

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution



**HAIL Historic Unity Congress-9th Congress
of CPI (Maoist)**

A Historic Turning Point: Advance People's War to Build Base Areas; Turn Guerrilla War into Mobile War; Turn PLGA into PLA!!

— Central Call of the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI (Maoist)

It was sometime in January-February 2007 that the cream of the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) gathered at CM-KC Nagar {Charu Majumdar and Kanai Chatterjee} deep within a Guerrilla Zone as delegates for the historic Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI (Maoist). It was to be the culmination of a two year process of study, discussion

precision planning, avoiding the vigilant eyes of the state. The Government had vowed that this Congress would never take place. They had their intelligence sleuths probing the entire country for any sign; they keenly watched the guerrilla zones which had the potential of hosting the Congress; they set up a separate cell at the Centre, specifically to coordinate

partner Karuna, who were on their way to the Congress; they were not able to extract even a small clue from them in spite of the most brutal torture.

For over one month the delegates first spent a week studying the amendments and the latest debates; the Congress itself lasted a fortnight; and a further week was spent in putting the conclusions in order. Finally, the successful culmination of the Congress was announced to the world on February 20, 2007.

The Venue and Inauguration

It was a veritable township erected deep within the jungles of a guerrilla zone. At the centre of the commune was the parade ground and the huge Congress hall. Tents, spread out over a huge area, housed the delegates, the PLGA, and other staff and protection comrades. A computer room, with a team of operators, translators and staff ran round the clock producing documents, amendments and even a regular stream of poems written on the occasion by the delegates. The entire venue was lit up with generators running over 15 hours per day so that lap tops and PCs and

Xerox machines could operate without any hindrance. All documents were produced in three languages — Hindi, English and Telugu. A stream flowed through the site providing 24 hours water; and with continuous heating, boiled water was provided to all, thus cutting down infection and disease. A huge open air kitchen was constructed providing tiffin and two meals a day to the whole camp and a regular supply of tea for the delegates. The food was simple but as nutritious as could be under the circumstances. These massive arrangements were made without the slightest knowledge of the preparations leaking out. It was indeed a stupendous task and impossible to have undertaken without the extensive support of the



Congress Hall

and debate over basic documents and reviews of the past activities drawn up by the unity meeting of Sept 21 2004, when the two streams of the CPI (ML) and the MCCI merged to form the CPI (Maoist). The Agenda also included a review of the past two year's activities of the merged party. It had been a gigantic democratic exercise where hundreds of amendments had been sent from the Conferences below — held first at the area level, then district level and finally state level. The State conferences elected the delegates to the Congress based on proportional representation — based on a calculation of the number of party members in the given state.

The delegates from 17 States of India began reaching the venue in batches with

intelligence information from all over the country regarding the Congress; the enemy and the media even speculated that the Congress was due to be held in Dec. 06 or Jan. 07. Notwithstanding this massive encirclement the Congress took place in the months of Jan-Feb 2007 without any flaw, or knowledge to the government and state machinery. Their army of informers, their hi-tech surveillance equipment and their enormous money-power proved totally futile before the disciplined and systematic planning of the CPI (Maoist), guarded and protected not only by the forces of the PLGA, but the masses on all four sides abutting the venue. Though they arrested the legendary CC member com BK/ Naveen (alias Chandramouli) and his

masses and militia of the area.

The Congress Hall was named KS-Chandramauli Hall after the two CCMs of the united party who had been martyred in the two years (Com Karam Singh was a PB member and Chandramauli was martyred on his way to the Congress due to an informer leak). The CC meeting Hall, the various delegates' camps, the chowks, the kitchen, the medical room, the poster/banner-making hall, the computer room, etc were all named after martyrs. The parade ground was named after the recent heroic actions of Madhuban, Girdhi, Udayagiri, Jehanabad, etc. It was a veritable township erected deep in the jungle.

The parade ground was a sea of red banners, flags, festoons and even the trees were wrapped in red cloth. On the day of the inauguration the entire PLGA, cultural workers, staff and Congress delegates stood to attention as the red flag was hoisted by the general secretary of the Party, Com. Ganapathi. All sang the song of the red flag. The flag remained hoisted throughout the duration of the Congress and was only lowered after its completion to the singing of the INTERNATIONAL. Senior leader, PBM Com. Kishan gave an introductory speech while the GS explained the enormous significance of the Congress.

Then the session to pay homage and lay wreaths at the Martyr's Memorial began

with all comrades standing to two minutes silence in memory of the departed comrades who fearlessly laid down their lives for the revolution.. All representatives of party committees, the PLGA, the cultural fronts, the Mass Organisations/UFs, the party magazines, the computer staff, the children's organisation, the women's organisations, and others laid wreaths at the martyrs' memorial amidst thunderous slogan shouting of the names of martyrs. The martyr's column was covered with flowers.

Finally, the programme in the ground was completed with a procession, which wound its way around the CM-KC Commune, amidst slogan-shouting and the singing of revolutionary songs. It was indeed a festive occasion. After the open session was over all the delegates entered the Congress Hall.

While all the delegates took their places in the hall com Kishan ascended the stage and issued his welcome address. In his welcome speech he brought out the great dangers that had to be surmounted by all delegates in reaching the venue of the Congress. He said that in the process the delegate and CCM, com. Chandramouli (as also his partner, Karuna) were arrested, brutally tortured and then martyred. He then added that this Congress is a historical event, and would discuss all issues — ideological, political, military and organisational — in the process of solving the problems being faced by the revolution. He requested all present to give attention to the agenda and in the process of the discussions and synthesis achieved, seek to raise the struggle to a higher level.

Com Bimal then introduced each one of the delegates and as the name was called out they ascended the stage and a delegates badge was pinned on to them by the GS and com Kishan. Then a resolution was read out on the prison comrades, particularly the five CCMs who were in jail and could not attend the Congress — Coms. Varun, Vijay, Tapas, Chintan, and Shobha. Then a five-member presidium was elected, which included two women comrades; and the entire out-going CC played the role of the Steering Committee with the PBMs in the lead.

Finally, the inaugural session concluded with the General Secretary, Com. Ganapathi, giving the inaugural address. In this he

traced the long history of the two Maoist streams and then went on to outline the major tasks that were to be achieved by this Congress. He concluded his inaugural address stressing on the importance of the debates before the congress and the spirit it should be held, taking lessons from the earlier negative experiences. {See Centre page for brief summary of Speech}.

With the inaugural session concluded the Congress turned its attention to the issues before the Congress. It first took up the five basic documents for finalisation and then turned its attention to the review of our past practice in the form of PORs (Political and Organisational Reviews). Finally a number of resolutions were passed and a new Central Committee elected.

The Finalisation of the Documents

The first document taken up for discussion was the draft document *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*. This was adopted after some discussions and incorporating some of the amendments suggested. The document defines in a nutshell the Party's understanding of MLM and sees it as an integral whole with Marxism being continuously developed through the histories of past revolutionary movements (Paris Commune, Russian revolution, Chinese revolution and the GPCR) and particularly by our great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. It sees MLM as a science that, like any other science, is also bound to develop even in the future.

The next document to be taken up for discussion was the draft *Party Programme*. There was quite an intense and detailed debate on it at the Congress. Delegates participated in this debate in a free and frank atmosphere. Discussion took place in detail on the whole lot of amendments that were sent by the State Conferences and lower conference. The Congress unanimously resolved that in India the feudal/semi-feudal society has its own specificity in as much as it is deeply interwoven with brahminical ideology and the oppressive and discriminatory caste system. It discussed at length the nature of dalit oppression and discrimination and the ways of how to fight it. In accordance with this, the necessary additions and changes

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in the draft Party Programme were also accepted. Also on the basis of these changes amendments were also introduced to the other documents. In addition, after detailed discussions on issues like the character of the Indian society and state, various aspects of the communist revolutionary movement and national liberation struggles in India, the role of the CPI leadership, the class analysis and contradictions of Indian society, our attitude towards the different classes and sections of the society and the tasks of the new democratic state, concrete and definite conclusions were drawn, and these conclusions were incorporated into the

question; amongst other important questions. These were all resolved through majority votes. Also an alternative to three chapters of the S & T document written by a martyred comrade was presented and rejected by the Congress as it felt in took a left sectarian position.

On the above issues of debate the following decisions were taken by a majority vote. On the question of the CBB it was decided that Indian state is the joint dictatorship of the CBB and big landlords and that the CBB does not play a leadership role. The Congress also decided that both the CBB and feudalism are the main vehicles of imperialist exploitation. On the

Base is transitory in nature and it is not a separate phase in itself.

The Congress also agreed to incorporate the many amendments on the caste system, dalit oppression and brahminical ideology (and the struggle for their eradication) that flowed from the amendments incorporated in the party programme. The amendments on working among unorganised workers was also incorporated. With these important conclusions based on serious discussions, and numerous other amendments that were accepted without discussion as there was unanimity of opinion, the S & T document was finally adopted in an enriched form.

Finally the Congress turned its attention to the draft *Political Resolution*. As the draft document was prepared two years back and there had been many developments in the international and domestic situation since then, it was agreed to update it, and suggestions were made by the delegates. One of the three points of differences, i.e., 'on the era question' was directly put for vote, to save time, as it had been debated thoroughly in the lower conferences. The amendment was rejected and the definition that was in the draft document was accepted — that this, it is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In this session the question of international relations was also discussed, particularly the question of relations with RIM. After a detailed

discussion on the issue, the Congress concluded that the resolution adopted by the 2nd CC(P) meeting shall remain in force. As was clearly spelt out in that resolution, "We consider the RIM to be a positive revolutionary force and a Maoist centre in the world today. Until the debate initiated by the RIM reaches a conclusion, we must continue bilateral relations with CoRIM and the different constituents of RIM as well as strive to encourage multilateral meetings between various genuine Maoist forces all over the world." The Congress took a decision to go ahead with the same resolution as well as continue to participate in the international ideological-political struggle being conducted by RIM with a proletarian internationalist viewpoint and with the objective of fulfilling our international task,



Charu Majumdar & Kanai Chatterjee

draft document. Thus, the Congress succeeded in centralizing the ideas and opinions through a meaningful debate on the draft of the Party Programme.

The draft *Constitution* was then passed with some amendments. Major debates then took place on the draft *Strategy and Tactics* document which went on for a number of days. Here major debates were focused on questions of: the relationship of Guerrilla Zone, Guerrilla Base and Base Area and the question of dual power; the question of the role of the CBB (Comprador Bureaucrat Bourgeoisie) in the ruling class alliance; the question of the nature and extent of the changes that have taken place in developed rural areas like Punjab; whether in a country like India the election question was one of strategic significance or just one other tactical

question of agrarian relations in Punjab the Congress accepted that there have been changes in the form of a growth in distorted capitalist relations, but overall it maintained that the agrarian relations continue to be semi-feudal in the main. On the question of the boycott of elections in India the Congress decided that it is of strategic significance. On the question of dual power it reiterated that in a given area of the guerrilla zone there cannot be dual power, as, there it is the contention for power that is principle. Till the establishment of Base Areas it is destruction (of enemy power) that will be the primary task and construction that will be secondary; and in the process of the establishment of Base Areas and its consolidation the relation between destruction and construction gradually undergoes a change. Guerrilla

and in this way, on the basis of unity-struggle-unity, pave the way for the polarization of Maoist forces at the international level.

With the adoption of the Political Resolution all the basic documents of the newly formed Party were finalised, which would now act as the basis on which the new Party would function.

Resolutions from the Congress

First and foremost the Congress passed resolutions on the three magic weapons of the revolution — the Party, the People's Army and the United Front.

On the question of the Party, the Congress resolved to further deepen the Party organisation amongst the basic masses of the country. It emphasised the need to train the cadre ideologically, politically and equip them with organisational and leadership abilities. It brought out the need to promote comrades from the basic classes to leadership positions, including from the working class and women. It reiterated the need to continuously Bolshevise the Party and build it in the Leninist style. It called on the Party to intensify the recruitment campaign throughout the country, while not in any way lowering the standards of Party membership.

Then a resolution was passed on the people's army, the PLGA. In order to achieve the central task set by the Congress, the resolution on the PLGA called for building higher formations and a widest possible network of the people's militia. It also called for the arming of the PLGA with better weaponry and the arming of the militia. It called for intensifying the war in the nine guerrilla zones and four Red Resistance Areas and also spreading the war to new areas. It also reported that in the last two years, since the unity, there have been 130 military actions of the PLGA (large, medium and small) in which 485 weapons were seized and 315 police were wiped out. It strongly condemned the increased enemy offensive on the revolutionary and people's forces and more particularly the ruthless Salwa Judum. It vowed to counter the LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) methods being adopted by the Indian ruling classes guided by their imperialist, particularly US, bosses. Finally,

it gave a call for the immediate development of DK and B-J (Bihar-Jharkhand) into Base Areas.

On the question of the United Front and Mass Organisation building the Congress gave serious attention in its resolution on the issue. It called for giving "*key importance to organize the masses into strong organisations with a consciousness that enables them to be mobilized against imperialism/feudalism/CBB and also for participation in the people's war*". It called for building strong mass organisations and distinguished between mere mass support and mass base; calling for strengthening the latter. It added that the masses, politicised and organised into strong organizations — to ensure active participation — can alone act as a real red bastion of the revolution. In a people's war it is only the masses organized into a strong force that can effectively counter a big force such as the Indian state, backed by the imperialists. On the question of building the United Front the resolution emphasised that until the four class alliance is built on an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal basis, it is not possible to mobilise the vast masses of the country for the New Democratic Revolution. In this the Strategic United Front (SUF) is coming up in the areas of armed struggle with the formation of the organs of new power; and will get further consolidated with its advancement and the establishment of Base Areas. As a complement to this the resolution also emphasised the need to build up vast Tactical United Fronts (TUFs) at various levels, which had to be seen as part of this process of building the SUF. It stated that today, besides those within the Maoist camp there are crores of people who are totally dissatisfied with the system or aspects of it, and are seeking an alternative. It stated that the process of building the mass organisations in every section of the masses, at both the state and all-India level, is an important aspect to be able to successfully do UF activities. While advancing the armed struggle and building the SUF the resolution called on the Party to effectively intervene in all the ongoing struggles of the masses, like specifically the issue of displacement caused by mining projects, SEZs, dams and urban 'development', of the peasantry against suicides and debt, the workers as indicated

by the revolt at Gurgaon, dalits as indicated by the outburst against the Khairlanji killings, the traders as in Delhi, etc. It also called for unity with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for their freedom from the oppressive Indian state.

