

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*



***May the wind of  
the People's war  
in India reach  
the proletarian  
masses all-around  
the world***



**14 - 22 January 2012**

**International week of support**

International Committee to support the people's war in India

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## “Let’s Stand Against the Indian State’s War on People”

[A speech by Jan Myrdal, (internationally well-known writer for his support for the people’s movements world-wide), at a public meeting sponsored by the *Forum Against War on People*, New Delhi, 6 February 2012.]

Dear friends,

I want to say something on the international solidarity movement with the peoples of India.

We are here because there is an ongoing war against the peoples of India by the Indian state itself or – to put it more charitably – by dominant sections of the Indian state machinery. You as Indian citizens want to stop this war. I and other friends of India abroad are trying to organize an international solidarity movement with the people of India against the horrors of this war.

To try to do that is not interference in the internal affairs of India. We do not tell you in India how to conduct your affairs. That is for you to decide. No foreigner can prescribe for you. Even if many from the imperial camp – governments, media, NGO’s – always try to do so.

This respect is a matter of principle. You – not we – are in your actions responsible to the peoples of India. As we said during the solidarity movement with the peoples of South East Asia in their struggle against US imperialism: “Support the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam on their own terms.”

But there is a truth that was formulated in 1624 by John Donne and has been quoted and used by those of us in different countries that have taken a stand against oppression and social cruelty – as during the Franco war against the people of Spain. A truth that is the base of international solidarity:

*No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main /.../*

*any man’s death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.*

There is nothing secret about the present cruel war against the peoples of India. I could myself witness and hear about the war against dalits and adivasis when I was in Andhra Pradesh in 1980 (see *India Waits*, Sangam books, Hyderabad) and now 2010 in Chhattisgarh (see *Red Star over India*, Setu Prakashani, Kolkata).

In this war armed gangs and groups from ruling elites and land grabbers are attempting to drive people from their homes their lands and forests. Villages are being burned. Women are raped. Not as an expression of male sexual lust but as a cold conscious attempt thus to destroy the dignity and self-respect of the people. Those who defend themselves are branded as terrorists.

This war is not only in this way traditionally cruel but is on the formal state level by the government conducted in open disregard to the existing laws and regulations of the Indian state itself. Encounter is in India a word with a different meaning to that which you find in a normal dictionary. In India it is the specific word for the planned underhand murder by governmental agents of important political undesirables. Last summer Azad was thus lured to his death by the political promise of a discussion with the government about a ceasefire. Just now Kishenji was “encountered”.

But there is also nothing strange

about this war. It is a war against the people for simple economic reasons. Greed and profit. That is a truth even officially documented by the Government of India. See “Committee on State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Task of Land Reforms”, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. Volume 1 (Draft Report), March 2009) Conclusion – “The Biggest Grab of Tribal Lands after Columbus”.

In India this is well known, the war as I said is no secret. But abroad, in our countries, that which is well known and reported in India is kept strangely unknown – or only known in a partial and obfuscated manner. There is a very simple reason for that. The official media are either owned by the large economic private interests that are greedily implicated in the exploitation of the resources of India or by governments that for their own imperial interests are against any public discussion about the realities of India.

This is in our age normal. Any study of international politics this last century shows that the media can be rather free in minor questions. But when it comes to great and decisive questions of war, colonialism or imperialism then the media become mouth pieces and sounding boards for the powers that instigate war and defend exploitation.

There have been and there are individual journalists and writers who try and now and again succeed to get true information spread through the big media. This we know. But the editorial gate keepers serving the interest of the owners are vigilant. The honest

reporters have not only been and are few but every time the situation becomes acute they are gagged. Remember that an American writer as well-known and as popular as Edgar Snow only survived by translating comics during the cold war when he was black-listed in the large US media precisely because he was well informed and knowledgeable.

As the conflict is well-known inside India the ruling circles have in their own interest to accept news and some discussions on this war against the people. But outside India there is a general silence. The reason for this is not that the Government of India has erected an official censorship curtain around India. That is not needed as long as the gate keepers in the official media in the imperial countries do their job.

I don't know those who are reporting from India. What they have to say about monuments and folk art and the economic and scientific expansion in India is often interesting. They might be the best of reporters for all I know. They are, I believe, all honourable men and women. Yes, they are all honourable men. But as we can see they do not report to the public in their home countries – the imperial countries – much about the real situation of the peoples of India, of the adivasis and dalits for instance. It might be that the reporters are not interested. But the real explanation I believe is that that the editors back home do not allow them to.

That is why the international solidarity movement with the peoples of India must see it as a main topic to spread information through the internet and those independent – not by governments or monopoly capital funded – magazines and papers. The

US and other governments are trying to suppress the relative freedom of the net. But as yet we can still use these outlets to spread information to our public.

In this we need your co-operation. We do not, and you need not, trust the official reporters. After all even if they want to be different and report honestly they are employed to sing as they are paid to sing. If they are honest and also strong enough to overcome the gate keepers: Good! If not, it is necessary for us to use other ways. But what is needed the world around is concrete information. You have to see to it that it is spread. The net is still rather open even if the media are controlled.

I have my political opinions. Biased, the Swedish government would call it if they did not condemn me by using a far stronger word. Also I am a part of the solidarity movement. But this international solidarity movement with the peoples of India is not monolithic. It is a very broad and often disparate movement. That is its strength. It is not a party. The participants do not agree in religious or social questions. They might not all make the same analysis of imperialism or of the character of the Indian state as I do. But they agree on the specific question of the need of support for the peoples of India.

It is important to remember this. The solidarity movement with the peoples of India has and must have a very broad base. You might say that during this last century we who have been active in the political work against wars, imperialism and colonial oppression often have made mistakes and proven ourselves weak. The demonstrations I participated in – in Stockholm and Istanbul – against the

United States war against the people of Iraq were among the largest I have seen in my life. But still our governments – and also the parties that called themselves “left” – then supported the destruction of Iraq.

Yes we were not strong enough to hinder that. It is possible to criticize us. But during the decades we have also been successful. We were so with the world-wide campaign for the “Stockholm appeal” in stopping the more than possible US nuclear war against the then Soviet Union in 1952. We were of importance in building a people's support in our countries for the peoples of South East Asia in their armed struggle against US imperialism. In Sweden the government sent out riding police against us on 20 December 1967. But we got such a large popular support that a couple of weeks later Olof Palme from the same government that had its police beat us up now marched in the front of the mass demonstration against the US war. That new position of the Swedish government was a product of the solidarity movement (“If you can't beat them – join them!”) and became a great help to the struggling peoples of South East Asia.

Sweden is a country far away from India. But that there is a growing popular solidarity movement with the peoples of India, demonstrations, meetings study groups, leaflets and literature is not an expression of a feeling for “others”. I did quote John Donne just because he expresses a truth. A solidarity movement becomes strong when the participants are conscious of the human reality that no man is an island of itself. To defend the rights of the peoples of India is to defend the Swedish people! **PM**

# Some Notes On The Working Class And The Imperialist Wars

Jan Myrdal, author from Sweden

[The First Comrade Naveen Babu Memorial Lecture,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi, 10 February 2012.]

First it is necessary to make a statement on whom I speak for. I am a communist but since close on sixty years a non-party communist. The reasons for that I have written about in several books. Thus I am not the spokesperson for any specific organization that can be made responsible for what I say.

I have just published a book mainly based on my visit to the guerrilla zone in Dandakaranya on the invitation of the CPI (Maoist): *Red Star Over India: As the Wretched of the Earth are Rising*. There I describe how, when we after a long march through the jungle came to the camp in Dandakaranya at night and had got our cup of tea, a group came walking out of the jungle. After some time I understood that it was the general secretary of the CPI (Maoist), Ganapathy and his comrades.

In the discussion with them that followed I tried to say something about our experience – positive and negative – of political work against war and imperialism during more than a century in a small imperialist country like Sweden.

As we at the end of our visit after sixteen days took a formal goodbye of our hosts I was also asked about the working class and the present situation in Europe.

At that meeting we more formally discussed the present situation in our part of the world. Deepening economic and social crisis, rising unemployment and strong – but mainly spontaneous – popular struggles. There are different organizations of new types often based on linkage through the net protesting against the destructive economic

policies of the governments and transnational capital. We will see how strong they will prove to be against the present and the coming governmental onslaught. The loose organizational form is a defence against governmental repression but at the same time it makes conscious collective action impossible. Since half-a-century or so, since the beginning of at least a formal de-colonization, many solidarity organizations have been built up in our countries. They are of different types. Some have been proved to be of real and political importance. There are also different groups on the party level. They are often valiant but too often have sectarian drawbacks and as yet they do not reach the majority of the working class and its allies.

As to the traditional and official parties of the so called “Left”, the social-democratic, labour and formerly communist parties they are unable even to formulate a traditional reformist policy against the crisis that hits the working class hard. Which is not strange as they in reality – as the former communist party in Sweden – are state financed and not member financed organizations? Thus they have become structurally unable to take the lead, participate in or even to more than give a slight lip service to the fight against the new imperialist wars. Also they have nearly made themselves wholly ideologically disarmed. Not only have they for economic reasons closed their newspapers, magazines and book stores they have also ended their theoretical studies; from the traditional reformist to the more or less revolutionary. Only here and there some members have individually and locally been able to keep study circles

alive. The state financed cadres and the remaining members are thus ideologically vaguely feminist and at best – to use a German term – Revoluzzer-like.

In some cases their party organization has been infiltrated and partly taken over by imperialist groups. In the fifties this was typical of the work by CIA in the organizations of the “Socialist International”. A recent example of this can be studied in Germany where the efficient Zionist and Israel-inspired faction in the youth movement – *Bundesarbeitskreises Shalom der Linksjugend* – last summer got control over the parliamentary group. They succeeded in getting work for the Palestinian people branded as anti-party and now this winter they enlarged this description of “anti-party behaviour” to include also support for the Syrian and Iranian people faced by imperialist war.

Also typical has been the way in which the once independent and honest, mainly liberal, peace organizations with a certain mass basis have either become emasculated or transformed to supporting what is called “humanitarian intervention”.

If you read my book you will find that I there discuss this question throughout the whole text. That is not so strange. After all I have for the last seventy years both seen and in different ways taken part in the movements and thus personally experienced both the struggles often victorious and the defeats.

In the Dandakaranya jungle I lay in the night silently reciting to myself the best text that I know of that describes our situation:

That is the poem, “An die Nachgeborenen” from the thirties that Bertold Brecht wrote in exile in Denmark. It is often translated to English as “To posterity”. But the translations seem to me to miss – for our generations in the imperialist countries – the most valuable lines:

“Gingen wir doch, öfter als die Schuhe die Länder wechselnd

Durch die Kriege der Klassen, verzweifelt

Wenn da nur Unrecht war und keine Empörung.”

The literal meaning would be: Though we walked through the wars between the classes – more often changing countries than shoes – despairing, as there was only injustice and no uprising.

The reasons for this tragic historical situation was something I thought about these nights as I lay awake in the sleeping bag beside the young comrades from the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army.

Why “only injustice and no uprising”? This is – and has in the political movements on the so called “left” been – a central question these last more than a hundred years. We in Europe have discussed it concretely in connection with the defeat of the revolution of 1848, the war between France and Prussia in 1870, the cruel repression after the defeat of the Commune 1871 and the outbreak of the First World War 1914.

The working class of the imperialist states has been proved unable to hinder these defeats and wars. In 1914 – 1918 the then mainly social-democratic European working class in their millions marched unresisting – as calves to the slaughter-house – to their death in Flanders.

This whole period in our countries from then to today has been characterized by demonstrations,

economic and political struggles. There have been great partial victories as the defeat of the Nazi-inspired reaction in Sweden during the thirties; the success of the Popular Front in France in 1936; the peace movement in the fifties that hindered then the United States planned nuclear war; the international solidarity movement that became a real hindrance for the United States imperialists in their war against the peoples of South East Asia fifty years ago. One should never forget or disparage what the people have achieved in the struggles.

But there have as we all know been decisive defeats. The rise to power by the Hitlerite forces in Germany, the victory of Franco in Spain, the change of colour and then the decay and dissolution of the Soviet Union and the present working class inability to organize to hinder the new imperialist wars.

It is a historical fact that the working class and its allies in our imperialist countries have up to now been proved unable to rise up against injustice. They have in tragic fact either actively or by being silent given their support to the destructive policies of the ruling class.

But why is this? One answer is the one that was discussed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Manabendra Nath Roy in the commission for the national and colonial question during the Second Congress of the Communist International in July 1920.

M. N. Roy held that: “In exploiting colonial masses, European imperialism is capable of giving a number of slops to the metropolitan proletariat.”

Lenin of course saw that the problem existed. Not only had he himself worked intensively against the catastrophe when the international socialist movement collapsed facing the World War only some years back but as he said:

Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party spoke of this in our commission. He said that the rank-and-file British worker would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule.

But Lenin did not want to accept that this was the position of the “rank and file workers” in general but only that of the “workers’ aristocracy” and that the real solution was to be found in the political responsibility of the new International to change it:

I would also like to emphasize the importance of revolutionary work by the Communist parties, not only in their own, but also in the colonial countries, and particularly among the troops employed by the exploiting nations to keep the colonial peoples in subjection.”

With hindsight we know that the international communist movement that Lenin sought to develop was often heroic in the struggle for a better future for mankind but that it did not prove able to fulfill the necessary militant solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in “the colonial and dependent countries” that he had found necessary.

Ho Chih Minh can thus be seen as having been historically correct in 1924 when he at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International criticized the lack of real solidarity from the Communist parties of the imperial and colonial powers.

