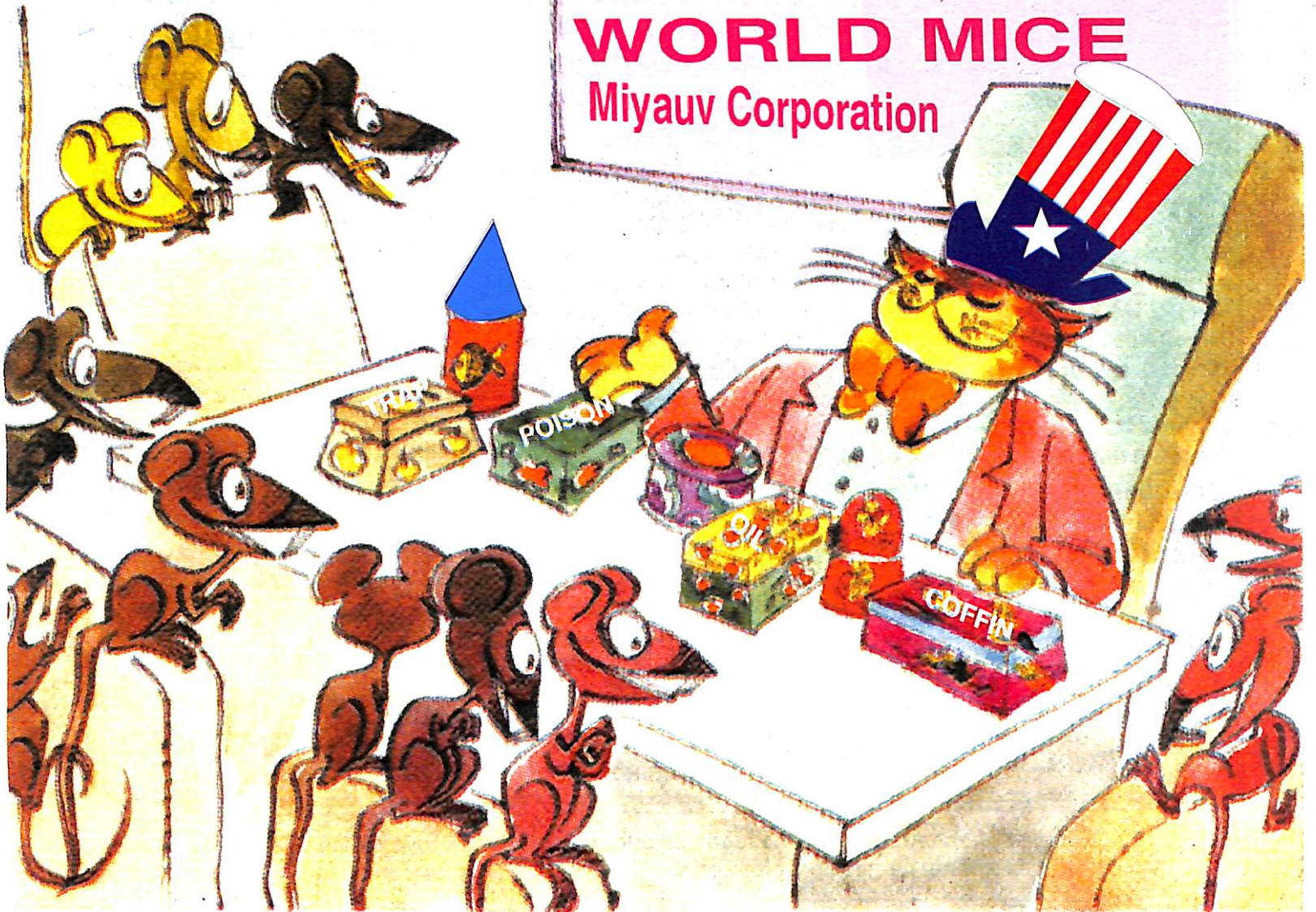


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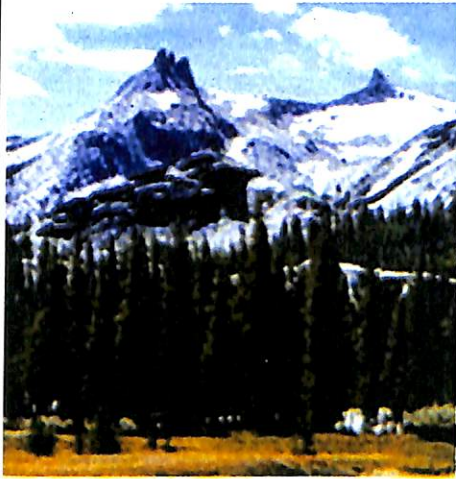
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Owned, Edited, Printed & Published by P. Govindan Kutty, Peroor house, Tripunithura, N.F. Ernakulam, Kerala — 682 301
Printed at Chithira Printers & Publishers, (Old No. 43/848 A) New No. 63/ 321, Poruvelil, Kannanchanathodu Road, Kochi — 18

Battle Lines Are Drawn

It is clear that the battle lines are being drawn. On the one side stand the governments at the State and Central level backed by the money-bags, particularly the imperialists, landed elites and compradors; on the other side stand the oppressed masses of the country, with the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in the lead. On the one side the people are rising up in revolt or in defence of their basic rights, on the other hand the governments are unleashing brutal repression to crush their movements. On the one hand the masses are taking to revolt and revolution to build a just and equitable order; on the other the rulers are resorting to policies of genocide and liquidation of all dissent to protect the interests of the bloodsuckers and leeches of this system. With the lines being sharply drawn there is little space left for liberal maneuvering. People are being forced to choose between fascist terror on the one side and mass revolt on the other.

The neo-liberal policies of economic reforms is the real 'terrorist', killing thousands each year through malnutrition, hunger starvation, disease and debt. It is a monster being vigorously pursued by all the governments at State and Centre no matter which party is in power. The thousands of children dying each year from malnutrition in the tribal belts of Melghat (Maharashtra) do not know what really killed them. The farmers of AP, Punjab and elsewhere that are committing suicide in droves do not know their real murderer — pesticide? debt? Or the policies of neo-liberal economic reforms?

70% of the population or 75 crore people live off agriculture; yet government investment in agriculture has dropped from 16.4% of Plan expenditure in 1979/80 to a mere 4.9% in the Ninth Plan (1997-2002). Bank

credit to the poor has dried up, and provides a mere 12% of the short-term credit on crop loans. The rest has to be got from the rapacious moneylender. While agricultural incomes are rising by only 1.5% (for most it is in fact dropping) consumption expenditure is going up by 4% — prices of agricultural commodities are falling by the day; while the price of inputs, health service, electricity and water charges, transport, education, etc are skyrocketing. Not only are the poor and marginal farmers being driven to their death, policies of neo-liberal reforms are killing even middle and rich farmers — only the mode of their death varies. The poor die of malnutrition, hunger and disease; the middle are being driven to suicide by debt and the fear of the moneylender/saukar and even the banks. Said Girish from Guddehalli village of Karnataka, whose family owns 50 acres, "*farmers have loans on everything, the ox, the bullock, the implements and also on their own sweat*".

But these Ayothullahas of economic reforms destroy not only the peasantry, but lakhs and lakhs of workers and employees are being thrown out of their jobs to satiate the appetite for huge profits of big capital. Those who remain in their job have to work like slaves with reducing salaries and wages. Small industries are being crushed by the hundreds each day and big and medium industry swallowed up by foreign capital.

It is in this scenario that more and more people are taking to the path of struggle while the government is resorting to even more brutal repression.

The recent upsurge of Rajasthan farmers for water was once again fired on, killing yet another five and injuring many. Hundreds were arrested. The peasants of Punjab in their recent

fight against debt and other demands saw over 1,000 arrested. Three lakh tea plantation workers of West Bengal who have been on strike for now five days over attempts of the management to cut wages and have now given a bandh call of four districts have to face not only the wrath of the management but also the duplicity of the CPM government. In AP the striking junior resident doctors who have been fighting the policies of privatization of health services have faced lathis, mass arrests of over 500 from all over the state (including the president of the APJUDA) and the imposition of the draconian ESMA. Also in AP the State Transport employees have been on strike. The lawyers of Tamilnadu have been boycotting the courts and those in the rest of the country have been on agitation against the government's amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) which de facto turns the legal system into a police system (all POTA-type clauses & more will now be a part of the very legal system itself). The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act was given the Presidential assent on June 23. Though now forced to put this Act in abeyance due to the agitation of the lawyers, the Act is now law. In the very capital of the country the New Delhi based Malayalam magazine "*Free Press*" has been forced to close down due to police harassment for writing against state-sponsored terrorism and Reliance's underhand methods. Even an innocuous book entitled the "*Polyester Prince*" by the Australian journalist, Hamish McDonald, has now been banned for 10 years as it exposes the dubious affairs of Reliance Industries and their politician friends. Besides all this, atrocities on dalits continue with impunity, with the State turning a blind eye. Women continue to be treated as second class citizens

facing all kinds of the worst abuses. The Hindutva agenda, while for the present has been put on the back-burner, the so-called attack at Ayodhya will make sure that it is to be kept alive — and used as a pretext for the introduction of even more draconian measures.

While the masses have been rising up against oppression, their vanguard party, the CPI(Maoists) and their guerrilla army saw a series of dramatic actions over the past two months. According to press reports, in North Bihar, over 500 guerrillas and peasants stormed the town of Madhuban (50 kms from the Nepal border) attacking all the symbols of the oppressive system. In a synchronised attack the police station, banks, district offices and the MP's house was attacked. Weapons and money were confiscated and some police personnel killed. In Chhatisgarh there have been a series of attacks on the CRPF killing a number of them. In Maharashtra in a landmine blast in Gondia seven CRPF police were killed and in Gadchiroli in another two attacks on the CRPF a number were killed. In all cases a number of weapons were confiscated. In the Bankura area of West Bengal CPM leaders (doubling up as police agents) were killed and so also in the Sambalpur area of Orissa five agents of the landlords and police were eliminated. These are only some of the

actions reported in the press, many more would have occurred which are consciously not covered or only appear in the local news as has been happening in Andhra Pradesh and Jharkhand.

So, it is clear that the masses and the revolutionaries are on the rise, in spite of the growing attacks on them. The attacks on the Maoists have been continuing with extreme intensity. The crackdown on Maoists in West Bengal by the CPM government continues unabated. Besides the earlier round of arrests of the PBM, Com. Shome and State Secretary, Com Tapas, there has been a further round of arrests in Calcutta including a State Committee member, com. Babu. These too have been framed in false cases in the Midnapur area. In AP five members of the CPI(ML)Janashakti, including a CC member, com. Riaz (had been involved in the talks with the government), were arrested and then killed in a fake encounter. In Karnataka two more comrades were martyred by the fascist STF police, once used against Veerapan. In Bihar eight comrades were martyred while retreating in the heroic Madhuban raid, including a senior SAC (equivalent of state committee) member. And on July 12th the fascist government of Jayalalitha invoked an outdated Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1908 to ban the CPI(Maoist) in

the State. At the all-India level hardly a day passes without new steps being taken against the Maoists.

It makes little difference which party is in power at the State level or at the Centre, they all have a similar policy towards the Maoists. At the Centre the Home Ministry on June 18th has set up two joint task forces (JTFs) to undertake cross-border special operations against the Maoists. The first JTF will comprise police of AP, Chhathisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand, and MP; while the second JTF will comprise the States of Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, UP and West Bengal. The bulk of these forces will be from the CRPF. All these steps are being taken in consultation with and advice from the imperialist intelligence agencies, particularly that of the US and Israel.

So, it appears that the battle lines are drawn. All must seriously think which side they are on. Mere empathy with the poor is of little value unless it is transformed into some form of action. This is only possible if we assert our voice against all forms of injustice, oppression and exploitation, or at least give support to those fighting these evils on the battlefield. Silence, for whatever reason, means consent; and helps the forces of state-terror on the people and their genuine leaders. ■ ■

Continued from 13 page

faced monster. Bush, said last month that *"we cannot allow rogue states to undermine the NPT's fundamental role in strengthening international security"*.

While the US continues its stockpile of the most deadly weapons of mass destruction it makes a big noise of others having the weapons that are far inferior to it and not even 1% of that possessed by the US. No country should give into the bullying and pressure tactics of the US and strongly struggle for its independence of the US in all spheres, particularly the military. Just one day before the Conference North Korea

tested a new short-range missile. Iran has threatened that its programme to enrich uranium will go ahead even if it is unable to come to an agreement with the European countries. Both countries have a right to their own defence specifically in the light of the fact that they have been categorised as 'rogue' states by the US and are facing direct threats of aggression.

There are a number of peace activists that focus only on the question of non-proliferation, rather than focusing their attention on the existing nuclear states that are, in fact, the major danger

to world peace. Particularly the US imperialists are a grave threat to humanity as they now openly declare they will use nuclear weapons if need be. While we stand for the total destruction of all nuclear weapons, the first step in that direction must be towards disarmament by the nuclear powers. While they build up their arsenal we must defend the right of all countries to equip themselves with all weaponry necessary to fight back an imperialist attack. Finally, of course, it is not nuclear weapons but people's war alone that can beat back the imperialist wars.

Scrap India-US Military Agreement Pull The Country Out of US Clutches

Arvind

In the very first trip of the country's Defence Minister to the US a ten-year Agreement was signed to mortgage the country's defence to the US imperialists. On June 28th 05 Pranab Mukherjee and his US counterpart, Donald Rumsfeld signed the "New Framework for the US-India Defence relationship for the next ten years". These defence ties are to be part of the growing strategic ties between the two countries, wherein India is getting entrapped deeper and deeper into the geo-political cobweb of US imperial designs.

This new "Framework" entails: conducting joint exercises and exchanges; collaborating in multinational operations; strengthening the militaries' capabilities to defeat terrorism; enhancing the capabilities to combat proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; increasing defence sales to India; and expanding collaboration in missile defence. During his visit Pranab Mukherjee met senior Bush officials, including the vice-president and secretaries of Defence, State and Commerce, the National Security Advisor, the chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff and leading members of the Congress. He also visited the Joint Forces Command and the Northern Command. The Agreement has been signed on the eve of the very first meeting between the heads of the two countries, paving the way for even greater capitulation!!

The Agreement was followed by the setting up of a *Defence Procurement Production Group* to oversee defence trade and look into the possibilities of technology collaboration. These agreements take a quantum leap forward the defence relations with the US compared to the earlier agreement signed a decade back. The earlier set up *Defence Policy Group* will

continue to serve as the primary mechanism to guide the bilateral strategic defence relationship. The speed at which these agreements were signed makes it clear that the groundwork had already been done secretly.

