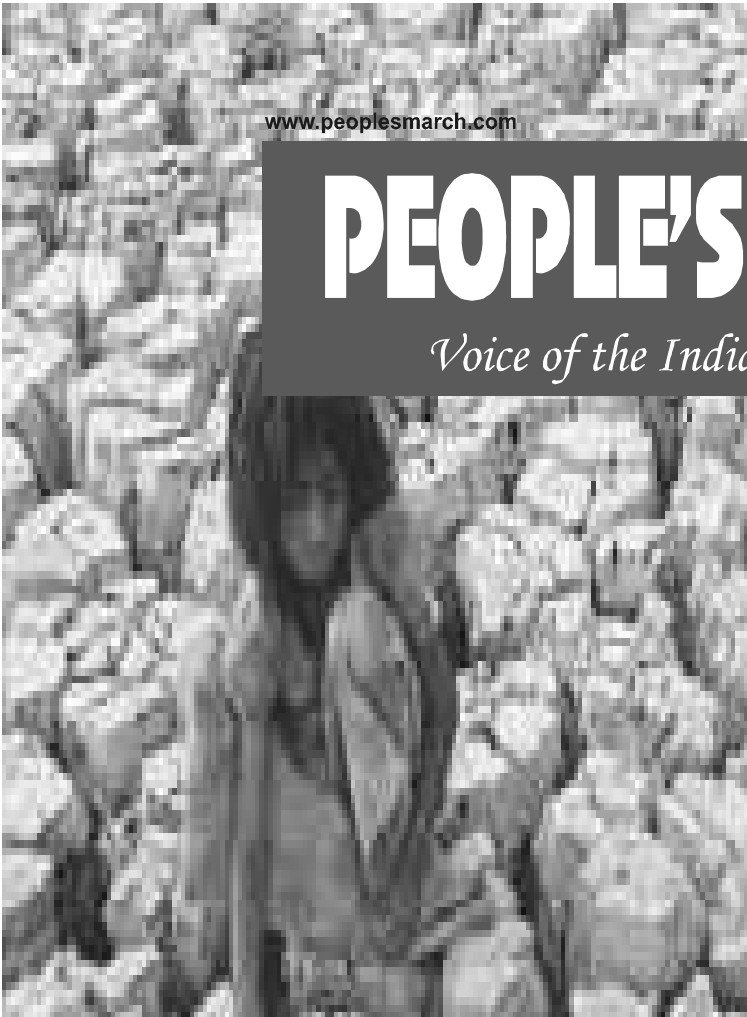


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# PEOPLE'S

*Voice of the Indian*





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## Jailbreak, Armoury Raid & Dynamics of People's War

The raid on the Girdih Armoury on Nov. 11<sup>th</sup> was an appropriate celebration of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chittagong Armoury raid. Then, it was against the British despotic rule; the present was against the oppressive rule by the new rulers. Two days later the historic Jehanabad jailbreak was also a continuation of the legacy of India's freedom struggle where numerous revolutionaries broke the chains that bound them and escaped to freedom to fight the oppressors. Some called it the "Storming of the Bastille" — the famous jailbreak of the French revolution. Others called it the freedom of the poor and oppressed while the real criminals are outside. Yet others called it instant justice against a system that falsely incarcerates them for years. And as a cloth merchant in Jehanabad's main bazaar said (Tehelka 3/12/05) "*Acha hua, Acha hua .... The police never help the people, they are only exploiting them, it is high time someone taught them a lesson, it is good someone is standing up to them*".

The oppressed masses of this country and the progressive people welcomed both these actions; it is the elite and their hangers on of all types who condemn it due to fear for loosing their lavish lifestyles. The people of our country have over the centuries resorted to numerous revolts against their oppressors. But all failed as they did not have a leadership that could take on the might of the state and a scientific alternative to the existing system.

A statement issued on Nov. 13<sup>th</sup> by Com. Sadan on behalf of the Bihar-Jharkhand Military Commission on the Girdih armoury raid stated: "*Seizing arms from the armoury at Girdih is a gift of the legacy of the independence struggle. It is part of the continuous link of the ongoing people's war. In order to serve the interests of imperialism, especially US imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie, the Indian government, run by corrupt bureaucrats, is unleashing intense repression and exploitation on the people. Under the Black laws arresting people without a second thought and firing on people and killing them in fake encounters, etc have all become an everyday occurrence.*"

The Statement adds that "*The present anti-people government and system is*

*giving opportunities to the TNCs to loot the natural resources in the name of globalization. Recently the Jharkhand government has had huge agreements with big capitalists like Tata, Jindal, Mittal, etc for the building of massive iron ore mines and steel plants which will lead to the displacement of lakhs of people. Rivers, land, forests, mines, factories, fuel, finances, labour, etc are being given to the imperialists. As a result the people are losing their jobs, food, dignity clothes, land, property and even the houses in which they live. The people do not have democracy, do not have the right to speak, do not have the right to hold public meetings, etc. The action of seizing arms from the Girdih armoury is showing the people the bright path against all this.*

*"Actually the seizure of the armoury of Girdih is a victory song of the armed struggle and people's war exposing the ill intentions of the Gandhi Dandi Campaign. This action is also a slap in the face of the official Naxalites of the CPI(ML) Liberation who indefinitely postpone the armed struggle."*

Two days later at Jehanabad red detachments of the PLGA had gathered in the town by late evening. At about 8 pm. they began to take positions at the main points — the police lines, the armoury, the CRPF camp at the college, the DSP office and police station and also at the jail. Inside the comrades in jail were awaiting the signal. It was a Friday when Kheer is cooked so that day the prisoners are generally locked up late. But the time to be locked up had passed and there was no movement from outside. Just then a bomb went off. It was 9.00 pm. But this was not a signal to begin the action it was an accidental explosion killing two dedicated comrades of the PLGA. Some CRPF came out panic stricken and firing into the darkness. The action then began from all sides of the town. Mines were exploded and firing took place at the CRPF camp, the police station, the armoury and at the jail. None knew where the main action was targeted. Some thought it was a repeat of Girdih, a raid on the armoury. Megaphones also blared with the Naxalites calling on the people to stay in their homes and adding "*you are safe, our fight is not with you, our fight is with*

*the feudal system and administration that oppresses you*". While the forces all around held the police and par-military at bay the main force advanced on the jail. One team scaled the wall with a rope ladder from the back wall another came from the main gate and shot dead the guard. There were four senior leaders in the jail including Ajay Kanu and about 100 other cadres, sympathizers, etc. All were incarcerated on fake charges. They together with another 250 prisoners (total of 389 escaped, of which 269 returned later) walked out of the front gates. But before doing that one of the main gang leaders of the Ranvir Sena, Bade Sharma, was shot dead. He was the person primarily responsible for the massacre of over 60 dalits at Lakshmanpur Bathe. Another top leader Bisheshwar Rai was shot two kilometers away. A third top leader managed to escape. Eight other activists of the Ranvir Sena were taken away, warned and then released after four hours. To whip up caste tensions the media widely propagated that the Naxalites took away and killed 10-20 Ranvir Sena people. This was a big lie knowingly propagated by the government and media.

In the entire operation only a couple of police were killed and nine weapons seized from the jail. The main purpose of Operation Jailbreak was to release the political prisoners and as an added factor to punish the gang leaders of the Ranvir Sena. Both were successfully accomplished. But, two comrades were martyred. The Maoists then retreated into the darkness. The police were so terrified that it was not till 10 the next morning before they arrived.

In any people's war it is fundamental to maintain both the political and military initiative. In some articles in the newspapers there have been complaints that the Maoists are now going for mere militarization and away from the political agenda and mass mobilization as in the days of the Arwal mobilization. The problem with such an approach is that they do not see the character of the Indian state and its ruthlessness. Any sincere struggle, like the workers in Gurgaon and the peasants in Rajasthan, are brutally crushed. So also peaceful movements like the Narmada Bachao achieved nothing. General mass

**Continued on page 6**

## WTO 6<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference: Further Sell-Out to Imperialists

— *Suman*

Till the last day of the of the marathon six-day meet from Dec.13-18<sup>th</sup> it looked as though there would be no agreement between the thousands of delegates representing about 150 countries who had gathered for the Sixth Ministerial Conference of the WTO. This Conference was to wind up the Doha Round which had begun in November 2001. It was nowhere near that goal and finally in order to avoid a collapse some declaration was passed to be further discussed at the WTO headquarters in Geneva on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2006. On the fourth day of the 5-day meet the cynical report that came out was that there was neither “*breakthrough nor breakdown*”.

The WTO director General, Pascal Lamy, himself said: “*the last hours of the meeting were incredibly intense.....It’s like keeping your balance in a small boat, trying to reach the other side of the river in the midst of a storm*”. He added that the last minute negotiations were “*stormy*” since the trade ministers were faced with a “*make or break*” situation. Most agreed to the Declaration pushed through by the US/EU despite reservations as they did not want to derail the entire process. It was primarily the Indian and Brazilian delegates who broke with the unity of the underdeveloped countries and forced a decision, basically as per the wishes of the US/EU demands. Kamal Nath de facto acted as the Trojan horse of the imperialists within the G-110. All his bravado rhetoric of having fought for India’s interests was a hoax as he turned out to be one of the prime pushers of imperialist interests. The final Declaration gave all gains to the imperialists while that for the backward countries were notional.

The Conference took place amidst huge demonstrations against the WTO and its anti-poor agenda. The demonstrators gathered two days before the Conference and reached a crescendo on the penultimate day of the Conference. During this period throughout Hong Kong there were big protests, many of which turned violent. On the very inaugural day demonstrators, particularly farmers from South Korea, clashed with riot police. Though they were not allowed anywhere near the venue and only allowed to have their protests at the

far away Victoria Park, on the 5<sup>th</sup> day the crowds broke through police lines and there were massive clashes with the police. In the process they marched close to the venue cutting off the Wan Chai area, the location of the Conference venue, cutting off public transport and forcing thousands of delegates to walk back to their hotels. In the brutal police attacks over 1,000 demonstrators were arrested. Besides Hong Kong demonstrations were taking place throughout the world including in many parts of India. A big demonstration was also held in Delhi against the WTO meet.

The imperialists no longer hold such Conferences in their own countries, particularly after Seattle, as they fear the wrath of their people. So they shift it to distant places so that few demonstrators can attend and where police brutality can be more obscene and crude.

### **Background to the Meet**

The worldwide anti-WTO demonstrations brought to light the aggressive imperialist nature of the Uruguay Round whose discussions went on from 1986 to 1994, when the GATT was transformed into the WTO.

When the Uruguay Round began, the imperialists put forward a supposed grand bargain to the backward countries. They demanded expansion of the trade agenda to include services and Intellectual Property Rights; in return the developed countries were to make major concessions on agriculture and textile quotas. While the backward countries implemented all the WTO stipulations the developed countries did nothing for the whole decade. Finally, when textile quotas were ended last January, they pleaded that they were still not prepared and thus negotiated a three year extension with China. What happened in agriculture was even worse. While the understanding was that rich countries’ enormous subsidies would be reduced, the US almost doubled its subsidies. In 2002 the US Farm Bill set the new subsidy rate for 10 years upto 2012. And the EU adopted the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) which can’t reduce its subsidies before 2013.

On the issue of NAMA (Non Agricultural Market Access) it was rejected by the bulk of the underdeveloped countries at the Cancun meet due to its horrifying impact

on the economies of these countries — leading to an even faster rate of de-industrialisation, by throwing the doors wide open to cheap imports of manufactured goods. It basically only affects the backward countries as it is they who have tariff barriers on industrial imports while the developed countries have mostly non-tariff barriers to deny market access to goods from other countries. It was the Indian government that had virtually accepted the contents of the earlier discredited text as the basis of NAMA negotiations.

Finally the Doha Round sought the liberalization and deregulation of the services sector in which have been included 160 services ranging from water, education, health, infrastructure (including energy, transport and telecommunications), financial services (banking and insurance), travel and tourism, etc. The subject matter of this GATS (General Agreement in Trade in Services) is extremely broad as the term “*Service*” is defined vaguely in the agreement so as to potentially include any and every activity.

Soon all began to realize that the WTO, like its sister organisations the IMF and World Bank, were nothing but tools of big capital to rob the poor and backward countries of their wealth and resources. The imperialist’s aggressive nature was further intensified at the very first Ministerial Conference after Uruguay held in Singapore in December 1996 and the putting on the agenda by the EU the so-called four Singapore issues. It was at the third Ministerial Conference in Nov/Dec 1999 at Seattle and the violent clashes there, that set the tune for the anti-globalisation movement throughout the globe.

With the vehemence of the protests the governments of the backward countries had to put up some show of protest. What is more the intense contradiction between the US and EU on trade issues, particularly on agricultural subsidies, allowed countries some maneuverability between the two imperialist monoliths. As a result of all this with the culmination of the Uruguay Round and the initiation of the Doha Round the imperialists were forced to give the appearance that this Round was being devoted to the benefit of the backward countries — so it was called the

Development Round.

But that was only in name; a subterfuge to dupe the masses of the world. The essence of the Doha Declaration, which was passed in the background of the US's aggressive posturing in the light of 9/11 that had taken place barely two months earlier, sought to put even more burdens on the underdeveloped countries of the world, while turning a blind eye to the US/EU protectionist measures. It was now clearly the formula; free trade for the world; protectionism, for the imperialists.

With the imperialist economic crisis also having deepened in 2000/2001 their desperation to shift the burden of this crisis on the backward countries became even more desperate. That is why, though they had to make a show of it being a "development" Round, to appease the huge anti-globalisation demonstrations, they in fact sought more aggressive opening-up of the economies of the backward countries of the world. In addition, the crisis intensified the trade wars between the imperialists, particularly the US-EU conflicts, making their ability to come to any joint agreement on international trade more difficult. So, while pushing their minimum common agenda at the WTO they have also been pre-occupied in forming bilateral/regional trade blocs, to further specific imperialist country interests.

For all these reasons the Doha Round never really got off the ground, though agricultural issues, which was the main bone of contention, was the core question. The Cancun 5<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference in Sept.2003 therefore collapsed and there was no agreement. Since then the regular meetings at the Geneva headquarters have not made much headway in being able to revive the stalemate. Yet, in mid 2004 the General Council of the WTO came out with a framework for the culmination of the Doha Round, the essence of which was to further push the joint imperialist interests against the backward countries. All that the Hong Kong meet did was to basically re-iterate the "*framework*" of what has come to be known as the "*July decision*" of the General Council, with a few changes. This "*framework*" sets the path for the further capitulation of the backward countries to the imperialists on all spheres of trade in agriculture, industry and services.

In September of this year Pacal Lamy

took over as the Director General of the WTO — he was the earlier EU Trade Commissioner who has been in the forefront of pushing the EU's imperialist agenda for years.

#### **The Hong Kong Declaration**

It was the second draft that was finally adopted, which basically set a framework to be finalized by the General Council of the WTO by April 2006. After five days of intense haggling, this declaration was signed by the 149 member countries, thereby keeping the Doha Round alive after its collapse at Cancun.

Much is made of the supposed victory by the backward countries for the developed countries to remove export subsidies by 2013. This itself is a big hoax. Firstly the G-90 countries were demanding that this be removed by 2010, but the EU's own CAP agreement has fixed till 2013 and after India's sudden change in stand the 2013 date was pushed through. Secondly, of the 90 billion euros subsidy handed out to European farmers only 3 billion goes as export subsidy. So its removal will have hardly any impact on their prices. Even this removal of export subsidies comes with conditions which if not implemented allows them scope for non-implementation. It has been made dependent on the "completion of modalities", the deadline for which is fixed for April 30 06. Given the record for failed deadlines there is no certainty that even the date 3013 will be kept.

So, in effect what has been portrayed as a big victory for India and the other underdeveloped countries in a huge farce. The subsidies for agricultural produce of the imperialist countries will stay in tact and they will continue to dump their cheap products throughout the world thereby destroying agriculture of the backward countries, including India. So, for example, in 2003 the US exported cotton at 53% of their cost of production, and wheat at 72%, rice at 74%, maize & soyabeans at 90% below their cost of production. EU's export prices were 34% of its cost of production for wheat, 50% for dairy produce and 75% for sugar.