To understand the reasons for this and what it means for our common future it is first necessary to take some steps back to get an overview and then look closely.

Marx was careful to point out that he was not the first one to recognize that all history is the history of class struggle. Engels then when the first real studies of pre-history had been published drew the conclusion that this

statement is true about all written history, i.e. it is true from the beginning of class society.

In this period of class societies whether you look at the Roman Empire or Mogul society or the gilded age in the United States after the civil war or at India today you see classes struggling. Even if you want to analyze the official society of a harsh fascist dictatorship like that of Nazi Germany where not only communist and socialist but also liberal tendencies are forbidden and repressed, you will find how class struggle determines its policies. On all levels. Even the prison guards in the concentration camps have class interests in contradiction to the rulers.

What Marx then saw was that the rise of capitalism and the victory of the bourgeoisie created a growing class of “free” wage earners, proletarians who had nowhere to go but up. Their struggle thus in the long run became a struggle against the very concept of the society created by the bourgeoisie.

This radical challenge in Europe began to be formulated between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries during a series of very violent and cruel wars against the feudal authorities by poor peasants. The ideology they formed out of their own national and religious roots in their struggles closely resembles that of the Taiping peasant revolutionaries in China during the nineteenth century. That is not strange. Similar struggles breed similar ideologies.

I mentioned this in my book also in connection with the ideological development during the Naxalite struggle in India; the general Marxist, Maoist roots and the continual honing of the theory through the revolutionary practice.

For Friedrich Engels these European peasant wars five hundred

years ago were pre-revolutionary; doomed to failure. I am not so sure. Of course they had limited aims if they are compared with those of the working class of today but in Sweden and in Switzerland they were rather victorious and this shaped these societies in a way very different from that of continental Europe in general.

It is as Hegel pointed out not possible to jump out of one’s own time. It would be as trying to run away from one’s shadow. But it is possible to see the present in perspective, to ascertain the age of the time.

Marx never wrote prescriptions for the future. What more is, he did not – as Engels pointed out – write definitions; he wrote developments. If we go back to a certain stage in history, say Europe 1848 or India 1944 we can describe what happened and also (with some effort) why. Afterwards we can point to the reasons. But that specific train of events at the time was not determined, unavoidable or, to put it in religious terms, pre-ordained. At the time a multitude of developments inside the then frame of possibilities were open. Or to put it in another way: there is no great book in heaven where everything is written. Man makes himself and continuously shapes his history. (And Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao were not “inspired”, they wrote and worked out of the possibilities of their time.)

History that, which has happened, is continuously being reappraised. It might be an apocryphal story that Zhou Enlai when asked about the French revolution answered that it was too early to comment. I ought to have asked him but never did. Though he was right of course.

In the same way there is no end to history (except that there can be an end to humanity as there surely is an end to my own life.) We might say that socialism could be the end of pre-

history and the beginning of conscious history. But that would not be the great harmony. Such a continuum, a lasting state of harmony, cannot exist. Class conflict would disappear with classes, but as Mao pointed out conflicts would continue. Even in ten thousand years.

This is not a deviation from the subject. It is a way of getting closer to the answers. Because what is the experience of the working class and its allies during this present historical period? and what wars are we talking of?

The officially mighty Second International (that accurately had described the coming war in its extraordinary Congress in Basel in 1912) collapsed as built of cards when the imperialist war became a reality in 1914. Despite the decades of revolutionary rhetoric the leading cadres had nearly to a man been co-opted up to the ruling class and the masses lulled to apathy by the popular culture in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Their wages for that were mass deaths.

And in practice M. N. Roy and “Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party” even after that catastrophe seem to have had their case proven by what happened in Hitlerite Germany and then later in the large French Communist Party during the post-World War II decolonization in North Africa.

Look at Saar! On January 13 1935 the people of Saar – which was under League of Nations mandate since 1920 – voted. The elections were under international supervision. The choice for the people was between immediate reunion with Germany or a continuation as an independent League of Nations mandate.

Ever since Hitler’s Machtübernahme as Reichskanzler on January 30, 1933 trade unionists, socialists, communists, intellectuals and

Jews had fled over the border to Saar from the mounting terror in the new Germany, the Third Reich.

The working class parties in the Saar were not weak. The electorate was an informed one. The rising wave of that Nazi terror in Germany was well-known. The concentration camps, the murders during “the night of long knives” in June 1934, the anti-Semitic pogroms, all were known. Still on January 13, 1935 in free and internationally supervised elections 90.3% of the people of the Saar voted for Hitler.

The reason was not some strange Teutonic nationalism. It was a simple economic one. By printing money and embarking on a rapid re-armament for a coming war the government of Hitler had decreased unemployment in Germany from 26.3% in 1933 to 14.9% in 1934. (As the war preparations went on, the number of unemployed continued falling: 11.6% in 1935, 8.3% in 1936, 4.6% in 1937, 2.1% in 1938.) The working class and its allies supported Hitler – even if many being former communists and socialists were a little doubtful – because Germany was beginning to experience full employment and the social security and labour protection regulations became close to those of the Social Democratic Scandinavian countries.

Mark you, for those who resisted the Nazis among communists and socialists (or Liberals and Christians) and for Jews whatever their social beliefs and standing, the terror was cruel. But if one kept silent and just went along as usual then life was better in the Third Reich than before and both children and parents had the possibility of good and well organized vacations.

Of course for political reasons we did not write this at that time. (We during the war even kept the fiction that the Austria that had been a bastion for

virulent Nazis had been an “occupied country”.)

But the results of the election in Saar were, as I myself remember, a shock to people like my parents and other social democrats. And the Saar election determined then both the change in the Comintern and the Soviet foreign policy. In the Comintern it took a struggle to change the former sectarian policy that had led to the defeat in Germany. Magazines such as “Geganangriff” in Prague that up to then had written as if the revolution in Germany was near and even the paramilitary “SA”, the Nazi party *Sturmabteilung*, was going to become anti-Hitler now published more realistic articles.

The Soviet foreign policy changed course in face of the threat from Nazi Germany. Pierre Laval was invited to Moscow and on May 2, 1935, France and the USSR concluded the pact of mutual assistance. As the French press reported he spoke up against the then purely anti-military strategy of the French party, “M. Stalin understands and fully approves the French policy of national defense”.

We all know that the attempt to form a broad anti-fascist front against the “aggressor states, Germany, Italy, Japan” failed. That was not proof of a lack of will from the governments of Great Britain, France; on the contrary their main interest was appeasement of these, their rivals, in order to unleash Hitler – and them – in a war against the Soviet Union. But behind that failure was the real failure to mobilize the working class in these imperialistic states for a common front.

You can see the reason for that political short sightedness by the weak support among the British working class for the independence of India; the general popular feeling there was as that in France for Algerian independence a generation later.

Too large a section of the working class in the “democratic” imperial countries had become convinced that colonialism gave them material gains. But worse was to come. During the Second World War, the German authorities saw to it that even ordinary soldiers could get direct benefit of individual plunder. Hermann Goering made a special point of this. Through the ordinary post, the soldiers in the occupied countries could send home what they had been able to get their hands on from the subjugated people. At the same time, the German state exploited the occupied countries and gave a small portion of the proceeds directly to the German people. As the occupied countries around Germany sunk to poverty and starvation the German people lived better than any other people on the continent. Plunder was institutionalized to keep the living standard of the Germans on a “ruling race” level. (When it rains on the hen it drips on the chicken.)

I am rather convinced that Hitler would have got a clear majority in fair and free German elections even in the early spring of 1945. The propaganda was efficient. The belief in ultimate “wonder weapons” general. Nearly every man drafted to the army had in the East also been directed to participate in the “cleansing” and have his hands bloodied in Nazi war crimes. Thus he had a fear that he would be subject to reprisals if and when Hitler lost. The Allied air-war had taken a great toll of civilian lives (without damaging the German war effort very much). The Nazi party relief service for the victims of the air-war functioned extremely well (you can read about that in the Victor Klemperer diaries).

The Nazi regime was genocidal. The horrors of the crimes it committed are real. But it had an efficient ideological indoctrination and at the same time as it managed to make the

ordinary Germans in the army accomplices in some of the worst excesses it kept the living standard of the people relatively high by exploiting the occupied countries. Throughout the period the intellectual and bureaucratic elite – often despising the vulgarity of the Nazis – and existing high above the ordinary people worked out the guidelines that later – when the Nazi regime had collapsed but the German state once more was dominant in central Europe – were to become the framework of what is now called the European Union. The upper-class German elite did not lose the war.

It was this situation that later made the political work of communists and other anti-Nazis so very difficult in that Soviet occupation zone that was to become the German Democratic Republic. I discussed this in the beginning of the fifties with very candid comrades I had met already during the war. Western Germany of course was different; there the old Nazis were at the helm during the Adenauer years. At that time communists and people like me could there be jailed for thinking and writing out of order. When traveling by train through West Germany at that time I was careful to keep newspapers and other material in German from the German Democratic Republic out of sight in the compartment.

The economic crisis is deepening. The corporative compromise by which the reformists during the post-war years assured the masses of a certain security has tumbled. Against this there are mass protests even in the United States. Of course there are violent protests in countries like Greece and Spain that are not only hard hit by the crisis but victims of the new offensive by the European Union. There the unemployment rate goes up towards that of the German Weimar Republic 1932. People are desperate. They

struggle. But they are disorganized. The one European political force that looks willing and able to take over is now as in the early nineteen thirties the well organized extreme right. The daughter of Le Pen today in “Front National” takes up questions that are close to the masses while the French “Left” is unable to talk in class terms and does not dare to open its mouth to state the necessity of smashing their corrupt state and its decaying economy.

The situation I am describing is not new. The genocide of the North American autochthonous “Indian” population got its modern legal framework when the Indian Removal Act was signed into law by President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830. This Removal Act had strong support because it gave access to land.

Through the following decades there was an intense and growing conflict about these lands between the slave states that needed them for cotton as their original lands had become arid through over exploitation (Georgia was thus changing from cotton production to being a stud state for breeding slaves) and the new settlers from Europe. During the civil war this was decided by the Homestead Act of 1862 that was signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862. He who was 21, white or freed slave and had never taken up arms against the United States could claim a federal land grant.

This was considered a progressive law. It gave the immigrants fleeing from the despotism in Europe a chance for a new life. The act created a class of independent farmers that became a pillar for the form of republic that was shaped by the victory of the North in the Civil war. But that act was at the same time a phase of a genocidal land grab policy that saw its end the 29 December 1890 with the massacre at Wounded Knee that finalized the

armed resistance of the autochthonous so called “Indians” whose land had been grabbed.

This is relevant to us. The latter part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth saw great class struggles in the United States. The First International became a strong political force in the United States. Time upon time from the sixties in the nineteenth century onwards towards our times the mass trade unions and working class organizations rose to shake the dominant capitalist society. And time upon time then they were smashed. The United States labour movement has a heroic history that should be studied.

But we have to understand that these movements had been made possible by a genocide. The revolutionary refugee from the defeat in Europe organized his brethren, the workers, for a socialist future in a free bourgeois democracy made possible by the dispossessing and killing of the original people. That is a historical dichotomy we have to see and understand.

The imperialist countries are now in their worst economic and political crisis since the early nineteen-thirties. As I write this the Spanish people that suffered a horrible defeat in 1939 now have an unemployment rate of 21.5%, close to that of Germany at the end of the Weimar republic and the “seizure of power” by Hitler on 30 January 1933.

There is a difference though. In 1933 the working class organizations that were defeated in Germany were strong. Today the old organizations in Spain as in all our countries seem weak, disorganized and there are now not only the traditional ethnic differences as immigration has created new ones. But the working class and its allies are not muted, class struggle

is objectively getting sharper and there are new types of mass organizations taking form. In the short run the situation is open ended.

Looking at the United State, not to speak of Great Britain and France, and comparing them to what they were when they seemed to rule the world, they surely are becoming paper tigers. But as chairman Mao said paper tigers have very real claws and these are changing the imperialist wars.

The new imperialist wars in these last decades have some characteristics of their own. The wars and intrigues are aimed at not only winning but to fundamentally smash states like Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Libya. Just now it seems that the attempt will be to liquidate also Iran and Syria as state entities. This is a new quality.

These wars are not just “normal” colonial or imperialist wars to get control over natural resources and markets. Of course there are economic reasons, oil for instance, but to that comes another interest. These are wars aimed at liquidating the very state structure of countries that by developing a certain independence can be seen as a hindrance by the United States imperialists and their subsidiaries or rivals. If you compare total economic costs and gains by the United States in their Iraqi war you will find the seemingly irrational fact that even though many sections of the ruling class have made fabulous profit from the war the total cost for the United States by far outnumbers the gains. Still the war is a rational war for the United States imperialism.

That imperialist and colonial wars have been cruel, that the troops behave in a de-humanizing way is not new. Any descriptions of war from these last centuries give example of this. The

ruling classes have in certain types of wars – colonial or civil wars – used the most despicable methods. That is not unknown.

You in India know this well. You have read about the British reprisals during and after what they called “the mutiny”! Also today in the war against the people, governmental forces use methods such as rape as a counter-insurgency weapon. Such organized rape is not a question of male lust and sexuality; it is consciously used to denigrate. To try to break the pride of the people.

The specificity of colonial wars and of the Nazi war methods – especially in the East – was that these methods were used regularly; rape and torture were political weapons. Acts of rape and torture and murder for private reasons on the other hand were not allowed. They were considered criminal. In Nazi occupied Europe individual killing of a Jew was punished according to the law. Individual gratification of sadistic lust in a concentration camp was severely punished. In that Himmler was strict. (Something that the Hollywood films do not seem to know.)

