now raised some extraneous issue of: *danger of forgetting the role of communists in presenting and fighting for their ideology and instead looking for some sort of "united front" or "anti-imperialist" ideology. Such a search is both illusory and dangerous.* This has never been raised or implied anywhere by PM articles. Let us repeat the point on the question of UF tactics and the question of ideology.

While not repeating the arguments detailedly explained in the PM article to thoroughly expose the politics of the WSF (its programme, its central slogan, its anarchical method, its ideologies, etc) we re-assert that it is necessary to unite with all forces genuinely fighting imperialism, while at the same time exposing and struggling against their short-comings, inconsistencies, and ideological deviations. Today, in this period of the all-round and massive offence of imperialism on the backward countries of the world many forces and various sections of the people are rising against it. These may be post-modernist, Islamic, Gandhian, liberal Marxists, Trotskyites, nationality and other patriotic forces, etc. Whatever their

ideology their basic class content is petty-bourgeois and in some cases maybe national bourgeois. Yet, all these should not be equated and given equal importance, and they should be gauged by the extent and depth of their actual practice in fighting imperialism at the ground level. Proletarian forces must unite with them against the common enemy after due consideration of their actual role in the struggles against the varied aspects of the imperialist offensive. And while doing so they must struggle against their incorrect ideologies, whether it is postmodernist, Islamic, Gandhian, Trotskite, etc. Nowhere has it been raised that there should be some sort of "united front" or "anti-imperialist" ideology.

It must be remembered that these NGOs and social-democrats and for that matter the WSF's important aim (besides others) is to create a wedge between the revolutionaries and other democratic and progressive sections, to isolate the revolutionaries, making it easier for them to be crushed. We should not fall into their trap either through a sectarian or a tailist approach. The WSF has a clear-cut ideological agenda — that "another world is possible" without struggle or revolution. This too is the consistent agenda of the NGOs and social democrats. It is this agenda that has to be clearly countered, and in the most effective and thorough-going manner possible. People's March, in its series of articles, as also Aspects of Indian Economy in its special issue, to a large extent attempted this. No such attempt is seen in AWTW.

One last point that the AWTW article

mentions in a "Footnote" which says *Actually PM refers to "the leadership" of any organisation and not the line. While the question of leadership and line are closely intertwined, it is in our opinion more correct to focus on the question of political and ideological line.* Now this is splitting hairs. Who sets the *political and ideological line*? The leadership or the rank-and-file of any organization? When we speak of leadership it also entails the *line* that they set for the organization. Besides, the AWTW/RIM has nowhere tried even to analyse the line, programme, constitution, etc of the WSF. This has been analysed at length in earlier PM articles. Besides, merely setting a *line* in abstraction is of little significance if it is not clearly linked to practice. There is often much radical talk (particularly this has been so in India) but little practice in that direction.

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion we would appeal to the CoRIM to come out with its clear-cut stand on the programme of the WSF as well as on post-modernism and the NGOs flooding the world, instead of indulging in abstract analysis and referring to points unrelated to the subject or to the standpoint expressed in the PM articles. We hope that it clearly states how to practically go about uniting the maximum forces in the given situation, while thoroughly exposing the leadership of the NGOs and social-democrats, to build the most effective and widest possible front against the imperialists, particularly US imperialism, under proletarian leadership. Given the vicious offensive of imperialist globalization, this is the burning need of the day.

**January 1, 2006**

#### **Urgent Appeal to Readers & Subscribers.**

People's March is a magazine on behalf of the poor and oppressed masses of the country and the world. The magazine is being sold at below the cost of production and postage charges. It depends on your financial support for its existence. We were sending complimentary copies to many individuals for quite sometime who were capable of paying subscriptions/donations. But for some reason or other or find it difficult to go to post office to send an MO as subscription. A London comrade visited People's March in Jan 2005 found to his surprise there is neither four walls nor a roof for People's March and donated 800 pounds (Rs 64,000/=). Even the roof and four walls could not be built on my late father's plot due to non-cooperative attitude of my brother & sisters at the pressure of intelligence agencies. Even that money has been spent on publication of People's March. In short People's March is being brought out regularly for the past four years under severe strains facing the enemy's onslaught. Hence I request individuals to send

subscriptions/donations. We are sorry to state that we will not be sending People's March from the next issue for bulk subscribers who have not sent their dues for more than a year. The Editor can read, write & speak English, Hindi & Tamil. The Editor can speak Malayalam & Telugu but can't read or write. Hence the readers are requested not to send reports & literatures in Telugu, Malayalam, Oriya, Bengali, or other Foreign languages to this address. It is not put to use by me and the same could not be processed and are simply sent for recycling. Any report or literature in any Indian language or Foreign language is preferable in PDF/Acrobat format is most welcome through E Mails so that the same can be processed for publication in English. Subscriptions/donations may be sent by Cheque or MO. (do not send cheque for Rs 150/= as the bank charges around Rs 45/= as collection charges. Rs 1,000/= can be sent as life time subscription) in my name P.Govindan kuttu.

Editor.

## Adivasi Women: Situation and Struggles

*{The tribal question is becoming more and more intense in the country. Severely affected by the policies of the pro-imperialist, pro-comprador, pro-feudal Government tribals are on the warpath in various parts of the country.*

*The following paper was presented at a seminar "Adivasi Women: Situation and Struggles" organised in Ranchi in March 2006 by the Sangarshrath Adivasi Mahila Manch, a front of various women's organisations working among adivasi women in Jharkhand.. Noted Bengali writer Jaya Mitra inaugurated the seminar and Prof. Uma Chakravarty made the keynote presentation. Various women's organisations and intellectuals from different parts of the country also presented their experiences and analyses. We found the paper presented by the Manch informative so we are publishing a summarised version of the paper for our readers..... Editor}*

This paper tries to briefly portray the situation and struggles of the adivasi women in the Eastern, Central and Southern parts of India. The adivasi population in most states in the North East have politically transformed into nationalities which are struggling for their rights to self determination. Their conditions, experiences and struggles need to be dealt with separately and deeply. Hence in this paper we have not attempted to cover the situation and struggles of women from North East who are ST in government classification.

The paper is presented in three parts. The first deals with the situation of adivasi women in their traditional societies. The second part deals with the laws and policies adopted by the colonial and present governments and their impact on the adivasis especially women. The third part deals with the various kinds of struggles waged by them.

The general problems faced by the adivasis are affecting both men and women. Poverty, exploitation, displacement, land alienation, illiteracy, lack of health facilities etc are such problems. Though there is a gender angle to these problems (intensity being felt by the women a bit more due to their being women), the general impact is on adivasis as a whole. It would neither be correct to view them only from a women's angle nor to view them just as general problems and consider only the problems of patriarchy and gender bias as 'women's problems'. So in this paper we are presenting the situation and struggle of adivasi people and at the same time we are also presenting the specificities of the situations for an adivasi woman. Thus we wish to present a more or less comprehensive picture of the overall situation of the adivasi women and the struggles they are waging to change all this and not just the patriarchal traditions in their society.

### I. Conditions

*Adivasis are among the most deprived and oppressed sections of India. Gender bias and gender oppression has meant that Adivasi women are worst affected. Adivasis constitute 8.4 crores of the population in India. India has the largest number of adivasis (indigenous peoples) among the countries in the world, followed by Myanmar and Mexico. Yet, in many cases the tribal population is decreasing, and some tribes are on the verge of extinction.*

*Although, the sex ratio of 972 amongst Scheduled Tribes (ST) in 1991 was much higher than that of the general population, which was 927, yet it started showing a declining trend. This adverse sex ratio, and its decline from 982 in 1971 to 972 in 1991 could be attributed to higher mortality amongst females and their limited access to health services. This shows a decline in the status of adivasi women and the need to pay much more attention to this issue.*

*Further, the incidence of poverty among Scheduled Tribes continues to be very high. Official statistics show 45.86 and 34.75 per cent living below the poverty line in rural and urban areas respectively in 1999-2000. In comparison the figures for the general population were 27.09 and 23.62 per cent respectively. {Both figures are highly understated..... Editor}*

*The per capita income of tribals continues to be one of the lowest in the country.*

**Role in economy:** *Adivasi women are central to the economy of their society. They take part in agricultural production, gather forest produce, do wage labour where available (from government or forest department works, tendu leaf and road contractors etc) and almost single handedly bear the whole burden of domestic work, child-rearing, rearing of*

*cattle/livestock, going to markets to sell their produce, do the marketing for their families etc. In one word, except those tasks which are a taboo for them, they do all the work. There may be variations in what they do in various areas but their central role is undeniable. In many adivasi communities, the men even marry more than one woman so that they can sit comfortably (doing the minimal work) while their wives toil away day and night.*

*Poor adivasi women commonly referred to as head loaders, walk miles through different conditions, collecting wood. Gathering fodder, picking leaves, brewing liquor and selling them, the typical items of work of adivasi women are all characterized by monotony, hard physical labour, harassment and exploitation. The activities they predominantly engage in are such as trade in 'minor' forest produce and manufacture and sale of products based on minor forest produce. These activities are typically low income, seasonal activities, and marginal to the economy.*

*The liquor trade in tribal areas finds a predominance of adivasi women. This may seem a sharp contradiction when viewed in terms of the problems faced by adivasi women on account of male alcoholism. But when viewed in context of the limited availability of economic options and issues of survival, it is perhaps less surprising that such trade is taken up by women. In the few cases that employment is available to adivasi women, gender based discrimination in wages both by government and contractors reinforces their economic marginalization. The government and its departments itself pays lesser wages to women than men.*

**Land rights:** *Half of the adivasi people do not have land. Even when they own some land, in most cases they may be only marginal holdings. According to the 1991*

Census, 42 per cent of the ST population were Main Workers. Of these, 54.5 per cent are cultivators and 32.7 per cent agricultural labourers. Thus, more than 87 per cent of the tribal main workers are dependent on agriculture. Further, while 42.9 per cent of the operational holdings of tribals belong to the category of marginal farmers with less than 1 hectare, 24.1 per cent are of small farmers category with 1 to 2 hectares; and only 2.2 per cent STs have large operational holdings with more than 10 hectares.

Importantly, however, in most of the regions, in most of the tribes adivasi women have no property rights over land. While adivasi families survive predominantly on account of women's work, it is primarily men who have full usufructory and other rights over land and other resources. But customary law has allowed women usufructory rights to some extent.

According to a report prepared by the British ruler Gautzer on the Santhal Paraganas during 1922 to 1935, called the Gautzer's settlement Report, in Santhali Adivasi Law only males can inherit land, where sons jointly succeed their father. An unmarried daughter has no right in the immovable property. A widow has no claim on her deceased husband's property if there are male relatives. If a widow does not remarry, then her rights to maintenance will continue. There is no uniform customary law for Santhal adivasis and it often varies across villages and could be significantly different between areas.

Some organizations have demanded that the Hindu personal laws be made applicable to adivasis so that polygamy can become illegal and women may inherit property. But under the political conditions prevailing today this will end up as part of the campaign to Hinduise adivasis. Adivasi women are struggling to reform their customs and it is in this process that they can gain their rights.

**Education:** In spite of the much publicised Sarva Shikshan Abhiyans, Ashram schools, mid-day meal schemes the number of Adivasi children going to school and finishing at least primary school is low. The number of ST girls in school is even lower. The female literacy rate among tribals in 1991 was far lower (18.2%) as

compared to overall female literacy for the country (39.2%). According to the latest 2001 Census figures female literacy among Scheduled Tribes went up to 28.36 %. Though there was an increase in total as well as female literacy among tribals, it is still at a slower pace as compared to the overall population, and to the general female literacy in the country. In 136 identified districts of erstwhile 11 states (now 13) tribal female literacy was below 10% as per the 1991 census. But the total figures may not give the actual picture in particular areas. On the one side the ST female literacy rate in north eastern states is very high while on the other side there are states where their literacy rate is abysmally low. For eg. districts like Jalor in Rajasthan with as low as 0.6 per cent of ST female literacy rate, while Aizawl in Mizoram has a female literacy rate as high as 85.7 per cent. (1991 Census).