Besides these, the Congress also passed a number of resolutions on issues like against death sentence, Hindu fascism, against SEZs and all causes of displacement, against dalit oppression and the Khairlanji killings, against peasant suicides and the agrarian crisis, and against all forms of oppression against women. It also passed a resolution in support of the struggle of the prisoners for their rights. Besides this it passed a resolution in support of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities of India, particularly those of Kashmir and the North East. Finally, it supported the struggles of the world's people against imperialism, particularly US imperialism; lending full support to the struggling people of Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Lebanon, and all others who are facing the jack-boots of US imperialism and its lackeys. The resolution also expressed deep solidarity with the vast upsurge of the movements in the imperialist countries against imperialist globalisation, war and also the racial discrimination as in France. Finally, it ended the resolution calling on the genuine Maoist Parties around the globe to build deeper bonds of unity and lead these ongoing struggles.

Review of Past Practice

Quite naturally it was these sessions on the review of the Party's past practice that took the maximum time and had the most lively discussions as it was linked with the concrete assessment of the movement. It sought to analyse this in the light of MLM and the basic political line of the Party.

Firstly, the 3 ½ decade long history of the two parties was briefly summed up — the PW till its Congress in 2001 and the MCCI till the merger. There was some discussion and amendments presented on these, but as these were a mere summary of the earlier conclusions drawn by the previous Conferences of the erstwhile parties the discussions here were limited. The main discussions took place in the post Congress practice of the PW from 2001 to Sept 2004 and the past two years practice

of the merged party.

The main focus of the discussion was based around the aspect as to what extent we were able to fulfill the tasks set by the Party; and particularly its Central task of advancing the people's war towards the setting up of Base Areas. Here it assessed the ability of the Party to advance in the two major areas of Dandakaranya and B-J inspite of the extensive state terror.

In Dandakaranya even though the state forces have resorted to the policy of burn-all, loot-all, kill-all, under the banner of Salwa Judum the Party has been able to effectively hit back and push the genocidal forces to

Orissa and even in West Bengal facing the social-fascist terror of the CPM hoodlums and their police force.

It also noted with concern the temporary setback faced by the movement in the State of AP where state terror has been of unprecedented proportions. It pin-pointed the weaknesses in the movement and the causes for the setback and sought remedial measures to advance the movement more effectively. It noted that though the movement has faced severe losses in AP the masses continue to support the Party and it is this mass support that has to be once again organized into a powerful force.

and leading force of the revolution which required much greater attention.

It also assessed its work in the realm of proletarian internationalism and resolved to forge deeper ties with the genuine Maoist forces of the world. Regarding the new trends in the Nepal Maoist movement it decided to continue the discussion with them on the path they have recently chosen in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and express the CPI (Maoist) Party's grave concerns. It also decided to lend support and be part of the growing worldwide anti-imperialist movement and particularly that against US imperialism and its stooges.

The Conclusion

After the main agenda of the Congress was over, the outgoing CC presented its joint and written self-criticism which was presented to the delegates. Then all the delegates were invited to voice their criticisms of the CC and/or its individual members. After this the process of electing the new CC began. A panel was presented and suggestions were invited. Finally a new CC was elected which then reelected com. Ganapathi as the General Secretary of the Party. After that the new CC and then the entire delegates jointly read a pledge dedicating themselves to the revolution and communism.

On behalf of the Presidium Com. Rama presented their review of their functioning and that of the Congress delegates from which they drew lessons for

the future. Com. Kishan gave his concluding remarks. Then the GS gave a small speech outlining the historical achievements of the Congress and the importance of implementing the line evolved through the lengthy Congress process. The Congress was completed successfully amidst great enthusiasm and slogan-shouting.

Throughout the Congress proceedings there was a profusion of poetry written by delegates, written mostly in Hindi and Telugu on the Congress and its political significance. Com Narmada's (DK) poem on the children at the Congress venue was

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the defensive. Here, the masses, in the form of vast militia, have been effectively mobilized to participate in the war on a mass scale and thereby counter the enemy's encirclement and suppression campaign.

In Bihar-Jharkhand too the Party has effectively countered the Sendra and paramilitary counter-insurgency forces and spread the movement to vast areas. In North Bihar the movement continues to grow despite severe losses. In the Chhatisgarh region bordering Jharkhand the enemy has resorted to the worst AP-style of killings with the aim to kill the incipient movement in the region, yet it has sustained. The armed struggle has effectively spread in

The issue of talks with the AP government was discussed at length and by a majority vote it was felt that given the situation then prevailing in AP it was not preferable, under those circumstances, to have gone for talks.

It also analysed the movements in the other states including the work in urban areas. It was strongly felt that there is much need to advance in these areas which were still relatively weak. The importance of urban work was also discussed and the ways of developing it were considered. Besides it was decided to immediately finalise an urban policy in the light of the changes that have taken place. The urban proletariat was recognized as an important

Call of March 8th

Join the Countrywide people's struggle against displacement ! Intensify the struggle against imperialists and all their Agents within the Country

Women all over the country are struggling along with men to oppose the big projects of the MNCs and Big Indian bourgeoisie that

resources of the country. Women have been in the forefront of this struggle and they have faced police bullets and attacks by lumpen elements and politicians in the hire of these rapacious

bodies of women at Kalinga Nagar indicate the extent of the ruthlessness of the Indian ruling classes. It matters little which of the parties are in power, they act with equal ferocity to suppress

people's movements and promote imperialist/comprador interests.

Whether it is in the villages of Orissa, like Kalinganagar, or Jharkhand and Chattisgarh where major projects have been planned, or Nandigram and Singur in West Bengal, or Polavaram dam and Bauxite mines in Andhra Pradesh or Maharashtra where Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are being set up women are very much a part of the struggle. They are among those being arrested and



threaten to displace them from their lands, villages and homes, and dump them to swell the ranks of the displaced. On the occasion of this March 8 we concentrate our attention on the struggle against these displacement and express our solidarity with all those who are fighting to assert their rights over the lands and

capitalists. The rape and murder of Tapasi Malik, a leader of the peasants struggling at Singur, West Bengal by goons of the CPM govt shows the extent these looters are willing to go in order to take control over the lands and resources of our beloved country. The brutal murder and disfigurement of the

even killed in police firings. They are fighting to save their livelihood, their lands and the future of their families and villages. The history of the past decade and more, in this phase of aggressive globalisation has starkly highlighted the fate of people, especially women due to displacement. Bereft of the community

and support, torn apart to live in cramped resettlement camps and new villages without basic facilities, or else just forced to settle on the fringes of the projects earning their living doing menial odd jobs as casual workers or forced to migrate to the overcrowded cities and towns to join the ranks of those in search of work and shelter is the fate of most of those displaced. Women are facing increasing ill health, emotional stress, economic and physical hardship, and sexual exploitation at these sites. Many have been forced to turn to prostitution to fend for their families. All claims of compensation have turned out to be an eye wash. Money is no compensation for the loss of their entire livelihood. The struggle against this is a just struggle that the revolutionary women's movement not only upholds, but fully participates in.

Thus while the masses are suffering ruination and decline in their lives due to the displacements caused by projects of the MNCs, big comprador capitalists (CBB) like the Tatas, Ambanis, Jindals, Ruias, etc are reaping profits from the acquisition of land at cheap rates. The Central Government headed by Manmohan Singh and the various state governments, irrespective of the Party in power have bent over backwards to facilitate the transfer of lands, forests, minerals and other resources to the imperialists/CBB for their unlimited plunder and exploitation. These pro-imperialist, pro-big bourgeois policies of the government and avaricious politicians are nothing but further surrender of the sovereignty of our country and the resources that belong to the masses to those who only want profits and more profits. It is the cause of devastation and ruination of our entire people and the country. Imperialist control and exploitation has taken more vicious and pernicious forms in the country, with the total collaboration of the local ruling classes. It is imperative that this control be fought and the policies be opposed.

Repression too has led to displacement of adivasis on a massive scale in Bastar division of Chattisgarh state. The Salwa Judum campaign launched by the State in order to crush

the revolutionary movement in the region has been nothing but a forced uprooting of the people from the villages into so called relief camps which are nothing but concentration camps. Thousands and thousands of villagers including women, children and the old have been herded into these camps under the round the clock supervision of special armed police and the local special police officers (SPOs). Their houses have been burnt down, crops and grains destroyed, cattle killed or looted and they have not been able to cultivate their lands. Now instead of allowing the people to return to their villages, the government is trying to make these camps into permanent settlements. The miserable conditions in these camps have already been highlighted by visiting women's teams. An entire community of indigenous people are being forcibly uprooted. In these circumstances women are among the worst victims. Their mental and physical health have been shattered. They have seen their sons, husbands, brothers being killed by the special armed police and the Salwa Judum goons. They have themselves been beaten, raped and even killed for not cooperating with the reactionary state forces. One of the reasons for this repression is to clear this region of the presence of revolutionary forces so that imperialist/CBB exploitation of the rich mineral and natural resources can proceed unhampered. Salwa Judum and its repressive campaign has to be equally vehemently opposed.

This is the 150th anniversary of the Great Indian War of Independence against British colonisation. In that War which raged in various parts of the country women were active participants, some of them even led soldiers in the battlefield. It is also the centenary year of the great Bhagat Singh, who along with his comrades went to the gallows for the freedom of our country from imperialist rule. These revolutionary patriots also included many women. Once again, a struggle against imperialism and its local agents is going on in the country. Militant struggles, against the pro-imperialist policies which go in the name of globalisation, are going on around the country. People are fighting

the big mineral projects and SEZs being set up in the name of development. Agitations against attempts of the Tatas, Ruias, Mittals, Salem group Ambanis and other comprador capitalists and MNCs are going on in Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Haryana and other places. The people of Andhra Pradesh are protesting against their eviction due to the massive Polavaram dam. Where SEZs are already functioning they amount to foreign territory, where the unbridled exploitation of workers, a large number of whom are women workers, is already going on. All these pro-imperialist policies which are driving the masses to pauperisation have to be opposed tooth and nail. Let us, on the occasion of March 8th, also oppose these pro-imperialist policies which have led to the ruination and devastation of women all over the country. Let us hail the struggles going on all over the country against these policies, the big projects and their consequent displacement of the people.

We know that working women, be they peasants, agricultural labourers or workers, have borne the brunt of war, dislocation, forced migration and poverty. All over the world, especially in the underdeveloped countries, women are facing dislocation due to imperialist globalisation. Imperialist globalisation has pushed women around the world into the sex trade, and exploited our cheap labour. Around the world: in Palestine, in Afghanistan, in the Philippines, in Iraq, women are still being displaced, raped and/or killed by wars of aggression. They are organising themselves and fighting back for the overthrow of the imperialist system, led by US imperialism, and their agents, the ruling classes within the country. It is this uncompromising struggle that alone is the final guarantee for an end to this kind of exploitation. We, the revolutionary women's movement of India are a part of this struggle to overthrow imperialist rule and exploitation and we call upon all women to support and participate in the struggles launched around the country to stop this loot, exploitation and displacement.

PM

Rajitha - A Symbol of Determination

- Radha

(On the Occasion of Mach 8th we reprint an obituary taken from Mahila Margum; translated from the Telugu Original.....

Editor)

{Rajitha was a woman activist and leader of the Mahila Chetana and APCMS [Andhra Pradesh Chaitanya Mahila Samakhya]. She was one of the most beloved colleagues of ours. After a long stint in the organization she decided to live or to be precise work in a different way. She joined the then CPI (ML) (People's War) which subsequently went on to become CPI (Maoist) in 2004, and was killed in an encounter with the AP police on 23rd July, 2006. Radha is her younger sister and continues to work in the women's organization. We strongly condemned the brutal manner in which that encounter took place and the callousness of the police in not handing over the bodies of the Maoists immediately (eight of them) who died in that encounter. We held memorial meetings for Rajitha though she chose a different path because whatever may have been the paths our common goal was liberation of women. We are sending this tribute of her sister so that you would have a glimpse of what kind of a person and leader our Rajitha was. We also wish to bring your attention to the fact that we cannot afford to lose such women leaders to state terror in Andhra Pradesh. There were many such others before Rajitha and going by the record there will be many more such losses unless we open our mouths and shout as Rajitha herself did.....APCMS }

Rajitha was born in 1974 in Palem village of Palamur (Mahabobnagar district). She was the third child to Prabhavamma and Krishnaiah after two sons. It was a drought affected district and theirs was a poor family. Added to that, she was a daughter in a joint family. So she was brought up with many restrictions as an obedient girl. Even from childhood she used to think and act in a responsible manner. Most of the times they used to have only *taida ambali* (a sort of gruel) and *jowar rotis* to eat. Eating rice was a luxury. Though she did not have food to eat, no chappals for her feet, only torn clothes to wear and no books to read, she used to go to school regularly. As soon as she came back from school she used to help mother in house work with equal responsibility. When she was still young, just in eighth class, she opened a small retail (kirana) shop as she used to think about her family in a responsible manner. From the money she earned from that shop she took up the responsibility of the family. Sometimes she used to help mother in pounding rice. They used to cook rice with that. Along with taking up the responsibility of the family she used to look after her sister and brother younger to her. She used to take care of their studies and welfare like a mother. Thus she studied till 10th standard in the village.

