

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution



1st Anniversary of CPI (Maoist) !

Peoples War Intensifies



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A New Dawn is Breaking! A New Hope Awakening!!

Sept 21st of this year will witness the first anniversary of the formation of the new unified Party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Within the muck and gutter of parliamentary filth this new Party stands out as a beacon light. A glowing star on the horizon bringing light to the darkness that entombs to world of the oppressed masses. While the parliamentary parties of all hues are coming out ever more crudely as gangsters, mafia, dalals of the moneybags and outright traitorous agents of the US imperialists, the Maoist forces are being seen as dedicated and selfless champions of the oppressed masses of India. Since the very formation of the Party, in just this one year, over one hundred comrades have laid down their lives for the cause of the oppressed, including some senior leaders like Karnataka state secretary, Saket Rajan. While Maoists are seen amongst the most oppressed sections of the country, the parliamentarians are only to be seen in the company of the moneyed, business, traders, film stars, imperialists, feudal autocrats and amongst outright gangsters and criminals.

The coming September 21 will be the first Anniversary Day of the newly-unified Party, the CPI(Maoist), marking the completion of one year of the historic merger of the two Maoist Revolutionary Parties, the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW]. It can be clearly seen that all the brave martyrs who have given their lives in this last one year stand as models of exceptional communist qualities such as: total dedication to the cause of the oppressed masses, selflessness and adherence to

communist values and ethics, indomitable will and steadfastness, exemplary courage, proletarian discipline, simplicity in habits and lifestyle, deep affection, love, respect and an attitude of serving the people, determination to bear hardship and 'swim against the tide', hard work, etc. They continue in the glorious traditions set by the founders of the two parties, comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanai Chatterjee.

In this one year the achievements are tangible, notwithstanding the ferociousness of the attack of the rulers on that new Party, which has now been

On the Occasion of one year of the Formation of the CPI(Maoist) we dedicate this issue to the recent important struggles taken up by the Party and the masses in various parts of the country. Of particular note has been the heroic action of the PLGA in North Bihar, the successful counter-attack by the PLGA forces in DK, the retaliations in West Bengal and AP and many more.... All under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist). Besides there have been spontaneous mass upsurges of the peasantry in Rajasthan and the workers in Gurgaon. In addition we present a short report on one of the major offensives of the PLA in Nepal, under the leadership of the CPN(Maoist)..... Editor

targeted as the number one enemy of the ruling establishment of this country. The dreams of the reactionaries and revisionists that the unity would not consolidate have turned into nightmares seeing the strengthening of the unity between not only the erstwhile two parties, but also their people's guerrilla armies with the growing strength of the PLGA.

Firstly, the unity has brought a qualitative leap in the unity of genuine communist revolutionaries of India. It

also brought a clear-cut polarization between the genuine revolutionaries and the fake ones. The revisionists of all hues have attacked this unity, while some have maintained a strange silence. Most of such forces do not even condemn the repression on the new party. But, on the other hand, the revolutionary masses and cadres, not only in the Party but also in various ML organizations, have enthusiastically hailed the unification. In the last year some genuine Maoist forces, either as a group or as individuals, have joined the unified Party, the CPI (Maoist).

Secondly, with the birth of a genuine communist party in the country, the unity has kindled a new hope for the oppressed masses of the country. Even the bourgeois media now reports the Party has spread to 150 districts in the country. The Party organization now spans across the length and breadth of the country, from Assam in the east to Gujarat in the west, and from Punjab in the north to Kerala in the south. The Party now has a presence in almost every state though it is weak in some states.

Thirdly, with the merger of the people's armed forces of the two parties the striking capacity has significantly increased. This can be seen from the step up in the number of actions since the birth of the new party.

Fourthly, with the merger the extent of mass influence of the Party has increased significantly and the areas under the guerrilla zones have widened to such an extent that the rulers, panic stricken, keep yelling about what the media call the CRZ (compact revolutionary zone) stretching from the

borders of Nepal to the southern hills of Andhra Pradesh — a distance of about 2,000 kms.

And finally, with the Indian revolution as a part of the World Socialist Revolution, the consolidation and growth of a genuine proletarian Party in a country as vast as India has come as a boost to the international communist forces of the world that has faced a setback since the reversals in Russia and China. The international proletariat as also the anti-imperialist forces of the world continues to hail the advance of the revolution in India whose attack on the Indian ruling classes weakens the entire imperialist system. This, combined with the rising people's war in Nepal, led by the CPN(Maoist), makes South Asia a burning cauldron of the growing revolutionary forces worldwide.