Also the much propagated concessions to the LDCs (Least Developed Countries) to allow the very poorest countries to export their products to the West duty-free, quota-free, was another farce. The EU pushed this hard as they already have such a programme

running. But the US and Japan insisted that the duty and quota free could not apply to all products and would be applied selectively. This means that Bangladesh could exports say submarines (which it does not produce) but not textiles which make up 80% of its exports. The US offered the four cotton-producing West African states a minor concession to end export subsidies, but were silent on the huge hand-outs that Washington gives its Southern farmers in various other way. All that the US has committed is a reduction in the export subsidy on cotton, which is not even one percent of the \$4.7 billion that it doles out as federal support to the cotton growers.

On NAMA, as already mentioned, it was a sell-out all the way. Heavy pressure has been mounted by the US and EU well before the WTO Summit for "substantial agreement" on NAMA requiring the backward countries substantially reduce customs duties on manufactured goods. Given the growing crisis of over-production this is a fundamental aspect of imperialist policy to push the burden of the crisis on the backs of the underdeveloped countries and cushion their own crisis. The so-called Swiss formula on this translates into a 75% cut in duties in the backward countries compared with a mere 25% for the developed countries. Yet this was welcomed by the Indian Commerce Minister, Kamal Nath.

In the Service sector too there was a further setback for the backward countries. This is a main focus point of the imperialists as today the service sector amounts to over 50/60% of the GDP of any country and the profit margins are often huge. Here too India retracted on its demand for Mode 4 concessions. In the draft declaration that went to Hong Kong, Annex C, which argued for accelerating the liberalization of services, was bracketed, implying that there was no agreement on this. In a surprising development the whole of Annex C has now been unbracketed, with some minor changes. India played a major role in mobilising the backward countries to get this change accepted. It was only Cuba and Venezuela that formally expressed their reservation on this change.

So, it can be seen that in the declaration that finally emanated from the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference a "*framework*" has

been set for greater sell-out to the imperialists in all spheres of agriculture, manufactured goods and services. This will have a terrible impact on the lives of the people of these countries and lead to further backwardness and de-industrialisation.

### Conclusion

At the WTO Hong Kong conference the imperialists came with their large contingents to beat back any opposition from the poorer countries. The strength of their delegations were disproportionate to their actual size. The EU had 832 delegates to the US's 356 and Japan's 229. 46 countries had less than 10 delegates and a few African countries had none. This massive inequality in negotiating strength allows the imperialist to further brow-beat, those from the backward countries and adopt all devious means to split their unity.

Yet, the WTO is at a cross-roads caught in a web of contradictions that threaten to derail the whole process. Basically there are four main contradictions at play that could freeze the agenda, the essence being two — inter-imperialist contradictions, particularly that between the US and EU; and secondly between the backward countries and the developed countries for a few more crumbs. These growing contradictions are linked to the deepening economic crisis which is having its ups and downs within an increasingly fragile bubble-like world economy. As a result the imperialists are not prepared to give even the smallest concession in trade negotiations to the backward countries and seek only to blatantly extract more and more. Also in their growing scramble for markets they are at each others throats for gaining

### Continued from page 3

movements must necessarily develop into the mobilization of the entire masses for the war. Only when the entire masses are mobilised to participate in a people's war is a revolution successful. If just a handful are mobilised militarily then it is doomed to failure. So while mass movements around people's demands are also necessary what is fundamental for any revolutionary movement is to mobilise the people and ready them for the war effort.

It is often said that the people are not for war. Who is? Naxalites too want peace. But not the peace of the graveyard. Nor do the people want to continue living

greater market access for their own specific bourgeoisie. In this situation, particularly after 9/11 the US has adopted more a policy of unilateralism as against the earlier policy of leading the imperialist pack against others. This has become more and more difficult as the situation has vastly changed since the early 1990s.

The inter-imperialist contradiction has been reflected particularly in trade conflicts between the US and EU, as also between the EU and the Cairnes Group of countries (that include Canada, Australia, etc) on agricultural produce. Between the EU and US the conflicts are no longer restricted to agricultural items, but encompass intense competition between Boeing and Airbus and now also the computer software sector. In mid December 05 the European Commission, for example, threatened that it may fine Microsoft as much as \$2.37 million per day unless it complies with an order to provide interface documentation to allow rival group servers to work with the company's Window operating system. The EU also wants the US to cut down its share of subsidies while Canada, Australia and New Zealand are required to dismantle their commodity boards, which is still a point of dispute. These countries say that the commodity boards — like the Australian Wheat Board — do not push price down. The EU is vehemently opposed to this argument.

On the main contradiction between the imperialists and the backward countries; the imperialists are acting tougher each day. They would rather see the WTO collapse than compromise as anyhow they have taken the alternative bilateral/regional route

'peacefully' in acute poverty and with little self-respect. Dalits, for example, have never known 'peace' there is a daily existence of violence and humiliation — going on now, and for centuries!!! The feudal mafia of Bihar particularly as also other states does not allow any to live in peace unless they fall at their feet. Neither do the police. Besides, it is fully just for Maoists to release their comrades, hundreds of whom are framed in false cases and jailed for years and decades; and to seize arms to defend themselves.

The government spends thousands of crores of rupees to purchase arms from the imperialists. Such money the army of the

to pressurize countries. The US Trade Representative, Portman, said as much: "sometimes no deal is better than a bad deal". The EU too has made clear that it will not move on the commitment to reduce subsidies — even by 2013 — unless progress can be seen on NAMA.

The trouble is that while the imperialists slug it out for greater spheres of influence and markets the compradors of the backward countries servilely fall at the imperialist feet. This they do to varying degrees, but unfortunately India is to be seen in the forefront; as is that hero of the WSF, Lula. {Lula has even sent Brazilian troops to Haiti to police US intervention there}. It is only the people of the backward countries that can reverse the sell-out process taking place both within the WTO and outside it through numerous bilateral and regional deals. So for example, India for all its chest-thumping at Hong Kong is seeing its cotton farmers die while importing \$500 million worth of cotton per year with a customs tariff of a mere 10%. This low tariff is not even imposed by the WTO but the servile rulers are willingly keeping it low to the detriment of lakhs of cotton farmers in India. This year, in Maharashtra alone hundreds of cotton farmers have committed suicide; and on top of that the government has reduced the procurement rate by a massive Rs.500 (from Rs.2,200) to bring it in line with international rates.

Passive resistance brings little change in government policy. It requires a strong and militant movement if there is to be any reversal in these disastrous policies of the government at the dictates of the imperialists. ■ ■

poor never have; besides it is the imperialists on whom their guns have to be aimed. So where can the poor get their arms to defend themselves. It can only be from the enemy. This has always been the method in any people's war. So, the action on the armoury at Girdih was not only just, it was pathbreaking in showing the way to the masses that they need not cow down before the government's guns and bullets — and that there is some alternative. Girdih, and the earlier action at Koraput, continue in the great tradition of the historic Chittagong Armoury Raid.

Jehanabad and Girdih are milestones in the onward march of the people's war in the country. ■ ■

# Rural India: Reeling under death

- Ayan

Every year a large number of rural people particularly, tribal and dalit people, succumb to the disease born out of hunger. This gruesome reality has been continuing to exist despite a flood of promises and tall talk about the planned development of the economy. While people are starving and hunger stalks through-out the country, especially, in rural India, the mainstream political parties and their sycophants are busy painting a rosy picture of future prosperity. A large number of people are being denied the right to food which is not only a basic human right but also a basic human need. Even then, these barefaced mainstream politicians do not hesitate to project the success of the Indian democratic system! The fact is that this is a system which ensures the right of the exploiting classes (both indigenous and foreign) to usurp the fruits of toiling masses and destroy their livelihood. Since the last decade people have been facing more intensified exploitation due to implementation of the new economic policy. Despite the promise of the UPA Govt. to give a 'human face' to new economic policy people are starving, suffering from malnutrition and gradually heading towards death. The promise has turned into a cruel joke!

The administration of all governments – be it a Congress, BJP, SP, BSP or 'Left' front – do never acknowledge a starvation death. Whenever the issue of death due to hunger and starvation is placed before them they follow the British Legacy, a legacy to prove that the death is caused due to some sort of illness. It is of course a fact that many deaths are reported under dysentery, diarrhea, and enteric group of fever'. Starvation also results in such diseases. Prof. Amartya Sen explains, in the Bengal famine, it was common to die of starvation through diarrhea as well as dysentery, partly as a result of eating uneatable objects (Poverty and Famines). Moreover, poverty and starvation cause malnutrition, undernourishment and as a consequence, such people become more vulnerable to so many diseases. Thus while starvation is the underlying cause of death, the immediate one is, in general, due to infection as a consequence of lowered immunity.

Some of the recent incidents are placed here to realize the effect of present inhuman face of unrestricted ruthless exploitation which has been destroying the rural economy and taking away hundreds of lives. Death is caused either due to starvation, undernourishment, malnutrition or due to impoverishment entailing huge amount of loan burden leading to suicides.

## Rajasthan

Death due to starvation is a regular feature in the Sahariya tribal belt of Baran district of Rajasthan. A team led by the senior advisor to the Supreme Court Commissioner in the Right to food case, reported that as many as 25 persons had died due to starvation in this tribal belt. The team visited the district during the last week of September, 2004. The study of the team revealed the deplorable condition of the tribal people. According to their finding a large amount of population is suffering from chronic malnutrition and hunger. The nutrition intake is so poor that 100 percent girls are gradually proceeding towards death. This team visited five villages of this district and had to report of starvation deaths from every village.

They have neither agri-land nor have enough employment opportunities to maintain their livelihood. Before coming to power the BJP created a hue and cry on the starvation death issue of this district. Now it is the Congress and other parliamentary parties that raise the issue to discredit the BJP Govt. Amid this nasty parliamentary politics the plight of these tribal people is becoming more and more deplorable.

The plight of tribal people is no less despicable in Udaipur and Dugnarapur districts. A survey conducted by the New Delhi based Centre for Environment and Food Security has revealed that in the above mentioned districts at least 48 persons died of hunger and disease between mid July to mid September of this year (2005). A team led by the State Advisor to the Commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court in the right to food matter have also confirmed the fact. It has also been stated in the survey report that hunger and food insecurity are rampant in these areas. During 2004 about 99 percent of the tribal families had to suffer from hunger and food insecurity. It has further been stated that

28.3 percent of the sample households (i.e. 500 households in the two districts) lived by eating just one distress meal-a-day. 99.8 percent of these families could not afford two square meals even for a month during the entire period of last year.

## Madhya Pradesh

Patalgarh is predominantly a tribal village of Sheopur district. In February, 2005 twelve children from this village died due to post-measles complications compounded by malnutrition. Though the Chief Medical and Health Officer of the district could not arrive at a clear conclusion, other doctors studying the death did not hesitate to state that it was malnutrition, which led to measles, even in those children who have been vaccinated against the disease.

The Right to Food Campaign Madhya Pradesh Support Group published a report titled "Children in Danger – Malnutrition Disaster in Madhya Pradesh". It states that 50 percent children in the state have been suffering from malnutrition and there have been deaths due to malnutrition in Ganjbasoda district. The report presents a gruesome picture of Chronic hunger which pervades districts like Sidhi, Sheopur, Badwani and Khandwa. The State Commissioner, Women and Child also admitted that the problem had become a serious one. According to the Regional Medical Research Institute of Tribals in Jabalpur, 93 percent of tribal children are victims of severe malnourishment and 15 percent of them are almost on the verge of death.

Despite this devastating condition of the people no positive step has been taken for development of the economy to provide better livelihood. Lands remain barren for want of water. There are no irrigation facilities. Acute joblessness continues to exist. Their only means of livelihood is to collect forest produce. That too lasts only four months in the summer. In such a wretched condition they have to live on seeds of a wild grass called sama which look like very fine rice but have little nutritive quality. This very condition leads to malnutrition and hunger.

## Andhra Pradesh

Every where in the country people of tribal communities are being deprived and

exploited causing poverty and hunger haunts them. They suffer from malnourishment and become vulnerable to disease that even leads to death. Andhra Pradesh State is no exception.

It is reported that in the Integrated Tribal Development Agency areas of Visakhapatnam district on an average 312 tribal people die every month. (Frontline, September 9, 2005). This is nothing uncommon in the life of these tribal people who inhabit the hills around Araku Valley. The infant mortality rate is about 165 per 1000 while at the state level it is 95 per 1000. And under-five mortality is as high as 50 percent (approx.) while the percentage of the children suffering from anemia and under-weight is 80 and 55 respectively. These are the clear expression of the extent of under-nutrition and hunger.

Most of the tribal people collect or cultivate firewood, jackfruit, mangoes, honey, tamarind like forest produce and these are their main sources of income. But they are cheated by the traders and contractors in various ways, and earn a very meager amount which is even far short of their minimum requirements. Some of the tribal families who collect leaves for making plates can earn only Rs. 350 to 450 per month.

This meager income causes severe poverty and they have to take loans from moneylenders at a rate of 5 percent or more than that, per month. It is further compounded by the same percentage once

every 3 months. They are being fleeced by the money lenders in case of default and forced by the moneylenders either to sell their produce at a price lower than the market rate, or to sign a contract for bonded labour for a year.

A study by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute revealed that the average income per year of a tribal family was Rs. 4,327. Out of this meager income, they spent 20 percent of that on health care. Moreover, they have to pay back loan-money along-with interest! How do they maintain their families?

Moneylenders enjoy democracy to charge exorbitant rates of interest and exploit them in various ways. Traders have the democracy to dupe them. Contractors, MNCs and landowners have the democratic right to loot the forest produce, rendering devastation to their livelihood. But these tribal people are being deprived even of their right to food, the very basic need of a human being!

#### **Suicide is no Answer**

Ever increasing input prices without a corresponding increase in output price of agri-products have rendered farming non-viable and a loss sustaining profession. The agricultural community has become a happy-hunting ground of rapacious moneylenders. Farmers have to pay minimum 5% interest per month for their loan. A considerable section of farmers have to pledge even their crop to the moneylenders. Among the borrowers the

small and middle farmers constitute the largest group. Farmers' indebtedness has become a common phenomenon. The amount of loan ranged from Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 3,00,000/-.

Amid this gruesome condition, govts. on the one hand continue to befool farmers with one after another promises and on the other provide more and more scope to indigenous and foreign exploiters for their reckless plunder. Farmers do not find any way out. They toil hard to somehow maintain their families. But that too is not possible for them. To free themselves from huge amounts of loan burden they kill themselves, this killing spree continues!

This heart-rending plight of farmers prevails throughout rural India. Despite this terrible condition of the rural people and devastation of agrarian economy, the govt. continues to project the growth rate of the economy. This growth impoverishes the toiling masses, destroying their livelihood and help exploiters amass wealth.

The restive people are now airing their voice against this injustice. They are protesting against this inhuman exploitation that robs them of their fruits of hard toil. They are gradually breaking their silence and becoming more and more violent, particularly in the rural India. This is now very much conspicuous throughout the country. These people need a firm leadership to expose the hollowness of mainstream politics and lead them to resolve their problems.



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#### **Continued from page 12**

Imperialists and their Indian Collaborators? Their targets are the Maoists of India and Nepal and nationalities of the north-east who had been carrying on heroic struggle despite heavy odds for national self-determination. The US state has put CPI Maoist on its list of 'terrorist' organization and supplying necessary materials, training and guidance to suppress Maoist revolutionary movement. Kalaikunda is a strategic place from the military point of view. It is within striking distance of Nepal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and other areas. As the revolutionary movement gains momentum in West Bengal and other neighbouring areas, crucial military battles are likely to be fought in West Medinipur where Kalaikunda is located.

Fifth, however strongly Nicholas Burn might deny US claim to make India its partner for the containment of China, the contradiction between the USA and china, like that between USA and Japan or USA and Russia is a reality. India has participated in joint military exercises of different types with USA, Russia, China and France. Israel is another ally of India in this sector. The goal of the USA is to bring India within its fold Side by side both Russia and China are apprehensive of US dominance in world affairs and have recently conducted joint military exercises. China after the restoration of capitalism in the post-Mao era has gradually been emerging as a powerful capitalist country at least in parts of Asia and so containment of China can also become an American Priority in future.