**The number of adivasi women going for higher education including professional courses is miniscule. All over India, there were one lakh 90 thousand adivasi women who are graduates and above in 2001 !**

**The pace of progress of enrolment of both ST boys and girls at the middle level between 1990-91 and 1999-2000 has been quite impressive, the problem of dropouts happens to be a common feature for both general and ST students. While both the categories have been showing a decreasing trend during 1990-91 to 1998-99, the problem still appears to be the worst with regard to STs.**

**The attitude of the central and various state governments towards adivasis can be seen from their unwillingness to start even primary education in the adivasi languages, while spending crores on Sanskrit. In spite of the population of the main adivasi communities like Gonds, Santhals, Bhils etc., running into lakhs up to today the state governments are not conducting teaching in the adivasi languages forcing the already alienated people to study in the state's official language.**

**Health :** Health is an important indicator of the well being of any group

Literature on the health status of the tribal women in India is not comprehensive. Most health related studies are limited, they

do not cover the various dimensions of health affecting the status of tribal women like i) sex-ratio, ii) Female literacy, iii) Marriage practices, iv) Age at marriage, v) Age of mother at first conception vi) Life expectancy at birth, etc.

In Andhra Pradesh, for example, more than 50 per cent of the tribal people do not have access to drinking water, 70 per cent do not have power connections and more than 75 per cent do not have access to roads. Although Rs.50 crore was allocated to private contractors for tribal education and health, thousands of tribal people were affected by malnutrition, hunger and disease. In Orissa, Rs.680 crores allocated for tribal development had not been spent.

Poverty, deprivation and now the reduction of government expenditure on basic medical health facilities is reflected in the absolutely poor health condition of adivasi women and children. Child bearing is in this 21<sup>st</sup> century still a risk to the life of the woman. Anaemia is the normal condition for women, and malnutrition is rampant. Thus, the uproar in Maharashtra in 2005 over malnutrition deaths exposed the fact that the infant mortality rate (IMR) in tribal areas was 80 per 1000 births and over 50% of these deaths were of newly born children. Further the report revealed that 23,500 children died every year in tribal areas in the state alone. In AP too, in the ITDA areas 80% of the deliveries are conducted at home. The IMR rate is 165 per 1000 births while that for the general population is 92/1000 births. 55% of children in the ITDA areas are underweight. Even in the so called advanced state of Kerala the IMR in a tribal block of Palakad dist. was 66 per thousand births. In UP's Sonabhadra dist. in one month alone 19 ST children died of malnutrition, which actually means due to lack of food. The plight of the women who are bearing these children can easily be understood. While these facts have been highlighted by a section of the urban media what we want to highlight is that it is that it is the policies of the government which have led to this state of affairs. Some piecemeal solutions like serving nutritious khichdi in anganwadis cannot change the basic conditions of the adivasi population ( not to mention the corruption rampant in such schemes).

The scanty data and information available on the health status of the Adivasi population clearly show that the maternal mortality (between 8 to 25 per 1000) is more than double the rates than in the more advanced regions. Maternal mortality was reported to be high among various tribal groups but no exact data is available. The main causes of maternal mortality were found to be unhygienic and primitive practices for parturition. The crude death rates are also very high. These adverse health indicators are largely due to inadequate access to the nutritious foods and lack of access to health care services.

High levels of Hepatitis B infection among sections of the already minuscule tribal population of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands raise medical and social concerns. Compared to the average 4 to 5 per cent rate in the general population of mainland India, the prevalence rate in these tribal populations is over 20 per cent. The lack of purchasing power to buy food even at the public distribution system (PDS) rates and the distress sale of whatever food surpluses exist are the main reasons for the starvation deaths in the Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput (KBK) region. The coal mafia in West Bengal is employing poor Santhali adivasi men and women to extract coal illegally from abandoned open cast mines. This is posing serious health hazards. Accidents and deaths are common here.

The lack of food supply through the TPDS is compounded by the fact that Adivasis have no rights in forests that used to provide them with a variety of food. A ban on hunting has meant reduced supply of healthy meat while a switch-over to cash crops has led to reduced availability of food. Due to the depletion of forests due to excessive felling by vested interests adivasi women have to walk much longer distances to collect fuelwood and minor forest produce. Even in advanced stages of pregnancy women have to work hard and go long distances. Thus their workload has increased. The problem of hunger and malnutrition in Adivasi areas is clearly linked to the inequalities and threats to livelihood security in these regions. The solution of providing food for work (EGS) or free food would only take

care of the immediate needs of the Adivasis, but will not provide a long-term solution.

The plight of adivasi women in AP symbolizes their situation in all the backward forest areas. On an average, 312 tribal people die in the Integrated Tribal Development Agency area of AP every month. There could be several factors responsible for this, but there is no denying that malaria is a major cause of the deaths. Even if one survives an illness, it only leaves him or her more vulnerable to another, with the body's defences dwindling because of poverty and malnourishment.

Poverty stops them from visiting the doctor when they fall ill. The maternal mortality rate is nearly 25 per cent and the infant mortality rate is around 165 for every 1,000, compared to 95 for every 1,000 at the State level. The under-five mortality rate is also very high, nearly 50 per cent. Eighty per cent of the children are anaemic and 55 per cent under-weight. Almost all the tribal girls get married by the time they attain puberty and become mothers at a very young age.

Maternal and child health care practices were found to be largely neglected in various tribal group (i.e. Baster tribal groups, Kutia Kondhs of Orissa, Santals, Jaunsaris, Kharias etc.) From the inception of pregnancy to its termination, no specific nutritious diet was consumed by women. On the other hand, some pregnant tribal women (i.e. Dudh Kharias, Santals) reduced their food intake because of the fear of recurrent vomiting and also to ensure that the baby may remain small and the delivery may be easier. Vaccination and immunization of infants and children were inadequate among tribal groups.

There were two genetic disorders namely sickle cell anaemia which were found to occur in rather high frequencies in Schedule Tribes and Scheduled Caste populations, both male and female were equally affected.

#### **Patriarchy within the community:**

Though it is true that adivasi women enjoy better status in the tribal societies when compared with the casteist feudal Indian society in some aspects due to their central role in the economy, it is by no means an ideal picture. In addition they have been subject to patriarchal influences of the outside society. "Outsiders" like

traders, contractors, govt employees, police have been sexually exploiting adivasi women. If the adivasi women in some parts of central India once committed suicides, now with revolutionary movements and other mass movements raging across their areas, adivasi women are taking their lives into their hands and consciously trying to change the patriarchal structures inside their society and are also fighting the outside influences thereby saving their male members as well from these evils.

**Forms of patriarchy :** Since adivasis belong to different tribes and live in different areas their customs vary. So the forms of patriarchy may also vary. Basically the denial of land rights and their restricted role in community public activity and religious worship in most tribes is discrimination against women. Commonly patriarchy also finds expression in the form of taboos. Some problems are found among most of the communities like witch hunting, polygamy and liquor consumption etc.

Among the Birhors of Jharkhand hunting wild animals and deep forests are taboo for women. During menstruation women are not supposed to touch the hunting nets and other implements. They are patrilocal (but not so strictly followed) and patrilineal. (Though there is not much property to pass on except 'a few brass utensils'). In the Munda, Ho, Oraon and Kharia tribes men do not, as a rule, participate in the domestic labour of cleaning, cooking and childcare. They do these jobs only if the woman is ill or otherwise unable to tackle them. Among the Ho and Munda a woman must not even touch the plough. So as to minimize the chances of accidentally touching the plough, it is kept outside the house. Among the Santhal, Oraon and Khasia there is no such taboo. They often carry it to the field but not on their shoulders. (Women are not allowed to carry loads on their shoulders nor use a carrying pole – except among the Mundas). Munda women can use the carrying pole, but they must not touch a yoked plough. Santhal and other tribal women cannot thatch a roof or use a leveler. They may not shoot arrows, use a razor, chisel holes, strike an axe or fish with line and hook. They cannot weave cloth or string a cot.

Among the Munda there is no prohibition against women touching weapons or using them, though they must not step over them. But most of the tribes have prohibitions on women handling some or all weapons or they are allowed to carry them only during certain functions. Women cannot partake of the sacrificial meat offered to the family spirits (bonga). They can assist in certain ceremonies but can only share certain portions of the sacrificial meat, i.e., other than the head, which is the most valued part of the meat. Among traditional Mundas, making rope bins, storing grain in them and taking it out, even for day to day use, is the exclusive right of man. Among the Santhal, menstruating women are not supposed to go into the vegetable garden or make pickles.

Among the Gonds of AP, Chattisgarh and Maharashtra there are taboos on women eating delicacies of hunted animals, and eggs. They do all the agricultural works including ploughing but they cannot bundle the stalks or step on the threshing ground. They should not enter the grain storage room. The serious problem they face is that of forced marriages. The father drinks liquor and accepts to give the daughter in marriage. Young men some times abduct and marry them forcefully. Some girls run away but life becomes very difficult after that for them. During menstruation they face a lot of discrimination and humiliation. They are kept in small, ill-maintained huts away from the village and have to cook in broken vessels.

The lack of strong preference for sons does not necessarily mean there is no discrimination between boys and girls. This may not be so in matters of food but boys do get more time to play, unlike girls, who at an earlier age have to begin contributing to the family labour. The discrimination between boys and girls is most strongly reflected in the field of modern education. Female literacy among the adivasis lags considerably behind male literacy.

In a process of contact with outsiders there is also a conflict in cultural norms. The Ho women in Singhbhum treat regular sexual relationships as marriage while non-advasis sexually exploit them, treating them as promiscuous. Such women are

virtually ostracized when they return to the village especially if they have had a child by the alliance. Hence the only cases of official marriage between non-advasis and advasi women will take place for the purpose of a legal foothold and appropriating advasi land. A socially ostracized woman will get no help in ploughing her land, thatching her roof (both of which are taboo for her). She gets no help in the essential rituals, nor help, such as food loans in times of scarcity.

The advasi society (especially the upper echelon) that comes into contact with Hindu caste society aspires to its values in an effort at upward social mobility. Though bride price is still an important part of marriage negotiations, the practice of dowry is being increasingly adopted. The position of a married woman too takes a beating during such transactions. Divorce and remarriage become more difficult than they originally were. Children out of wedlock are now considered "illegitimate". Advasi men prefer their wives to become housebound on the pattern of Hindu peasant groups. Polygamy is still prevalent. According to Santhali customary law, a man can have up to five wives at a time. If a man is dissatisfied in any way with his wife, he can easily throw her out of the house. With no land in her name, this leaves her in a particularly vulnerable position. Their rights to their children are also not absolute. In some tribes if a woman remarries she may not take her children with her.

In recent years, land hunger is causing more and more male relatives to forcibly occupy land where a woman has no brothers. There are increasing cases of brothers-in-law throwing out the widows of their dead brothers.

The incident of migration of men, the option of having more than one wife, the absence of women's rights over land and other productive resources, have all combined to create an environment where deserting of women by their husbands is extremely common. Access to land, that is, in combination to other forces is much more than a mere economic factor affecting advasi women but has strong social implications.

