

PEOPLE'S MARCH

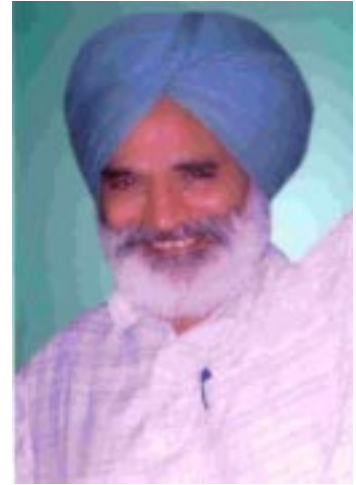
Voice of the Indian Revolution

**Face Saalwa Judum Type Barbaric Terror
with Intensification of People's War !**

Hail Jehanabad/Giridhi type Heroic Actions !!



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Notice to readers:-

Being the last issue of the year we have printed an index of all the major articles that have appeared this year. This index is on page 24.

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Owned Printed & Published by P. Govindan Kutty, Peroor house, Thripunithura, N.F. Ernakulam, Kerala — 682 301,
Printed at Chithira Printers, 63/321, Poruvelil, Kannanchanthodu Road, Kochi — 18

The Historic Jehanabad Jail Break

The 88th anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated in India by the historic Jehanabad jail break. It was an action of unprecedented significance in the Indian revolutionary movement. Together with the Koraput armoury raid this will become folk lore in the days to come. As the full details are yet to come out we only have the confused reporting of the establishment media that seeks to hide more than give the full facts.

The attack began at about 9 pm on Nov.13th soon after the completion of the days polling in another part of Bihar's third stage of voting for the assembly elections. The media has reported that about 1,000 comrades launched an attack on Jehanabad from all sides. The simultaneous attack took place on the Police Lines, police stations, government offices and then the jail. The attack continued for about two to three hours. It was first reported that the Naxalites seized over 200 arms from the police lines and then by the attack on the jail some 341 persons escaped with the retreating Maoists. These included senior leaders like Ajay Kanu. In addition the revolutionaries killed two of the ring leaders of the notorious Ranvir Sena (army of the Bhoomihar landlords) and took another 40 captive.

Though the area around Jehanabad is fully plain and there are no forests or hills in the vicinity the revolutionaries were able to launch the attack and safely retreat through precision planning and deep support from the masses. Just two days earlier 300 Maoists attacked a Home Guard Training Centre in Giridih in Jarkhand and decamped with 185 rifles and large amounts of ammunition. These two actions in quick succession have created panic within the ruling classes both at the State and the Central level.

The Central Home Minister immediately called an emergency meeting and decided to send, for the first time ever, two companies of the elite NSG (National Security Guards) commandos to Bihar. They were also supplied with

helicopters to help in the combing operations. Panic stricken, they tried their best to suppress the actual news from coming out by resorting to brutal lathi charges on journalists. So desperate were the authorities that they did so three times. The brutality was such that the authorities were forced to suspend the SP on duty and even the Central Home Minister was forced to give a statement. But this enflamed passions even more with the police agitating against the decision to suspend the SP and not the District Magistrate. The government also provoked the Ranvir Sena to retaliate. But with President's rule in Bihar and all the ruling class parties at loggerheads with each other in the on-going elections political chaos reigns in Bihar, with the Maoists being able to strike fear into the hearts of the rulers.

Today, in this so-called democracy thousands of revolutionaries and their supporters languish in jail without any fair trial. So is the case with the various nationality movements in the country. So also hundreds of Muslims are being incarcerated without any evidence whatsoever, as with the so-called Godhra POTA detenués. Even trade union activists, peasant activists, dalits are being falsely implicated and sent to jails. In fact even thousands of the common poor people are arrested each day and languish in jail often for years as they are too poor to organise bail or even a lawyer. **The jails are packed with innocent people while the real criminals in society rarely are put behind bars. For this reason the people of the country have the right to release their beloved brethren who are falsely thrown into jails and to try the real culprits in people's courts. This the CPI(Maoists) did successfully in the historic Jehanabad jail break.**

In India our jails are packed mostly with the poor. Most are victims of this unjust system. In addition jail conditions are horrifying, demeaning and



criminalizing. Bihar jails are particularly bad. The criminal mafia rules in the jail. The highly corrupt jail administration is in league with them. In Bihar jails even to get sleeping place one has to bribe the authorities or else the prisoner has to sit night and day near the toilet with no place to lie down. The prisons are over crowded and filthy. The food is inedible with the jail authorities stealing the bulk of the food quotas. Those with money can buy all facilities and get food from outside. The situation in Indian jail is itself criminalizing with innocents coming out as criminals.

The legal system too are so desinged that only those with money can expect justice. The judicial system is not only deeply corrupt, there is a strong bias against the poor, oppressed and the lower castes. A starving person, if he robs some grains, he may be thrown into prison for years, as he cannot afford a lawyer or bail. The rich can buy justice and get away even with murder.

Under these conditions the Jahanabad jail break is not only just, but legitimate and necessary. With thousands of revolutionaries and sympethisers still in jails on numours fake charges, they cannot expect justice within the system. Quite obviously they will avial of any opportunity that arises to escape from the enemy's clutches.



Given the significance of the event we are printing here the Press Release issued by the spokesperson of the CPI(Maoist) received by e-mail just as we were going to the press.

PRESS RELEASE

Hail the historic politico-military campaign in Jehanabad by the PLGA led by the CPI(Maoist)! Mobilise the masses in a big way to intensify and expand the people's war in India!!

One thousand guerrillas of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army led by the Central Military Commission and the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Military Commission of the CPI(Maoist) laid siege to the town of Jehanabad in Bihar for almost two and half hours from 9 PM on November 13 and conducted simultaneous raids and attacks on the district jail, district Court, police lines, police quarters, district armoury, and police stations in the town and successfully carried out the Operation Jail-break. This biggest ever operation in Bihar's history was a complete success and the CPI(Maoist) was able to achieve its three objectives. Firstly, it was able to secure the release of its leaders, activists and ordinary prisoners who have been languishing in the jail for many years; secondly, it carried out the people's verdict against the reactionary state-sponsored Ranaveer Sena by annihilating its leaders and capturing several of its activists; and, thirdly, it seized hundreds of rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

The Central Committee of the CPI(Maoist) hails the heroic guerrillas of the PLGA for successfully carrying out the series of death-defying military actions through the meticulous planning by the Central Military Commission of the Party and the call given by the Central Committee to carry out tactical counteroffensive campaign. It pays its Red Salutes to the comrades who had laid down their precious lives in this historic campaign for liberating the oppressed masses. These daring actions are not only significant from the military point of view but have a wide political significance and they demonstrate to the entire world the justness of the cause for which the Maoists have been fighting. The punishment to the Ranaveer Sena leaders is long overdue and has inspired the entire oppressed masses in the country, particularly the Dalit and other

oppressed caste masses, who had suffered terribly at the hands of these lumpen feudal gangsters.

Jehanabad politico-military campaign is an answer to the countrywide counter-revolutionary campaign of the reactionary Congress-led UPA government in the Centre and the state governments led by various parties. The successive Central governments, whether the BJP-led NDA in the past or the Congress-led UPA at present, and the governments in various states such as the BJP governments in Jharkhand and Chathisgarh and MP, or the Congress governments in AP, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Uttaranchal, CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal, BJD government in Orissa, Samajwadi Party's government in UP, AIDMK government in Tamil Nadu, have unleashed a brutal campaign of killing leaders, activists and sympathizers of the CPI(Maoist) and the revolutionary mass organizations; arresting and implicating cases against thousands of revolutionaries and the common people, and suppressing even the nominal fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.

In just 14 months since the formation of the new Party of the Indian proletariat, CPI(Maoist), over 200 revolutionaries were killed by the police, most of these in fake encounters. Apart from this state terror, the reactionary ruling classes of India have unleashed an even more gruesome and abnoxious plan of massacring the people living in the areas of Maoist influence through so-called Jan Jagaran Abhiyans, Salwa Judum in Chathisgarh, Sendra in Jharkhand, and setting up lumpen gangs like the Narsa Cobras, Nallamala Cobras, Kakatiya Cobras etc., in AP, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and Gana Suraksha Samiti in Jharkhand and West Bengal, Shanthy Sena in Orissa, Ranaveer Sena in Bihar, and so on. In Chathisgarh, this diabolic

game-plan of attacking entire villages, burning them, killing adivasis not sparing even women, children and the old aged people has been continuing since last June which took a toll of over 70 adivasi lives. Untold atrocities are committed by these lumpen gangs and the central paramilitary forces such as beheading men, women and children, raping women activists of the mass organizations and sympathizers of CPI(Maoist) and the entire media has been conniving with the police and administration in suppressing the facts, and publicising lies and falsehoods against the movement led by the CPI(Maoist). As if this were not enough, the various state governments have begun to acquire Unmanned aerial Vehicles (UAVs), helicopters, MPVs, and sophisticated arms. Mine-proof police stations are being constructed in all the areas of armed struggle. Covert agents are deployed in a big way and the Intelligence departments and the police officials are trying such dirty methods like mixing poison in food and water to kill the Party leaders and the PLGA forces.

The Jehanabad operation is an answer to this brutal campaign unleashed by the Central and state governments led by the recently-set up Joint Task Forces. It is a turning point in the ongoing people's war in the country. Jehanabad district administration and its police forces, the central para-military forces, the reactionary upper-caste landlord private armies such as the Ranaveer Sena, Sunlight Sena, Bhumarshi sena etc., have a notorious history of unleashing blood-baths in the past two decades like Arwal and Laxmanpur Bathe. Through such massacres the reactionary rulers dreamt of suppressing the people's war and the democratic struggles of the oppressed people. Moreover, hundreds of people have been languishing in jails for years without any trial under the most miserable conditions inside the prison in

violation of the provisions stipulated in the Jail Manuals. No wonder, the people were overjoyed by the Operation Jail-break by the Maoists that saw at least 341 prisoners escape from the dark dungeons of Jehanabad jail. This daring action has also inspired the masses all over the country who see how innocent people are placed behind bars even as the biggest criminals, blood-sucking tax-evading businessmen, money-lenders, traders and industrialists, corrupt officials and political leaders hold reins of power and roam freely.

The Jehanabad politico-military campaign, like the Koraput campaign in February last year in which over 500 arms were captured from ten different locations in the district, show the superiority of guerrilla tactics based on the military line enunciated by Com. Mao for waging war in situations where the enemy has a vastly superior force. It shows that the well-equipped, well-trained, and numerically superior mercenary enemy forces can be dealt heavy blows by a numerically weaker but determined, fearless and politically motivated armed force of the people through concrete survey of the weak points of the enemy force, meticulous planning and effective execution based on the principle of taking on the enemy through surprise at lightening speed.

The recent tactical counter-offensives carried out by the PLGA guerrillas such as daring raid on a Homeguards Training Centre in Giridih district in Jharkhand and capture of 185 arms and 25,000 rounds of ammunition on November 11; the killing of the SP of Mungher district of Bihar; the daring series of actions in Madhuban town of east Chhmparan district in North Bihar; the seizure of arms through raids on a police outpost near Sambhalpur and the armed outpost of the Minister Dali in Malkangiri district in Orissa last month; the annihilation of over 20 CRPF and injuring over 70 in the tactical counteroffensive campaign during April-June, blasting of the MPV and killing of 24 CRPF personnel in Dantewara district and the seizure of LMG and Insas rifle from the CRPF by

the people's militia and the PLGA guerrillas in North Bastar in Dandakaranya in the past two months, the seizure of arms from the STF in Gadchiroli and Gondia, the attempt on the life of the SP of Prakasham district, the daring attacks on several police stations and the killing of an SI in Mahboob Nagar district in AP, and the politico-military campaign in Jehanabad on November 13, and several such daring actions have inspired the masses all over the country and show the path for the liberation of our country from the stranglehold of imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucrat capital. All these tactical offensives were conducted by countering the increasing encirclement-suppression campaigns by the central para-military forces, the STF, Grey Hounds and special police forces, with the active support of the revolutionary masses.

The CPI(Maoist) once again pledges that its heroic PLGA guerrillas under the CMC will secure the release of the hundreds of comrades languishing in various jails such as the Bewoor jail of Patna, Gaya, Buxar, Bhagalpur, Muzafarpur, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Bethia and Bagha jails of Bihar and Jharkand; the scores of comrades imprisoned by the fascist YSR government in AP, Jayalalitha government in Tamil Nadu, Dharam Singh's government in Karnataka; the comrades lodged in Baripada, Sambhalpur, Koraput, Jeypore, Raigada, Koraput jails in Orissa; Jagdalpur, Dantewara, Kanker, Ambikapur in Chathisgarh; Gadchiroli, Chandrapur, Gondia, Nagpur in maharashtra; Balaghat in MP, in Midnapore and other jails of West Bengal; and in various prisons all over the country, just as they had freed the prisoners in Jehanabad. The CC of our Party calls upon the oppressed masses to join the PLGA in thousands upon thousands to transform it into the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and achieve the objective of establishing a new society free from all forms of exploitation and oppression by overthrowing the enemies of the Indian

people.

The oppressed masses in Jehanabad and other parts of the country are overjoyed at the humiliating defeat of the enemy forces who harass them daily and perpetrate untold atrocities. The politico-military campaign in Jehanabad reflect the aspirations of the masses who had lent active support to the guerrillas during the preparation and execution of the actions.

The CC of CPI(Maoist) once again sends its heartfelt revolutionary greetings to the heroic guerrillas of the PLGA who had carried out the series of simultaneous tactical counteroffensives in Jehanabad, Giridih and elsewhere with unflinching Bolshevik determination, revolutionary mettle and death-defying valour and heroism. We also send our Red Greetings to the revolutionary masses who had extended their full cooperation in various forms to the guerrillas in order to successfully carry out the operation.

We call upon the people to be vigilant against possible brutal attacks by the mercenary police forces who, like cowards, attack unarmed people being scared to confront the armed guerrillas. The intensified suppression campaign by the enemy forces should be countered by the masses by creating more Jehanabads and sending nightmares to the enemy even in his own headquarters.

There is no alternative before the people but to arm themselves with the arms snatched from the enemy in order to carry on the people's war till final victory. The guerrilla forces of our Party as well as the revolutionary masses of our country have to undertake more and more such actions in a big way so as to strengthen the guerrilla armies and to transform them into the People's Liberation Army in due course. Vast masses have to be mobilised to expand and deepen the ongoing people's war in our country.

AZAD

All India Spokesperson,
Central Committee (Provisional)
CPI(Maoist)
November 14, 2005

Condemn the Massive Murder Campaign going on in Dandakarnya Under the Name of “Saalva Judum” !

Government Resort to Vietnamese – style ‘Strategic Hamlets’ to Terrorize Masses !!

{This report from Bastar was received by post at our office in early November. Given its significance we are reproducing it in full..... Editor}

The Chhattisgarh state machinery is waging a most brutal campaign with unprecedented ferocity against the revolutionary masses of Dandakarnya for the past five months. So far, more than a hundred people, including the leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and fighters of the PLGA of the CPI (Maoist) were butchered in cold blood. More than 40 villages were burnt to ashes. There are many incidents of atrocities on women. Hundreds of innocent peasants were inhumanly tortured. This barbaric murder campaign has been ironically termed as “Saalva Judum” (meaning Peace Campaign in Gondi language). This campaign which started on June 20th of this year is being personally led by the notorious leader of the Congress (I) legislature party of Chhattisgarh, Mr. Mahendra Karma. The reactionary BJP government of the state is fully backing this campaign and the Congress (I) led Central Government is coordinating it through the joint operational command it has set up.