This push towards the US imperialism is taking place with a government backed by the so-called left CPI/CPM. The extent of the capitulation by the present UPA government is in no way different from that of the earlier NDA government, notwithstanding the mock opposition of the revisionists in power. NDA rule witnessed a huge leap in the number of port calls by US warships and joint exercises at sea, in the air and even on the land.

Serious Implications

The serious implications of this agreement will mean: (i) there will be more involvement of the US, indirectly and even directly, in the suppression of the peoples' movements within the country and in South Asia, particularly those led by the Maoists; (ii) Indian soldiers will be used as cannon fodder to further US geo-political interests worldwide and particularly in Asia; (iii) the strategic implications of the agreement will mean even greater servility before the US demon, implementing their orders with horrifying affects on the lives of the people of the country.

The US and Indian armed forces have already been involved in a series of joint counter-insurgency training campaigns within the country, particularly in the North East. The aggressive policies of the present government against the Maoists have the full backing of the US administration. In fact it was the US that had first goaded the rulers to take a tough stand in the wake of the unity of the Maoists,

threatening that it would affect foreign investments in the country.

Besides internal interference in police activities by the US, it is clear from the *Framework* that the servile Indian defence minister has agreed to use Indian soldiers as cannon fodder to serve US interests worldwide. With the US having already faced about 2,000 casualties in Iraq (official figure) and thousands more seriously injured, the US is desperate to find people from the backward countries to be in the firing line for their new wars. Both the NDA and UPA government tried their utmost to send Indian troops to Iraq, but were stalled from doing so due to hostility from the masses. But now, in future the *Framework* will be utilised to do so. Already India has one of the largest numbers of 'peacekeeping' forces abroad. The *Framework* talks of "taking the strategic cooperation between the two countries to a qualitatively different plane in the spheres of multilateral operations, disaster response, 'peace'-building, and spreading 'democracy' worldwide". In other words now the US plans outsourcing of some of its political and military tasks. The *Defence Agreement* envisages the deployment of Indian troops in unidentified US-led "multilateral operations" around the world regardless of whether these are authorized by the UN or not. In fact in the *Framework* the section that deals with the "commitment to assist in building a worldwide capacity to conduct successful peacekeeping operations" there is not even a mention of the UN. Not even in passing. So, the *Framework*, in effect, recognises US hegemony worldwide and offers to assist the process.

When read alongside of the aim of "enhancing the capabilities to combat proliferation of weapons of

mass destruction", the agreement to collaborate in multilateral operations, amounts to an indirect signing up of the notorious US Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). The PSI is a US-led multinational initiative involving the attack on third country ships on the high seas. Among the major countries in Asia opposed to the PSI are China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Iran. But the excessively servile Indian government has de facto signed on the dotted line. Anyhow, even before this agreement the Indian Navy has been assisting the US naval forces in policing the strategic Straits of Malacca.

The *Framework* also stated that India and the US will expand collaboration in the field relating to missile defence. This is not surprising as, under NDA rule in 2001, India was the first country to support the US's plans for a Ballistic Missile Defence, even before the NATO countries did.

The third important aspect of the *Framework* is the plan to shift purchase of military equipment on a huge scale to the US. Already the US has offered India 120 F-16 fighter planes (the same offered to Pakistan). This will not only give a boost to the crisis-ridden US companies like Boeing, but will further tie India to US dependence on military hardware. The US stooge, Mukherjee, went so far as to state that "*India could be an excellent base for the US defence industry in a number of areas*". He added that "*we need to, in a purposeful and progressive manner, remove impediments coming in the way of our natural alliance to join hands to make this world a more secure, peaceful and prosperous place*". A bilateral *Defence Procurement and Production Group* has been set up to oversee trade and prospects for cooperation for coproduction and technology collaboration.

The *Defence Framework* is part of the Indian ruling class's steps to go completely into the US camp and act as a servile tool of the US imperialists

in Asia in the coming geo-political scenario. On the other hand the US sees the importance of India as part of its plans for Asia and with the long-term goal as the main bulwark in the region to counter the emerging giant — China. No sooner had this Agreement been signed that one of America's chief think tanks, the Carnegie Institute released a report on the importance of India for US's worldwide plans. This Report is an eye-opener on what the US seeks with India.

The Carnegie Report

The Report entitled, *India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States*, was presented by J. Tellis, a defence and nuclear expert and senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It was released in conjunction with the former ambassador to India, Robert Blackwill. It was Tellis who was one of the chief advisors to push the strategic partnership put forward by the Bush/Vajpayee regimes.

The Reports says "*Bush should aid the growth of India's national power by augmenting its economic and defence capabilities, not jam the brakes. He must ... support India's bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, pull India out of the 'netherworld' of nuclear technology, offer a defence partnership and share information across the board — political, scientific, technological — to show that New Delhi is a real partner.*" This report even calls on the US to support the Iran gas pipe line and remove all restrictions to India on hi-tech technology transfer even in the sphere of defence.

Further Tellis has big ideas for the defence sector. He proposes: "*a comprehensive defence partnership*" which can integrate the military-to-military relations, defence trade and production, joint research and operations into a single document; India and the US can sign an MoU on

operations in the Indian Ocean; US companies could be encouraged to invest in India's defence sector.

The Tellis report also calls for detailed involvement in counter-insurgency operations in India. The report says "*Given the scale, diversity, and sophistication of terrorist networks in India, New Delhi's interest in computer forensics, network surveillance, and the protection of supervisory control and data acquisition systems as means to defeat terrorism is not only understandable but ought to be supported as part of the US global struggle against this menace*". It adds that the "*strategic dialogue should focus on India's membership to the UN Security Council, defence ties, cyber security and space cooperation.*"

The Tellis Report clearly states that India should be built as a bulwark against an emerging China. It says "*an unbridled China is not in the US interest and by bolstering India, the US can arrest the growth of Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean rimlands and Chinese penetration of Myanmar..... India is a potential hedge against a rising China*".

In fact in 2002 itself the Pentagon had commissioned a report entitled *The Indo-US Military Relationship: Expectations and Perceptions*. This 131 page report had the purported aim to: "*reveal the opportunities for the impediments to military-to-military cooperation*". In this report US officials spoke of the value of India in America's emerging Asian strategy. This Report clearly states that the "*US military seeks a competent military partner that can take on more responsibility for low-end operations (i.e. do the dirty and risky jobs) in Asia, such as peace-keeping operations, search and rescue, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and high-value cargo escort, which will allow the US to concentrate on high-end fighting missions*". To put it in simple words

the US will use Indian military for its purpose as its front paw, using Indian troops as cannon fodder; and after the dirty jobs are done the US forces will enter to take control. This report too talks of using India to deal with the strategic challenge from China. Such a role has serious and dangerous implications. It de facto means outsourcing risky military jobs to Indians.

The Report openly states that US military officials are "candid in their plans to eventually seek access to Indian bases and military infrastructure."

Strategic Significance of India

In the geo-politics of the world imperialism, and particularly of Asia, India has an enormous significance. That is why it is much coveted by the major imperialist powers. With all powers contending it is the sole superpower in the world today that has an edge. Since the 1980s the Indian ruling classes have been shifting closer

and closer into the US camp. Which ever party has been part of the power structures, including the CPI/CPM, there has been little change in this trend. After 2000, even with the growing rift between the US on the one side and the EU and Russia on the other, the Indian rulers have even further developed their close ties with the US (though the other powers have been competing for influence — particularly Russia and the EU countries).

The significance of India in imperialist strategies is for a number of reasons: First, it is a huge country of over one billion people and therefore an important market and source of raw materials. Second, with a huge army and para-military force it can become a bulwark of reaction and counter-revolution in the region. This is specifically important given the growth of the Maoist movements in Nepal, India and the potential for growth in Bangla Desh. In fact the three major Maoist-led people's wars are in Asia — Ne-

pal, India and the Philippines. Third, India is seen as a counter to a resurgent China. Fourth, its huge population and armed forces can be an important source of cannon fodder for the imperialists in the unfolding war-like situations being precipitated throughout the world. And lastly, India has a long history of a servile ruling class who have danced to the tune of the imperialists and colonialists for over two centuries — they are a trusted force for the imperialist war-mongers.

It is only the people of India who can foil the schemes of the imperialists and their servile tools within the country. Only mass opposition to the Defence Agreement can prevent its implementation. Only an anti-imperialist mass upsurge can prevent the continuous capitulation of the country into the hands of the imperialists, particularly the US. Meanwhile, great dangers await the people of the country as the rulers rush into the imperialist clutches!

From Pages of History

Sajanand Saraswati & CPI's Revisionism

Chandrabhusian

The struggle for the independence of the country from the British has focused primarily on the Congress and to a lesser extent the socialists and the communists. In contrast the struggle of the masses has been treated only as an incidental aspect. The role of the peasants, workers, students has been viewed as an extension of the larger political groups. It is however necessary to go beyond the superficial observations and see the essence of the roles played in the anti-imperialist movement. While the Congress leadership were mere stooges of the British, even the CPI had no consistent anti-imperialist role and trailed the Congress and Gandhi.

Even today peasant struggles are vilified and at best Naxalites portrayed as robinhoods. The CPI of those days refused to learn from the historic Chinese revolution. It was Sajanand Saraswati who for the first time spoke of learning from the Chinese experience as early as 1940-41. While the communists (not to speak of the Congress and Socialists) refused to lead

the peasantry against the landlords and in the anti-imperialist struggle, it was Sajanand who fought boldly against this wrong line.

Sajanand Saraswati pinned his hopes on the rural poor. In 1944, as president of the 8th all India Kisan Sabha meeting, held in Vijayawada, he was more forthright when he said "the more they are oppressed and distressed the nearer they are to the Kisan Sabha and the Sabha is nearer to them... It is they, the semi-proletariat, khet mazdoor (agricultural proletariat), who have very little land or no land at all, and the petty cultivator, who anyhow squeeze a most meager living out of the land they cultivate and eke out their existence, who are the real kisans of our thinking... and who will make and must constitute the kisan sabha ultimately". He wrote a book on the importance and role of the khet mazdoor in 1941-42, describing and analyzing the rural scenario in detail.

He further added that "the rural proletariat is becoming aware of its rights, duties and responsibilities; when it becomes fully aware, then there will be

the final dance of destruction and then the present iniquitous agrarian system will start crumbling."

Sajanand Saraswati also fought against the CPI's wrong line of allying with the Congress, where it theorized the Congress as the national bourgeoisie, that the revolution be a national democratic revolution, the need for a national front with the Congress and Gandhi as the national leader of the national front. On the other hand Sajanand Saraswati was for People's Democracy, a united front, not with the Congress but of the peasants and workers (he wrote a book in two volumes on his understanding of the united front in India at that time). He was for a militant peasant struggle. His book on "Revolution and United Front" was ignored by the party.

The revisionist trend in the party being so strong it continued to dominate the CPI and though he did not have a comprehensive alternative line he was able to bring 18 left parties into a united front before his death in 1950. He died on June 26 1950 at the age of 61.

The Pseudo Peace Process in Kashmir

Akhil

"Mirwaiz called upon militants to back the dialogue process. He said that continuing with militancy as the sole means to achieve independence would mean that the Kashmiris would have to lay down another 1,00,000 lives.

"In The reply to a question whether the Hurriyat wanted militancy to stop in Kashmir, the Mirwaiz said that after 9/11 no movement coupled with violence had received world support. Hence we call upon our militant leadership to join our efforts aimed at seeking a political settlement of the issue."

[A clipping from: Time for new ideas: Mirwaiz (GreaterKashmir.com 9/6/2005)]

This seems to be the underlying idea that is behind the whole dialogue process that is going on in Kashmir and is currently the idol of both the Indian and Pakistani mainstream press and those who are interested in conflict resolution without solving the real conflict. The APHC (A) led delegation that crossed the line of control and went to Muzaffabad and then to Pakistan on June 2, 2005 has become one key political event in Kashmir which would influence the future course of things there for a fairly long period. It will throw up new challenges before the Kashmiri people and their movement for self determination which is being put on the back burner. The new mantra is: build faith through CBMs (confidence building measures); it is less of a question of liberation of a subjugated country (a political one) and more of a bania (economic) nature which has to be resolved through trade, economic measures and bus routes, et al.

The So-called Peace Process

One can well say that under the new clamour about the "peace process" the basics of the Kashmir question are being buried deep under the filth of hollow promises of a bright future. It is like neo-liberal solutions of free market economics that demand doing away with national barriers and by letting free

economic exchange resolve all the problems of the society and countries. Here, in Kashmir, it means: make the border porous, initiate trade and traffic across the line of occupation, keep the armies intact, execute some measures of limited demilitarisation if the situation (read insurgency) comes under control, build a propaganda that if this is not done the people of the region would end through a nuclear apocalypse, tell the people that a political solution is no longer possible: neither a complete accession to India, nor with Pakistan, nor an independent Jammu & Kashmir. The only fate thus is to accept the harsh reality of occupation and domination, division of the land, killing of the aspirations for freedom once and for all, and abandoning all struggles aimed at emancipation—like a fate they are trying to force on the Palestinians. It is peace under the dominion of the gun. The message is: accept or perish.

A concerted charade is being drummed into the psyche of the people that liberation from oppression and domination is impossible. Mirwaiz Umar Farouq, the leader of one faction of the APHC, while replying to a question says though his party wished for the unification of Kashmir and Pakistan, *"but you have to be careful because the Indian government will never like a solution where it has to totally compromise on Kashmir."* In other words: **'India will never allow Kashmir to be liberated, so abandon the struggle for liberation'!** **There is only one word for this kind of thinking: capitulation.** Hence, with the politics of appeasement, he calls on the people to *"explore other options."*

Interestingly, these *"other options"* are nothing but the requirements of the present US needs in this region which want to keep both these countries to be at peace with each other in the present times (while arming both of

them heavily for a future showdown, a la Iraq, Iran). It pressurized Pakistan not to press for the *"liberation of Kashmir"* as it would create problems for the US juggernaut which is rolling wild in the Middle East and Central Asia. Ali Shah Geelani, President of another faction of the Hurriyat has rightly said that Musharraf has diluted his stand on Kashmir and bowed before American pressure. He boycotted the trip to Muzaffabad and Islamabad.