#### **Witch hunting:**

*The real motivation for witch-hunting is the desire to eliminate the woman and*

*take away her land. Witch-hunting reflects the immediate economic objective of taking away of widow's rights to the land in favour of the husband's male relatives. Among the Santhals, where widows have a relatively stronger transition of rights on land, witches are exclusively women, whereas among Munda, Oraon and Ho it can be both men and women.*

*Witch hunting is an instrument of class as well as gender oppression used by the propertied classes by recruiting advasi people as unconscious accomplices. Though men suspected of practicing witchcraft are also sometimes attacked or killed, women that too poor dalit /advasi women, single, widowed, disabled, women without children i.e., those who lack protection or support are the most vulnerable. Witch-hunting, as many studies have shown has economic connotations and revolves around land. Whenever landlords or family members (men) or just men from the community want to usurp the land especially of widows who have got land rights in the tribal communities they are branded as witches by the 'ojhas' (witch doctors known under different names in different areas like bhagats, guruvus etc). Egged on by the ojhas the mob lynches them or attacks them so brutally that they become unfit for any work for many days. The attacks can include stripping and parading the victim, tonsuring, blackening the face, slashing the victim with knives or other sharp instrument, beating, burning, knocking away the teeth and even burying alive. The social boycott which follows is the most feared punishment.*

*The ojhas are not just acting according to superstitions but are often supported by vested interests – economic, political and social. Since illnesses are common and there is no public health care system to speak of, advasis inevitably end up consulting the ojhas and due to traditions and lack of any scientific knowledge about the cause of illness easily believe him when he points to some helpless widow. The police too take the side of the ojhas and landlords. The administration plays a nominal role.*

*The State and Central governments have done next to nothing to curb this evil. Due to pressure from women and*

democratic organizations 'Prevention of Witch Practices Act 1999' had to be passed to outlaw the practice of witchcraft in Bihar. [This itself indicates the proportions the problem had taken. In Jharkhand alone, around 200 women are killed every year. They are regular reports in AP, Assam and other tribal dominated states.]

On the other hand on September 22, 2003 at a function in Patna, Sanjay Paswan the then union minister for human resource development felicitated 51 witch doctors, shamans and sorcerers. He even had the guts to declare that he was seriously thinking of introducing a new course in school syllabus on the basis of experience of witchcraft practitioners for 'it is they who protect the villagers from evil spirits'. No doubt, the NDA government thought it best that such superstitions continue so that the atmosphere in the tribal areas would be more conducive to the saffronization drive of its main partner BJP in those areas.

The liberalization policies of subsequent governments from '91 have worsened the health scenario and people find health services becoming more of a mirage day by day. So it would not be far from the truth to claim that the ruling classes are directly responsible.

## II. Laws and policies and their Impact

The adivasis live in resource rich regions that have been administratively neglected. The regions are rich in forests, water, minerals and fertile land. About 70% of the country's forests, about 90% of the country's coal and more than half of the remaining mines are located in regions inhabited by them.

The oppression and exploitation of adivasis and the exploitation of the forest resources date back to the British colonial rule. Restrictions were imposed on adivasis using forest resources who till then enjoyed them as their natural right. The British considered forest their property and imposed taxes on everything – land, water, timber and other forest produce – it was during British rule that the migrations of the non-tribals to the tribal areas began on a large scale. Since collection of land tax was done in cash, adivasis had to depend on moneylenders to raise enough cash. Their labour became

a commodity and they had to sell it in British estates or mines or in the various construction projects such as roads and railways. Worse still, some of the communities were branded criminals and the cruel term 'criminal tribes' was used which our rulers continued to use shamelessly.

Transfer of power in 1947 to the Indian big landlords and big bourgeoisie only helped more exploitation by them and the imperialists. Many laws and policies have been adopted by the ruling classes which either remained unimplemented or just worsened the situation for the adivasis. The courts have been the unscrupulous accomplices of the ruling classes in interpreting these laws to benefit the landlords, big bourgeois and the imperialists.

The Forest Conservation Act (FCA) of 1980 arbitrarily froze approximately 22 per cent of the country's land for forest conservation, including areas recorded as forest in any government record.

Several other Acts have even intensified the exploitation of tribals further. Acts such as: (i) the Mining Act, (ii) Land Acquisition Act (by the government for its various projects) (iii) Wild Life Preservation Act (iv) Excise Act etc. have not only deprived the adivasis of their traditional occupations and control over land and forest resources, but also displaced them from their traditional homelands and disrupted the tribal bonds of solidarity and life patterns. There is also a rapid migration of the non-tribals into tribal areas leading to discrimination and suppression of the adivasis even in the Scheduled Areas. The governments have been trying to abolish the laws which gave protection to the adivasis. It was only with the resistance of the people that such attempts have been thwarted time and again.

Not only that but the government flouts the very laws it makes to serve the imperialists' interests. The mining leases granted to the private companies militated against all laws and principles governing the protection of tribal people. They violated, for instance, the Environment Protection Act, 1986, and the Forest Conservation Act, 1980. When the tribal people protested they were suppressed, arrested, illegally held or evicted from their

homes. The companies began to mine the area without the mandated environment impact assessment; without putting in place any relief, rehabilitation and disaster management plans; and with scant regard for the tribal people's means of livelihood.

**In May 2002 the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) issued a circular to all States ordering them to evict all 'encroachers' immediately. A massive eviction drive ensued, which targeted forest communities rather than the commercial and mafia interests which have actually led to the destruction of forests.** This has led to huge dislocation and suffering among already impoverished people. Lakhs of families have been rendered homeless - as many as 40,000 families in Assam alone - and there are many recorded cases of excessive violence.

Large scale evictions followed in 2004 also. In response to the widespread protests that followed and according to the election promise the UPA government brought the Scheduled Tribes and Forest-Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005.

But before that the NDA government formulated the draft National policy on Tribals. It spoke of 'assimilation' and used words like 'mainstream' which denote complete absence of respect for their independent status and unique culture. It even dared to categorize them as Hindus irrespective of their own affiliation. And it did not address the problem of adivasi women or girls. It blatantly sanctioned the displacement and land alienation of the adivasis by stating that displacement can be allowed in the name of 'public interest'!

Since the adoption of New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1991 the control of World Bank in many of the projects and schemes concerning forests is very obvious. These have the sole aim of gaining unrestrained access to the natural resources though it is disguised under attractive names like Joint Forest Management (JFM), restoring forests, preserving bio diversity etc. The forest 'Protection Committees' to be formed under JFM are in effect controlled by the forest department for their secretaries have to be forest rangers. Worse, in AP, the JFM has industry as its third partner facilitating quicker privatization.

Moreover forests are being opened to private entrepreneurs in the name of

promoting tourism. Eco tourism is promoted in the adivasi areas by the state governments. This is not only posing threats to ecology and destroying indigenous cultures but is also increasing the danger of sex tourism. Tourism too plays a role in alienating adivasis from their lands. Adivasi communities living near Borra caves in AP became mere contract workers as they have been taken over by the government.

The draft bill brought by the UPA government proposes to distribute 2.5 hectares of forest land each tribal family occupying forest land before October 25, 1980. The manner in which the various governments (irrespective of the political party in power) have dealt with the struggles - incidents of firings on their demonstrations, killing people, mass arrests, lathi charges, rapes and sexual harassment and other forms of brutal repression points to one fact, that they are hell bent upon giving the rights over forests to the big landlords, big capitalists and imperialists and not to the adivasis as claimed in the bill.

#### **Displacement, relief and rehabilitation:**

Millions of people have been displaced by various planned development schemes since independence, and adivasis form a significant part of those displaced and affected.

By a conservative estimate, in the period 1951-90, over 26 million people got displaced by 'development' projects such as dams, canals, mining, industries, thermal plants, sanctuaries, and defense installations. Although adivasis make up just 8% of our population, they account for more than 8.54 million (40%) of the displaced persons of all projects and of those only 2.12 million (24.8 per cent) tribals could be resettled, so far. Due to rapid industrialisation in tribal areas, 3.13 lakh people have been displaced due to mining operations, and a total of 13.3 lakh tribals have been displaced from their ancestral lands. In addition to direct displacement, mining activity also affects the livelihoods of thousands more as water tables get disrupted, an excessive burden is dumped on fertile agricultural land and forests are cut.

Despite large-scale displacement of people by various development projects since 1947, the country lacks a

comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) policy. It was in 1993 that the ministry of rural development drafted a national rehabilitation policy. In the Indian federal structure, resettlement is a state issue, but only a few state governments have come out with a comprehensive R and R policy to resettle project affected people.

Around 24 villages with 1,545 families, mainly Sahariya Adivasis, were relocated outside the forest in northwestern Madhya Pradesh to create a sanctuary for five to eight Asiatic lions from the Gir forest in Gujarat. These six years have been full of hardship and poverty. The lions are yet to be brought into the forest. Meanwhile, thousands of displaced villagers are practically starving.

There is also gender bias in the form of compensation. Substantial land is often worked, owned and even inherited by women in many cases, but compensation is provided to the head of the family or to men. A uniform, state regulated patriarchy is thus forced upon different cultures. Compensation to oustees is limited to individual landowners, who have land titles. The nuclear family is the basis. In tribal households and joint families, households are often registered in the name of one individual, thus other members of the family including women are deprived of compensation. Such a policy provides the Indian state with the opportunity to minimize its expenses on compensation. Besides a substantial number of adivasis do not have legal rights to the lands they have cultivated.

#### **Trafficking and Migration of Adivasi Women**

Poor economic conditions, usurpation of their land by outsider landlords, lack of employment opportunities, displacement and poverty are forcing adivasi men and women to migrate to urban areas or to areas where there is work. Earlier only men migrated to urban centers but in recent years large scale migration of single women is taking place from all regions. Tribal families are driven by poverty to send unmarried daughters. These single women and tribal girls are being exploited by employers and are in a vulnerable position. They are also becoming victims of attacks by anti social elements.

Many tribal girls from Sundargarh district have been sold to brothels in Delhi

for sums varying between Rs. 8,000 and 20,000. The social repercussions are proving disastrous. Migrant tribal girls find it difficult to get married within tribal societies, as people suspected she could be HIV positive euphemistically called 'Delhi disease'. Even minor illnesses are feared to be this disease and the girl is socially boycotted and her family also faces social isolation. In some instances, the families of the tribal girl have refused to accept her as she had migrated without permission. Many kidnappings of tribal girls are also reported and the most likely place they were to end up at brothels of Delhi and Mumbai. Sundargarh district has become a wholesale market for bringing girls to the sex bazaars of urban centers.

Placement agencies have also come up. The girls lived in extremely deplorable conditions before employment. 15-20 girls were forced to stay in a small and dingy room in extremely unhygienic conditions. Exploitation continued even after employment as they were never paid the full salary and most often, half of their salary was taken by the placement agencies. These agencies are run by non-tribals and unregistered and resort to fraud and deceit often. Some tribal girls from Orissa have also been spotted working in massage parlours. Severe exploitation, sexual harassment, human degradation, trafficking and poor health and disease are the cruel consequences of such migration.

A recent report says about two lakh adivasi young women from Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal are presently working as house-maids in middle class houses! 61,000 in Delhi, 42,000 in Kolkata, 36,000 in Mumbai, 13,000 in Bangalore and 26,000 in Goa. Young Jharkhandi men and women are lured by agents, taken out of Jharkhand like cattle to contractors and brick kiln owners. Many middle class and upper middle class houses in Hyderabad have house maids who are as young as 9 or 10 years old belonging to the Lambada, Gond and other tribes from the neighbouring Telangana districts. Away from homes and the love and care of the elders they are losing their childhood in the innumerable household tasks. The newspapers time and again report incidents of cruelty (burning their bodies with hot irons, locking them up without food,

beating them black and blue etc) by employers but these are falling on the deaf ears of the administration.

#### **Cultural and religious onslaught :**

While the work of Christian missionaries among adivasis started during colonial rule, the Hindutva forces have been concentrating on the adivasi belt for the past two decades. Due to the work of the missionaries many adivasis have been converted to Christianity. Now Hindutva forces claim that all tribals are Hindus and are seeking to 'reconvert' them in an aggressive manner. They are establishing schools in forests for adivasi children, conducting Kumbh Melas like Shabari Kumba Mela, health centres and faith centres, distributing or selling calendars, pictures of gods Hanuman, lockets, stickers etc., in the adivasi areas to achieve their target. In Rajasthan on one occasion, 4,000 activists stayed with every tribal family for about seven days and arranged a picture of a Hindu god in every home and gifted Hanuman lockets for every individual and took Rs. 5 from each family for the lockets, calendar and the flag. Hanuman is portrayed as a tribal god and built statues/temples to Hanuman all over Rajasthan. In his name, they are encroaching government land. Dalit Christian women have been dragged out of their houses, publicly tansured and socially boycotted. In some villages they constructed fences dividing the 'Hindu' tribal people from the 'Christians'. Many tribal Christians left their home in fear and even if stay on it is amidst fear. A number of Christian's houses were ransacked and looted and churches and prayer halls were destroyed throughout the Dang district of Gujarat. Schools were also damaged. In the name of ashrams of so called godmen, large tracts of forest land is occupied but the administration looks the other way. There have been allegations of sexual harassment and rapes in these ashrams in Bastar in Chhathisgarh. Both Christianity and Hinduism as religions preach the adivasis not to revolt against the treacherous injustices they are subjected to. The manner of their funding or their motives is definitely questionable. But in the present juncture, the particularly aggressive tactics of Hindutva forces, the deadly attacks on Christian missionaries

as well as adivasi Christians, pose a grave threat and should be condemned as the immediate danger.