The government, in order to cover up its heinous campaign, has launched a big false propaganda campaign claiming that what is happening in Dandakarnya is nothing but a people’s revolt against the armed hegemony and atrocities of the Naxalites. The bourgeois media is in the main faithfully following the state’s line,

giving an utterly false picture and willfully suppressing the truth.

Is “Saalva Judum” in reality a revolt of the masses against the Maoists?

It is not a revolt of the masses against the Maoists but a most barbaric suppression campaign being conducted by the ruling classes!

‘Saalva Judum’ is nothing but a campaign aimed at terrifying the fighting masses of Dandakarnya into submission through murder and mayhem. It is nothing but the continuation of two earlier campaigns – one in 1990 and the other in 1996 – run under the name of ‘Jan-Jagran Abhiyan’ (People’s Awakening Campaign), which failed miserably due to stiff resistance from the revolutionary masses. Those two campaigns were also led personally by the same Mahendra Karma. In this campaign he has the full backing of the local reactionary forces and a section of those who were punished by the revolutionary movement for their crimes against the people. They are pouring in money and are gathering lumpen elements to serve as foot soldiers of this campaign. These lumpen elements are being armed with guns by the police, apart from the traditional bow and swords. These goons, along with the central para-military forces and state special armed police forces are forming a gang of about 200-300 people and

are conducting punitive raids on villages considered to be the strongholds of the revolutionary movement. At present their campaign is concentrated in the Byramgarh and National Park areas of Dantewada district.

Horrors & Barbarism of the “Saalva Judum

These goons are employing the most barbaric methods to terrorize the people. They are burning down village after village by spraying kerosene on the houses and setting them on fire. **Thus they burnt more than 40 villages to ashes and partially burnt another 10 villages so far. They butchered more than 100 people from the revolutionary masses, leaders of mass organizations and fighters of the PLGA. They are not even sparing the women, children or the aged.**

The following incidents will reveal their strategy. In one village, these goons beheaded a young boy and hanged his head on the door post of his house. In another village they beheaded an old peasant and hanged his de-capacitated body in the village centre, leaving a warning that the same fate will befall all those who do not surrender to them. They captured a PLGA fighter who was wounded during a police firing and then murdered him by cutting off his limbs and genitals. They shot dead 10 innocent peasants in a village called

Military intervention in anti-Naxalite Operations in Chattisgarh

On Oct 27th under the auspices of the Chattisgarh CM, Ramn Singh, the first ever Civilian-Military Convention took place to coordinate anti-naxalite operations in the state. This is the first time that the military is being called into operations against the naxalites. Participating in the Convention were Home Minister, Ramvihar Netam, Chief Secretary, A.K. Vijayvargiya, police Chief O.P.Rathor and from the side of the military there was the Chief of Staff of the Central Command, Lieutenant General Ashok Vasudev and Major General Ashok Khosla. Also in attendance were big-wigs from the government and the police of Chattisgarh and top brass of the military.

The CM suggested similar meetings to take place every three months to enhance the coordination between the military and the civil forces; he suggested the creation of a special Chattisgarh Regiment with recruitment chiefly from the tribals; and he also suggested the immediate setting up of an Apex Committee for better coordination between the civilian and military forces. The Military Chiefs agreed to all these proposals.

The military chiefs in return offered all possible training to the other forces in guerrilla warfare against the naxalites; they agreed to reduce their demand from 3,500 sq kms to 1,200 sq kms for their proposed military centre (which could also include the Air Force) in Chattisgarh; and they also offered military helicopters for anti-naxalite operations. They also suggest the formation of a territorial army for anti-naxalite activities along the lines set up in Orissa.

The Home Minister praised the military officials for the extensive training that they have been giving at the Jungle Warfare Training College located in Kanker.

The Convention finally agreed to further develop the coordination between the civilian and military forces in the State.

Horimal. In Jegurugonda area they sexually assaulted five women and murdered them in cold blood. The police shot dead a peasant who was up a palm tree for extracting toddy. In another ghastly incident in Morabelli village, the police shot and wounded two women who were working in the fields, one of those women was pregnant. The savage police personnel, not content with wounding them, tore open the womb of that woman; then they killed those two women. Not only that, when two girl children – aged 10 and two – of the other women, who were at a distance, got scared and started running away the police fired at them injuring the two year old in the head. At the time of writing this report that child is fighting for her life, without any medical aid. In another incident they caught hold of some militia members of the National Park area, murdered them and threw their bodies down the Indravati River.

They are not even sparing ordinary peasants who cross the Indravati river from the north to the south on some personal work. In one incident they killed 5 peasants

who crossed the Indravati. Now, one need not say any thing about the looting spree that is going on in this campaign. Hundreds of peasants have been looted of all their possessions – grains, money, valuables, chicken, goats, pigs etc. – by these murdering gangs. They are not sparing even those who surrendered, inflicting inhuman tortures on them. When some of the victims died unable to bear these tortures, these goons disposed of their bodies by simply throwing them down the Indravati River.

The state is forcefully herding people into concentration camps along the lines the US forces did in Vietnam – Strategic Hamlet Policy. More than 15 thousands people are at present languishing in these camps. Moreover the state is trying to give a picture that all these people were in reality victims of Naxalite's atrocities, who approached them for protection. With so many people in confinement, the police machinery got busy presenting some of the people before the media as surrendered Naxalites.

State's desperate attempts to extend this campaign to other areas fail miserably

This 'Saalva Judum' was started in the Byramgarh and Bijapur blocks of Dantewada district and got confined to that area as it was facing stiff resistance from the masses. Though the state is trying by all means to extend it to the adjoining areas of Bhopalpatanam, Voogoor, Narayanpur, Dantewada, Kunta and other areas it was unable to speed it up to the extent of its intentions. Even Mahendra Karma, with all his boasting was unable to gather people for this campaign outside of a handful of his stronghold villages. So, the state resorted to a big publicity stunt, by organizing a big meeting in the state capital, Raipur, on October 1st. The Chief Minister participated in this meeting along with Mahendra Karma and a host of other leaders. The chief minister lit a lamp and handed it over to the DGP, asking him to keep the lamp burning until all the Naxalites in Chhattisgarh are wiped out. Subsequently, meetings were also held at Ambikapur (Sarguja), Koira, Jeshpur, Champa and

Massive Mining contracts Demands Ruthless Attacks on Naxalites

Gigantic mining contracts have been signed with the comprador big bourgeois companies and TNCs to rob the country of our natural wealth and evict the local dwellers, mostly Adivasis. In just the last one year the gigantic sum of Rs.3 lakh crores of MoUs have been signed by these companies with the governments of Orissa, Jarkhand and Chhattisgarh alone. And this is chiefly in the sphere of iron ore and steel; other minerals too are being targeted.

In Jharkhand two huge MoUs have been signed with the Mittals (NRI) and the Jindals in just the past two months. The Mittals deal was worth Rs.40,000 crores and with the Jindals it was for Rs.35,000 crores. Both are for setting up steel plants to rob the iron ore and coal of the state. Mittal plans to mine iron ore at three blocks at Ajitaburu, Sukri and Dhubil. It will produce 12 million tones of steel per year and will be given gigantic subsidies from the Jharkhand govt. of Rs.6,500 crores per year — which is almost equal to its entire state budget with revenue receipts of Rs.6,944 crores (2004-05). The company has sought exemption from ALL taxes and subsidies on interest on loans, capital investments as well as contributions to PF and ESI. It has also demanded state government-owned land at concessional rates. The Jindal's 10 million tonne capacity plant will be located near Hesalong in Saraikela Kharsawan. Besides this the Tatas have huge expansion plans for its plant at Tatanagar. The Jharkhand government has already signed MoUs for the production of an additional 42 million tones of steel per annum.

In Orissa 37 MoUs have been signed including with the giant POSCO to set up steel plants to produce 47.7 million tones of steel per annum. Together they would invest a gigantic Rs.1,18,000 crores in Orissa.

The Chhattisgarh government has signed MoUs worth Rs.60,000 crores. In Bastar alone MoUs for investment of Rs.17,000 crores have been signed this summer for the proposed Tata and Essar (Ruias) steel plant.

Just one company, Tata Steel, has plans to increase its production from the present 5 million tones per annum to 25 million tones, entailing an investment of Rs.1 lakh crores. In Jharkhand the plant is to come up at Manoharpur or Chandil. The total expansion planned comes from the new 12 million tonne in Jarkhand of which a 5 million tonne expansion in Tatanagar itself, a six million tonne project in Orissa and a 5 million tonne plant in Chhattisgarh. In Chhattisgarh the Tatas plan to get their iron ore from the Bailadilla and Rowghat mines.

The bulk of these mining belts are in areas of Maoist influence. With such massive investments at stake, big business and the government knows that only by the suppression of the Naxalites there, they will be able to undertake their loot and make windfall profits. This, ofcourse will be at the cost of tribals living in these belts. All these development projects are achievable only at the cost of the destruction of the tribal livelihood system. To make these area 'safe' for the moneybags one can expect even more ruthless repression. But, the people will fight back as shown by the tribals of DK! This big capital will be put into operation dripping with the blood of the people. The police, para-military, army will act as noting but the hatchet men of POSCO, Jindal, Mittal, Tata and others. But ofcourse this will all be done in the name of fighting 'terrorism' to be-fool the people of the country.

Janigar towns. In all these meetings, the ruling class leaders boasted that they will drive out all the Naxalites from Chhattisgarh by June, 2006.

Dubious role of the media

The 'Saalva Judum' clearly exposed the anti-people nature of the big media in the country. The media is maintaining a complete silence about the murders and atrocities that are going on in the name of 'Saalva Judum'. Though more than 40 villages were burnt down, and though the local representatives of the media know well about the real perpetrators of these ghastly acts, the media has closed its eyes willfully. When a progressive reporter here and there sends factual reports the media barons are suppressing it. Moreover the media has been enthusiastically running one false story after the other, depicting the 'Saalva Judum' as a great revolt of the people and as an answer of the people to the so-called violence and atrocities of the Naxalites.

People's resistance

Even though the state machinery is rushing more and more para military forces into Dandakarnya its 'Saalva Judum' is not progressing to the extent of its wishes as it is facing stiff resistance from the revolutionary masses and the PLGA forces of the CPI (Maoist). Though their houses are being burnt down, though their children are being murdered, though their women are being violated by these goons the

revolutionary masses has not lost heart, they are rather standing firmly on the path of revolution. Though the para-military forces have set up many new camps in Bijapur and Byramgarh area and are conducting intensive combing operations under the name of 'carpet security' the PLGA forces have been on the one hand dealing blows on the enemy and on the other hand are offering protection to the crops of the peasants. On September 3rd, the PLGA forces successfully blew up a mine proof vehicle of the police forces, killing 27 policemen. The people's militia is providing protection to the people who have to go either to the forest or to the market for their daily needs. The militias have been maintaining a 24 hours vigil. It has exposed and annihilated the leaders and the most notorious ones among the 'Saalva Judum' goons. The revolutionary masses have firmly rejected the propaganda of the state and are preparing to intensify their resistance under the leadership of their Party, the CPI (Maoist).

An Appeal to All Progressives & Democrats

The above is a brief picture of the campaign of murder and mayhem going on in the Dandakarnya for the past 5 months. The tribals of Bastar have appealed to all democrats and progressive intellectuals to raise in one voice to condemn this brutal campaign against the revolutionary masses

of Dandakarnya, to demand its immediate stoppage and to demand the imposition of exemplary punishment to the perpetrators of these savage atrocities on the people.

The government of India, backed by the imperialists (particularly the US) wants to unleash a civil war on the impoverished masses of this country. Instead of meeting their just demands and livelihood questions they are being pushed deeper and deeper into the abyss of destitution and poverty to serve the interests of the likes of the Jindals, Mittals, Tatas, Reliance and the TNCs. India is being turned into a hunting ground of these robber barons. At the rate at which MoUs are being signed with these business magnets in just this past one year the iron ore reserves of this country will get fully depleted within the next 30 to 40 years. This is not 'development' it is 'destruction'. The vast mineral wealth of the country is being looted. The forests are being devastated; the rivers polluted and the entire ecology ravaged. Vast tracts of the country are being handed over to the mining mafia. All this will be the result of the new policies, of which crushing the local tribal is the main aspect.

The people of our country face a clear choice — and that is not between so called peace and 'terrorism', but between the rule of this mafia led by the imperialists or that of the masses led by the Maoists. The lines are clearly being drawn; all must decide where they stand. ■ ■

Extracts from the Open Letter from Chhattisgarh PUCL on 'Saalva Judum'

According to these reports (Jansatta, NDTV, and local CPI district president) people are being compelled to join the "Saalva Judum" rallies by brute force, and the homes of those refusing to do so are being burnt and their crops destroyed. Youth are particularly being terrorized into consent, and any young person refusing to join the "Saalva Judum" rallies is being assumed to be a Naxalite supporter, and being terrorized and tortured accordingly.

According to an independent report, even unmarried young women are being forced to wear 'Sindoor' in order to lay pretence to a male protector. There was a heart rending story of an Aanganwadi worker, named Soniya, who was beaten up by the Jawans of the Naga battalions, tied up with ropes at the ankle, dragged in this condition to the police station and forced to spend the night in the lock-up along with men, all on the suspicion that she was a Naxalite supporter. Similar story of excesses committed on women by police, CRPF and Naga forces have been recounted by NGO activists from Dantewada.

According to one estimate more than twelve thousand villagers, participants in the "Saalva Judum" campaign, have been displaced from their villages and lodged in police protected camps in the name of security. Conditions in these camps are sub human, one family is given one tent to live in. Sleeping arrangements are only on wet ground protected only by a rubber sheet. There is no adequate arrangement of drinking water, no lighting, no health facility, and food is provided by the police department. There have been several outbreaks of diarrhea, and several children have succumbed to these.

There are reports that indicate that any one who is suspected of being a supporter of Naxalites or a Sangam member is brutally tortured, beaten and in many cases killed. Through a combination of a carrot and stick approach, many people are being prodded into playing the role of informers for the police departments. In this way there are indications that normal democratic and civil rights have ceased to exist in the Bijapur and Bhairamgarh, Nilashnaar, Kotrapally and Gangalur area.

Several villages in the area where "Saalva Judum" is going on are reported to have become devoid of male members, who have either run away or being forced into the camps. The meagre seasonal agriculture of the adivasis is being severely compromised in this way, and with the break down of economic life, life and livelihood seems to be seriously threatened.

Delhi Bomb Blasts Undermine the People's Cause

- Akhil

On October 29th three bomb blasts in Delhi saw 62 people killed and 210 injured. Most were women and children. The finger, after much delay, is being pointed at a Kashmiri group with Pakistan backing. Ironically as with most earlier blasts, the government has said from the very first day that it suspected the hand of the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), and it has now found 'evidence' to prove it. Whoever conducted this attack on innocents in no way helps the cause for which they are fighting. In fact it turns the people against their cause. Instead of targeting the real enemies of the people and that of Kashmir such acts of cowardice serve no purpose but to help the state in whipping up its anti-terrorist hysteria. It helps further the ruling class propaganda to portray the nationality and revolutionary struggles as acts of terrorism. As such acts help only the rulers often it is they and their intelligence agencies that in fact sponsor them. This is well known to be done from the times of Hitler who himself burnt down the parliament and blamed the communists, in order to launch a massive attack on them.