It is an irony of the situation that the Indian government has many a times blocked his entry into Pakistan and Pakistan held Kashmir considering him a hawk. This time the Indian government wanted it but he refused to go accusing both India and Pakistan that they are taking up this exercise at the behest of US imperialism. As Pakistani support to the Kashmir movement has taken an about turn he states, *"Kashmiris have not launched the struggle on the behest of anybody, so it will not be ended on some one's directions."* One may not agree with Geelani but he has stuck to his position which he considers principled and Musharraf who criticized the other faction of Hurriyat and praised Geelani has eaten up his own principles, which perhaps, he never had. One can see that those who have compromised on principles have come together. This serves the US imperialists best, given their own record on Kashmir. They too had abandoned support to Pakistan, and have now declared that the right to self determination for Kashmir is no longer applicable in the present world set up.

All those who have given up the UN resolutions and the right of self determination for Kashmir have started traveling together. It is not a strange twist of history that has come in today's juncture of the Kashmir struggle. Such things always happen when oppressors call the shots and they win temporary friends among the liberation forces.

The Pakistani government, which has been tumbling downstreet non-stop since the Kargil days due to US pressures after September 11, 2001 attacks in America, no longer is in a mood to help resistance forces and is conceding one after the other citadel to India. When Manmohan Singh rules out any possibility of redrawing of borders in Kashmir, he stresses the long standing Indian position that no solution will be acceptable which asks for the right to self determination. Musharraf echoes this when he opts for a solution like making "borders soft". Pakistan has been vehemently refusing to part with Kashmir, including the northern areas, it occupies advocating "liberation" for only the Indian held part. Now it has abandoned even this stand too.

Here the words of the former Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, needs mention when he told former Indian Prime Minister IK Gujral: "*I cannot take your Kashmir from you and you cannot take my Kashmir from me, let us go for peace.*" Musharraf is now translating Nawaz's words according to the dictates of the new situation prevailing internationally and in the region. The "Soft borders" option is another way of saying what Nawaz had said. It may involve not only a bus but also trucks and trains too across the line of occupation if no major change comes in the international setting / or if they (both India and Pakistan) are not forced to abandon plans by the Kashmiri people themselves. Backing out on the UN resolutions (which otherwise mention not a single word on the independence of Kashmir and only calls for acceding to either Pakistan or India) Musharraf now calls to "*allow maximum self governance to the people, demilitarise and take some actions to make the border irrelevant.*"

Mirwaiz's other options than the right to self determination are nothing but an echoing of the line of both these

reactionary states of the region which have carved up Kashmir between themselves and are deadly against the idea of an independent Kashmir. The 'confidence building' in this scenario leads to highlighting only some of the demands, though important, like ending excesses, opening of traffic, trade, people to people exchange, etc. which already are the genuine demands of the Kashmiri people—all these are being considered, not as a part of the overall liberation from occupation, but, as a substitute to it. This makes a mockery of the peace process which does not lead to liberation from occupation and oppression.

So, all talk of a final and peaceful solution of the question, taking Kashmiri leaders and people into confidence (as a third, and not the prime, party), is mere slick talk, where the two states call the shots (without firing any shots as their master wishes so) and the Kashmiris are merely to be used as pawns. These definitely are not the aspirations of the people nor their wish. The Indian leaders talk of making Kashmir and its glaciers monuments of peace without vacating the occupation. Can there be anything more farcical and rhetorical?

A great deception is in the offing.

The government of both the countries have celebrated the visit of a faction of the Huriyyat saying that the future holds good for the region as the traditional rivals are coming closer. So let us ask them to finish off their nuclear and traditional armaments stockpiles by destroying them because there is no danger of aggression from the outside now, and instead, divert their huge expenditures on the armed forces to public welfare and upliftment of the poor populations! Now the region ceases to be "*the most dangerous place on the earth*" as American imperialist chieftains have been calling it for long, in order to force their will on both the countries.

The US secretary of State, Condoliza Rice, can now eat rice with

satisfaction as she has "succeeded" in bringing the two dangerous nuclear states to become friends of each other and help diffuse the situation. Now she should stop selling armament systems to the two countries. Then what would these death merchants do? Expecting peace from the evil masters of West Asia and the world in this region is a great imperialist fraud for which the governments of these two countries have become a vehicle. The peace that comes with the help and intervention of the US monsters is the peace of the graveyard or the permanence of a conflict and establishment of a system more brutal and inhuman as has happened in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq in recent years, not to mention the long black history sheet of more than last one hundred years of imperialist rampage in the name of "peace". Only with total freedom from the oppressors can a real political solution emerge and a real peace be established.

It is now coming to be realized by the common Kashmiri people that the Pakistani factor has done damage to their cause as that they have always had its own interests in mind, while giving support to the movement. They tried to use the liberation movement of the Kashmiri people for their own ends, otherwise it would not have yielded to US and Indian pressures and opted for this kind of peace process that promises no right to self determination or independence to the Kashmiri people. Even the defective UN resolution is being thrown away into the dust bin. The UN has lost all its teeth, even the feeble ones that once existed. It cannot enforce its own resolutions, whether it is on Kashmir, Korea, Palestine or Iraq. Only that happens which suits the US which is a law unto itself and respects no international treaty or verdict when it is not to its liking.

India and Pakistan deny that there is any US pressure. It is an open secret and is talked about in the valley everywhere.

The bourgeois press has termed the peace process in Kashmir a Win Win opportunity which must not be frittered away by any of the two countries. It is a common theme of every single Indian newspaper. Unfortunately, there are very few in this country that would stand up to support the just cause of the Kashmiri people, and against the national chauvinism of their own government which oppresses other nations and nationalities.

The Flow of Oil

There is another dimension to this whole exercise on Kashmir: India and Pakistan's desire to earn and get oil and gas from the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipe line. The US told them to open trade between the two countries to join together to earn from the oil and gas of Central Asia instead of fighting with each other over Kashmir. The US itself has huge interests in such pipe lines with the possibility of earning gigantic profits. The advice is: let the economic relations grow, the political problem of Kashmir will take care of itself. So both the countries are in a race to implement the dictates of the imperialists and their institutions like the WTO, World Bank and IMF etc. and are fast opening up all their resources and labour for exploitation by the imperialists. In addition to trade across the line of occupation, the possibility of the oil flow from Central Asia is another factor which has brought the two together.

The US has encouraged them to work on the proposal to extend the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan pipeline to India so that its new and bigger ally of the region is benefited. Plus, another line from Qatar is being considered which would also be a joint enterprise of India and Pakistan. This is in case Iran still refuses to join in the US's West Asia Plans to control the region and / or to pressurise it to do so, as the pipeline from Turkmenistan would be looming on the horizon as an alternative. It appears the US is, for the

present, stressing the alternative to the Iran pipe line. This question was asked by the journalist to the Indian and Pakistani Oil Ministers in Islamabad after the two held a joint conference. Mani Shankar Aiyar, petroleum minister of India and his Pakistani counter-part both denied the reports that there was US pressure on this score. For exerting pressure Condoliza Rice does not have to stand over their heads all the time. Incidentally or not, the negotiations between the two countries on pipelines coincided with the visit of the Huriyyat delegation. Both the countries would collaborate with imperialist finances from the Asia Development Bank.

The Independence of Kashmir

The JKLF leader, Yasin Malik, also accompanied the delegation to Muzaffrabad and Islamabad though the JKLF is not a part of the All Party Huriyyat Conference. It decided to remain outside of the conglomerate organisation when both the factions had split in 2001. For the JKLF's political position of an independent and united State of Jammu and Kashmir there are no takers in the Pakistani government. One important outcome from this visit was the unity of both the factions across the line of occupation. The Amanullah led organization across the line and Yasin's JKLF on this side have agreed to merge once again and work for an independent Jammu and Kashmir.

The JKLF had declared a ceasefire in 1995 and since then it has been concentrating on "*democratic methods of Struggle*." By this they actually mean "peaceful means of struggle". Of course, there is little scope for 'democratic' means of struggle in Kashmir, with an occupation army in lakhs occupying every inch of the valley. There is little report about what the JKLF leader has been able to gain in terms of winning others to his position. The liberation of a nation, however, does not come without smashing the state machine which oppresses a

people. Genuine independence does not come without the power of arms as it has to confront an armed power to gain freedom. It never comes as a favour from the oppressors.

The so-called peace process is going on without the Indian armed forces restraining themselves from executing the militants. **The onslaught of the Indian armed forces continues unabated.** There are calls to the militants to give up armed struggle and join the peace process. Pakistan has always only used it as a pressure tactics to further its own interests in Kashmir. **The Indian Home Ministry has even retracted on its commitment given six months ago to constitute a committee to merely discuss autonomy. No freedom of the Kashmiri people can be expected from the rulers of these two countries.**

A war of liberation is never fought as a tactic for exerting pressure to push forward to a negotiated settlement. Negotiations come when arms force the enemy to come to the table to accept the ultimate goal of the movement. This may or may not happen in all wars. But the current 'peace process' in Kashmir is not in anyway to convey to the oppressor that its ultimate fate is standing at the door and he must accept defeat on the table. It is the other way around now: the oppressors want all resistance stopped and that the militants accept defeat unambiguously. This 'peace', of course, is not going to end oppression in any way.

How the majority of the Kashmiri People would take it remains to be seen. The Pakistani factor will take its toll, as their active support has ceased. Once again we quote Ali Shah Geelani: "*Kashmiris have not launched the struggle on the behest of anybody, so it will not be ended on some one's directions.*"



Liberation's Sneering Criticism of Maoist's Unity

Dr. Gupta

The Liberation has envisaged to move "Beyond the Euphoria of Merger and Truce". [Liberation, November 2004, by "political Observer"]. Why is the Liberation so perturbed over "Merger and Truce" involving the CPI(Maoist), a continuation of the true Maoist tradition in India, assuming the new name by way of merger of the CPI(ML)PW and the MCCI? And why does the Liberation get irked so much and indulge in curious sorts of fantasies, weaving out a reactionary dismal picture? Is it only desperation or a bid to trample polemics for lining up with the Advanis, Manmohans, Yechurries, etc. to crush the Maoists? In the earlier article in the People's March the fundamentals of Liberation's revisionism was addressed. Here we will concentrate on the political frustration and outpourings of the Liberation's Political Observer.

The Liberation has quite a long time past distanced itself from what is really known as the CPI (ML) of which it was once a part. However, it does it by utilizing the banner of the CPI(ML). Liberation has already changed its colours and abandoned the CPI(ML) i.e. Naxalbari politics. This rupture with all that glorious death defying sacrifice and iron-determination pushes the Liberation into an abyss of filth, possessing the right to hobnob with bourgeois and revisionist political outfits.

In this article, the author seeks to widen the bridge between the CPI(ML) and the MCC, distorting the earlier history. What a bother for the Liberation to delve into the genesis of the revolutionary CPI(ML) and the MCC's opting out of it at that stage? Yes, the MCC, to be precise the Dakshin Desh group, did not join the CPI(ML). But where on earth did the wise Political Observer find that the MCC "*remained content operating exclusively as an armed formation*"? The cunning

Observer needed some ploy to present the erstwhile PW as having "*a different history*" to revive the CPI(ML) in sharp contrast to the MCC's practice as an exclusively armed formation. The Observer's comments, blended with half-truths, seeks merely to widen the gaps. It goes without saying that the Dakshin Desh group led by Comrades Amulya Sen and Kanai Chatterjee didn't join the CPI (ML) formed under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Regarding the formation of the party there were obviously differences and it is also a fact that besides the main revolutionary party, the CPI (ML), the MCC had a definite history of integrating general Maoist theory and revolutionary practice in some states in India. The Political Observer makes the sweeping comment "*in their own times Charu Mazumdar and Kanai Chatterjee represented two irreconcilably different lines and approaches*". This is a specimen of Liberation's spiteful refusal to come to terms with the truth. It is well known to many Liberation leaders that the MCC, despite differences on the formation of the party with the CPI (ML), was not a protagonist of parliamentary politics and had devoted itself to developing revolutionary struggling areas of armed agrarian struggle on Mao's line. It had never been an organisation limiting its activities to open legal party offices and sloganeering over petty demands. In the early 1970s when the massive struggles of the CPI (ML) suffered a set-back, the MCC had shown unflinching adherence to the path of armed struggle and Naxalbari by developing glorious struggles of the peasants in Kanksa, Ausgram and Budbud areas of Bardhaman district. The Naxalbari flame was very much felt by the Siddhartha Sharkar Roy ministry and it let loose large-scale repression in those areas. All the revolutionaries in Bengal

and outside derived inspiration and praised it. So, what was basically a difference on the question of the formation of the party has been exaggerated by the Liberation to make out as though there was a difference in line between the two.

The Liberation has for more than a decade changed its colours and sees only anarchism in all revolutionary retaliations by the Maoists against the class enemies and the state. As it has abandoned revolutionary politics it is now closest to the CPI (M)/CPI in its approach to any revolutionary struggle. It is now miles away from CM's politics yet puts on a pretentious air of melancholy for the merger of the PW and the MCCI with an exaggerated statement of "*irreconcilably different lines and approaches*" pursued by CM and KC. Both Com. CM and Com KC had obvious differences on the party formation in 1969 but both were the great leaders of the Indian revolution by virtue of their fundamental unity of approach to Mao's path and for the spirited zeal in developing areas of armed struggle for the ushering in a People's Democratic India. Both Com. CM and KC were irreconcilable enemies of parliamentary politics. And on all those counts one can justifiably assert that Com. CM and Com. KC represented an irreconcilably different approach and line from that of revolution-fearing Vinod Mishra, Dipankar and Co. Then why such a hue and cry from the Liberation over the PW and the MCCI merger? The reason is not far to seek. The Liberation expected that the PW would also step into the footsteps of the Liberation by banishing all that is associated with the Naxalbari struggle. The great leader of the Liberation Dipankar even went many steps ahead in his farsightedness to divulge his own views to the press that the talks by the erstwhile PW with the AP government was the beginning

of the end of the underground set-up and preparation for open activities i.e. Liberation-like practice. Facts have already nailed such astrologer's prophesy and the Liberation must have befooled itself.

Now a few words about the so-called anarchism. Near about the mid 70's Bihar appeared on the centre stage of the revolutionary struggles. Standing at the forefront Com. Jauhar led these struggles in several districts of Bihar with Bhojpur as the focal point. Soon after, the peasant struggles led by the then MCC broke forth like prairie fire in Gaya, Aurangabad, Girdhi and other districts. After the martyrdom of Com. Jauhar, Vinod Mishra took over the reigns of the CPI (M-L) Liberation. From the early 1980's, the peasant struggles led by the CPI (M-L) (PU) in Jehanabad and other areas spread like a wild fire within a short period. It is a fact that there were differences of approach among these three organizations at that time. Yet nothing like the "irreconcilably different lines" on the fundamental issues ever came up at that time. They emerged only after Vinod Mishra derailed the revolutionary movement, then going on under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) Liberation and firmly led it on to the tracks of Parliamentarianism. As a corollary, from then on, all the practices and policies of the CPI (M-L)[PW] and of the MCCI came to be branded as anarchism. This is the hallmark of the 'Liberation' type degeneration which equates all revolutionary practice with anarchism and the rotten parliamentarianism with revolutionism, that too in the name of Marx! This pack of 'Liberation' renegades had the audacity to try to sell their brand of parliamentarianism under the name of Comrade C.M. – who all through his revolutionary life was a sworn enemy of every trace of parliamentarianism.