Here the United States in its wars this last decade in Iraq and Afghanistan shows a new quality. The SS tortured and raped in the course of duty. The abuses of detainees at Abu Ghraib, the peeing on dead enemies in Afghanistan, the ritual torture in Guantanamo Bay Naval Base are signs of a different army culture than that of Himmler’s SS.

But still more important is the conscious attempt to achieve a destruction of the nation. In Iraq the United States intentionally attempted – and to a large extent succeeded – to uproot and stamp out the very history

and tradition of Iraq. The looting and destruction of museums and libraries of the highest world importance, the use of the army to raze some of the oldest and most valuable historical sites in the world, the planned decimation, killing off of Iraqi intellectuals were all policies to liquidate a state that by showing signs of developing on its own was considered becoming a threat to the regional hegemony of the United States. The United States is using the same type of methods as those Rome used against Carthage. For the same reason.

The American Century lasted more or less a century – from the Spanish-American war in 1898 until these present years. In those parts where the empire directly tried to establish itself – South America, South East Asia, East Asia – the memories of violence and lust will be painful. The areas where the empire tried to reach suzerainty and cultural dominance as Europe, the dominance is receding, but still there. We all, with shame, will remember our cringing, servile politicians and academics. If the working class and its allies in this stage will be able to save us from being drawn deep down in a maelstrom created by the downward spin of the United States Empire is an open question.

We can and must work and organize. We do so with the same bitter hope in a dark age that drove the members of the Resistance during the Nazi occupation in Europe and the Chinese patriots – communists and their allies – during the Japanese “kill all” period in China. The goal is clearly visible but we cannot be sure how long the struggle will have to take in this bitter epoch when the paper tiger is on the rampage. Only our descendants in a future near or far will know the answer to that.

**PM**

## India: Punjab – a report on Jan Myrdal’s talk in Ludhiana

*“The Political organization has the Central Role in Raising the Consciousness of People”*

by **Buta Singh, Sanhati**

In America, and especially in Europe, the class consciousness of people has taken a downturn and this is the cause for domination of bourgeois ideology and in organizing public opinion for unjust imperialist wars. That is why there is no strong opposition to these wars and aggressions among the people of imperialist countries.”

This was stated by Jan Myrdal, a famous Marxist thinker and literary figure, in a heavily attended program in Punjabi Bhavan in Ludhiana which was held under the chairmanship of Prof. AK Maleri, Prof. Jagmohan Singh, Satnam, Prof. Ajmer Aulakh and Gautam Navlakha. He was introduced by Prof. Jagmohan Singh to the audience as an anti-imperialist activist and literary authority known throughout the world. In his key-note address Myrdal said that the imperialist wars have assumed an important role in the world due to weakened working class movement. He stressed that the people do not gain political consciousness spontaneously rather it is imparted by the political organization of the working class. He said that the Nazis had achieved success in elections by corrupting the consciousness of their people promising them gains in the loot of Europe. The genocides being carried out by the imperialist USA is not a new thing and one should remember that it is built on the mass scale extermination of the Red Indians. It attacks other countries to control them but is careful to not destroy their oil resources and installations and instead destroys their cultural

heritages, history and civilizations. Quoting Mao Zedong he said that though the US imperialism is a paper tiger but it has a great capability of inflicting heavy casualties and destruction to maintain its imperialist grip on the people of the world. In spite of great changes in the world system the plunder of wage labour still holds the key to imperialist exploitation though the mental labour has assumed huge proportions. The developing of the war machine has always been an important aspect of imperialism. The struggles like “occupy Wall Street” are important but they lack the required political perspective and direction as the political organization which can lead the people to victory is not present. He said that the imperialists have succeeded in splitting up the people of Syria, Iraq and other Arab countries on religious and sectarian lines thus sidetracking the struggles of the people and pitching them one against the other. While answering the questions of the audience he stressed that it is duty of the movements in various countries to enact change in the system in accordance with the objective situation prevailing in respective countries and no single center can lead the movements in various countries. While briefing on his meetings with Mao Zedong he said that he was a genius who could creatively apply Marxist theory according to the social conditions and history of China. Gautam Navlakha translated his speech and his answers to the questions raised by the listeners.

Gautam Navlakha also dwelt on the

situation prevailing in the field of democratic rights. He explained on the current war going on against the people in the name of Green Hunt and called on the audience to understand that it is not a war to establish peace by destroying the Maoist violence as the rulers call it but its real mission is to open up the huge natural resources of the country for the plunder of the corporate houses. He said that the war against the people has been going on for the last six decades in various regions like Kashmir, North-East, etc and Operation Green Hunt is its current avatar crusading against the tribal heartland of India. The rulers are extensively oppressing the people through black laws such as sedition and UAPA.

A new book by Jan Myrdal “the Red Star Over India” was also released. Many prominent personalities, like Darshan Khatkar, Kawaljit Khanna, Narbhinder, Balwant Makhu, Sardara Singh Mahal, Amolak Singh, Sukhdarshan Natt Balbir Parwana and many journalists and others like Dr. Darshanpal, Col. A S Brar, and many literary and progressive persons, trade union leaders and activists from the revolutionary and democratic movement participated. In the end, resolutions were passed demanding Sedition and other draconian laws, condemning postponement of the event showing “Jashne-Azadi” and attacks on journalists in the Punjab.

**PM**

## **JNU Forum against War - Pamphlet on expansion of the Operation Green Hunt to the North-East**

[In recent months as the anti-big dam movement is gaining strength in Assam, the powers that be have been on their job. News papers and TV channels are being fed with the propaganda that Maoists (and possibly China!) are behind the agitation (<http://www.assamtribune.com/scripts/detailsnew.asp?id=jan1312/at06>). The media have been dutifully reproducing this concoction for consumption of general public. This appears to be a ploy to distract attention from the real issues of loss of livelihood and ecological disaster. We are publishing a pamphlet issued last year by the JNU Forum Against War On People. Although a little dated, it addresses questions which have become all the more urgent.-Ed]

*“The government has lost the confidence of the people.*

*It has decided to dismiss the people and appoint another one” - Brecht.*

As the Indian state's fascist war on its people intensifies, Operation Green Hunt has not remained confined to the regions of central and eastern India alone, nor only has it remained restricted to the battlefield. Any kind of resistance by the people and their organizations in order to protect their dignity and livelihood and challenging the neo-liberal agenda of the Indian ruling classes and any voice in support of the people, irrespective of geographical location, comes under brutal attack by the 'joint forces' mobilized by the Indian state. The 'joint forces' of the Indian state comprise of the army, the air force, the paramilitary, the police force, the IB, vigilante gangs like Harnad Vahini, Salwa Judum along with the judiciary, corporate media and the sold-out section of the intelligentsia. Operation Green Hunt proceeds not only through the expensive weapons of the Greyhounds and the CoBRAs but also through fake encounters, branding of all forms of dissent as 'anti-national', 'anti-development', or 'the biggest internal security threat'. These forces are shielded by the criminal draconian laws like UAPA, AFSPA, MCOCA, Chhattisgarh Public Safety Act, and so on. All the ruling-class political parties like the Congress, the BJP and the CPI(M) have come together to justify this fascist war which is aimed to violently throw peasants and adivasis of this country out of their means of subsistence and reduce them to utter pauperization, in the name of democracy, development and peace.

In recent months, fake encounters have become one of the most potent weapons in the hands of the 'joint forces' to kill people in struggles and their leaders. In Odisha alone more than 30 people have been killed fake encounters since the beginning of Operation Green Hunt, with heightened frequency in the last two months. In continuation of these fake encounters, the paramilitary forces have

claimed to killed three cadres of the CPI (Maoist) in Sundergarh district of Odisha, on 12 February. As reported in the mainstream media, the alleged Maoists were killed in a fierce encounter with the 'security' forces, and arrested three 'hardcore Maoists' from Assam. The three accused: Aditya Bora, Tingraj Orang and Asik Sabor have been allegedly close to the ULFA and were found imparting military training and trying to establish a Maoist base in Assam. Aditya Bora has been also identified by the police as a central committee member of the Maoists, and this was faithfully parroted by the pliant media, uncritically reproducing the police version. The Odisha police celebrated this 'reported arrest from the so-called encounter site' as the conclusive proof of Maoist-ULFA links. All three were illegally detained by the police and tortured in the name of interrogation for many days rather than producing them in front of a magistrate.

The ambit of Operation Green Hunt has now been extended to the North-East as well. On 28th January, 6 people were arrested from different districts of Assam for being supposed 'Maoist activists'. The arrested persons were Kishore Das of Sipajhar in Darrang district, Nibash Hajong of Silapathar in Dhemaji, Dhaniram Das of Lakhpathar in Dhemaji, Diganta Gogoi of Borguri in Tinsukia, Jun Bora of Merapani in Golaghat and Maneka Medhi of Pengeri in Tinsukia district. All of them were part of the anti-dam movement led by Brihot Nadibandh Pratirodh Mancha (Resistance Forum against Big Dams). The proposed construction of 168 big dams in the North-East for generating 63000MW of electricity has posed a direct threat to the people of the region. The Indian state is hell bent on proceeding with these mass destruction projects to fulfill the corporate interests and diktats of multinational

agencies like World Bank and Asian Development Bank. With utter disregard of all social costs, scientific opinion and even government reports against these projects, the central government imposing these big-dams as a part of its 'Look East Policy', so as to sell the water resources of the region to the East-Asian market. Already more than 30,000 people—mostly from tribal communities—have been displaced by the big dams in Arunachal. The life and livelihood of the people of Assam too are in grave danger. In return of this destruction some paltry jobs on contract and a mere 25MW of power are thrown as crumbs to Assam and Arunachal. Being fully aware of the devastating consequences, the people of Assam have been waging a militant struggle against the looming total socio-economic and ecological destruction under the banner of Brihot Nadibandh Pratirodh Mancha. Various democratic and peoples' organizations like Krishok Mukti Songram Samiti (KMSS), Assam Student and Youth Organization (ASYO) etc. have been active in this struggle.

The Indian state has identified this peoples' movement as the biggest impediment to its mega-dam projects. Hence they have been branded as 'Maoist frontal organizations' and its members have been put behind bars. With civil rights activists, social workers, journalists like Binayak Sen, Himanshu Kumar, Mahasweta Devi, Arundhati Roy, Raja Sarkhel, Prasun Chatterjee, Seema Azad etc. who are harassed and persecuted as 'Maoist sympathizers', more names from Assam such as Akhil Gogoi, the secretary of KMSS, and now Aditya Bora has been added. Aditya Bora

has been one of the active members of the anti-dam movement, and it is no surprise that the state has found the excuse of 'Maoism' to slap trumped-up charges on him and throw him into prison. Asom Chah Jonogosthi Surakhya Samiti (Assam Tea Community Protection Committee) which along with many other organizations of the tea garden workers have also been branded as "Maoists" and are facing severe repression. Tingraj Orang and Asik Sabor, arrested along with Aditya Bora, have been well-known activists from this community. British colonialists had envisaged Assam as a huge tea plantation with indentured 'cheap labour' brought in from central and eastern India. There is a fear now among the rulers that the historical ties of these communities in Assam and the adivasis of central India will be revived. Hence is the constant evocation of the spectre of Maoism by the regional rulers led by the chief minister Tarun Gogoi, and the subsequent attempts to silent all forms of dissent.

Oppose Operation Green Hunt! As the ruling classes' 'joint forces' intensify and expand Operation Green Hunt we call upon all the democratic forces in this country to expose and oppose the nefarious designs of the Indian state wherever people stand in resistance to its neo-liberal agenda. We must bring out the everyday reality of Operation Green Hunt as experienced by the people of the subcontinent, and stand in solidarity with the uncompromising struggles of the resisting masses for their livelihood and dignity against this fascist war on the people.

**PM**

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*Contd. from... Page 17*

troops\*. These poor soldiers are now fighting against the poor people of the region resisting the armed might of the State. The poor are killing each other. When this brutal war is over, when the poor have killed each other to the last, and when you have seized their lands, you will sell the precious mineral wealth underneath these lands to foreign multinationals.

You may call this lawless looting business as usual. But your violent, brazen and shameless deeds are continuously stoking the anger of millions in this country. We will make every effort to channel this anger lest it dissipate, so that they can realize the ideals of equality, and social and economic justice which form the bedrock of our Constitution, and so that India becomes a real democracy rather than the pathetic caricature it has become, where the faux symbolism of the tricolour matters more than its meaning.

If, after reading this letter, you think that I am wrong, I am willing to engage in a public discussion with you on these issues.

[\* The proposed steel plant in Salboni in the West Bengal Jungle mahal is not being built by the Naveen Jindal group (Jindal Steel and Power) but by the Sajjan Jindal group (Jindal Steel Works). However, the nature of land-grabbing and dispossession of the peasants is the same, and even the laws pertaining to acquisition of adivasi land have been violated.-Ed]

**PM**

# Where Ants Drove Out Elephants

*The Story of People's Resistance to Displacement in Jharkhand*

By **Stan Swamy, Sanhati**

This article is an introduction to the trajectory of peoples' movements against displacement in Jharkhand in the last few years. As the author writes, the resistance in Jharkhand has resulted in the fact that "[o]ut of the about one hundred MOUs signed by Jharkhand government with industrialists, hardly three or four companies have succeeded in acquiring some land, set up their industries and start partial production." – Ed.