Quite naturally the CPI(Maoist) in a press release soon after the blast has condemned this action. It stated: *The Central Committee(Provisional) of the CPI (Maoist) strongly condemns the gruesome killing of innocent people in the New Delhi serial bomb blasts at three places on the evening of 29th of this month.Who ever carried out this ghastly act of killing*

innocent people for what ever reason cannot be justified it under any pretext. We deeply condole the death, injury and lose of property of these innocent people. We share the grief with those families of the victims and express our deepest sympathy with their families. We demand the Central and state government should give appropriate compensation to families of the deceased and the injured and for the loss of property immediately and provide medical treatment to the injured without any delay.

The statement further adds: *We also urge the people not to get diverted by the malicious propaganda made by the ruling classes and their media which portrays all the militant struggles waged by the oppressed masses and oppressed nationalities are terrorist violence. The struggling people who resort to revolutionary violence as a response to the white terror/state terror unleashed by the big landlord big bourgeois ruling classes and their armed forces in order to put down their legitimate struggles. It is the ploy of the imperialists and their running dogs all over the world in their 'war against terrorism' to utilize the killing of innocent people to ruthlessly crush the peoples struggles under the 'sacred' banner of "war on terror". It is these gangsters who are the real culprits causing death of millions of people not only through direct aggression over the sovereign states, killing millions of children, women and aged through*

economic sanctions but also through their policies of Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization. The CC(P) calls up on the workers, peasants, women, youths, and all other oppressed people to fight unitedly against these draconian policies of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes.

It may never get to be known who actually conducted this act of terror. But if we look at the attack on Parliament we find that the case against Prof. Gelani was totally fabricated by the police and he has now been acquitted by the courts. Ofcourse, the police tied to kill him through hired assassins outside the residence of his lawyer. The other accused, Afsal, who has been given a death sentence, was a known surrendered militant who had been regularly reporting to the military. Besides, only one of the ten phone calls on the cell phone has been used as evidence; what happened to the other nine? Why are they not being raised? The murky goings on in this case raise many an unanswered question.

So also in the present case we may never get to know the real culprits. But the only beneficiaries can be the government that seeks to increase its anti-terror hysteria, or sections within the ruling classes that hope to foil the growing relations with Pakistan to serve some geo-political interests. There is no doubt that after this attack there have been some sections particularly from the army and intelligence who have been saying ad nauseum that it is necessary to re-think the steps being taken with Pakistan. ■ ■

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Starvation in 'Left's' Oasis

Ayan

Mr. Budhadeb Bhattacharjee, the Chief Minister of West Bengal 'Left' Front Govt., has repeatedly stated that his govt. is very much concerned about the condition of the poor people of the state. This govt. does not allow anyone in the state to die of starvation, he says. It has also been assured again and again that the 'Left' front govt. led by the CPI (M) is ready to face any such eventualities. The stark reality has already exposed the hollowness of all this tall talk and assurances. It has once again been vindicated that there is no real difference between the 'Left' front govt. and other state govts.

In fact starvation stalks various parts of the state. It has already spread its dreadful arms to West Midnapore, Murshidabad, the Tea gardens of North Bengal, Bankura, Purulia and even to Kumarpukur village, which is only 17 km away from the Writers' Building, the HQ of the West Bengal govt. The media have been flashing one after another harrowing tales of starvation deaths. It was reported in the last year that five persons of the Sabar tribe starved to death in Amlasole of West Midnapore district. This report embarrassed the state govt. and its administration. Mr. Budha's "pro-poor" district administration first tried to conceal the fact and alleged that the report was cooked up by the media. But the administration could not sustain its allegation as Kailash Muda, a local committee member of the CPI (M) and Pardhan of Amlasole gram panchayat had also reported the death of five Sabar tribal people due to starvation. This report prompted a lot of debate, discussion and investigation to find out the actual cause of death. The district and State level leaders of the CPI (M) and other parliamentary parties rushed to the village, expressed their 'great' concern and promised to do their best for the development of the area. While CPI (M) leaders on the one hand tried to delude the people of the Sabar tribe providing some relief and promising developmental programmes, on the other they also criticized and threatened Kailash Muda for his open statement. All the constituent parties of NDA and UPA tried their best to win over the people for their narrow political interests. Then, within a few months the game of mainstream politics

came to an end. The flood of sympathy died down. And the plight of the people of Amlasole remains same as it was.

Just after this heart-rending incident media persons put forward some question to Mr. Budha; with stunning smartness the mindless chief minister retorted – *why do you refer to only one Amlasole? There are so many Amlasoles. You have no knowledge that so many Amlasoles are developing in the slums of Kolkata.* The media person didn't ask him, as to why such an appalling plight of the people still persists even after three decades of their uninterrupted rule. No doubt, Mr. Budha, the efficient representative of the CPI (M), has correctly indicated that there are so many Amlasoles not only in rural Bengal but also in the city slums of Kolkata. Even then neither Mr. Budha and his party nor the 'Left' front govt. and its administration recognize that there have been incidents of starvation deaths in different parts of the state. They rather doggedly argue like other state govts. ruled by the constituent parties of either NDA or UPA, that those incidents have taken place due to malnutrition, disease or old age. It takes months together to accept the fact that the reason for the death has been starvation. Even on that occasion they argue that the number of starvation deaths is very low in this state as compared to other states.

These barefaced leaders do not even hesitate to ignore their tall claims and promises. Mr. Budha in an interview with 'Star Anand' TV Channel unabashedly explained that *one or two incidents of starvation death might have been there, but those were exceptions. The rural society of Bengal has a different culture. Here neighbors are very helpful and cooperative to each other. They do not allow anybody to die in starvation!* It is really a great realization! Where people of the entire area are in wretched conditions how do they show their hospitality to others? In fact belying Mr. Budha's in-depth knowledge about the socio-cultural tradition of rural Bengal, Lula Sabar died due to starvation in that very Amlasole village, just after a year! What an irony! Hunger haunts every family and family relations become meaningless. Few days before his death Lula Sabar's wife went to her daughter's house to meet her hunger.

While her daughter left her husband and was staying with another person to get rid of hunger. This is the ground reality. The CPI (M) leaders like Mr. Budha do not realize this and balloons socio-cultural tradition of rural Bengal to cover this inhuman condition of rural people.

Amlasole is not an exception. The people of Barikul in Bankura district and those of Bandwan in Purulia district are also facing abject poverty. Cultivation in this area is still completely dependent on the monsoon. There is no provision for irrigation. Joblessness is a persistent phenomenon along with crop failure. Even after three decades of 'Left' front rule the people of these areas do not have health centres, electricity and any provision for drinking water. The vast majority of the people are suffering from malnutrition and gradually heading towards premature death. Though the deaths due to starvation are common, one cannot find such deaths in the official record.

Mr. Budha Bhattacharjee knows that the people of Narayanganj block of West Midnapur district are also in abysmal poverty. The much trumpeted development programme of his govt. does not reach there. Here a good number of people are living in ghupris (Small huts built in woods and leave). It is even difficult for them to manage two square meals every day. There are no irrigation facilities. So even those who have a small plot of land (mostly patta land) cannot cultivate it for want of water. Of course the pro-poor govt. has provided mini tube wells for irrigation. But the people are so poor that they cannot purchase diesel to run those tube wells. Their source of income is either to work as day-labourers or collect shal leaves from the forest. As they can engage themselves as day labourers only for few days, the principal source of their income is shal leaves for which they get only Rs.10/- for 1000 leaves. In this condition can they avoid starvation? How do they cooperate with each other to get rid of starvation?

Thanks to the Chief Minister of the 'left' front govt.! He has correctly stated that there are many Amlasols. One can find some Amlasols in Galaugi of Murshidabad district, where people are dying due to starvation. In the village of Dayarampur and other adjacent villages, including Udaya-

nagar, Suryanagar colony and Paraspur “every day some one or the other dies of hunger.” According to Dr. Ashish Kumar Ghosh, the Medical Officer attached with the Rural Health Centre, “the entire area is under threat of insufficient nutritious food.” The indication is very clear, what more can a doctor, who is attached with RHC, tell publicly? Since 25th February to 16th March, 2005 about 7 peoples died due to starvation. Most of those people are agri-labourers.

Labourers of closed Tea gardens of North Bengal are also facing the same deplorable conditions. Their plight has become so miserable and unbearable that female members of the families have to adopt flesh-trading!

Even then the ‘left’ front govt. claims that they are very much concerned about the condition of the rural poor. The CPI(M), the leading party of the ‘left’ front govt. continues to claim that they have achieved great success in implementation of the land-reform programme. ‘Operation bargha’ is an example, as it is stated by them, of their pro-poor political attitude. And the ‘left’ front govt. have changed the profile of rural Bengal, of course without affecting the basic structure of the economy. What is the result?

The Human Development Report of West Bengal published in Sept. ’05 gives a different picture, a dismal picture! It has been stated in the report that small peasants, who got land through land reforms and those bargadars became permanent bargadars (tenant peasants) registering their name in the official record are giving up their lands as they cannot cultivate for want of money. Half the rural families have no land in 1999-2000. It has also given a picture of rural poverty on the basis of govt. statistics. In 1999-2000, about 50% of agri-labourers, 31% of other labourers, 20% of self-employed in agriculture and 27% of self-employed in outside agriculture, were living below the poverty level. This report was published by the govt. of West Bengal and it was prepared under the guidance of Ms. Jayati Ghosh, an economist having sympathy to the ‘left’ front govt. and its policies. So it is not possible for the CPI(M) party, ‘left’ front govt. and its Chief Mr. Bhattacharjee to term it as a concocted one. This report clearly shows that changes that have taken

place, went against the rural poor. And the rural poor of West Bengal have become more and more impoverished. Due to this impoverishment a good number of children have been suffering from under-nutrition. Though the percentage of children suffering from under-nutrition is equal to that of Gujrat and Orissa, the infant mortality ratio (IMR) of West Bengal is far lower than those states. How can it be possible? This question becomes more pertinent when it has been commented in the report that in West Bengal women and children are deprived of particular nutritious food. The rate of under-nutritious/mal-nutritious children and their mothers of the state is lower than that of the all India average rate. So far “chronic energy deficiency” is concerned, it ranks 8th out of 9 states. And as per “body mass index” it ranks 24th of 25 states. It should be kept in mind that this report has been prepared on the basis of the state govt. statistics. Generally, statistical profiles are very dry and cannot give realistic accounts of real life and more so when it is based on govt. statistics, which are definitely class-biased. Nevertheless, this report does not correspond with the claims of the ‘left’ front govt. Rather this report, with all its limitation, gave a picture of under-nutrition/mal-nutrition, landlessness and growing impoverishment, which is no less disheartening. Though the reality is far more heart-rending.

When joblessness, landlessness and hunger pervade rural Bengal, Mr. Budha Bhattacharjee and his “pro-poor” govt. are in hectic haste to change the ‘ceiling act.’ This is necessary, as they argue, for the purpose of removing poverty, joblessness and for economic development of West Bengal. But facts tell another story, they want to satisfy the demand of capitalists – both foreign and indigenous ones. They demand land – more and more land for urbanization, and other economic projects entailing more eviction from agri-land, more joblessness and a few provisions for employment. The CPI(M) leaders have already expressed that agri-land must have to be acquired for urbanization. The ‘left’ front govt. led by them made amendments to the land reform act in 2000 for this purpose. According to this amendment, agri-land even with Bargadar (tenant peasant with recorded rights) can be acquired for rapid

industrialization. It means the eviction of bargadars would be made legal.

The foreign and indigenous capitalists demand land – more and more land. The CPI(M) and the ‘left’ front govt. have been destroying the livelihood of thousands of people to meet their demand. How many people have already lost their land and homes? A complete picture is not available yet to this date. According to one source, it is not less than 49 thousands – 26 thousands for developing Rajarhat township of 24 pergunas district, 8 thousand for building a leather complex in Bantala and for the purpose of a Link Road between Barasat and Kulpi, and another 15 thousands families will have to face the same consequence to provide land to the Salim group, a notorious Indonesian company. According to another source, the figure will be far more than the above one.

The Chief Minister is considerate enough! He does not forget to assure work for those, who have to lose their lands. What sort of jobs will be provided for them? That has also been mentioned. Those are jobs of – watchman, barber, servant, guard, vegetable-peddlers etc. Thus evicted peasants will enjoy the fruits of economic development being transformed into barbers, peddlers, servants etc. and further increase the number of homeless, jobless and helpless people. Hunger will continue to haunt them. Female members of these families have to resort to prostitution in search of food, while some of these people have to face death due to starvation. And he shameless Chief Minister with a smiling face, continues to preach about the socio-cultural tradition of rural Bengal.

Everyone should admit that Mr. Budha Bhattacharjee has well been trained in ruling class culture. It is this ruling class culture that helps him term West Bengal an Oasis, when thousands of people have been suffering from joblessness, hunger, and starvation. It is this very culture that prompts him deploy his armed party cadres along with state armed forces to suppress the voice of deprived people. But Mr. Chief Minister should know that the people of Bengal also have a socio-political-cultural tradition – a tradition of revolting against deprivation and injustice. This people’s tradition has been rearing its heads more and more assertively inspiring the wretched of West Bengal. ■ ■

Flare Up in France

Suman

As Mao once said “*A Single Spark can light a Prairie Fire*”. It took a minor incident to lead to a major countrywide flare-up by the immigrant community in the country. It was a revolt of the most oppressed; spontaneous and primarily directed against the state and the rich. It was the biggest conflagration France has seen since the 1968 student revolt. By the end of nearly 20 days of violence, which the government was unable to quell even using emergency powers, ended with the burning of about 8,500 vehicles (mostly government) and the destruction of hundreds of public buildings. It began from the immigrant ghettos of Paris and slowly spread not only to the rest of the country but also other cities of Europe. Though the revolt was by the underbelly of French society, the Black youth, mostly Muslims, whose parents migrated from African French colonies in the 1960s to meet the labour needs of the post-war boom, it was not directed at whites but at the symbols of the system and the government. The pent-up anger broke loose. Unemployment, crude racism, the ban on head-scarves by educational institutions, regular police harassment, etc were the raw material that fed the anger.

The Conflagration

The embers of discontent were already brewing in the ghettos by mid October. So much so that the fascistic Interior Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy (who is also running to be the next President), said on Oct 19th that there will be a “war without mercy” in the suburbs. On Oct 25th during a visit to the Paris suburb of Argenteuil he was pelted with stones. On Oct.27th two young boys, Zyed and Bouna (aged 15 and 17), flee a police identity check. They enter an electrical relay station and are electrocuted. Angry youth go on a rampage and burn 23 vehicles. And then begin the daily clashes between the black youth and the police which continue to escalate each day spreading to newer townships.

On Nov.2 youth ransack a police station at Aulnay-sous-Bois. On Nov.3rd violence spreads to the eastern city of Dijon and parts of the south and west, with 400 vehicles being burnt. On Nov.4th the violence spreads beyond Paris. President Chirac promises to restore order. Nearly 1,500 vehicles were burnt and 400 arrested that day.

In the beginning the youth resorted to pitched battles with the police and by Nov 4th over 1,000 cars were being torched each day. Petrol bombs and other improvised weapons were used in the attacks. On the 12th successive night of violence on Nov.7th 1,173 vehicles were burnt and 330 arrested. 12 policemen were injured. As the violence mounted the attackers changed their tactic avoiding direct confrontation with the police and resorting to guerrilla attacks to avoid arrest. Masked youth were using mobile telephones to evade the police and re-group. They were also calling for similar actions in other towns through the internet.

In a building in a southern Paris suburb the police found a petrol bomb-making factory in an abandoned building containing 150 explosives ready for use, more than a 100 bottles, litres of fuel and hoods for hiding the faces of the attackers. The Interior minister’s rabid attacks on the blacks only enflamed the situation further. He called them the “scum” behind the urban violence and vowed “zero tolerance” on “rioters” and dispatched an extra 2,000 police to the affected areas. The firing of a grenade at a mosque on the 6th only added to the rage of the bulk of the youth, most of whom are Muslims.