As we can see, the main reason behind USA's eagerness to build up a "strategic partnership" with the Indian ruling classes is to maintain its global dominance and the imperialist system which is beset with deep socio-economic-political crisis at home and growing popular resistance against its policies and control abroad. The Indian ruling classes aspire to become junior partners of the US to fulfill their wild expansionist dreams in this part of the world. However, history has proved time and again that it is not the oppressors and their stooges, but the people and people alone who are the motive forces of history. The revolutionary masses of India will surely give a fitting rebuff to the wild ambitions of the US and Indian ruling classes in the days to come.





# In India's 'Richest' State, Death & Starvation Stalk the Countryside

— *Arvind*

Starvation deaths in the tribal belts, suicides in the cotton tracts of Vidarbha and child malnutrition and deaths throughout the State — such is the dismal picture of one of the richest States of the country, Maharashtra. One can imagine the state of affairs in the other States where data may not be half as well documented. The following report has been coming in the main-line media and is based on official and semi-official data. These are normally understatements; the actual reality would be far worse. Besides, living the stark reality is far more horrifying than what dry statistics can reveal.

The life in Maharashtra's countryside and slums is to be compared to the malls and multiplexes coming up in the elite enclaves of the urban rich. It is two worlds; two countries. There is little in common between them. And in this age of globalization these two worlds are getting further and further apart. One, a fairyland of wealth; the other an abyss of destitution. One, being more and more sanitized from the filth and muck around; the other being marginalized/ghettoized more and more. With all government funding, planning, 'vision' statements, investments, subsidies, projects, and economic focus being geared towards the formers, the countryside and slums get merely the crumbs off the elite table. Market economics of globalization demands this warped development, no matter how cruel it may be for the masses. And since market economics is the main agenda today, things can only get from bad to worse in the days to come.

Maharashtra has also been a supposed test-case for the much propagated Employment Guarantee Scheme which is now sought to be introduced in the entire country as the panacea to rural poverty. Maharashtra has had this for over three decades now. But what is its impact on the rural poor is there for all to see. Surveys have shown that 50% of the funds are eaten away in corruption, and even of the balance, the target group of the poor were not offered any work under the EGS.

## **Child Deaths & Malnutrition**

According to the Sample Registration Survey of the Government of India the total number of child deaths between July 2004

and June 2005 was 1,20,000. According to a Committee set up by the State Government in August 2004 between 1.20 lakh and 1.75 lakh children died every year in the State every year due to disease. The report added that nearly eight lakh children were threatened with Grade 3 or 4 malnutrition. It estimated that 82,000 children died every year in the rural areas of the State, 23,500 in the tribal areas and 56,000 in the slums. In 1998 itself a report by the CDSAG (Child Death Study and Action Group) said that the government was severely under-reporting child deaths — in 1998 there were an estimated 1,75,000 child deaths but only 30,000 were officially reported.

The child deaths itself is merely the tip of the iceberg where underneath there is extreme poverty, disease, hunger in the entire families. Grade 3 & 4 malnutrition in children create permanent damage to the child — both to its brain and body structure. Such children grow up mentally slow and physically weak even if they get proper food later (which is itself rare).

The situation in Mumbai's slums is not much better where about 60% of the population live. The unhygienic conditions there are probably far worse even than in the rural areas due to over-crowding. With no jobs now available the vast majority are forced to eke out a precarious existence as unorganized labour living from hand-to-mouth. Here too, according to a study by some university professors, 750 children die of malnutrition each year. Ofcourse, thousands more will die of disease. For all this there are no records as anyhow the bulk of such extremely poor are treated as illegal and not in any records.

## **Suicides Reach Epidemic levels in Vidarbha**

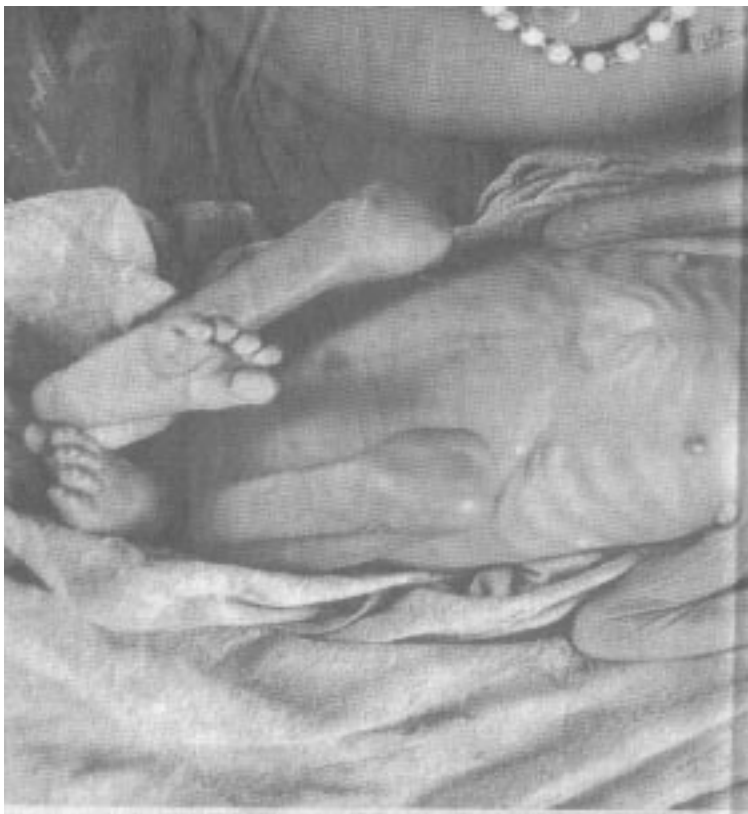
Suicides (official) are now at two to three a day. The agrarian crisis in Vidarbha has now spun out of control. Vidarbha's mainly cotton growers have been hit by rising cost of inputs and the crash of output prices. They have also been ruined by the collapse of rural credit. About 90% of households are indebted to the loan sharks, of which only 5% are taken from the cooperatives and banks, usually because of a previous default. The bulk have to depend on the rapacious moneylenders who extract approximately Rs.500 interest every four months on every Rs.1,000 borrowed.

(Tehelka 17/12/05) since 2000, most of the moneylenders are also traders, loaning seeds and fertilizers, and then taking away the crop at highly reduced prices. The moneylenders have been seizing not only the farmer's lands but also their household goods. They have also been crushed by fake seed dealers due to the mindless deregulation of the distribution network.

The situation is reaching nightmarish proportions with farmers committing suicide by the hundreds each year, the main cause being DEBT. The Maharashtra government is callous beyond limits. Not only does it plays down suicide statistics it is introducing Hitlerian measures to crush the rural population ruthlessly. And as for the opposition, most of the worst hit districts have Shiv Sena MLAs. So explosive is the situation that the Sena MLA from Akola had to perform the theatrical stunt of 'attempting suicide' in the Nagpur Assembly; earlier he had been chased out of villages where farmers had committed suicide.

The Maharashtra government first said that only 140 farmers had committed suicide in the five years from 2001 to 2004. Later it raised the figure to 523. In October this year it said that 300 farmers had committed suicide in just one of the 11 districts — Yavatmal. Of these only 11 had received compensation. Obviously this too is an understatement, as to be defined as a "farmer" the land must be in that person's name. Now the official figure is another 524 suicide death for just the one year 2004 and a mere 142 in the current year so far (Economic Times Dec. 6 05). One reason for such understatements is that if the land is in the old father's name he will not be counted. Also, as is normal, many suicides are put down as natural deaths. A recent report says that 100 have committed suicide in Dec., 2005 alone.

Until November 2005 only 168 farmers have received the promised Rs.1 lakh compensation. The government's regulations to claim the compensation makes it near impossible for a family to get it. A family has to fulfill 42 conditions, ranging from a Below Poverty Line ration card to the loan having been taken from a bank or cooperative, to qualify for compensation. These conditions are ridiculous and obviously only those will



The Face of Malnutrition: One year old shraavan is one of the severely malnourished children in Dab, a village in Maharashtra's Nandurbar district

get it who can grease the palms of the local official and sarpanch. The end result is that only a small proportion of the loan amount will remain in the hands of the victim.

In Maharashtra the entire crop is bought by the Cotton Federation and private sale is banned. **When hundreds have already been taking their lives the Maharashtra government this year has reduced the price of cotton by a massive Rs.550 from Rs.2250 per quintal last year to Rs.1700 this year. This amounts to a massive price reduction of 22%. If inflation is counted at the modest rate of 10%, it means a reduction in price of over 30%. This drop in price amounts to robbing the farmers of a massive Rs. 1,100/- crore. When hundred were taking their lives when the price was Rs.2250 one can just wonder what would be their fate this year when they are given the measly Rs.1,700, which is well below the cost of production. The government admits it costs around Rs.2,200 to produce a quintal of cotton. This amounts to nothing but wholesale slaughter of thousands of innocent farmers and their families.** The low prices is partly due to the crash in international prices where the US alone subsidizes its

25,000 cotton producers to the tune of \$ 4 billion i.e.Rs.70 lakhs a year for each farmer!!! But this is not all.

The Cotton Federation deducts previous loans and interest thereon before paying the sale price. It also pays the farmer late and in installments. So, many farmers resort to distress sales at a price of Rs.1,400 per quintal and also to the private moneylender for loans. But, so what if hundreds of peasants are taking their lives, cotton must go cheap to the big business textile and garment industries so that they can maximize their profits. The Federation supposedly set up for the farmers is a highly autocratic body which has not had an election since it was set up in 1972, with farmers having no say in its decisions.

Meanwhile the State Government has helped boost private traders who lift the farmer's produce at rock-bottom prices. Also there is no restriction on the dumping of cotton from America and elsewhere and the import duty on cotton is a mere 10%.

In addition input costs have been going up each year. Bt cotton area has increased by 30% due to the massive promotion of these seeds by high-level advertising by Ministers, officials and film stars. Some film

stars have earned lakhs through this promotion; all recovered from the farmer through high costs of the seed. This implies even higher input costs. And some of them have sown two, even three times in the same season after being hit by crop failure. The situation is explosive.

But the government is not merely looking the other way it has resorted to Hitlerian measures. The state government passed an Act that will make irrigation water charges one and a half times more expensive for those farmers having more than two children. They will also be barred from taking part in local body polls. Now liquor will be freely sold in shops and stores. Further, according to the Water regulatory Bill passed by the Maharashtra Assembly this year, farmers must pay Rs.580 per acre of water every month!! Besides, there is no dearth of government funding and subsidies, but these are all for the 'welfare' of the bosses of the co-operative movement and their ilk. Vidarbha is in fact the hunting ground for money-grabbers of all types.

#### **Suicides: The Tip of the Iceberg**

But suicides are only the last resort of the frustrated. There will be lakhs and lakhs

living on the brink, in deep debt, but trying to somehow survive. Today one major added expense is illness. With the government resorting to massive cuts on the public health system and the cost of medicine skyrocketing a large party of rural family expenses are going on healthcare.

In a survey it has been estimated that 21% of all Indians have stopped seeking medical aid as they cannot afford it. They live in perpetual illness only to finally pass away. Ofcourse, their death will be put as a natural cause.

The collapse of rural credit, soaring input costs and falling output prices, disease and destitution were themes greeting the NCF team everywhere. Vidarbha's

farm community stands exhausted. There was a suicide death by a farmer every 12 hours while the team was in the region. There have been many more since they left. The toll has been mounting since June. There were 29 reported in just the one month since Sept 26<sup>th</sup>.

The tale of Vidarbha is a tale being repeated in all regions of the country. In the developed countries farmers are subsidized so that they live well. But this is not so in the backward countries like India. Here neither is there the motor of capitalist/ industrial growth that can give employment,

nor are the farms able to be drawn into scientific farming. The backward semi-feudal relations in the country is the main reason for this where the peasants have no capital, are confined to small plots of land, and are looted by the rural elite (moneylender, trader, landlord if there,

belt is the regions of naxalite influence in Gadchiroli, Chandrapur and Bhandara. Here the people are no longer exploited by their employers and fleeced by one and all, from the officials, to the traders, to the police and the rural elite of landlords and moneylenders and even the doctors. In

these areas wage rates are relatively higher due to their struggles, the exorbitant interest rates no longer exist on loans, they can no longer so easily be fleeced by the forest officials, police, traders, doctors, bureaucrats, etc. Therefore relatively their condition is far better than that of their fellow tribals in the districts of Amravati, Yavatmal, Nandurbar, Dhule, Nashik and Thane.

After the Shetkari Sangathan of Sharad

officials, etc). And over-and-above this have come the horrors of the green revolution and then globalization. While not basically touching the relations of production the capitalists/imperialists have drawn even the impoverished peasantry into their clutches and are extracting the last drop of blood from their already emaciated bodies.

For the Indian peasantry all roads lead to hell. For them revolution is the only possible relief. The revolutionary movement in Gadchiroli is not far off. Ironically the least effected are the tribal

Joshi betrayed the farmers, falling at the feet of the WTO/IMF/WB combine, the movement has been in the doldrums. But the last week of November witnessed a series of dharnas and sit-ins. And this movement drew not only farmers but also playwrights, professors, teachers, journalists and many others. A new awakening is taking place. Due to the opposition the government was forced to give some temporary reliefs, but the bulk of these will remain only on paper as they target only the moneylenders who wield power and fear in the countryside. ■ ■

### **Monsanto Murders Cotton Growers**

In 2004, upto 80% of cotton growers harvested BT, genetically modified seeds produced by Monsanto. When actor Nana Patekar, the brand ambassador of Monsanto, toured this region last year to promote BT, his public meetings had a huge impact. Farmers went for BT in a big way. The seed, with prices ranging above Rs.1,600 a packet (compared to the normal hybrid variety of Rs.450 a packet) have demonstrated no sustainability in the parched environment of Vidarbha. This year the fungal infection *Lal Rog* stuck the fields. The withered cotton, branches red in colour, make a depressing sight. In the shadow of the failed harvest, stands an entire family, emaciated and hungry. "*Monsanto's claim that a test application would involve minimum pesticides and maximum yield has proved fatal*" says a representative of a local peasant organisation. Meanwhile, while the cotton farmers have been destroyed even further Monsanto and film actor Nana Patekar have made a small fortune. Both should be treated as criminals and lynched by the masses. It is they who should be forced to pay the farmer's debts.

### **Publications Available:**

- \* **A Basic Understanding of the CPC (Shanghai 1974), Radical Publications, (Rs.25, \$5)**
- \* **Semi-feudal India and The Impact of Globalisation, Radical Publications, (Rs. 20, \$4)**
- \* **Masses of Dandakaranya Rebel in the path of Liberation, Radical Publications, (Rs. 30, \$3)**

**Available At: New Vistas Publications, U-57, Shakarpur, Delhi-110092, India, Ph. 09899487859**

**Email: newvistaspublishations@rediffmail.com**

# President Bush's Proposed visit To India.' A Comment

*Cherag*

In the month of October last year, Nicholas Burns, the undersecretary of state for foreign affairs and emissary of US president, George Bush, was on a two day visit to tie Indian capital. He was entrusted by Washington to make the ground work for Bush's proposed visit to India in February 2006. The *Hindustan Times* (25-10-2005) carried an interview with Bush's emissary, which sounds very interesting. We would try to analyze Burns's statement though brief, to understand why 'India is priority for President Bush'.

In reply to the question why The US talks about making India a major power in the 21st century, Burns says that during the Cold war, India was a non-aligned nation while USA was an aligned one. However, after the end of the Cold War they are in a new phase of the "globalized world" – "where our interests are converging". The reality is that the Indian ruling classes and their political representatives had always been on good terms with US imperialists ever since the days of Prime Minister Nehru. Chester Bowles, twice US ambassador to India and an intimate friend of Nehru, played a leading role in cementing such relationships. US imperialist agencies such as the MNCs, World Bank, IMF etc. were eager not only to establish their grip over Indian agriculture (Community Development Project Green Revolution) and industry, but also to make India bulwark against the rising tide of Communism and pose a threat to Mao's China. In fact, Nehru was projected by them as the representative of 'Asian democracy' against Mao Tse-tung. Contrary to what Burns holds, India was never a non-aligned country, however loudly people like Nehru or Indira Gandhi pretended to be so. In fact, India was a by-aligned county, either tilting towards USA or towards the Soviet Union but without getting rid of none. The interests of the two countries are "converging" because there is only one super-power in the world after the dismemberment of the USSR and the restoration of capitalism in China. It is a world where US imperialism appears to be a tiger and India gleefully hitches her wagons to that American star.