Displacement is painful for anybody – to leave the place where one was born and brought up, the house that one built with one's own labour. It is most painful when no alternate resettlement has been worked out and one has nowhere to go. And when it comes to the indigenous Adivasi People for whom their land is not just an economic commodity but a source of spiritual sustenance, it can be heart-rending.

A very conservative estimate indicates that during the last 50 years approximately 2 crore 13 lakh people have been displaced in the country owing to big projects such as mines, dams, industries, wild-life sanctuaries, field firing range etc. Of this, at least 40%, approximating 85 lakhs, are Indigenous Adivasi People. Of all the displaced; only one-fourth have been resettled. The remaining were given some cash compensation arbitrarily fixed by local administration and then neatly forgotten.

Independent studies done during the mid-1990s reveal that in Jharkhand about 15 lakh persons have been displaced and about 15 lakh acres of land alienated from mainly Adivasi people. Needless to say, during the last 15 years a lot more displacement of people and alienation of land have taken place. Strange but true, rehabilitation of the displaced was never taken seriously by any govt during all these six decades when the process of industrialization for 'national development' has been in vogue. In

fact there was no rehabilitation policy at all! MOU-signing spree after the creation of Jharkhand

The real reason for the creation of Jharkhand as a separate state in November 2000 was not so much to respect and honour the long cherished wish and struggle of the indigenous people to govern themselves as per their culture & traditions, but in view of opening up the vast mineral resources to national & international mining companies whose pressure was increasingly brought to bear on the government. Quite understandably, one MOU after another was signed between the state government and various companies without any reference or consultation or consent of the mainly Adivasi people in whose land all this natural wealth is stored.

Legal safeguards meant to protect Adivasi land from being alienated to non-Adivasis such as The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (1908), The Santal Parganas Tenancy Act (1949), the Constitutional provisions through the Vth Schedule, The Provisions (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (1996), some significant Supreme Court judgments such as The Samata Judgment (1997) were and continue to be neatly ignored by the central & state govts in generously awarding vast tracts of land to industrialists at their asking. Over hundred such MOUs were signed during 2001 and 2010. Rough estimates indicate that about 1.4 lakh acres of land have been signed off. A cruel betrayal of the Adivasi

people for whom land is not just an economic commodity but a source of spiritual/cultural sustenance.

**Enough is enough . . .**

In a span of three to four years the Jharkhandi people began to realize that the central & state governments were not for peoples' welfare but that they were laying steps to sell off peoples' land, their water & forest resources together with all the mineral riches to corporate houses. They decided to act. Wherever projects together with land requirements were announced, people mobilized and organized themselves and said a definite 'no' to the government and companies. People's Resistance Movements Against Displacement sprang up in different parts of Jharkhand from 2004 onwards.

Even as people stood together in the form of micro-resistance movements, the industrialists, local administration, police, lower judiciary, most of print & electronic media and the urban middle class joined forces. They began to sing the song of 'development' and accused the peoples' resistance movements as 'anti-development'. The police started to harass the leaders of people's movements as 'obstructing government work' and as having extremist leanings. It is this situation which brought together activists leading anti-displacement struggles, some socially concerned intellectuals, and a few members of the media, a few folk artists, and some journalists.

After a series of discussions & reflections it was decided to bring together the various anti-displacement movements under some umbrella organizations so as to strengthen people's struggles and to express support & solidarity to each other. Three to four such macro bodies emerged. Public meetings, rallies, advocacy, press conferences were held to educate and motivate the people in struggle. It was made very clear that these anti-displacement movements will not enter into any dialogue with the government or the company to discuss rehabilitation facilities for particular projects since it would imply that people accept to be displaced.

By 2009 it became clear that companies are not making any in roads in Jharkhand in terms of acquiring land and setting up their industries whereas they are ready with their large investments and latest technology and the only thing they want is land. The corporate houses then started to exert pressure on the central & state governments to take some drastic steps by which this stalemate could be put an end to.

Operation Green Hunt . . . meant to hunt out the people and clear their green fields & forests to give to mining companies.

A new philosophy was created to the effect that development is not taking place in the tribal belt of central India because of the 'menace of Naxalism' and if the Naxals/Maoists can be eliminated, the government will undertake systematic development programs and the tribal population will catch up in the developmental process. Hundreds of police and CRPF jawans were sent into the villages of the so-called "red zone". They did not have the guts to go deep into the jungles and

confront the Naxals. Instead they gave vent to their frustration on the helpless innocent village folk. They harassed them, beat them up, ransacked their houses, humiliated the elderly, dishonoured the women, arrested or shot any young person. They were not accountable to any civil authority. The peaceful life of village communities was shattered.

Protests against state repression by human rights & civic rights groups started in good earnest. During 2010 public meetings, rallies, advocacy work condemning state action against its own citizens were conducted. At the same time, resistance to displacement was also strengthened. The end result was despite the state coming down so heavily on them, the indigenous adivasi / moolvasi people steadfastly refused to part with their land for the industrialists. Out of the about one hundred MOUs signed by Jharkhand govt with industrialists, hardly three or four companies have succeeded in acquiring some land, set up their industries and start partial production. This too they did by dividing local communities, enticing them with false promises or threatening them by using hired hooligans. Most significantly, the big companies which asked for hundreds and thousands of acres of land were turned away empty handed. This is indeed a heroic achievement of the poorest of the poor against the mighty industrialist giants.

### **'Operation Anaconda'!**

This operation brought in a change of strategy in the state's war against the Adivasi people. It was unleashed in August 2011. Anaconda, the huge serpent of the Amazon basin in Latin America, was the code name. A thickly forested area by name of 'Saranda' in Singhbhum district which had been under the influence of CPI (Maoists)

was chosen as a forewarning of things to come. So now on it will not be a hunt spread out over a large area but pin point smaller compact areas as "terrorist affected" and swipe the Adivasi people out even as Anaconda swipes every thing in its way.

Thousands of police and para-military forces were brought in from the different parts of the country to do the swiping operation. Even the names of these battalions ("Greyhounds", "Cobras", and "Scorpions") were supposed to evoke a sense of fright among people. They were mostly outsiders who did not know the culture, language of the Adivasi people and they did not have any sympathy towards the simple village people. Their achievement during these months was three villagers dead, three in death bed, several houses destroyed and granaries incinerated. They swept through village after village, destroyed the straw roofs, drove the people out of their homes, burnt their clothes, valuables, stole their money and killed their cattle.

This cruel action of the state was brought to light and condemned by human rights activists, artists, leftist political parties, press & electronic media. An appeal was made to the National Human Rights Commission which was good enough to respond and made its investigation although its final report is still awaited.

The central & state governments have gone into face-saving exercise, ended the infamous Operation Anaconda, offered some monetary relief to the victims and are now speaking of developing Saranda villages with top bureaucrats in command. The end result of this cruel exercise on people is that the Jharkhand government has allotted iron-ore to 19 steel companies.

# India Land Grab: Forced Evictions in Orissa

*AmnestyInternational on Jan 27, 2012*

Police and security guards forcibly removed people from land earmarked for a Vedanta toxic waste dump.

Research by Amnesty International and other local and international groups documents the serious and continuing pollution caused by the refinery's operations. Despite the string of decisions against Vedanta, the company has failed to remedy the pollution.

"This decision vindicates the ongoing peaceful protests by the local communities near Lanjigarh to prevent this expansion from going ahead as it would further pollute their lands and water sources," said Amnesty International's India researcher Ramesh Gopalakrishnan.

"The Indian authorities have remained silent on the issues of cleaning up the refinery and monitoring the health of local communities. They must act on this now," he added.

by Jason Overdorf, January 31, 2012

India's great land grab continues, with police forcibly evicting tribal villagers in Orissa from land sold to UK-based Vedanta Resources to use as a toxic waste dump, Amnesty International reports.

The evictions come amid a fraught battle between the mining industry and India's tribal peoples, as well as environmental activists. Orissa is among India's poorest and least developed states, but its mineral riches have led to a breakneck race to strip the land of iron, bauxite and other metals needed to fuel the country's infrastructure and manufacturing sectors.

To gain access to these riches, however, the state government has conspired with industry to run roughshod over the rights of its indigenous peoples, according to their advocates. Local resentment has also helped to make Orissa one of the flashpoints in India's simmering Maoist insurgency — a crisis that recently resulted in the deployment of some 50,000 police and paramilitary personnel.

Earlier, Amnesty alleged that Vedanta has done nothing to clean up environmental damage at the site of its Lanjigarh aluminum refinery, after the High Court of Orissa once again supported the central government's decision to reject Vedanta Aluminium's plans to expand the facility after finding the project violated India's environmental laws.

"Research by Amnesty International and other local and international groups documents the serious and continuing pollution caused by the refinery's operations," Amnesty said in a press release. "Despite the string of decisions against Vedanta, the company has failed to remedy the pollution."

Vedanta has vowed to challenge the case again in the Supreme Court.

In 2010, similar accusations of rampant violations of laws designed to protect forests and the environment prompted India's Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MoEF) to cancel permission for a \$1.7 billion bauxite mining project in Orissa's Niyamgiri Hills — an area held sacred by the local tribe.

The state-run Orissa Mining Corporation (OMC) has challenged the cancellation, and on Monday the Supreme Court fixed April 9 for a hearing on the company's challenge of cancellation, according to India's Business Standard newspaper. The court had earlier fixed January 30, as the date for final hearing and disposal of the case.

But Vedanta's activities — and troubles — are only the tip of the iceberg.

Local villagers are also battling against the allotment of land to Korean steel giant Posco — a deal that represented the largest foreign direct investment ever attracted to India when it was signed six years ago — and the much ballyhooed project exists only on paper. Despite being owned by the government, OMC is under investigation for alleged illegal mining activities. And the Congress Party — in the opposition in the state — has lambasted the government for failing to shut down many illegal operations, despite its claims it has shuttered nearly 500 out of 600-odd mines in the state.

<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/india/india-land-grab-orissa>

**PM**

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31-03-2012

S/d  
Publisher

## Open Letter to Navin Jindal

I just finished watching a few videos showing security forces mercilessly beating villagers in Orissa, along with some heart wrenching pictures of the attack. One of the pictures was of a year and a half old child with a broken foot, another of a seventy year old woman with her blood drenched face, and yet another of a tear stricken eighty year old man with blood oozing from his forehead. Another video shows a labourer lying on a hospital bed with his broken leg, moaning from an unbearable pain, and unable to work for next three months.

I was seized with uncontrollable anger and shame as I watched these videos. I was ashamed of myself that while all these atrocities were being perpetrated, I was powerless to stop them. And who was the target of my anger? This I will describe in this letter.

Mr Jindal, according to one survey, you are the richest person in this country. You make more than 66 crore rupees annually. That comes to more than 5 crore rupees per month. As per Government economists, any villager who earns more than Rs 28 per day is not considered poor. So according to the Government, your income is 66000 times the income of an average person above the poverty line.

I cannot believe that you are so much richer than a person earning Rs 28 a day because you work 66000 times harder. You acquired your ill-gotten wealth by robbing the indigents of this country of the resources hidden beneath their lands, and by selling them. Do you see any difference between a hood who knives and robs someone on the one hand, and you who rob the poor by shedding their blood, on the other? You may disagree, but the poor on whom you have unleashed such brutality with the help of police and local hoods, cannot see even an iota of difference.

The civilized urban dwellers of this country are awed by your patriotism because the Supreme Court of India, as per a case filed by you, passed a judgment according to which every citizen of this country can hoist the tricolour every day at his or her home. But do you think that people mercilessly beaten by your hoods would be enthused to hoist the tricolour when the police and the Government who swear by it forcibly acquire their lands, and anyone brave enough to ask for compensation is brutally beaten by your hoods, and the police stands by silently during this open and ferocious attack on the public?

Mr Jindal, this tricolour is symbolic of the equality between you on the one hand, and the millions of poor people of this country, for whom you have nothing but contempt, on the other. You should be thankful that the indigents of this country are not aware of this powerful symbolism, or else they would have grabbed you by the collar, dragged you out from your palatial dwellings, beaten you and brought you to the police station where the station in charge would have thrown you in prison, had his oath to the tricolour been sincere. But, Mr Jindal, it is clear you insist on soaking this tricolour with the blood of innocent people. Don't you dare to turn the tricolour red. Otherwise the poor will drench this tricolour in their own blood, fly it, and then stand you in a queue, where you will be forced to work all day like other poor people to earn a daily wage of Rs 28. You run a management college. Do your students know that a vast gulf separates what your college teaches, and the barbarism inherent in your own 'management style'? Do the students of the Jindal Global Law School know how its founder routinely tramples upon and has complete contempt for Law and Constitution?

In order to intimidate and harass villagers demanding compensation, you entrap them in false cases in faraway provinces, so that no one would dare to raise their voice against you. Before every land grab, your hired goons brutally attack anyone who dares to raise their voice against you. You bribe the police who throw such activists in prison. Just a few days ago, the Chhattisgarh High Court filed a summons against you, but given the contempt your company has for the Law, it did not even accept the notice. How can they even dare to serve the court order, when it is your money that pays for all the police vehicles in the Raigadh district, and when it is your money that has built all the police stations? Do you also teach the Law students in your college such brilliant ways to circumvent the Law?

To facilitate land grab for your benefit, the Jungle mahal region of West Bengal is now infested with Government

*Contd. on Page 13*

# Capitalism's Real Gravediggers

## *Beware the 'Gush-Up Gospel' Behind India's Billionaires*

by Arundhati Roy, Financial Times, ZNet

### **Antilla Mansion on Altamount Road in Mumbai**

Is it a house or a home? A temple to the new India, or a warehouse for its ghosts? Ever since Antilla arrived on Altamount Road in Mumbai, exuding mystery and quiet menace, things have not been the same. "Here we are," the friend who took me there said, "pay your respects to our new ruler."