Finally when control went totally out of hand the French Government approved Emergency measures on the affected areas in order to enforce curfew. After days of hit-and-run attacks on cars, municipal buildings, schools the Prime Minister, De Villepin announced that the government would deploy an additional 8,500 police together with another 1,000 reservists. But he dismissed calls to bring out the army for the present. The Emergency measures were invoked under a 50-year old law brought in then in an attempt to quell an insurrection in Algeria, which was then a French colony. He also announced a social and economic package to ‘help’ the people in the ghettos including the re-allocation of funds to educational and social intuitions, which had been reduced in budget cuts introduced by the government.

A Burning Cauldron

France has 5 million black immigrants the bulk of whom are Muslim. Most of them migrated from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in the 1950s and the 1960s. Their children are born in France and are French citizens, knowing little of their mother country. Yet they are not accepted while

white immigrants from East Europe are easily absorbed. Besides the Black are Muslims while the white immigrants are Christian. They are harassed and checked incessantly by the police. They find it hard to get jobs with unemployment as high as 50% in these areas. Their housing estates have no facilities. These are box-like structures whose stairs are covered with graffiti. The walls are moist, the lifts do not work, the paint has peeled off and the corridors stink of urine.

France has about 700 such housing estates located on the periphery of big towns like Paris or Lyon. Over 5 million people live there comprising one-eighth of the population. There is over 25% unemployment in these estates compared to a national average of 10%. Income levels are just 40% of the national average.

Besides all this the discrimination they face in their day-to-day lives have created a pressure-cooker situation, which has been further enflamed by the growing strength of the fascists which uses racism as its main propaganda ploy. In the last elections Le Pen’s fascist party shocked liberal French opinion by getting huge support with the powerful ‘socialists’ being routed. The ruling rightist party of the UMP (Union For a Popular Movement) has its Interior Minister as the main candidate for the Presidential election due in 2007. He has emerged as one of the most popular politicians, appealing to both the left and right with his ability to talk tough on explosive issues such as law and order and immigration. He is himself the son of Hungarian immigrant parents. He is likely to be pitted against the present PM, De Villipan.

The Blacks of France are being pushed to the wall. With globalization resulting in their further marginalization and impoverisation, with the social-democrats turning to be no different from the right-wing parties, with the rising influence of the fascists and their aggressive racism and with the anti-Moslem hostility reaching peak levels after 9/11 — they have no place to turn. With the left in France dominated by the Trotskyites and no significant revolutionary/Maoist force in the country, they have no place to turn to organise effective resistance. It is only such a revolutionary force that can help turn spontaneous revolts into organised resistance. ■ ■

Report on Seminar on Relevance of Maoism

- Rakhi

For the last couple of years, the central government of India as also the governments in a number of states spreading across vast stretches of north, central, east and south India where Maoists are reported to be active, are being haunted by the spectre of Maoism. The Naxalites, whom the state describe as Maoists because of their professed adherence to Mao Tse-tung's teachings, have been striving to build up an India free from imperialist control and feudal fetters and the rule by comprador bureaucratic-capitalism. It was not unexpected of the oppressive Indian state and its US imperialist masters to let loose reigns of terror on these revolutionaries and to try to project them as 'terrorists'—a term made fashionable now-a-days by the US President Bush, UK Prime Minister Blair and other imperialist representatives and their Indian lackeys like Advani, Naidu, Reddy, Buddhadev and others. They are going all-out to drown the forces of resistance in pools of blood, branding the Maoists as 'terrorists' and identifying Maoism with 'terrorism'. Recently, Anil Biswas, the state secretary of the CPM, WB, has written a lengthy article trying to denigrate 'Maoism' as 'Anarchism'. Needless to state, as the world-capitalist system is beset with a deep crisis in recent years in the aftermath of September 11 and before, and they know it quite well that there was no way to get out of it, they are trying to muster all their forces to forestall their impending doom. Long time back on 20 May 1970, Mao Tse-tung gave the historic call to the people of the world: "*People of the world, Unite and Defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs*". How relevant and prophetic these words were are borne out by recent developments the world over.

It was in this context that the Shahid Saroj Datta Smritiraksha Committee organized a seminar—probably the first of its kind in recent years—on the *Relevance of Maoism*. This Committee was formed many years back in memory of Saroj Datta, a leader of the CPI(M-L) and a close associate of Charu Mazumdar, who was butchered by the police on the night of 4/5 August, 1970. The seminar was organized

by this Committee on 9 September — the day Mao died in the year 1976 — at the Mahabodhi Society Hall in central Kolkata in the evening. The hall was packed to capacity. The seminar was inaugurated by Bela Datta, the wife of Saroj Datta, by garlanding a beautiful picture of Mao Tse-tung. Then a statement was read out on behalf of the committee. There were three main speakers, besides the chairperson. Prof. Amit Bhattacharya, Prof. Dipankar Chakrabarty, Prof. Debabrata Panda were the main speakers. Prof. Subhendu Dasgupta and Prof. Nishith Bhattacharya, a political activist also spoke on the occasion. Prof. Tarun Sanyal, a well-known intellectual, could not speak because of his illness. The session was chaired by Samiran Majumdar, a well-known writer. The chairman read out his statement in the closing session.

Prof. Amit Bhattacharya, who spoke first, justified the relevance of such an intellectual effort. He preferred not to go into the debate whether the theme in question should be called 'Maoism' or 'Mao Tse-tung Thought'. He appears to have been more concerned with the contribution made by that great man to the progress of human civilization. Many decades ago, Marx said: "*The philosophers have so far only explained the world. The need, however, is to change it*". Marxist revolutionaries all over the world had fought and have been fighting in their own way in their own countries to change the world for the better for many years, and by so doing, made new contributions to Marxist theory and practice. It would not have been possible for Lenin to accomplish the Russian revolution by reading Marx and Engels only. Lenin had to write new theories as implicit in such significant essays as *Two Tactics of Social Democracy, Materialism and Empirio-criticism, The State and Revolution, Imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism* and others. In this way, he had enriched Marxism. In the same way, Mao wrote a number of new theoretical articles such as *On Contradiction, On Practice, On Protracted War, On New Democracy, On the Ten Major Relationships, A critique of Soviet Economics*, to name only a few.

The speaker referred to the

differentiation of the bourgeoisie in colonial and semi-colonial countries like China, the concept of New Democratic Revolution, Hunan report that stressed the need of Red terror to counter counter-revolutionary White terror, guerrilla warfare as an essential form of people's war, the universality of contradictions, the great ideological debate between the CPC and the Soviet Communist party over questions such as the existence of class struggle in a socialist society, the need for armed struggle to bring about social transformation, the Cultural Revolution as an essential part of qualitative social change etc. Prof Bhattacharya was of the view that Mao's teachings were essential to counter imperialist globalization.

Prof. Dipankar Chakrabarty also dealt with the question against a broad canvas. He highlighted Mao's oft-quoted dictum that the Chinese revolution was accomplished with three magic-weapons. The first is the Party, the second is the People's Army and the third is the united front. The Indian revolutionaries should pay attention to these three weapons. He was also of the view that there should not be any mechanical implementation of the Chinese path in our country. The application should be creative. **He also highlighted the Cultural Revolution as a distinct contribution of Mao to Marxism-Leninism, besides other achievements. He also lambasted Anil Biswas for his article branding 'Maoism' as 'Anarchism'.**

Prof. Debabrata Panda spoke mainly on imperialist globalization and the relevance of Mao's contribution in the field of Economics. He discussed in detail the story of China's socialist transformation in agriculture and industry, the Cooperatives and the People's Commune in Socialist China. The process culminated in the Cultural Revolution in the second half of the 1960s. The Maoist path of economic development, the path of self-reliance, is the only path to combat the path of dependence on imperialist capital. The more one depends on the crutches of imperialist capital, the more backward one moves. To counter imperialist globalization, get armed with Mao's teachings.

Prof. Subhendu Dasgupta started with

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Indian expansionists and their wild Aspirations

{In the light of the Indian Expansionists wild ambitions in South Asia we are presenting a brief history on this issue. This has particularly become more relevant in the light of the recent 13th SAARC Conference and the Indian ruler's blatant intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal/Sri Lanka. Set up exactly two decades back SAARC has been used by the Indian rulers primarily as an instrument to promote the market of the big business houses in India (both comprador and foreign). At the present SAARC conference the Indian PM shamelessly pushed for the setting up of the SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Zone) and to jointly fight so-called terrorism (i.e. the nationality and revolutionary movements in the region). At this meeting the PM went one step further calling not only for free flow of trade but also investments. In both Nepal and Sri Lanka the India rulers are giving vast amounts of military help to the local governments to crush the on-going movements there. While this article gives the background to Indian Expansionism, in a future article we shall give its recent developments..... Editor}

- Chirag

The expansionist ambitions of the Indian ruling classes and their political representatives began to take shape in the 1930s and 1940s when the Indian big bourgeoisie looked towards extending their business activities to countries outside India under the umbrella of British power and influence. Likewise, their political representatives also betrayed a 'Great Power' syndrome in no uncertain terms in their writings and letters even when some of them were still in prison. These expansionist ambitions of the Indian big bourgeoisie were closely tied up with the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the role of the former as sub-exploiter was conditioned by their role as compradors—a role that had endeared them to and made them the most trusted lackeys of the British raj. When the 'transfer of power' was in sight, the Hindu compradors consisting, among others, of the Birlas, Thakurdases, Sarabhais, stood for a strong centre where they could dominate over others. The Muslim compradors consisting of the Ispahanis, Adamjis, Haroons etc, demanded a separate unitary state where they could thrive, being free from competition with the more powerful Marwari, Gujarati and Parsi business magnates. The Hindu comprador opted for a divided India with a strong centre, rather than an undivided India with a weak centre. The decision to partition the country along communal lines was taken mainly because of the Congress leaders' pursuit of a monopoly of whatever power the British would concede before their departure. The 'Big Power' syndrome was reflected in their uncompromising demand to set up a strong centre under their control.

In fact, the Indian big bourgeoisie had a large stake in the British colonies in South-east Asia and East Africa. Their role was that of a sub-exploiter in other British colonies as in India. In Myanmar, Indian

businessmen controlled about two-fifths of the value of imports and about three-fifths of the value of exports. The Indian Imperial Citizenship Association, of which Gandhi was a founder, and with which Thakurdas and many other Indian business magnates were actively attached, estimated total Indian capital investment in Myanmar in 1941 at Rs.250 crore. The Nattukottai Chettiyar group of Tamil Nadu alone owed one-fourth of the cultivable land in South Myanmar in the early 1930s. The Birlas, too, owned a starch factory there. In Malaya, the Chettiyar groups, besides other Indian groups, set up their trading and money-lending firms and made investments in rubber plantations and coal mines. In Sri Lanka, the import of trade in rice, flour, sugar and textiles was dominated from about 1908 by the Memon merchants from India. Claude Marcovits writes that "prior to the 1920s, Indian capitalist interests in Mumbai wanted to transform Kenya into an Indian sub-colony" (*Indian Business and Nationalist Politics*, Cambridge 1985, p.187). In East Africa, a Parekh family and a Patel group had big cotton trading concerns and set up cotton mills. Of the major groups, at least Mafatlal, Sarabhai and Thakurdas had considerable interests in Uganda. Thakurdas had important interests also in Tanzania. In this way, Indian big capital, protected by British guns, spread its tentacles to other British colonies to squeeze people of other lands and serve the British raj to serve itself.

The Indian big bourgeoisie, which prospered mainly because of its role as intermediaries to imperialist capital, wanted an India with a strong centre by their control over different national regions, by curbing the forces of genuine nationalism and suppressing various nations and nationalities of India. Before transferring power, the British imperialists also wanted to keep the unity of India in tact. They

seriously wanted to have a 'United India' to serve their global strategy—political, economic and military. Moreover, the Indian big bourgeoisie aspired to become a zonal power in the Indian Ocean region as junior partners of the Anglo-American powers. The closing period of the second world war enabled them to see rosy visions of its future. This class minted gold out of the sweat and tears of the people of India during the war. The defeat of Japan in Asia, the decline in the power and prestige of the old imperialist powers like France and the Netherlands etc. whetted the appetite of the big bourgeoisie. They started dreaming of dominating not only South Asia, but also the entire Indian Ocean region.

Small Nationalities are doomed — Nehru

These predatory aspirations of the Indian big bourgeoisie were voiced by one of their top political representatives—the man who was destined to be the first prime minister of 'independent' India. Jawaharlal Nehru was one of those who, irrespective of what his public statements were, abhorred the right of nations to self-determination. While in jail, he wrote: "...Whether India is properly to be described as a nation, or two, or more, really does not matter, for the modern idea of nationality has been almost divorced from statehood. The national state is too small a unit today and small states can have no independent existence" (J.Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, London, 1956, p.545). Statements such as these are in clear contravention of the UN Declaration on Fundamental Rights. He held: "...the small national state is doomed. It may survive as a cultural, autonomous area but not as an independent political unit" (*The Discovery of India*, p. 550). Again, he stated: "The right of any well-constituted area to secede from the Indian federation

or union has often been put forward, and the argument of the USSR advanced in support of it. That argument has little application, for conditions there are wholly different and the right has little practical value” (p.548). Nehru’s wild ambitions knew no bounds. He asserted that it was Nehru’s ‘manifest destiny’ to become the centre of a “super-national state” stretching from the Middle East to South-East Asia and to exercise “an important influence” in the Pacific region (p.550). Nehru asserted, “So it seems that in the modern world it is inevitable for India to be the centre of things in Asia (In that term, I would include Australia and New Zealand too, being in the Indian Ocean region. East Africa comes into it also)...India is going to be the centre of a very big federation...”(Nehru, *Selected Works*, Vol.XV,pp.562,566). Nehru was quite prompt in affirming that “India is likely to dominate politically and economically the Indian Ocean region”. In August 1945, he stated: “I stand for a south Asia federation of India, Iraq, Afganistan and Burma...In the world of today there are two big powers, Russia and America. In the world of tomorrow, there will be two more, India and China—there will be no fifth” (Nehru, SW, pp.440,441-2). That is not the end of such tall talks and wild dreams. Nehru considered Sri Lanka to be “really part of India” and wanted her to be “an autonomous unit of the Indian federation”(SW, vol.XIV, p.450; vol.XV,p.458;vol.X,p.32;vol.XI,pp.788-89). He also claimed that Nepal was “certainly a part of India”, though she was a nominally independent country (ibid, 2nd series vol.II,p.470). Like Nehru, Patel too was afflicted with this ‘Great Power’ syndrome. He said: “Let India be strong and be able to assume the leadership of Asia, which is its right”(P.D.Saggi, *Life & Works of Vallabhbhai Patel*, Bombay n.d.p.89). On 7 November 1950, he wrote to Nehru: “the undefined state of the frontier (in the north and north-east) and the existence on our side of the population with its affinities to Tibetans or Chinese have all the elements of potential trouble between China and ourselves... Our northern or north-eastern approaches consist of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling(area) and tribal areas in Assam...The people inhabiting these portions have no established loyalty or

devotion to India”. So he proposed that “political and administrative steps” should be taken “to strengthen our northern and north-eastern frontiers. This would include the whole of the border, i.e., Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling and the tribal territory in Assam”(Durga Das,ed. *Sardar Patel’s Correspondence*, vol.X,pp.337-8,340). Toeing in the line of Nehru that small nationalities are bound to be doomed to pave the way for the creation of the ‘Indian nation’(which is but a myth), Patel advocated the establishment of

India is a multi-national country which should give all nationalities the right to self-determination including secession as a basic democratic right in a genuine federal set-up.