According to Burns the greatest challenges of the future are "transnational chal-

lenges", "global climatic change", "proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons", "terrorist groups", "international crime and trafficking in women and children". As they cannot do all these things on their own, they need "strategic partners" like India. The country which is the largest manufacturer of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, admonishes other countries for not destroying those weapons. The country which is largely responsible for global warming and refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol, seeks to combat global climatic change. The state which directed its Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to stage military coups in other countries to topple established governments and to assassinate heads of states, which attacked and has been attacking other countries with its military might, which commits unheard-of-barbarity against peoples of other lands, trampling underfoot their sovereignty and does irreparable damage to ecology and mankind, now talks about the need to fight international crime. The state which itself is a terrorist state and which bolsters such states elsewhere such as Israel, now talks about fighting terrorism. In his list of priorities, there is no place for grinding poverty and misery of the masses of the world, as if such problems do not exist on this earth.

Burns states that USA needs "strategic partners", i.e., countries like India which "has that global ability and identical interests", what is USA's global strategy? Simply stated, it is to bring the rest of the world under their knees – economically, politically, culturally and militarily. First, the previous Vajpayee led central government and the present Manmohan Singh-led government accelerated the process of opening the country wide open to foreign investors by privatizing PSUs, lifting all state-imposed restrictions one after the other and allowing Foreign imperialist agencies entry into most of the sectors of the Indian economy – a process that started with much fanfare during the 1980s. This policy of 'liberalization' was an essential component of the terms of contract under which imperialist agencies provide India with loans, 'aid', technology and what not – terms always kept hidden from public knowledge. US

imperialism was the main beneficiary of this policy. India also seeks to carry on her long cherished expansionist designs under the umbrella of US power and assistance. Second India is also the buyer of US military technology and weapon of various types such as light weapons, long-range weapons, fighter aircrafts etc, which drain out thousands of crores of rupees over the years. India had thus been utilized as a vast market for US weapons.

Third, this is accompanied with Indo-US joint military exercises in Mizoram and other places with the ostensible purpose of combating insurgency. As reported in the press, between 7 and 19 November, the Kalaikunda air base in West Mednipore, West Bengal, the Indian and US air forces will take part in joint training exercise, named Exercise Cope India 05. Such joint operations with the USAF had been held in Alaska and Gwalior in 2004. As reported, Kalaikunda is to be utilized as a permanent site for such joint exercises in future. Defence Spokesperson wing commander R. K. Das said that the USAF would send a squadron of 16 to 18 F-16s, supposed to be one of the world's most advanced fighter jets. Although the joint exercises would take place from November 7, the American pilots totalling nearly 300 have come from Misawa and Kadena airbases in Okinawa in Japan to familiarize themselves with the IAF's frontline aircrafts such as Jaguar, Bison, MIG-27, MIG-29 and Sukhoi-30. The USAF would bring along AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) and transport aircraft-C5. The AWACS "is fitted with long-range radar capable of aerial surveillance as also command, control and communications functions at high altitude. The AWACS can simultaneously detect and track air, sea and ground targets", Das said (*Hindustan Times*, 02-11-2005). In the 120 countries where the US imperialists have setup military bases, they started with such joint air operations. Needless to say, such operations would inevitably lead to the setting up of the first official US base most probably in Kalaikunda. The proposed Indo-US nuclear deal is part and parcel of this 'strategic partnership'.

Fourth, who are the main targets of US

**Continued on page 08**

## Sitaram Yechuri Tries To Deceive

— Samya

Sitaram Yechuri, the CPM leader, has recently written an article captioned “*Wrong shade of red*” in the *Hindustan Times* dt.19-11-05. The main aim of this article is to tarnish the heroic struggles of the Indian Maoists. To put it briefly, it is a distortion of history, a distortion of Marxism-Leninism and is based on falsehood. Like Anil Biswas, the CPM WB state committee secretary, Yechuri also tried to equate ‘Maoism’ with ‘Anarchism’. Yechuri has raised a number of questions which — though somewhat hackneyed — deserve some response. In fact, it is a long-standing practice of revisionists like the CPM to make deliberate distortions of facts of history to hoodwink the people and hide their anti-people face.

To begin with, Yechuri writes that the CPM was born in 1964 “*after a prolonged ideological debate*”. This is a travesty of truth. The reality is just the opposite. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, the CPM leader, while referring to the Resolution of the Tenali Convention, stated that on 11 April 1964, 32 members walked out of the National Committee meeting of the undivided CPI and issued a statement. In that statement, they referred to the ‘opportunistic policy’ of Dange and his associates to form a united front with the Congress, creation of sub-groups within the party and the attempt to hush up Dange’s letter sent from jail to the British rulers that was tantamount to his surrender to the foreign rulers<sup>1</sup>. However, Surjeet also made it clear that if the party leadership shifted from their stand on organizational matters, they were ready to work with the Dange group. In order to keep the unity between the two rival factions within the CPI in tact, both the factions met on 4 July 1964 in Delhi. The leading group was represented by Rajeswar Rao, Dr.Gangadhar Adhikari and Bhupesh Gupta, while the other group was represented by Jyoti Bose, Promod Dasgupta and Harkishan Singh Surjit. What is pertinent is that no ideological discussion took place at the meeting, except a reference to Dange’s statement on the Kashmir issue—the details of which are not mentioned. The organizational issue was the main bone of contention. The two rival

factions fought among themselves not over any ideological issue, but over the question of which faction would be in control of the party secretariat. Promod Dasgupta was willing to have Dange as the chairman on condition that Namboodiripad would be the general secretary of the party. This proposal was rejected by Rajeswar Rao and thus the meeting ended in a fiasco (‘Report on unity talks’, *Resolution of the Tenali Convention of the Communist Party of India*, n.d.,pp.29-35) So, contrary to what Yechuri states, the CPM was formed not ‘after a prolonged ideological debate’, but over the issue of the control over the organization. It was nothing but a ‘give-and-take’ relationship, though this time it did not pay off.

In the Seventh Congress of the party held in 1964, the CPM leadership incorporated the call for carrying out the people’s democratic revolution in their programme. This PDR had nothing to do with any revolutionary effort. Apprehensive of the fact that such a call for revolution might send a wrong signal to the ruling classes and might invite their wrath, the party sent its general secretary Sundaraiyya to the then central home minister, Guljarilal Nanda. Sundaraiyya assured the home minister that he should not be misled by this programme of revolution, and that the tactics of the party is to establish people’s democracy and socialist transformation through ‘peaceful means’. Another CPM leader, Basavapuniaha, in a letter to G.L.Nanda, reiterated the same view stating that their opinion on the issue of the transition to socialism through ‘peaceful means’ was no different from Dange’s.(Reply to Nanda, *People’s Democracy*, 06-02-1966). It clearly shows that like the Dange-led CPI, the CPM also was Khrushchevite. The reality is that, neither in the past did the CPM leadership have, nor at present do they have any hesitation to hoodwink and misguide the people. In the name of making revolution through ‘peaceful means’, they in fact seek to forestall revolution and help perpetuate this man-eating system.

Secondly, Yechuri finds it difficult to accept the characterization of the Indian big bourgeoisie by the CPI(M-L) as “comprador” and tends to hold that it was “national” in character. Nothing can be

further from the truth. Over the last three decades, sharp debates had taken place among academicians as also among political activists over this question. The fact is that the Indian big bourgeoisie had piled up huge fortunes by exporting opium and raw cotton to China as intermediaries of the British. The Currimbhoyes, Petits, Wadias, Tatas, Readymoneys, Birlas and many others were intimately tied to British interests.

It was the profits earned from opium and raw cotton and from contracts with the commissariat of the British army when it attacked Iran in 1857 and Ethiopia in 1868 that gave Tata the much-needed capital. During the First World War, TISCO supplied steel rails and grenade shells to British troops so that they could win the war.

In 1943, the first automobile plant was set up in India by the Nuffields of the UK for Hindustan Motors—a Birla company. Over the years, the Birlas have entered into numerous collaboration agreements with different transnationals for manufacturing cars, light commercial vehicles etc. Even today after more than half a century, for re-designing old models of cars or fitting new engines to them or for introducing new models, HM abjectly depends on various transnationals. The Birlas, Tatas, Hirachands(PAL), Mahindras, Shri Rams as well as India’s public sector have tied up with the different automobile giants of the world—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler of the USA, Daimler Benz of Germany, Fiat of Italy, Suzuki of Japan, Daewoo of S.Korea, Peugeot of France and so on. DCM-Daewoo had been permitted by the Government of India to import 20,000 cars in CKD condition for assembling them in India, worth Rs.350 crore.(Business Standard, 15 JULY 1995).

Even after the Indian big capitalists turned to the domestic market in a major way after 1914, they did not sever their ties with foreign capital. In fact, they depended on imperialism—both British and US—for capital equipment, technology, spare parts, market, expertise, selection of sites for factories and building plans and finance. The political goal of G.D.Birla was, as he wrote to J.M.Keynes, the British economist on 28 May, 1932, was to get “*a decent place*

in the household of King George the Fifth”— in other words, self-government within the British empire. When in the early 1930s the relationship between Gandhi and the British raj became strained, Birla acted as mediator between the two parties and told Samuel Hoare, the secretary of state, that “*Gandhi and men of his type are not only friends of India but also friends of Great Britain, and that Gandhiji is the greatest force on the side of peace and order. He alone is responsible for keeping the left-wing in India under check. To strengthen his hand is...to strengthen the bond of friendship between the two countries*”. Birla was quite categorical when he said that an understanding between the raj and Gandhi and other Congress leaders was necessary so that the latter could teach the people that “*the government is their own institution, which should be mended and not ended*”. Such an understanding would also create the proper atmosphere in which the Constitution could be worked. Birla then warned that in the absence of such an understanding a violent revolution might spell “*the funeral*” of both Britain and India. In fact, however surprising it may sound, Birla was the chief architect of Congress policies and was instrumental in leading Gandhi from the path of struggle even of the satyagraha type to the purely constitutional path after 1935. Such compradorial ties continued throughout the colonial period and after not only between the Birlas and imperialist capital, but also after India became formally independent. CPM leaders like Yechuri either do not know the past history, or if they do, they try to suppress it in order to hide the ugly role they have been playing.

Thirdly, Yechuri laments that the main targets of the Naxalites during the 1970s were the CPM members and in the last few years they are being killed as “*informers*”. This also is a distortion of history. It is quite well-known that in the late-1960s and early-1970s, the revisionist (CPI) and neo-revisionist parties (CPM) joined hands with the Indian ruling classes to unleash the most barbarous repression on the revolutionary masses. When in the 1970s, the country was aflame with revolutionary outbursts, they joined hands with Siddhartha Ray-led Congress regime to identify revolutionaries in different localities, hand them over to the police if

possible, or simply kill them. In the Cossipur-Baranagar area of north Kolkata, in August 1971, they, along with policemen and Congress hoodlums, perpetrated massacres on the people, killing nearly 200 in one single day. Their leader, Promod Dasgupta, at a public meeting, charged the police with being lenient in their dealings with the Naxalites. “*Are contraceptives mixed with police bullets; why are the Naxalites not dying?*”, he thundered. This he declared at a time when revolutionaries were being butchered in cold blood on the streets of Kolkata, in the jails and other areas everyday. Who had butchered whom, Mr. Yechuri? Whether you know it or not, many of your party members acted and act as police informers both in the past as also at present at least in West Bengal. In the last two or three years, 8 or 9 of your party members were wiped out by the guerrillas, not because they were CPM activists, but because they were police informers, as the police officials themselves admit.

Fourthly, Yechuri alleged that in the name of making revolution, many ordinary people were killed by the Maoists. It is important to make it clear that some people, who were ‘ordinary’ by their class position, might have been killed. But here their role in the class struggle rather than their class position should be taken into account. There are cases where common villagers were bribed to act as informers or former squad members were intimidated to act as state agents. In such cases, their class position might have remained unchanged, but their role had changed. Of course, there are cases when the guerrillas unknowingly blew off busloads of passengers taking them to be paramilitary forces in plainclothes. Whenever such incidents took place, and these took place only on rare occasions, the party openly tendered an apology to the members of the bereaved families.

Yechuri’s fifth charge against the Maoists is that “*they seek to replicate the pre-revolutionary Chinese experience in modern India*”, that they seek to “*universalize the Chinese experience and impose it under modern conditions. He is also very critical of the Maoists’ describing ‘Mao Tse-tung Thought’ as ‘Maoism’— a term the Chinese Communist Party itself never used.*” Let us discuss all these charges as a whole, as these are interrelated.

Mao Tse-tung made revolution in his own country by creating new Marxist theories and creatively applying those theories to the concrete condition of China. After the New Democratic Revolution, he initiated the Cultural Revolution which essentially was a revolution in the realm of the superstructure and without which socialism cannot be consolidated. By so doing he had made new contributions to Marxism-Leninism and helped in the process of the development of human civilization. Lenin before him also made a revolution in his own country and replenished the Marxist theoretical basis. If Lenin’s teachings could be universalized, as is amply clear from Yechuri himself quoting extensively from Lenin to justify their party’s stand, why should the Indian Maoists be blamed for universalizing the Chinese experience and justify their revolutionary programme? If the communist revolutionaries could describe Lenin’s teachings as “*Leninism*” after his death, why should the Maoists be at fault for describing “*Mao Tse-tung Thought*” as “*Maoism*”? We will see later that Lenin’s stand justifies not the revisionist policy of the CPM, but the revolutionary line of the CPI(Maoist). In course of the Chinese revolution, Mao stood against the Soviet model of revolution based on the most industrially developed urban areas, the working class and the insurrection in the cities and developed the Chinese model of revolution based in the backward countryside and relying primarily upon the peasantry. Many years ago, when the heroic peasants of Telangana or later Charu Mazumdar raised the slogan “*China’s path is our path*”, they highlighted the necessity of agrarian struggle in India on the basis of the study of the concrete conditions of India. No doubt, they took to the Chinese path because this path had a universal application at least in such agrarian, primarily semi-feudal countries like India. But that does not mean that it would be a mechanical application of that path. What the Indian Maoists seek to do is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, in course of making the revolution, they are learning from their own experience, rectifying their mistakes and making Marxist theories bear fruits in the Indian condition.

Yechuri seems unprepared to accept the

term 'Maoism'. If, according to Yechuri, Maoism is not acceptable for its being specific to the Chinese situation, why should 'Leninism' be acceptable as it was specific to the Russian situation alone? In reality, the revolutionaries all over the world have much to learn from both Mao and Lenin. The problem of Yechuri, Anil Biswas and others is that they have learnt from none of them. They take the name of Lenin, but have cleverly rejected his revolutionary teachings. They quote at length from Lenin's writings to drive home the fact that the parliamentary path, rather than the path of armed struggle is the road to salvation. Let us now turn to what Marx, Engels and Lenin had to say on this.

The founders of Marxism declared: "*Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aim could be attained only by the forcible overthrow of the existing social order*". Lenin had time and again emphasized the inevitability of the application of revolutionary force. In *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, he wrote: "*In the last analysis, political independence and the major problems of class struggle could*

*be resolved only through the application of force and our task is to get prepared for this application of force, to organize it and actively put it into practice, not only for the purpose of self-defence but also for the purpose of attack*". In the *State and Revolution*, Lenin stated that without armed revolution, the proletarian state cannot overthrow the bourgeois state. Mao stated in the *Hunan Report* that "*revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence with which one class overthrows another*".