Since the parents thought that the girls have come of age they should be married off. But they were so poor that they did not have enough to eat also. So they decided they could not marry them off now and migrated to Hyderabad city in search of livelihood. During summer holidays she

worked in a candle factory and learnt typing also. After holidays were over she joined in Inter in a government college. Even then she got up early, finish her household chores and then went to the college. After coming back from college she finished her household chores and helped mother in the retail shop. During holidays after first year of college she walked to a tailoring centre in Malakpet from Saroornagar and learnt tailoring. She learnt that there is free shorthand course somewhere and she went there also.

She got up at four a.m. to study. Daily father used to nag – what is the need for a girl to study. She never cared to listen to those comments. Thus she finished her second year Inter also. During holidays she learnt that there are free courses for computer and spoken English and she went and joined them. In those conditions where parents could not afford to educate their daughters she studied in government school and college and went wherever she could learn some new things free of cost. She worked with determination. She fought a war for educating herself.

On the other hand she faced sexual harassment from childhood itself. It could be from a brother-in-law in a joint family, from a boy four years younger to her residing in front of her house, from a neighbour in the city, from miscreants in buses and bus stops or to top it all from her own eldest brother. She did not understand why all this was happening to her. She believed god would save her from all travails and so she used to religiously do *puja* to all gods praying that her brother should change, that her family should

prosper and that her conditions should improve. On Friday it was Santoshmata, on Saturday it was Rama, on Monday it was Siva, Sani on Saturdays and Saibaba on Thursday. On all these days she used to get up at four o'clock in the morning, wash her hair and go to the temple to pray. But nothing changed. In fact the conditions worsened.

It was at this time that she joined in degree in Indira Priyadarshini College and came into contact with 'Mahila Chetana'. This was a big turning point in her life. She understood that she was not alone in facing all these problems, that every woman in this society is facing some or the other problem and that the government is encouraging imperialist, obscene culture and literature which is giving rise to these problems. She understood that fighting against these was the solution to the problems faced by people like her. With the encouragement given by Mahila Chetana, she strongly believed that if her problem has to be solved at least temporarily, girls should learn karate and solve the problem with self respect. So she started learning karate. The problem she faced from her brother was solved. But other problems cropped up. 'How can a grown up girl learn karate? She will not get married if she learns karate' – so pressure was built up at home to stop her from learning karate. Not only that, it was unbearable for her that karate instructors were also sexually harassing their girl students and so the girls were dropping out. So she firmly believed that only women karate coaches should teach girls if they are to learn freely and tried to develop herself in that direction. She became a coach

and taught karate free of cost to girls in schools, colleges and slums. She worked with an aim of training at least ten girls as coaches. For that purpose she went cycling to many slums to gather girls. She used to cycle a lot. Actually she had a very weak body. Though she was a weak baby from birth she used to take lot of care in health matters because she did not want it to become a hindrance in learning karate. Though she came from a vegetarian family she changed her eating habits after joining the organization and tried to improve her health. She used to drink milk with a raw egg in the morning and tried to have leafy vegetables regularly and used to eat sprouts and jaggery. Meat gives strength, but since she could not afford to eat meat, she used to make gravy by buying bones at a cheaper rate and drink it. She used to be very active and lively with all this. She never fell sick. She believed that we can work more if we are healthy.

Everyday there used to be quarrels at home as they brought new matches every day and forced her to stop karate. While working in the organization she developed the understanding that marriage is a union of two hearts and a union of ideologies and that it should not have anything to do with caste, religion, dowry or money. She declared in no uncertain manner that she would not have an arranged marriage. She even refused to sit in front of the prospective grooms and their families. So now beatings accompanied scolding. By this time Rajitha was already working as a receptionist in a private nursing home. Clashes intensified and she left home after declaring that she can live independently. Her sister followed in her footsteps. Her parents thought this act of hers will make them lose their prestige in society. They thought that it was the organization which gave her courage to take this drastic step. So they went to the police and with their backing came to the organization's office and attacked it. They threw stones and broke the glass panes. They abused the organization in the most obscene manner. Finally both the sisters had to announce in the press that they both were majors and that they had the right to live independently. Mahila Chetana held a mass meeting with the topic 'Is it a crime for women to live with self respect?'

After coming into contact with the

organization within no time Rajitha developed as an activist of Mahila Chetana and went on to become the Joint Secretary. Between 1995 and 2003 she was in the forefront in all the activities and struggles by the organization. She led them. She fought militantly. She made the adversaries bow before the movement. We can see this in many struggles whether it was the struggle against lifting of subsidies and for implementation of welfare programmes or even in Bangalore when APCMS gave a call against the Beauty contest and the activists got arrested while doing rasta rokos. The police were aghast by the way the activists, especially Rajitha, fought against their arrests and commented that 'you people are not women, you seem to have got training from LTTE'. The activists were dragged by their hair and beaten black and blue till they bled. But these things never deterred Rajitha. On the contrary, her hatred against the state increased with each incident. She loved to have long hairs. But after the Bangalore arrests she thought that her long hairs came in handy for the police to beat her and she cropped her hair later.

When the organization led school children to the collector's office with the demand for school building she questioned the collector if he would send his children to such a school and challenged him to come and look at the dilapidated structure that was named a school. The concerned authorities were immediately suspended. She was in the forefront in all struggles whether it is exposing the sham of Chandrababu's Mahila Janmabhoomi or fighting for water facilities in slums.

In the year 2000, flood waters inundated Hyderabad. Many slums got submerged and thousands of people became homeless. As the convenor of the flood victims committee of twin cities she participated in the relief campaign and in distributing rice, money and clothes to the victims. The government was announcing that it would give aid to the victims. But the MRO embezzled the relief fund which was to reach the slum dwellers residing near Siva temple of Fatehnagar and sent the police as he could not face the questioning people. Rajitha and six more mass organizations' activists and slum dwellers were arrested as they questioned the police.

She was kept in police station for two days and in jail for four days. She never

lamented the fact that she was arrested and tried to get necessary things for those arrested by demanding the police. When they tried to take photographs she opposed saying that they were not thieves and the police had to backtrack. She used to give slogans non stop every time she was taken to the court. She used to say that we have to open our mouth and shout wherever we get a chance if people should become aware of our unlawful arrests. In the two days she spent in the police station she used to sing songs and practice a play on how they were unlawfully arrested (though she was not an expert) thus filling everybody with enthusiasm, brimming with enthusiasm herself. The lady constables were so surprised that they said 'we have arrested so many people but we never saw anybody who is so happy and not at all worrying about being arrested'. Some of them started sharing their problems with Rajitha.

This experience was repeated in jail also. She tried to understand the conditions of the jail inmates in the four days time she got. She used to go to all the women prisoners and ask them about their problems and why they got arrested. When she was there jail authorities held celebrations on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanthi. She did not participate in it as an act of protest. When she went on the stage and explained how the government had arrested them for asking about relief to flood victims and told them that as long as such governments exist our lives are not bound to change, many people wept. They later told her that they had come with their personal problems but that she and her friends had come for people. They looked after them very affectionately. When she was released on bail after four days all of them felt as if one of their own was leaving and were very sad. It shows how much she mingled with them! When she took farewell from each one of them and told them that she would be back they said 'why do you want to come back into this hell dear one, just say that you are leaving', Rajitha answered 'this government puts anyone who fights for justice into jails, so as long as this government exists people like us will have to visit jails again and again'.

When asked about her jail experience she said that she did not get sufficient time to know about the sufferings and lives of

women in jail and that it would have been nice if she had spent another week in jail! That was Rajitha for you. She tried to understand anything in a political manner.

She used to go to karate classes to learn and later to teach karate in the mornings, did job as a computer operator and worked as a leading activist in the organization. She never liked to waste even one minute. She used to say that we must work and move fast and she implemented it. Even if she could not learn something quickly she never used to get disheartened. She used to strive hard to learn with determination. This could be seen in every aspect. She liked to work hard. She used to lift heavy loads easily.

There are many examples for this. When she became an Executive committee member in the organization there used to be many mistakes when she wrote the minutes. In order to write quickly without

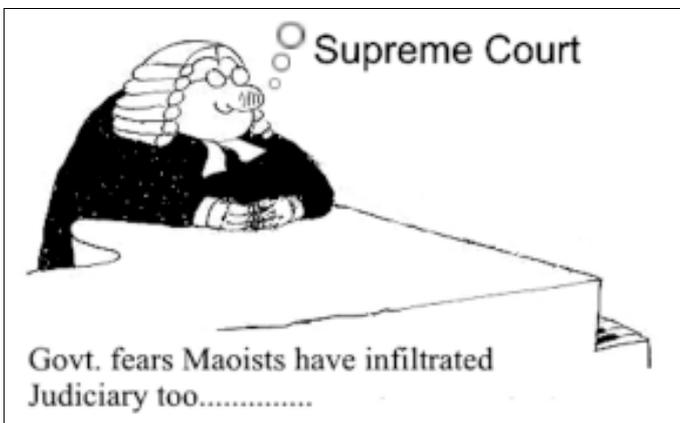
mistakes she used to practice by writing down radio news. Though many of her writings did not find a place in Mahila Margam, (the state organization's organ) she did not get disheartened and went on writing. Two of her writings got published eventually. Though she did not know how to sing she used to practice vigorously. She used to get up early in the morning to practice the ragas. After attending the cultural workshop it was Rajitha alone who practiced well among all the participants and learnt to sing well.

Rajitha was such a person who never got disheartened in spite of any number of people discouraging in any number of ways or creating hindrances in her work or in her endeavors. She did not give these much importance and took them as a challenge. She never looked at any matter in a superficial manner and dwelled deeply into it. If she liked to do something she went to

great lengths to do it. She believed that women's liberation was possible only with the liberation of the proletariat and that it could be achieved only through armed struggle. So in 2003 she joined the Maoist party and was martyred in a fake encounter with the YSR mercenary police forces on July 23rd, 2006. Our Rajitha once again reminds us words of Marx that nothing is difficult in this world, there can only be people with no determination. She personified that determination. In fact, Rajitha did not have any talents in the beginning. She came from a backward area, from a poor family and from an upbringing full of restrictions.

By achieving everything with her determination, fighting against the society and her family by breaking chains of traditions, she proved that nothing is impossible or difficult in this world. Thus she became a model for all us to emulate.

PM



Court: hanging in public only panacea for corruption

"Everyone wants to loot country, everywhere we have corruption"

New Delhi: Observing that everyone wanted to loot this country, the Supreme Court on Wednesday said, "the only way to rid the country of corruption is to hang a few of you on the lamp post."

"The law does not permit us to do it but otherwise we would prefer to hang people like you to the lamp post," a Bench comprising Justices S.B. Sinha and Markandeya Katju said during arguments put forth by R. Singh, counsel for an accused.

Form IV (See Rule 8)

Statement about ownership and other particulars about Newspaper Peoples's March

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Place of Publication | : | Peroor House, Tripunithura, N.F. Ernakulam, Kerala |
| 2. Periodicity of its Publication | : | Monthly |
| 3. Printer's name
(Whether citizen of India) | : | P. Govindan Kutty
Indian
Peroor House, Tripunithura, N.F. Ernakulam, Kerala |
| 4. Publisher's Name | : | P. Govindan Kutty |
| 5. Editor's Name | : | P. Govindan Kutty |
| 6. Name and address of Individuals who own the Newspaper and partners of share holders holding more than one percent of the total capital | : | P. Govindan Kutty
Peroor House, Tripunithura, N.F. Ernakulam, Kerala |

I, P. govindan Kutty, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

31.03.2007

Sd/
Publisher

Due to unforeseen circumstances, we were unable to bringout the March 2007 issue.

Editor

We Stand by Singur Peasants

Singur has turned into a battle ground against the fascist police force and CPI(M) goondas led by the self-proclaimed agent of the Tatas, Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya. Singur is bleeding with the defiant peasant masses putting up a brave resistance against forcible acquisition of their cultivable lands for Tata car factory. 'Land to the Tatas' has become the unabashed mantra of the Fascist hordes of the CPI(M) in West Bengal against the battle cry of the fighting Singur peasants: Not an inch of precious land be given over to the Tatas.

The CPI(Maoist) has not only been lending moral support to the Singur peasants, it has been directly leading and mobilizing the peasants for their just struggle from the very beginning. Fascist Buddha and his ilk along with a section of media are trying to create an illusion that the peasants of Singur with a dream of development via Tata motors are vying with each other to voluntarily donate lands. And they outsiders alone, they parrot, are creating a mess by opposing peace-loving Buddha police aided by CPM cadres in their great duty of handing over lands to the Tatas. Why then the pathological liars, the CPM bosses from Alimuddin street, in their desperation send thousands of armed police forces to Singur for forcibly fencing off many kilometres of land for the Tatas why do the armed police and CPI(M) goons ransack peasants' huts, destroy haystacks, molest women and brutally torture

hundreds of peasants of Singur? Why did peasants of Singur drive away the Tata officials on day one itself when the Tata officials first landed in Singur? Why did the nervous Jyoti Bose have to tell the journalists that the concerned CPI(M) peasant leader of Singur was not available on that very first day to convince (read hoodwink) the agitating peasants? Why do the police go berserk, unleash a reign of terror in Singur and arrest so many peasants, mostly women and even children?

The Hitlers and mini-Hitlers of the CPI(M) determined to take over multi-cropped lands of the peasants for Tatas, Selims, Jindals, MNCs, etc. as their licking-dogs are manufacturing false stories for public consumption. People are not fools to gulp such stories. When Singur peasants are bleeding for their just cause for their livelihood, for saving agriculture and environment from the invasion of the Indian big bourgeoisie Tata, American ambassador Mr. Mulford met Buddhadev to give him the go-ahead signal and accolades were heaped on the fascist Buddha by US. imperialism's ambassador. Rewards and rewards form top business houses, various chambers of commerce, World Bank officials, imperialist bosses, etc. for the CPM-led West Bengal government and its *babu* chief minister have not only turned them hungry hyenas, they have also made them talk nonsense. Double standards, one for garnering votes, the

other for serving imperialist masters and their native agents, the big bourgeoisie and landlords, are the hallmarks of this fascist CPI(M).