Indian domination over all these countries and regions in the north and the north-east.

Small nationalities in the North-East

The north-eastern part of India consisting of seven small states namely, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura is the home of many small nationalities like the Assamese, the Nagas, the Mizos, the Khasis, the Bodos, the Khamtis, the Karbis etc. and many other ethnic groups of people. They were ruled by some independent feudal kings and tribal chiefs. This region is rich in such natural resources as oil, tea, gas, coal etc. The British imperialists pursued a ‘forward policy’ in these regions, suppressed by force and other means the hopes and aspirations of the people living there and sought to integrate the north-east with the central administration. They were successful only in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya, while the peoples of Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura raised the banner of rebellion against colonial rule. In the post-1947 phase, the Nehru-led government, installed by the British, continued the same colonial

legacy of national subjugation and what followed was the forcible mergers of these regions with the Indian state.

In March 1947, the maharaja and the ruling council of **Manipur** drafted a constitution for independent Manipur. Turning a deaf ear to the aspirations of the Manipuri people, Vallabhbhai Patel, the then home minister of India, compelled king Bodhachandra Singh to sign a document for the merger of Manipur with the Indian state. The maharaja sought to get some time to discuss the matter with his council, but was disallowed by Patel. The merger agreement was signed on 21 September 1949 and it became effective from 15 October that year.

Regarding **Nagaland**, Nehru wrote: “It (the Naga territory) lies between two huge countries, India and China...Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must form part of India and Assam...the excluded areas should be incorporated with the other areas”(Nehru, SW, vol.XV,p.279). As part of its ‘forward policy’, the British annexed one part of the Naga territory and created the Naga Hills territory and created the Naga Hills District. The British followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Naga Hills District, and the land bordering Tibet and Myanmar inhabited by the Naga people were left un-administered. But the Indian expansionists did not allow the Naga people to take their destiny in their own hands. They wanted to annex the whole of the Naga territory. On 7 August 1951, Nehru’s principal private secretary wrote to A.Z.Phizo, the leader of the Naga National Council, that “the Indian government would not allow any attempt by any section of the people of India to claim an independent state”(S.Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, vol.II, Delhi 1979,p.208). Such was the plea given by the Indian expansionists to justify their annexation of Nagaland even though the Nagas had never been a section of the people of India.

Assam historically was never a part of present-day India. The Assamese nationality, consisting of such human groups as Ahom, Moran, Matak, Koch, Deurie, Chutia etc. rather grew in isolation and endowed with a racial and cultural heritage totally distinct from that of metropolitan India. Assam was annexed by the British on 24 February 1826, by virtue

of the Treaty of Yandaboo, entered into with the government of Myanmar and was brought under unified Indian administration. Neither did this treaty have the concurrence of the Assamese people, nor was it ratified by the then rulers of Assam. The Indian expansionists took Assam over as if by natural right and thus Assam became an integral part of the Indian state in 1947. The same is true of other nationalities living in **Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya** etc.

Jammu & Kashmir: The Indian expansionists also sought to grab Jammu and Kashmir. On 14 June 1947, V.K. Krishna Menon, Nehru's trusted emissary, appealed to viceroy Mountbatten to ensure that on the lapse of British paramountcy, Jammu and Kashmir should be allowed to be acceded to India in the interest of the 'free world', i.e., a world dominated by the imperialists and their accomplices (A. C. Bose, "J&K's Accession-II", *Statesman*, 20 December 1995). On 17 June that year, Nehru sent a note on Kashmir to Mounbatten. After pointing out that the Muslims constituted 77.11 percent of the population of the state, Nehru stated that it should join India (N. Mansergh, ed. *Transfer of Power Documents*, vol. XI, pp. 446-48). In Nehru's scheme of things, there were only options before J & K: one was the accession to India, which naturally, as the facts will testify, was Nehru's heart's desire; the other was accession to Pakistan. The third alternative, i.e., the right of the Kashmiri people to remain separate and independent was never acceptable to the Nehrus. In a document adopted at a conference held in 1944, known as *Naya Kashmir*, the National Conference led by Sheikh Abdulla envisaged the future state of Jammu & Kashmir as "an independent federation...like a Switzerland of the East" (See Bose's article). In November and December 1947, Nehru declared that there should be a referendum on the issue of the merger of Kashmir with either India or Pakistan. Speaking in Indian Parliament on 7 August 1952, Nehru again declared: "We do not want to win people against their will and with the help of armed force; and, *if the people of Jammu and Kashmir State wish to part company with us, they can go their way and we go ours. We want no forced marriages, no forced unions. I hope this great Republic of India is a free, voluntary,*

friendly and affectionate union of the States of India" (Nehru, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, p.361).

However noble the ideal may appear to be, it contained not an iota of truth, as the following would testify. Within a few days—on 25 August 1952—Nehru sent a note to Abdulla, the then prime minister of J & K, in which he stated: "...our general outlook should be such as to make people think that the association of Kashmir state with India is an accomplished and final fact and nothing is going to undo it...I have held these views concisely and precisely for the last four years...What has sometimes worried me is what happens in Kashmir, because I have found doubt and hesitation there, and not clarity of vision or firmness of outlook"(Quoted in S. Gopal, op.cit,p.122). It was through cunning, deceit and coercion that the Indian expansionists annexed J & K to the Indian state.

Language as an instrument of domination

Language has been used as an instrument of domination of the Indian big

Imposition of Hindi and English is an attempt by the Centre to crush the flowering of the languages of the various nationalities of India.

bourgeoisie over different nationalities of India. In fact, to promote the growth of 'Indian nationalism' and suppress 'sub-nationalism', the Indian ruling classes have tried for a long time to foist Hindi in Devanagari script as the common language of the whole of India. The mastermind behind this project was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. In order to solidify 'Hindu India', he proposed an 'All-India script' in *Young India* of 14 July 1927. He wrote: "before the acceptance of Devanagari script becomes a universal fact in India, Hindu India has got to be converted to the idea of one script for all the languages derived from Sanskrit and Dravidian stock...If these scripts(Bengali, Sindhi, Gurumukhi, Oriya, Malayalam, Kannarese, Tamil, Telugu and so on) could be replaced by Devanagari for all practical

and national purposes, it would mean a tremendous step forward. *It will help to solidify Hindu India* (Gandhi, *CW*, vol.-XXXV,p.357). It was also his desire that Hindusthani should "become the language of the whole of Asia"(Gandhi, *CW*, vol.-LXXXVII, p.216). Quite revealing indeed!

In fact, Gandhi had been voicing the aspirations of the Indian big bourgeoisie whose political representative he was. The goal of the Indian ruling classes was to have a powerful centre in a unitary Indian state in the interests of the Hindu and Parsi business magnates. The ruling classes avoided open debates on the language question fearing that that would consolidate opposition and thwart the plan of imposing Hindi. Selig Harrison wrote: "Language provisions were pointedly omitted from the Draft Constitution of October 1947, as well as from all subsequent versions until the very last. In fact, Article 115 in the Draft Constitution, which dealt with the Hindi question, generated more heat than any other. Hindi was ultimately imposed as the national language by a margin of one single vote (78 against 77).

We have already referred to the letter from Patel, the home minister, to Nehru on the northern and north-eastern regions like Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan etc. where he suggested that administrative steps be taken to exercise control over them. In the case of **Sikkim**, India seized the opportunity of a local uprising against the ruler to send in troops and bring the state into closer dependence as a protectorate than it had been under the British. Annexing Sikkim has been the widely known ambitions of Indira Gandhi and her father Jawaharlal Nehru. After turning Sikkim into its protectorate and emboldened by Soviet social imperialist backing, the Indian expansionists became more unscrupulous than ever before. In 1973, the Indian government openly marched into Gangtok, capital of Sikkim, to take over Sikkim's administration by force. In 1974, the Indian Parliament, in the teeth of strong opposition of the Sikkimese people and world public opinion, carried out the colonialist annexation of Sikkim by making it an "associate state" of India through an amendment to the Indian Constitution. . On 9 April 1975, the Indian government under the prime ministership of Indira Gandhi let loose its troops and forcibly

disbanded the palace guards of Sikkim's Chogyal. The very next day, Sikkim's cabinet and national assembly, manipulated by the Indian expansionists, adopted "resolutions" demanding the removal of Chogyal and the turning of Sikkim into a constituent state of India. The fig-leaf of "protectorate" and of "associate state" had been completely cast aside, and Sikkim was turned in no time into a constituent state of India. *Renmin Ribao* commented: "It is indeed the height of arrogance for the Indian government to commit so outrageous an aggression in the 1970s" (*Peking Review*, no.16, April 18, 1975).

In 1949 again, India signed a treaty with **Bhutan**, in which she took over Britain's right to guide Bhutan in foreign affairs. However, to the Indian expansionists, Nepal was more important than many others in their imperial quest for regional hegemony.

Nepal

The US ambassador to India, Chester Bowles wrote in 1954: "So India has done on a small scale in Nepal which we have done on a far broader scale on two continents" (*Ambassador's Report*, London 1954, p.280). What did the Indian expansionists do to Nepal? The question is all the more important in the context of the Maoist offensive in recent years against both US imperialism and Indian hegemony. We would be brief.

The present state of Nepal—a mountainous region of about 500 miles and 100 miles in size was established in the second half of the 18th century through the forcible annexation of nearly 60 petty tribal and ancient states under the leadership of one chief, Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha. The process of state expansion continued till the early 19th century when semi-colonial position was thrust upon the state by the British colonizers with the signing of the Sugauli treaty of 1816 and had been further buttressed by a set of 'unequal' treaties forced to sign with 'free' India in subsequent years. The Indian ruling classes followed in the footsteps of their former British masters and continued with their expansionist designs. The outcome was the *Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950*, the most objectionable provisions of which are as follows: so-called security commitments towards each other, restrictions to purchase arms by Nepal, "national treatment" to be

given to the nationals of the other in one's territory and the virtual scrapping of the political border between the two countries. Constant political manipulations exercised by the Indian rulers to put their puppets in power, armed intervention to crush rebellion in Nepal (e.g., Indian army operations to put down peasant uprisings led by Bhim Dutta Pant in 1953 etc.) clearly showed what the 'Nehru doctrine' actually stood for. This political control was matched by the almost total control of the Indian ruling classes over the economy of Nepal, including industry, trade and finance. The Indian expansionists have also established control over the vast water resources of Nepal. The Koshi River Agreement (1954), Gondak River Agreement (1960) and the more recent Mahakali River Treaty (1996) clearly reveal how the Indian big bourgeoisie is plundering the massive hydro-electric potential of Nepal. Accompanied with it is the social and cultural domination through fanning Hindu jingoism or corrupting the young minds through pornographic Hindi films.

The sovereignty of Nepal and other Himalayan states has actually been trampled underfoot to serve the interests of imperialism and their lackeys. In an article in the *Times of India* dt.2 February 1960, Prem Bhatia wrote that as the need arose to protect Nepal from Chinese "invasion or subversion", "the USA and India came to realize that their aims in Nepal were identical".

Tibet and the Indian aggression against China

The Nehrus had a keen interest in Tibet also. As early as 25 April 1947, when India was yet to attain formal independence from the raj, Nehru, as a member of the viceroy's 'interim government', informed the British secretary of state for India that "Government of India now wish to be represented in Tibet...and should be grateful to know whether His Majesty's Government desire to retain a separate mission there in future. If they do not, it would seem feasible to arrange transition from a 'British Mission' to an 'Indian Mission' without publicity and without drawing too much attention to change, to avoid if possible any constitutional issue being raised by China" (N.Mansergh ed, *Transfer of Power Documents*, vol.X, p.430). At that time, a civil war had been going on

in China when all the forces of progress joined hands with Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China against the lackeys of imperialism and feudalism led by Chiang Kai-shek. Nehru started to develop a liaison with the Dalai Lama's government in Tibet, which, as the *London Times* reported on 29 July, 1949, was "a gratifying indication that an important new bulwark against the spread of communism westward is being created". Meanwhile, the Sino-Tibetan agreement guaranteeing the autonomy of Tibet within the People's Republic of China was signed on 27 May 1951.

On 18 November 1950, one year after the birth of the People's Republic of China, Nehru wrote: "We cannot save Tibet, as we should have liked to do, and our very attempts to save it might well bring greater trouble to it...It may be possible, however, that we might be able to help Tibet to retain a large measure of her autonomy. That would be good for Tibet and good for India. As far as I can see this can only be done on the diplomatic level and by avoidance of making the present tension between India and China worse" (Durga Das, op.cit, p.346).

Why was Tibet so important for Nehru? The successful accomplishment of the Chinese revolution, the spread of communist and national revolutionary movements in the countries of south-east Asia alarmed the Indian ruling classes as those had alarmed the imperialist forces. There was the fear—mortal fear that India would go the China way. This spectre of communism was voiced in the statements made from time to time by the Indian bourgeoisie as also by the representatives of the US imperialist state. As early as 1949, the Engineering Association of India, on which Indian tycoons were represented, stated: "...industrially-advanced countries like USA and UK should undertake the obligation of making India industrially great. The exigencies of the situation in South-East Asia require it and comparative inability of the Western powers to be of effective help in South-East Asia demands that India should be made strong in order that she may act as a bulwark against the rising tide of Communism in this part of the globe" (GOI, *Report of the Fiscal Commission 1949-50*, Vol.III Written evidence, p.80).

The Indian big bourgeoisie felt that India's entente with US and British

imperialism was essential not only for her becoming a big power, but also to combat their mortal enemy, i.e. Communism. Chester Bowles, the political representative of US imperialism also showed his deep anxiety when he stated: "...If the communists should win the struggle of Indo-China,...the consequence for India would be ominous. The Communists would then be in a position to bring overwhelming pressure on both Thailand and Burma, whether politically or by physical occupation of those countries...The continued presence of Chinese Communists on its northern border makes what happens in Nepal all the more important to India, and to the whole non-Communist world. If Nepal should fall before an invasion from Tibet, or from an internal Communist revolution, the Communists would be poised right on the Indian border, above the great heartland of the country and less than four hundred miles from Delhi" (*Ambassador's Report*, op. cit, pp.247-48, 270). Bowles has made it amply clear that the spread of Communism would spell the doom of the imperialist system itself. So he sought to project Nehru as the role model defending Asian democracy in opposition to Asian Communism. The attitude of US imperialism was manifested in no uncertain terms in the *Life* magazine which stated: "Nehru is the greatest Statesman and diplomat, a man with vast qualities of courage and leadership. If we can find the right formula for joining our strength with his, the future of Asia and the World will become much brighter. We owe it to ourselves and all of non-Communist Asia to put heart into Nehru for the ordeal that lies ahead" (Cited in Editorial, 'What Communist China means to India' in *Engineering News of India*, Vol.I, No.6, September 1949, p.395). The *New York Post* wrote in October 1949 that India was "America's hope in Asia" (Cited in J.Nehru, *Inside America A Voyage of Discovery*, Delhi, n.d.p.71). Another organ of US imperialism, the *New York Times* was more straightforward when it stated in August 1950: "He(Nehru) is in a sense the counter-weight on the democratic side(sic!) to Mao Tse-tung, to have Pandit Nehru as ally in the struggle for Asiatic support is worth many divisions"(Cited in R.P.Dutt, *India Today & Tomorrow*, Delhi 1955, p.275).