The unity between MCCI and CPI(ML)[People's War] was achieved after a long period by going through a process of close interaction, deep discussion, debate and deep study. It was the frank and sincere self-criticism based on MLM, before the masses and inside the party that paved the way to fulfill the long cherished desire of unity of genuine revolutionaries. It is an example to other revolutionary and Maoist forces that if they keep the interests of the masses as primary and the goal of revolution as the key factor, unity between even warring groups is possible. For this a genuine public self-critical approach is necessary from both sides.

Now let us take a brief stock of the developments in the last one year since the unity and birth of the new Party based on reports taken from the media. The achievements are to be assessed on the growth of the three magic weapons of revolution the Party, the people's army and the united front. All three are utilised to mobilize the masses for their liberation from poverty and oppression.

The first great achievement as even

reported in the media is the fusion of the two parties from top to bottom and the thorough discussion amongst its rank-and-file on the new documents. The Party's political line is open to all, though itself has to remain secret. The entire revolutionary camp is witness to the depth of the unity reflected in the agreements reached on as many as six major documents.

The next major achievement is in the ability of the PLGA to hit back the government's increased use of force against the Party and masses associated with it. The year following the merger was marked by great developments in their people's war. The heroic armed resistance of the PLGA and the revolutionary masses had spread to many parts of the country. It began with the great Chandauli ambush in UP in November last wiping out 19 policemen. This took place soon after unity, in a state not known for Naxalite activities. This was followed by the armed guerilla attacks on the enemy forces during the Assembly Election Boycott campaign in Bihar, Jharkhand during the month of February this year. Together with this there was the annihilation of the SP of Mungyr district in Bihar, — an Andhra person who had been given elite counter-insurgency training.

Then came the massive tactical counteroffensive campaign during April-June '05 in DK that killed 38 CRPF and state special forces personnel and injured nearly one hundred. Here, the government sought to crush the movement by bringing in loads of the CRPF and even the elite forces used against the Naga movement. It backfired, with huge losses to the enemy.

This was followed by the historic raid on Madhuban town in North Bihar close to the Nepal border. Over 150 people in a synchronized attack hit at all the symbols of the enemy — the police station, the Banks, the district offices and the notorious MP's house.

The attackers comprised a mixture of villagers, militia and members of the PLGA. The raid on Madhuban had reverberations throughout the region and even in the country.

Even in Bengal where the Maoists have been facing the bitter attacks of the CPM govt., with over 16 arrested including top leaders, in early July it was given a fitting reply when three local CPM leaders/toughs (acting also as police informants) were finished off and one police killed and 18 injured when they came to investigate the case.

And, as per the latest news reports even after the massive deployment of the cruel STF in Karnataka the PLGA successfully ambushed them causing severe injuries to eight. This is the first ever such attack in the Western ghats. Besides all these, several ambushes or raids in Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, Bihar, AP, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Chhathisgarh, have demonstrated the increased striking power of the PLGA after the merger of the two Parties and the two guerilla armies.

In addition to this under the leadership of the unified Party, the oppressed masses are joining the revolutionary movement in large numbers in some of the struggle areas and also in newer areas. The massive meetings held soon after the formation was indication to the appeal of the new Party. In Andhra Pradesh lakhs turned up, in spite of the government's hurdles. Seeing the mass response the government scuttled the meeting in Delhi, banned it in Patna and arrested a number of activists, and in Kolkata sought to prevent the masses from reaching the city and arresting them.

From all reports coming in, the Party, people's army and the mass organizations have been consolidated further and the revolutionary guerrilla war against the decadent social system and the reactionary ruling classes and their mercenary armed police and paramilitary forces has intensified further. Organs of People's government, the

Revolutionary People's Committees, in its embryonic form are emerging at village to area level by directly electing their representatives by the revolutionary masses. The Guerrilla Zones have been spreading to newer areas and the embryonic power has taken form in some of these area moving towards liberated Base Areas. Thousands of oppressed masses are organizing, consolidating and arming in the form of the People's Militia. It is being reported that their participation in the ongoing revolutionary guerilla war, including combat operations, is increasing. Higher forms of detachments of the PLGA are being formed and the guerrilla war has intensified and expanded further.