The Political Observer finds the fact that the two Maoist organizations, the

MCCI and the CPI (M-L)[PW], merged and formed the CPI (Maoist) as a bitter pill to swallow and hence vents his ire over even the very name of the organization. Here we would like to present certain facts of history. The unity process between these two organizations begins in 1982. Com. KC himself was the initiator of this process. The CPI (Maoist), on the very day of its inception declared in certain terms that it recognize the congress held in 1970 under the leadership of Com. C.M. as the 8th (First) party Congress and as such the CPI (Maoist) is the red inheritor of the legacy of CPI (M-L) and the great and glorious Naxalbari. In the same way, the new unified party is the very embodiment of synthesis of the revolutionary policies and practice of the CPI (ML)(PW) and the MCCI. The Liberation Observer finds it hard to digest the fact that both CM and KC have been recognized as the founder leaders of the CPI (Maoist). He tries to lampoon this recognition by once again harping on his earlier tune that these two leaders represented irreconcilable lines and approaches. When the trajectory of the C.M. led CPI (M-L) was accepted in principle by the MCCI and when Com. K.C. initiated the unity process towards the formation of a single Maoist party gets translated into reality with the formation of the CPI (Maoist) then it is but natural that both com. C.M. and Com. K.C. will be honoured as the founders of the newly merged organisation.

The Liberation Observer goes on, now assuming the role of a business man, and taking stock of the merger in terms of "give and take". None but our 'wise' observer can imagine that the merger of two revolutionary organisations having oneness of view on the Maoist strategy of revolution in India, and which have more than three decades of revolutionary practice will take place on a non-dialectical basis. It is true that when the merger took place,

these two organizations sorted out differences on a dialectical basis. Moreover, the new unified party, the CPI (Maoist) declared that notwithstanding the unanimity on the fundamentals, the congress of the new unified party – to be held soon – will further cement the ideological and political unity. Yet one thing has to be made clear here. The Maoists believe in contradictions, not the policy of 'give and take' like Vinod Mishra.

Our sneering cynic, the Liberation Observer, now resorts to tricky, censuring a thesis out of the gloves that "For the Indian Maoist, however, the army is the party..." disappointed us as the fact that the merger of the CPI (M-L) (PW) and MCCI did not lead to dumping of Naxalbari revolutionary politics of armed struggle, the observer now displays his cunningness by willfully distorting the meaning of the Maoist assertion that "Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle." The Maoists have expressed this idea on the party, the army and the united front, making it quite clear that the party will lead the army and not vice versa.

Not getting satisfied with the above falsehoods and will-full distortions the observer now goes in for outright slander in order to accomplish his mission of maligning the CPI (Maoist) by hook or by crook. He hints at a nexus between the Maoists, the congress and the RJD. This is nothing but the age old trick of the thief shouting thief! Thief! By such slanders the observer wants to cover the abject surrender of the CPI (M-L) Liberation to the state, its total degeneration and parliamentary cretinism. The commitment to revolutionary Marxism and the exercising spread of the revolutionary influence of the CPI (Maoist) to all corners of the country by itself gives a fitting reply to all such attempts of slander. Let the liberation swim in its own cesspool of parliamentarianism.



The Hoax of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty

Suman

On May 2 2005 representatives of 189 countries gathered in New York for a full month of discussions at the NPT Review Conference. This is the seventh review conference since the NPT came into force in 1970. The Agreement had a provision that it would be reviewed every five years. The 35-year old treaty was extended indefinitely at the 1995 Review Conference. In the six earlier reviews, consensus on a declaration was reached only thrice (1975, 1985 and 2000) with the main point of conflict being over Article VI. This article is aimed at the five nuclear weapon states to disarm completely and submit themselves to strict international controls. It is these imperialists that have adopted double-standards — while strictly imposing the terms of the treaty for others they ignore their own nuclear stockpile. In fact today the number of nuclear warheads is estimated at over 30,000 — an amount equal to what existed in 1970 when the Treaty came into force. Nuclear powers like India and Pakistan are not members of the NPT and neither is Israel, a non-declared nuclear power. North Korea came out of the NPT a few years back.

With the US's bellicose posture on the question of nuclear weapons it is no doubt that this meeting was a non-starter. Till the end of the first week they were not even able to agree on the agenda. The Bush administration brought a completely different perspective to US nuclear and missile policy that began with the rejection of the CTBT and the abrogation of the 1972 ABM treaty. After 9/11 Bush took a negative attitude towards the NPT. Thus, during the conference there was dissent among the major stake holders in the NPT and the division among the five nuclear weapon states is also palpable — particularly between the US and the EU over Iran.

As expected the US sort to divert the agenda by a high-pitched campaign against North Korea and Iran. Rumours

began to be spread in the hall that North Korea planned to test a nuclear weapon during the conference itself. The US representative's entire speech was focused on non-proliferation sighting the dangers of the two countries and terrorism.

While the entire focus of imposing the NPT was on countries like Iran and North Korea, categorized as rogue states, a well known nuclear state, Israel is ignored. Israel is not even a signatory of the NPT. Besides the US and UK are adding even more deadly nuclear weapons to their stockpile, in a way that bypasses the clauses of the NPT. It is not surprising that this conference had nothing new to say.

Four years ago the five signatories to the NPT pledged to reduce their reliance on nuclear weapons to commit to irreversible reductions in their numbers. Instead the US embarked on the road of designing new weapons called Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrators. It also made plans to build a new bomb factory for the mass manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Last year the Blair government renewed, with no debate, the US-UK mutual defence agreement first negotiated in 1958, which, according to Bush, gives

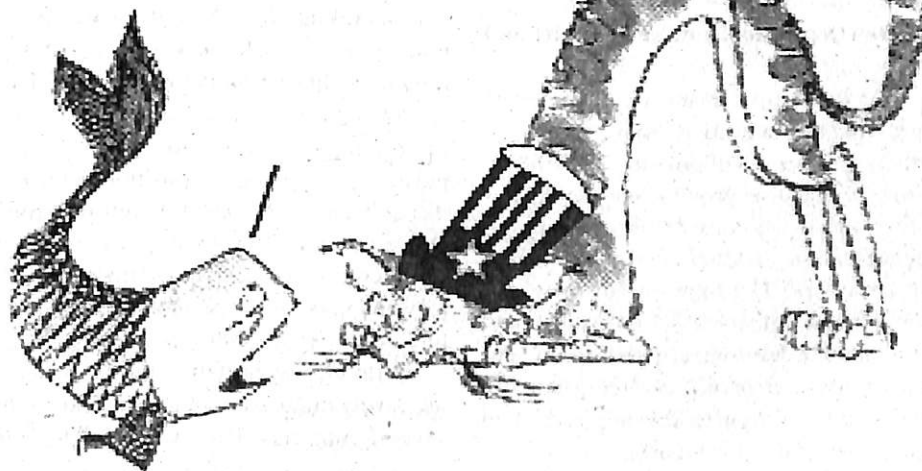
Britain a "credible nuclear force". Sophisticated equipment, including what is said to be the world's most powerful laser, is being installed at the UK's atomic weapons establishment as part of a £.2 billion scheme that will enable Britain, with US help, produce a new generation of nuclear warheads. This technology will help Britain to get round obligations imposed by the comprehensive test ban treaty.

In addition, the US is toying with the idea of building a new generation of mini-nukes. The US weakened the concept of "negative security assurances" whereby nuclear states would not threaten or attack non-nuclear states with such weapons, by suggesting that it might use them in response to a biological or chemical attack, **or even in other circumstances**. It is said that some of these mini-nukes were tested in the Iraq war.

While freeing the US from any commitment Bush wants other countries to make ever more binding ones. The NPT does not stop states using enriched uranium to produce nuclear energy. But he does not want them to even have enriched uranium, as with Iran. The two-

Continued at page 4

*I am reared in Nuclear Fuel Complex Waters
yet, I am ready for your lunch*



RAISE THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO A NEW AND HIGHER LEVEL AGAINST US IMPERIALISM AND THE ARROYO PUPPET REGIME

Message to the New People's Army From the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines (March 29, 2005)

{Extracts from the statement as downloaded from the internet}

Let us celebrate the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the New People's Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Let us rejoice over the accumulated and recent victories of the New People's Army as the main fighting force of the Filipino people in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is daily worsening. It is unleashing the worst forms of plunder and terror. It is inflicting on the people the most intolerable forms of suffering. At the same time, the ever-deteriorating crisis conditions are favorable for waging armed revolution.

The people have no choice but to wage armed revolution for their national and social liberation. They wish to fight and defeat the escalating campaigns of suppression, the bombardments, the burning and looting, the kidnapping and torture, the assassinations and massacres and the forced mass evacuations. All these are aimed at pacifying the people and preserving the system of oppression and exploitation.

The Party and the people therefore urge the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army to understand the situation, renew their fighting resolve, intensify the revolutionary armed struggle and carry out all their revolutionary tasks. Let us raise the people's war to a new and higher level.

I. Global Depression, Fascism, Plunder and War

The imperialist countries themselves are reeling from the crisis. All of them have extremely low rates of growth. These show a state of negative growth, stagnation and depression if we consider the continuing overvaluation of assets and costs in the service sector. The high rate of mass unemployment, cutback of social benefits and termination of hard-won rights are consigning a large part of the workers, women, youth and children to the impoverished conditions of the third world.

No less than the No. 1 imperialist power, the United States, is in the throes of a severe economic, financial and social crisis. It is afflicted by huge budgetary and trade deficits and thus by a crushing debt burden. The growing debt service is taking a large chunk of the budget. Combined with tax cuts for the monopoly bourgeoisie and military expenditures for war production contracts, wars of aggression and military intervention, it has diminished the amount available for social spending on education, health, housing and so on. Moreover, the Bush regime is resorting to every trick in seeking to privatize the social security system.

Despite all its advantages as sole superpower, as No. 1 imperialist power in terms of economic and politico-military dominance, the US is in serious economic trouble. It has borrowed foreign money to sustain consumerism and militarism, especially the production of high-tech military weaponry. Its edge in high-tech consumer goods over other imperialist countries has been blunted by global overproduction. It is increasingly confronted with the competition of its imperialist allies and the widespread devastation of markets, especially in the third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the retrogressive countries in the former Soviet bloc.

The Bush regime is stubbornly combining several kinds of policies. It is keeping the neoliberal policy of giving huge tax cuts and "free market" privileges to the monopoly bourgeoisie, pressing down the incomes of the workers and cutting back social spending. It is adding to neoliberal policy the military Keynesian policy of stepping up military production supposedly to stimulate the economy. Further, it is carrying out the neoconservative policy of using the sole superpower position of the US, its economic, political and high-tech military supremacy, to put down any challenge or potential rival, expand economic territory and make the 21st century a new century of Pax Americana.

With utmost brutality, the US has aggressively imposed its imperialist power on several countries. It is using the 9/11 at-

tacks as a pretext for whipping war hysteria and spreading state terrorism and fascism on a global scale. It has wantonly engaged in acts of military intervention and wars of aggression since the last decade. It is expanding its sources of raw materials and cheap labor, its potential market, its field of investments, spheres of influence and strategic vantage points.

But in the process the US is overreaching and overextending itself. It is now caught in a quagmire in Iraq. The broad resistance of the Iraqi people is resolutely fighting the US occupation and the puppets and is avenging the massacre of hundreds of thousands of civilians. It is inflicting more and more casualties on US military and adjunct personnel and, by frequent blowing up of oil facilities and pipelines, is deliberately making the US occupation unprofitable. The Iraqi people are outstanding in their heroic struggle for having already killed in only two year's time more than 1500 US troops, wounded more than 11,000 and caused the medical evacuation of another 14,000.

The US is increasingly becoming entangled in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. In these areas the US and its puppet states are resisted by the oppressed peoples and nations and will be increasingly at variance and at odds with France, Germany, Russia and China. In seeking to secure strategic control over major sources and supply routes of industrial fuel, the US is generating more and more social and political turmoil and is exposing the limits of its power to the peoples of the world.

At the moment, the US and other imperialist powers are escalating the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. The peoples are therefore intensifying their mass protests and armed movements for national liberation. Some countries assert national independence against the plundering and aggressive policies of imperialism. Thus, the US has launched wars of aggression or made threats against them for refusing to comply with US demands.

The imperialist powers are finding them-

selves in contradiction over economic, financial, security and other issues and are tending to struggle for a redivision of the world. Under conditions of increasing disorder and turmoil in the entire world, the proletariat and other working people in the imperialist countries are driven to defend and fight for their rights and interest and thus they can rebuild and reinvigorate the anti-imperialist movements for democracy and socialism.

II. Escalation of Plunder and Terror

The crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords is worsening and plunging the country to new levels of social misery and degradation. This is due to the internal rotteness and weaknesses of the backward system, aggravated by the accelerated process of plunder under the piratical banner of "free market" globalization.

The Philippine ruling system is a neo-colonial adjunct of US imperialism and global capitalism. Under the policy of "free market" globalization, the US imperialists and their most rabid Filipino puppets in power have negated the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and their aspirations for national industrialization, genuine land reform and all-round development.

They have subjected the semi feudal economy to de-nationalization, privatization, liberalization and deregulation. These are all aimed at preventing national industrialization and destroying any well-based basic industry. The manufacturing and agricultural sectors have been declining. The service sector is ever growing in proportion but it subsumes imported equipment, mere consumption and disguised unemployment.

The economy has become far more dependent than ever before on the production of raw materials for export as well as on the slight processing of imported components for re-export. The world prices of these products tend to fall far below the prices of imported manufactures and are more vulnerable to the ever worsening crisis of overproduction. The crisis of overproduction in raw materials (sugar, coconut, copper concentrates and the like) has long afflicted the economy since the late 1970s. Likewise a similar crisis in semi-manufactures (mainly semiconductors and garments) has beset the economy since the 1990s.

The foreign debt and the debt service payments are mounting. The total public sector debt has surpassed the level of PhP 6 trillion. Last year the reactionary government spent 81 per cent of its revenues to pay both interest and principal amortization. Based on data submitted to the reactionary Congress, more than 90 per cent of revenues is projected to pay the debt service in 2005.