Nehru was quite willing to play the role for which US imperialism cast him, as he himself told Col.Louis Johnson, the then personal representative of US president Roosevelt back on 6 April 1942 that "India wanted to hitch her wagon to America's star"(Nehru, *SW*, vol.XII, pp.194-5; *TOP*, vol.I, pp.665-66).

The border between India and Tibet—vast, mountainous, sparsely-populated, icy and desolate areas never under Indian administration—had remained undefined and undemarcated when the direct rule of India by the British ended in 1947. In April 1947, Nehru held that the McMahon line was the boundary in the eastern side of the India-China border and from November 1950, started to claim unilaterally that "...the McMahon line is our boundary and that is our boundary—map or no map"(Quoted in S.Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, vol.II, Delhi 1979, p.176). Nehru simply brushed aside the unassailable fact that the *Simla Convocation of 1914*, where the McMahon line was drawn, was never ratified by the parties concerned, including the British-Indian government and China objected to it from the beginning.

To cut a long story short, the Nehrus were engaged in a dirty game to stir up revolt of the serf-owners in Tibet by training the Khamba tribes of Tibet in collusion with the US and the CIA with USA engaged in anti-China espionage from a base set up in Kalimpong in Darjeeling. Clashes with the Chinese border guards started from August 1959 when Indian soldiers crossed the McMahon line. Nehru made the greatest blunder of his life when he mistook Chinese restraint and Chou En-lai's offer for talks as a sign of China's weakness. What followed in late 1962 was Indian aggression against China and the 'Himalayan debacle' suffered by the aggressors. The Indian expansionists and their behind-the-scene American accomplices thus suffered one of the most stunning defeats in history. Nehru's much-publicized 'forward policy' turned out to be an abortive one.

Very recently, it has come to light that at a meeting held on 9 May 1963, attended by President John F.Kennedy, General Maxwell Taylor, Foreign Secretary Dean Rusk, Deputy Secretary John Bell and Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, the US imperialists were considering the pros and cons of making an atomic attack on

Red China in order to help India. In Taylor's opinion, lending a helping hand to India was an integral part of the US global strategy of fighting Chinese Communism(*The Statesman*, 26-8-2005). Such wild ambitions harboured by US imperialism, however, did not materialize and President Kennedy himself fell to assassin's bullets in November that year.

Dismemberment of Pakistan

While the people of then East Bengal had the full right to secede from the oppressive Pakistani rulers the Indian rulers had designs to make it another Bhutan or Sikkim. In 1971, backed by different imperialist powers, especially the Soviet social imperialists and condemned by all the progressive forces of the world, the Indian expansionists attacked Pakistan and occupied the whole of East Pakistan. This war of aggression was the culmination of more than a decade-old imperialist conspiracy to force Pakistan to join India as a subordinate in an alliance directed against Socialist China and World revolution. Indira Gandhi, the then prime minister of India declared on 2 January 1972 that India would supply all the needs of Bangladesh(*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 3 January 1972). For the supply of all the needs of the "new-born state" the Indian compradors had not only kept the army there, but had also sent a substantial number of civil and police officers. They rebuilt East Bengal's damaged roads, railways, bridges, power houses, ports and even printed currency note for Bangladesh. They dumped textiles, coal, cement, petroleum and other shoddy products of theirs in the East Bengal market at high prices and bought raw jute, hide and skin, newsprint, paper etc. at cheap prices. Dhaka was visited not only by D.P.Dhar, Indira Gandhi's special envoy, but also by economic, shipping, insurance and aviation delegations from India. Not only Indian vultures but also vultures from different imperialist countries flocked to have a share of the watermelon that is 'liberated Bangladesh'. The US monopolists, too, were represented by the World Bank chief, that notorious McNamara and others. The so-called liberation of Bangladesh had brought cruel suffering, shame, humiliation, semi-starvation and slow death to the hundreds of millions of peasants, workers and other toiling people.

That is why the Indian rulers are hated in Bangladesh, not only by the masses but also a section of the Bangladeshi ruling classes. Many were assassinated including India's chief stooge Sheikh Mujibur Rehman.

That the aims and interests of US imperialism and the Indian ruling classes were identical became evident with the passage of time. As the imperialist forces seek to globalize its forces to exercise their control over and plunder the underdeveloped countries of the world, it depends on such lackeys as the present Congress leaders at the national level and CPM leaders and other parties at the state levels. Besides building up defence agreements and conducting joint military exercises with the USA, Russia, France and other countries, the Indian expansionists have also quietly beefed up arms ties with Israel. In fact, Israel has emerged the second largest military hardware and software supplier to India after Russia. Recently, India has signed a \$11.6-million contract with the Israel Military Industries to jointly manufacture 125-mm tank shells. In 2003 alone, India procured an estimated 42.7 billion worth of armaments from Israel (*The Times of India*, 17-2-2005). The wide

array of Israeli high-tech equipment inducted into the armed forces ranges from the Barak anti-missile systems and Searcher-II and Heron UAVs to Green Pine and Aerostat radars. One major deal was, of course, the \$1.1-billion contract for three airborne Phalcon early warning radar and communication systems to fulfill IAF's long-standing requirement for AWACS (airborne warning and control systems). Not only that, the Indian army commandos, an elite force, could be used to help friendly governments. They can be used to rescue hostages, in anti-terrorist operations and to help friendly governments. This could be done in the name of national interests, as in the case of an operation in the Maldives (*The Statesman*, 25-10-2004). In these ways, the imperialists and their stooges in India and other countries are making frantic preparations to save themselves from the people's wrath.

However, history has shown more often than once that it is not the weapons, but the people who are motive forces of change. The enemies, to use the words of Mao Tse-tung, are lifting rocks only to drop them on their own feet. The armed revolutionary warfare launched by the revolutionary masses of India will certainly bring this

oppressive and man-eating system to a decisive end in the days to come.

Reading list

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Continued from page 13

his political experience of the 1970s and quoted from Mao's writings to show that people were uppermost in Mao's mind, and that he placed people above everything else. Prof. Nishith Bhattacharya dwelt on different aspects of Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism. In the end, Samiran Majumdar, who chaired the session, read out a written statement on the relevance of Maoism in the present-day world. The organizers said that they would like to publish all the articles presented at the

seminar in the form of a book in future.

On the whole, it was a good beginning. We hope that many more such efforts would be made in different districts and localities. The present generation of young boys and girls is being fed with unending state propaganda through media and other channels that imperialist globalization and foreign investments is the panacea for all the diseases. They should know that such statements are blatant lies voiced from the top of ivory towers to safeguard this man-eating system that rain death and destruction on the people of the world.

They should know that there is also another world in the making—a world that lies now in an embryonic form within the womb of this feudal-capitalist system—a people's world that would surely smash this oppressive system. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's teachings, the exploited people of our country would rise like a mighty storm, and that no force, however powerful, would be in a position to stop it. It would send all the imperialist hawkers of death and their native collaborators to their grave.

Long Live the Teachings of Mao Tse-tung!!

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CHIAPAS: Potentials & Limitations

“To our way of thinking, and what we see in our heart, we have reached a point where we cannot go any further, and, in addition, it is possible that we could lose everything we have if we remain as we are and do nothing more in order to move forward. The hour has come to take a risk once again and to take a step which is dangerous but which is worthwhile. Because, perhaps united with other social sectors who suffer from the same wants as we do, it will be possible to achieve what we need and what we deserve. A new step forward in the indigenous struggle is only possible if the indigenous join together with workers, campesinos, students, teachers, employees...the workers of the city and the countryside.”

—Sixth declaration from the Lacandona Forest

(Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee - General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Mexico, in the sixth month, or June, of the year 2005.)

On 19th of June 2005, EZLN raised a “RED ALERT” in Chiapas, Mexico. They shut down the five Governing Centers they established in Chiapas in 2003 and withdrew inside Lacandona forest for further consultation. After that they published their Sixth declaration from the Lacandona forest which is very significant for the future of Mexico and its people. EZLN which started their work among the Indigenous people of the Chiapas and took up arms against The Mexican government On 1st January 1994 opposing the Imperialist crafted NAFTA, the free trade agreement of the north America involving USA, CANADA and MEXICO which was bound to create unimaginable misery for the Indian communities, small farmers and workers. EZLN on their sixth declaration gave a call for a national broad unity of the struggle of the indigenous people with the struggles of the workers, farmers, landless laborers, students, intellectuals, gays, lesbians . . . all marginalized people of the Mexican society and for international solidarity among working peoples and poor peoples’ movements throughout the world to fight the neo-liberal economic policies of the imperialists and their local cronies. **They categorically gave a call for a nation-**

wide leftist political movement involving and incorporating the lefts who do not take part in election. Sub-commandant Marcos criticized the next presidential candidate, Mayor of the Mexico City, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, and a member of the center-left Party of the Democratic Revolution, calling him a false leftist. In their own word:

“Now then, what we want to do in Mexico is to make an agreement with persons and organizations just of the left, because we believe that it is in the political left where the idea of resisting neo-liberal globalization is, and of making a country where there will be justice, democracy and liberty for everyone. Not as it is right now, where there is justice only for the rich, there is liberty only for their big businesses, and there is democracy only for painting walls with election propaganda. And because we believe that it is only from the left that a plan of struggle can emerge, so that our Patria, which is Mexico, does not die.” —Sixth declaration from the Lacandona Forest

Consultation and discussions with the nationwide representatives of the leftist organizations have been completed. Results of that yet not published. In their declaration EZLN said that they will send a delegation of Zapatistas across Mexico to unite indigenous people, workers, peasants, students, women and all those oppressed in this lumpen bourgeoisie system. The mission of this movement will be to write a new constitution and to construct an alternative to neo liberal policies from the grass root. What is significant in this new turnaround by the masked rebels is that after almost 11 years of their armed uprising they are trying to build a peoples front, a front of the revolutionary classes that is not interested in electoral participation and which has the true potential of throwing away the imperialist system of slavery, loot, oppression and drain. The EZLN carried out several such initiatives in the 1990s, including the calling of a National Democratic Convention (CND), various referenda (consultas), and the creation of the Zapatista Front for National Liberation (FZLN) as the EZLN’s political arm. All of these previous attempts to build a national political movement inspired by the EZLN failed.

Indian Problem

Indian question is closely linked to the class struggle and the 500 years history of Mexico. The existence of the Indian movement for the struggle and resistance, which is supported by a significant fraction of the 12 million Indians living in the country, bears witness of the persistence of the Indian problem. The problem of the property of land suggests the following: firstly the large estate, which belongs mainly to big landlords, to big cattle dealers and owners of large agro-industries (such as cane, vineyards, wood, coffee, corn, tomato, forage) and to other big companies, which use the manpower of the Indians who live nearby. The modern Lords not only have control over the means of production, but also over the work force of adults and under age Indians through a complex web of contractors. Indians are hired for half the minimum wage to pick the crops of corn, coffee, fruits, in the production of wooden goods and textiles, during feudalism and afterwards in Imperialism the Indian peoples being exploited by the lords were forced into poverty, discrimination and ignorance. In fact the Indian question embraces a number of ethnic questions of administrative, educational, cultural and racial characters. These questions have been studied in certain depth, by EZLN however the main issue has been always neglected, namely, the access to the ownership of the means of production in general, and particularly of the land. Other main issue is the right for an autonomous territory that includes the demand of expropriation of the big lords, who plunder the Indian peoples.

Mexico: Historical Perspective

500 years of colonialism and free trade has exploited Latin America to the maximum. The conquest of the land placed the Latin America in a situation of perpetual economic dependence. The ultra exploitive **export economy**, dependent on the developed countries, restricted the development of national bourgeoisie and local market created the economic interest of the exporters of raw materials, big landowners, mine owners whom we can call lumpen bourgeoisie. Spaniard Cortez invaded Mexico in the lust of gold. Gold mining and exporting from Mexico started the first drain from the coun-

try. Enslavement of Indigenous population, using them as slave labour in the mines and fields and inhuman exploitation through this method began. The agrarian system of the Latin American countries and Mexico in specific was transformed to fit the commercial opportunities in the export market. After 1580 predominance of latifundam or hacienda (Landlord/feudal lord) in the Mexican economy increased when agricultural prices increased in the European market and profits from agriculture increased in comparison to mining. Epidemic reduced the supply of labour and small scale native agricultural products declined due to the depopulation and the feudal system of Latifundam which engaged farm labourer/share cropper or peon became the dominant mode of production and labour use. From 1779 to 1803 the value of agricultural production exceeded the value of mining activities. The price increase made the landlords richer and in turn they started increasing their landholding more which displaced more and more marginal farmers and rural labourer. On 1810 Hidalgo initiated the revolution which made Mexico independent 10 years later. This independence movement was in the interest of the producers of exported raw material, i.e. hacienda which severed its ties with the previous metropolis to serve the emerging imperial powers of England to establish this economy of export more efficiently. This policy of underdevelopment could not be implemented fully unless and otherwise the national bourgeoisie which was emerging in the colonies and who believed in industrialization and development of the local market and seek protectionist measures from the foreign/imperial competition, can be defeated. Conflict between the path of self development by strengthening local market and the path of dependence on the metropolis and export orientation, i.e. conflict between the National bourgeoisie and lumpen bourgeoisie was reflected through out the civil wars of 19th century in Mexico.

Mexican Revolution: 1910

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the increased penetration of North American and British imperialism the demand for Mexican agricultural export and mining export increased. Between 1891 and 1910, mining production increased by 239 per cent. As the profit from the land increased in a short time a large number of

landlords along with foreigners created a landed aristocracy. Concentration of the land increased and the rate of wage decreased rendering more the wretchedness of the people. Landowners increasingly tried to occupy the indigenous land. The Indians (13 per cent of the 15 million inhabitants at the time), whose uprisings in 1885 and 1898 had been crushed, were thrown off their common land. The haciendas, those relics of the era of Spanish rule, absorbed their land in a move to concentrate agricultural exploitation. On the eve of the 1910 revolution, land concentration reached incredible proportions: 97 per cent of arable land belonged to a tiny minority of owners who represented one per cent of the rural population. Eighty per cent of the rural families had no land whatsoever. Together with the agricultural workers of the large estates, most of the peasants were treated like serfs (peons) and lived under feudal conditions: In 1910, when the revolution broke out, the dictator Porfirio Diaz had been ruling the country for over 30 years. The national bourgeoisie was insignificant in comparison to the imperialist predators – United States, Britain and France and their agents the lumpen bourgeoisie. In the countryside much land remained unproductive or was used to cultivate products for export. The farming of basic foods was rare, and the corn used to make tortillas, which have been part of the staple diet of the poor for thousands of years, had to be imported.

During the 1910 electoral campaign, Diaz found Francisco Madero blocking his road. Madero, a big bourgeois from the north, who thought that the political regime was favoring foreign capital over the national bourgeoisie. Diaz put Madero into prison. Madero escaped from prison and fled to Texas, from where he issued a call for an uprising. In May 1911, an angry demonstration in Mexico City demanded that Diaz resign. The revolution had begun. Madero, was arrested and shot in February 1913. Civil war spread. In Chihuahua in the north, a breeding and mining region, and in Morelos, a large sugar-producing region, the poverty-stricken peasants rose up. This uprising helped two peasant armies grow and gain strength: one led by Doreteo Arango, better known as Pancho Villa, and the other by Emiliano Zapata from Morelos.

Zapata was a strong supporter of the

destruction of the haciendas and the restitution of the stolen land to the peasant communities. "Land and Liberty," he proclaimed in the Ayala program (1911). These were not mere promises: he led the beginning of an agrarian reform in Morelos. At the revolutionary Convention of March 27, 1915, in Aguascalientes, the Zapatistas used a radical language while the Villaists continued to defend the traditional 19th century rights of individual property.