With its imminent changes for adivasi culture as a whole, for women embracing Hinduism means losing some of the freedoms they enjoyed in their society and becoming docile Sitas.

In reaction to the aggressive attempts of Hindutva forces like Bajrang Dal and VHP to claim adivasi as Hindus, a small section among some adivasi communities esp. educated sections are building organizations and conducting activities asserting their distinct religious and cultural identity, like the Gondi Dharam or Gondwana Samaj. Some organizations have also tried to develop scripts for languages of the Gond, Munda, Ho people. In other regions too, in Chhota Nagpur region, there have been campaigns during census operations to not get classified as Hindus and assert the tribal religion.

#### **Role of NGOs :**

The doors being fully opened for penetration by the IMF/WB and loot of natural resources by the MNCs was accompanied by another phenomena is the flooding of NGOs on to the social and political scene. Most of them were funded by US, EU and Japan imperialists through multinational funding agencies. One section of the NGOs, like the conservationists have taken an openly anti-people stand demanding that forest dwellers be evicted from the forests to preserve the animals and trees. Union and State government also funded local NGOs, which claim to have an alternative for every problem (like alternative forest policy, grass roots democracy, participating development, alternative development etc.) but the actual aim of all these high sounding names is to divert the people's attention from the main causes for the problems – big landlords, big capitalists and imperialists. In the adivasi areas hundreds of NGOs have seen formed. With their collaborationist approach they obfuscated the reality and stopped the people's resistance from turning militant. The huge amount of funds only helped create a set of power brokers at the local level.

The NGOs tried to make people feel that the state was very much concerned

about people's betterment and only because of some dishonest politicians and officers, benefits doled out by the state were not reaching them, otherwise, their fate would have changed. This approach by the NGO not only made the people more loyal to the state/existing order but also more dependent on them.

#### **III. Adivasi women in the Fore**

Adivasi women have been part of struggles of the community from the earliest times. They were part of the struggle to resist forced integration into the caste based agricultural societies in the feudal period. During colonial rule even British officers have documented their active participation in the revolts and uprisings.

#### **Revolts against the British**

From 1763 to 1856 there were at least 40 major rebellions against British rule. And among these the revolts of adivasis were many. In all these revolts, many of which were concentrated in Central and eastern parts of India, women played an active and important part. Women's role in the Kol rebellion, in the Santhal uprisings, in the revolt led by Birsa Munda, by Alluri Sitaramaraju, the Bhumkal revolt led by Gundadhar has never been given its due though they were very much involved in the entire struggle and faced the repression too.

#### **Struggles against Land Alienation:**

A study of 1996 shows that most Adivasis and Dalits (comprising about 47 per cent of the population) have been divested of "good and fertile" lands and have become marginal farmers or labourers. In contrast, the low lands with high productivity and fertile lands are controlled by fewer than 10 per cent of the people, most of whom are non-Adivasi absentee landholders.

As per the information available with the Ministry of Rural Development, as many as 4.65 lakh cases of alienation of tribal land covering an area of 9.17 lakh acres were registered. The states affected by large scale tribal land alienation include Andhra Pradesh (2.79 lakh acres), Madhya Pradesh (1.58 lakh acres), Karnataka (1.30 lakh acres), and Gujarat (1.16 lakh acres).

Among the most important struggles in which adivasi women have been in the forefront militantly have been the struggles

to regain the lands alienated from them by landlords, moneylenders. For all the promises of the Central and State governments, and the laws enacted by them adivasis never got back the lands they had been cultivating for centuries. In the forests they are considered as encroachers. Their very existence is bound up with the land and forest. Inevitably the land struggle has been an important struggle for women. While local struggles were taking place in various parts of the country it was the Naxalbari movement in North Bengal's Siliguri sub-division that attracted the attention of the whole country. It began in March 1967 when the poor and landless adivasi peasants of North Bengal surged forward to occupy the lands on the call of the Kisan Sabha, that had resolved to seize the lands illegally taken over from them by exploitative landlords and smash the power of the landlords, women were there in large numbers. They were there to plant the red flags in the occupied fields. In spite of police trying to suppress their movement the women too were active to keep the struggle alive. Seven women and two children were killed on May 25, 1967 in the police firing when they tried to go ahead with a meeting at Prasadjote. Later, when the men went into hiding in the face of police repression women kept confronting the police while looking after the fields and home. Many women also left their homes in order to organize the peasants. The participation of adivasi and non-adivasi women was even more marked in the Srikakulam struggle that broke out in the hill districts of north Andhra Pradesh in 1967 against landlord power and for the seizure of their lands that had been illegally acquired from them by the moneylenders and landlords. The movement's turning point came on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1967 when landlords of Levidi village physically attacked and fired on a large group of women going to a Girijan Sangham conference with red flags in their hands. Later as the struggle took an armed form, some women joined the dalams (guerrilla squads) as well. At great personal risk village women helped to sustain the squads in the face of encirclement by armed police. Many were arrested. In this Srikakulam struggle, among 157 people killed by the special armed police in so

called encounters 17 were women, of which 13 were adivasi women.

The militancy of adivasi women has been remarkable. They have been in the forefront of the struggles in Adilabad and Khammam districts (Andhra Pradesh) for land occupation – lands of landlords and government lands under the banner of the Adivasi Ryotu Coolie Sangham (ARCS) in the late 1970s. During the course of the struggle a Conference organized in Indervalli in Adilabad district in April 1980 was suddenly banned by the State government. Among the thousands who had gathered there, it was an adivasi woman who killed a policeman with her bow and arrow. In the ensuing police firing over 60 people were killed. Movements to end landlord oppression and to occupy lands have continued throughout the decade of the 1980s and the 1990s by the destitute, land hungry adivasi peasantry in Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh under the leadership of the revolutionaries and others and in most of these struggles women are an important component. They have also occupied and started cultivating forest lands and faced harassment of forest officials and the police. Their role in production and in the family inevitably has made them break the barriers of patriarchal restrictions to come forward in the struggle. These have been struggles for their very survival. The struggles led by the Adivasi Mukti Sangathana in Khargone district of Madhya Pradesh in the 1990s was for regaining the lands lost to landlords and moneylenders. Similarly the adivasis of Kerala united at the State level in 2002 to force the government to give them lands that had been promised to them over the past two decades. Women from among the adivasis came into the leadership of this struggle. The center of the struggle was Wayanad district when the people entered the forest and occupied lands there. The State government had to agree to give land and to make Schedule V applicable to Kerala.

The efforts of subsequent governments (of TDP and Congress) in AP to get rid of the 1 of 70 Act to protect the landlords' lands or to sell off the mineral resources to MNCs in 1989 and 2000 have been stopped due to mass resistance and again now another attempt is being made

by the YSR government under various guises to give away the rich resources to the MNCs, but adivasis and democratic forces are fighting it out. Between 1996 and 2004 due to severe protests by the adivasis and other people the government had to backtrack on the attempt to give Chintapalli forests for Bauxite mining to a Dubai company.

#### **Struggle against Major Projects and their Impact:**

40% of the people displaced by development projects are Adivasis and this amounts to about 10 million persons. It is estimated that another 10 million will be displaced in the next couple of decades. This means, that at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, almost a third of the entire Adivasi population of the country will be development displaced persons. The past two decades has led to major struggles by affected people against big projects - mining, industrial and irrigation - being planned by the state and central governments in the interest of big capitalists. Adivasis have been active in the struggles since they have learnt from the bitter experiences of their neighbours what the horrifying consequences of displacement are. While some struggles have concentrated on preventing a project from being set up, others have struggled for proper rehabilitation and some against the damage to environment and health. Though these movements may not be exclusively women's movements, undoubtedly women have been an extremely active and effective part of the mobilization.

The Narmada valley has sustained lakhs of adivasi and non-adivasi peasants for hundreds of years but the major plans to build 30 big dams and almost 3000 other smaller dams and other projects on the river has meant the displacement of thousands of families. It is estimated that 40,000 families are affected by the project. From 1986 when the construction on the Sardar Sarovar dam had commenced the question of the rehabilitation of those whose lands were acquired by the government came up first in Nandurbar district on the border of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, and later on the movement spread to other parts of Madhya Pradesh. A broad front uniting the rich peasants and traders the adivasi small peasants mobilized to oppose the

dam and expose before the world what development means and whom it benefits. But from 1990 when they were unable to stop the construction of the dam the focus of the agitation and mobilization became proper rehabilitation and restricting the height of the dam to minimize the number of villages and people affected. The main force in the mobilization for the various rallies, satyagrahas, dharnas and even jal samadhi programs. In this two decade long agitation have been the adivasis, esp adivasi women. Women have been beaten by the butts of rifles, they have been dragged on the ground, faced rape yet they have continued the struggle saying “no one will leave; the dam will not be built.” (Koi nahi hatega, band nahi banega)

The Struggle against the dams on the Koel Karo in Ranchi district too has been a long one. The project was initiated in the mid 1970s but picked up momentum in 1983. Munda adivasi women from the villages facing submergence have been involved in the agitation to save their fields and homes. Women and men mobilized in large numbers, barricaded the roads, women sowed crops on the mud roads so that police jeeps cannot enter the area. Thus they prevented the foundation stone laying program by Prime Minister Narsimha Rao in 1995. In February 2001, near Tupkara police outpost the police fired on 5000 men, women and children, killing 10 people including three children.

The adivasis of Vishakapatnam and other districts of north Andhra have formed various fronts to struggle against the state government’s efforts to give mining leases to private companies in the reserved forests of the district. The state government attempted to grant the leases for bauxite mining in contravention of the Forest Conservation Law and the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution thereby harming both the environment and also further eroding the rights of the adivasis. Massive mobilization of the women and men from the hills and forests of the region in December 2003 forced the government to step back.

Similarly the villagers of Kashipur taluka in Rayagada district have been struggling for 12 years to prevent the mining of bauxite in their area and the setting up of an aluminium production plant by the Birlas and Canadian company

ALCAN in the vicinity, and have successfully blocked access to Baphlimali, a sacred mountain that is the site of the mine. On December 16, 2000, three adivasis were killed in Kashipur when police fired on unarmed villagers associated with the people’s struggle against bauxite mining. On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004, the state police launched a brutal lathi charge on 400 adivasis, mostly women, who had gathered to protest the inauguration of a road to a proposed bauxite-mining site in Baphlimali owned by ALCAN. As a result, 16 people were critically injured and three women were beaten unconscious. Since this incident, platoons of armed police with firing orders have occupied the plant. This has led to long drawn agitations in different parts of the state.

Kalinga Nagar itself has witnessed scores of demonstrations and protest meetings against different projects in the past. Thirteen industrial houses are presently implementing their steel projects in the area.

The Kalinganagar dispute centred on the acquisition of 12,000 acres of land rich in iron and chrome ore. The Orissa State sold 2,000 crores to Tata Steel for its Rs 16,000-crore project at Rs 3.35 lakhs an acre. The tribals who own land in the locality are angry that while the State’s Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation (IIDCO) paid them Rs.37,000 an acre for their land in the early 1990s, the authorities are now handing over the land to industrial houses for Rs.3.5 lakh an acre. The compensation was later increased to a little over Rs.50,000 but many have not accepted the money. Those with no land of their own are the worst sufferers.

Armed tribals objected to commencement of construction work at the site of the six million tonne steel project of the Tata Steel at Kalinganagar on January 2<sup>nd</sup> 2006. The police opened fire killing 12 persons. A havaldar was killed by the adivasis in retaliation. The firing comes less than 15 days after the Adivasis of Kashipur (Orissa), observed Martyr’s Day on December 17 to mark the fifth anniversary of the killing of three youth from Kocheipadar by police during a demonstration against the proposed Utkal Alumina Plant.