The reactionary government is bankrupt. And it is sinking deeper. What is left of the budget after the gargantuan amount gobbled up by debt service payments is feasted upon by high-level bureaucratic corruption at every branch, department and agency of the government and by the coercive apparatuses such as the military, police and intelligence agencies. Funds actually spent for education, health and other social services continue to dwindle. And the people are now being made to pay higher prices for these services.

The Arroyo regime is deeply worried about the worsening crisis and about the rising wave of social discontent and popular resistance. But it still tries to hide the truth by claiming that the gross domestic product grew by an unbelievably high rate of 6.1 per cent for 2004. This figure covers the low-value added semi-conductor re-exports, false estimates of agricultural production, call centers, electoral spending and all kinds of fictional accounts in the service sector.

Instead of calling and opting for industrial development, genuine land reform and job generation, the regime has chosen to take advantage of the Bush call for a "war on terror". It has taken the fascist path and is frenziedly pushing an Anti-Terrorism Act that would give license to state terrorism and bring back the horrors of the Marcos fascist regime. It supports the escalation of US military intervention in the Philippines and in turn expects that this would protect it from the wrath of the people.

Within this context, the regime has collaborated with the US to sabotage the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by designating the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant as "terrorists" and by making the arrogant but futile demand for the revolutionary forces to capitulate by signing a "final peace accord" or a "ceasefire agreement" that the US, the puppet regime and the clerico-fascists have drafted.

The Arroyo regime has directed the puppet military, police and paramilitary forces to escalate campaigns of suppression. These include the bombing of communities, the kidnapping, torture and murder of suspected revolutionaries, massacre of civilians and forced evacuation of people in the rural areas. And even in urban areas, the enemy forces are violently disrupting peaceful strikes and rallies and massacring the strikers and rallyists as in Hacienda Luisita and assassinating known leaders and members of legal democratic organizations, including journalists, human rights activists, religious and church people, and activists of progressive political parties.

The escalating counter-revolutionary violence against the people serves the flagrant violation of workers' rights, the mass layoffs, the privatization of public assets, the auctioning of the national patrimony, the alienation of ancestral domain of national minorities and natural resources to foreign monopolies and the accelerated reclassification ("conversion") of land to nullify the certificates of land ownership amortization (CLOA) and the certificates of land transfer (CLT) previously issued by the reactionary government to deceive the peasant masses.

The Arroyo regime wants to cow and make the people retreat. In this regard, it overestimates the capacity of its military, police and paramilitary forces to intimidate the people and suppress their resistance. It also overestimates the capacity of US imperialism to come to its aid. It conveniently forgets that the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the Estrada regime underestimated the capacity of people's resistance and the broad united front of opposition forces to overthrow a detested regime, no matter how arrogant and brutal.

A broad united front that includes the anti-Arroyo reactionary forces is possible and is quite potent as was a similar broad united front in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada. It can adopt and implement agreements and measures to mobilize the masses, encourage the military and police to abandon the regime, keep the military and police officers from usurping political power and make way for a council of patriotic and democratic forces to assume governmental authority.

However much delayed is the realiza-

tion of a broad united front effective enough to overthrow the Arroyo regime, the revolutionary forces of the people can continue to strengthen the forces of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie for a new democratic revolution. Their intolerable situation and suffering make them eager for revolutionary change.

III. Growing Strength of the NPA

Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army has grown in strength in the course of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Since the launching of the Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) in 1992, the NPA has integrated revolutionary armed struggle with genuine land reform and rebuilding the mass base more conscientiously than ever before. It has sought to conduct extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. For the purpose, it has reoriented and redeployed units of the people's army to enable them to do painstaking and solid mass organizing.

In all the regions where the NPA is operating, except the national capital region, there are several guerrilla fronts. A certain number of guerrilla fronts have a sum total of armed strength amounting to a company and another number have less than a company. Every guerrilla front has a relatively concentrated unit that serves as the center of gravity and other units that are relatively dispersed for wider mass work.

Following the resounding success of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the Eleventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee promulgated the 3-year program for building the Party, the people's army and the united front. Under the program, the NPA has carried forward the victories of the rectification movement.

The NPA has significantly increased the number of its full-time Red fighters and its automatic rifles and other high-powered weapons. It has organized and trained the people's militia for police work or internal security in the localities and the self-defense in the mass organizations. It is now operating in more than 130 guerrilla fronts covering significant portions of nearly 70 provinces, in around 800 municipalities and

more than 9,000 barrios.

In mass work and mass base building, it has built the organs of political power (the appointive barrio organizing committees and the elective barrio revolutionary committees, the organizing groups and committees and full-fledged mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, cultural activists and women and the working committees to assist the organs of political power).

These committees are for mass organizing, education, land reform, production, health, defense, arbitration and cultural activities. They carry out the functions of government on a daily basis and mobilize the people in related campaigns. They carry out land reform as the principal campaign for realizing the main content of the democratic revolution.

The Party has led the NPA in carrying out its tasks successfully. The Party and the NPA are united in upholding the revolutionary cause and serving the people. The proletarian revolutionaries, Red commanders and fighters are united within and outside the command structure and units of the NPA. They work together to build the Party branches in localities and Party groups in mass organizations. For a while, in areas of expansion, the Party in the NPA looks after the Party in the localities but eventually the regular territorial organization of the Party develops.

The NPA has continued to criticize the various major kinds of "Left" opportunism repudiated by the SGRM. These include the impetuous and adventurist notion of the "strategic counteroffensive" as the third phase of the strategic defensive and the so-called Red Area-White Area line of making urban insurrectionism the leading factor, to be propelled supposedly by the spontaneous masses and armed city partisans and assisted by prematurely regularized and unsustainably enlarged vertical formations of the people's army.

The Red commanders and fighters also criticize and combat the Right opportunist and reformist trends of thought generated by imperialism and local reaction, modern revisionism, social democracy, open bourgeois liberalism and imperialist-funded nongovernmental organizations which harp on the slogans of "civil society" and the "culture of nonviolence" to oppose the armed revolution but support the violence

of imperialism and the puppet state.

The NPA combats the latest manifestations of the purely military viewpoint as well as reformism. Even as the NPA is a healthy and vigorous revolutionary force, the Red commanders and fighters continuously conduct assessments and evaluations, criticism and self-criticism in order to improve the result of their work and their work style. They strive to solve the problems that come with the rising demands of the struggle and the escalating assaults of the enemy.

They are intimately linked with the toiling masses. They have expanded and consolidated a mass base that supports the intensification of the tactical offensives against the enemy. From their accumulated victories the revolutionary forces and the broad masses of the people are able to intensify the rural-based armed revolution and the legal democratic movement as the ruling system continues to deteriorate.

The Arroyo regime harbors the illusion that with the escalation of state terrorism and US military intervention under the pretext of anti-terrorism it can contain or destroy the revolutionary movement. It is recycling the old slogan of "total war" with the synonymous expression "strategy of holistic approach" and the old national campaign plan "Oplan Lambat Bitag" with "Oplan Bantay Laya".

The enemy armed forces continuously seek to make their strategic offensive more effective against the strategic defensive of the people. They concentrate task forces of the military, police and paramilitary on certain selected or prioritized areas to clear and hold and secure a perimeter for encircling and suppressing the people's army. They seek to compel the NPA to fight on interior lines relative to the perimeter. At the same time, they deploy special operation teams, ranger teams and paramilitary forces within the perimeter for extended periods of no less than six months in order to conduct psywar, intelligence and combat or search-and-destroy operations.

In practice, the enemy forces can concentrate only on portions of a few guerrilla fronts at every given time. They can launch campaigns of encirclement and suppression against ten or more guerrilla fronts at the same time. But beyond the scope of the enemy are over a hundred more guerrilla fronts and these are free to expand and

consolidate their strength. From these guerrilla fronts, the NPA can also launch tactical offensives in order to support directly or indirectly the NPA units under attack in other guerrilla fronts.

At no instance has the NPA been completely driven out of any guerrilla front under enemy attack. NPA units can still maneuver and fight or evade superior enemy action within the same guerrilla front. They can move in appropriate sizes in and out of enemy encirclements and deliver surprise lethal blows. There are also portions of the guerrilla front that the enemy simply cannot cover and dominate. From these the NPA can launch tactical offensives against the enemy on exterior lines and can expand to new areas.

Every day the NPA can inflict a thousand cuts on the enemy and make him bleed from a thousand wounds. It can launch tactical offensives by using small units, from teams of three to five fighters, to squads and platoons. These are still the most effective units for penetrating the defenses of the enemy forces as well as striking at them on exterior lines in order to seize firearms and punish their worst elements.

Until now, small unit operations are still far more effective than company-size operations. The former are easier than the latter to prepare, maneuver and withdraw from a successful operation. There can also be a coordination of such small units to seize more weapons on a wide scale. It is fine for the NPA to give full play to small-unit operations and undertake tactical offensives that are sure of victory. However, conditions are arising and improving for employing two or more platoons in operations, especially where the terrain is favorable or when the element of surprise is ensured.

From year to year, the enemy has failed to destroy the armed revolution. In the vain hope of destroying or disrupting the centralized political leadership and rising coordinative ability of the NPA units that operate in a decentralized way on a national scale, the enemy is now increasingly assassinating leaders and activists of the legal democratic parties and organizations.

The US imperialists and the Arroyo puppet regime are culpable for escalating violations of human rights. They are collaborating in resurrecting an open rule of terror similar to that of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They are pushing the enact-

ment of an Anti-Terrorism Law that is far worse in anti-democratic content than the fascist presidential decrees of the late lamented Marcos. They have paralyzed the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and are poised to suppress the legal democratic mass movement.

All forms of struggle need to be carried out more militantly than ever before. The legal form of struggle is necessary. But those in grave danger of being kidnapped, tortured and killed by the enemy should be encouraged to go underground and join the armed revolution. As in the period of 1969 to 1972, when the Marcos regime was clearly taking the fascist path, Party units and mass activists were urged to strengthen the underground and prepare themselves for joining the people's army. The education, training and experience of the urban-based workers and educated youth are in urgent demand in the countryside.

Although the struggle in the urban areas is principally legal and defensive, it is high time to develop the capability to deploy armed teams of partisans principally from the countryside and secondarily from the cities to punish the worst elements of the enemy side and undertake other special operations. While the people's army is working and fighting hard to achieve systematic wave upon wave advance, it can assign units and teams to deliver lethal actions to the worst enemy elements and to demonstrate that the enemy cannot attack the people and their unarmed leaders and activists with impunity.

All the revolutionary forces must be prepared against the worst so that they can hope for the best. All possible efforts must be exerted to stop and slay the growing monster of state terrorism. US imperialism and the Arroyo regime try hard to look powerful and terrible. But in fact, US imperialism is already overextended and bogged down elsewhere and the Arroyo puppet regime is economically, politically and morally bankrupt and is far weaker than the Marcos fascist regime.

IV. Revolutionary Tasks of the NPA

Following the leadership of the Party, the New People's Army must resolutely and courageously raise the people's war to a new and higher level along the line of the new democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective.

The 3-year program of 2002 to 2005 for

expanding and consolidating the New People's Army, which was decided by the 11th Plenum of the CC, has been extended by the Political Bureau by one year to 2006 in order to provide ample time to the NPA and other revolutionary forces to fulfill the targets of the program.

The proletarian revolutionaries, the Red commanders and fighters must conscientiously and vigorously carry out the revolutionary tasks set forth in the program. The Party Central Committee directs the National Military Staff and the regional operational commands of the NPA to strengthen their offices and the various departments of the NPA in order to raise the people's war from current capabilities to a new and higher level.

The Red commanders and fighters must always refresh themselves on the principles and policies of carrying out the armed revolution. They must study the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong on people's war and the accumulated documents of the Party on military strategy and tactics. They must never forget the lessons learned from the criticism and repudiation of "Left" and Right opportunism in the Second Great Rectification Movement. They must learn from their daily experience and engage in criticism and self-criticism promptly and periodically in order to get better results and improve the style of work.

In cases of setbacks in whatever respect and of whatever scale, we must look into the causes whether they are due to internal problems, the severity of enemy actions, the tremendous odds arising from an objective situation or all. Whatever the causes, we must look into individual and collective responsibilities and unite to overcome the problems and advance in our work and revolutionary struggle.

The New People's Army can strengthen itself as a fighting force upon the fulfillment of such requisites as political and military training, building the organs of political power and the mass organizations, carrying out land reform and other campaigns and intensifying tactical offensives that are sure of victory. The NPA must be able to annihilate enemy units and seize weapons to strengthen itself as a fighting force. In this regard, it must have the inexhaustible support of the people.

It must multiply the platoon as the basic formation. This is the suitable size for

the center of gravity in a guerrilla front and eventually for the headquarters force at the provincial and regional levels. This is also the cohesive shape for the squads and teams that are deployed on a wide scale for mass work and the most flexible small-unit offensive operations. The Party branch must be based in the platoon and the Party group in the squad.

The existing guerrilla fronts must be expanded and consolidated. We hope to attain soon a stable number of 140 guerrilla fronts in at least 11,000 barrios. We expect that 50 per cent of the guerrilla fronts will have a sum total of NPA fighters equivalent to a company and the other 50 per cent, less than a company. Those with less than a company as armed force must increase towards that level. Those with more than a company must give way to formation of a new guerrilla front or give their relative surplus of firearms to a smaller guerrilla front.

We must augment the strength of the NPA by training and forming the people's militia as the police force in the barrios as well as the self-defense units of mass organizations. These formations can help the NPA cover extensive areas and render service within the range of their competence and training. They are also the reserve forces for increasing the number of Red fighters as more arms are seized.

The barbaric attacks being made by the enemy against the leaders and activists of democratic parties and organizations and against the people in both urban and rural areas should push all of us to accelerate the recruitment of Red fighters and build the units and organs for absorbing and tasking promptly those being threatened by the enemy with death. We must be good at combining the workers and educated youth from the cities with the peasant fighters and the veteran fighters.

In carrying out the tactical offensives, we must give priority to annihilating enemy units and elements and seizing weapons, attacking enemy facilities and supply lines for armaments, fuel and other necessities, and punishing the worst elements of the enemy, including those who are notorious for human rights violations, plunder, etc. and grave anti-social activities.