But the answer to the agrarian question was closely linked to the question of power. The two peasant armies entered into the capital city of Mexico and went back to their respective regions. No working class leader, even the most radical, understood or wanted to understand that it was necessary to establish a link between the town and the countryside which would have increased the workers' and peasants' strength and that such an alliance, if the working class took its lead, could achieve victory through seizure of power.

The bourgeoisie's political representatives had managed to prevent the working class movement and the insurrectionist peasantry from joining together having alliance with groups of the urban petty bourgeoisie. It was a success for the Constitutionalist government, which represented this alliance; and it reassured the United States which publicly recognized the Constitutionalist government in 1915. The Constitution of 1917 had to give some concessions in favor of the poor classes like, the liquidation of large estates, agrarian reform and work laws; and it affirmed the right of the state to own the national resources.

Post Revolutionary Period

In 1929, Calles, leader of this alliance, founded the PRN (National Revolutionary Party) which finally ended up being called the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). The PRN started as a coalition of generals and politicians. Putting reforms and nationalization on hold, effectively they gave the upper hand to foreign capital, mainly North American. In 1934, General Lazaro Cardenas became president; **Due to the severe economic crisis the export oriented economy was in a bad condition and that gave the nationalist bourgeoisie a chance to choose the path of self reliant development to some extent.** Resting on these nationalist sentiments, he carried out the single largest agrarian reform in Mexico's history.

In order to mobilize the population behind him, he changed the party's name to the PRM (Party of the Mexican Revolution) and adopted the slogan "for a workers' democracy." His agrarian reform benefited about 730,000 people. Moreover, the plots of land which were distributed were two-and-a-half times bigger. Most of this land was given to town communities in the form of "ejidos" (communal landholding). In 1938, in order to re-establish the balance in favor of national capital, the government decided to expropriate the oil fields belonging to British and American imperialism. This brave decision resulted in instant disapproval from the imperialist world. Foreign stockholders also lost their influence over the railways whose administration was handed over to the trade unions. In order to be able to expropriate the hacienda owners, as well as to take the field against foreign capital, Cardenas' regime dared to lean on the mobilization of the peasants and agricultural workers and on the working-class organizations.

Post 2nd world war: Submission to the Imperialism

The Self reliant development of the 30's and 40's was limited by the class structure of Lumpen/comprador bourgeoisie whose primary interest was the foreign market and not the local market. The national bourgeoisie was not so strong to carry out the complete land reform and self reliant industrialization. **In this age of Imperialism it was again proved that the bourgeoisie as a class has lost its progressive capabilities. As Imperialism tightened its grip the national bourgeoisie buckled under the pressure and after World War II, when recovery of the developed countries was completed, cronies of imperialism again took control of the state power. The best irrigated lands, labour, credit everything was again being used for the export economy.** The concentration of land bring down the wage in the fields and wretchedness of the people in the countryside and cities increased while the small section of imperialist agents and their foreign masters amassed huge harvest of exploitation. The sprouts of national and industrial bourgeoisie buckling under the economic and technological control of imperialism soon became their junior partner. This subjugation to imperialism increased the underdevelopment.

Tightening the grip of Imperialism: Dilution of article 27

After 1982, the position of the agricultural sector in general and the peasant sector in particular, has deteriorated catastrophically, following the switch to neo liberal policies by the incoming administration of Miguel De la Madrid. People are now much worse off than they were in the 1970s. State credit and other forms of assistance for peasant farmers were cut back drastically. According to article 27 of the constitution Post-revolutionary land reform beneficiaries may receive a plot of land individually, or ejidos can be collective, based on collective work on land held in common. *Ejidatarios*, the beneficiaries of land reform, only received rights to use the land in legal theory, and could not alienate it as if it were private property: if an ejidatario could no longer farm his or her land, and had no successors in the family able to do so, the plot should revert to the community for redistribution to some other potential beneficiary. In practice, however, land titles have been bought and sold in ejidos, and ejidal land might be rented to capitalist entrepreneurs from outside the agrarian community for long periods. But these were informal and illegal practices up to December 1991, when the neo-liberal administration of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (elected in July 1988 amid widespread accusations of electoral fraud) **amended constitutional Article 27 in ways which will in practice make legal sales of ejido land possible for the first time and allow peasants to put up their land as collateral for a loan. In today's neoliberal political climate, this view is once again coming into the ascendant and the privatization of ejidal land has long been the policy of Mexico's main right-wing opposition party, the PAN (Partido de Acción Nacional).** This new amendment threatened the future existence of the ejido itself by opening the doors to a creeping privatization of ejido land and the possibility of concentration of land in fewer and fewer hands and in the hands of the foreign imperial agri-business.

NAFTA: The Complete Submission

This land reform was just a prelude to a more severe and dangerous future for the poor farmers and workers of Mexico. In 1993 Mexico govt. signed a free trade agreement

with USA and Canada which will reduce all the tariff walls in trade between USA Canada and Mexico. It paved the way for foreign imports of food grain and other foodstuff and uninterrupted inflow of foreign capital. For small indigenous subsistence corn farmers of Mexico NAFTA was like a death sentence. Cheap imported maize from the US – the world's most efficient (??) and most heavily subsidized producer – would be a boon (??) to Mexican consumers and will just create havoc for the small and marginalized farmers of Mexico. They will be forced to leave their land and be a landless destitute and will either work as a wage laborer in imperialist controlled huge agri-farms which produce export quality cotton, coffee, fruits, wine, liquor for the developed world or in the severely low waged assembly shops in the export processing zones where no labour law is implemented. And despite a huge drop in the price farmers received for their corn, consumers often ended up paying more. The price of tortillas – the country's staple food – rose nearly fivefold as the Government jettisoned domestic subsidies and giant agribusiness firms took over the market opening the floodgates to tons of imported US corn. Maize imports tripled under NAFTA and producer prices fell by half. The drop in income immediately hit the most vulnerable members of rural society. While more than a third of the corn grown by small farmers is used to feed their families, the rest is sold on local markets. "Monthly income for self-employed farmers fell from 1959 pesos a month in 1991 to 228 pesos a month in 2003". (Trade Impact Review (TIR) by Women's Edge Coalition). When the price of crops like coffee drops and non-farm sources of income dry up, families grow more maize to feed their families. Growing genetically modified maize is illegal in Mexico. But 99 per cent of imported corn in Mexico comes from the US and analysts estimate that at least a quarter of that is GM. The GM corn got cross-pollinated and created a genetic pollution in the fields of Mexico. Over 100,000 *campesinos* marched in the streets of Mexico City last year 'in defence of corn' demanding that the agricultural chapter of NAFTA be renegotiated to remove staple food crops (corn and beans). The Government has refused. This free trade agreement was meticulously crafted to extract most from

the developing country. It was a test case, a model, which would be followed later on in FTTA and WTO to maximize the exploitation of the underdeveloped and developing countries by omnipotent imperial capital.

“For centuries England relied on protection, carried it to extremes, and got good results from it. There is no doubt that it is to this system that that country owes its present power. After two centuries, England has found it desirable to adopt free trade because protection no longer offers advantages. Very well gentlemen, the knowledge that I have of my country leads me to believe that within two hundred years, when America has gotten all that she can get from protection, she too will adopt free trade”—Victorious general Ulysses S. Grant after winning war against the exporters and free traders of south in American civil war.

General Grant was absolutely correct in his prophecy and only his prediction came true about hundred years earlier. The USA the greatest imperialist power on earth is one of the strongest advocates of free trade. This is mere imperialist logic as they must have a free flow of goods and capital throughout the world in order to intensify their neo-colonial domination and loot around the world. While themselves resorting to increasingly protectionist measures they seek open the markets of the world by smashing all restrictive trade and investment practices. So, once again we find that trade, structured in this way, makes the country totally vulnerable to the imperialists.

Labour reform by Fox govt.

Amidst wide protest and as presidential election is due within 1 year President Fox has shelved the proposal of draconian labour reform for the time being. The pro-employer pro imperialist labor law reforms being pushed by the PAN and the PRI have been opposed by the independent union organizations, the Authentic Labor Front (FAT), the National Union of Workers (UNT) and the Mexican Union Front (FSM). The PRI and PAN, backed by the employers associations and the Congress of Labor, have announced that they will return to the Federal Legislature with their labor law reform proposal. “Workers in Mexico already face unacceptable obstacles to ex-

ercising their rights to join independent unions, bargain collectively, and strike,” said José Miguel Vivanco, America’s director at Human Rights Watch. “President Fox’s reforms would make it next to impossible.” The Fox administration’s proposal would create new mandatory procedures that workers must fulfill prior to exercising these fundamental human rights.

Before they could strike, compel their employers to bargain collectively, or call a vote to gain representational rights and supplant a pre-existing union, worker would have to obtain a variety of documents certifying union registration. But these papers are only available from authorities typically hostile to independent unions. Furthermore, prior to striking or holding a vote for an independent union, workers would also have to present to the Board a document, containing their names and signatures, expressing their desire to exercise these rights. But widespread retaliation against independent union members in Mexico makes workers reluctant to publicly declare their wish to join an independent union or to strike. Exclusion clauses in “protection contracts” that give pro-business unions the right to demand that certain workers be fired only exacerbate this climate of fear. These clauses are regularly cited to successfully call for the illegal dismissal of independent union sympathizers.

Human Rights Watch documented systematic pregnancy-based discrimination in Mexico’s free trade zones, both post-hire and in the hiring process, in August 1996 and December 1998. In January 1998, the U.S. National Administrative Office also concluded that the practice was widespread. And the U.N. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) stated in 1999 that it was “deeply concerned about the situation of women workers in the maquiladoras, some of whom are subjected to pregnancy tests upon recruitment and at intervals during work, and are dismissed if found to be pregnant.”

Unity And Struggle

At this crossroad the national leftist front proposed by the EZLN has a profound responsibility of carrying out the struggle of indigenous people, farmers, workers, students, women and other oppressed sectors of the Mexican society against the comprador lumpen bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters. They should

throwaway all illusion about bourgeoisie democracy and reform which is like an opium that create a haze around the true character of the state and ruling class. For the liberation of oppressed class in a semi colony the question of seizure of power by the proletariat and peasantry is very very important. On the question of seizure of power concrete conviction by the revolutionary command is required. Any confusion in seizure of power will only help the ruling class of imperialists, compradors and landlords. After the 1910 revolution though the revolutionary peasantry defeated the oppressor armies and the working class in the cities organized massive strikes, demonstration they did not give stress on the seizure of power by the unified revolutionary command of peasantry and working class. Other way it can be said unification of the two revolutionary classes was lacking due to the absence of a communist party. Mere theory of “exercising power” rather than “seizure of power” will only thrill post modernists intellectuals and ruling classes. Petty bourgeoisie dilemma about armed struggle and seizure of power will only strengthen the ruling classes. Only the demand for a new constitution will not guaranty the emancipation of the people; which will only be sure if this exploitive state structure along with the ruling classes is thrown away.

EZLN along with other revolutionary lefts should strive for an agenda that will truly liberate the oppressed people from the clutches of imperialism and their local cronies. The only consistent alternative consists of the complete appropriation of the land held by land lords and agribusiness to the tillers or community including the appropriation of all means of production. To free Mexico from the grip of compradors, landowners and imperialists a strong revolutionary front and a strong revolutionary communist party is needed which can lead the proletariat and poor and landless peasants towards a true new democratic revolution, which will remove all the feudal and imperialist landholdings, distribute land to the landless and poor, create a local market for the nationalist self reliant bourgeoisie and take the country in the path of true socialism; then only the dream of thousands of Zapatas will come true. ■ ■

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secretary of PSU in Dec. 1968 under PDR, he was elected acting general secretary the same year. When the first manifesto and constitution of the Punjab Students Union was adopted in July 1969 he was working as the general secretary of the PSU.

It was the period when the Naxalite Movement unleashed in May 1967 under the leadership of com. Charu Majumdar had provided the concrete alternative in the form of the line of protracted people's war as against the revisionist line of the CPI and CPM. At that time com. Sheri upheld the formation of CPI (M.L.). Following the decision of party he went under ground in 1969-70. He not only upheld the line of armed struggle theoretically but also established himself as an important and influential leader implementing the line of protracted people's war. After the fake police encounters of some senior comrades in Punjab, he was elected as a Punjab state committee member of the CPI (M.L.). He is known as one of those involved in the action that eliminated Sikander Singh, DSP Patiala, — known as one of the most successful military actions by the Naxalite movement of Punjab in the period of 1969-70. After that Com. Sheri was associated with all the military actions in the districts of Patiala and Sangrur.

Although he remained warranted for long during his student life, yet during these military actions Com. Sheri was widely hounded by the police. Severe repression was unleashed on the people of his village, his friends, relatives, his wife, his brothers and his connections in the revolutionary movement. If ever any native of village Khokhar was found by the police it considered its duty to torture him. His wife Harbans Kaur and his sister-in-law Harbans Kaur were both imprisoned for about three months. They were tortured. His brothers Ranjit and Harbans Singh etc. were also tortured. His friends and about 80-90 young men were selectively tortured. Apart from the action in Patiala, at the time of attack on the police post of village Dadhahoor of distt. Sangrur, the murder of landlord at Changaliwala, during the famous student struggle at Moga in Punjab the repression was at its height. His wife was prevented from cultivating the land. His landed property was attached by the Govt. After the change in situation his wife took courage and began cultivating the land. It forced the govt. to restrain. Even today his

land is attached in the govt. records. His family can not sell the land, cannot get any loan, cannot get any power connection, etc. At the time of the birth of his children the police humiliated his wife as to how these children were born; where did they meet? Not only did com. Sheri and his family withstand the severe repression, but he did not bow before any police officer or political leader of the state throughout his life. He remained underground and devoted to the revolution. He never showed any weakness while leaving his home or of bowing before repression or family pressure. He persevered on the path of the revolution with his head held high. The repression by the govt. further tempered him.

After the disintegration of the CPI (M.L.) in Punjab he joined the organization named UCCRI (M.L.) in 1974. He worked as a member of the regional committee of this organization from 1974-82. The right reformist line of the UCCRI (M.L.) did not suit him. At that time the process of disintegration also started in this apparently strong organization. Due to upholding the revisionist Three World Theory the major part of the central leadership deviated to the revisionist line, though its minority rejected this revisionist theory. Com. Sheri was one of the important leaders resisting this revisionist attack. He took a clear cut position on this and other issues. At the time of the split in this group in 1982 he was one of those who rejected the right reformist line of this organization and became a member of the leading committee of the anti CC group. During the first conference of this group in Nov. 1983 this group was named RCCI (M.L.). Com. Sheri became the founder secretary of this group.

When in May 1984 the Revolutionary International Movement was founded, this group, under his leadership, upheld it. On the issue of assessing the developed region as a part of the imperialist policy of green revolution, two revisionist trends emerged in the communist revolutionary movement of India including Punjab. One trend propounded the path of socialist revolution and general insurrection, by changing the character and path of Indian society on the basis of such a process of development. This revisionist trend upheld participation in parliamentary institutions. This trend characterizes India as economically dependent on imperialism and politically independent or partly

independent from it. The second trend talks of the sum total of the national revolutions. Com. Sheri struggled against these two revisionist trends and firmly upheld the theory of new-democratic revolution and protracted people's war.