The whole country is like an active volcano. People at large are getting crushed by the loot and exploitation by multinational companies, Indian comprador bourgeoisie, feudal landlords, usurers, World Bank, WTO, policies of destroying agricultural lands, anti-people privatisation, liberalisation, globalisation policy, etc. Ours is the revolutionary communist party and so it is our duty to rouse the masses, lead the masses and politicise them to destroy this system. We are mobilising workers, students, youth and intellectuals to not only lend moral support to the Singur peasants but to stand by them in their just struggle. This is the revolutionary Marxist tradition.

We firmly stand by Singur peasants' democratic struggle. We also appeal to all sections of people outside Singur to actively support the Singur peasants despite the fascist propaganda against so-called outsiders' intervention in Singur.

We also appeal to them to force the 'Left' government to stop encroaching upon peasants' lands for the Tatas in Singur, release all the arrested people immediately and to stop the reign of terror in Singur.

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist)

PEM

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Continued from page 6

particularly moving. Songs were composed and presented for the occasion. Delegates would present songs in their regional languages. Every evening the local cultural troupe presented half-an-hour of songs and dance, many of which were composed for the occasion. There was a wall paper magazine on which poems were pasted and also recent reports. The heroic martyr's photos were all over the hall and in the wall magazine; they were in the poems and a continuous part of the slogans. The

been held so smoothly, without any flaw whatsoever. It was due to their high level of discipline that the secrecy of the entire function could be maintained. He then called on all to plunge into the battlefield armed with the new documents just passed and take the revolution forward.

Then short speeches were presented by a number of the new Central Committee members. Com Kishan said that now that the Congress is over its central conclusion is to advance the people's war to greater and greater heights. Everything must be geared to the war and for the war. Where

areas of the guerrilla zones and implementing the immediate tasks of setting up Base Areas in DK and B-J. Finally, on behalf of the presidium he thanked all those who helped make the Congress a great success; those who worked night and day for the success of the Congress — the PLGA units, the mahila comrades, the cultural troupe, the kitchen comrades, the decoration teams, the press and translation comrades, the electric supply comrades, the medical team, the children's team, and most important of all the protection comrades and the masses of the region.

Then comrade Sonu of DK spoke saying that MLM and our documents must be wielded like a weapon against the enemy. Each village must be turned into a people's fortress. He added that we must integrate even deeper with the masses and draw more and more forces into the peoples' war and also have a big task in arming the people and the PLGA. We have to deepen and develop the new power in the form of janata sarkars and raise these to a higher plane. The entire Party must gear itself for the task of making DK and B-J into Base Areas.

Finally, com Sunirmal, who was conducting the meeting, concluded calling on the entire party to focus on building



martyrdom (after brutal torture) of CCM com BK/Naveen (alias Chandramouli) and his partner Karuna on the way to the Congress resounded continuously through all the Congress events.

Finally, after the completion of the entire proceedings the flag lowering ceremony was held. As the entire camp stood to attention the GS lowered the Red Flag (with hammer and sickle) to the singing of the INTERNATIONAL. He also then presented his concluding remarks and thanked all present that helped make the Congress a great success. He said if it had not been for their stupendous efforts and high levels of discipline the Congress could never have

Base Areas have to be built the guerrilla war must develop into mobile war; in the process the PLGA must transform into the PLA. He added that the Congress had put before all the tasks to be undertaken; we must all do it diligently. He also spoke of drawing in the women in large numbers into the people's war.

Then com Satyanna from the Presidium spoke on the importance of passing the basic documents and evolving the correct line at the Congress. He added given the government's all-round attack we can only advance by intensifying the war and effectively wielding the three magic weapons. He called for the expanding the

massive belts of guerrilla warfare that can encompass large parts of the country. With this the Congress concluded and all returned to the task of leading the people's war in their respective regions.

The Congress further consolidated the unity of the two streams in the Maoist movement in India and brought a unity of thought to the entire Party. It was an important leap forward in the advance of the New Democratic Revolution in India, as the first step towards socialism.

Inaugural Speech by
Com. Ganapathi on 14th page

PM

Inaugural Speech by Com Ganapathi

This Congress is a continuation of the 8th Congress held by the CPI(ML) in 1970. That was a start of the new revolutionary stream which burst forth with Naxalbari. Though the then MCC was not part of the 8th Congress, at that time the bulk of the revolutionaries were with the CPI (ML). The essence of the 8th Congress was to draw clear lines of demarcation with revisionism and the 7th

hurdles, first met in 1981 and then only both decided to merge. But this did not materialise for certain reasons, but good relations continued between the two parties — erstwhile the CPI (ML)(People's War) and the MCC. Then the PW and CPI (ML)(Party Unity) merged and later we have the brief period of the Black Chapter of clashes between the two parties. But, again in 2001 both the delegations met, and since

further help consolidate the genuine Maoist forces in the country.

Having seen this past history, let us now turn to the major tasks facing us at this Congress. While reaffirming MLM we have to raise it to higher levels through its creative application in the concrete conditions of our country. Since 1967 we have been waging a consistent struggle against revisionism, and in that tradition we are applying MLM and advancing the revolution. We have to learn from our practice, assess our past practice, and in the process set higher tasks. In this Congress we have also to assess our practice, pin-point where there have been serious weakness, rectify these and thereby advance our movements in leaps. In this Congress we have to improve our plans, elect a new committee and function as a team.

The Indian revolution is part of the world proletarian revolution. The number one enemy of the world people, US imperialism is facing a severe crisis; it is being battered by the people of the world from all sides. The imperialist crisis also continues to deepen. So also in India as the crisis deepens the people are breaking out in spontaneous revolts and militant struggles — against displacement as at Kalinga Nagar and many other places, the peasant agitations as in Rajasthan and Vidarbha, the dalits after the Khairlanji incident, etc. All over there are big struggles. Together with these, there is the continuation of the armed struggles of the various oppressed nationalities. All this creates an excellent situation to advance the armed struggle under the leadership of our Party. In the last two years, since the unity of the parties and the formation of the CPI (Maoist) our armed guerrilla war and our mass organisations have advanced to some extent; in some areas plans have been developed. But much more needs to be done specifically given the level of intensification of the enemy attacks on us.

There is one more point. We have faced serious losses in AP in the last 5-6 years. The level of attack of the enemy is intensive and ruthless. Though there is a temporary setback the mass of the people are still with us. We have to draw lessons



Congress held by the CPI(M). It established the task of New Democratic Revolution, the path of protracted people's war, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-TseTung Thought and saw the agrarian revolution as the axis of the revolution. Though the MCC differed on some tactical questions, on basic strategic and ideological issues, particularly on the key question of advancing the armed struggle, the two trends had similar common thinking.

After Mao's death and the rise of Deng revisionism, both the trends crossed all

then the relations have progressively deepened. We both did serious self-criticism for the period of the Black Chapter. Then both the streams did a serious review of their past nearly 4-decade long history, drew lessons and have advanced. Now there are many changes in both the streams, and on the basis of MLM the new party has been formed, drawing on the rich experiences of both parties. And in the process of this merger of the two major Maoist streams many smaller groups have merged or are in the process of merging — like the Janashakti. The Congress will



conclusions on all these and then we will advance with a single voice. In a Party there is always unity and differences. At different times one or the other is primary. There will always be differences in the Party, between correct and incorrect thinking. The maturity of a Party is reflected in how it deals with these differences. The CC has debated on these differences. Some had commented that the unity between the two streams was not principled; this is not correct. We must understand how to settle differences in a Party or for that matter anywhere; only then there will be advance.

Today, before the Congress there are not few but many questions for discussion, debate and resolution.

Through the struggle between these views we will enrich our knowledge and advance. We will conclude many issues on the basis of a majority; that alone is democratic when a consensus cannot be reached. We must be ready to accept correct ideas wherever they come from. Let us conduct the debates at this Congress in a disciplined way focussing on the key questions. Given the limited time available it is most essential to derive the maximum from the Congress. Let us achieve a higher level of unity in order to advance the revolutionary movement in our country through great leaps.

Red Salutes

and revive the movement here. Drawing lessons and an assessment lessons of the AP movement is also one of the important tasks of the Congress.

If we look at the growth of the Maoist movement in India historically we find that after Naxalbari the stream led by MCC grew in the Bihar-Jharkhand belt while the centre of the CPI(ML) trend was AP. These two areas were at the centre-stage of the Maoist movement. Today the centre stage is Dandakaranya and the Bihar-Jharkhand areas with the AP movement going into a temporary retreat.

When the Maoist movement faces some losses various trends tend to arise; some turn to the right, others to the left; yet others follow the correct path and

advance the revolutionary movement. We must draw on the experiences of the past and learn to conduct the inner party struggle in a correct and proper way. In the PW when differences arose in 1985 we were not able to deal with it properly so it led to split. Again in 1992 in PW we could not resolve the differences properly. In the erstwhile MCC there were also differences in 2001-02 and the opportunist Bharat-Badal group left the party. In the old parties in all these differences it was only the opportunists who left the party. Now we have taken these experiences and are going ahead with a better knowledge of how debates and differences can be held in the Party.

The Congress will come to

P.M

US-India Nuclear Deal: India Mortgaged to Uncle Sam

Dr. Gupta

The US-India nuclear deal has clearly exposed the façade of the Indian State's free status in a world where the imperialist masters like the USA rules supreme. The 109-page Act of Henry J Hyde, United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Act of 2006, completely tightens the noose around India's entire programme on nuclear research and development. This Act, finally passed by the US Congress on 8th December 2006 amidst the Indian ruler's immediate jubilation, the more-than-a-year long shameless justification of the India government of the US-India nuclear deal and the US imperialist masters' newer stringent clauses binding India to US dictates, make it crystal clear that India has willingly sealed its fate with the US. The well-crafted ignominious Act, the outcome of the US administration's sinister designs, has made it binding on the Indian state to virtually comply with the NPT obligations. Through this nuclear deal, India comes under the perpetual bossing of the giant US agency, the National Security Administration that runs in close collaboration with the other US security agencies like the CIA and the NSA. The frenzied joy of the CPI(M) led 'left' supported UPA government on the very day of clearing the US-India nuclear Bill by the US Congress is an expression of criminal sycophancy. The Indian government's external affairs ministry spokesperson Mr. Navtej Sama not only welcomed the anti-Indian nuclear deal, he appreciated the "personal effort and commitment" on the parts of the US President, Mr. George W Bush and the Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. Sama added, with unashamed glee, that India was encouraged by the "broad bipartisan support of the Congressional leadership for stronger Indo-US ties". What a cruel joke for the Indian people who are living under the deadly threat and muscle-flexing, economic exploitation and cultural hegemony of US imperialism in semi-colonial India!

The Imperialist Act Tightens American Grip on India

By this imperialist Act India will neither

get full nuclear cooperation from the US nor will it get a lifetime supply of nuclear fuel for even its civilian facilities in return for putting them under international inspection in perpetuity. There will be stringent end-use monitoring of technology transferred to India, with no access for Indian firms to enrichment and fuel reprocessing technologies. Besides accepting inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), India shall have to accept another set of US safeguards, which be used if the US masters felt that the former are ineffective. There will be stringent annual certification by the US President of India's submissive good-boy role before the Congress that India is "fully and actively" participating in the US and international efforts to "dissuade, isolate and, if necessary, sanction and contain Iran". "The nuclear cooperation" unilaterally allows the US not to supply enrichment and fuel-reprocessing technologies to India. The Act compels India not to stockpile nuclear fuel for the life cycle of its 'safeguarded plants'. The imperialist Act makes it clear that the US reserves the capacity to punish India should it do so. The stern Act makes it clear that the reporting requirements relate to all nuclear activities of India, including the building of new nuclear facilities in India. This reporting also includes the annual estimate of electricity produced by India's military reactors. This anti-national Act imposes 'cooperation' on Indian nuclear scientists. It is an irony that on the strength of this Act the US secretary of energy enjoys the immense right to interfere with the activities of India's department of atomic energy in the name of 'cooperation' although such department has never sought such surveillance; ostensibly under the sweet name of 'cooperation'. Thus this Act of servility to the US superpower provides the US to legally snoop on and control India's entire research and development in the nuclear field to make it kowtow to the strategic interests of America.

Indian Scientists Oppose the Nuclear Deal

Immediately after the passage of the notorious nuclear Bill by the US

Congress, Adinarayana Gopal Krishnan, former head of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board, referred to Section 109 as an attempt to thrust the US National Nuclear Security Administration into a joint programme with India's Department of Atomic Energy "on non-proliferation and safeguards". In last August eight scientists, including three former chairpersons of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. H.N. Sethna, Dr. M. R. Srinivasan and Dr. P. K. Iyengar, in a 2-page letter to Indian M.Ps categorically said, "We find that the Indo-US deal, in the form approved by the US House of Representative, infringes on our independence for carrying out indigenous research and development (R&D) in nuclear science & technology. Our R & D should not be hampered by external supervision or control or by the need to satisfy any international body". [The Statesman, 15.08.2006].

The mortgage of Indian nuclear research and development to US imperialism was clearly found when in the meetings of the IAEA in September 2005 and March 2006 India voted against Iran cowering to US pressure. The Indian government continuously lied to the Indian people, the scientific community in particular, that India was not submitting to US pressure. Manmohan Singh told Parliament on 27th February 2006 that through the nuclear deal with the US.A "India would acquire the same benefits and advantages as other states which have advanced nuclear technology such as the United States." With clearly adverse conditionalities imposed on India the PM is merely trying to hide their servility to the US.