Today, the political situation in the country and the world is favourable for advancing the people's war. Imperialism is unable to come out of the serious crisis afflicting every sphere. The US imperialists have earned the

wrath of the oppressed masses all over the world due to their brutal invasion and attacks against Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries. The relentless heroic resistance of the people, particularly in Iraq, has shaken the US imperialists. In the name of a global campaign against terrorism, the US imperialists have unleashed attacks against the Maoist revolutionary movements, national liberation movements and all anti-imperialist forces. As a part of the worldwide imperialist offensive, recently the Bush administration had included the newly-formed Party, CPI(Maoist), and the ULFA in its list of terrorist organizations.

In India too, the enemy offensive is increasing and is growing more and more brutal. The UPA government, led by the Congress party, has declared an all-out war and has intensified its countrywide coordinated offensive after the formation of the CPI(Maoist). It has

declared the new Party as the main danger and has built a massive plan to wipe it out.

But the Party continues to grow as the masses throughout the country can see ever more clearly on whose side the rulers stand. The policies of LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation & Globalisation) are making the lives of the already impoverished masses a living hell. And even the smallest protest is met by lathis, arrests and gunfire. This is clearly to be seen by their maniacal attacks on the peasants of Rajasthan and the workers of Gurgaon. The masses soon see through the duplicity of the CPI/CPM and even NGOs that appear on the scene to pacify them and make them passive slaves of the moneybags. The only hope for such masses is the Maoists and their path of struggle. The next year is bound to bring an ever growing bounty of masses to the Maoist fold. ■ ■

Letter to the Editor:

Dear friends,

Red salutes!

We are happy that People's March is coming out regularly. We are reading the magazine. Occasionally we are translating articles.

We would like to inform you about our opinions in general about the magazine, as our comrades suggested:

- Basically I feel there is repetition in the articles.
- The quotations from various newspapers are no doubt necessary. But I feel so many are not necessary. Giving so many quotations might decrease analysis and might not fit into the framework of the article.
- Headings could be more attractive.
- Language could be more creative.

- Articles could be shorter, sharper and straighter.
- International issues could be explained in a simpler way in view of various types of readers.
- I feel that a paragraph with two or three sentences could be given in the beginning of an article to create interest and take the readers into the article.

February issue

Coming to the February issue, these are my observations :

Article on Tsunami could be supplemented with more photos. How imperialism operates through 'aid' could be explained more. Information about GAM developed interest to know more about it. We hope you could give this information on some or the other occasion.

The article on reservations in private sector

was educative. But I feel our perspective could be explained in a more detailed manner.

March issue

On the whole the March issue was interesting. But I felt the style of beginning an article and presenting it could be different and creative depending on the issue.

Revolutionary greetings

Bharathi

July 15 2005

Reply From the Editor's Desk:

We are very thankful for your views on the magazine. We ourselves will seriously take into consideration the points raised and also request all contributors to the magazine to also seriously consider the points mentioned. We also request others to send their suggestions on how the magazine can be improved.

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Hold High the Daring Maoist Offensive at Madhuban in Northern Bihar

(This report was received by post at the People's March Office. Given its significance we are printing it here..... Editor)

- Santosh

The PLGA guerrillas of the CPI (Maoist) carried out a daring raid against the vicious state machinery and feudal landlords at Madhuban in Northern Bihar on June 23, 2005. This thunderous raid has really proved to be a 'Dhamaka' in the political landscape of the country. The reverberating tremors of this raid has been felt not only in Patna but also in the country. That is why the ruling classes and their media have raised a hue and cry over it whereas the masses of Northern Bihar and the country have enthusiastically greeted it. Even though the PLGA guerrillas suffered some losses particularly during the heroic encounters after the raid, the achievements of this daring raid are really far reaching.