Revisionists like the CPM whom Sitaram Yechuri represents, participate in Parliament not to make revolutionary propaganda among the people, not to prepare them for armed struggle, but to form ministries as trusted lieutenants of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters. Apparently, they seek to bring about what Yechuri describes as the "*socialist transformation through peaceful means*". As we have pointed out earlier, neither Marx, nor Lenin nor Mao spoke of peaceful transition to socialism. All of them emphasized that there was no substitute for the forcible overthrow of the existing capitalist order. It is a Khrushchevite distortion of revolutionary Marxism.

Sitaram Yechuri, like his revisionist fathers tries to deceive the people. In his opinion, the Maoists represent the "wrong side of red". There is no "wrong side of red" here Mr. Yechuri. There is only Red and Black. While your party, like the Congress or the BJP, represents the Black, the Maoists actually represent the Red, however unacceptable it may appear to you. How long will the Sitaram Yechuris and Anil Biswas try to deceive the people by sticking to their role as vote-beggars for joining Parliament which Lenin himself described as a 'pigsty'? One day, which is not far-off, will they find themselves kicked down from the ivory tower and sent into the dustbin of history?

<sup>1</sup>. These letters, written by S.A. Dange in 1924 after his conviction in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case and found in the National Archives, New Delhi in 1964, when Dange was chairman of the CPI, included two addressed to the Governor-General-in-Council. While praying for his release, he expressed in these letters his willingness to serve as a police-agent.



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# Horrendous situation of Civil and Human Rights in Andhra Pradesh

## Rule of the Law is evaporated in the State

Report from AP

After a one year gap, the nine year period of Chandrababu's repression regime, came again, of course with more severity under the present CM Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy. Failures on all the fronts and unable to keep the election promises and the pressures from the World Bank; the state was left with no other resort other than repression. The black days of emergency during Indira Gandhi period have once again become the order of the day in AP.

The Congress Government came to the power promising free power to farmers, holding talks with the Naxalites, and separate statehood for Telangana. None of the promises have come true. The Chief Minister himself tried his best to disrupt the talks with the Naxalites by giving provocative, counter productive and out of context statements. He is doing the same till today on the naxal issue and Telangana. The CM encouraged the top brass of the police to be aggressive and adopted a carrot and stick policy. The police have continued the fake encounter killings. Including Riaz (CPI-ML, Janashakthi), one of the members of the delegation of Naxals in the talks, the state has killed a large number of Maoists, JS and other parties cadre in cold blood. The situation in the state has become very tense. TRS has pulled out of the Government. With this the dawn of peace has slowly melted and the state turned into a battle field.

When Maoists attacked Chilakaluripet police station in Guntur district and Superintendent of Police in Prakasam district, heavy repression was unleashed on the activists of all mass organisations including Dalit organisations. Police have taken many activists and leaders of various mass organisations into custody illegally. Some of them were beaten badly, some of them were forced to resign from the organisation and some of them were foisted with fake cases. Some of them were threatened to be killed in an encounter. Guntur, Prakasham and Mahaboob Nagar districts were under the shadow of greyhounds and all the activities of common people went into the control of the police.

Ruthlessness repression was started by the State through private gangs after the killing of Congress MLA, Mr.Narsi Reddy of Makthal, Mahaboobnagar district by Maoists on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2005. Now the state repression have grown to new heights, through killings, attacking, kidnapping, threatening and death warrants by phone, intimidate by announcing a list of leaders to be killed in the newspaper, using surrender Naxalites, private factionist gangsters, etc. These harassments are not only to the leaders of progressive and democratic organisations, but also to the general people, intellectuals, workers, peasants, rythu coolis and even to MLA's of the Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS). It was much discussed in the media that a network of police officers is behind the scene in these harassments.

Private gangs with full support and supply from the police and the state in the name of "*Narsa Cobra's*" (floated after the killing of MLA Narsi Reddy) announced a list of names of leaders of mass organizations in the media on 17<sup>th</sup> of August 2005 threatening to kill them. Till today 70 more names of persons belonging to various organisations were announced by various *Cobras*. Just in the span of less than a month the as bit three leaders to death.

Mr.Kanaka Chary's name also figured in the list announced by the Narasa Cobras on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2005. Within a week, on 24<sup>th</sup> August 2005 the *Narsa Kobras* killed Mr. Kanaka Chary (55), a teacher working in a Government school near Makthal of Mahaboobnagar district. Com.Kanaka Chary was one of the founder members of the Andhra Pradesh Teacher's Forum (APTF) in the district. Afterwards he joined the Telangana Jana Sabha (TJS) and worked day and night for the cause of separate statehood for Telangana. Not only in his district Mahaboobnagar, he was well known throughout the Telangana region. He was closely associated with various agitations like the anti-drought campaign and in a team to study the suicides of ST farmers in the district. At the time of his assassination he was a state executive member of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement (PDM).

On 24<sup>th</sup> August morning Mr. Kanaka Chary as usual started going to the School on his two wheeler. In the evening at 7:30 PM news appeared in the electronic media that he was killed by some persons called Narsa Cobras. The Cobras thrown the dead body of Kanaka Chary into the bushes near Uthnoor of Mahaboobnagar district. It was known later that some unidentified members followed him in a Maruthi van and took him into their custody, while he was going to school. In a press statement the Narasa Cobras proclaimed that they were responsible for the murder and threatened many others to face the same kind of treatment if they continue to work in the mass organisations. The Cobras terrorized the members of the mass organisations to face dire consequences if they participate in the funeral procession and in any memorial meetings. After the funeral of Mr. Kakana Chary, the Narsa Cobras announced one more list of names with those who participated in the funeral ceremony of Mr. Kanaka Chary.

At the same time one more list was announced from Markapuram Village of Prakasham District in the name of *Nallamalla Nallathrachulu*. After few days another list appeared in the media from Warangal district in the name of *Kakatiya Cobras*. There is no response either from the state Government or from the Police on the brutal killings by the Cobras.

On 10<sup>th</sup> September, Nallamalla Nallathrachulu killed Mr. Mannem Devi Prasadbabu, District committee President of Kula Nirmulana Porata Samithi (KNPS — anti-caste organisation) at his work place. Com. Prasad was working as the paid secretary in the agricultural cooperative bank at Singarayakonda village. On 10<sup>th</sup> September morning 10:30 P.M some unidentified persons came to the bank and asked the peon about Mr.Prasad. As Prasad was not present at that time these people spent some time and came back in the afternoon. During the Lunch break they once again asked for Prasad and manhandled the attender in order to rush inside the bank. As the manger was inside and the chest was open they were stopped from entering the bank. Prasad was informed that some visitors are waiting for him



outside. When he came out, three people attacked Prasad with sickles and axes and he was dead on the spot.

On 14<sup>th</sup> September 2005, along similar lines, Mr. Kilinga Rao, sympathiser of the mass organisations was killed by some unidentified persons in the name of Victims of Naxalites in Karimnagar town. There are apprehensions that no other than the police did this brutal act of killing an innocent person. Every day threatening press notes, phone calls and letters are coming to members of various mass organisations.

On 19<sup>th</sup> September 2005 evening Nallamalla Nallathrachulu telephoned Cheemakurthi, village surpunch, and to the media and informed that they have killed Malldi Ravindra of the APPKM. They informed that the body was thrown out on the outskirts of the village. Relatives searched for the dead body but were not able to get it. According to eye witness and the kin and kith of Ravindra, on that particular day he went to the RTA office to settle the issue of his tractor. From the RTA office some persons introducing themselves as the police and had taken him away on a vehicle. Next day evening Ravindra appeared in a police station and announced that he is alright and nothing has happened to him. But the fact is that he was beaten badly and threatened to be killed. It was an obvious fact that the police took a promise from Ravindra not to disclose anything that happened during his 'missing'.

The Cobras have been created and nurtured by top police officials along with the Chief Minister of the state. The Cobras in their every statement are saying that all mass organisations are the frontal organisations of the Maoist Party and the members will be killed if they continue to work in these organisations. The factionist nature of killings can be observed in the present assassinations of mass organisation leaders. Their throat was slit by knives; their necks were cut with axes and sickles. All the three murders by the Cobras were in broad day light.

Now the cobras are sending death warnings by phones and letters. They made calls to Mr. N. Venugopal, senior journalist

and a member of Revolutionary Writers Association (VIRASAM). Nallamalla Nallathrachulu made calls to Ms. Sujatha, General Secretary of the women's organisation the Andhra Pradesh Chaitanya Mahila Samakhya (APCMS) and abused her in rude and filthy language. They threatened her with rape. The threatening calls are from Cheemakurthi, Srisailam, Ongole, Vinukonda and Santhanuthalapadu villages.

Death warrants are being issued to the leaders of democratic organisations. Mr. L. Veeranna, an engineer working in Warangal was threatened by an unidentified person that he should resign from APCLC otherwise his dead body will be dispatched to his home. Mr. Jayabalanna, joint secretary of APCLC committee of Mahaboob Nagar district is being terrorised by the Narsa Cobras. As a result he fled away from his native place and became silent.

In response to the brutal killings, threatenings, kidnaps, attacks, the Director General of Police (DGP) is giving ironic statements such as "these killings are in response to Maoist's actions" and "Police are not snake catchers to catch the Cobras". One can easily understand the state of civil, human and democratic rights situation from such statements of a civil servant who is in the highest post. The DGP himself is involved in child trafficking. His wife, Anita Sen was arrested on grounds of child trafficking in the name of adoption and violated CARA and later on released when he was working as an IG. He tried by all means to set his wife free from all the cases. He went to the extent of arresting the investigation officer Mrs. Shalini Misra, of his wife's case. He became DGP with the blessings of Robert Vadhera, son in law of UPA chairperson, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi. With those blessings he became a supercap and is acting above the Home Minister and Chief Minister. Many mass organisations organised a dharna in front of the DGP office in Hyderabad on the moves of the DGP. This irked him a lot. This may be one of the reasons for encouraging the private gangs against the mass organisations.

The State wants to crush the democratic

voice of the people who are exposing its failures and anti-people policies. The anguish of the people over the present Congress Government is increasing day by day due to its failures in many issues. Large scale corruption at every stage in the administration made the lives of the people miserable. Huge kick backs and high level corruption involved in the irrigation projects and other anti-people policies made the prospects of the Congress party in the ensuing Municipal elections very poor. It is do or die for the CM to win the Municipal polls to retain his seat. It is also necessary for the state and central Government to smoothly carry out the World Bank and other imperialist agencies policies in this country. Hence protests of any kind should not be allowed. The main opposition will be from the mass organisations which are not aspirants of any power and people will have faith on them. It is a known fact that these organisations are neither anti-social elements nor against the framework of the constitution. These organisations function in a legal way. All members of these organisations are working in various Government and private organisations and none of them are under ground as alleged by the police. Just for its survival and to continue the imperialist policies the State Government banned the Revolutionary Writer Association (RWA) and put two of its members and well known poets Dr. Varavara Rao and Mr. Kalyana Rao behind the bars. The State had lost its face with this foolish act and have withdrawn the ban but have foisted a whole lot of false cases on the two artists.

To minimize the voice of truth it was planned by the state and the police to eliminate some of the activists of mass organisation by anti-social gangs. It was the Green Tigers, Singamalai and Thirumala Tigers created by Chandra Bubu Naidu Government that killed Com. Puroshottam (APCLC), Aazam Ali (APCLC) and kidnapped Dr. Laxman (APCLC). Now it is the turn of the Cobras in the Y.S. Rajashekar Reddy regime. Governments have changed but polices remain the same.



## **Demand Immediate and Unconditional Release Of Writers and Artists**

It is now months since the famous revolutionary writers VaraVara Rao and Kalyan Rao are being incarcerated in Andhra Pradesh Prisons. First, they were arrested when a ban was put on the Revolutionary Writers Association (the first time ever). Since then they have been implicated in a host of false cases all over the state on all sorts of serious charges. After that, in a hypocritical move the YSR government lifted the ban. VV, as he is fondly known, is a renowned revolutionary poet whose poems have been translated into not only many Indian languages but also foreign. Kalyan Rao, just a few years back has released a path-breaking novel which has become a landmark in Telugu literature. This novel is based on the dalit question seen from a revolutionary angle. This too has already been translated into some Indian languages.

Then in Jharkhand a number of revolutionary artists were picked up in Dhanbad from the office of a registered union. They were members of the Krantikari Sahitya Sangh. Amongst the many arrested was Jetan Marandi, a young artist who has written numerous songs and given numerous popular performances, not only in Jharkhand, but throughout the country. With him was Rakshit a retired railway employee and a popular leader. Along with the others arrested was also the young 13-year old Tara who is part of the cultural troupe. Even she has not been released. They have been charged for being 'traitors'.

In Maharashtra another young cultural

activist, Shantanu Kamble, has been arrested from Nagpur also on fake charges. Shantanu is a member of the Editorial Board of the popular Marathi literary magazine 'Vidrohi'. A booklet of revolutionary songs written by him in Marathi has also been published. Some of the songs are brilliant expressions of the dalits in the existing horrific caste system.

India is being systematically turned into a prison-house for even the right to free expression. The so-called freedom, much trumpeted by the media and rulers, makes sure that your dissent does not go beyond NGO-style resentment with the ills of this system. But anything beyond is looked on as treason and you are treated as any ordinary criminal. One can talk as much as one wants about film stars, cricket stars or even depict poverty and that is the limit beyond which you cannot go. This is the nature of this so-called democracy where mafia rules the country. Mainline media will consciously carry hardly one word on these arrests but will go on and on covering the arrest of mafia dons like Abu Salem and Monica Bedi. But there is total silence on the arrest and incarceration of top artists as VV, Kalyan Rao and others like Marandi, Kamble etc. What is commendable though is that top artists and writers in the country like Mahshweta Devi, Rajendra Yadev and numerous others have strongly condemned these arrests.

Revolutionary artists are a great threat to the establishment as they, by their pen, can emotionally move lakhs against the

existing unjust system. The governments at both the State and Central level spend crores of rupees to co-opt these artists. Each State has their Sahitya Academies which give largesse to writers who stay within their framework. They become yearly affairs patronized by none less than Chief Ministers. In addition the imperialists play a big role in seeking their co-option — well known artists are picked up by the Ford Foundation for lavish grants and the smaller ones by imperialist-funded NGOs. Most of the grants and awards go to dissident artists, many of whom are from dalit, women or tribal background. It is only those who escape this wide cobweb spread by the establishment that are then hounded and incarcerated in jails and prisons.

Today the attacks on the people, including artists, have become more and more fierce with each day due to the horrifying effects of the policies of LPG (Liberalisation, privatization, globalization). The more the masses are impoverished and humiliated the more the voice of the people is rising in revolt. For this the rulers have only one answer — crush it by brute force. Yet many an artist flourishes in the growing underground in the country where the oppressed voice their agony through poems, songs, short stories and even in painting and sculpture. The iron fist of the State cannot suppress their voice even in jail as there too the four walls will echo the revolutionary songs, dance and poems inspiring hundreds of prisoners to a revolutionary life. ■ ■

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### **Continued from page 21**

or in fear of so-called terrorist attack or people's unrest. But OVL, a public sector undertaking of India, may be dictated by the Imperialists and their comprador cronies to invest in those countries where UK & US TNC's investment will be illegal in their own country or where the situation is hostile, while they (the TNCs) can loot in the happy safe hunting ground called India. The production from those countries made by OVL is always secure to the TNCs as buying from OVL at a cheaper price involves no legal or physical risk.

### **Conclusion**

The war in Iraq and Afghanistan has been fought for the control of oil and gas.

All global oil majors supported by different imperialist interests are preying upon India.

There is no need for war as our servile rulers have from the very start of globalization been surreptitiously opening out parts of this sector and sabotaging local production so that the big guns can increase their exports to India. In other words India is to become more and more dependent on foreign produced oil and gas, whose price will be doubled or even tripled that produced in the country and in the name of energy security our economy will be more and more dependent on imported crude and gas. International price increases will continue to rob the masses, and the

resources of the country will be siphoned away. TNC's grip on the Indian economy will become tighter and imperialist aggression will increase at an ever faster pace if the people of our land are not able to get rid of this system of under-development.