US-India Nuclear Deal Emboldens U.S.A

Immediately after George Bush's stamp of approval to the draconian Act, the United Nations under the auspices of US imperialism, declared nuclear sanctions against Iran. Iran's 'offence' is that it has shown defiance against US imposed compulsion against its nuclear programme. We know that even the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) rejected the Bush administration's false claim on weapons of mass destruction before the Iraq invasion

in 2003. Similarly the United Nations inspectors too in September, 2006 rejected the US government's claim and also a congressional committee report on Iran's nuclear work, calling parts of it "outrageous and dishonest". [*Times of India*, 15.09.2006]. The US-India nuclear deal, binding India to the US policy of domination, will only help further US interests in Asia. This is also abundantly clear from its servile position of hitching its internal and foreign policies to the US bandwagon.

Indo-US Military Pact

The US-India nuclear deal was preceded by the Indo-US Military Pact signed by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the defence minister and the US Secretary of defence Mr. Donald Rumsfeld in June 2005. The Indian military's interest in US equipments was matched by the enthusiasm of US companies engaged in defence production to provide for New Delhi's very substantial defence procurement budget. Now, for some years, Indian military staff are receiving intensive regular training at US military training facilities, especially on naval aircraft.

According to a report placed in the US Congress, in 2004 itself, among the 3rd world countries, India topped the list of buyers of arms from abroad totaling Rs. 33,472 crore, far ahead of the second highest Saudi Arabia (Rs. 13,920 crore). With the breakdown of the erstwhile Soviet Union, US/Israeli arms are gradually beginning to pour into India.

The Indian Air Force has been frequently holding aerial exercises with the US Air Force in India. It was first held in Gwalior, then in Kalaikunda, in West Bengal, in 2005. A three-year programme had been chalked out for such joint exercises from 24th October 2006. The Indian naval forces joined the US counterpart in military exercises on the coast of Malabar till 5th November. From the year 2000 till October 2006 such exercises were conducted 9 times.

US imperialism in its ravenous hunger for total domination over India and its economy is concerned about the growing Maoist forces in India. It offered the Chattisgarh government military help for suppressing the Maoist movement in that state. To contain the Maoist forces the

US.A and India conducted joint military exercises in October 2006 codenamed 'Satrujit'. On 13th October in a government statement it was stated that there would be exchange of opinions and techniques to tackle terrorist activities in cities and the suburbs. Obviously the joint target was also the Maoists in India.

The passage of the ignominious nuclear Act by the US Congress sent immediate signals to the US Under Secretary for State, Nicholas Burns, and US ambassador in India David Mulford to hold tête-à-tête with Indian officials for a wider military bond. Those two American representatives met Indian Defence Secretary on the very day of the US Congress's overwhelming support to the Nuclear Act, and Burns clearly announced, with all arrogance, that the military relationship with India would be pursued as a "Separate ambition". He also assured of US naval vessels to the Indian Navy. Burns declared the US strategic interest in clear terms: "Military sales and technology transfer will help build a long term relationship". The message was loud and clear that henceforth US imperialism will seek to dominate over and control the Indian armed forces.

The China Factor in US Strategic Ties with India

In the past the strategy of US imperialism was to keep Red China, under Mao Tse-tung, under constant threat of attack rallying behind it Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, India and such states subservient to it in Asia. In the post World War II period, the Marshall Plan was introduced to revive anti-communist Western economies in Europe under the US hegemony. With the Korean War in 1950, US military spending rose tremendously high under President Truman. In Asia Nehru was found the best candidate for fulfilling US designs. The *New York Times* reported on 21st October, 1949 that John Foster Dulles (who soon became US secretary of states) "recommended that the leadership in the battle to check communism in the Far East be furnished by those in the region who have a stake in the struggle. Mr. Dulles suggested Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister now visiting in New York, as one who could fill the role in leadership." Even before that suggestion on 7th December 1947 US ambassador to India declared "It is

tremendous important to keep India on our side in the world struggle." This world struggle obviously meant imperialist US.A's campaign against communism and freedom movements against imperialism. And now this world struggle means whatever the US.A considers its enemy dubbed variously as "terrorism", "enemies of democracy" and so on; India as strategic dwarf partner in this so-called world struggle, perfectly fulfils the ghastly savage policy of US imperialism.

For some period the ruling classes in India enjoyed the bear hug of Soviet social imperialism and struck a military pact with it in early 1972. With the dismantlement of the Soviet Union in 1990 India came closer and closer to the US masters, while also developing closer relations with other imperialist masters. Given the current domination of US imperialism and India's subservient role to it, the war criminal George Bush was accorded a red carpet welcome when he landed in India in early 2006. Bush won the unstinted pledge from the present UPA government for the US.A's imperialist campaigns. The internal policies like the capital account convertibility as well as India's foreign policy as regards Iran, North Korea, etc. were suitably cast to please the US masters. The Indo-US summit statements of July 2005 and March 2006 never disclosed the secret hideous deals that the two countries had forged.

Red China has now turned into a powerful capitalist country. In the present world, US imperialism is contending with other powers for domination. On March 9th, 2002 *Los Angeles Times* leaked the US.A's revised Nuclear Posture Review which contained contingency plans to use nuclear weapons against China and six other countries including Russia. Former US Defence secretary Robert S. McNamara writes. "I know from direct experience that US nuclear policy today creates unacceptable risks to other nations and to our own." He notes that "a decade after the end of the Cold War, the basic US nuclear policy is unchanged". (*Frontline*, April 10th, 1992). India's foreign Secretary Mr. Shyam Saran's speech at the India Economic Summit on November 28th, 2005 referred to China's increased capabilities in Asia and beyond. He made it clear: "I think India and the US can contribute to a much better balance in the Asia region."

Mr. Saran then referred to the Indo-US joint military role asserting the “*need to bring more and more countries within the discipline of a mutually agreed security paradigm for the region. I think both the US and India can contribute to that.*” [Emphasis ours]. The US clearly uses India especially as a counter weight against China. Given the tightened US embrace, the US-India nuclear pact under US domination became a reality for sometime past. The US unsuccessfully forwarded a proposal at a meeting of the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSC) on 20th, October, 2005 demanding a lift on the ban on sales of technologies to India. The US has already arrogated to itself the role of a ‘guard’ on the question of ‘nuclear proliferation prevention’. But for India, on that occasion, it put forward the argument of exceptional case only to conform to the US military strategy. The obnoxious nuclear pact also helps satisfy India’s expansionist role in the South Asian region. It has also another cause for enjoying the blatantly blissful moments of reckoning by Mr. Bush himself. President Bush certified India as a part of the American effort at peace during an interview while at Cleveland City Club in Ohio soon after signing the Atomic Energy Act 2006. An elated Bush said that India is by no means like Iran and it is a most transparent democratic country. (*Dainik Statesman*, 23/3/2006) The vast Indian masses bitterly realize the sugar-coated rubbish as an imperial motive, behind the patting on the backs of the Indian ruling classes.

Battle Against ‘Terrorism’ – a Pretext to Bind and Plunder India

The previous NDA and the present ‘left’ propped UPA governments have demonstrably proved to be conscious tools of the US conspiracy in whipping up a pro-US battle alarm against so-called terrorism. The US military exercises with the Indian army, the sharing of strategic matters with the US, the presence of FBI functionaries with their offices on the Indian soil, the Indo-US military plan to eliminate Maoists in India, etc. tellingly point to the nefarious role of the Indian ruling classes in allowing the US masters to play their neo-colonial game in this sub-continent.

RAW’s increased counter-terrorism relationship with the CIA opened the doors

ajar for the penetration of American secret agents in India. The world economy, with imperialist globalization led by US imperialism, is reeling under constant crisis. The Senate Select Committee of the US spying department has now been hugely funded. In the USA itself basic information is now routinely called ‘sensitive’ and withheld from the public, while measures like the US Patriot Act place citizens under comprehensive state surveillance, covering everything from their travel to the books they borrow from the library. Armed policing has now become rampart. All this speaks volumes on the fear and frustration of the US imperialist regime. Even before the 2006 US elections, the Senate passed a record \$447 billion US military budget along with a supplementary \$70 billion bridge fund for the next six months.

The growing opposition against US domination and plunder puts a scare into the hearts of US policy makers. American spying agents have now been overactive in India. The arrest of S.S. Paul, a system analyst at the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) about the middle of July 2006 brought to the public glare how the CIA has developed its strong presence in the RAW, the IB and the entire National Security Secretariat Network. Paul was introduced to the American diplomat Minches by Mukesh Saini, the high profile NSC’s information specialist as well as the Indian coordinator of the Indo-US Cyber Security Forum formed by the NDA in 2000. Saini, an ex-commander of the Navy, developed his liaison with the CIA during his tenure as a RAW operative in New York and was instrumental in passing strategic policy documents to the CIA. The I.B. director, Brigadier Ujjal Dasgupta has also been suspected of keeping connection with the CIA. With the acceptance of the Atomic Energy Act, containing lots of clauses on US surveillance on the activities of the R&D scientists related to nuclear science, India will now become the smooth playing field of American spying agencies.

Indian Nuclear Market up for Grabs

It is a stark reality that the nuclear pact with India will pave the way for secret US military bases in India. Already 127 countries do have American military bases. In the year 1999, Robert Norris, William M Arkin and William Barr procured a very

important document captioned “*History of the Custody And Development of Nuclear Weapons: July 1945 Through September 1977*”. This document sheds sharp light on the build-up of American nuclear bases during the Cold War in Britain, Ghana, Morocco, West Germany, Italy, France, Turkey, Netherlands, Greece, Belgium, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Alaska, Hawaii, etc. Even in Greenland, the colony of anti-nuclear country Denmark, US imperialism has stockpiled nuclear arms. This is the record of the US.A to keep the world under threat of a nuclear bomb attack. Later the US lost its sharp monopoly teeth by the entry of, first the Soviet Union, followed by China, in the nuclear Club. France, Great Britain and some other western countries too soon possessed nuclear arms. Nuclear supplies from those countries have already reached many third world countries. According to the International Atomic Energy Agency, as of now, more than 50 states possess nuclear arms. The legal and illegal business in nuclear supplies is now greatly controlled by US based suppliers. Yet the big powers, with the US at the top, fear the consequences of nuclear arsenals reaching the hands of states and forces, who may defy their orders. Hence the policy of nuclear apartheid as well as the acceptance of the possession of nuclear devices by states like India, Pakistan, etc.

The US-India nuclear pact is to simultaneously control Indian nuclear potential and ensure nuclear supplies by US tycoons for India’s nuclear establishments. In 2006 when the Indian Prime Minister dined with the US President in America the nuclear businessmen too made their presence conspicuously felt by joining that grand feast. One Indo-US business organization had taken the initiative to get the nuclear Bill passed by the US Congress. The sole motive of that corporate lobby was to gain huge profits of billions of US dollar by exporting nuclear supplies. American tycoons have already started flying into India for sometime past. Already 225 US business representatives landed in India, with the US under secretary, for such deals in nuclear supplies. American business houses like General Electric Energy, Nuclear Energy Institute, etc. will soon be grabbing the roaring Indian nuclear market. The Atomic Energy Act of

2006 will thus not only bind India to US arms; the Indian nuclear market will be grabbed by US. billionaires.

Double Standards of the Parliamentary 'Left'

The Indian 'Left' led by the CPI(M) has mastered the art of hoodwinking the people with left verbiages. In West Bengal where the CPI(M) led 'Left' Front has been allowed to rule over 30 years by the ruling classes, the US controlled World Bank, MNCs and all imperialist exploiters have been given a free access to loot. That the CPI(M) does not want to antagonize the US masters was made abundantly clear during the India-US aerial military exercises in 2005 at Kalikunda in West Bengal. The CPI(M) roared in public and rallied a huge mass virtually to watch the exercise with child like curiosity after Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, the C.M, assured Pranab Mukherjee in New Delhi of a tame show to be staged over there.

The CPI(M) led Left is the pillar on which the UPA government of the Congress sits tightly to pursue a pro-US internal and external policy, at full steam. This so-called Left has shown its utter bankruptcy and shameless face on the question of the US-India nuclear deal. The CPI(M) top brass, with a seeming, opposition to the deal, held parleys with the P.M. to convince him to make a statement denying India's submission to US dictates. Prakash Karat himself writes that "*On 22nd July, before the UPA-Left coordination committee meeting, the Left parties met and decided that the nuclear deal must be raised in parliament and it is necessary for parliament to express its opinion on the matter. In the co-ordination committee meeting, it was agreed that there would be no voting resolution on the matter.....*" [People's Democracy, August 07-013,2006]. What a cruel joke! The US noose around the country's neck shall be forcibly tightened and the people shall be thrown before the US nuclear business tycoons yet "*there would be no voting*" on this crucially important question! Given its precious record of tall talk and mealy-mouthed protests against certain UPA policies and then cowering before the Congress dispensation at the Centre no sensible person believes in the CPI(M) led Left's anti-imperialist public

posturing.

This so-called Left directly or indirectly supports all the Pro-American globalization policies of the UPA government. Prakash Karat, the general secretary of the CPI(M), told a non-government T.V channel in the middle of September 2006 that the distance between the central government and the left had been reduced with the latter's role in formulating the internal and foreign policies of the government. (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 17th September, 2006). When the question of the nuclear deal with US imperialism took centre stage in the political arena, Karat's comments and actual activities substantially proved that such fake Leftism, actually acted from behind the screens to surrender meekly to the iron-grip of US imperialism by accepting the nuclear pact. This is not sheer conjecture. Soon after the passage of the nuclear Bill by the US Congress when the journalists popped the question if the CPI(M) was opposed to the Act, Prakash Karat refused to answer and then Sitaram Yechury categorically said: "*We are neither opposing nor supporting this deal. Decisions will be taken in consideration of the situation*". [*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 12.12.2006]. There is no need for further elaboration on the treacherous role of the parliamentary 'Left', the CPI(M) in particular.