This raid has been carried out by near about 150 people including PLGA guerrillas, some contingents of the people militias and also the ordinary downtrodden people. A considerable section of the women guerrillas also daringly participated in it. It was carried out in the plain areas and in, daylight starting at 1.35 pm. Before launching this daring operation, named as "Operation Dhamaka", the Maoist guerrillas carried out thorough-going investigations and preparations. At the time of launching this operation the guerrillas divided themselves into several formations. There after, they struck with lightening speed at half a dozen targets of political, military and economic importance in Madhuban town. Within minutes they captured almost the whole of the town. Except a little skirmish at the police station they faced almost no trouble at any of the remaining targets. Because of the skirmish faced at the police station the guerrillas had to kill two policemen, that too only when they opened fire against the guerrillas. After overpowering this obstacle they captured the police station and seized all the weapons including a large amount of ammunition available there. In the mean time they forced the remaining police personnel present in the police station to surrender. Another formation of the Maoist guerrilla, it is reported, surrounded and captured two local branches of the SBI and Central Bank and took hold of at least Rs. 12 lakhs in cash available at the counter. They also snatched

the guns of the security guards. It is a matter of regret that the guerrillas had to kill one of the bank guards as he too refused to surrender and unnecessarily opened fire against the guerrillas. One formation of the guerrillas struck against the circle office and snatched four weapons from the police personnel posted there by forcing them to surrender. Another formation of the guerrillas attacked the house of a notorious landlord of the area who is also an MP of the RJD and acts as a leader of an armed mafia gang. By chance he was away from home and so survived. A nearby petrol pump owned by him, too, was attacked and devastated. During this the guerrillas arrested the brother of the notorious landlord but later let him free after necessary questioning. After completing this whole operation the Maoist guerrillas successfully retreated from the town.

Because this operation was carried out in broad daylight in a township where the terrain of the area was not quite favourable, being fully a plain area. The retreating guerrillas were followed and encircled by a large number of police forces at village Shampu Bahtaha comprising several companies of the CRPF, BMP and police personnel of many surrounding police stations. Their number was at least four times larger than the guerrillas and they were led by the SP and the DIG of the Range himself. But the guerrillas were already prepared to face and resist this onslaught. At this testing time the guerrillas rekindled their energies and instantly chalked out a plan to give a befitting reply to the enemy. There after, the PLGA guerrillas continued their retreat with active help and participation of the masses. After the first encounter they increased their vigilance. They were aware that after the defeat in the encounter the demoralised enemy will act more ferociously. This assessment proved true. Battered and disheartened, the enemy continued their search for the guerrillas. That is why another encounter took place between the Maoist guerrillas and the enemy forces on the fourth day, that is, on June 26th, 2005 at Piprahi that too in the day time. This time the number of enemy forces was more than the first encounter. Whereas the number of the guerrilla forces was reduced because they had already

started the process of dispersing. Despite their reduced strength the guerrilla forces proved their mettle in this encounter again. Because the guerrillas were already prepared they hit back the enemy forces just at the time when they started encircling them. In this counter-assault, a policeman was killed on the spot and another was arrested. Four policemen were seriously wounded. Two weapons including a carbine were snatched. This befitting reply not only thwarted their attempt to encircle the guerrillas but also forced them to retreat. A few hours later they again tried to advance towards the guerrillas. But this time the guerrillas were fully prepared and had already taken combat positions to entrap the advancing enemy. Hence when the enemy forces advanced a little towards them, they were hit hard. In this counter attack another police person was killed on the spot. There after sensing the combative mood of the guerrilla forces they immediately started withdrawing and hence fled away at 6 pm. This courageous and successful counter attack of the guerrillas proved to be another glorious achievement. Thereafter, the CPI (Maoist) guerrillas successfully retreated by merging themselves with the vast ocean of the masses just like fish in deep waters.

During this over all daring raid, particularly during the subsequent encounters, the PLGA guerrillas also suffered some unwanted losses. Six of their brave comrades laid down their precious lives while heroically fighting at the forefront and thereby helping the remaining comrades to retreat. The name of the fallen heroes of Madhuban are Com. Rajinder (23), Gaurav (31), Sourav (26), Mohamad Sabir (23) and Vajina (22) of STM Jitendra (22) of Champaran. All these were martyred during the first encounter. Some comrades were also injured.

Just before breathing his last, one of the fallen heroes, Com. Rajinder's voice reverberated in the air while sticking to his fighting position he boldly asserted, "if we will die, 3 lakhs more will come forward to take up our guns". Just then two other comrades had already given their precious lives while fighting against the enemy to their last breath. In this context the high sounding words of the fallen heroes itself

tells that the blood of the heroes of Madhuban will not go in vain. More and more revolutionary forces will certainly come forward to pay back this debt and thereby carry forward the already advancing PPW to its final victory and even beyond. The ferocious police forces also killed two unarmed villagers while firing indiscriminately. One of the villagers was a woman.