For that we have to build our economy on our own, have to develop our own energy efficient environment friendly technology. We have to create a huge lively internal market by complete land redistribution. We have to resist each and every sell out of our resources by the state; we have to build a new democratic India where these compradors will be history. ■ ■

# THE HOAX OF ENERGY SECURITY

— Ranjan

Not only petro product prices, natural gas (NG) prices have also been increased. The NG has increased from Rs 2850/1000 scm (standard cubic meter) to Rs 3200/1000 scm i.e Rs 350/1000 scm or a 12.28% increase. The after effects of these will be felt in the increase of auto fuel (in selected cities) LPG, power, fertilizer and petrochem prices.

Yet again the constitutional lefts have compromised with the ruling classes and robbed crores from the common people. The target of this loot is not only the poor but also the middle classes. The poor of India have reached an extreme limit of exploitation. The Congress led and left supported UPA government is continuing with more zeal and aggressiveness the liberal reforms of the BJP led NDA govt. The left are giving a sweet edge to this reform-dagger only to erect a humane face of this reform process while the country is on sale, the lives of poor common downtrodden people are at the mercy of international market controlled by imperialist capital. In a underdeveloped semi colony like India, like all other sectors, in the petroleum sector also the loot and exploitation of the common masses and the resources of the country have crossed beyond all limits. In the pro big business pro imperialist budget the govt is giving a tax sop to the industries by cutting down tax rate from 35% to 30% creating a massive loss to the national exchequer while they are ready to decrease the subsidy on Oil, power, fertilizer, seed, irrigation ...every sphere that touches the common peoples' life. The other day this Dr Singh while inaugurating the Nathpa-Jahkri hydroelectric project declared that free power cannot be given to farmers. In this way they are trying to squeeze out even the last drop of subsidies. Let us analyze

how the Indian petroleum sector is getting controlled more and more by imperialists and their cronies and how our own resources are on sale for throwaway prices, for a fraction royalty and how in the name of energy security the Indian ruling classes are making the country more dependent on imported crude and gas.

## Deregulation of petro price

*"Since 1991, through the 'reforms' period, the Government has taken several measures in the name of 'Petroleum Policy' hiking oil prices, squeezing subsidies on petroleum products (particularly kerosene and diesel), more dependence on the import of crude petroleum than indigenous production, privatization of public sector oil companies. In 1996, the UF government (of which the CPI/CPM was a major part) took a major policy decision that "comprehensively laid down the timetable for dismantling the administered price mechanism in a phased manner". With that the shift to market-determined prices began in a few petroleum products, while the public sector oil companies were restructured to pave the way for their sell-out. Subsidies too were slowly eased out, raising the price of the poor-man's fuel, kerosene, 3 to 5-fold. By April '98 prices of only petrol, diesel, kerosene and domestic LPG were controlled; prices of all other products were decontrolled. In that year the BJP government decided to totally dismantle the APM (Administered Prices Mechanism) in phases over the next four years. This it has now been done by virtually removing the entire subsidy on kerosene, diesel and LPG. (GLOBALISATION An Attack on India's Sovereignty VII Disinvestments or Sale of India's Assets)*

After dismantling the APM (administered price mechanism) the ruling classes are trying to link the price of refined petro products at par with international market

prices which is highly volatile and speculative, in the firm control of omnipotent international imperialist capital. The Indian ruling classes are trying to dismantle the APM completely so that competitive pricing in petro products bring choices to the consumers but actually the motto behind this is to siphon the subsidy in petro products to their booty. International oil prices are so volatile that even a news of King Fahd's hospitalization increases crude prices by \$2 a barrel. On other occasions international capital plays with the oil price to amass wealth by speculation. The Indian cronies of imperialist capital are trying to implement this volatile irrational speculative price mechanism to the internal market to rob the masses to the maximum extent.

## Increased Oil & Gas Demand and Import

In the past 15 years of reform the skewed increase in petro product consumption in the country has almost gone 2-fold; with respect to 80-81 it is more than 3 fold. India's oil consumption, now about 2.25 million bbl/day, is estimated to rise, at present rates of expansion, to a huge 5 million bbl in five to seven years. This increase is correlated with deformed growth induced by the neo liberal policy which induced a crippled growth or rather growth for a small section of Indian society while exploiting the rest. The Indian big bourgeoisie and ruling classes, instead of developing the economy on a self reliant path by creating a secured & developed local market for itself by land redistribution and developing its own technology, chose the path of underdevelopment, chose to be the local partner of imperialism to exploit the masses of the country. Whenever the world imperialism faces a crisis they tried to escape that by carrying ruthless exploitation to the underdeveloped countries of the world. Economic reforms suggested by the World Bank and IMF are just another ploy of imperialism to further impoverish the underdeveloped colonies/semi-colonies. In India also the new economy induced growth for only 2-3% of the upper strata of the population, made a section of the middle classes into upwardly mobile middle classes who can buy high end consumer durables, cars, consumer non durables. All these products are either

Table: Automobile production in numbers :Economic Survey 03-04 (GOI)

Category	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02	02-03	03-04
Passenger cars	390709	577243	513415	564052	608851	842437
Multi utility vehicles	113328	124307	127519	105667	114479	146103
Commercial vehicles	135891	173521	156706	162508	203697	275224
Two wheelers	3374508	3778011	3758518	4271327	5076221	5624950
Three wheelers	209033	205543	203234	212748	276719	340729
Total	4223469	4858625	4759392	5316302	6279967	7229443

Source: ministry of heavy industry and public enterprises

construct another at Kochi (Kerala) for 2.5 MMPTA capacity. Further, PLL is considering expansion of the capacity of Dahej Terminal to 10 MMPTA and that of the Kochi Terminal to 5 MMPTA, to cater to the future demand of re-gasified LNG (RLNG). PLL has contracted RasGas of Qatar for a period of 20 years for LNG supply. In addition, Shell India Private Limited is setting up a 2.5 MMPTA LNG terminal at Hazira in Gujarat. Again negligence in exploration and concentration on import of costlier products is the feature of Natural Gas as well.

**Stagnant Exploration and New Exploration and Licensing Policy (NELP): INDIA ON SALE**

The national production of indigenous crude has almost stagnated at a level of 31 to 33 mt/yr over the last 15 years (from 90-91). What has happened to our PSUs like ONGC and OIL which performed quite well in the early years ?

*“Both Oil and Natural gas Corporation(ONGC) and Oil India Limited(OIL) have been handicapped by a paucity of resources and exploration and exploitation activities have to be funded with internally generated and extra budgetary resources .No budgetary support has been available for these two PSEs and it has been legitimately complained that the allocation of resources for Plan Schemes has been woefully inadequate and the two public sector enterprises could not execute expeditiously even on-going schemes.”- New Initiatives Imperative by P.A.S( survey of Indian industries (1997).The Hindu)*

**So it may be assumed that by direct and indirect policies and measures the Indian ruling classes intentionally neglected indigenous crude production by PSUs so that this same stagnation in crude production may be used as a cause for opening up exploration sector to TNCs and selling off exploration blocks to TNCs and other private players at a throwaway price.** The collaborator compradors of imperialism had done this in the form of a New Exploration and Licensing Policy (NELP).

From the above comparison table it is clear that cess has been abolished ,royalty has been lowered to 5% to 12.5% ,a liberal tax holiday of 7 years from commercial

imported or made in the underdeveloped country with imported imperialist technology and machinery.

The increase in the passenger car and two wheeler segment has out grown commercial vehicle production .(see: *Table: Automobile production in numbers :economic survey03-04*) This increase in passenger car and two wheeler(specially motor bikes) segment indicates a growth in the neo rich and “upwardly mobile” middle class and this growth in the passenger car segment also increased motor spirit & hsd consumption in the country creating an almost unsustainable demand for crude import .

While our indigenous crude oil production by ONGC and OIL and JV(joint venture) fields has remained almost static at 31 to 33 mt(million tones) over the last 15 years while simultaneously imports has increased from 20.7 mt(90-91) to 90.4 mt (03-04).In dollar terms petroleum ,oil and lubricant import has increased from USD 6028 million(1990-91) to USD 17640 million (2002-03).

**Natural Gas Production**

2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04
29.48	29.71	31.40	31.96

(Billion Cubic Meter)

Source: MOP&NG

In the natural gas sector the picture is not so different though in the Krishna Godavari basin Reliance has struck gas to the order of 7 trillion cubic feet (198 BCM) it will come into commercial production after 2006-07. Natural gas consumption is increasing rapidly, to cope with the demand massive deals with foreign Oil & Gas majors are in progress to import NG either through pipelines from Iran, or Central Asia through Afghanistan or by sea-carrier in the form of LNG(liquefied natural gas). The increasing demand in natural gas is to be fulfilled by the import of costly LNG. Petronet LNG Limited (PLL), a joint venture of Indian oil & gas PSUs, was formed for the import of LNG to meet the growing demand of natural gas. PLL has constructed an LNG terminal at Dahej in Gujarat for 5 MMPTA capacity and has planned to

Terms of earlier policy	New exploration policy
ONGC/OIL had mandatory 10-40% stake	No state participation through ONGC/OIL. Companies can bid directly
ONGC/OIL enjoyed special status & could get block on nomination basis for their stand alone block offers.	ONGC/OIL will compete with other parties for license.
ONGC/OIL were getting only administered prices while International prices were being paid .	crude while under joint venture contract International oil prices to be paid to ONGC/OIL along with other parties.
Companies could bid only during bidding rounds and only for the blocks on offer .	Entire area to be demarketed on a grid and made available on a continuous basis. Companies free to choose the areas of block & timing of the offer .
Royalty & cess at specific rates on behalf of the contractor by ONGC/OIL	Cess abolished & Royalty made 12.5% for onland ,10% for offshore and 5% for more than 400 meters deep blocks for 7 years
The government had the first right to crude produced under the contract.	Contractors will have the freedom to market in the domestic market .

productions have been granted .That's not all; international crude prices to be paid to the contractor and the policy ensures full repatriations of profits abroad and no import duties to be paid for the capital goods (machinery) imports .And this new exploration policy is supposed to provide India energy security and act as a safe guard from fluctuations in international crude oil prices!! Our government has already compromised on crude prices and royalty and taxes and thus it has created a happy hunting ground for international oil & gas TNCs. That is reflected in the earlier NELP rounds and in the latest one NELP-V (bidding completed in may05) where most of the big TNCs like Total (France), Petronas (Malaysia), Statoil (Norway), ENI (Italy), Talisman (Canada) and British Petroleum have flocked to grab this booty. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India(CAG) in its report found serious flaws in block allocation in previous rounds of the NELP. In its previous reports the CAG has commented harshly upon what is mentioned as shabby treatment given to national oil companies, ONGC and OIL and the loss caused to the exchequer by the offering of the Panna ,Mukta and Ravva fields to foreign parties. The CAG has charged the MOP&NG with having discriminated against the National oil companies and drawn attention to the infirmities in the bidding and evaluation procedure. The ministry has been charged

with having sold the fields cheap to the private parties. The award of the Panna ,Mukta and North Tapti fields to the ENRON-RELIANCE consortium has come for biting criticism from CAG. The CAG report has charged the ministry for not having reimbursed ONGC its expenditure of Rs. 676 crores on the development of the fields.

This makes one thing clear that ONGC/OIL has been used by the comprador collaborators to find the best fields for the imperialist bosses and that too free of charge. This sell out of Indian Oil & Gas blocks has created unprecedented enthusiasm among the TNCs .Under the previous four rounds of NELP, production sharing contracts (PSCs) have been signed for 90 blocks. The fifth round, which is underway, has been opened for inviting bids for 20 exploration blocks. Out of these 20 blocks, six are in offshore areas along the eastern and western coast of the country and 12 are onshore.

**Investment by PSUs in foreign Countries: energy security or energy dependency?**

In NELP, total investment up to March' 04 is \$ 667 million, expected investment in all three phases under NELP is \$ 4 billion while our ONGC Videsh Limited has committed investment of \$ 4.3 billion abroad ;surprisingly one of the main reason shown by the ruling classes for selling the oil and natural gas blocks to TNCs and their

JV companies is inadequate fund for investment in exploration. While we see ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL) a wholly owned subsidiary of ONGC Limited, has been formed to invest in foreign oil and gas fields and it has committed an investment of USD 4.3 billion of which 64% have actually been invested till 31<sup>st</sup> march 2005 while gas exploration and production has reached a stagnation at home. This is completely ridiculous as the indigenous blocks are supposedly on sale for the lack of investment .

OVL now participates in equity of 15 Assets in 12 countries: Vietnam , Russia, Sudan (3 Assets), Iran, Iraq, Libya (2 Assets), Myanmar, Syria, Ivory Coast, Australia , Qatar and Egypt. Two Assets – one each in Vietnam (Gas) and Sudan (Oil) are in production and four Assets – Russia, Myanmar, Qatar and Sudan (5A) have Oil/ Gas discoveries where appraisal and development are in progress. Exploration is in progress in nine Assets – Iran, Iraq , Sudan (5B), Syria, Libya (NC 188 & 189), Ivory Coast, Australia and Egypt.

This makes OVL the biggest Indian Corporate having investments abroad.

If we see between the lines we clearly can observe that OVL a PSU is investing in such countries like MYANMAR, SUDAN, LIBIYA, SIRIYA & IRAN where US and British TNCs will not risk their shareholder's money either for a sanction from the GOVT

**Continued on page 18**

## Iran, the new Flashpoint

Iran is important to the US. That is why it had its puppet, the Shah of Iran, placed there for decades. Not only does it have huge oil and gas deposits, one of the largest in the world, but it has enormous geopolitical significance. It has two major borders with the trouble-spots of Iraq and Afghanistan and also shares borders with Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Turkey. In addition virtually all of West Asia's oil passes through the Gulf and Iran's strategic position overlooking the Strait of Hormuz, which connects the Gulf with the Indian Ocean, gives it the capacity to choke off tanker traffic for the whole region if it is attacked.

According to the Oil and Gas Journal Iran has the second largest oil deposits at 126 billion barrels (after Saudi Arabia) and also huge gas deposits. According to the same journal it has 940 trillion cubic feet of gas, (surpassed in the entire world only by Russia's 1,680 cubic feet) so that the combined energy resources of Iran are roughly equal to that of Saudi Arabia. In addition, together with Russia, it has joint rights of the large deposits in the Caspian Sea. Also, unlike Saudi Arabia, its production is relatively low, and so its role in the world energy markets is very prominent and growing. The US corporations want desperately to get hold of this market but cannot because US law forbids them to do business with Iran. Iran has thus diversified its oil interests, particularly developing close relations with China and Russia. China has bought large oil rights in some of Iran's oil fields.

It is within this framework that the US seeks to get hold of the Iran pie but direct aggression is not that easy due to the confines of numerous geopolitical factors. But before coming to this let us trace the nuclear issue vis-avis Iran.

### Historical Overview

The Iranian nuclear programme was a gift of the US to the Shah after the coup in 1957. For over two decades the US provided Iran not only technical assistance but also its first nuclear reactor, enriched uranium and plutonium. Iran was then not asked for any guarantees. In the mid-1970s the US approved 8 nuclear reactors. Then the Islamic revolt threw out the Shah and Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in 1979.

Immediately in 1980 the US instigated Saddam to attack Iran and the war lasted for eight years costing the two countries 10 lakh lives. But the new Islamic government signed the NPT (Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty).

The NPT not only allows, in its section 4, that non-weaponising states have every right to develop all aspects of nuclear technology necessary for peaceful purposes; it goes further in section 6, to enjoin upon countries that have such technologies to actively provide such technologies to the non-weaponising states who have signed the treaty. And it is this legal right that the US (and later the EU-3) are opposing in Iran to prevent it from having its own enrichment (of uranium) facilities. In fact, at the last NPT Review Conference, the US tried its utmost to rewrite the clause to reduce the right to enrichment. But it was unsuccessful. Enriched uranium that is used to generate electricity can be used in weapons when refined to higher degrees of purity.

The uranium fuel cycle consists of mining uranium ore and processing it into uranium oxide (yellow cake). The yellow cake is converted into uranium tetrafluoride (UF<sub>4</sub>) gas and then into uranium hexafluoride (UF<sub>6</sub>), which is enriched to varying degrees of purity.