Nuclear Reactor – A Veritable Bane

Elimination of nuclear arms throughout the world is an essential need for the very existence of human civilization. There is a powerful lobby in India, which clamours for large scale use of nuclear electricity. A false impression is given as to the long standing utility of such electricity and its supposed environmental friendliness. In India as of now there are as many as 16 nuclear electricity production centres in operation. This is a field on which no government discloses the actual happenings. Thousands of crores of rupees is lavishly spent on such electricity production. And with such a massive drain on the monetary resources, nuclear electricity after so many years has hardly crossed 2% of the entire electricity production. The more important thing is the disposal of the huge deposit of nuclear waste that is radio-active. This deposit

carries 80 per cent radio-active quality. Several researches have confirmed the perennial effect of these radio active elements that continue to destroy human lives, flora and fauna. Despite a dubious hush arrangement about the nuclear reactors, occasional news of accidents trickles down, to the horror of the people. In addition, nuclear power requires massive capital investment. So if we like to overcome the paucity in electricity generation then it is a dangerous luxury to focus on nuclear energy. Already 16 nuclear power centers have been set up in India. The CPM role vis-à-vis the US-India nuclear deal has been shown above. On the nuclear power stations too it has unmasked itself. The West Bengal CM has now set his eyes on Haripur in East-Midnapur to install another nuclear power station in the name of tiding over the electricity crisis. In his wild move he has declared, "*We must build up nuclear electricity stations despite the resistance by the oppositions.*" [*Ganashakti*, 25.11.06] The CM also spewed dirty lies regarding the proposed power station: "*Confusion aplenty is being spread. Such false information is allowed to let go that nuclear electricity production will kill fish, spoil water....*" [*Ganashakti*, 20.11.06] This is a dangerous mindset and we must keep in mind that even many western countries are now considering seriously about the winding up of nuclear power stations for the horrendous consequences. And here we must add that no nuclear power stations in India can function without the eagle-eyed surveillance of the US, especially after the nuclear deal with India.

With the US-India military pact, particularly with the humiliating nuclear deal, the control of Uncle Sam over the Indian economy, culture, defence and other vital sectors will be immensely effective. The World Bank, IMF and such US-led international institutions, etc. have already brought India under their octopus like grip. It is a dangerous situation. The revolutionary tradition of the Indian people invokes us all to build and develop a massive anti-imperialist struggle and force the native masters to destroy the US-India nuclear deal. Down with the 'US-India military pact' must become the battle cry of the revolutionary and democratic movement in India.

PM

The looming menace of Capital Account Convertibility

Dr. Gupta

In the wake of the visit of the US President George Bush, the kowtowing Prime Minister of India Sri Manmohan Singh has gone full steam for full capital account convertibility. An entourage of captains of industry (CEO) accompanied Mr. Bush during his visit to India. A vague promise was placed before the Indian compradors and the lumpen politicians about capital investment in 24 areas. It is presumed that right at that moment the dangerous prescription for full capital account convertibility was raised. George Bush had hardly reached his land when our votaries of globalisation began full throated cries for implementing the US prescription. The open cries were for more advantage to the US dollars, for the furtherance of imperialist globalisation with the US in the lead. The new policy will enable the foreign investors, basically the speculators, to wind up their business at any moment of crisis and leave the country keeping the Indian economy in dire straits by easily converting their money into dollars.

India entered the imperialist globalisation programme that demands complete and unrestricted opening of the native market to foreign capital when Manmohan Singh became the finance minister in early 1990s. Now the supporters of this imperialist globalisation discovered that despite privatisation and liberalisation some loopholes are remaining in the process. The loopholes emanate from the lack of full convertibility of Indian rupees. So we need, they demand, unrestricted convertibility of the rupee. This will automatically imply that the outflow and inflow of capital from and to India by residents and non-residents would no longer be conditioned by any regulation. As the US dollar is the most powerful and operative currency in the world this new destructive move shall keep no restriction on the free use of dollar in exchange for rupees in India. It is part and parcel of the imperialist globalisation policy to bring Indian economy further into US domination. It is in order to refer here that the former external affairs minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, who

himself presided over the unprecedented growth of US influence and control over India, now calls India a "*client state of America*". And as a client state India has ensured capital account convertibility to strengthen the dollar power, leaving vast poor mass of Indians at the whims and volatility of this currency. It is notable that even during the tenure of Manmohan Singh in the early 1990s no effort was taken during financial reforms to go in for full capital account convertibility. Manmohan would now make us believe that by such measure there will be a steady flow of direct foreign investment.

Tarapore Committee's Recommendation

In the stage of imperialist globalisation in the mid 1990s the committee headed by Tarapore recommended full capital account convertibility or in other words unrestricted exchangeability of rupee vis a vis dollar. But soon after an unprecedented crisis broke loose in South East Asia leading to the steady flight of foreign capital from those countries due to the total opening of the economy through the floodgates of full capital account convertibility. The disastrous consequences led the Indian government shelve the Tarapore committee's recommendation. And now with Bush's visit to India the current prime minister sat up to please the USA with the clear green signal for unrestricted convertibility of the Indian rupee vis a vis the US dollar and vice versa. One should keep it in mind that by this time India and the USA have joined a strategic partnership with the former to play a junior role. The US domination over India's foreign policy has never been more starkly apparent. India's economic servility is closely related with the US-India defence relationship which is now passed saying "The US and India have entered a new era". The acceptance of the Tarapore committee's recommendation is actually the acceptance of US dollar power over India in the in the economy, while the US-India military alliance would result in US domination over India in the military

sphere.

The Nature of Foreign Capital Inflow

India needs at least \$600 crores to keep the present dispensation running. With the liberalisation and privatisation regime foreign capital too invaded India. Since the entry into the imperialist globalisation process obviously the inflow of foreign capital steadily increased. What is clearly evident is that the foreign capital basically crowded the share market. In the last year foreign capital invested in the productive sector was to the tune of \$434 crore. On the other hand out of the foreign exchange reserves of \$143 billion at present held by the Reserve Bank of India, \$50 billion i.e. over 30 percent is due to the foreign institutional investors (FIIs). Simultaneously External Commercial Borrowings (ECB) by domestic companies have also steadily moved up to nearly \$ 15 billion in 2005-06. The scenario will be clear if we take a look at the character of foreign capital inflows. So far as India's demand of \$ 600 crore is not coming but if the inflow of capital in the share market is added the amount of foreign capital that reached India in the last year was \$ 1500 crore. The productive sector of India does not attract as much foreign capital as does share market. Even without full capital account convertibility huge amounts of foreign capital swarmed the share market. However, the Prime Minister has tried to mislead the people saying that the new policy of full capital account convertibility would go a big way in the inflow of foreign capital in the productive sector. It is not our argument that such foreign capital is ok in the productive sector as that too strengthens the imperialist noose around India's economy. What is stressed here is that foreign imperialist capital now has easy access to and preference for speculative capital and the boom in the sensx is due to this speculative capital in the share market, denoting the crisis of capitalism. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the ratio of volatile capital flows (defined to include cumulative portfolio inflows and short-term debt) to reserves, which

was 36 percent in March 2004, had increased steeply to 40.5 percent in September 2005. In contrast, the share of net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in total private capital inflows was around 10 percent. In fact for the massive inflow of volatile capital involved in the share market is a matter of serious concern for our semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy. The current account deficit, the combined effect of unsustainable stock and real estate business, inflow of a large amount of money for speculation, etc. have thrust the economy towards a serious crisis, reminiscent of the South East Asian Currency crisis in 1997-98 period.

Traditionally, the speculative market and its operation have been given least importance since speculative capital is far away from the production and the reproduction roles in an economy. But the globalisation wheels have given such capital immense importance, putting an economy always at the whims and vagaries of such capital. The present UPA government, propped up by the CPI(M) has always shown great favour to the speculators and it is clearly evident from its decision to abolish the long-term capital gains tax in its first interim budget. And the lust for tax-free speculative gains led the speculators towards portfolio investment in billions of dollars in the capital markets of India in the last two years. This enormous investment has led to the massive stock market boom. The unprecedented sensex rise is all but a fleeting phenomenon and the bubble shall burst at any time, on any day causing unthought of burden on the backs of the common Indian middle classes. It is the ridiculous as well as eerie aspect that billionaires are now regularly born in India not through the general investment of profits in the productive sector but through speculation and untaxed capital gains. Even the earlier budget allowed such untaxed gains. And that budget rather inspired the Indian Mutual Funds for speculative gains. The current position towards full capital account convertibility perfectly matches the disastrous government policy on the speculative market.

The Scenario of the Flight of Capital from India

The captains of foreign direct investment (FDI) know too well that the Indian productive market for goods is not expanding. Till date FDIs have got stuck at about \$ 400 crore annually. In the last year the inflow of FDI for the Indian economy was \$ 434 crore. Even after 16 years of imperialist globalization, FDI for productive sector or infrastructure has clearly shown some visible signs of indifference. The reason lies in the stark fact that more than half of the population is living below the subsistence level. The frequent suicides of farmers, the stagnant market, the huge number of unemployed, etc. do not provide the necessary impetus to the foreign investors for investment in the productive sector, except the luxury sector. So, now even the little bit of restrictions on convertibility of the currency (in fact convertibility vis a vis dollar) were needed to be given the go by to appease the US masters, the speculators in particular.

What is noticeable is the current trend of growing takeover of Indian and comprador industry by the TNCs rather than new investments. Foreign millionaires like Beta Farm has already purchased Reddy's Laboratory paying \$57 crore; Suzlon Energy has been bought up by the American concern, Hansen Transmission at \$ 57 crore. The process is on.

Now the US dollar is in a bad state. Its consistent paucity in the international standard value is a continuous problem. The US capitalists, speculators in particular, need greater prospects for investment in the Indian rupee through less amount of exchangeable dollar. The decision of current account convertibility will only promote the flow of even greater US dollars into the Indian economy.

This dangerously pro-US decision would automatically expose the Indian economy to intense volatility as in the event of a capital outflow (both by the resident and non-resident investors) repatriating their funds, the economy would be pushed further into the doldrums. History shows us that such outflows by local residents took place

when the economy failed, and this led to a massive build up of Latin American debt in the 1970s and 1980s. In Brazil, the total amount of the outstanding external debt in the beginning of the 1980s was almost equal to the estimated capital flight by the rich residents. And for the costs of servicing this debt and pursuing the conditionalities it required to renegotiate the debt, throwing a huge burden on the poor. A similar picture of devastation due to capital account liberalisation has been witnessed in many countries like Turkey, Indonesia, Mexico, etc. The same devastation was seen in the South East Asian countries in the late 1990s.

The bubble of India's vast share market will burst at anytime and the speculators mainly comprising millionaires of the US. shall take easy flight from this country, leaving the entire economy in a serious crisis. The brunt of this imminent crisis will be borne by the common people. And the UPA government's decision to introduce full capital account convertibility shall pave the way for the reign of the dollar in the India economy and also smooth the process of the flight of dollar in the event of a crisis of the economy. And our lumpen government has taken such anti-people, anti-national decision when the dollar crisis is all too evident. The dollar is under stress and strain due to the powerful rise of the Euro currency of Europe. Now as many as 25 countries have come under Euro, reducing the power of the dollar. India is a semi-colony and now a strategic partner of the USA. Full capital account convertibility will basically help the US masters to further dominate the Indian economy and thereby also strengthen its stranglehold over South Asian countries. Through such control while the US would be able to push the burden of its own crisis, to some extent, on to the Indian and South Asian countries; here, in India, we are heading for even bigger disasters. With capital account convertibility while the ordinary people will suffer, the rich will easily be able to transfer their money abroad escaping the worst blows. We saw this happen earlier in South East Asia, Turkey and Latin America.

PM

A Tribute to Com. BK

— Reflections of a Comrade

The day started as any other. The early birds chirping, the morning chill, mist...everything was as it should be on an end December morning except for any changes which may have come about with 'global warming'. There was nothing which would prepare me for the devastating news. There were no question mark news items in papers the days before that 'somebody has been caught somewhere and that they should be produced' or any inside information that 'such a comrade was to meet, he missed, we are worried' etc etc. I slept with a smile on my face with all the pleasant memories of our comrades and thinking of the things I should not forget to write. After the morning exercises I had my coffee and turned on the tv and was just about to take the paper and pen, something coming in the scroll of the news channel caught my attention.

What?

Why is the name Vadkapur Chandramouli coming there?

No

No

No

It can't be.... There can be very few instances when the name of such leaders get splashed across.....is it "THAT?"

But is it true? Wait, wait, let me listen properly, somebody is saying they think it is him, but it could be somebody else also.....again my body becomes tense....but I know it has been a tactics of the police to announce somebody's else's name just to make it seem like it has been a real encounter and it had been 'difficult' for them to identify who it was!! They used to delay the news as far as possible to thwart retaliatory actions that would follow immediately. So I was becoming nervous, tense. And afraid.

My head started reeling. I know it would be very painful even it had been another comrade in place of BK but what if it is HIM? What lies ahead? I slumped into a chair and sat without any other organ of mine functioning except the eyes which were glued to the screen and the scroll with my ears pricked up.

THE NOW – UNAVOIDABLE - NEWS STRIKES ME LIKE A THUNDER.

The news reader announced with a grave face – there has been an encounter in the Jamparalova area of Visakha agency and the CC member Vadkapur Chandramouli of CPI (Maoist) and his wife Kavitha were among the killed, the weapons confiscated were

But the details of the weapons or what she was saying did not enter my ears.....everything went black in front of my eyes....everything went blank inside my mind. The paper and pen dropped down. KavithaKaruna also?

Now I am seeing the cruel face of the SP giving the details of the 'encounter'. My senses were becoming numb, but every cell inside was screaming 'this is false, this is false'. I know he was traveling for a destination, but was Karuna to be with him? Just a few days or a day (who knows?) and he would have been there, in the protection of armed comrades, discussing, listening, talking, laughing, singing, dancing, playing, mingling with every comrade in the camp.....

Oh, how they must have been tortured... Karunamy dear dear sister....what did she go through? She with that frail body of hers? And BK? BK? Is he really no more? Is it true our people's war had lost its best commander? Is it me listening to all this sitting there? Or am I just going through a bad dream?