Antilla belongs to India's richest man, Mukesh Ambani. I'd read about this, the most expensive dwelling ever built, the 27 floors, three helipads, nine lifts, hanging gardens, ballrooms, weather rooms, gymnasiums, six floors of parking, and the 600 servants. Nothing had prepared me for the vertical lawn – a soaring wall of grass attached to a vast metal grid. The grass was dry in patches; bits had fallen off in neat rectangles. Clearly, "trickle down" had not worked.

But "gush-up" has. That's why in a nation of 1.2bn, India's 100 richest people own assets equivalent to a quarter of gross domestic product.

The word on the street (and in *The New York Times*) is, or at least was, that the Ambanis were not living in Antilla. Perhaps they are there now, but people still whisper about ghosts and bad luck, vastu and feng shui. I think it's all Marx's fault. Capitalism, he said, "... has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, it is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells".

In India, the 300m of us who belong to the new, post-"reforms" middle class – the market – live side by side with the ghosts of 250,000 debt-ridden farmers who have killed themselves, and of the 800m who have been impoverished and dispossessed to make way for us. And who survive on less than 50 cents a day.

Mr Ambani is personally worth more than \$20bn. He has a controlling majority stake in Reliance Industries Limited (RIL), a company with a market capitalization of Rs2.41tn (\$47bn) and an array of global business interests. RIL has a 95 per cent stake in Infotel, which a few weeks ago bought a major share in a media group that runs television news and entertainment channels. Infotel owns the only national 4G broadband licence. He also has a cricket team.

RIL is one of a handful of corporations, some family-owned, some not, that run India. Some of the others are Tata, Jindal, Vedanta, Mittal, Infosys, Essar and the other Reliance (ADAG), owned by Mukesh's brother Anil. Their race for growth has spilt across Europe, central Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Tatas, for example, run more than 100 companies in 80 countries. They are one of India's largest private-sector power companies.

Since the cross-ownership of businesses is not restricted by the "gush-up gospel" rules, the more you have, the more you can have. Meanwhile, scandal after scandal has exposed, in painful detail, how corporations buy politicians, judges, bureaucrats and media houses, hollowing out democracy, retaining only its rituals. Huge reserves of bauxite, iron ore, oil and natural gas worth trillions of dollars were sold to corporations for a pittance, defying even the twisted logic of the free market. Cartels of corrupt politicians and corporations have colluded to underestimate the quantity of reserves, and the actual market value of public assets, leading to the siphoning off of billions of dollars of public money. Then there's the land grab – the forced displacement of communities, of millions of people whose lands are being appropriated by the state and handed to private enterprise. (The concept of inviolability of private property rarely applies to the property of the poor.) Mass revolts have broken out, many of them armed. The government has indicated that it will deploy the army to quell them.

Corporations have their own sly strategy to deal with dissent. With a minuscule percentage of their profits they run hospitals, educational institutes and trusts, which in turn fund NGOs, academics, journalists, artists, film-makers, literary festivals and even protest movements. It is a way of using charity to lure opinion-makers into their sphere of influence. Of infiltrating normality, colonizing ordinariness, so that challenging them seems as absurd (or as esoteric) as challenging "reality" itself. From here, it's a quick, easy step to "there is no alternative".

The Tatas run two of the largest charitable trusts in India. (They donated \$50m to that needy institution the Harvard Business School.) The Jindals, with a major stake in mining, metals and power, run the Jindal Global Law School, and

will soon open the Jindal School of Government and Public Policy. Financed by profits from the software giant Infosys, the New India Foundation gives prizes and fellowships to social scientists.

Capitalism's real gravediggers, it turns out, are not Marx's revolutionary proletariat but its own delusional cardinals, who have turned ideology into faith.

Having worked out how to manage the government, the opposition, the courts, the media and liberal opinion, what remains to be dealt with is the growing unrest, the threat of "people power". How do you domesticate it? How do you turn protesters into pets? How do you vacuum up people's fury and redirect it into blind alleys? The largely middle-class, overtly nationalist anti-corruption movement in India led by Anna Hazare is a good example. A round-the-clock, corporate-sponsored media campaign proclaimed it to be "the voice of the people". It called for a law that undermined even the remaining dregs of democracy. Unlike the Occupy Wall Street movement, it did not breathe a word against privatization, corporate monopolies or economic "reforms". Its principal media backers successfully turned the spotlight away from huge corporate corruption scandals and used the public mauling of

politicians to call for the further withdrawal of discretionary powers from government, for more reforms and more privatization.

After two decades of these "reforms" and of phenomenal but jobless growth, India has more malnourished children than anywhere else in the world, and more poor people in eight of its states than 26 countries of sub-Saharan Africa put together. And now the international financial crisis is closing in. The growth rate has plummeted to 6.9 per cent. Foreign investment is pulling out.

Capitalism's real gravediggers, it turns out, are not Marx's revolutionary proletariat but its own delusional cardinals, who have turned ideology into faith. They seem to have difficulty comprehending reality or grasping the science of climate change, which says, quite simply, that capitalism (including the Chinese variety) is destroying the planet.

"Trickle down" failed. Now "gush-up" is in trouble too. As early stars appear in Mumbai's darkening sky, guards in crisp linen shirts with crackling walkie-talkies appear outside the forbidding gates of Antilla. The lights blaze on. Perhaps it is time for the ghosts to come out and play.

**PM**

*Contd.. from Page 15*

At the same time, the Adivasi people who have nothing to lose but the chains of state repression, will continue to resist displacement and land alienation.

**Where lies the future ...?**

Three apparent possibilities:

1. The "red corridor" is also the mineral corridor. The state, through its war on people, may clear the mineral rich land from the indigenous adivasi and hand it over to mining corporates on a platter. The people will be driven out of their ancestral land and forced to settle down in the slums of towns & cities and eke out a living as casual and contract labour. They will lose their adivasi identity, their culture, their language, their communitarian character. The extermination of the indigenous adivasi will be complete.

2. Flocking to join the Maoist militants as the sole alternative. This is a real possibility insofar as the bourgeois state is bending over backwards to oblige the corporates rather than fulfill its constitutional obligations towards its own people, particularly the indigenous adivasi people who have been the most exploited and oppressed all through India's independent history. It is this state which has scant regard for those constitutional & legal provisions and some judicial interventions which have sought to protect and safeguard the interests of the indigenous peoples of India. Is there any wonder then the Adivasi youth constitute 99% of Maoists in Jharkhand and neighbouring states?

3. Drop the gun and start talking to Maoist militants. This is still a possibility if people who cherish the cause of justice will rise up to the

occasion. Writers, poets, artists, media persons, human rights activists/defenders, trade/labour union activists, cultural activists, each using their own forums, can surely highlight the inhumanity in the state's war on poorest of the poor. Justice-oriented legal professionals can well initiate legal action against the state for its violations of constitutional and legal provisions to protect the rights of the indigenous people. Advocacy work can be done with well-disposed legislators, parliamentarians, political parties. Christian churches, whose 90% membership consists of indigenous people in the tribal belt of central India, should surely raise their voice against the unjust displacement of adivasi people and alienation of adivasi land.

In short, it is time to stand up and be counted.

**PM**

## India: Counter Insurgency forces are mis-directed by Israeli surveillance drones, highly over-rated

by Yatish Yadav, India Today, in New Delhi, January 3, 2012

*[As imperialist and reactionary governments have placed exaggerated reliance on drones (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles or UAV's) for remote-controlled surveillance and bombing missions, the growing number of civilian casualties ("collateral damage") from armed missions (in Pakistan and Afghanistan), and confused surveillance intelligence (as reported below, and elsewhere) is generating growing doubts in counterinsurgency circles about this supposedly accurate tool. They have invested a lot in the promise of this weapon, so they do not want to give it up. — ed.]*

Images provided by drones are not actionable since it cannot penetrate foliage.

Heron drone proves a dud in tracking Maoists in Chattisgarh

In the second week of December, an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) flew over the Maoist-hit areas of Dantewada district in Chhattisgarh, picking up images of village dwellings and human movement.

At the National Technical Research Organization (NTRO) control room the information was treated as a major breakthrough since the drones deployed in the area had so far failed to provide sufficient intelligence inputs.

The state and paramilitary forces were also convinced that the images were of a Naxal camp. An operation was immediately planned. Surprise and speed were to be the key elements.

The operation was to be similar in nature to the ones successfully undertaken by the US-led allied forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan. A surrendered Maoist was also quizzed to clear the doubts about the target location.

Armed with the visuals provided by the Heron drone, a team of two units, comprising paramilitary was dispatched on foot to encircle and sanitize Teriwal village in Dantewada.

Another 125 personnel were to be air dropped at the assembly area which was some kilometres away from the presumed Naxal camp at Teriwal, as was indicated by the footage relayed by the UAV.

But on December 19, an air force MI-17 helicopter with armed

personnel on board came under fire while it was carrying out its 10th sortie. Two shots hit the rotor of the helicopter. The men had a lucky escape.

The sudden attack on the chopper caught the forces off guard. The UAV images clearly did not provide any indication of Maoist movement in the area, which was chosen to drop security personnel and was far away from the presumed rebel camp.

The drone image virtually led the forces into a trap. The suspicion about the images grew when it was discovered that the presumed Naxal camp was a nondescript village.

"Several huts and human movement were captured by the UAV cameras in Teriwal village. So it was presumed that it could be a Naxal camp," a government source said.

Chhattisgarh inspector general of police (Bastar range) T. J. Longkumer said: "Given all the factors, the operation was successful. I will not be able to comment on the UAV images. But it is very difficult to differentiate between a Naxal hideout and a normal settlement."

On the effective use of the UAVs in the war against Naxals, Longkumer stated: "We have just started getting footage from the UAV. It's too early to talk about the drones' success in getting live information."

Officially, it was shown as a successful operation as seven obsolete muzzle-loading rifles, generally used in hunting, were seized and made to look like Naxal weapons. But the inside story was to the contrary.

This fiasco has raised questions on the drone-backed operations in Maoist areas. The UAVs were procured by the Indian armed forces for high altitude land surveillance and maritime patrol missions.

But they are proving unsuccessful in tracking down Maoists since the infra-red rays emitted by the synthetic aperture radar operate with perfection in a clear landscape, but are unable to penetrate foliage in the jungle, an officer aware of the development, said.

"Images provided by drones are not actionable since it cannot penetrate foliage and many a times we have dumped these images and videos since there were nothing that could have helped us. In the Chhattisgarh operation, it gave us pictures of huts and people, but who will judge if they were really Maoists?" a senior officer said.

Another officer involved in the Naxal operation in Chhattisgarh was even more critical.

"Even if the UAV spots human beings, the question is what to do with that information? You just cannot shoot at anything that the drone spots in the jungle. This is our own country and we are not an American in Afghanistan," he said.

The tough terrain in the jungle also makes it difficult for the forces to cover the un-motorable distance on foot. The speed of movement in the jungle, depending on the terrain, could be as slow as a couple of kilometres an hour. By the time the forces reach the spot, the Naxals could be somewhere else, the officer added.

**PM**

## PEOPLE'S UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

### Growing impunity in police raj to enable loot of resources

People's Union for Democratic Rights has drawn public's attention from time-to-time to the lawless conduct of the security forces in war zones across the country where 'Operation Green Hunt' is being prosecuted. Recent developments reported from Chhattisgarh show that security forces enjoy so much impunity that they have begun to flout even the instructions/orders of the state home minister. And such is their clout that they can dismiss warrant/s issued by judicial officials knowing fully well that no action against them would ensue.

Chhattisgarh Home Minister Nanki Ram Kanwar told reporters on February 15 that police do not follow his order. He complained to them that on February 12 he had asked the SP of Korba to file a FIR against two police personnel of the Kotwali police station for molesting and attempting to rape a minor, daughter of Milon Das, resident of Dhanmarpara, in Korba district. However, the Korba SP dismissed these allegations and claimed he had not received any such order from the minister. The home minister told the media that there is Supreme Court ruling stating that mere oral complaint by a girl victim is enough in such cases for filing a FIR. This is the same Chhattisgarh police that also eulogized as "Chhattisgarh hero" a fugitive from justice and alleged rapist and killer Kartam Surya.

Kartam Surya is a 29 year old police constable who was one of the three "informal" commanders of a band of approximately 100 SPOs dubbed as "Koya Commandos". After Supreme Court declared as illegal the recruitment of SPOs nearly all of them were absorbed in a special auxiliary force constituted by the Chhattisgarh government. However, Kartam Surya was accused of raping three tribal women, age 19-23, at Sam Sehi village in the summer of 2006. On November 17, 2009, the Sessions Court issued a warrant against the accused including Kartam Surya. The prosecutor claimed that Kartam and others could not be tracked, although Kartam and other SPOs continued to engage in raid and search operations in Sukma district, living under police protection inside the police camp. Additional DG (Naxal) of police dismissed the warrant and accusation as being part of "well conceived strategy of Naxals...", the SP (Security) at Chhattisgarh police headquarters went so far as to say that Kartam Surya "was able to instill fear in ultras for his ruthlessness" and praised him for being the "Chhattisgarh hero".

The fact that police routinely flout judicial warrants/orders against their own personnel accused of rape and killing or even refuse to obey the home minister to record FIR against their personnel for molesting a minor is not an aberration. It is the inner logic of fighting a war against our own people, one in which every means fair or foul is deemed alright. It is this brief which allows for treating a killer and a rapist as a "hero" and flout government orders knowing fully well that government cannot do much since they need police force to carry out the 'dirty war' to rid the area of resistance forces and enable corporate entities to grab common resources. It is this that accounts for the state of impunity which exists in war zones of Chhattisgarh (and elsewhere) where security forces do not even care for Supreme Court orders.