We must seize the initiative, use flexible tactics, including the following: strike at the enemy by using the element of sur-

prise or when he least expects it; lure in the enemy deep to put him in a series of traps or deliver a blow at the weaker force where he comes from; when he advances with a superior force, let him punch the wind and we wait for his weak points to show; we can snipe at him or harass him to confuse him and slow down his movement; when he retreats, we pursue him and deliver blows we are capable of; make a feint towards the East to strike a blow at the West; leapfrog to deliver a blow and conceal where we come from; tickle an enemy outpost and deliver the big blow elsewhere; and ambush an enemy unit and lay a bigger ambush on the reinforcement.

We can raise the level of fighting tactics and technique by gaining further experience through fighting and seizing weapons from the enemy.

We must turn the enemy into our supply and transport officer who delivers to us the weapons from the Pentagon and the big puppet camps. In the current period, we can use rifles, grenades, command-detonated land mines, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and the like. We can also use modern means of communications, night vision goggles and so on. In a later period, we can get more of the basic and advanced equipment of the enemy through victories in the revolutionary armed struggle.

We have repeatedly told the US imperialists to respect the national sovereignty and territory of the Filipino people, to withdraw their troops from the Philippines and to stop their acts of military intervention. Instead, they are escalating their military presence and acts of military intervention. The NPA is therefore prepared to take the necessary actions against these foreign troops who in fact engage in terrorism under the pretext of anti-terrorism. These arrogant intruders are cowardly users of cruise missiles against civilian populations and fixed structures of city-based governments. But they can be made to bleed and die on the ground, as now demonstrated by the Iraqi people and previously by the Vietnamese and other peoples.

In land reform, we must still carry out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, controlling interest rates, raising farm wages, improving the prices of farm products and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. In

this connection, we pursue an anti-feudal united front, which means relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, obtaining the neutrality or support of the rich peasants on land reform and taking advantage of the split between the enlightened and evil gentry in order to isolate and destroy the power of the latter.

In the national united front, we must build the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie to make the progressive alliance and further win over the middle bourgeoisie to make the patriotic alliance. For the purpose of discrediting, isolating and overthrowing the enemy, i.e. the most rabid puppets and worst reactionaries ruling the country, we must build the broad united front, in which we develop the appropriate forms and ways of alliance with sections of the reactionary classes against the enemy. In this regard, we must maintain independence and initiative, especially in dealing with unstable and unreliable allies.

We must work hard for the overthrow of the US-directed Arroyo regime. For any length of time it takes to overthrow this regime, we must strengthen our forces and the people independent of the unstable and unreliable allies. It is fine if we can overthrow the regime soon and we can try to cause the formation of an urban-based government that is better than before. But if such is not yet possible because the balance of forces does not allow us, then we are satisfied with further developing the rural-based people's government and gaining further strength from the previous struggle and continuing with the struggle to gain still greater strength.

We are revolutionaries who seek the immediate improvement of the lives and conditions of the people. But we aim to overthrow the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords ultimately and replace it with the truly democratic government of the working people. We wish to accomplish the NDR and upon its basic completion proceed with the socialist revolution. In this regard, we wish to contribute the revolutionary victories and struggle of the Filipino people to the struggle of the people of the world for the defeat of imperialism, the global triumph of socialism and the dawning of communism.

Massive Unemployment; Shattered Myths

Sunil

Despite five decades of planned economic development the unemployment problem has not only been persisting, but also getting more and more severe. The ever-swelling number of unemployed has shattered the myth and illusions, that along-with the growth of the economy, the problem will be solved in the long run. The parliamentary parties and their govts. aired so many promises for addressing the problem squarely. But those were vindicated as blatant falsehoods. Even-then the unabashed leaders of these political parties are still repeating those promises to lure the millions of jobless wretched people. While joblessness stalks the entire country the govts and their sycophants are trying their best to give an underestimated figure of the unemployed to cover the grim situation, guard the very economic system that generates it, and to serve the ruling classes.

Unemployment – the grim reality

To have an idea about the magnitude of unemployment it is necessary to ascertain the total number of the labour force. The NSSO survey report (1999-2000) estimated the figure as 376.4 million (37.6 crores) in 2000, when the total number of population was just over 1 billion. R. Nagraj in his article published in EPW July 24, 2004 stated that the number of total labour force was close to 400 million in '99-2000. Whereas Pravin Visaria of the Institute of Economic Growth, University of Delhi, stated that total number of the labour force was 453 million by 2001. Generally, 50% of the total population constitutes the labour force. The NSSO report '99-

2000 estimated the total number of labour force far below this. Even the 9th Plan projected the figure as 423.4 million. The worker-population ratio, as per the NSSO report '99-2000, is 0.37. It is no doubt far from the reality. Some scholars argue that the ratio is so low mainly due to two factors – i.e. the low labour force participation of women and that of below 15 years of age, which alone constitutes 36% of the population. These arguments do not correspond to the reality. In India the vast majority of the people are living below the poverty level and are compelled to engage themselves in some economic activities irrespective of age and gender to earn whatever may be possible. In agriculture even most of the children of the poor households are working either as self-employed or as casual labourers. So it may be commented that the NSSO figure of the labour force does not reflect the reality.

The NSSO report of 1999-2000 says that the rate of unemployment (chronic, long-term and temporary) is 4.4%, while the figure comes to 7.2%, if it includes visible unemployment. This visible under-employment can well be considered as unemployment. It is due to lack of employment provisions that visible underemployment arises. But even this rate of unemployment cannot capture the reality as the rate of visible or otherwise underemployment placed in this survey report is implausibly low i.e. 2.8%. A different measure of underemployment suggested that the above rate would be 13.3% (EPW, Nov. 27, 04) i.e. 13.3 % of the available labour days remained unutilized in 2000.

Thus it can be stated even on the basis of this report that the rate of

unemployment plus underemployment is (4.4 + 13.3) 17.70 percent. Even this rate of unemployment is far below the reality. This survey did not take into account the following phenomena:

Agriculture, rural industry and trade constitute large part of the economic activity. This part of economic activity is based on family labour entailing more disguised and invisible unemployment than any visible or open one. This phenomenon depresses the unemployment rates in general and open unemployment in particular. It is a natural outcome of the predominantly subsistence agrarian economy.

A considerable part of employment consists of employment at a very low level of productivity and income, which is even below the minimum subsistence level. The employed persons belonging to this part of the 'employment' category are poor. As there are no such employment provisions they have to engage themselves even in such work, which cannot meet their bare minimum needs. Even then they engage themselves in such work, as unemployment is not an option for them. The govt. survey (NSSO) categorized them as "employed" and they were included under the classified head of either "self-employed" or "Casual Workers". Just over 50% are self-employed which includes those working as unpaid family workers. Casual wage labourers are another 34% of the 'employed'. These two groups – self-employed and casual labour – comprise 84% of the total employed. The vast majority of self-employed and casual labourers work in agriculture.

It has been stated in this survey report that the agrarian sector provides 59% of

Incidence of Poverty among employed persons

| | Self-employed | Casual Labourers | Regular Employees | All employed persons |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Percentage of the employed in poverty | 27.4 | 47.8 | 15.2 | 32.5 |
| Composition of the working poor | 44.7 | 48.4 | 6.9 | 100 |

Note : Employed persons here refer to those employed according to the usual status. An employed person belonging to a household with a per capita expenditure below the poverty line (Rs. 335.46 for the rural area and Rs. 451.19 for the urban areas, both in the 1999-2000 period) is regarded as poor.

total employment, while the industrial sector provides only 16%. Out of this 59% employment in agriculture, about 55% is self-employed and more than 43% (43.6%) is casual labourers. These two groups comprise 98.5% (i.e. 212.64 million) of total employment in agriculture of 215.88 million. In general, a good section of casual workers and self-employed are living in a poor condition due to the combination of a low return from work and underemployment and particularly in the agrarian sector the condition is far more deplorable. These sections of the people, having no other alternative to eke out a means of livelihood, have to engage in any type of labour to earn some income however low it may be. These jobless people are considered as employed in the official versions.

In general the magnitude of unemployment is deplorable and more so in rural India. The joblessness in rural India compelled a large number of poor people to leave their villages in search of employment. This distressed migration has swelled to an exodus. The National commission on Rural Labour found (1991) that there were "more than 10 million circular migrants in the rural areas alone. These include an estimated 4.5 million inter-state migrants and 6 million intra-state migrants." At present the picture is far graver. Since the second half of the 1990s with the collapse of rural employment migration has been swelling. According to an article published in the Hindu dated March 15, 2004, in 2001 such migration was so high in different parts of the country that it even distorted the main Census head count. NSSO data is based on a strange definition of "last usual place of residence" of a migrant. It means "the village where the person has stayed continuously for at least six months immediately prior to moving to the present village/town." This excludes millions of jobseekers who are unable to stay anywhere for six months. These footloose migrants have always been moving from place to place for their survival.

From the above it can well be understood how grave the unemployment situation is! Since long this problem has been persisting and since the mid '90s it has been getting more and more acute. It is at present about 40 crores (The Hindu; January 25, 05)

Economic growth and employment

Amidst this dreadful scenario of joblessness, govt. officials, the planning commission and all the govts. have been continuing to repeat their promises. Since its inception the Planning Commission has been projecting that unemployment will be solved in the course of the development of the economy. Every time they fix a targeted growth rate of the GDP and link the growth of employment to that. Though time and again it has been vindicated that the growth of GDP itself cannot solve the problem of unemployment. **In fact there is no such relation between the growth of GDP and that of employment provision.** The reality is that it depends on the very character of the development policies, more particularly, on the prime force of the economy. The experience of this country's economic development has also corroborated this fact.

Since the inception of planning it was viewed that employment could be generated in the course of economic development. The second Five Year Plan fixed a goal to attain full employment in the long run. Labour intensive techniques were advocated as it was considered that in "an economy with relative abundance of labour, a bias in favour of comparative labour-intensive techniques is both natural and desirable" (Second Five Year Plan, Govt. of India, 1956 p. 109). Accordingly the commission's expectation was that even a 5% growth of the economy per year would help achieve the goal of full employment. Thus the problem of unemployment was not considered a serious one for which it was necessary to treat this problem specially.

This expectation of the Planning Commission has remained as an expectation only. It never transformed into a reality. During the '60s and '70s

economic growth was around 3.5% per annum while the growth of employment was 2% per annum and that of the labour force was 2.5% per annum. This resulted in a further increase in the backlog of unemployment. In 1956 it was 5 million and in 1977-78 it went up to 11 million. This too is a most conservative and class-biased estimation. Even-then the trend is very clear. The backlog of unemployment has more than doubled. The policy makers and planners then realized that economic growth alone could not solve the problem. Consequently, many special programmes were introduced at the end of the '70s and particularly during the '80s. Those programmes aimed to provide self-employment and short-term wage employment e.g. - Food For Work Programme (1977); Self-Employment For Educated Unemployed Youths (1983), National Rural Employment Programme (1988) and the Integrated Rural Development Programme (1980). After the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana Scheme was introduced on Oct. 2, 1993 and from 1994-95 it subsumed Self-Employment for the Educated Unemployed Youth Programme. In the late '90s the IRDP and allied programmes were merged into a single programme called the Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana in 1999. Rural Employment Generation Programme and Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana were introduced to generate incremental employment over the Tenth Plan. All these programmes are ad interim measures to placate the mounting dissatisfaction of the jobless wretched people. The very nature of economic development being the same, unemployment further increased despite growth of the economy. During the 1980s the average growth of GDP was 5.5% and that of employment further dwindled to 1.8%. While as per the NSSO survey of 2000 the aggregate employment growth declined from 2.26% in '83-'93 to 1.01 in '99-2000. the GDP growth as per the Planning Commission Report-02, accelerated from

5.2 to 6.7% per annum during '83-2000.

Governments, planners and their economists have long been assuring the people that the development and growth of the manufacturing sector would take a leading role to solve the problem of unemployment. But that has already turned into a fiasco. In 1951 the share of manufacturing output in the GDP was 10% and it has increased to 33% in 1991. During the same period the share of the manufacturing sector in employment has grown from 11% to 16% only (Bhalotra, '98). The period from '84-'85 to '89-'90 value added in the organized manufacturing sector grew at 7.2% while growth of employment was 0.65%. In the unorganized manufacturing sector it was even negative (-0.95%). This period was termed as a period of 'jobless' growth. This has further deteriorated during the '90s which has been marked as a celebrated decade of economic reforms, though the then finance Minister assured the parliament that, "reforms were aimed at encouraging a pattern of industrial production which is labour intensive." The old story (falsehood) is being repeated once again! The progress report of that assurance

once again shattered the story. **During 1995-96 and 2001 more than 1.1 million workers i.e. 15% of workers in the organized manufacturing sector lost their jobs.** Further, the Planning Commission report (May 2002) gave a disastrous picture of the employment generating capacity of the economy. The commission commented, that it was "declining fast". The report also pointed out that in the late 1990s the organized sector reached a state of "almost near jobless growth."

Employment elasticity, which is a ratio of employment growth to the growth of value added (output), continued to decrease from around 0.65 in the 1960s to 0.55% during 1970s and around 0.38% during the '80s (T. S. Popla - The Question of unemployment). According to the Sahara Times 5/5/04, the employment elasticity further declined to 0.16% in the post reform period.

The experience of last five decades clearly proves that this very type of economic growth cannot eradicate the unemployment problem. Even-then, the Planning Commission, Govts. and their sycophants and economists are harping on the same story that economic growth, irrespective of its character, will generate employment and solve the problem in the long run!

Since 1983 the govt. stepped up investment in the industrial sector and after implementation of the economic reform programme, investment flooded the organized sector. According to the National Economic Survey, over the past five years, about 65% of govt. investment went to the organized sector.

While due to the dearth of investment two-thirds of the country's cultivable area, the vast production resources, faced a deplorable condition. The Planning Commission Special Group on employment generating growth has noted that even if the organized sector grew at 20% per annum, and the private organized sector at 30% per annum, their contribution to total employment would increase hardly by 1.5 to 2.0% of the total over the Tenth Plan (Planning Commission, 2002). This poor performance of the organized sector which has failed to generate employment in spite of its growth, has compelled the Planning Commission to resolve that the unorganized sector has to be specially targeted for generating employment. It was earlier envisaged in the Second Plan, which "aimed at expanding employment opportunities of which the bulk was to be provided by the unorganized sector."