Ever since 9/11 the US has put Iran on the hit-list as one of the countries dubbed the axis-of-evil. Like with Iraq it is claiming that it has WMDs (weapons of mass destruction) and that it should stop its enrichment facilities. The standoff with the US over its nuclear programme prompted Iran to begin negotiations with Germany, France and Britain in 2004 — the so-called EU-3.

The discussions acquired urgency after it came to light that Iran had not reported the existence of a key underground facility to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The uranium enrichment at Natanz, which is a violation of the NPT by Iran, was revealed by Iranian exiles to the West. Subsequently, Iran signed the additional protocol to the NPT, under which the IAEA could make surprise checks of any of its real or suspected nuclear facilities. In Nov.2004 Iran suspended work related enrichment at all its facilities, including

Esfahan and Natanz, which were subsequently sealed by the IAEA.

Even after one year of discussions with the EU-3 there were no real steps forward to Iran's own steps for confidence building measures. Iran had hoped for mediation from the EU in the face of the US's tough stance. Iran pressed for an accord, solicited the EU's proposals, and set a deadline. Instead of the EU's proposals, it received a letter of July 29<sup>th</sup> 04 which shattered all hopes. As a consequence Iran notified the IAEA that it would resume uranium conversion activities in Isfahan but would not go for enrichment. Finally the EU3's proposals came on Aug.8<sup>th</sup>. Entitled "framework for a Long-Term Agreement", they comprised assurances on security, economic cooperation, drug-trafficking, terrorism, etc. But the core lay in Iran abandoning its "*fuel cycle activities.....*". It added "*we do not believe that Iran has any operational need to engage in fissile material activities of its own*". In fact, even over one month before the Sept vote the US under secretary of state, Nicholas Burns, revealed on Sept. 8<sup>th</sup> that India cooperated with the IAEA on August 11<sup>th</sup> when the Board adopted a resolution expressing "*serious concern*" at Iran's action and urged it to "*re-establish full suspension of all enrichment related activities*".

Because of this hostile approach of the West, the new government that was voted to power in Iran, on Aug.8th of last year, re-started work on its Esfahan facility, which essentially converts uranium into feedstock for enrichment at Natanz. By this step they have begun uranium conversion but the fact is that enrichment work can be done only at Natanz, where the status quo exists. The revival of the Esfahan facility has also been done under safeguards. Work only began after IAEA monitors had positioned cameras inside the facility. Yet the US is vehemently opposed to any nuclear programme in Iran and has kept open the military option unless it completely stops its nuclear enrichment programme.

In the Sept resolution, the 35-member IAEA Board passed a resolution calling on Iran to stop enrichment work at Esfahan. The statement said that "*outstanding issues relating to Iran's nuclear programme have yet to be resolved, and*

were on the same side as the US.

But when the US invaded Iraq this time and expected the support of the SCIRI, with whom they had been collaborating since the past decade, they failed to get it. But they did render immense service to the US by forbidding their followers from joining the insurgency that soon began and in then neutralizing Moqtada himself, the only formidable Shia leader who wanted to fight the occupiers (his father was one of the founders of SCIRI).

Once the US had captured Baghdad and the leaders of SCIRI had been brought in, Iran concentrated on getting the personnel of their outfits like the Badr Brigade, to occupy all the positions in the state machinery. So it has come about that the US and Iranian regime has been working in tandem in Iraq, notwithstanding their contradictions. US clients which were independent of Iran were forced to rely more and more on the clerics as the Sunni insurgency grew. And even Chalabi, its star client and great hope at one point, simply defected to the Iranians and re-emerged as a prominent figure in the new dispensation as well. So, in Iraq, with a rising insurgency, the US is forced to rely on the good offices of the Iranians to keep the Shia population on leash. This helps the Iran regime maintain its bargaining position with respect to the Bush administration's aggressive intentions against it.

The Iranian government has utilised this US helplessness to make deep inroads into the Iraqi economy and government. Iran has offered to refine Iraqi oil for the world market and offered finance to build more refineries. Iraq has no extensive port facilities at present; Iranian ports are being used for deliveries of goods; Iran is thus taking over the transit trade that used to go through Syria and Jordan. It is offering finance and investment in a whole range of infrastructural construction in southern Iraq, from hotels to roads to airports to electricity grids. Iran is training Iraqi personnel in various branches of government, including the police and army and judiciary, as well as technical personnel for the private sector. In short, Iran is fast occupying many of the places where the US corporations had hoped to be. The US would be most unhappy of this role of Iran in Iraq, but can do nothing about it for the time-being.

### Iran's nuclear programme

Iran asserts that it is not pursuing a nuclear weapons programme. It claims that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes and that it is not seeking to develop nuclear weapons. Iran has a long history of nuclear energy research and development. It has a large uranium reserve and has been developing its nuclear programme since the 1970s. Iran has a nuclear reactor at Bushehr and is planning to build a new one at Khuzestan. Iran has also been developing its nuclear programme in cooperation with Russia and China. Iran has a large uranium reserve and has been developing its nuclear programme since the 1970s. Iran has a nuclear reactor at Bushehr and is planning to build a new one at Khuzestan. Iran has also been developing its nuclear programme in cooperation with Russia and China.

**Iran's key nuclear sites**

Iran has announced plans to build a new nuclear reactor just north of Tehran, restarting uranium conversion - a step toward enrichment. If Tehran's enriching facility running at full capacity it could be just "miles" away from a nuclear weapon, the head of the U.N.'s nuclear watchdog says.

**1 Saghand - mining:** Uranium ore discovered 1985. Mining set to begin late 2006, with 120,000 tonnes of ore yielding some 50-60 tonnes of uranium annually

**2 Ardkan - milling:** Ore is purified to uranium ore concentrate (UOC, also known as yellowcake). Facility can produce 60-70 tonnes annually

**3 Gehine:** Iran is developing second mine and milling facility to produce 24 tonnes of yellowcake annually

**4 Isfahan - conversion:** Yellowcake is cleaned of impurities and converted chemically to uranium hexafluoride gas, cooled, and condensed to a solid known as hex

**5 Natanz - enrichment:** Gas centrifuges used to increase proportion of uranium-235 isotope in hex. Fuel for light water reactors

**6 Teheran:** Enrichment facility at Kalaye Electric Company dismantled.

**7 Bushehr:** Iran's first nuclear reactor, built in 1975. It is a light water reactor (LWR) and produces electricity. It is currently producing power.

**8 Khuzestan:** New reactor planned

**9 Arak:** Heavy water research reactor. It is used for research and development of nuclear technology.

**10 Tehran:** Enrichment facility at Kalaye Electric Company dismantled.

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In Afghanistan too Iran has a large border and has close influence on the warlords in parts of West Afghanistan. Their support too is vital for the sustenance of the puppet Karzai government in the face of the growing influence of the Taliban. Recently the Americans have established a major military base in West Afghanistan — a region where the Indian Army (Border Road Org) has been quietly building a road.

Besides this geo-political importance of Iran, the Iran regime has been using its oil and gas wealth to build deep relations with other powers, particularly China. It already provides some 14% of China's energy requirements and the huge deals it has been signing and proposing for the future would make Iran a strategic ally of China. Given China's growing clout in world affairs; this China link will act as an important counterbalance to western pressure.

Besides the Russian imperialists have always been cultivating Iran, as they did Iraq, due to their over two decade-long anti-west positions. With Russia's new found assertion in world affairs in recent years it has begun to play an important role in Iran. In Dec 05 Russia raised its stakes in Iran by agreeing to sell Tehran advanced air defence missile systems — the highly sophisticated 30 TOR-m1 missiles for \$1 billion. It is Iran's biggest defence deal in recent years. In addition talks are on with Iran to also sell it long-range Air defence systems and the T-90S tanks. Earlier Russia had build a nuclear reactor in the Iranian city of Bushehr, which is to become operational this year. All this has been taking place inspite of strong protests from the US and Israel. Of course, Russia has also sought to play a double-dealing role also demanding that Iran stop its uranium enrichment programme, offering instead to take it up for them in Russian soil. (This scheme was supported by the West).

Finally, Iran has ambitious plans to construct in Tehran an oil bourse which would use a Euro-denominated international oil-trading mechanism to begin competing with the two main bourses, the New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX) and London's International Petroleum Exchange (IPE), both dominated by the US multinationals and both involved in dollar-denominated oil trade, thus making the dollar virtually the world currency for oil trade. Since the spring of 2003 Iran has

required payments in euros for its European and Asian exports. One must not forget that one of Saddam's major 'crimes' was that he started asking for payment for Iraqi oil in euros instead of dollars.

Thus Iran has important strategic significance in the present-day world and it is not going to be that easy for the US to launch a military offensive, particularly as long as it continues to bogged down in Iraq. Ofcourse, it is seeking destabilisation methods through its infiltration of Kurds and Azeri minorities in the North. It has cultivated other groups for subversion as well, like seasoned fighters of the MeK — the Mujahideen-e-Khalq is a dissident Islamic faction of Iranians promoted by Saddam and now under protection and command of the US. On the eastern flank, a vast territory inhabited by Baluch people is divided between Iran and Pakistan. The US is said to have military bases and extensive covert military operations in this region. Besides there is a virtual US military encirclement of Iran from Saudi Arabia and other clients in the Gulf on the one hand, and on the other, the newly acquired military bases in Afghanistan, Iraq and some of the Caspian littoral states. All this is supplemented by the military power and the anti-Iran designs of Israel. Finally, the US is cultivating a large cross-section of the elite Iranians abroad particularly those from the monarchy who have extensive links with secret subversive groups in Iran. In fact the CIA had floated the Coalition for Democracy in Iran to bring together all dissidents abroad to restore the Shah's son to the throne.

So, the stakes in Iran are high. The US has to move more cautiously but its hegemonistic and imperialist ambitions often push it to rash acts.

#### **The IAEA Vote & India's Cringing Stand**

The Sept 24<sup>th</sup> resolution of the IAEA stated "*Iran's many failures and breaches of its obligations to comply with its NPT Safeguards Agreement..... constitute non-compliance in the context of Article XII C of the Agency's Statute..... and the resulting absence of confidence that Iran's programme is exclusively for peaceful purposes has given rise to questions that are within the competence of the Security Council..... for the maintenance of international peace and security*". The resolution has urged Iran to institute further

transparency measures, re-establish full and sustained suspension of all enrichment-related activity, and reconsider the construction of heavy-water-moderated reactors. Further, in full violation of the sovereignty of Iran, the EU-3 has proposed a package to create an expert body to help Iran identify and appropriate research reactor and how best to achieve it.

All the NAM (Non-aligned Movement) members on the IAEA Board abstained from voting including South Africa, Mexico, Algeria, Sri Lanka and Brazil. So also Russia and China abstained. Only Venezuela voted against the resolution. India's vote was crucial for the US as it broke the NAM consensus on the issue and helped the US/EU-3 get a slim majority. The essence of the resolution was to seek to refer Iran to the Security Council at an unspecified date on mere suspicion of trying to acquire nuclear weapons.

Iran's position until recently had the support of the entire 116-member NAM. India's volt-face on Iran totally reversed the government's earlier stand that the Iranian issue should be discussed within the framework of the IAEA. Even Pakistan, which has the special status of a "non-NATO ally" of the US, abstained in the IAEA vote — such was the level of servility of the Indian rulers to the US/EU combine. India was one of the 22 to vote in favour of referral. In doing so it joined Ecuador, Ghana, Peru and Singapore in backing the yes-vote.

No doubt India's vote came in the light of the India-US nuclear deal of July 19<sup>th</sup>. It is clear from statements made by top US officials since then that it was at the dictates of the US that the Indians voted. Frontline reported (Nov.18<sup>th</sup>) that the chief architect of US foreign policy, Lantos, had stated: "*I would not like to see a set of developments with respect to India whereby we agree to undertake a tremendous range of path-breaking measures to accommodate India while India blithely pursues what it sees should be its goal and policy vis-à-vis Iran. And if our Indian friends are interested in receiving all the benefits of US support we have every right to expect India will reciprocate ....I am particularly concerned over recent remarks by the Indian Foreign Minister that India will*

**Continued on page 26**



## More on Foreign Takeover of Indian Industry

- Arvind

In the October 05 issue of the magazine we saw the speed at which Indian industry was being taken over, directly and indirectly, by foreign capital. We add to this now the latest figures on the same topic.

According to the Business Standard (Dec.21 2005) imperialists now (on Sept 30 2005) OWN 30% of Indian companies and as much as 39% of the private sector. They own 11% of Public Sector Units (including banks). They control 32% of the Bombay Stock exchange. According to this Business Standard report as on Sept 30<sup>th</sup>, of the 2,457 companies studied, foreign holdings in 164 companies are now over 50%, 180 companies have between 25% and 50%, 334 have between 10% and 25% and 240 have between 5-10% foreign holdings. These foreign investments include FDI, FII, NRI deposits and American (and other) Depository Receipts.

Since then FII penetration has been going up even further at a very fast pace. On Sept 30<sup>th</sup> they controlled Rs.6½ lakh crores of shares on the BSE; in these past three months alone this has gone up by Rs.11,263 crores. Also FDI's have been going up fast with the current year having the largest number of mergers and acquisitions — many of which are foreign takeovers of Indian companies.

In December 2005 the US's big investment banker, Merrill Lynch, bought out their Indian partner in the Indian joint venture for a gigantic sum of \$500 million. It is the largest FDI in India's financial service sector. In 1975 Hemendra Kothari began the company DSP Financial Consultants. Later the joint venture DSP Merrill Lynch was formed with the US partner having a stake of 40%. Now Merrill Lynch has increased its stake to 90% buying out the 47% of Hemendra Kothari's share as also 3% from the public.

With this takeover, the total takeovers in the first 11 months of this year have reached a gigantic \$13 billion. The largest takeover in the year was of Ambujam Cement India Ltd by the Swiss company Holcim Ltd for \$810 million. Such takeovers have been a continuous trend in this period of globalization, but have seen a spurt in the last two years. Most of these multinationals are buying out their Indian

partners, with the further opening up of the laws of the country, raising their stake to 90% and above, and delisting from the stock exchange. During the last few years dozens of MNCs have made open offers and chose to de-list. These include Cadbury India, Phillips India, Reckitt Benckiser, Carrier Aircon, etc. And in many cases where the Indian partner was not agreeable to a sell-out they have used their influence with the government to set up wholly owned subsidiaries. An example of this was that Singer India got FIPB permission to set up a wholly-owned subsidiary allowing its collaboration with the Poddar group to languish.

Also in November last year Mahinder and Mahinder went into a 51:49 partnership with the giant US company, International Truck and Engine Corporation.

As mentioned in the October article such direct acquisitions are one method for the foreign take-over of the country's business. The other method is through the indirect path of FII investments where foreign institutional investment firms buy up the share capital of companies on the stock exchange. Over \$34 billion has entered this way and the pace of its entry is increasing by leaps and bounds. The sky rocketing of the stock exchange, primarily due to FII inflows is an indication of the extent to which the money is flowing in.

According to the Economic Times (July 25 2005) there are 13 companies in India where the FII investment is \$1 billion and above. Leading the pack is Infosys with \$5.5 billion foreign investment, followed by Reliance with \$4.9 billion. The others are ICICI Bank \$3.4 billion, HDFC \$3.3 billion, Bharati teli Ventures \$2.7 billion, Satyam \$2 billion, ITC \$1.6 billion, HDFC Bank \$1.4 billion, Bhel \$1.2 billion, Hindustan Leever \$1.1 billion and NTPC and SBI with \$1 billion each.

The largest FII is the US-based Capital Group with an investment of \$1.5 billion in the country. This is followed by HSBC Global, Morgan Stanley, Allamanda, Emerging Markets GF, Merrill Lynch, etc. As already mentioned this capital is taking over even small companies as can be seen from the purchase of a 26% stake in the Delhi-based pathological chain, Dr. Lal Path Labs by the US venture capital fund,

WestBridge.