Many fact finding teams have established the fact that they were shot

while retreating or at point blank range by holding them. A 28 year old woman Jinga Jarka was also killed while retreating. Bodies of four men and the woman handed over to the adivasis by police had their wrists chopped off. The killings and the ghastly treatment of the dead shocked the country and led to wide scale protests.

Kalinganagar is a turning point in that it had brought other and previously dispossessed adivasis also to the war path. The effect of the firing spread to other parts of the State. Hundreds of people blocked the entry points to Rourkela city demanding that the Rourkela Steel Plant return its surplus land which it had taken from them about 50 years ago. And the Kalinganagar people have vowed not to forget the sacrifices of the 12 martyrs and by propagating their struggle and sacrifice throughout the state they are now building a even more broad based movement against the lopsided development model of the BJD-BJP government in Orissa.

#### **Struggle for right to forests and other natural resources**

Ever since the governments have taken over the forests the forest produce has become a source of revenue and income not only for the governments but also for contractors. Adivasis are the wage labourers who sweat through the heat and rains to collect the produce and then sell it to avaricious traders or contractors for a pittance. Adivasi women are very much in the forefront in foraging for leaves and roots to fill the empty bellies of their families, for collecting firewood for the needs of the home or to sell in the local market, to collect tendu leaves, fruits, bark and the innumerable other produce from the forests that have a market. But the curtailment of their access to the forest and their right to collect the produce of the forest has affected adivasi women the most and hence they have been militant in the struggles against forest officials and their harassment, for proper rates for the produce they collect. Women have been in the lead in the struggles to get higher rates for tendu leaves they pluck and against the numerous ways the contractors cheat them in various districts of Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Maharashtra etc wherever they have been organized. In Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra women

have been successful through in getting the right to cut and sell bamboo (or bamboo products) after paying a nominal royalty from the forest.

The Coca-Cola plant in Plachimada, a village in Palghat, Kerala was commissioned in March 2000 to produce 1,224,000 bottles of Coca-Cola and other drinks. The company started to illegally extract millions of liters of clean water from more than 6 bore wells installed by it using electric pumps in order to manufacture millions of bottles of soft drink.

According to the local people, Coca-Cola was extracting 1.5 million litres per day. The water level started to fall, going from 150 feet to 500 feet. As a result the borewells and other water sources for drinking water and for irrigation went dry. Further the waste water entered the fields affecting crops. They sold sludge as fertilizer damaging the fertile soil.

The women realized that the water was toxic and polluted and they had to walk miles to bring water. The women started a "dharna" (sit-up) in 2002 at the gates of Coca-Cola which went on for days together. A movement started by local adivasi women had unleashed a national and global wave of people's energy in their support. The police gave protection to Coca Cola and the people waging struggle especially women and children were put behind bars. During one day on dharna about 130 protesters were arrested of whom 30 were women and 9 were children, mostly babies, at around 5 pm and taken to the Chittoor Police Station. Blouses of 5 Adivasi women were torn and some senior officials were particularly keen to abuse and threaten the protesters with further physical attack. Due to the agitation the High Court ordered Coca-Cola to stop pirating Plachimada's water. These are only some of the struggles going on.

#### **Struggles against Patriarchy and Social Evils:**

Within the adivasi communities themselves, especially those which are in the throes of broader struggles, adivasi women are themselves organizing struggles to change the patriarchal customs that are hampering their desire to gain an equal status within the community. Among the Gonds, esp the Madia Gonds in Gadchiroli girls have struggled and won the right to wear blouses after marriage and

motherhood too. Girls in Bastar division of Chhathisgarh are struggling to end menstruation taboos, against compulsory attendance in Ghotuls, against forced marriages, against the system of marrying young women to boys much younger in age. Adivasi women's organizations in Jharkhand are campaigning against witch hunting and helping women who are affected. They are conducting people's courts to nail the culprits and expose the mercenary motives behind such practices. They are also campaigning against superstitious beliefs that make ordinary people support these practices. Women's organizations are campaigning against and even stopping marriages being conducted against the will of the girl. If the practice has reduced in recent times it is because of the efforts of the campaigns. In various parts of Chhathisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand women's organizations are campaigning against polygamy – educating women about the powerless and miserable situation of women in polygamous marriages.

Women have been forced to struggle against village elders to attend meetings and participate in programs of women's organizations and struggles on general issues. Women's organisations in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are also campaigning to educate adivasi girls against marrying non-adivasi men who lure them into marriage to gain control over the lands in the control of the adivasi community. Women have taken militant processions to close down govt licensed liquor shops which are playing havoc with the lives of families and increasing indebtedness, wife beating and other forms of violence against women.

One of the most common problems which adivasi women face is sexual exploitation by outsiders – forest contractors, usurers, landlords, forest department officials etc. the relatively free sexual relations among unmarried adivasis were also exploited by them for their own ends. The innocent adivasi women would be ensnared mostly by force. There have been militant agitations against this by both revolutionary and reformist organizations and it has come to an end in those areas. But this exploitation continues where they are not so organized.

As a broader consciousness grows among adivasi women these campaigns

and struggles will inevitably succeed in transforming the entire community and its social relations in a democratic direction.

#### **Struggles for political power:**

*There is another kind of struggle waged by adivasi men and women in unity with all of the exploited classes which aim to completely change the present socio-economic structure of this society and believe that all the present day problems plaguing them would be solved in the new society as that society endeavors to bestow political power on them. In fact, they are the fighters for that society now, they will be the builders of it and wield the political power in it. The struggle for political power of adivasis along with other oppressed and exploited sections of the society can be stated to have begun from the Naxalbari movement in the late 60s. Adivasis had been part of Communist led armed movements in the 20 century and in their armed revolts against the British, but this was different because this was fought with the aim of political power for the oppressed masses. Since then the Naxalbari tradition of armed struggle continued in various rural parts of India. But quite significantly it has a strong presence in the forests of central and southern India. The most striking feature of these revolutionary movements is the large presence of adivasi women. They are becoming part of revolutionary organizations like adivasi peasant organizations and women organizations and militantly fighting against the exploitation of forest department officials, contractors and also against the looting of the forest by big capitalists and MNCs. They are forming cultural organizations which propagate against the oppressive aspects of the tribal culture and give the revolutionary alternative to such culture, simultaneously preserving the rich cultural heritage and the literary tradition. But all these activities are not done just for their sake but with the ultimate goal of capturing political power. That is why they have taken up arms. They are forming organs of political power and taking up all economic, political and production activities under them. They have built up a strong women's movement which fights against patriarchy in their society and recruits women for the revolutionary cause.*

The state has taken the revolutionary activities of these poor adivasis seriously from the beginning and has been unleashing severe repression. As a result many adivasi men and women were killed in real and false encounters with the police and para-military forces. Scores of women were sexually assaulted and raped. Many were thrown into jails under false cases. In some instances police did not give away information about their whereabouts and they languished in those hell-like conditions without any contact. Police raped them in custody but took videos of them by forcing them to say that revolutionaries raped them. In the name of giving employment the governments are forming 'Girijan (adivasi) Battalions.' Already in some states such battalions were formed. In AP adivasis have protested this severely and so the government had to backtrack. They alleged that the government wants to use them as cannon fodder and against their own brothers and sisters in the revolutionary movement. This repression on adivasi women has taken a particularly barbaric form in **the Salwa Judum** campaign organised by adivasi ruling class politicians in Baster. Since June 2005 gathering their supporters and with the direct help of the armed police and para military they have been attacking villages supporting the revolutionary movement, raping and killing women, burning houses and driving away thousands of villagers. But just as their predecessors these adivasi women are giving a fine example of

resoluteness in face of all this and forging ahead. There is basic difference in the development model pushed down their throats by the present govt.s and the development model they want to pursue and establish. The hope of a new society is attracting adivasi women into these revolutionary movements in large numbers. Dozens of them have emerged as leaders of the revolutionary movement which is quite remarkable considering the general picture of backwardness.

A study of the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of the adivasi women underlines the fact that unless the exploitation and oppression of the landlords, capitalists and the imperialists ends and the patriarchal oppression inside their society is fought adivasi women cannot be liberated. And it is equally true that they can never achieve it in isolation but only by integrating with the other oppressed masses in this struggle. The adivasi women in the revolutionary movements are exactly working for that end and this presents a bright future to all adivasi women.

#### Conclusion

The appalling situation of the adivasi women presented here points out the drastic changes that have to be made even if the least improvement in their conditions is to be achieved. They establish without a doubt that independence doesn't mean anything if millions of adivasis are suffering this fate in India. Though adivasis especially women may be one of the most exploited and marginalized people in our country the situation of other poor,

oppressed classes is not much different either. This shows that the exploitative, oppressive socio economic order of the society itself has to be drastically changed if all of them have to be liberated. It has to be a joint struggle of all these classes and not separate struggles by each class or section as the root cause of their problems is the same.

It is only natural that adivasis are in the forefront of struggles not only to fight injustices against them but also in the struggle to change society as a whole. The freedom loving, militant, sacrificing adivasis are becoming a source of inspiration to all struggling people. On the other hand the state is trying to repress them in the most vicious manner and adivasi women are especially bearing the brunt. So we want to call attention to the need for all democratic forces to come out openly in support of their struggles and against the brutal state repression unleashed on them. We want to emphasize that emancipation of adivasi women doesn't just mean an end to patriarchal practices or prejudices in their society but also liberation from all problems faced by them. Both these struggles have to be waged jointly by men and women and women should play a leading role in both these struggles. The women's movement in India should stand firmly with the struggling adivasi women to the end in both these struggles because women's liberation in India is pointless if millions of adivasi and peasant women are not liberated.

□ □

### Condemn Blocking of People's March Web Site

In a 'confidential' letter dated May 12 2006, signed by one Anil Sagar (Operation Manager CERT-IN) to the 'server', M/s Spectrum Softech Solutions Pvt. Ltd, it said "It has been found that the web site <http://www.peoplesmarch.com> running on the IP address 202.146.192.161 which is under your control is hosting anti-national contents. You may be aware that hosting of such websites is punishable under the law. You are to block this website immediately and report compliance to CERT-In at the earliest". The server blocked our website on 15<sup>th</sup> May. Later, on May 17<sup>th</sup> a question was answered in the Rajya Sabha on so-called Maoist web sites. This is a brazen attack on the right to the freedom of expression, more so because People's March is a Registered Magazine. Though it is true that the government freely allows porn websites and bans a serious magazine website like 'People's March' it was

unfortunate and incorrect to have put such details on the cover of the last issue of a revolutionary magazine. Though the Indian Intelligence are harassing the editor there is no justification to have put such vulgar details in the magazine. The Editor apologize to the readers for the contents on the cover page of the last issue and call on them to strongly condemn this illegal action of the Central Government in banning the web site and initiate a wide campaign to stop the harassment of the editor and for the restoration of the right of the magazine to propagate its views on the internet. This can be done by taking a campaign (letter writing, demonstrations, signature campaign etc.) against this CERT-In whose address is given as 'Govt. of India, Ministry of Information Technology, Dept of Information Technology, Electronics Niketan, 6,CGO Complex, New Delhi 110003' (Tel No. 011-24368551; Fax No. 24368579). Editor

## Govt. Loot Behind Oil Price Rise

Rashmi

On 5<sup>th</sup> of June, the UPA government announced, yet another hike in the prices of petrol and diesel, the price of gas cylinders had been raised earlier itself. Petrol prices were raised by Rs. 4 and diesel prices were raised by Rs. 2 per litre. This seems to have become a biannual routine of the government. Again, as usual, the 'left' did some routine phrase-mongering but the unusual aspect of this time's price hike was that there was no 'roll-back' after the routine protests. All that the UPA agreed to was a marginal reduction in the customs duties on petroleum products. Given the fact that petroleum products act as intermediaries which enter the production of most goods, the cascading effect of the price hike are already visible.