The channel started showing an old faded photograph of BK, a close up of him taking aim with some weapon. Those piercing eyes aiming with such concentration, younger than when I saw him first in 1995. Must have been taken before that. The newsreader gives a brief account of his life, says he dedicated his life to the people since 25 years, first he joined RSU, then he organized the village poor labourers and led many struggles against the landlords, did many development works in his village like building school rooms and a stage for meetings, then DSP Buchireddy was killed by a team of CPI (ML) (People's War) led by him, Japha Lakshma Reddy. APCLC vice president was killed by the police in retaliation and Chandramouli's family was also targeted, the family left the village and Chandramouli shifted to Manyam as the agency area is called, he developed from an ordinary cadre into a member of the highest body CC, he played a key role in the merger of PW and MCCI, he was an efficient military leader, it is a big blow to the Maoists who have been going through a rough patch recently etc etc. And how will the media miss out on the IAS officers' kidnap episode of 1987? So she says prominently that the sensational kidnap of IAS officers the first of such kind in the country was done to get him and other cadres released and that they were consequently released.

Then with a sad face she announces that his village Vadkapur is grieving the death of its most famous and worthy son, the news of his death has spread a wave of grief and sadness all over the district.....

Mechanically I was seeing and listening, seeing and listening but still somewhere I am refusing to believe all this was happening or happened. The news was getting registered, at the same time it refused to get 'inside'.

Suddenly another bulletin started. Now I am seeing a truck pulling up. Police in army fatigues, military hats, kits and weapons descend after pulling down the back door. My heart stood still for a second....oh now they are carrying down a body, I could see

the shoes, the body is tied with ropes to a stretcher made with branches of trees, it is laid down and then another body, I could see the slippers. I wanted to close my eyes and shut myself from all that was going on aware that in just a few seconds the truth is going to stand in front of me like a monster let loose. But there I was with my eyes widely open without blinking even once as the camera hovered over the bodies.

Yes, it was them without any doubt

I know them too well to deceive myself.

I don't know when tears started rolling down my cheeks or when they stopped (if at all). I am just aware that BK and Karuna were lying there right in front of me, as if I could touch them if only I extended my hand.... I wanted to touch them, I wanted to cry like those women of Telangana who cry and at the same time sing, cry and sing, touching their bodies, with their hairs let loose, falling on the ground, throwing mud with their hands, cursing the killers....

BK was wearing a sleeveless sweater, the civil shirt's sleeves light blue with stripes underneath showing. Karuna was in a saree and a full sweater with a shawl draped over them.

For a brief second the camera showed their faces. I broke down.

Their eyes were wide open.

What were they trying to say?

Were they trying to tell us their last thoughts?

How shocked Karuna must have been to see BK getting arrested just in front of her eyes, how she must have cringed when she realized that he would be no more. More shocked than at her own arrest, more grieved than at her own looming death. Which torture could have been more than this?

She must have remembered

all those villages and all those people she had worked for in the AOB area

the numerous patients whom she served

the adivasi women she organized

all her comrades who had worked with her

all her future work plans

now her not being would affect those plans

She must have remembered

her mother, father, her family, her siblings....

her childhood friends

her patients when she worked as a nurse

The lady doctor who showered her with praises and small gifts for her dedicated services to the patients

her neighbours in the various dens she maintained who just loved her for her loving and helping nature

She must have remembered

her first love, her beloved husband Mahender who was martyred a few years back

how she got over the big tragedy of his death

how she wanted to avenge it

her marriage to BK a few years later

the loving moments they spent together

it getting shattered in front of her eyes now....

And BK?

What must have gone on behind those open eyes a few hours back? Whatever had been going on in her mind? And much more?

I suddenly remembered what he said when we met him after the Kopardang encounter. It was a terrible blow to all of us, so as soon as we met comrades who had been through it we eagerly listened to the first hand accounts, shared our common grief and memories about the martyred comrades. When all had left, in a delicate moment when we say aloud our innermost feelings, he said 'I wished I were dead instead of them, it was so painful to see them die in front of my eyes, and you know, Padma, she was just beside me, I saw her falling down....' I still remember how I winced.

What must he have felt seeing Karuna being arrested along with him?

But he must have been just devastated thinking of the loss their death could cause to the movement at this crucial juncture. Or was he just reviewing his life having accepted the fact that he was facing what any revolutionary had to face (till the victory of the revolution) at any point of time in his life? With the great confidence that his comrades and the revolutionary people would

carry forward whatever has been left behind? He must have been beside himself with rage that the enemy had once again gained a huge victory. Because he knows, he had gone through it when comrades that too senior leaders who were crucial to the movement got martyred.

The bodies were kept side by side, some were taking video, some took photos. I could see his chin, his jaws which had given a determined look to his face. I was seeing the body of a true guerilla in every sense which was steered through a rigorous routine. I remembered how he went to bathe in cold water on a harsh winter day in spite of concern from comrades taking his inspiration directly from Mao – to steel his body. It was not just a stray incident, it was only a small fraction of the whole lot of discipline he subjected his life to because this was a **WAR** we are fighting and nothing less or nothing more. It was just that. A **WAR**. There could be very few better examples than his life to imbibe this fact.

I was seeing one of the great military minds this country's revolutionary movements had ever produced - lying there, now stopped permanently from thinking any more dangerous manouvres against the enemy.

The excessive ecstasy at this 'victory' is written all over the face of the SP. He was shamelessly reeling off the story of the encounter which had been told thousands of times by the police since the Telangana days. He was not just shameless there was something else which was making me very uneasy in his whole demeanor, something like...something like....I didn't quite get it. I got the answer the next day when he 'dared' to offer floral tributes to our beloved leaders BK and Karuna. Just the idea of it!!!! I don't think even Nazis or US marines now or for that matter any cruel enemy had ever attempted to do such a thing to the persons they killed in cold blood. With a malicious glint in his eyes, with a 'deliberate cruelty' which we see in our filmy villains in the name of 'variety acting', he was saying – they could be our enemies when they were alive, but now that they are dead we respect them, I appreciate that they worked for the people but they should do it in a democratic manner, they cannot do it with arms in a democracy....his words saying something, his eyes conveying something else, I shuddered in spite of myself. Something only an ever decaying imperialism can come up with? The scroll was saying Virasam condemned this offering of floral tributes by the police. Chalasani Prasad was shown condemning it. He said this is no different from what the imperialists are doing, firstly bombing people and then dropping food packets.

It was the most bizarre sight I had ever seen. Not only the SP but other police officials were also putting flowers on their bodies. How dare they? My blood boiled. As would that of any other revolutionary. Or for that matter that of any sincere ordinary person. Was this particular step taken by him to insult because he was our CMC member? Because he was such a legendary military leader? Or was he just being over smart to hide the hideous act of a fake encounter?

The news channel was now showing the sad, gloomy faces of the villagers with a faded board displaying the name of 'Vadkapur' in the background. A frail, old woman was shown inconsolably weeping. It must be BK's mother Manemma. I instinctively tried to look for signs of BK on her face. The eyes?

The reporting is going on – how the villagers were remembering the services he did to the village when he was still a student.....they were waiting for the bodies...to pay their last respects.

T. Sriramamurthy, APCLC was shown condemning the fake encounter. He clearly stated that they were caught two days earlier in Sambhalpur in Orissa, tortured and killed. The next time Balakrishna, APCLC was shown stating in very clear terms that it is obvious that it was a fake encounter, their bodies bore marks of torture, the wrist of Chandramouli and neck of Kavithakka had tall tale marks of torture.

Mention of his wrist reminds me of the problem he had in writing after he got spondilitis. Even before he had a handwriting which could be recognized among a thousand other. With spondilitis it became more slanting and more like that of a small child. He said he was finding it difficult to even hold a pen and write. First of all we could not believe our ears that BK could get spondilitis, did it mean those who don't exercise and even those who do it so regularly can get it? But there he was, not liking to wear that collar but forced to wear. He was a poet, song writer and wrote in other forms of literature too. I remembered the shy manner in which he used to present his writings before comrades. An inexhaustible writer always attempting to write and encouraging new recruits to develop that skill. And he continued to write in spite of his spondilitis problem. Naturally. And who expected BK to bend before any kind of adversity? Nobody.

A relative of Karuna was shown crying inconsolably in the mortuary. Slogans renting the air in the background 'Chandramouli Amar rahe, Karunakka Amar rahe'. From the paper reports it appears like her brother-in-law, husband of her sister. He was very much worried how he would take back the bodies as he was apprehensive about what obstacles the police may put in their way. He was saying with tears in his eyes - at least if they give us the bodies now by packing them well, it is enough. Very sad!! After the bodies of Madhav and other comrades who were killed in that incident were handed over to the families in a highly decayed state after three days that too after a lot of agitation by them and mass organizations, the people are now reduced to asking to 'at least hand over the bodies by packing them well'. This conspiracy has to be exposed, the rulers are gradually reducing the people to ask the secondary questions first. Their first question should be – what right do they have to kill revolutionaries in such a brutal manner? Their main demand should be that those who perpetuate such cold blooded murders be prosecuted. The question of handing over bodies immediately without damage should be something which need not be demanded, but which should be followed. Actually the channel did not show what the relatives said fully.

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— in 81' itself. He became a professional revolutionary in 1982. From that time on, till the moment of his martyrdom, his entire life in the intervening 25 years was a life dedicated solely to the cause of achieving the victory of India's New Democratic Revolution.

EMERGENCE AS A GOOD LEADER CAPABLE OF TURNING ADVERSE CONDITIONS INTO FAVORABLE ONES!

In the year 1983 comrade Chandramouli was appointed as an organizer of a rural center, Sultanabad of Peddapalli area. He soon organized and led many historic peasant struggles, mobilizing the peasant masses in a big way. By 1985, the entire rank and file of the party of the Karimnagar district was so impressed by his hard work and leadership capabilities, that they unanimously elected him to the district committee, even bypassing some of his seniors, during the district conference.

By that time, the state's iron heel campaign of suppression reached a state of an undeclared war. The party, as a part of its strategy to counter the state's onslaught by extending and intensifying the guerilla war, decided to shift some cadres to the Dandakarnya area. Accordingly comrade Chandramouli was asked to take up responsibilities in the Eastern Ghats region of Andhra (comprising of the forest and hilly areas of the East Godavary and Visakhapattanam districts) which was then a part of the Dandakaranya movement. As a true and dedicated communist, comrade Chandramouli accepted that responsibility without any second thought.

At the time when he took his new responsibilities, the situation in the Eastern region was very critical. Apart from a savage onslaught by the states' armed police forces, the guerillas of the then CPI (ML)[PW] had to face armed attacks by the cadres of the then CP group. The terrain too was a very difficult one. The people there belong to different Adivasi tribes, each had its own language. But comrade Chandramouli soon gained a good knowledge in many of the local languages by firmly integrating himself with the Adivasi masses and cadres. He was able to gain strong roots there by enthusing,

arousing and organizing the masses into intensive anti-feudal, anti-state struggles through tireless efforts and dedicated service. He soon gained a firm grip on the conditions in that area through study and practice. As a result of his hard work and practice he was elected to the regional committee in 1986, and was later elected as the secretary of the regional committee in a plenum held in 1987 and soon after ward he was elected to the Dandakaranya Forest Committee. During the early 90's the revolutionary movement in the East Region had fallen in to a crisis. The movement which until then was going on in 5 squad areas got reduced to just two squad Ares. The divisional committee was shattered. There was no regular guidance from the higher committee. Comrade Chandramouli faced all these difficulties with stout heartedness only a dedicated communist is capable of. With untiring efforts and utmost dedication he rebuilt the movement almost single handedly, motivating, activating, organizing and leading the cadre by setting high personnel standards for himself and through such great efforts he developed a second rank leadership among the cadres, which soon took over the divisional responsibilities. It was thanks to his leadership and foresight, the movement in the eastern region re-established itself with renewed vigor and vitality.

He was elected to the AP state committee and its secretariat in the state conference held in 1995 when the East region was made a part of the AP state movement. He was elected to the Central Committee of the erstwhile CPI (ML)[PW] in the 9th Congress of that party held in 2001 and the CC inducted him into its Central Military Commission.

DEEP IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING!

Through a life long study and practice comrade Chandramouli acquired a deep ideological, political and organizational understanding. He gained a deep knowledge on military affairs through personally participating and leading the fighters of the PLGA forces in guerilla war for more than two decades. He used to present his views in a sharp, well articulated and brief manner during discussions and debates. He never hesitated to present his views in a straight forward manner. He was in fact a perpetual student, forever trying

to gain deeper understanding of the fundamental principles of MLM, with a particular emphasis on applying them to the concrete conditions of India. His method was to enhance his knowledge through study and revolutionary practice and to integrate theory with concrete practice and through such a method he constantly developed himself to stay in tune with the development of the party and the practical demands of the People's War.

AN OUTSTANDING AND COURAGEOUS COMMANDER, TACTICIAN AND INSTRUCTOR OF THE PLGA FORCES!

Comrade Chandramouli had a deep interest in military affairs right from the beginning of his revolutionary career. He personally led his fighters of the PLGA forces in numerous armed conflicts with the state and central Para-military forces, ambushes, raids and massive military campaigns. He was a master tactician who formulated tactics and gave guidance to various commands of the PLGA forces in their Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns. He particularly played a great role in the arming of the PLGA forces by seizing weapons from the enemy forces. The PLGA forces obtained hundreds of modern weapons of various caliber and thousands and thousand of rounds of ammunition through such massive military campaigns like the Koraput, Kalimela and R.Udayagiri, which were planned and perfectly executed under the direct leadership of comrade Chandramouli. He is so meticulous in his planning, taking even minutest details into consideration that the guerillas about to take part in such operations are certain that they will be successful as the planning was under his personal supervision. As military instructor and as a commander of the PLGA forces in various actions comrade Chandramouli trained and developed almost a whole younger generation of commanders who are quite capable of leading the various commands of the PLGA forces.

MODESTY WAS HIS HALMARK!