National Employment Guarantee: Another Hoax

All the constituent parties of the United Progressive Alliance and Parliamentary 'Left' parties promised to provide employment to millions of unemployed poor. After assuming power the UPA govt., supported by the so-called left parties, published their Common Minimum Programme (CMP). In this CMP it has been promised that - "the UPA govt. will immediately enact a National Employment Guarantee Act. This will provide a legal guarantee for at least 100 days of employment on asset creating public work programmes every year at minimum wages for at least one able-bodied person in every rural, urban

Employment Elasticity

| Year | Employment elasticity of Growth (in percentage) |
|----------------|---|
| 1960s | 0.65 |
| 1970s | 0.55 |
| 1980s | 0.38 |
| 1993-1999-2000 | 0.16 |

Employment Structure and Relative Employment Elasticity of Growth during 1999-2000

| Sector | Employment (%) | Growth Elasticity |
|--|----------------|-------------------|
| Agriculture | 59.8 | 0.01 |
| Mining & Quarrying | 0.6 | (-)0.41 |
| Manufacturing | 12.1 | 0.33 |
| Construction | 4.4 | 0.82 |
| Electricity, Gas, Water Supply | 0.3 | (-)0.52 |
| Trade, Hotels and Restaurant | 9.4 | 0.62 |
| Transport, Storage and Communication | 3.7 | 0.63 |
| Finance, Real Estate, Insurance & Banking Services | 1.3 | 0.64 |
| Community, Social & Personal Services | 8.4 | (-)0.25 |
| Total | 100.0 | 0.16 |

Source : Tenth Five Year Plan and Economic Survey 2001-02

poor and lower middle class household."

An advisory committee prepared the draft which was diluted in the National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill 2004 introduced in the Lok Sabha. It is already cited in this article that earlier govts. introduced many schemes to provide ad interim employment provisions to the rural poor. This time a bill was introduced. After going through the text of the bill one can realize that it is not a guaranteed scheme, rather a discretionary programme similar to previous ones. It has been stated in the Bill that the Act will commence when the Central Govt. may implement it in "different states and different areas." An Act with such a clause indicates that even the courts cannot mandate to bring it into effect. According to the Bill if employment is not available, unemployment allowance may be given after 15 days (clause 7). This too depends on the economic capacities of the State. If the State is not in a position to provide such allowance, it will pay one-fourth of the minimum wage for 30 days and one-half for the rest of the year until the 100 days target is met. But this minimum wage is not linked to the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. Section 8(3) iii states: "Notwithstanding anything contained in the Minimum Wage Act, 1948, the Central Government may fix the rate at which the wage shall be paid to the labourers employed under the programme. Provided that, different rates may be notified for different areas. Provided further that, until the central govt. notifies wage rates for the purpose of this Act, labourers shall be paid the statutory minimum wage fixed by the respective state governments for agricultural labourers." Again, if it is not paid, only a note will be made of such cases (clause 8). It means another falsehood – an enacted falsehood!

The definition of 'household' imports a grotesque concept. According to this concept household potentially consisting of several families, related by blood who shares a residence, ration card or kitchen (clause 2(7)). It means, as soon as any one member of such a household will have a job, the unemployment benefit for the other will stop (clause 7). But here it

does not end. One word has been included before the 'household' that is 'poor'. Officially 'poor' indicates those who have the opportunity to include their names in the BPL list. Definitely this will be used to restrict the eligibility for the payment of unemployment allowances. Also there is no safeguard against the exclusion of women from the scheme. Is it not a grand mockery? Is it not an insult to a poor household? In case of absence, even if there is a good cause or the corrupt programme officer does not give permission for absence, the unemployment allowance for three months will be forfeited. Clause 29 empowers the Central Govt. to change the Statute after simply informing Parliament. It is proposed in the Bill that the Center will provide the wage, some of the administrative costs and three-fourths of the material cost. Then the State will have to pay the unemployment allowance. It has no guaranteed fund! This clearly expresses how sound the scheme is!

The Governments' own estimations is that the scheme would cost at least Rs.25,000 crores per annum, as per another estimation it would be at least around Rs. 45,000 crores per annum. In the current Central Budget proposal Rs. 5,400 crores has been allocated to the National Food for Work Programme, and 50 lakh tones of food grains. It comes to Rs.11,000 crores comprising cash and food grains. It is far short of the amount necessary to implement the scheme. Even the other employment programmes, SGRY, has been downsized to Rs.3,600 crores. It is clear that the govt. is planning to allocate even this small amount as the cost of other employment programmes. It is a planned deception, thus, the National Employment Guarantee Bill 2004 which excluded not only the urban unemployed, but also introducing the word 'poor' before the 'household' further narrowed the target. Now the target is those who have managed to include their name in the BPL list. The definition of family further reduces the number of persons who can place their claim for employment. Number of days, will be

only 100 days. The Govt. can fix the wage rate according to their whims – to follow a norm is not necessary. The duration of the work will depend on the whims of the government. The area of implementation will also be decided by the govt. The Bill guaranteed the govt. to implement the scheme according to its whims instead of guarantying employment even to the rural unemployed throughout the country. It is now restricted to 150 poor districts out of a total of 593. What more is necessary to make a farce and to insult the millions of rural unemployed?

This is the way they are trying to give a 'human face' to these inhuman brutal exploitative policies. Policies that serves the interest of the indigenous ruling-exploiting classes and imperialists. It is nothing but another cunning plot to lure the people and create illusions among them. The UPA govt. like all previous govts. ensure the continuity of the persisting economic system which breeds joblessness and deprives millions of people of their food and livelihood.

The Economic System that Breeds Unemployment

This severe unemployment problem is the outcome of the persisting exploitative economic system, which is abjectly dependent on the world imperialist economic system. It operates to serve the interest of the imperialist forces as well as indigenous exploiting classes that act as agents of the imperialist forces to have a share of the imperialist booty. Consequently, despite some changes, low asset based subsistence cultivation still predominates the rural economy. Landless and poor peasants with great tenacity continue cultivation even if that is uneconomic and non-viable. A small plot of owned or rented land they have, and that is the only means of livelihood. Had there been secured employment opportunities, many of them would have abandoned cultivation. Due to this low-asset based subsistence cultivation the big landlords/landowners, usurers, hoarders, agri-input sellers (most of the cases same person) persist in their inhuman

exploitation. Following the dictates of imperialist's capital intensive cultivation has been introduced keeping the land relations intact, rendering more and more joblessness throughout rural India. The MNCs controlled agro-industries and various forms of contract farming have been operating with the promise of a rosy future. This will further increase joblessness. Moreover, complete exposure of the agri-market to the world agri-market, controlled by few MNCs, has devastated the rural economy. The industrial sector, particularly, manufacturing, has developed in such a way as to cater to the needs of the imperialist forces. The indigenous big bourgeoisie is completely dependent on the imperialist economy. In the name of collaboration, cooperation and assistance, aid, grant for development of the economy the imperialist forces shifted the burden of their crisis onto the shoulders of this country's people. The industrial sector has developed absorbing obsolete know-how, technology, machinery with the restriction of production of spare-parts necessary for machinery, processed raw materials etc. etc. Through this process, on the one hand, the imperialists have tightened their grip on the economy, on the other a top heavy lopsided industrial sector has developed, which is a capital intensive, labour-saving one. Consequently, it cannot generate the much needed employment.

Along with the deepening crisis of the world imperialist economy, the imperialist forces have introduced crisis management measures (known as globalization). These entail the curtailment of all social securities and hard earned democratic rights of workers, expansion of the market, breaking all sort of barriers and ever-increasing control over the wealth and cheap labour resources of backward countries. The indigenous ruling classes and their govt., in response to the globalization programme, adopted an 'economic reform' programme. This programme has been initiated to restructure the economy at the dictates of the imperialist controlled IMF, World

Bank, WTO. Consequently all sectors of the economy had been opened up for reckless plunder of the imperialist forces, i.e. MNCs. This programme has intensified the persisting crisis in the economic system. The perennial employment problem too has further intensified along with the implementation of this programme. While millions of jobless people are moving to different parts of the country in search of work the employers are enjoying the right of retrenchment in various forms, lockouts, layoff, flexibility of labour deployment i.e. hire and fire, close-up even without paying dues, curtailment of social securities, downsizing the units, deployment of unskilled contract labour, curtailment of all democratic rights of the employees/workers etc. etc. As an inevitable outcome of these policies a large number of workers and employees have been ousted further swelling the number of jobless people.

This is a natural outcome of the existing economic system. Throughout the last five decades the ruling classes and their govts. have been following such economic policies as to serve their interests and that of imperialism. This economic system opposes the very interest of the people and the country. This system engenders joblessness, impoverishment and hunger, it cannot solve its own created problems and crisis. At best it can provide ad interim reliefs to keep the people's dissatisfaction within a manageable limits. **People need such economic development which can solve their problems. This economic system cannot do that.**

The unemployment problem can only be solved with the establishment of an alternative economic system. An economic system that can unleash vast economic potentialities of the country for the well being of the people. The first step towards this goal is the equal distribution of the social assets in rural India. This will provide jobs to the unemployed and underemployed to a considerable extent and help increase the purchasing power, which boosts demands for basic goods. The market

for basic goods, to start with, will expand, and in response to such market, small industries with labour intensive techniques of production will develop. While these sort of industries will meet the market demand, it will also offer employment. As the basis of this development is an indigenous grass-root market, it will be a stable one. And the employment provisions it offers will be the most guaranteed form of employment over the long term. The unsatisfied need of the vast rural poor, having employment so the purchasing power thereof can be increased, which will further develop the market of necessary commodities. Based on the home market growth of the economy, employment will continue to develop. This will ensure free and independent growth of the economy. The country will have a self-reliant economy and will be able to fight back joblessness.

The ruling-exploiting classes – big landlord/landowners and the monopoly bourgeoisie are not only opposed to this alternative economic system but also put their state machinery to come down on any such struggle/movement with the aim of establishing a self-reliant economy. The principal task of the state, an embodiment of ruling class violence, is to save the existing system and ensure its smooth running. When the political parties of the ruling classes fail to distract the people who are advancing towards that goal, the state machinery begins to suppress those movement/struggles resorting to violence.

What should the millions of jobless people do? Do they continue to be duped by the ruling parties, and slowly advance towards death? Or do they go ahead with the demand of a self-reliant economy, unite to develop a massive mighty struggles to achieve the goal despite state violence? This is one of the burning issues of the day. Of-course, it is a political issue. Right to job, Right to food, Right to live – are fundamental democratic rights. People must mobilize under the party which can lead them to achieve the goal. ■ ■

Big Robbery of India's Mineral Wealth

Rob all! Loot all! Take all! That is the new mantra of the chiefs of the South Block and the well known agents of the imperialists — Manmohan Singh, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Chidambaram, et al. There is not a single part of the country's natural wealth that is not up for sale, either directly or through collaboration with the Indian compradors. Not only India's mineral wealth, but also its water, electricity, genetic wealth, flowers, fruits and even its yogic exercises are up for sale. In this article we shall just look at the latest steps taken to sell some of the mineral wealth of the country; others will be dealt with later.

Great Oil Rush

Without the direct privatization of the main oil majors, against which there has been much resistance, the government is allowing the international oil majors into new fields — either directly or in collaboration. In fact in Assam there was an entire state bandh against the handing over of an ONGC oil field to a Canadian company. The Amguri Oil Field in Sibsagar district was given over to the company Canaro Resource Limited.

Besides this the US giant Chevron Texaco plans to come into the country in direct collaboration with the highly profitable ONGC. Shell too plans a major entry into the country.

Worse still has been the recent handing over of numerous new exploration fields to foreign TNCs. BP (UK), Petronas (Malaysia), Hunt Oil (UK), Cairn Energy (UK), British Gas are amongst the 26 foreign oil companies that have bid for the 20 new exploration fields.

Besides this the USA is trying its best to sabotage to pipe-line project from Iran and replace it with high cost LNG gas supplied by US companies in the Middle East through US ships. It is with this perspective that they seek to re-start Enron and build the planned

huge 2.5 million tonne gas terminal.

Coal De-nationalisation

Manmohan Singh has openly said that the next major reform that is to be urgently pushed through is in the coal sector. He has threatened that this will take place in the very next monsoon session of parliament. India has a gigantic 91 billion tones of proven reserves, including 15 billion tones of the high quality coking coke. Yet, since the last few years, the country is facing a shortage and has been importing coal at a huge cost from Australia.

An atmosphere is being systematically built for the privatization of the coal industry saying that coal shortage will be 55 million tones by 2005-06. NTPC, the major consumer of coal, has already threatened to import large amounts for its power plants. Many new coal fields are not being started, expecting the new policy to come soon. In a criminal waste of the country's natural wealth the richest coking coal deposits at Jharia (near Dhanbad) have been on fire for over a decade now; yet the country has been importing coking coal from Australia.

Already the CIL (Coal India Ltd) is seeking global bids for mining leases of the 3 latest blocks in the Mahanadi coalfields. The mines at Bhubanedshwari, Kaniha and Kulda will give 24 million tones of high-grade coal annually, giving gigantic profits to the imperialist investor. In the eastern zone already 148 blocks have been given over to the private sector.

In this monsoon session of parliament a private coal-mining bill will be introduced which will replace the Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act, 1973.

The Take-over of India's Iron Ore & Steel

A massive scheme is underway to sell off the rich iron ore deposits to the imperialists. This sale will take place through direct export of the ore and also in the form of the final product — steel.

Orissa has particularly become the hub for this sell out, given the rich iron ore resources of the area. Here the pro-BJP State government and the Congress/CPM government at the Centre are functioning in total collaboration. This is a part of an international trend where the Imperialists are shutting down their steel plants in their countries due to the high costs and the drop in iron ore reserves and shifting their projects to low cost countries.

Chhathisgarh has also been targeted for its rich iron ore deposits, but due to the vehement opposition of the local tribals led by the CPI(Maoists) it is not on the immediate plans. Here, the tribals, who were earlier enticed into accepting such projects in the name of 'development', have witnessed a pathetic plight at the iron ore mines of Bailladilla where the ore is exported direct to Japan. They lost their lands, got little compensation, were given only menial jobs at very low wages and their women and young girls were sexually abused on a massive scale by the contractor/officer/official class. All their rivers and streams in the vicinity too have been now polluted by the waste from the mines. For example, the Talper River is deep red in colour. The tribals have learnt a bitter lesson from this so-called developmental project. They quite obviously oppose any similar project in Chhathisgarh.