With the elections to state assemblies behind it, the UPA was not really concerned about the protests. However in a futile effort to establish its pro-people credentials, the Congress party issued a directive to the Congress ruled states to moderate the impact of the price hike on retail prices, by foregoing sales tax revenues that would be garnered on the increment in price. Many of the Congress-run state governments decided to comply with the central directive. The 'left' was saying that the government should reduce the central taxes.

According to the petroleum minister, Murli Deoda, this kind of 'hard' decision is inevitable due to the rise in the international prices of oil, since India imports nearly 70% of its oil requirements. It should also be noted that the before April, 2002, the government had indeed imposed a ceiling on the domestic prices of oil and it is only after that, that the oil prices have been allowed to fluctuate as per the norms of the 'free market'. And what is even more frightening is that according to the WTO agreements, India would have to scrap the oil subsidy

completely, latest by 2010. This would mean that even kerosene would not remain in the reach of common people because as of now, the government is giving a subsidy of Rs. 9 per litre on it. The Centre has clearly stated that once the international prices cross \$75 a barrel, the final consumer will not be shielded against price increases at all.

Also it has been found that the upstream oil companies (or oil companies other than the oil marketing companies, such as ONGC, OIL and GAIL) had recorded profits to the tune of Rs. 15,600 crores in 2004-05 and Rs. 14,600 crores in the first nine months of 2005-06; that the oil industry's contribution to the central exchequer in terms of duties, taxes, royalty, dividends and so on rose from Rs. 64,595 crores in 2002-03 to Rs. 77,692 crores in 2004-05. The petroleum sector alone contributed around two-fifths of the total net excise revenues of the Centre. Infact the incidence of taxes as a proportion of retail price in India was higher than in the U.S., Canada, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka! Additionally, most of the duties are 'ad valorem' implying that the government's revenues will not suffer if it decides to reduce the tax rates as the oil prices are raised. Even after the present reduction in tax rates, it still stands at 32% per annum which is much higher than many other countries. It is being expected that the government revenues are likely to increase by approximately Rs. 5000 crores! There was a suggestion made by a committee headed by C. Rangarajan that the center should shift out of 'ad valorem' excise duties and fix the central excise duty at a specific rate of around Rs. 14.75 per litre for petrol and Rs. 5 per litre for diesel. Had this recommendation been accepted, the present price increase would have been less to the extent of 80 paise in the case of petrol and Re. 1 in the case of diesel. This shows that there is an adequate buffer to shield the domestic consumers from the

effects of an international increase in prices, as long as the government and the oil companies take a cut in their revenues.

Another important fact is that even the international fluctuations in the oil prices is not natural but is driven by speculative forces. At the end of 2004, a rumour was spread that OPEC's capacity to produce cannot meet the present level of demand. And immediately it led to speculation, hoarding and black-marketeering. Letting the domestic prices be controlled by international prices amounts to subjecting the domestic consumer to the vagaries of international speculation. The US war on Iraq also played a major role in raising the international prices. India also has to bear the brunt of the discriminatory attitude of OPEC. Whereas U.S. and European countries do not need to pay any premium to OPEC, many Asian countries including India have to pay 1 \$ per barrel as the premium on purchase of oil apart from the price of oil.

In the last instance, the most important question that has to be faced is that can something like oil be left to the mercy of the open market in a country where any increase in the oil prices makes vast numbers even more vulnerable, where the majority is already struggling to survive at the bare minimum levels? Irrespective of the international prices, it is the government's responsibility to shield the common man from oil price increases. But the unfortunate fact is that the Indian state has become completely servile to the interests of WTO and unless it comes out of WTO, there can be no solution to this problem. The 'left' parties are fully aware of this but they too are interested in mere phrase mongering and all their protests are only tokenism. Ultimately it is the people of the country who have to take to the streets to demand that their lives not be cast away at the edifice of imperialist interests and the free market. □ □

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need your overwhelming support and cooperation. Please be generous in your contributions through donations to People's March. Donations may be sent in my name P.Govindan kuty.

Editor

## Interview with the in-charge of Dandakaranya CNM; Comrade Lenj

**PM:** What are the aims of the Chaitanya Natya Manch?

**Lenj:** The people's art and literature are a rich cultural heritage preserved by the people since ages. But now they are getting destroyed by the imperialist consumerist culture. People's cultural heritage is being gobbled up by the exploitative rotten culture permeating to all corners. So some important tasks have come up before us. On the one hand we have to preserve the ancient cultural heritage among the people. We have to study deeply and thoroughly what is outdated and what is fine in it. Chetana Natya Manch (CNM) is a revolutionary mass organization consisting writers and artistes. It has many opportunities to study and revolutionize the people's arts. It should study the arts and literature of the people. This should be done subordinate to the task of building the base areas. Every mass organization should strive to advance the war. And war should help every organization to carry on its activities efficiently. There is an inseparable bond between the two. So cultural front should help the war efforts in building the base area. Likewise people's wars are going on in adjacent states like Jharkhand, Bihar, etc. We have to study their efforts in the cultural front and pass on those experiences to the cultural movement here. In other words our effort will be to destroy feudal and imperialist culture and develop a new democratic culture.

**PM:** Is the formation of CNM helping in the centralization of cultural work? If so how?

**Lenj:** Definitely. We could bring forth many new artistes and writers. We are studying people's art forms and trying to revolutionize them. We are preserving the people's cultural heritage. Likewise we are studying the cultural efforts going on in other areas. Recently we went to another area to study the revolutionary movement and the cultural front there. We are trying to study and understand the changes in the cultural front in other states.

On various occasions like parliamentary elections, March 8<sup>th</sup>, party classes, July 28<sup>th</sup> etc, we are preparing and sending the necessary songs, dance forms and plays that fit the occasion, to the cadres. We are trying to print song books. We are even

trying to record the co operative movement and the collective movement going on here in a documentary form. The formation of CNM has enthused artistes in this field theoretically, politically and in cultural matters. Since this consists of members with specialized experience in the cultural field, it is helping in developing it in the right direction and giving leadership to the cultural movement.

**PM:** Comrade, tell us the background for the birth of CNM in Dandakaranya.

**Lenj:** To answer this question we will have to go back right to the days the revolutionary movement set its foot in the DK area. Revolutionary cultural activities entered the DK along with the revolutionary movement 25 years ago. As you know, the DK area is totally an adivasi area. Here arts are an indivisible part of the peoples' lives. So the revolutionaries, from the beginning many art forms like songs, dances etc; to arouse the masses. In fact, no meeting ever took place here in DK without a cultural performance. In the earlier days only the guerillas were giving cultural performances, based on songs and dance forms of AP Jana Natya Mandali, of course, translating them into local Gondi language. Later the guerillas started composing songs based on the tunes of the traditional adivasi songs,. By then, the revolutionary movement has already become a mass movement, with hundreds of people coming forward to take various responsibilities. Many among them started composing songs and started giving expression to their new revolutionary fervor through various art forms, thus bringing in a transformation both in form and content. In this way hundreds of new writers and artists emerged from the masses during the course of the rapid development of the revolutionary movement. Until 1997, cultural teams comprising of artists drawn from the guerilla squads or from various mass organizations, or dawn from both were giving performances in villages as and when needed basis. So the party decided to form the CNM so that all the energies of these hundreds of artists can be channalised in to a single organization so that a concentrated emphasis can be given on the work in the cultural field

**PM:** What were the tasks of CNM when it was formed?

**Lenj:** Party propagates its goals and tasks through its various departments. So the cultural front also has the task of propagating them through art forms and various writings. So the first task is to take the tasks of the movement among the people on a large scale. The second is to study the people's arts, third is to revolutionize people's art forms. When CNM was formed there was only one team for the whole of DK. So we took up the task of forming more of such teams and training up many new artistes in large numbers. This was the fourth task.

**PM:** Will you explain the progress you have achieved in fulfilling these tasks?

**Lenj:** The last ten years effort was a process of development of the movement, changing ideas, changes in understanding, the ensuing results in practice and that again developing our understanding. In practice it took us some years to develop CNM as a mass organization in DK. Since the past three years it is getting consolidated as a mass organization at the grass roots level in villages. It is able to unify and consolidate the adivasi, non adivasi writers and artistes in the villages. At present we have consolidated thousands of artistes and writers in CNM. This was a great achievement by itself. It was a good progress that CNM was developed at the village level as a revolutionary mass organization and a manifesto and constitution were drafted and a flag was decided. Another achievement was that 'Jhankar', the cultural magazine which was started in 1994, became the official organ of CNM.

We are developing people's culture and are revolutionizing their art forms. The task of building base areas was given by the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the erstwhile People's War Party. Accordingly, the cultural front has also formulated its task of playing its due role in fulfilling this task and consolidating the people's power springing up here as part of it. So CNM work is done in tune with those four tasks and those coming up in the course. We feel this is a good progress.

**PM:** What are your efforts in building CNM teams?

**Lenj:** There was only one CNM team in South Bastar in 1997. Gradually some more teams were formed all over DK. The results were promising and so teams were formed in all divisions (roughly districts) by 2003. Area teams were also formed under these division teams in some areas. At first we formed teams with the persons having artistic and cultural talents from among the youngsters joining the movement. Now teams and units are formed at village centre (4, 5 villages) levels too on a large scale. Another aspect is that those artistes—both men and women—whose consciousness level is high and are ready to work with dedication for the people are opting to work full time for CNM. They are working at area and division level in accordance with its manifesto and constitution.

Training is compulsory to develop any organization. Now the district teams are concentrating on consolidating and developing the area teams in the cultural sphere. Similarly area teams are concentrating on developing local teams and teams working within a centre. Thus CNM is putting efforts to develop the cultural movement and train up teams at various levels.

**PM:** How are you trying to build up CNM as a mass organization? Tell us about the structures.

**Lenj:** Till now we have been able to consolidate five to six thousand cultural activists separately. In DK, in general, there are small hamlets. Every hamlet has 20 to 30 huts. The men and women are members of DAKMS and KAMS, the peasant and women organizations respectively. But there are no restrictions that they cannot join other organizations. A peasant becomes a member of peasant organization, but he may be interested in cultural activities too and may join CNM. The only principle is that they should not be in leading positions in both organizations simultaneously. This was written into the constitution keeping in view the practical problems in fulfilling responsibilities. So we thought of forming cultural units not at the village level but one for every 4 or 5 villages. We came to the conclusion about this keeping in view the emerging new power also. An organ of people's power is formed for 500 to 3000 people. This is taken as one unit. People of 4, 5 villages elect a people's government.

So a CNM unit is formed with those interested within these 4, 5 villages. In big villages we are forming a unit for the village. Executive committees are elected above these. There are district and area ECs. In future we will have a DK (Zone) level EC too. Thus we are trying to consolidate the structure by forming ECs from the village to Zone level and by strengthening the mass organization.

**PM:** Tell us the details of the training camps and workshops conducted by you till now? How are the results?

**Lenj:** There were two DK wide training camps—in 1998 and 2001—conducted with the help of JNM. After the All India Workshop in May 2002 we conducted a DK wide workshop in December 2003 on the topic 'Let us revolutionize Adivasi arts'. We placed the draft manifesto of CNM before the delegates here and took their opinions. We revolutionized some dance forms out of a myriad of them in DK and tried to take it into the people in a systematic manner. We even trained people to create more and more revolutionary literature. We also trained delegates in producing plays by discussing with them on that form and the need to take it among the people.

After this workshop, training camps were held at district, area and village level. These helped, to a great extent, in achieving uniformity in the cultural field in the whole of DK. A workshop and two training camps were held in S.Bastar in 2002. As a result a revolutionary atmosphere was created where youth formed teams on their own and performed in neighbouring villages

with those songs. Keeping these results in view we conducted many training camps in N.Bastar, W. Bastar and Maad division. Due to these youth are writing songs on their own in many areas.

Between 2002 May and 2003 December nearly 1500 artistes were trained in the training camps conducted by the area and district CNM teams. We mainly trained youth in the villages under RPCs (Revolutionary People's Committees) or those from villages where RPCs were to be formed. DCSC conducts political, theoretical and cultural classes for the CNM teams. These teams are taking the message into the masses. Thus we are achieving positive results due to all these kinds of collective efforts.