PUDR urges democratic minded people to see how a war against our own people to enable corporate loot of resources is ushering us into a police raj where crimes, war crimes and crimes against humanity are a recurring feature and against which there is no relief. On the contrary, the perpetrators of these crimes are publicly lauded and police officials like Ankit Garg, facing criminal charges, are given gallantry awards.

**Paramjeet Singh and Preeti Chauhan**  
(Secretaries, PUDR)

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## CPI (M)'s 'Philistine Realism'

by Bernard D'Mello

The CPI (M), it seems, has voluntarily imprisoned itself within the confines of the Indian "bourgeois-landlord" state.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist)'s [CPI (M)] Draft Political Resolution for its 20th Congress to be held in April at Kozhikode – adopted by the party's Central Committee at its meeting in Kolkata last month – proposes to work towards the emergence of a "left and democratic alternative" to the Congress Party and the proto-fascist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Now the Left, in the party's reckoning, is itself, the CPI, the All-India Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, but the question as to who are the "democratic forces", is not difficult to fathom. In fact, the draft resolution states that "it may be necessary to rally those non-Congress, non-BJP forces which can play a role in defence of democracy, national sovereignty, secularism, federalism and defence of people's livelihood and rights". So the Indian electorate is in for another round of the party desperately trying to stitch together alliances with right-wing, regional, caste-based outfits, all in the name of keeping "communal forces out of power". The party congress will nevertheless witness the prominent display of banners proclaiming "Workers of the World Unite" and the portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin will adorn the venue, with the implied claim that the CPI (M) is the legitimate heir of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist tradition in India. Sadly though, the draft political resolution does not even suggest an intention to take the revolutionary road that was hoped for, way back at its 7th Congress in 1964.

One will, of course, have to wait

for the political-organizational report at the 20th Party Congress in April, but, going by the draft political resolution approved by the CPI (M)'s Central Committee, there is not even a faint hint that the government it headed in West Bengal for 34 years had progressively degenerated beyond all reasonable expectations. As far as the people of the state were concerned, the last straw was the party-government's resort to bloody violence on 14 March 2007 to crush peasant resistance to the grabbing of their land for a special economic zone at Nandigram which was to be developed by the Indonesian Salim business group. Was the party acting in the interest of the "basic classes" or in favour of the "big bourgeoisie, which has compromised with imperialism"? To be brutally frank, like any other ruling class party, the CPI (M)-led Left Front government relied on the armed police when the interests of the ruling classes came into open conflict with the interests of the exploited masses. It used armed police to repress a popular movement.

Now, we all know that ordinary policemen and women who are ordered to rain bullets upon their own class brethren themselves hail from the peasantry and the working class. Here was a party calling itself communist politically manipulating these sons and daughters of peasants and workers to act on behalf of the exploiters against the poor protesters at Nandigram. How can the CPI (M) then hope to lead peasant struggles against land alienation in other parts of the country when it has completely lost its credibility because of what it did at Nandigram? Without seeking pardon from the people, the draft political

resolution calls upon its members "to expand the influence and base of the party in other states", but with its credibility in ruins, this sounds utterly hollow.

Further, as we perused the draft political resolution of the party, the text gave not a hint that the party considers outfits like Jayalalithaa's All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party (TDP), H D Deve Gowda's Janata Party (Secular) as "non-Congress, non-BJP forces which", we need to repeat, "can play a role in defence of democracy, national sovereignty, secularism, federalism and defence of people's livelihood and rights". But the reality is that the CPI (M) allies with such "democratic" outfits. The AIADMK, it may be recalled, even sent kar sevaks in 1992 to assist the Sangh Parivar in the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Its sole leader, Jayalalithaa not only flaunts her ill-gotten wealth, but even revels in the worst forms of sycophancy, and has, not once, but repeatedly made common cause with the BJP. As for Chandrababu Naidu and his TDP, also a former partner of the BJP, not long ago he was, in India, the "poster boy" of the World Bank, who along with the International Monetary Fund is the fountainhead of neo-liberalism. Naidu is credited with relentlessly pursuing the neo-liberal agenda for two consecutive terms in office in Andhra Pradesh. And, Deve Gowda, whose party's name flaunts the "secular" brand, is famous for his thoroughly corrupt coalition governments in Karnataka, starting with the Congress party and ending with the BJP. These then are a sample

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## PEOPLE'S UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

### **PUDR condemns Home Ministry notification to appoint Director of the National Counter Terrorism Centre**

People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) condemns the notification issued by the Union Home Ministry on February 5, 2012 which appoints the Director of the National Counter Terrorism Centre as the "designated authority" under S2(e) of the Unlawful Activities(prevention) Act (1967). Thereby he derives concurrent powers to "search and arrest" under S 43A of the UAPA. Para 3.1 of the NCTC notification also gives NCTC power to "control and coordinate" all so-called counter-terrorism measures. NCTC was conceived by the Union Government as an agency which will perform functions relating to intelligence, investigation and operations. NCTC also enjoys overriding powers over state government in so far as para 3.5 and 5.1 of the notification requires all authorities including functionaries of the state government, which includes the police department, to provide information, documents and reports to the NCTC. Since NCTC comes under administrative control of the Intelligence Bureau, it means that IB through NCTC will now enjoy policing powers never envisaged for such an unaccountable and opaque agency.

Chief Minister of Odisha was being parsimonious when he claimed that the notification on NCTC carries "draconian implications" because it subverts the federal principle as laid down by the Constitution. Fact of the matter is that UAPA is a draconian law in itself. We would like to recall the fact that the amendments to UAPA, effected in December 2008 after the 26/11 Mumbai attack, was tabled, debated and passed by the Lok Sabha in a single day on December 11, 2008. When the bill was tabled 50 members of Lok Sabha were present, 90 when the Prime Minister spoke in its favour, plummeting to 60 at 3.30 pm and 47 at 6 pm. In other words not one opposition party or MP spoke about the incongruity of such sweeping amendments, which were meant to empower the very same intelligence, operational and investigative agencies which had brazenly failed to contain, if not prevent, the Mumbai attack. The indulgence shown by the Parliament to the very same agencies, which had performed so abominably then, paved the way for changes that are coming home to roost for the opposition parties.

PUDR considers the UAPA as an assault on fundamental freedoms because it seeks to criminalize dissent and ideological differences by proscribing organizations according to the arbitrary whims of the authorities. Thus even legitimate expression of an association and its right to protest become criminal because the party or the group is banned. The definition of "terrorism" and the "unlawful" is so crafted as to criminalize those who critique the present status quo while it treats with kid-gloves acts of mass murders carried out by the government forces and the right wing Hindutva, thus reserving UAPA against everyone else. While the NCTC notification subverts the federal principle and encroachment into state's domain the UAP Act itself abridges freedom of expression, assembly and association which is the bedrock of democracy.

We, therefore, urge the political parties and the state governments opposing the notification to be mindful of the fact that UAPA is in toto, and not just one or two provisions of the act, are inconsistent with the idea of democracy which the freedom movement had envisaged.

*Paramjeet Singh and Preeti Chauhan*  
(secretaries)

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5 Riccardo Bellofiore and Joseph Halevi, "Magdoff-Sweezy and Minsky on the Real Subsumption of Labour to Finance", 2010, at [cemf.u-bourgogne.fr/z-outils/documents/communications%202009/AHE.pdf](http://cemf.u-bourgogne.fr/z-outils/documents/communications%202009/AHE.pdf).

6 Jan Toporowski, "The Wisdom of Property and the Politics of the Middle Classes", Monthly Review, Vol. 62, Issue 4, September 2010.

- 7 Paul M. Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, *The Irreversible Crisis* (New York: Monthly Review Press), 1988,p.55.  
8 Ibid.  
9 This is how Marx puts it in chapter 31 on "The Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist", in *Capital*, Volume I.  
10 [www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01d.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01d.htm).

# Arundhati Roy, Anuradha Ghandy, and ‘Romantic Marxism’

by Bernard D’Mello

This is the full-text of the introductory remarks made by the author at the Fourth Anuradha Ghandy Memorial Lecture delivered by Arundhati Roy on 20th January 2012 at St Xavier’s College, Mumbai.

I woke up this morning to the chirping sounds of the swallows. Arundhati Roy seems to have brought in those love-birds that come in to Mumbai at this time of the year from the cold environs of the North. The lively spirit of Anuradha Ghandy (Anu, as she was fondly known) is all around us — that picture of hers reminds me of one of my favourite Bob Dylan songs, “Forever Young”. We have here with us Anu’s mother — comrade Kumud Shanbag. Parents abiding by Hinduism usually give their daughters away at the time of marriage in a ritual called kanyadaan. Comrades Kumud and Ganesh Shanbag, rational and progressive, broke with this humiliating tradition; they raised their daughter Anu (Janaki) to decide what she wanted to do with her life and she joined the Revolution (Kranti). One might call what she did kranti-daan, though, I think, daan (donate) is not the right word for it. The Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS) is justifiably proud of Anu (Janaki). Not long ago, when Arundhati Roy was walking with these comrades, they proudly showed her a photograph of Anu that they were carrying — she’s dressed in fatigues, an olive green cap with a star on it, rifle slung over her shoulders, and smiling, as always.

Anu came a long way, from the Hamil Sabha (the general student body) of Elphinstone College in the first half of 1970s to the Byramgadh area in old Bastar in the latter half of 1990s. For her, dalit, adivasi and women’s liberation were part of the fight for “new democracy” — indeed, for her they were a prerequisite for any kind of democracy. Just as Anu was shaping this policy of the Party — the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People’s War) — in the 1990s, Arundhati Roy created a character called Velutha in *The God of Small Things* (1997). Velutha came from a dalit, attached-labour household. But despite his origins — Velutha came from the wretched of the wretched of the Indian earth — he became an accomplished carpenter and mechanic, indispensable to semi-feudal capital’s profit register in the small town of Ayemenem. Rahel and Estha, Ammu’s children, established a close bond of friendship with him. Ammu was attracted to him, fell in love with him — he was a passionate lover, he loved her like no one else could ever have loved her.

Velutha is my hero — for me, he is the classic Indian proletarian. Despite the exploitation and the oppression,

Velutha did what he did with devotion — he kept the creativity and imagination in him alive. For him, like it is for his creator, ingenuity and work became one. This characterization tells us something about Arundhati Roy, Velutha’s maker. In the conception of Velutha, I saw, very early on, signs of a romanticism closely linked to revolution in Arundhati Roy as a writer. That subversive intent was there from the very beginning. From *The God of Small Things to Broken Republic*, Arundhati Roy is through-and-through a romantic, anti-capitalist writer. There is a basic structure of feelings in her writings that touches my heart.

I don’t know if she will agree with me, but I’d like to believe that Arundhati Roy has embraced ‘Romantic Marxism’. I know the ideological censors would be frowning at me; for them, there can never be anything like ‘Romantic Marxism’; “comrade Bernard, you cannot mix romanticism with Marxism”. I differ and in this I am with E P Thompson. And, with Marx of the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (1959)<sup>2</sup> and his passionate denunciation of capitalism in *Capital, Volume-I* — with a language and imagery that makes the reader realize the need for Kranti. Marx did, after all, also hitched romanticism with his exposition of the structure, the social relations and logic of the inner workings of the capitalist system. At its core, ‘Romantic Marxism’ brings together Marx’s thesis of alienation with his theory of value and welds these with the basic structure of feelings that such a consciousness evokes.

Let me now say a few words about the topic of today’s lecture — “Capitalism: A Ghost Story”. Capital is not a work of Marx’s imagination; so also, and I’m sure, Arundhati has a real story to tell, and it’s going to be a passionate denunciation of really existing capitalism. If we were to look at capitalism from a romantic Marxist perspective, we would see, above all, the total domination of exchange value, the “cold calculation of price and profit . . . over the whole social fabric . . . the death of imagination and romance, . . . the purely ‘utilitarian’ . . . relation of human beings to one another, and to nature”.<sup>3</sup> What should be reciprocity in human relations — love for love, intimacy for intimacy, trust for trust, as it was with Ammu and Velutha — has been replaced, in capitalism, by the exchange of money for commodities: accumulation and possession is

all that matters today. Indeed, beauty, now defined by capital, has also been commoditized; nothing remains unsullied by capitalism, its logic, and its basic structure of feelings. Human beings have been turned into wretched beings — physically, psychologically and spiritually dehumanized.

We, the Anuradha Ghandy Memorial Committee members, are old-fashioned Marxists. We continue to insist that wealth comes from the exploitation of human labour and nature. To quote Marx and, keeping in mind the importance he assigns to ecology, include capital's "sucking" of nature too:<sup>4</sup>

Capital is dead labour [and out-of-play nature] that vampire-like only lives by sucking living labour [and extant nature], and lives the more, the more labour [and nature] it sucks.