After the second conference of RCCI(M.L.) in 1992 this organization was split into two groups, RCCI(Maoist) and RCCI(MLM) in 1995. Comrade Sheri remained secretary in the 1996 and 2002 conferences of the RCCI(Maoist). Under his leadership the RCCI(Maoist) made a commendable contribution in organizing the Co-ordination Committee of Communist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA). Under his leadership the RCCI(Maoist) and MCC were unified in Jan., 2003. After this unification the MCC was named as the MCCI. He was elected a member of the central committee of the MCCI before unifying with the CPI (ML) People's War. In September, 2003 Com. Sheri played a significant role in the unity between the Organizing Committee, RCCI (MLM) and MCCI. In the capacity of central committee member of MCCI he earnestly played a role in preparing the unity documents released after the unification. In the first meeting of the two central committees held on 21 Sept. 2004, he was elected a central committee and polit bureau member of the CPI (Maoist). Com. Sheri made a commendable contribution in the polit bureau and central committee meeting in solving the problems faced by the CPI (Maoist). Com. Sheri persevered boldly during the phase of disintegration of the revolutionary movement. He learned from left and right mistakes. In a gloomy phase when many of his comrades returned to their homes he studied a lot of books on the Marxist classics. Passing through this process he emerged as a mature theoretician. He prepared several documents and many articles which are a precious capital of the communist revolutionary movement in India.

Due to his views and practice, the right reformist critics always labeled him left adventurist. On the contrary, on account of his continuously maturing views, the name of Com. Sheri came to be known in the forests and mountains of India and Nepal. Instead of Com. Shamsher Singh Sheri or Sher Singh Sheri he came to be known as com. K.S (Karam Singh). The pangs of his death are being felt in the strongholds of Maoist movement — Bihar,

Jharkhand, Andhra, West Bengal, Dandakaranya etc. and Punjab.

Com. Sheri persevered on the red path himself as well as he won over hundreds of young men in the fold of the Maoist movement in Punjab. Thanks to his efforts today the Maoist movement of Punjab is flapping its wings to grapple with the state. At such a crucial moment Com. Sheri's death is a big loss for the Maoist movement of Punjab. The loss of such a towering leader will continue to be felt for long by the Maoist forces of Punjab.

Com. Sheri advocated the unity of Maoists not only of India but firmly advocated the unity of the Maoists of the whole world also. He held that world imperialism is our common enemy. Working class is an international class. The conditions for its emancipation are the same. Its complete emancipation is linked with the elimination of world imperialism. So international unity is also imperative along with the unity at the national level. Only the communist movement unified at the international level can effectively defeat the fresh challenges of world imperialism. Also only the Maoist movement unified at the all-India level can solve more effectively the internal problems faced by the Maoist movement. Com. Sheri's death is a big loss for the Maoist forces in Punjab and India.

On the whole, Com. Sheri was a versatile leading figure of the Naxalite movement, who devoted all his life to the liberation of workers and peasants. He had youthful vigour even at the age of 63. He never surrendered before the problems of the revolutionary movement. He never submitted to state repression. He always subordinated his personal interests to the common interests. He made relentless efforts to unify the fragmented Maoist movement. He played a leading role to unite the Maoists of Punjab with those of the country and the world. It will not be an exaggeration to say that com. Sheri was a living history. The revolutionary ranks and labouring people will always remember him. They will always seek guidance from this heroic son of the land, for whose liberation he devoted all his life. Let us pledge to follow his ideals and foot-steps!

Successful Conclusion Of The Function Of Homage To Com. Sheri (Com. K.S.)

On 13th Nov.2005, at village Khokhar Kalan a huge gathering of about six thousand peasants, agricultural labourers,

women, youth and others from different places of Punjab paid homage to Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri', a prominent leading figure of the Naxalite movement and member of central committee and polit bureau of C.P.I.(Maoist) amidst resounding revolutionary slogans and an atmosphere of surcharged emotions. The call of the function of homage was given by Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri' Homage Committee. This committee was constituted jointly by the revolutionary groups based on individual representatives after his death.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the cremation of Com. Sheri was performed in his native village Khokhar Kalan on 31st Oct, 2005. 1500 people marched through the village and bade farewell to him. It was announced to raise a memorial in the memory of Com.Sheri on the spot where he was cremated.

The slogans like 'Naxalbari Zindabad', 'The path of Naxalbari is our path', 'Long live Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri'', were resounding from the stage as well as from the audience on Nov. 13, 2005. At the beginning of the function the red flag was lowered by convenor Tara Singh on behalf of The Homage Committee in the memory of the communist leader by observing silence for two minutes. Com. Balwant Singh 'Makhu' conducted the stage on behalf of the committee. The different members of the committee, Com. Darshanpal, Com. Jaspal 'Jassi', Com. Mukhtiar 'Puhla', Com. Rajender Sharma, Com. Nirbhai Singh 'Dhudike', Com. Hari Singh 'Tarak' and convenor, Com. Tara Singh addressed the gathering.

Resolutions and condolence messages from several organizations and forums associated with Naxalite movement were read from the stage. First of all the message from Central Committee of C.P.I.(Maoist) {Extracts printed below} and State Committee Punjab were read out. After that the messages from C.P.I.(M.L.)(Naxalbari), Communist Party Reorganisation Center of India (M.L.), Communist League of India(M.L.), Revolutionary Communist Centre of India(M.L.M.) were read out. A special message from the magazine 'A World To Win' of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, was also read out.

The speakers and the messages from organizations eulogized the long revolutionary life of Com. Shamsher Singh

'Sheri'. They eulogized his leading role in the dissemination of the theories of Marx, Lenin and Mao, his loyalty to the path of Naxalbari, in mitigating the bitterness between communist revolutionary organizations MCCI and CPI(M.L.) P.W. and in building CPI(Maoist).

Another quality of martyr Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri', was that he was very eager to build and realize the world revolutionary movement. He played a role in the development of RIM. He firmly held that imperialism is also our enemy. To struggle against it we should also unite at the world level. He often firmly supported the revolutionary struggles of Peru, Nepal, Philippines and anti imperialist struggles in Iraq, Palestine and other countries and the struggles being fought against the rulers in imperialist countries themselves. He had a particular affinity with the Nepali revolution. His role in the building of CCOMPOSA will be ever remembered. He firmly detested the politics of class compromise and class collaboration.

Com.Shamsher Singh 'Sheri's' life partner Smt. Harbans Kaur was honoured by The Homage Committee. Com. Tara Singh, the convenor of the Committee presented a shawl to her, Com. Jaspal 'Jassi', presented a memento and Com. Mukhtiar 'Puhla', presented a photo of Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri'. Prominent revolutionary dramatist Gursharan Singh specially arrived at the function to pay homage. A calendar of Com.Shamsher Singh 'Sheri' issued by the bimonthly magazine Lal Kaffla was released from the stage, which was purchased by the people afterwards. The common message issued by The Homage Committee was adopted as a resolution at the function. Apart from this a resolution condemning the state repression on the communist revolutionary movement and the just struggles of nationalities in India was adopted. A resolution condemning the repression on mass struggles and instituting false cases against people's leaders and imprisoning them was also adopted. The people of the village and the area fully cooperated. The people of the village managed the mass kitchen. The activists of Lok Sangram Manch(RDF) established a commune in the village for the preparation of this programme. This commune lasted for a week. Slogans were written on the walls of 5-7 villages everyday. Posters were pasted and rallies were held.

At the end of the function it was announced to immerse Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri's' ashes in Satluj at Hussainiwala near the memorial of martyrs Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, and Sukhdev by RDF in the form of March. On Nov.14 this march starting from village Khokhar Kalan via Sunam ,Barnala, Moga reached Hussainiwala. A caravan of 50 vehicles immersed Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri's' ashes in Satluj at Hussainiwala on the evening of 14th Nov. 2005. A rally was held at the memorial of martyrs Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, and Sukhdev. After that the rites were performed by Com. Shamsher Singh 'Sheri's' life partner Smt. Harbans Kaur and the people of the village.

Extracts from the Condolence statement of the CPI (Maoist) read out at the function on Nov 13th:

“Let us pay the red Homage to our senior leader Com. Karam Singh!

Let us strive hard to fulfil his great ideals of Socialism and communism!!

Our Central Committee(Provisional) [CC(P)] is greatly shocked by learning the unexpected and unfortunate news of the demise of comrade Karam Singh (KS) alias Sher Singh Sheri, the beloved and regardful veteran leader of the Party in the morning of 30th.october 2005.....

First of all, our CC(P) on behalf of the entire Party; Central Military Commission(CMC) and the entire PLGA;

all the organs of revolutionary people's democratic power; all the revolutionary and democratic mass organisations; all the revolutionary sympathisers and masses of our country bow our heads humbly and pay red homage to our beloved leader comrade Karam Singh.

Comrade KS stayed for a month in a Guerrilla Zone in last September. Comrade KS was attacked twice by the malaria in the field itself. In that battle field our people's doctors saved him. But out side we failed to save him from the combination of killer diseases. We lost another valuable leader like some other leaders and cadres of our Party who died previously by the cerebral malaria. These dangerous diseases are the by-products of the economic- industrial-environmental-drug and other policies of the governments of the imperialist countries and the governments of India and the third world countries. These diseases are spreading like wild-fire and killing lakhs of people every year in our country.

Comrade KS was a veteran leader of our Party with almost four decades of revolutionary career. He entered revolutionary politics as a young pioneer in his student life, like many young heroes of Punjab. He courageously, along with many comrades of Punjab, rebelled against the revisionist CPI and neo-revisionist CPI(M) leadership and supported the

revolutionary line of Naxalbari and the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar, and joined the CPI(ML). He was one of founding members of our Party in Punjab and one of the first State Committee members of the CPI(ML). He was also one of the leaders of heroic peasant armed struggles of Punjab. After a long gap of isolation and a long process of efforts for the unity of genuine Maoist forces, the RCCI(Maoist) of Punjab under his leadership in a crucial juncture unified with the MCC in 2002. The RCCI(Maoist) under the leadership of comrade KS boldly opposed the then ongoing clashes between MCC and PW and strived their level best to stop the clashes. As a senior CCM of the MCCI he played a significant role in achieving the unity between the MCCI and PW, and contributed well ideologically and politically in the preparation of basic documents of the new Party. Since the formation of CPI(Maoist) he played a valuable role in the new CC(P) as a PBM

Our CC(P) pledges to fight for the fulfilment of the cherished dreams of comrade KS to establish socialism and communism in the country and the entire globe. Our CC(P) calls upon to the entire rank and file of our Party, all Commissions and Commands and the PLGA, and the revolutionary camp to hail the martyrdom of comrade KS and uphold his ideals..”



Condolence meeting

Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri, Alias Comrade Karam Singh (Com. K.S.), has departed from us for ever!

Let us pledge to follow his ideals and foot-steps!

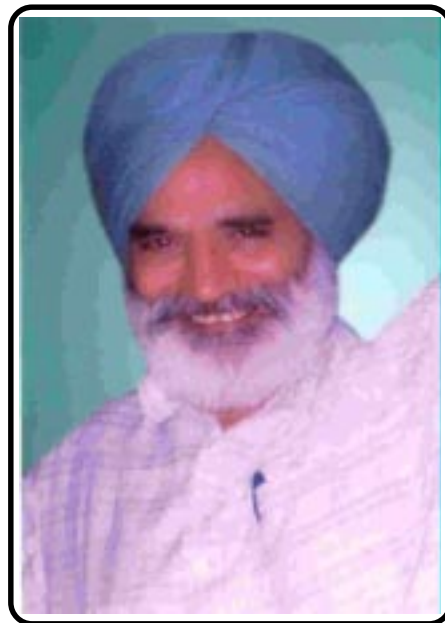
—*Amrit*

Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri, alias comrade Sher Singh Sheri, alias com. K.S., a Central Committee and Polit Bureau member of the CPI (Maoist) has departed for ever from his party comrades his fellow comrades inside the communist revolutionary movement, his friends, relatives, members of his family and the oppressed people of India, at some undisclosed place. His party made its best efforts to save him. The attack from disease was so terrible that he could not be saved in spite of all efforts of his party comrades. The dangerous disease of cerebral malaria-jaundice combine attacked him in the harsh conditions of underground life, which got aggravated over time, and ultimately resulted in his death. Not to speak of party comrades, even comrade Sheri was not conscious of it. He attained martyrdom on Oct. 30, 2005. Spurning the comforts of life, he devoted all his life to the service of the people.

Comrade Sheri was born in village Khokhar Kalan, in the Lehra Gaga area, subdivision Sunam, district Sangrur, Punjab. Although this area is an economically extremely backward area of Punjab, yet it has been an area of rich legacy of the revolutionary movement right from the beginning. It had been a stronghold of the armed Pepsu Tenancy movement under the leadership of the then Red Party. Comrade Teja Singh Swatantar, the most popular veteran leader of the communist Movement of Punjab and founder of the Red Communist Party, though not a native of this area, worked for a long time in this area and the people of this area considered him as their own. The great martyr Uddham Singh was also a native of this area (Sunam), who took revenge for the bloody massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh on April 13, 1919 by shooting down General Dyer in the Kaxton Hall of London after a full twenty-one years. The Sikh General, Akali Phoola Singh, known as true, sincere, expert in warfare and great hero was also a native of village Lehal Kalan of this area, who, despite being an army commander of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, gave lashes to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh at the Akal Takhat,

the highest religious seat of the Sikhs. None can forget comrade Rahi of village Ugrahan, who, despite his blindness devoted all his life to the service of the people and worked as a courier of the Red communist Party. Comrade Sheri has not only continued the revolutionary legacy of this area, but has carried it to greater heights. Future generations will feel proud of it.

Comrade Sheri was born in the end of 1942. He was sixty three years old. He belonged to a middle class peasant family. He had six brothers and three sisters.



Comrade Sheri was the youngest of all. He was still three or four months old when his father died. He along with an elder brother was married in 1957. At that time he was about fifteen years old. His wife Harbans Kaur, village Bhullran, district Sangrur was barely nine years old. Due to the custom of child marriage prevalent in Punjab at that time, he was bound by the bonds of marriage. But the real beginning of his family life started only a little before he went underground. In the mid 1980s, during his underground life, two sons were born to his wife. The elder Krantipal Singh is a student of B.A. final and the younger Sachinderpal Singh is a student of B.Sc. economics (Honors). It is a matter of great

pride that inspite of the conditions of severe repression and comrade Sheri's staying out of home for 35 years, his wife unflinchingly stood with him till the end. She firmly stood with comrade Sheri even in the conditions of acute repression and social pressure.

Com. Sheri passed his middle class examination in 1957 privately and got coaching from Paras Raj academy Sunam. He cleared his matriculation from Lehragaga. After matriculation he joined Mahindra college Patiala for graduation. He did his B.A. part 2 from Mahindra college. Right at the outset com. Sheri had a keen interest in literature. During this period he composed several songs and poems which were published in the college magazine. He was a good player of Kabaddi. He fractured his leg while playing Kabaddi. Because of financial constraints and un-satisfactory treatment he developed a disability in the leg. Due to an open clash with goonda elements in Mahindra college he had to migrate to Ripudaman college Nabha in 1963. He completed his B.A. final from this college in 1964. During this period he came into contact with Darshan Bagi the first general secretary of the PSU and prominent student leader of Punjab and other leaders. After that he jumped into the student movement in Punjab earnestly.

It was the period when the national liberation struggles the world over were inflicting heavy strikes against the world imperialist system and the Chinese revolution was advancing by defeating the counter revolution, through the historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution unleashed under the leadership of com. Mao Tse-Tung. During these tumultuous years com. Sheri not only joined the revolutionary movement but also rose to the leading ranks of the student movement of Punjab. During this period he got admission in the govt. college Ludhiana and Khalsa college Amritsar. He was elected the secretary of the district committee Amritsar of the Punjab Students Union in Aug. 1967. At the time of the election to the state committee in Oct. 67 he was elected as propaganda secretary of the state. After the arrest of Darshan Bagi, the first general

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