**PM:** What is CNM's role in the All India workshop? How did the workshop help you in your efforts?

**Lenj:** The drafting of a perspective paper in the workshop was a good thing for the cultural movement. Since comrades leading the cultural movement in various states discussed that document it helped in achieving theoretical clarity. CNM shared its ideas and experiences with cultural organizations from various states and played its role in discussing the document. We discussed the various problems, challenges, experiences which came up in the DK cultural movement. It is a fact that the influence of the workshop is very much there in the functioning of CNM as a mass organization today.

**PM:** What kind of training are you imparting to the young men and women and to children in the villages?



**Lenj:** We impart training to all members of CNM. Children from the age of 10 years to elders are members of CNM. We invite them to special camps according to their activities and enthusiasm. We are trying to teach marching songs, songs with simple words to increase scientific thinking and dances to children. We are concentrating more on young men and women. We are facing severe police repression in giving training. Especially it is a big problem to give training in places like Gadchiroli (Maharashtra).

We go to the villages and mobilize the CNM members. We fix a schedule of 4, 5 days or two days according to their agriculture works, wage earning or collection of forest produce works. We participate in production work along with them and give them training. We don't teach them many songs, dances, steps or instruments at one go. We teach one song or a dance or an instrument one at a time. We give training by keeping in view their talents, interests and learning capacity. This is giving good results. Some times we are teaching them to write songs also as part of training. For example we held a five day training camp in

South Bastar in 2002. We concentrated on encouraging them to write. The people here are experts in singing songs extempore. So we concentrated on revolutionizing the songs they sing from their own experiences and problems. The men and women who attended the camp wrote the song 'Palapitta keyamuntha' on martyr Com. Ranadev and 'Errajanda dadimithe' (under the red flag) in this camp. This song described how new people's power is developing under the red flag. The inspiration, the fact, the practice that these new power organs are coming into existence for their own sake was reflected in this song. Their confidence in writing new songs is increasing. That is what we want. It is very important for them to say with confidence that we are able to write and sing and reflect the revolutionary movement in our traditional forms. This phenomenon has a great future. This is worthy of mention as CNM's guiding principle is - 'People are the makers of history and people are the creators of new culture'.

**PM:** Explain the main characteristics of adivasi culture.

**Lenj:** Adivasi arts and literature are mainly oral. Their literature is extempore. Its greatest quality is that everything is collective in it. On moonlit nights, especially in winter when the fields are thriving - before harvest and after the rainy season- the whole village gathers happily around fires and dances with joy. Everybody participates cheerfully in this. It is a collective feeling. There are no restrictions that some could participate and some could not. If one starts singing, all the dancers join in the chorus. In adivasi culture there is song for dance and dance with instruments. But there is no fusion of song, instrument and dance. This has to be developed. When the people dance to the music of instruments it is very rhythmic and they all look like one entity. They play the instruments in a melodious and harmonic way. The most important, common and noteworthy characteristic is the collective spirit in everything. There is no parasitic class of court artistes, court writers or court poets like outside. This is a significant feature.

**PM:** What is the programme of CNM in these concrete conditions?

**Lenj:** We are taking care not to damage the collectiveness. So when we are forming CNM teams we are not giving importance to the number of members whether there are eight or ten or whatever. Especially once the team enters the villages the whole village turns up. So they are performing plays by taking all of them or some of them to play the roles. So people become the performers. CNM activists make the whole village participate in dance and are thus developing dances. When a singer sings a song not only the team members, but the whole village gives chorus. We are teaching songs collectively. We have introduced a new form. In the oral tradition one person sings extempore and another answers her or him. Now what we have done is - one is preparing the first stanza and the direction for the song. Another prepares the next stanza and two or three persons continue it. Then another follows. Thus all of them together write a song. If there are ten members in a CNM team all ten of them are writing a song i.e. collectively. The song 'Narayanpur atum the baathal naiku keyantha' was written sarcastically on the police and their

repression. There are many such collectively written songs.

Then there is the oral tradition. The songs which they sing extempore are our new writings. They are mixing revolutionary practice with their life experiences. We are writing them down. Everything is done collectively. Meanwhile we are trying to develop poetry writing too.

**PM:** How are you recording the adivasi art and literature?

**Lenj:** Especially we are collecting materials on some ancient art forms like Gotul Paata and Gotul Peto. We studied in history that the primitive people expressed their joy and other feelings with sounds. We can still find this in Maad. Now they are becoming extinct. Even Gotul Paata and Gotul Peto are vanishing. Only a few Gotul Peto Gurus are left. When we go to those areas we enquire from people and know who the old artistes are, how many village elders are there, what kind of artistes are available in that area etc. We meet them and spend time with them and study their art. We attend marriages. We go to their *Karsads* (village fairs). We attend ceremonies for birth, death, naming the newborn etc. We are observing and recording them. We take photographs when camera is available and record audio cassettes. Since 4, 5 years the process of preserving picked up. After the formation of DCSC this gained momentum.

**PM:** What is the role of women in CNM?

**Lenj:** During marriages and festivals or in the evenings when youth gathers at Gotul they sing songs. Though they did not receive any training in classical singing, the adivasi women sing clearly, melodiously and in one voice. There are nearly 50 percent women in the DK movement; in CNM also right from the village to the division level the number of women exceeds 50 percent. Among the leading cadres in CNM also more than half are women. In the social conditions prevailing here women are free till they are married. So generally the role of women in arts is considerable. This is a positive aspect for CNM. Their role is increasing in writing literature. CNM has formed special women teams to increase their role in the cultural movement. This came into existence first in South Bastar. We are getting very good results through them. In every village the women artistes feel this

is our team. They are providing protection to the team. Many women are rallying behind it and getting consolidated. The number of women teams is increasing in the areas in various divisions.

**PM:** Tell us about the dress and the instruments you use?

**Lenj:** We have a dress for dances. In the plays, as you know, it will be according to the scene or the character portrayed. Though we tried to adopt the dress of the Guru in the popular art form called the 'Gotul Peto' while portraying his character it did not go down well with our cadres. They thought that the dress was not attractive enough. We failed in convincing them. The dresses of various cultural organizations seemed more attractive than the Guru's dress. Gradually CNM thought it should have a special dress while performing. We decided the dress according to the task of DK. Since liberated areas were to be built up here everything is linked to the people's war and military activity. We will have to perform amidst repression. So we chose a dress which blends with the forest and protects us. Our artistes wear a green 'Ger' (lehenga). They wear a banian or jacket of the same color as top. Women wear a half saree over it. Green reflects the beauty of the forest and blends with it.

The instruments of DK are very ancient. There are 18 kinds of them. Only a few are in use now. We are using these instruments and also some modern ones. The importance of instruments cannot be underestimated. We did not put any restrictions that only the local instruments should be used. We are using a combination of various instruments. Music should not dominate the song and its lyrics. So we are using modern and local instruments according to the needs of the performance and in a way that it is enhanced. The main ones are the 'Dappu' (a percussion instrument) and the 'Melam' (wind instrument).

**PM:** How are your relations with the people? How do you apply mass line in your work?

**Lenj:** CNM is achieving fine results in this aspect. If a team goes to the village all of them including children cheerfully gather around them. They look after the team with great love and affection. The news of the arrival of the team spreads rapidly and

everybody tries to finish off their work quickly so that they can meet the team. They are very popular with the villagers. CNM activists also go into their homes, mingle with them, take part in their work and build up close relations with them.

CNM follows mass line as well as class line. CNM is expressing the sufferings, the problems and solutions to these problems in its songs, dances and plays. It is also raising the consciousness of the people and fighting against the consumerist, imperialist culture permeating to all corners. CNM develops closeness with the people by taking up their problems.

**PM:** What kind of repression is CNM facing? How are you overcoming it?

**Lenj:** CNM was born amidst repression. It is becoming the victim of all kinds of repressive measures adopted by the central and state governments – directly or indirectly. Enemy surveillance on CNM teams is increasing by the day. If they come to know of a performance, they are alerting the forces and conducting combing operations. Sometimes they tried to surround the camping places of CNM teams. But they turned into futile exercises due to the support of the people. In areas like Gadchiroli there were firings on the teams too. When the youth of the villages dance collectively during festivals or marriages, they are attacking them indiscriminately thinking they are CNM members. But the people are guarding CNM like the pupil of their eye. CNM also has ample support of the militia. On special occasions PLGA forces are providing protection. Under militia protection CNM teams are giving performances even at a distance of one or two kilometers from the police stations on demand from the people. People's artistes are carrying on revolutionary propaganda amidst severe repression. On April 19<sup>th</sup> Chhathisgarh government banned CNM.

**PM:** Let's talk about 'Jhankar' now. Explain the background of its formation, its history and your efforts.

**Lenj:** Since the inception of the DK movement in 1980, there were some writers and artistes among the revolutionaries and they produced some literature in the form of stories, poems, articles and small novels. All of them were written due to the pressing needs of the movement. Revolution demands everything. Who will fulfill all

these demands? A few people outside (revolution) cannot fulfill these. The revolutionary movement has to fulfill the demands of the revolution and people. Then only the revolutionary movement can develop in all fields. The language is different here. The problems are different. There is difference in backwardness. There is some specificity. Literature is being produced keeping all this in view. To encourage these writers and artistes and to record their writings depicting people's life and preserve people's literature we thought of publishing a magazine. As a result Jhankar was started in July – August 1994. Every comrade here is involved in bringing this. This is being brought out amidst repression. Since the enemy attack is multi faceted our resistance should also be multi faceted.

Comrades write in Gondi, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and Telugu in this magazine, this is another special feature of Jhankar. They can write in whatever language they feel they can express. There are adivasis, non adivasis, Bengalis, Telugus, Marathis and Odiya i.e. people belonging to various areas and nationalities in the DK movement now. So Jhankar is a multi lingual magazine. We are trying to make writers not only out of people but out of cadres also. Regarding people since they are already extempore poets the need is more to revolutionize them than to make them into writers. They express excellently all their problems, sufferings, happiness and feelings in those songs. Mainly we have to give them the revolutionary vision to write about solutions too in them. CNM members are also learning to read and write now. We are correcting and publishing their writings and developing them. There are some shortcomings in this effort too. We are not able to concentrate fully on what the new writers are writing and on improving them. By correcting this we can produce better results.

**PM:** What are the goals you aim to achieve in the context of publishing the tenth year issue of Jhankar?

**Lenj:** The publishing of the tenth anniversary issue of Jhankar is a happy occasion. We mentioned the problems faced by our writers in the issue. Mainly the writings are in the same mould. So we have to change that. So our main goal is to help the writers in taking up people's

issues and expressing them in an outstanding manner and to make them write in new literary forms. There are many problems here. Though there are only limited literary forms in this society we should take other forms from the outside world. There is no development anywhere without exchange of ideas. We should express the sacrifices, struggle experiences and problems of people in art and literary forms. We are not able to catch up to all these needs. So we have to give a direction to our writers to catch up. Jhankar will play a role in moulding them as writers.

**PM:** What are the goals you formulated in relation with the developing people's war in DK?

**Lenj:** If we have to achieve something in this field then we have to develop ourselves first. Our advancement is linked to the advancement of the people's war in this field. When people's war is in the initial stage the artistes and writers should be a step ahead and prepare the people for it. They should improve their writing standards and language style. All their writings should help in advancing the war.

Here as we are working with a base area perspective we have to explain to the people through writings and art forms what a base area is, how people's power is exercised, how two classes fight for power and how revolution means political power to the people. Since the consciousness of the people in these areas is relatively higher the level of the writings should also rise accordingly. They in turn should raise the level of the people. So our revolutionary writers should be a step ahead than ordinary people and envision the future for the people.