In fact the figures of foreign penetration are even more that what was mentioned in October if we are to go by facts mentioned in an article that appeared in Business Today (Dec.5 04). The figures for one year back are as follows:

Company Name	Foreign Ownership%
Bharti Teli Ventures	47.7%
Cipla	43.4%
Dr.Reddy's Lab	45.8%
HDFC	76.5%
HDFC Bank	45.8%
ICICI Bank	69.7%
Infosys Technologies	49.2%
Satyam Computers	66%
Reliance	22.4%
BHEL	22%
State Bank of India	12%
NTPC	6%
Bajaj Auto	17.2%
TVS	12.6%

In this one years time with the heavy inflow of FII funds these figures would have gone up drastically. So, for example the Infosys percentage has gone up to 55.2% and the Indusind bank has raised the foreign investment limit to 74%. It is not surprising that the Infosys head, Narayan Murthy openly talks as an American stooge.

What is more, with the influx of foreign capital and control over the country, though politics is left to 'Indians', companies are being now more and more directly run by foreigners. More and more companies, not only MNC subsidiaries, but also ones run by compradors are bringing in foreigners to head them. The most recent such change was at the Hindustan Lever Limited which has had an Indian to head it for the last 50 years. These chiefs are paid phenomenal salaries which can be 50% more than what was paid to the 'Indian'. During the British Raj this was a method of indirectly transferring vast sums abroad. It is now being repeated today. In this year alone over one dozen foreigners have replaced Indians to head the companies. These include Coca-Cola Bottling, SpiceJet, Kngfisher, GoAir, Air Deccan, IndiGo Airlines, Goldman Sachs, Intel India and CSC India. Earlier even MNCs normally kept

Indians to head it as their front men. Now even compradors like SpiceJet and Kingfisher are keeping foreigners to run their establishments. These are being paid anything from \$1,50,000 to \$2,50,000 per month — i.e. they are being paid anything from Rs.70 lakhs to Rs.1.1 crore per month. (Economic Times, Dec.19 2005) Most of this will be in foreign exchange and does not include the perks they receive.

So, we find today that the compradors are getting more deeply entangled with the Imperialists while a large number of smaller elements are getting wiped out, in order to survive in this market which is being more and more thrown open international competition. It is becoming even more difficult to survive without the prop of some imperialist.

And the governments at both the Central and State levels are bowing lower and lower to imperialist and MNC dictates. They have on their agenda to open the huge retail sector to 49% foreign capital. Already the giants of the world retail chains like Wal Mart (US — and the biggest company in the world), Tesco (UK), Casino (French), etc are negotiating with local collaborators even before the government has passed the necessary legislation. For all the CPM's hypocritical opposition the West Bengal CM has himself been talking to heads of these retail chains about investment in Kolkota. The government is also talking about allowing foreign law firms, foreign Chartered Accountant firms, allowing 49% in ARCs (Asset reconstruction Companies), allowing Venture Capitalist funds into Real

Estate, and has even presented a road map for financial sector reforms at a meeting of the Indo-US Financial & Economic Forum at New Delhi on Dec 5<sup>th</sup> 05.

Today it is the big compradors, the powerful NRIs (like Mittal and others) and the imperialists who are tightly bound in the web of the imperialist system seeking markets not only in India but also abroad. It is this international mafia that is squeezing the last drop out of the Indian masses. While they make crores each day the masses are being pushed deeper into the abyss of poverty and disease. It is not possible to reform this monster or give it a human face; it requires a sharp surgical strike.



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*not support the US drive to refer Iran's nuclear weapons issue to the Security Council..... New Delhi must understand how important it is to the US initiatives to counter the nuclear threat from Iran. That includes supporting our efforts to refer Iran's 18-years of violation of the NPT to the UN Security Council. Anything less than full support will imperil the expansion of nuclear and security cooperation with New Delhi."*

Soon after this the Volcker report was released implicating the foreign minister. Though all politicians are neck-deep in corruption and Natwar Singh and his lumpen son is no exception, the report was used by the US lobby to get rid of him. All countries ignored that report as a US concoction, but not the servile Indian rulers. Ofcourse all the 135 companies that have been mentioned have been conveniently ignored. In fact one of the major beneficiaries was Reliance, but no action is taken on the Ambanis. Also the foreign secretary, Shyam Saran, is an outright parrot of the US and has promptly stated in New Delhi that "*India was against the proliferation of nuclear weapons; there is no ambiguity in India's stand*".

Besides the oil pipeline deal between India, Iran and Pakistan, India and Iran have

already signed a \$21 billion 25-year deal for an annual supply of 5 million tones of LNG to India from 2009 onwards. Iran reacted negatively after the India vote and threatened to cancel the deal. Though the US is strongly opposed to these deals with Iran, Russia and China are very much for pushing it through.

Besides international pressure there are strong business lobbies in India who have much to gain from the huge deals with Iran. So a concerted campaign were taken by political parties, like CPM, SP, etc, for retracting India's position at the next meeting of the IAEA scheduled for end November. Also it came to be known that the decision to vote for the US-EU3 proposal was taken by a small clique around the PMO (Prime minister's Office), with the Indian ambassador to the US, Ronen Sen, and Shyam Saran playing pivotal roles in the vote. Much of the powerful bureaucracy was not in favour of breaking the Iran deal.

Finally, in end November the US-EU did not push for any vote at the IAEA Board meeting and the EU3 have once again begun negotiations with Iran. But, till date both sides are taking a tough stand. With the victory of the radical Islamist Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the Iranian elections, Iran is in no mood to capitulate to the combined

US-EU pressure.

Iran is a new and key flashpoint in the imperialist scheme of things. As mentioned above many aspects of geo-political influence are involved together with its huge oil and gas resources. The Indian ruling classes and business lobbies are being pulled in two directions, while overall bending to the US tune a section of the compradors are in favour of continuing the oil and gas deals with Iran.

No country has the right to dictate to another, what it should produce and what it should not. Least of all the US has the right to dictate on nuclear weapons when it is armed to the teeth with them. Notwithstanding the NPT itself allows Iran to enrich uranium, even otherwise any country has the right to do so to defend themselves, particularly Iran, which is being openly threatened by the US. The Indian rulers are not only outright stooges of the US but totally hypocritical when they themselves are producing nuclear weapons and have even refused to sign the NPT. These two-timing agents need to be rebuffed by all countries as this pro-imperialist attitude towards Iran has also been reflected in other fora. The people of India must stand by the Iranian people for the full defence of the sovereign rights against the imperialist onslaught.



## **Stop State Terror Against Maoists In India Demand Immediate Release Of com. Sunil Roy, Gaurav, Kiran & Others**

We, the Maoist Parties of South Asia strongly condemn the State terror on the people of India, particularly their vanguard, the CPI(Maoist). Ever since the merger of the two parties, the MCCI and CPI(ML(PW)) {both members of the CCOMPOSA} and the formation of the united CPI(Maoist), the Central and State governments of India have been unleashing maniacal terror against it. We strongly condemn this and warn that the greater the repression the greater will be the people's wrath.

It is now many months that the Indian government has been illegally detaining senior leader and politburo member com Sunil Roy. In spite of his advanced age and poor health they are treating him like an ordinary criminal. Com. Sunil Roy (publicly known as Com. Shome) is not only a respected leader of the Indian revolutionary movement he was also known internationally, being one of the important members of the CCOMPOSA. In addition they also continue to illegally incarcerate senior leaders and politburo members of the CPN(Maoist), comrades Kiran and Gaurav and many other Nepalese Maoists.

The CCOMPOSA demands the unconditional and immediate release of these senior leaders and all other political prisoners of South Asia illegally being detained in Indian prisons.

Besides, it has recently come to our notice from the media that the Indian rulers have been unleashing a most brutal and barbaric campaign, in the name of Salwa

Judum, against the tribals of Bastar (Chhatisgarh) who are under the leadership of the Maoists. It is reported the paramilitary and lumpen forces led by an MLA have been resorting to terror of unspeakable nature killing, burning, and looting. It is reported over 100 tribals have been killed and not even women and children have been spared. Their heads are being severed and stuck on their own houses to create terror. Over 30 young women have been gang-raped and six of them killed. 40 villages have been burnt down and villagers gathered and kept in Vietnamese-style strategic hamlets. The terror is reported to be going on till today. It is reminiscent of British rule in India.

The CCOMPOSA demands the immediate end to this terror, the restoration of human rights in the region, and strict action against all those responsible.

It is known that the Indian rulers, backed by their imperialist masters, have resorted to such terror not only in India but other countries of South Asia in the past like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and also against the nationality movements of Kashmir and the North-East. The methods adopted go against all civilized norms and will breed hatred against the Indian rulers in the entire region.

CCOMPOSA demands the immediate end to the terror in Chhatisgarh and a public enquiry by an international tribunal into the so-called Salwa Judum going on since the past five months.

**Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA)**

### **Continue from back page**

very small scale), performed some glorious guerilla actions. When our revolutionary movement reached the eve of formation of mass-organization mass-movement, peoples' militia, and regular guerilla forces, exactly at that time, the new type of state repression took place under the guidance of the CIA-FBI & RAW.

In the process some organisers (from district to cell level) were martyred.

### **Among the Losses the Gains are:**

In spite of the repression the spreading

of our organizational boundary has not stopped. The Party organization has already spread to more districts. In this strategic defensive stage of the revolutionary warfare, to resist a hugely stronger enemy, firstly, we started to retreat and move around for circling the enemy camps. Then we started to take preparations to counter attack the well-equipped enemy force. In the process of retreat, most of the forces of our party (the Organizers, Political Commissars, and Guerilla Commanders etc.) have taken their places in the retreat places; from there they began to strike back. Our

- 1) PBSP (CC) [Bangladesh]
- 2) PBSP (MPK) [Bangladesh]
- 3) BSD (ML) [Bangladesh]
- 4) CPEB (ML) [Bangladesh]
- 5) CPC (Maoist) [Sri Lanka]
- 6) CPI-ML (Naxalbari) [India]
- 7) RCCI (MLM) [India]
- 8) CPN (Maoist) [Nepal]
- 9) CPI (Maoist) [India]

**December 26 2005**

### **Condolence Messages to Com. KS**

Meanwhile PM has got a number of condolence messages on the demise of comrade KS. These were from the CCOMPOSA, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the RIM. The CCOMPOSA statement said "CCOMPOSA pays its red homage to Karan Singh. He played an important role in the initiation, formation and development of CCOMPOSA, which came into existence in 2001, being a leader of RCCI (Maoist). His active participation in the effort to unite all revolutionary forces of South Asia is exceptional and unforgettable. He firmly and genuinely believed in the necessity of ideological and political unity of all revolutionary forces and the unity of all workers of the world to fight against all the reactions, feudalism and imperialism." The statement further added that "Comrade KS will continue to encourage us and inspire us in striving to achieve socialism and communism, the ideals which he stood for throughout his life. He will forever live in the hearts and minds of the oppressed that he dedicated his life."



guerilla squads firstly targeted the eyes and ears of the RAB. The Govt. sanctioned had Tk.115/- crore, as source money. By the help of this money, the RAB already established a secret organization as its source informers. Our guerilla squads began to annihilate source organizers and important sources.

<sup>1</sup> Rapid Action Battalion

<sup>2</sup> Jagrata Muslim Janata (Vigilant Muslim People), Bangladesh, In brief JMB

<sup>3</sup> Director General of Defense Forces Intelligence (DGDFI)

<sup>4</sup> Army Intelligence

October 2005

## Extracts of a report sent from Bangladesh by the CPEB (ML) Red Flag

From 1 April 2004, a new type of state repression began to take place. At first, it began as a religious fanatical militant repression, under the security coverage of the Police, RAB<sup>1</sup>, and BDR. The terror was perpetrated by the fanatical group named JMB<sup>2</sup>, which is the changed name of the previously banned organization, Jama-atul Mujahedin, Bangladesh (JMB). After the end of this (Islamic) repression, the RAB carried it on.

### What did JMB & RAB do?

They abducted people, tortured them in various medieval ways, handicapped them, and killed them. They tortured around 2,000 people, among them, more than 500 people became handicapped, and more than 50 people were killed. Among the dead, more than 25 are the cadres of the CPEB(ML) Red Flag.

After 5 to 6 months, from September 2004, the Govt. ordered the already deployed RAB to start their terror. All of the ongoing activities are taking place to eliminate the anti-imperialist, anti feudal (patriotic-democratic) revolutionary forces. The RAB is formed and especially trained by a demoralized army, the BDR, under direct supervision of the US FBI. Though they have been especially trained to grab the armed communist revolutionaries, yet in the beginning, the RAB first started to grab the most wanted criminals. The ruling class parties (AL, BNB, and JP etc) had previously backed those criminals. The RAB simply arrested them, tortured them until death, or killed them by firing bullets at them from point-blank range. In each case, they declared in the media that: During interrogation the criminals, who disclosed the source of some illegal arms were killed in the cross-fire, after they started searching for the arms. They claimed that on the way, his fellow criminals opened fire upon the RAB, and for self-defense purposes, they replied the firing in which the criminal was shot dead. Some arms and ammunition were found abandoned near by the dead body. This is the common story put out in every case of the more than 500 'cross fire' killings within less than one year. The only differences in the stories are name, place, and amount & type of abandoned

weapons 'seized', which are usually out of order. For 5 to 6 months, they killed only the criminals, all of whom were hated by the people. Due to the killings the image of the RAB increased enormously, most people were pleased with these actions, and the RAB became heroes. The FBI & RAW expected this, when they had plotted this plan.

After gaining this prestige, they started to grab most of the patriotic-democratic revolutionary political cadres of various parties. From the onset of the killing of political cadre, a few intellectuals started to express their opinion against this in the media. Seeing this some fake anti-imperialist intellectuals also started to express their opinion against this 'cross fire', but their opinions differ from that of the real anti-imperialists. They are not against the killing of revolutionaries, but they want the killing should happen after a farcical judgment.

### The Cause behind it:

Due to the rise of China in the capital market, the US Imperialists face a new threat. Because of this threat, the US Imperialists wants to place a military base in South Asia. Cent Martin Island of Bangladesh is strategically and geopolitically important for this purpose. Not to antagonise India in fulfilling this purpose, the CIA & FBI plotted a plan with RAW. They placed three points of interest: 1) Release of Cent Martin Island for a US Military Base; 2) Selling of natural gas to India; 3) Establishment of a Free Port in Bangladesh and allowing a transit route from the mainland of India to the north-east of India, through Bangladesh.

These three points of interest were previously placed in front of the Awami League Govt. However, they were dilly-dallying to pass this proposal and shifted it to the BNP Govt. The BNP Govt. also has been playing the same game.

On the other hand, the CIA-FBI-RAW pact became death defying; they had carried out the 21 August Grenade Attack, with the help of the DGFI<sup>3</sup> & AI<sup>4</sup> of Bangladesh. After the attack, Harry K Tomas personally met Hasina & Khaleda and gave them separate messages. For Hasina, the message was, "If she disagrees with these three points of interest and begin to

organize any movement against it, the next grenade will fall on her truck, not besides that, like on 21 August." For Khaleda the message was, "If she disagrees with the proposal and doesn't sign the agreement or continues dilly-dallying to sign it, the story of Khaleda's responsibility in the Grenade Attack will be disclosed in the media with proof". So both of them started to capitulate to the demands, under the pressure of the invisible threads fastened to the fingers of the US Imperialists.

**Within a month all, the agreements were signed:** 1) The Bangladesh Govt. already declared to evacuate the Cent Martin Island for a military base under the banner of an eco-park and tourist spot. 2) The Bangladesh Govt. signed a 20 years gas selling agreement with Ratan Tata and a three-country gas pipeline treaty also in the process of immediate signing. The plot is that, natural gas of Bangladesh will get circulated through the pipeline. 3) A Free Port Agreement was also signed, and transit route for the Indians tactfully given under the name of a double-entry visa.

After the killing of Mofakhkharul Islam Choudhury, the secretary of the CPEB (ML), a significant polarization began to take place. Most of the Anti-Imperialist Anti-Feudal Intellectuals began to realize the situation that the wealth and sovereignty of our country and state is now under serious threat. Only the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces can organize the masses and can lead them to an anti-Imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary movement. The reactionary gang-stars fear only the organized & armed people, but they know without the organizing effort of the anti-Imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary forces the masses cannot get organized for the armed struggle. That is why they are killing the revolutionary forces directly, even without any farce of judgment.

We developed some irregular guerilla squads. Those squads, with the help of participation of the armed people (in a

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