Value then is nothing but congealed labour and defunct nature incarnate in commodities. And, in the contemporary world capitalist system, we witness the real subsumption of labour, nature, and even democratically-elected governments to finance. Yes, the bond markets — the funds and financial institutions that buy government bonds, not the people who elected the governments — are able to very significantly influence public policy, for it is they who specify the conditions under which they will buy those governments' bonds. Indeed, the main focus of corporations today is financial, and here, with quarterly reporting on a mark-to-market basis, short-term net worth is all that seems to matter. Add to this stock options-based remuneration of those who manage the huge financial portfolios, monetary policy designed for the benefit of high finance, and rising labour productivity alongside stagnant real wages, and the result is "traumatized workers", "indebted consumers", and "manic-depressive savers"<sup>2</sup> high on Prozac and Viagra which keep Pfizer's cash register ringing. "Humanity" has become "an appendage of the asset markets", my friend Jan Toporowski writes.<sup>4</sup> We are reminded of what Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff (then editors of *Monthly Review*) wrote in the aftermath of the 1987 stock market crash in the US and it seems appropriate to paraphrase their words to apply to the present: "The mess" the world-system is in flows "from capitalism's ruthless pursuit of unlimited wealth by any and all available means, whether or not these have anything to do with satisfying the needs of real human beings."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, capitalism — which has metamorphosed into a life-threatening disease — has become a threat to humanity and other forms of life. The only remedy "is a truly revolutionary reconstruction of the whole socio-economic system".<sup>8</sup>

But, the failures of the revolutions of the 20th century stare us in the face. I have taken more time than I had intended to, and lest I become a barrier between the star-speaker and you, I need to quickly wind up. Let me then not mince words — revolution is about expropriating the expropriators, and "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one".<sup>2</sup> But, and more importantly, revolution is also about "human emancipation". It has to create a socialist sensitivity, a socialist consciousness; so forms of violence — cruelty and brutality — which negate the very end of revolution must never be a part of the means. Now, while the "seizure of power" and the strategy to achieve this seem to be the central preoccupation of revolutionaries, we need to remember these words of Marx from *The German Ideology* (1932; written in 1846):<sup>10</sup>

Both for the production on a mass scale of . . . communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of [human beings] on a mass scale is, necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.

Rightly, Marx was more concerned about the "human emancipation" that must come about in the process of making the revolution, the kind of emancipation that makes of us a new kind of "human" being, a practice necessary to found a society that is egalitarian, cooperative, and democratic.

With this "brief" (ha, ha!) introduction, may I invite Arundhati Roy to take the baton.

#### Notes

- 1 Scripting the Change: Selected Writings of Anuradha Ghandy, edited by Anand Teltumbde and Shoma Sen, *Daanish Books*, Delhi, 2011.
- 2 One should also mention Marx and Engels' On the Jewish Question (1844) and The German Ideology (1932, writing completed in 1846).
- 3 See Michael Lowy's "The Romantic and the Marxist Critique of Modern Civilisation", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 16, No. 6 (November 1987), p 892.
- 4 Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954; a reproduction of the first English edition of 1887, edited by Frederick Engels), chapter 10, "The Working Day", p 233.

*Contd. on Page 23*

# Face of Salwa Judum killed in Maoist ambush in Chhattisgarh

Aman Sethi

On Thursday evening, cadres of the outlawed Communist Party of India (Maoist) opened fire on a Mahindra Scorpio vehicle in Chhattisgarh's troubled Sukma district and killed Kartam Surya, a 29-year-old police constable, absconder from the law and alleged rapist, who had come to symbolize the excesses of the State's counter-insurgency campaign.

Described as the "Scourge of the Maoists" by obituaries in local newspapers, Mr. Surya began his career in law enforcement as Special Police Officer [SPO] during the Salwa Judum and rapidly grew to head the "Surya Group": a band of approximately 100 SPOs who were dubbed 'Koya Commandos' and operated under dubious legal cover as the vanguard of the State police's counter-insurgency effort.

Mr. Surya was one of three informal SPO commanders to emerge in the aftermath of the Judum. In January last year, Ismail Khan, head of the Ismail group, was fatally shot at point blank range by a Maoist guerilla as he watched a rooster fight in Sukma town, while Kicche Nanda, of the Nanda group, was injured in the Thursday ambush that claimed Mr. Surya. CRPF officers and policemen who operated alongside the three men described them as brave and committed soldiers.

Since its inception in 2005, the controversial Salwa Judum has been described as either a spontaneous peaceful tribal upsurge against the Maoists, or a violent government backed vigilante force. Thousands of young men were designated SPOs under provisions of the Chhattisgarh

Police Act and pushed into anti-Maoist operations. Petitions filed in the Supreme Court accuse Judum members and SPOs of over 500 murders, 99 rapes and 103 acts of arson.

Villagers and local journalists in Sukma said that Mr. Surya was intimately involved in the Salwa Judum and could have been responsible for at least some of the incidents listed in the petitions, but was never held accountable as he wielded tremendous influence amongst the SPOs and was an accomplished trooper. An article in the *Indian Express* for instance, described Mr. Surya as the 'mentor and first leader of SPOs'.

## Charged with rape

In 2009, Mr. Surya and 'SPO Commander' Kicche Nanda, were accused of raping three tribal women, aged between 19 and 23, in Sam Setti village in the summer of 2006 and charged with rape, criminal intimidation and wrongful confinement.

On November 17 2009, a Sessions Court issued warrants against Mr. Surya and his cohorts, but the counsel for the State said the police were unable to track down the accused, even as both men continued to participate in police raids and search operations. The following day, on November 18 2009, Mr. Surya and Mr. Nanda were declared absconders.

In April 2011, villagers from the villages of Tarmetla, Timapuram and Morepalli accused the Koya Commandos of raping three women, killing three men and burning close to 300 homes and granaries in the course of a five day operation. It is unclear if Mr. Surya participated in the

operation, but policemen and local journalists have confirmed that he was present when a mob of former and serving SPOs attacked a convoy carrying emergency rations to the affected villages.

In July 2011, the Supreme Court took cognizance of the multiple accounts of rape, murder, and arson leveled against Chhattisgarh's SPOs and ruled that the use of SPOs like Mr. Surya in anti-Maoist operations was unconstitutional. The Chhattisgarh government responded by inducting Mr. Surya as a constable in the State police force and incorporating his men into a newly created Chhattisgarh Auxiliary Armed Police Force. The men continued to report to Mr. Surya, making him one of the few police constables in the country to command a company-sized force of armed men.

The Chhattisgarh police deny the formal existence of a "Surya group" and maintain that SPOs do not head operations and work under the supervision of senior policemen. Senior officers have maintained that any such 'groups' could be a remnant from the days of the Judum when SPOs organized themselves on the basis of village affiliations.

At the time of press, the Chhattisgarh police was unable to offer any information on the 2009 warrant pending against Mr. Surya, despite this correspondent mailing them copies of the court order. A police spokesperson was unable to state if Mr. Surya had in fact appeared before court and received bail, or if he had continued to participate in police operations two years after being declared an "absconder" in a court of law.

PM

# Greece: as politicians trash wages, pensions, jobs, people chant “get out, thieves!”

## Greece approves spending cuts as protesters riot

The legislation features about \$4 billion in severe budget trims, including 15,000 job reductions this year alone.

Furious crowds chant outside Parliament, and several Athens buildings are set on fire.

by **Anthee Carassava**, Los Angeles Times—Reporting from Athens, February 13, 2012

As thousands of protesters took to the streets and violence ripped through central Athens, Greece’s Parliament approved yet another round of punishing spending cuts to secure international rescue funds and ease fears of a calamitous financial collapse, potentially perilous for global markets and Europe’s single currency.

The legislation, featuring about \$4 billion in severe budget trims including steep wage and pension cuts as well as 15,000 job reductions this year alone, was backed by 199 lawmakers of the 300-member Parliament. Five abstained, 22 were absent and 74 lawmakers — including socialist and conservative supporters of the coalition government — voted against the bill that capped a ferocious 11-hour debate ending early Monday.

Throughout the marathon discussion, thousands of Greeks opposed to the austerity package descended on the sprawling grounds of Parliament shouting, “Get out!” and “Thieves!” The crowd swelled into the tens of thousands and their chants echoed across the capital — even renowned music composer Mikis Theodorakis showed up — as mobs of youths clashed with police and set fires to at least 34 buildings.

“It was the worst show of violence in recent years,” a senior police official said. At least 37 people were injured, and at least 25 protesters were arrested.

Violence also spread to other cities, including Thessaloniki in northern Greece, towns in central Greece and the islands of Corfu and Crete.

But the outcome inside Parliament offered some sense of respite for member nations of the Eurozone and for Greek Prime Minister Lucas Papademos, visibly drained and despondent three months after being called in to lead a unity government and negotiate the complex restructuring deal.

“This is the biggest crisis facing Greece since the Second World War,” Papademos said before the vote. “It is unfair for a country that gave birth to European civilization to go bankrupt and to be left alone in isolation.

“The social cost of these measures is minor to what will ensue if the country slips into a disorderly default,” he said. “It is a time of ultimate responsibility.”

Rejection of the bill could have pushed Greece’s European Union partners and the International Monetary Fund to withhold funding from cash-strapped Greece, leaving it without the money to pay a \$19-billion bond redemption on March 20.

If that happened, the state would have been unable to pay salaries and pensions, fuel and other commodities would have run short, thousands of businesses would have been forced to close, and many Greeks would have lost their savings.

“It would wreak economic chaos and a social explosion,” Papademos warned.

The approved plan, including a debt restructuring deal that will shear \$132 billion off Greece’s near \$500-billion debt, removes the biggest stumbling block to Greece’s desperate bid to secure more time and money to fix its faltering economy.

The vote capped a high-stakes drama that unfolded over the last week as Papademos and party leaders supporting his government acceded to foreign creditors’ demands for beefed-up budget cuts, only to be told by European finance ministers Thursday that the measures were not enough.

Instead, ministers from the 17 nations sharing the euro deferred approval of a new Greek bailout — the second since a \$140-billion lifeline cast in May 2010 — until the Greek Parliament ratified the austerity measures. Then, they insisted, party leaders would also need to pledge in writing that they would not breach the deal. They are also expected to flesh out the details of \$420 million in spending cuts that remain vague promises from the \$4-billion budget cut package.

Government officials said Papademos would move to reshuffle his Cabinet on Monday to replace four deputies who quit their posts ahead of the vote. More than three

dozen lawmakers in the governing coalition who voted against the bill were immediately expelled from their parties.

“What matters is that the bill was approved, and that by an overwhelming majority,” a senior government official said.

Even so, it could still prove inadequate to solve Europe’s financial woes. Since a new bailout deal was agreed to by European leaders and the IMF in October, the dimensions of the overall economic meltdown have multiplied, and far more cash might now be needed to quell the Greek crisis alone.

Last week, German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble told lawmakers in Berlin that the bailout plan would leave Greece’s debt as high as 136% of gross domestic product by 2020. That’s even more unbearable than the 120% foreseen in the deal being negotiated.

On Sunday and as Greek lawmakers geared to vote on the plan, Germany — Europe’s paymaster — ratcheted up pressure for additional reform. Schaeuble was quoted as telling the *Welt am Sonntag* newspaper that Greece “cannot be a bottomless pit.”

*Contd. from Page 22*

of the so-called non-Congress, non-BJP “democratic forces” that the CPI (M) runs after.

What then of the CPI (M) and its draft political resolution? As Hiren Gohain has said (*Economic & Political Weekly* (EPW), 17 September 2011), “the large-scale infiltration of opportunist middle-class elements into [the] party ranks” may have changed “the class-character of the party” leading to what Prabhat Patnaik (EPW, 16 July 2011) has called, its “empiricisation” (in ordinary language, as we infer, this means straying from the revolutionary road) and, in turn, its “alienation from the basic classes”. The party justifies its participation in governments before the advent of the “people’s democratic revolution” with the plea that it will implement a “modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people” and “strengthen the

mass movement” (the party programme of the 1980s), but, in practice, it has been working with the “big bourgeoisie” and the “bourgeois-landlord” state as part of state governments, and, at the centre, debating with that bourgeoisie’s political representatives in the Congress Party about alternative public policies, even as it lectures the people of India about the need for “people’s democracy and socialist transformation”. The CPI (M) might argue that, given the economic and political situation in India today, this is all that is really possible, but this has been its practice over the last more than two decades. Smacks of “philistine realism”, doesn’t it? But given the local collaborationist role that the CPI (M)’s harmads (armed goons enforcing the party’s writ) played in supporting the Joint Forces (the

“The Greeks have to finally close that pit. And then, we can put something in there,” he said.

It remained unclear how wary markets and investors, spooked by Greece’s deepening debt crisis, would react to Sunday’s outcome and the start of yet another crucial week.

“For us,” said Lina Adamandopoulou, a 64-year-old Greek pensioner, “it’s over. Whatever hope and dignity we had left went down with the vote.”

But many younger opponents of the austerity plan appeared less resigned.

For more than five hours, black-clad protesters attacked bank buildings and stormed scores of shops and even the capital’s town hall. Ferocious street fights ensued with riot police, who spewed choking clouds of tear gas to combat the people setting fires to buildings.

Terrified and teary-eyed bystanders, some screaming for help, scrambled to find refuge in side streets, hotels and cafeterias. When an eerie calm finally set in long after midnight, the mounds of rubble, the debris and the carcasses of burnt cars left Athens’ scarred landscape looking like the bleak setting of a “Mad Max” film.

**PM**

occupation army) in Jangal mahal from mid-June 2009 to early May 2011 during the CPI (M)’s tenure in power in West Bengal, and the party’s collusion with the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance government in counterinsurgency operations against the Maoists, “the spread of counter-revolutionary ideas, not only in a crude and direct form, but also in a more subtle form, namely, the growth of philistine sentiments” [1] in the top echelons of the party is only to be expected.

Notes

1. V I Lenin in the first sentence of a text published in *Proletary*, No. 6, October 29, 1906. See his *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Volume 11, at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1906/oct/29b.htm>.