Comrade Chandramouli's life is the personification of the modesty a true disciple of Comrade Mao must possess. His modesty never left him during the entire period of his growth, from the grass root ranks to the highest committee of the party,

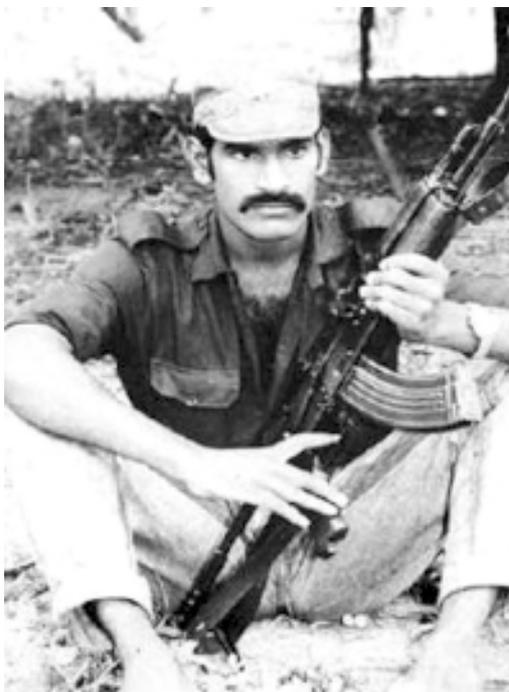
the CC and the CMC. He can be taken as one of the perfect examples of a communist who acquired the qualities comrade Mao time and again exhorted cadres to cultivate—genuine modesty, not allowing even a trace of complacency or self-deceit to corrode one's personality. In fact, it was simplicity of his approach and his genuine modesty were the qualities that endeared him to the thousands of party's rank and file, to the fighters and commanders of the PLGA forces and to the millions of revolutionary masses in the areas he worked. Even with ever increasing revolutionary responsibilities which put much premium on his time, he always was ready to spare an ear and some time when ever any comrade approached him for advice.

In one word, comrade Chandramouli lived a revolutionary life and attained martyrdom in a manner that befits a great communist revolutionary. Indeed very few but dedicated communists can lead such a life without even a small blemish one can speak of. Standing firm in theoretical matters, taking a clear cut stand on political matters, firmly rooting oneself on a mass base, living a simple and modest revolutionary life, leading others by setting a personal example in fearing no hardships and a readiness for self sacrifice, having a critical approach to problems, showing courage, valor and creativity in military operations and last but not the least taking people's interests as the paramount interests — these are the main qualities that sets comrade Chandrmouli apart as a great communist revolutionary of our time. In fact the greatest tribute any one can pay to the memory of this great martyr is to try to emulate him in every aspect of his revolutionary life as far as possible.

COMRADE KARUNA – A REVOLUTINARY PEOPLE'S DOCTOR

Comrade Karuna's (Kavita, Satyakka) revolutionary life was as versatile as that of her comrade-in- life, comrade Chandrmouli. She was born in a peasant family of Nawbpet village in Karimnagar district, which was sympathetic towards the revolutionary movement. She started to take active interest in the revolutionary movement around the year 1985. As is the custom in most rural parts of India she was married early. Her spouse was martyr

comrade Mahendar (Jayapal) who worked as a party organizer in the Visakhapattanam city. Comrade Karuna joined him in 1986, as a professional revolutionary and started working in that city in the technical field. As she was keen to take direct part in the People's War by working in the rural areas, she underwent a nurse training course during her stay in that city. She also established contacts with women from the working class. After the martyrdom of comrade Mahendar in a fake encounter, she requested the party to let her serve in the rural areas. Appreciating her steely determination even after facing such a



tragedy in her personal life, the party acceded to her request, transferring her to Srikakulam district. There she joined the Uddanam area squad as a committee member, after working for some time in the slums of Srikakulam town. Later she was shifted to the Jhanjhavati squad. During her period of work in various areas of Srikakulam division she concentrated on organizing the rural masses in anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle, while at the same time attending to the medical needs of not only the members of her squad but also of the vast rural poor, who never had any access to modern medicine. More importantly she was very keen to train her self in military matters. She insisted and personally participated in most of the actions her

squad undertook, thus developing her self as a fine guerilla fighter. She had a deep understanding about gender issues and was in the fore front in the struggles against male chauvinism and patriarchy both in theory and in practice.

She married comrade Chandrmouli in 1996 and soon after she started working in the East Division.

It was in the East Division in fact all her inherent and acquired capabilities came in to full bloom. As a commander of a squad, she displayed exemplary courage, determination and a spirit of self sacrifice, leading her squad in fighting out the states armed police forces in many armed skirmishes and coming out with minimum losses though highly outnumbered. Though of fragile body stature and beset with health problems, this valiant fighter wanted always to be in the thick of action.

Comrade Karuna continuously developed herself through a process of deep study and dedicated revolutionary practice transforming herself from an ordinary peasant girl from a backward rural area into a fearless fighter, an able and efficient leader and most importantly into one of the most efficient people's doctor.. A wonderful transformation indeed when one considers the fact that she had very little formal education before she entered the revolutionary movement and never saw even the doors of a medical collage. The role she played during the famous Kalimela and Darakonda operations, shouldering the twin responsibilities of commander of an assault team and as the doctor for the entire force stands as but one testimony to the heights this great warrior grew through sheer determination, hard work and rich revolutionary practice and study.

It was her comradely loving and tender care, concern and treatment more than all the medicines she administered that brought many severely wounded fighters of the PLGA forces, almost all on the verge of death, back to life. In one instance, she was able to restore almost to full working condition the fingers of a comrade which were shattered during an enemy firing. For those wounded and bleeding heavily she was a great source of mental comfort due to the way she assures them of certain

recovery with a soothing tone, while she attends on their wounds. Her tender but firm assuring worked wonders on many of the grievously wounded.

Much appreciative of her medical talents and her dedicated service, the CMC of the party recently decided to form a special medical team under her leadership. But the demonic AP police caught and murdered her before this plan could come in to practice

As mentioned earlier comrade was very much concerned with the problems being faced by women in our society due to the deep-rooted practices of patriarchy and worked hard to mobilize women, especially adivasi women in the fight against

patriarchal oppression along with anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles. It was under her initiative and leadership a divisional conference of the Revolutionary Adivsi Women's Organization was held for the first time in the East Division, and she was elected as its president.

Comrade Karuna was also a good poet. Though the number of poems she penned may not be many in number as she was not able to allot much time to this particular aspect of her multifaceted creativity, those which she wrote stand out as gems in revolutionary poetry both in content and form.

With her martyrdom the CPI (Maoist)

and its PLGA forces lost one of their most valiant fighters, most dedicated doctor and one of their emerging leaders with much promise.

THE COUPLE WHO SET HIGH STANDARDS

For those who had met either of the two even once could never forget them, because of their excellent communist values. They were both model communists and real communist leaders. Generations to come will certainly cherish and try to emulate their qualities. A real homage will be to emulate their cherished ideals and the personal example they set in revolutionary life and struggle.

PM

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The papers were full of reports and news items on the incident and on the lives of BK and Karuna. Extremely sympathetic. Awed by their dedication. Trying to put the truth in front of the people in the form of doubts-are-being-expressed-on-the-encounter...

The bodies are handed over, the funeral is arranged in Vadkapur. The papers wrote that after their house was destroyed in a police raid the family left Vadkapur and settled in Godavarikhani. So actually they did not have anything in the village, but seeing how the villagers were keen to have the funeral of their beloved leader and the most famous son of the soil in the village they agreed to have it there. How the police tried to stop the deluge of people pouring into the village! And how the people broke every obstacle, squeezed through every crevice to attend the funeral to pay their last respects!! Another episode which gets repeated every time. The channel reports – more than four kilometers long rally, thousands pouring in, many more stopped by police... the scroll rolls on – Gaddar arrested, then released...

The bodies draped in red flags and flowers are carried in a rally with revolutionary songs and slogans renting the air. Gaddar is seen leading and singing the songs. We again get a glimpse of BK's mother. The papers report that the relatives of Chada Vijayalakshmi @ Karuna are too poor to carry out the funeral and the Vadkapur villagers want to conduct her funeral also in their village as they own her also as their daughter, so both the bodies were cremated at the same place. They further report – the stage constructed by Chandramouli at the school he once studied in, is still there and the people want the meeting to take place on it. The class rooms constructed by him are also still there.

Suddenly I was hearing the news reader saying police stopped thousands of people from attending, they stopped even Gopanna, his former colleague and now we have him on phone. Unmistakably I hear his voice – "I strongly condemn the police excesses in stopping us from attending the funeral, we surrendered, we are in the congress party, my wife is now a ZPTC member from the Congress party, but we were not allowed to pay our last respects to them, we were stopped by the police, if this happens to somebody in the Congress party, you can imagine what they are doing to others, there is no democracy in this country, we worked together for 13 years! 13 years! Won't we feel like going to his funeral at least to have a last glimpse of his body....." I thought I could hear the tears in his voice.....the news reader asks – Gopannagaaroo, how big is the loss to the movement by the death of such a big leader? Putting a break to his emotional outburst; he says ya, it is a big loss, then immediately he remembers that he is not to speak on those aspects, he switches and says – no, but what I am talking of is the manner in which we were stopped.....and repeats what he said.

I felt I could imagine what this surrendered husband and wife was going through. It is like that with BK, once you work with him, the bond that develops is very difficult to forget. He just makes his way into your heart, helping you, encouraging you, cheering you, always with such humility, never any distance from the cadres in spite of his high rank and never any trace of pride for his spectacular achievements. Personification of revolutionary modesty! He was a friend and comrade even to the newest recruits and never a picture of some distant leader sitting somewhere making decisions. And how he led by example in everything!

The reports in the news papers tried to give a glimpse of his life, achievements and his personality. I wish I had enough time to translate all those reports for our comrades if only to show how the media writes about our leaders who had made an indelible mark on the political landscape of AP. Whatever their bourgeois affiliations, they cannot but bow their heads in front of the supreme sacrifices such leaders have done, their dedication to the people, their selflessness in a scenario where you see only corruption, nepotism, selfishness, utter disregard for the masses etc etc among the political leaders. They cannot report otherwise when they can see the overwhelming majority of the people are sympathetic to the movement.

PM

Red Homage to:

An Outstanding Communist Leader — Com Chandramouli

A great Revolutionary fighter & Peoples' Doctor — com. Karuna

Sharda

On December 29th, the CPI (Maoist) suffered one of its biggest losses of the year when the blood thirsty AP police shot dead comrade Vadkapur Chandramouli, a member of the Central Committee and his comrade-in-arms and partner comrade Karuna in a fake encounter, in the Eastern Ghats region of AP (AOB area). This particularly was a more sadder event for that party as its senior cadres and leaders were, at the same time gathering at another location to triumphantly consolidate the unification process by holding the 9th Congress-Unity Congress of the party. In fact, Comrades Chandramouli and Karuna were abducted by the Special Intelligence Bureau personnel of the AP police while they were on their way to attend the Congress of the party from Sambhalpur. Both of them were brutally tortured by the police before they were murdered. But both of them withstood the inhuman tortures inflicted on them without revealing any information that would harm the party or the revolutionary movement thus revealing their exemplary courage and spirit of self sacrifice, only great communist revolutionaries can possess. The Peoples' March bows its head, along with millions of revolutionary masses, party cadres and fighters of the PLGA forces, in paying revolutionary tributes to the great communist revolutionary, a top commander of the PLGA forces, a beloved leader of the millions of revolutionary masses, comrade Chandramouli and to the most dedicated revolutionary peoples' doctor and dauntless fighter. Comrade Karuna, who willingly sacrificed their most precious lives fighting for the emancipation of the exploited masses of the country from the yoke of the imperialist-feudal oppressors and exploiters

COMRADE CHANDRAMOULI — A GREAT LEADER WITH MULTIFACETED CAPABILITIES!

Comrade Chandramouli (Navin, Balakrishna) has been working in the revolutionary movement for the past 25

years. He was a great leader and a top commander of the PLGA forces of the Maoists. He had multifaceted capabilities—a great organizer of the cadres of the party as well as of the revolutionary masses; an outstanding and courageous military



commander, who always led his guerilla fighters standing at the fore front, he was a brilliant teacher who imparted knowledge about the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to hundreds of cadres of the party, both at senior and junior levels; he was considered as the best military instructor, both in theory and in practical exercises-maneuvers; he was a good poet who penned many poems and songs on revolutionary life; he was not only a teacher but a good student all

through his life, with a perpetual thirst to know and grasp MLM more deeply and thoroughly so as to be able to solve the complex problems of the revolutionary movement and to improvise on the strategy and tactics of the new democratic revolution of India. In one word, he was a great leader of the CC of the CPI (Maoist), an outstanding military commander and tactician, a comrade quite capable of enthusing arousing and leading thousands of the new generation of cadres of the party and fighters of the PLGA forces, apart from the senior cadres, forward on the path of Peoples' War!

25 YEARS OF DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARY LIFE!

Comrade Chandramouli's revolutionary life of 25 years is the exemplary story of a cadre who started his revolutionary life as a student organizer and grew up along with the revolutionary movement to become one of the top leaders of the party—a CCM and a member of the Central Military Commission—through dedicated and steadfast revolutionary practice, through study and by bringing forth all his capabilities in advancing the Peoples' War, raising his level as and when time and the situation demanded, all this with the sole aim of serving the interests of the oppressed masses of the country. Comrade Chandramouli was born in a backward caste rural artisan family of Vadkapur village in Peddapalli taluq of Karimnagar district in A.P.—an area which witnessed the eruption of a mighty wave of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles of the peasantry in the late 70's and early 80's, under the leadership of the erstwhile CPI(ML) [PW]. Enthused and aroused by this peasant upsurge, comrade Chandramouli contacted the party in the year 1981. At that time he was pursuing his studies in a junior collage (Inter -+2). Soon he started organizing the students under the leadership of the Radical Student Union. He actively participated in the *Go To The Villages Campaign* — an annual campaign the party organized for revolutionary students

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