**PM:** How will the formation of CPI (Maoist) boost up the efforts in the cultural field?

**Lenj:** The merger of two streams raised the hopes of all working people. Similarly it inspired and stimulated the writers and artistes in the cultural field. This will help us a lot in developing further. It will be very useful to learn the experiences of writers and artistes who have been working with base area perspective for the past thirty years in another area. It will be useful for them to learn our experiences here. There were such efforts before also. But

then it was under two parties, under two leaderships. Now it will be carried under a unified party and will help in carrying forward in a consolidated manner. It will help in building new democratic culture rapidly.

**PM:** Finally, what is your call to the writers and artistes outside?

**Lenj:** (Smiling) what can any fighting people say to other fighting people? We are fighting here. We ask all others to fight. That is all. We are fighting with all our efforts to build up an anti imperialist, anti feudal new democratic culture. Our call to people is to dare to fight to eliminate the exploitative classes' culture. Since our aim is the same lets try to carry on this fight by unifying in a more consolidated manner. 'Let us build new democratic culture by uniting'.

We extend our *Lal Salm* to People's March for coming here amidst many difficulties and taking this interview and giving us a chance to tell about our cultural movement to people of our country and other countries as well.

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establishing an extensive network of police informers and some covert agents. In Guntur and Prakasham districts alone 400 homeguards were recruited with a salary of Rs. 3000 per month. Another 200 people from adivasis, dalits and backward castes were appointed as special police officers (SPOs) with pay ranging from Rs. 1500-2500. Around Rs. 25 lakhs is distributed to these informers every month in these two districts and it was based on the information provided by these informers regarding the movements of the Maoist squads that the Greyhounds and other anti-Naxal forces conducted their attacks. In the stepped-up offensive in Nallamala forest this year, at least 50 comrades were killed.

In five big incidents at least 35 comrades had laid down their lives since the end of April. Half of these martyrs were women comrades. In the first incident that took place in Seshachalam forest in the last week of April, nine comrades belonging to the platoon under Anantapur-Cuddapah Divisional committee were killed which included the divisional committee secretary comrade Ganesh and divisional

committee member-cum-platoon commander comrade Rammohan alias Naresh. Six of the martyrs were women comrades. In the second incident near PRC Tanda in Pullalacheruvu mandal in Nallamala on June 16, comrade Ravi Kumar alias Sridhar, a member of the state committee as well as the state committee's secretariat, was killed. Three other comrades, who were caught at an appointment place on June 15, were tortured for two days and shot dead the next day. Comrade Sudhakar alias Suresh, a member of the district committee of Guntur, was arrested and murdered two days later. In the third incident in the last week of June, a PLGA squad in Mahbobnagar was surrounded and in the ensuing encounter eight comrades were killed. The fourth incident was the attack on the APSC HQ on July 23 in which eight comrades including the state secretary comrade Madhav became martyrs. In the latest encounter on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, the platoon of the Anantapur-Cuddapah divisional committee was attacked in which four comrades died including comrade Sathyam alias Kranti, a district committee organizer. The PLGA comrades fought heroically

killing one Greyhounds constable. The comrades who died were taking bath near a stream when they were fired upon suddenly by the Greyhounds batch.

In most of these incidents the police acted on precise information provided by the informers, resorted to one-sided firing through surprise attacks, and killed all those who became immobile after being injured in the firing. Hence not a single comrade was arrested as such a thing had never been the tradition of the police state in AP. In almost all the incidents the dead bore torture marks, a grim reminder of the violations of human rights and the unlawful nature of the activities of the police force in AP.

The revolutionary war in Andhra Pradesh had witnessed many ups and downs, had passed through more difficult times, but had always recovered from the losses and advanced further. Such has been the history of four decades of people's war, and needless to say, the martyrdom of comrades Madhav, Ravi Kumar and several revolutionaries in AP will not deter the revolutionaries but will further strengthen their resolve to more steadfastly advance the revolutionary war.

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to allow them to go to the site of the encounter and bring the bodies or to hand over the bodies immediately to them in Hyderabad.

The ulterior motive behind the delay in handing over the bodies was easily recognized by the people. Gaddar, Varavara Rao and others maintained from the very beginning that the state has been deliberately delaying the shifting of the bodies allowing them to rot beyond recognition and thereby preempt the demand for a proper postmortem and the need to hand over the bodies to the concerned families. It was only when the High Court was moved by the APCLC and the case was taken up by a senior lawyer and democratic intellectual, Sri Bojja Tarakam, that the government was forced to set aside its silly excuses and finally begin shifting the bodies on 25<sup>th</sup> night. A panchanama of the corpses was done in Yerragondapalem hospital that night and the bodies were shifted to the government hospital in Guntur next morning as per the High Court orders. Initially the government's plan was to complete the postmortem formality in the hospital in Markapur or Ongole but when the relatives insisted that it should be done in Hyderabad or Guntur and the Court directed the police to do so, the bodies were taken to Guntur more than 72 hours

after the encounter. Section 144 was imposed by the police near the mortuary at the time of the postmortem, being scared that the gross negligence of the police will arouse the fury of the masses.

The corpses were thus handed over to the families only after three days by which time they were decomposed beyond recognition. The government of fascist factionalist YSR proved itself to be not just blood-thirsty. It also showed its inhuman, unethical, ugly features by this act of not handing over the bodies of the dead revolutionaries to their families which is the minimum moral duty of any government.

Worse still, it tried by all means to stop the people from attending the funeral of comrade Madhav in his native village of Mangapeta in Karimnagar district in spite of the earlier assurance by the Home Minister to the relatives of the dead that the police would not obstruct people who want to attend the funeral. They sealed the village from all sides, blocked the roads going from Peddapali, Sultanabad, Muttaram, Srirampur, imposed section 144 on the roads leading to the village, stopped all vehicles, noted their numbers and sent them back, set up video cameras throughout the routes and in Mangapeta. Thousands of police were deployed everywhere to create an atmosphere of terror to deter the people from going to Mangapeta. They even tried to stop the people of Madhav's native village from attending the funeral. Undeterred, when people proceeded on foot to have the last



glimpse of the corpse of their beloved leader, they were stopped in the outskirts of the village. The infuriated women of Mangapeta defied the police threats and went in a 2 KM procession to Coonaram, held a demonstration and brought the people who were stopped there by the police. Slogans like "*Comrade Madhav Amar Rahe!*", "*Down with Police Zulum!*", rent the air. In spite of the police threats and blockade, thousands of people managed to enter the village through various means dodging the police cordon. Overall, it is estimated that at least 20,000 people who came to attend the funeral were prevented by YSR's khaki goons. It goes to the credit of the people, particularly

women, for having foiled the evil designs of the police to prevent people from performing the last rites of the revolutionary leader.

Revolutionary poet Varavara Rao, Jana Natya Mandali leader and balladeer Gaddar, RWA leader Kalyan Rao and MRPS leader Krishna Madiga addressed the meeting in the village and participated in the funeral procession which lasted from 1 PM to 4.30 PM. Red flag was draped over the body of comrade Madhav. Gaddar sang a newly-composed song on Madhav and said that the sacrifices of Madhav and other comrades will certainly make the revolution victorious and that the blood that had spilt in Nallamala will not go in vain. He said that encounters were taking place in the state under the direction of the World Bank and the imperialists who control the land, forest, water and all resources in the state. Varavara Rao said that revolution has no

death and that it is due to the conviction of the masses in revolution that the Maoists are enjoying enormous support. He alleged that it is not only YSR but also George Bush and the imperialists who are afraid of the Maoist movement in India and hence these oppressors were carrying out encounter killings. Kalyan Rao asserted that Maoist movement cannot be contained by killing leaders like Madhav, that repression will only show the path for revolt and can never establish peace as fondly

dreamt by the exploiting ruling classes. He said that martyrs like Madhav will remain forever in the hearts of the people and mothers will name their children after these martyrs.

The attack on the Maoist camp in Nallamala forest was the culmination of the series of attacks that YSR's police state had unleashed since the breakdown of the talks with the Maoists in end 2004. In the period since January 2005 till the end of July 2006 around 254 Naxalites were killed of which over 200 belonged to the CPI(Maoist). The armed offensive was stepped up in Nallamala forest region since the beginning of the current year after

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## **Hail the heroic martyrdom of AP state secretary comrade Madhav and other comrades of Nallamala!**

### **Murdering revolutionaries and allowing the bodies to rot shows the rottenness of YSR's police state!!**

On July 23, 2006 comrade Burra Chinnayya alias Madhav and seven other comrades were killed in a massive attack by almost one thousand greyhounds and special police forces on the Head Quarters of AP State Committee of the CPI(Maoist) near Darabayalu Penta in Nallamala forest. The attack took place in the early hours when most of the comrades were asleep or had gone to answer nature's call. The huge police force had surrounded the camp stealthily during the night basing on information obtained from an arrested Maoist who broke down during torture and agreed to show the place. That is why they could succeed in targeting the secretary of APSC, comrade Madhav, as they knew the precise location of his tent. It was thus not exactly an encounter, as correctly pointed out by several organizations and democratic intellectuals, but a one-sided attack based on information provided by the betrayer.

A fact most glaringly seen is the murder, after cruel torture, of those who were injured in the firing. Comrade Madhav too, was injured, and hence could not escape from the police encirclement. Until the evening of 23<sup>rd</sup>, his death was not confirmed by the police. It was only that evening that an announcement was made confirming Madhav's death by the DGP Swaranjit Sen and the SP of Prakasham district, Balasubramanyam, after a meeting at the highest level. It was clear that the decision to murder Madhav, who was in their custody after sustaining serious injury in the firing, was taken in Hyderabad and executed. Likewise, some of the other comrades, who were seriously injured, were also shot dead after being tortured. The events were as clear as day-light and the leaders of the various organizations and democratic intellectuals and civil rights activists accused the government of violating the constitutional rights by resorting to one-

sided firings and also murdering those injured in the firing. A Fact Finding Committee led by Prof. Seshayya, President of APCLC, which went to the encounter site and saw the bodies, told the media that the bodies bore torture marks and gunshots seemed to have been fired from behind.



Leaders of various organizations deplored the murders, described them as fake encounter and rejected the police story. KG Kannabhiran, president of PUCL, said that the state of Andhra Pradesh had a notorious history of fake encounter killings right from the time of Vengal Rao and that the present government of YSR was competing with Chandrababu Naidu in unleashing the worst type of repression and staging fake encounters. He said this would result in a revolt by the people. He demanded that murder cases under sec 302 be booked against the DGP, SP of Prakasham and other police officers responsible for the killings and be prosecuted. Leaders of APCLC, CPI(ML)-Janashakti, New Democracy, Liberation and other organizations decried the killings as fake and demanded a judicial enquiry. Prof Haragopal charged the YSR government that it was committing these murders to carry out the imperialist-dictated policy of globalization in AP. MRPS leader Krishna Madiga described the killings as part of a deliberate plan of the government to suppress people's movements. Everyone demanded an impartial judicial enquiry into

the cold-blooded murders committed by the state. Seeing the criticism from various quarters about the cold-blooded murders, the SP declared on the second day that three Greyhounds constables were also injured during the encounter. But he refused to show the injured constables to the media. The media personnel were not allowed to see the dead bodies on the first day and by the time they managed to reach the site the next day all the corpses were arranged at one place by the police.

The comrades who died in this attack, besides comrade Madhav, were: comrades Ramesh from Anantapur who was the guard of Madhav, Mallikarjun, also from Anantapur, Madhavi alias Shyamala from Mahboobnagar, who was a section commander in the protection platoon, area committee member Rajita alias Susheela from Hyderabad, JNM member com. Parvati, and PLGA members comrades Mamata and Seetha. The police knew the names of the dead comrades and had enough informers to identify the dead but deliberately delayed announcement to ward off pressure from the relatives to hand over the bodies and thereby prevent people from attending the funerals. The irony was that only two names of the eight killed were announced correctly, that of Madhav and Susheela.

These plans, however, were foiled through concerted effort by the relatives, activists of the various mass organizations, civil rights activists and democratic intellectuals. Right from day one the people of Andhra Pradesh became aware of the state's malafide intentions although it had cited silly reasons for the inordinate delay such as harsh terrain, lack of adequate means of transport to shift the bodies and so on. At least a hundred relatives of the dead grilled the Home Minister, telecast live in almost all the regional channels,

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