**PM**

## Drones set to assist cops in Naxal operations

*[In another implementation of the highly-touted unmanned drone technology, India is planning to spy from the sky what they cannot get on the ground. The uses of these remote-controlled “flying camera” devices has spread worldwide, and has been utilized in many operations where innocent people have been falsely identified and targeted—and, in many cases, killed by armed UAV’s or by armed forces who have been provided with fragmentary and often unclear drone imagery. The news report, below, did not indicate if the drone was manufactured and supplied by the US or by Israel—the two major UAV manufacturers. — ed.]*

Srinath Vudali, TNN | Feb 6, 2012

An UAV is likely to be pressed into service in the Visakha agency and the border districts of Andhra to help in intelligence gathering.

HYDERABAD: An unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) or drone is likely to be pressed into service in the Visakha agency and the border districts of the state to help in intelligence gathering on a real-time basis. The UAV base will be set up at Madurapuddi near Rajahmundry.

A senior official of Special Intelligence Branch (SIB), an elite anti-Maoist wing, told TOI that, about two months back, a UAV was used on an experimental basis in Andhra Pradesh and neighbouring Chhattisgarh and the results were positive enough for the drone to be introduced in anti-Maoist operations. Over the last few months, Maoists have stepped up their activities in the Visakha agency and in Vizianagaram.

“Already, the UAV has been tested in Warangal and certain districts of Chhattisgarh... It can be operationalised any day,” an intelligence officer said. The UAV, sponsored by the Union ministry of home affairs (MHA) and procured at a cost of Rs 30 crore, might be used in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattisgarh but will have its base in Madurapuddi. “Our role is to mainly provide infrastructure for the setting up of the UAV base in Madurapuddi. However, Andhra Pradesh police has no direct role in the operation of the UAV since states which want to use it have to put in a request to the MHA,” sources said.

The UAV helps capture images even in dense forest areas and relays them in real-time to the base for security forces to be speedily mobilized.

Intelligence officials said that the UAV would be used during operations in Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Visakhapatnam and the Andhra-Orissa Border.

### Apology

Soon as the Oct-Nov-Dec 2011 issue of People’s March went on line Mr Harsh Takor phoned me and I avoided using the word spy and marked it as xxx and made necessary corrections in print and web versions.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2012 Mr Math Rothwell wrote me “I have never accused Harsh Thakor of being a spy. You should look for our old correspondence and see exactly what I wrote, you will see there that I never accused Thakor of being an agent.”

My editorial started with .....In the end of 2006 Math Rothwell (a former RCP-USA) from Chicago, US E-Mailed me about one Harsh Takor from India met him and cautioned me in dealing with him..... That is all. Rests are mine. I did not write anything extra other than you quoted.

My views on Mr Harsh Takor may be suspicious. If it is wrong it is going to harm only an individual. If it is correct lives of revolutionary leaders can be saved by cautioning them using media at my hand. I have already told my fellow comrades that I am ready to apologize.

I thought a hundred times before writing. It can be a mistake as responded by Mr Rothwell.

Still the E Mail is the source. Had there not been such an Email such an error as you say might not have occurred.

Respecting the sentiments of Mr Math Rothwell I apologize for my write up in my editorial mentioning Mr Harsh Takor as xxx in print and web versions of Oct-Nov-Dec 2011 issue of People’s March.

**Editor**

## **Orissa - Police file false cases against Dandapani Mohanty, Nachika Linga and three other CMAS activists**

A note received from **Dandapani Mohanty**

Chasi Mulia Sangha (CMAS) is going to hold a meeting at Narayanpatna. All the tribal communities will be attending the meeting. The purpose of the meeting is to save the tribal language, culture and territory. Also, the objective is to provide education up to the 8th class in tribal language. In this context, two tribal students Landa Tadingi and Chakra Tadingi along with Suka linga, the younger brother of Nachika Linga, came to Berhampur to contact guests and for preparing the leaflets for the meeting. While they were returning, they were arrested by Berhampur Police at the Berhampur railway station on 17th February 2012.

The police recovered from then the fortnightly newspaper named Janatantra (Regd. No. ORIORI/2001/5588), Swaviman (Regd No. RNI-70589/98), 2000 copies of the pamphlet titled "Adivasi Jeevan Vasa Sanskruti Surakshya Pai Samabas Ku Safal Karantu" (d. 21.2.2012) and three books written by the environmentalist Prafulla Samantray, one handy cam, two sarees and one blanket. They were charged using a fabricated case no. GR/241/12 under Sec-10,13,18,20,39,40 UAPA 124/A/IPC. The FIR has been

lodged against Dandapani Mohanty (convener of Jana Adhikar Manch), Nachika Linga (CMAS President) and the other three who were arrested by police.

CMAS is a democratic organization, organizing the tribal people in a democratic manner in order to raise their voices for implementation of the government's policy in tribal areas. Since last four years, CMAS has organized many meetings in a democratic manner. Many intellectuals, social workers have attended these meetings. CMAS is not at all a banned organization. Unfortunately, Odisha police has treated the democratic organization and democratic peoples as terrorists and are trying to suppress the democratic voices. The police has now foisted a fabricated case under UAPA act against Dandapani Mohanty & Nachika Linga. So I appeal to all the democratic minded people in country to raise their voices against state violence and demand before that the government must withdraw the fabricated case against the five of us.

**PM**

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## **Civil liberties groups threaten to take West Bengal CM to court**

KOLKATA, 14 JAN: The Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) has threatened to file a case against the state government at the Calcutta High Court if it bans the Matangini Mahila Samity (MMS) and similar organizations operating in Jungle mahal.

APDR criticized the chief minister Miss Mamata Banerjee, for using organizations with Maoist links to come to power, and then plans to ban them. APDR said the People's Committee Against Police Atrocity (PCPA), the United Students Democratic Front and MMS are all human rights organizations. Police claim they are fronts for the Maoists and have proposed a ban on them. A secret section of the home department is still processing the proposal. Chief Secretary Mr Samar Ghosh has denied that police submitted a report to the CM. Criticizing the CM, Mr Debaprasad Roy Chowdhury, APDR secretary, said the state government has purposely tarnished the image of the organizations by linking them to Maoist outfits. The state government has no evidence against members of the organizations, Mr Chowdhury said. He added that the plan to ban the organizations is unbecoming of the CM. Mr Chowdhury said, "It is undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Members of the association claim that Trinamul Congress protests in Singur and Nandigram against the Left Front government had succeeded thanks to the active cooperation of these groups.

**PM**

*Contd. from... Page 32*

At the end of 1970s, Comrade Koteswarlu played a crucial role in the Jagityal peasant movement and in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century he became the architect of the illustrious Lalgarh people's upsurge. He was an inspiring leader who never left the people and the cadres and who stood firmly during many an ebb and flow in the Indian revolutionary movement with courage and initiative. He was an organizer with initiative, a warrior commander and a guide who imparted love and care. His very presence proved to be a hard nut to crack for the enemy right from the beginning. He successfully fought back several attacks and attempts to murder him. He was a tireless warrior who fought incessantly and uncompromisingly and never let go of any opportunity to attack the enemy politically and militarily. That is why the ruling clique of this country led by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab-Jairam colluded with the Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamata Banerjee and killed him in the cruelest manner. The brutal signs of torture on his dead body indicate the fascist nature of the enemy, his cowardliness and his defeat. On the other hand he bore all the inhuman tortures in the hands of the enemy and emerged victorious even in the face of death. The crimson of the international red flag of the proletarians turned deeper with the blood spilled by him in Jungle Mahal.

With the murder of Comrade Koteswarlu @ Kishenji the Indian revolutionary movement lost a great leader. This is a huge loss for our party. Our party has been continuously losing main leadership forces since a few years and this loss cannot be surmounted under these circumstances. However our party would fight firmly to advance the Indian revolution on the path of victory by overcoming these losses. The exploitative ruling classes can never comprehend the truth that people and the people's movements give birth to hundreds and thousands of leaders like Koteswarlu and Azad and they continue daydreaming that they could suppress the movements by killing the leaders. As long as there are exploitation and suppression, people would continue to revolt. Leaders like Koteswarlu keep on emerging. That is why the great struggles with sacrifices and the ideals established by the thousands of great martyrs serve as an inspiration.

Our Central Committee pays red homage with bowed heads to the great martyr Comrade Koteswarlu. Our CC is expressing deep empathy to mother Madhuramma who was calling upon the people to follow the footsteps of her son even while immersed in deep sorrow, to other family members and friends of Comrade Koteswarlu. Our Central Committee calls upon entire Party, PLGA, activists of mass organizations and revolutionary masses who are immersed in deep sorrow and agony with the brutal murder of Comrade Koteswarlu to overcome the grief and intensify the People's War. Our CC calls upon the youth to join our Party and PLGA in large numbers and to march forward in the footsteps of Comrade Kotanna to fulfill his cherished dreams. Our party is sending revolutionary greetings to the democrats and revolutionary sympathizers who brought the deadbody of Comrade Koteswarlu from West Bengal to Peddapalli and to all the people who participated in the funeral procession on a huge scale to pay last respects to the fallen leader by overcoming many restrictions and encirclements of the governments and police forces. We humbly express our thanks to various mass organizations, civil rights organizations, revolutionary parties, democrats, writers, journalists, media friends, artistes and the agitators of Separate Telangana struggle who condemned the brutal murder of Comrade Kishenji. Our red salutes to all those writers and intellectuals who have written articles and reports unequivocally condemning this killing. Our CC is sending revolutionary greetings to all the revolutionary parties and democratic organizations of several countries that condemned the murder of Comrade Kishenji and the war unleashed by the Indian government on its people and sent condolence messages to our party.

Our CC is firmly taking the vow once again on behalf of the entire party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses of India that we would advance by overcoming all the hurdles in the path of accomplishment of New Democratic Revolution of India with the aim of achieving socialism and communism and that we would carry the unfulfilled aims of the thousands of martyrs including Comrade Kishenji till their fulfillment. It is assuring the oppressed masses of India as well as entire world that it would not rest until feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism are sent to the grave and all kinds of reaction are put to an end.

- 1 Long Live Comrade Kishenji!**
- 2 Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**
- 3 Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**

(Abhay)  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

### **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

#### **Revolutionary greetings from CPI (Maoist) to the friends of Indian revolution and well wishers**

Comrades and Friends,

On 24 November, 2011 the Indian revolution lost its great leader and the oppressed masses of India lost their most reliable servant. November 24 would remain a dark day in the history of the Indian revolution. On July 1, 2010 the Indian ruling classes had murdered our Politburo member and spokesperson Comrade Azad. Within one and a half years, another Politburo member Comrade Koteswarlu (who is popular among the people and party ranks as Kotanna, Prahlad, Ramji, Kishenji and Bimal) was caught alive in a covert operation, tortured inhumanly and was killed in a fake encounter. In India which claims to be the largest democracy in the world, the feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois ruling classes, with the support of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, are trying to suppress the democratic, national liberation and revolutionary movements with iron heel. Particularly, since 2009 they are carrying on an unjust war on the people in the name of 'Operation Green Hunt'. They are shamelessly violating even the constitution and the laws formulated by themselves and are killing people, activists and leaders of the movement. They are unsuccessfully trying to justify all their unlawful murders in the name of a lie named 'encounter' tracing the footsteps of the British colonial rulers. Now it is an established fact that 'encounter' anywhere in India means a conspiratorial murder by the state.

Comrade Koteswarlu was born on November 26, 1954 in Peddapalli town of Karimnagar district which has a legacy of the glorious Telangana armed struggle. He led the Indian revolutionary movement for nearly four decades. Comrade Koteswarlu was brought up by democratic thinking parents and imbibed patriotic feelings and love for the oppressed people since childhood. He was a top rank representative of the generation after the glorious Naxalbari rebellion. Though the Naxalbari rebellion which established Maoist Protracted People's War as the path for the Indian revolution was suppressed within a few years, it had a great impact all over the country. Peasant rebellions arose in many areas following its model. It awoke the students in colleges and universities. The slogan 'Naxalbari Ek Hi Rasta' (The Only Way is Naxalbari) reverberated all over the country. It was this backdrop that turned Comrade Koteswarlu into a Maoist revolutionary. Firstly, at the end of 1970s, he organized the peasantry against deeply entrenched feudalism in his home district of Karimnagar and led many struggles. He played a key role in the peasant movement popularly known as 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' (Victory March of Jagityal). In no time this spread to the whole of North Telangana apart from Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. Even while mobilizing peasants into anti-feudal struggles, he greatly strove to attract students, writers, intellectuals, workers...all oppressed classes and sections of people into the fold of revolutionary movement. In this course, he worked as a party organizer at first, then as the district committee secretary and was later elected as the secretary of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee and won the accolade of the people and the party ranks. Since 1986, he played a crucial role in the development and expansion of the revolutionary movement in central, eastern and northern parts of India. He particularly concentrated on Dandakaranya for eight years and on West Bengal for eighteen years. Since 1993 till he breathed his last he worked as a Central Committee member, later as Politburo member member and held responsibilities for Northern and Eastern Regional Bureaus. He contributed greatly in many spheres in the party such as political education, magazines, propaganda and shone as a man of many talents. He played a prominent role in enriching the party documents and in developing party political-military line and policies. He represented the CC in the meetings and bilateral talks held with various national liberation organizations and Maoist forces in South Asia. He strove a lot to unite the Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals that divided and scattered after the setback of Naxalbari and particularly to achieve unity of the ML and MCC organizations which continued as separate streams since Naxalbari. Thus his role remains etched forever in the annals of the history of Indian revolution.

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