The Orissa government is already negotiating deals for 25 steel plants and ten more are in the offing. This includes the biggest ever foreign deal in Indian history with the Australian/South Korean consortium linked to Posco. Posco, a South Korean company, is now the largest steel manufacturer in the world. The present deal, in collaboration with the Australian giant BHP Billiton, is for a huge \$10 billion — the largest earlier foreign deal was the Dabhol Power Plant with Enron. This MoU

(Memorandum of Understanding) allows the company to rob one billion tones of Indian iron ore over a period of 30 years — 600 million tones in the form of steel and 400 million tones in the form of raw iron ore. Not only is the Orissa Chief Minister directly involved in pushing this project, though there is opposition from many quarters, but also the very Prime Minister himself and even the head of the Planning Commission have been directly involved. One can imagine the extent of the displacement of the local population with such huge projects already lined up. Already there is an ongoing struggle of the local tribals against the aluminum plants coming up in Kashipur district. No wonder the Orissa government has brought in huge numbers of para-military forces, many of whom have been trained in counter-insurgency in Andhra Pradesh

Cement Industry Fast Passing into Foreign Hands

The cement industry has virtually already passed into the hands of the giant TNCs, particularly three of the largest — the Swiss giant, Holcim, the French giant, Lafarge and the Italian company Italcementi. Lafarge has taken over much of the Eastern belt of cement plants. Holcim now has a controlling stake in the biggest cement company, Tata's ACC and also 67% share in Ambuja Cement India Ltd. Thereby the total production of cement in India by Holcim will be a massive 27 million tones. ACC has now also appointed a foreigner as CEO to head the company.

Besides these giants FIIs have also been swallowing up huge amounts of shares in the cement industry. The three major investment bankers that have been most aggressive in this sphere are the US's Morgan Stanley, the UK's

HSBC and the Singapore Government. Just in the last year their investments have gone up drastically as indicated by the chart below.

The interest in cement is not surprising as there is huge demand given the massive plans for road development and also the big investments in real estate. Not surprisingly the profits of these companies have been booming. For example, ACC, which had been making losses for many years, saw its net profits jump by a huge 81% in the year 2004-05.

Conclusion

This is only the beginning. It must not be forgotten that at one time the nationalization of Indian industry, as per the Bombay Plan (otherwise known as the Tata-Birla Plan) was done at a time which required large capital with low returns — the aim being to provide big industries raw materials cheap and use the people's tax money for business interests. Today with vast sums of international finance available without much outlet (due to the crisis) the situation has changed and every commodity is being swallowed up in order to absorb their surplus capital and generate super profits for their business empires. So, in all the backward countries of the world, including India, not a commodity is being left untouched.

| Company Name | FIIs Share of holding as Percentage of Total Shareholding | |
|-----------------------------|---|----------|
| | March 05 | March 04 |
| Gujarat Ambuja | 32.3 | 21.7 |
| Grasim | 23.7 | 20 |
| UltraTech Cem (earlier L&T) | 7.4 | 3.6 |
| India Cement | 9 | 7.3 |
| Shree Cement | 3.5 | 0.3 |
| Kesoram Cement (Birla) | 4.7 | 2 |
| Dalmia Cement | 22.3 | 22.3 |

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Rise of the New Power in Jharkhand

{Report based on discussions with leading members of the KKC, Company, Platoon, etc all members of the CPI (Maoist)}

— Subhash

Compared to the mafia rule of the past the new power emerging in many parts of Jharkhand is like a paradise for the poor and oppressed of the region. Earlier they were looted by one and all — the landlords, the contractors, the Mahajans (moneylenders), the police, the government officials and even the petty traders. Already poverty stricken due to a lack of land or gainful employment, this loot would break the backs of the poor. When the MCCI (now CPI(Maoist)) first entered the area we visited — now under the North Chota Nagpur Zonal Committee of the Party — the place was a haven for not only the above exploiters but also for criminal gangs and mafia. The districts under this Committee comprise Girdhi, Hazaribagh, and parts of Dhanbad, Koderma, Chatra, Dumka.

Initially the main struggles were for the confiscation of the crop on the land of the poor peasants seized by the mahajans and also against the forest department and big moneylenders. It was 1990 when Com. A, now a Zonal Committee Member had just joined the movement.

He recounted: "there was terror in the Gumia region by the Raghunandan Sah (RS) mafia. Earlier they had killed Jivla Mahto (Doctor) and would terrorise all activists of the mass organisation and the Party. They got many arrested and would actively defame the Party. In this gang RS belonged to the Congress and his right hand, Hafiz Mia, was linked with A.K.Roy's organisation. Finally the then MCC annihilated RS in 1990 and HM in 1991. This silenced the gang and it was only then that our organisation could grow.

"Also the Gumia region was run like a fiefdom by the notorious landlord, Bhim Singh. He was a

terror in the region. So, for example, if someone did not greet him when he entered the village he would be tied to a horse and dragged around. When we mobilised against him, he first ran away. Then he came back. He was tried in a people's court and taken around ten villages on a buffalo. Later he had a heart attack and died. Large numbers of guns were seized from the landlords.

"But after 1992 it was the CPM and the Liberation who jointly sought to crush the growing influence of the movement. They widely spread rumours that the MCC was involved in raping, robbing, etc. They also took a very aggressive attitude of destroying sympathizers houses and informing the police. In 1995 the Liberation killed our main activist in the Konar Dam area and captured those villages. They had acted similarly in the Bokharo Thermal area. Around that time we took a march to Jhumra hill. 10,000 people took part. The Liberation and the police were lying in wait. They shouted slogans to destroy the MCC. They were warned not to advance, but they continued to explode bombs and were firing. Then we counter-attacked with bows and arrows. Many were injured and one was killed. They fled. Only after the organisation was able to spread and KKC's were formed in village after village.

"By 2001 state repression had increased phenomenally. But, now none of the original mafia/landlord/govt. official combine exists in the area and the loot has basically stopped. Forests are in the hands of the KKC. The landlords have fled and the smaller ones have surrendered to the party. The Mahajans are also gone, mostly to the urban areas. But now began the

regular battles with the police. The last four years has seen these battles intensify. Raids on the police stations for weapons became necessary and ambushes were conducted to stop the police offensive. Besides the regular forces of the people's army, militias were built in all the villages. The police are taking the lumpen youth and making them informers and even recruiting them."

It is only through such intense struggles the new power is beginning to emerge in this area. Today, all activities in the village are decided by the KKC. All disputes are settled in people's courts. Besides this, in most villages mass organisations have been built of the women, youth and students, workers, cultural organisation, etc. As com S (Zonal Committee Member and Platoon Commissar) added "soon the organisational form of the new power will take birth in the form of the RPC — Revolutionary People's Committees. These will have in them members of the mass organisations as well as the KKC. At present there is an informal coordination between the mass organisations and the KKC." Since a number of years all disputes are settled in the people's courts. First a meeting of the villagers is called and the problem is presented by the KKC. Then both parties present their view-point. Then the public is asked to give their views. Then the KKC generally gives the judgment, considering all the views presented. No one goes to the police or the courts.

The mass organisations have mobilised the people to better their living conditions. The women's organisation extensively propagates against patriarchy and punishes the culprits. Both the women and cultural organisation propagates against age-old superstitions. The cultural body also performs songs, dance and plays to

educate the masses on basic issues, including health and hygiene. The poor have been organised to fight for increased wages for tendu-leaf picking. A decade back it was Rs. 2 per 1000; each year it slowly increased. Now it is Rs.45, while in areas where the organisation is not there it is still Rs.28. Many agricultural labourers and poor peasants now have land, confiscated from the landlords or the government's vacant land.

Since the last couple of years as the new power is being consolidated the KKC has begun to take up developmental works.

Much earlier on confiscated lands orchards have been planted and the fruits are distributed to the people. Through shramdan (voluntary labour) wells and canals are being dug. In one area nine wells have been dug and one

tank. In another area 7 wells, 8 tanks and one check dam have been built.

Also cooperative farming has been started in a couple of villages — this will not only raise productivity, but will help induce the spirit of community living. The KKC distributes widely anti-malaria tablets and propagates widely on the need to boil drinking water and other aspects of hygiene. Since the last two years the KKC took a 15-day cleanliness campaign — they removed the rubbish from the paths, put bleaching powder in the wells, distributed tablets and boiled the water in people's houses.

Also in the summer the KKC takes up building houses for the poor through shramdan. In one area so far 18 houses have been built.

The KKC has also begun some schools where the teachers payment is

raised from the students and the KKC gives a subsidy. In one area six schools are being run.

The funds of the KKC comes basically from (i) 25% of the produce on land confiscated from the landlord, (ii) fish rearing in ponds and lakes, (iii) special fund collection drives.

These then are some elements of the new power emerging in the guerrilla zones of Jharkhand under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) Party. The government tries to portray the Maoists as terrorists when, until now, what the rural poor have faced is nothing but the terror of the establishment and excruciating poverty. It is with the entry of the Maoists that they have been able to get a whiff of freedom from not only their oppressors, but also age-old superstitions and degenerate customs. It is this alone that is the hope for a new really democratic India. ■ ■

Continued from back cover

murder, they have given themselves the license to kill more and more. In their greed for profits they maim, murder, butcher, torture and kill at random. Yet they are not only not punished they are seen as the very pillars of this civilization and have the audacity to condemn others of threatening their 'great' civilization.

The Muslim terrorists know nothing better than such actions as they neither understand the cause for the atrocities nor the solution out of it. The communists who know the answers are nowhere to be seen as a significant force. The setback in the communist movement worldwide and the bad name given to communism by the revisionists has resulted in people turning to any other alternative. Many a communist party have existed in these areas but are nowhere in the battle, some have turned downright reactionary.

So, with no countervailing force to the imperialists the people are turning to religion as their ideological tool to fight, and terrorism as their method. This, of course has no future. Their terrorist methods of blasting bombs in the public are counter-productive. It kills innocents instead of hitting at the perpetrators of evil. Soft targets may be an easy military option, but it is no solution. Just because innocents are killed by US/British bombs and called collateral damage, it does not mean that retaliation should be in the same vein. Possibly a number of the 55 killed in London would themselves have participated in the huge anti-war demonstration in the same city. It is indeed sad that they should now be the victims.

Besides, such actions are also politically counter-productive. It only gives an opportunity to the fascists and racists to further enhance their mass appeal inciting the whites against the

Muslims and Asians. Already one Muslim has been killed in London and a number of Asians attacked all over Britain. Instead of uniting all against the war it will only act to divide the people. Of course, if the communists had been there in the forefront to fight state terror, the Muslims and other affected people would have a real alternative in this fight for justice.

Yet, notwithstanding the wrong methods used it must be strongly asserted that it is the Blairs, Bushes and their gangsters that are the real criminals responsible for the death of the innocent Londoners as they are for the innocent Iraqis, Palestinians, Afghanis, etc. The life of a white is no more precious than that of Arabs, Asians, Africans, Latinos, etc!! **People's March** mourns the death of all those killed in the London Bomb blast, as it does of the lakhs killed in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan and elsewhere. ■ ■

***Fight US/British Imperialist Wars !
Through People's Wars, not Terrorist Actions !***

People's March Strongly Condemns the Massacre of Maoists in Turkey

Between Thursday **16th June** and **Friday the 17th June 2005** the fascist state in Turkey cold bloodedly killed 17 Maoists of the Maoist Communist Party and injured three others, in **Mercan**, a region of Dersim in Turkey-Kurdistan. **Those martyred include six members of the Central Committee of the MCP, including its general secretary.** It was stated that they started the attack during the 'Expanded meeting of the MCP Central Committee'. At first the state didn't make any statement about this, then the news was shown on television that 17 guerilla's were murdered and 3 three injured and held by the state, who refuses to announce their names. The names of the martyred are: Comrades Cafer Cangöz (MCP CC member), Ayдын Hanbayat (MCPCC member), Ali Riza Sabur (MCP CC member), Cemal Çakmak (MCP CC member), Ökkeş Karaođlu (MCP CC member), Gülnaz Yıldıız (MCPCC member), Okan Ünsal (Conference Security Unity Commander), Berna Ünsal, Alaattin Atab, Kenan Çakýcý, Taylan Yıldıız, Ýbrahim Akdeniz, Binali

Güler, Dursun Turgut, Ahmet Bektaþ, Cagdas Can ve Ersin Kantar.

Funerals were held for the martyred guerillas, whose mutilated bodies have been released from state mortuaries. Photographs of the bodies of the martyrs clearly indicate that the military



counter-terrorist troops tortured the militants and then killed them.

The **Maoist Communist Party** was formed in November 2003; earlier it used to be called the TKP(ML). This attack is nothing but a continuation of the massive repression unleashed on the Maoists of Turkey, particularly since last winter. Last winter there were many encounters between military forces of the fascist state and the Peo-

ple's armies **TIKKO** (which is under the leadership of the other Maoist Party in Turkey, the **TKP/ML**) and the **PLA** (People's Liberation Army led by the **MCP**) especially in Dersim in Turkey-Kurdistan. The **MCP** lost more than 20 guerillas. The **Communist Party from Turkey / Marxist Leninist (TKP/ML)** also lost three of their guerillas, Comrades Cafer Kara, Apkýn Günel and Muharem Yiđitsoy during these encounters in Dersim. Through the whole winter there were many operations all over Turkey-Kurdistan including Dersim Þýrnak, Van and Muþ. In Hakari many guerillas of the PKK were also murdered.

People's March strongly condemns these massacres in Turkey and calls on the people of India to mourn the death of these heroic martyrs of Turkey and strongly register their protest against the Turkish government. We extend our deepest sympathies to the Maoist Parties, the families of the bereaved and people of Turkey for the loss of their slain brothers. We shall always stand firmly in solidarity with the people of Turkey in their heroic battle against their fascist state.



Blair & His Gang Responsible for the Attacks on London

On July 7th in synchronised attacks on London over 55 people were killed and hundreds injured, some of them seriously. Three blasts took place at different places in London's underground railway and one on a bus. All four attacks were by suicide bombers. They were later identified by the closed circuit cameras that continuously watch over the stations when four persons carrying bags on their back were identified at Kings Cross station. The four are then reported to have separated and moved in different directions. All were said to be Muslims citizens of Britain of Pakistani origin.

But what would drive a young Muslim British youth of a mere 19 years to become a suicide bomber. The horrors of Iraq, the brutalities of Palestine, the atrocities of Afghanistan and the continuing terror threats by US and their British and other allies is at the root cause of people's anger. In Iraq nearly a million people, mostly women and children have been silently killed by sanctions. And now in the two years of the Iraq war another one lakh have been killed. Over a decade of inhuman brutality!! Palestine has faced more for even longer. Thrown out of their own homes by the imperialists and their Zi-

onist allies they are virtual prisoners in their own land for over half a century. They have been mercilessly butchered by the Israeli Zionists, backed by their US/British allies. These are only the tip of the extent of brutalities by the imperialists. Added to this, British Asians, particularly Muslims have to face continuous racist attacks and discrimination, not only by the fascist organisations but also the arms of the state. They preach hatred and turn the white population against these people. Yet, these marauders not only get away with

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