Despite these sorrowful losses of the guerrillas and the unarmed down-trodden people, the Madhuban raid signifies the fact that the already advancing armed agrarian revolutionary war has touched a new high level in Northern Bihar. Because of the above achievement the ruling classes and their media created a hue and cry about this raid. They falsely projected that more than 29 Maoist had been killed in the encounter following this raid. They projected this naked lie to cover up the cowardly defeat their police forces had to face in the fight with the Maoist guerrillas. This is why they also brazenly tried to project another lie that this raid was carried out by Nepali Maoists not the Maoist led by the CPI(Maoist). Another reason for this lie is the fact that the Indian expansionists are in search of a lame excuse to launch a war of aggression against Nepal, particularly against the Nepali people and the protracted people's war being led by the CPN (Maoist).

Another aspect of this raid is that it is no longer an isolated event nor did it emerge out of a void. It is the result of the ongoing revolutionary movement in Northern Bihar which was initiated almost two decades earlier. It was started to carry forward the revolutionary legacy of Mushahari. During recent years, particularly after year 2000, this movement not only took a new turn but also began to expand to larger and larger areas of northern Bihar and even beyond. Many important struggles, including some of the daring raids and ambushes against the reactionary feudal forces and the police machinery of the reactionary state representing imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, were carried out. During these struggles a large amount of the land of the landlords including their property were seized and distributed among the real tillers of the land. Various struggles to annihilate the landlords like Zimdar Singh

and Vijay Singh, Dinesh Singh and Ram Kumar Shaw and the seizure of their land have occurred.

Most prominent among these struggles can be cited as the following: First, a raid against the police post of the state machinery was carried out in Jan 2001 at Phasaul in Muzaffarpur near the border of Dharbanga. In this daring raid 8 weapons including 6 SLRs, 1 carbine, 1 Stengun were captured by forcing the police personnel present there to surrender. In June 2001 a daring raid was carried out against the Dexuly police station of Shivhar district. In this raid all the six weapons available in the police station were seized by the guerrillas. Then, another raid was carried out against the Semrahani police post in West Champaran district during which all the police personnel posted there were forced to surrender after a three hour fierce battle all the 15 weapons were seized, including 7 SLRs. These and many other revolutionary struggles were carried out with the activate help and participation of the masses. On July 15, 2003 a bandh against state repression was successfully carried out in the Tirhut-Mithla region of Northern Bihar in which thousands of people participated. This bandh actually engulfed the whole of Northern Bihar.

The development of the armed agrarian revolutionary war, including the Madhuban raid, can be better understood in the socio-economic conditions prevailing there. In this part of the country extreme backwardness and poverty can be seen even with the naked eye. Semi-feudal, semi-colonial relations of production exist in the crudest form. Most of the people, particularly the peasant masses, are forced to live a miserable life. Because of the cruel exploitation and oppression of the feudal landlords and their armed mafia gangs, the living conditions of the peasant masses, particularly the poor and landless peasants, are extremely unbearable. The land problem is one of the most basic problems in Northern Bihar. This is closely tied to the state machinery representing and protecting the interests of imperialism, feudalism and the Comprador Bourgeoisie. Hence the class contradictions and the resultant class struggles are already sharp.

Over and above this, regular floods cause havoc every year, especially during

the rainy seasons. That is also another reason why most of the people from this part of Northern Bihar are forced to migrate to other parts of the country for their living. It is another aspect that there too they are being treated like third rate citizens. All the political parties of the ruling class have never taken any notable step to solve the basic problems of the people to improve their living conditions since so called independence. Neither can it be expected from them. Today, they are exposed more than ever before.

Hence the ruling classes and their parliamentary parties are moving towards adopting more and more repressive measures to suppress the struggling people even on their simple demands. Since the development of the armed agrarian revolutionary movement of the people, particularly the peasantry, they have increasingly tried their best to suppress it by using every means. Until now 15 Maoist guerrillas and two villagers have been killed and many others are languishing in jails. Now, after the formation of the CPI(Maoist), they have declared that "Left extremism" is the main danger before them. Hence they have already designed an all out war against this movement without declaring it. In this over all context, the significance of the Madhuban raid lies in the fact that it is a befitting reply to these designs. It is certain that they will further intensify the repression in Northern Bihar also. In this nefarious game they may even deploy their armed forces to suppress this movement. But this is also certain that the triumphantly advancing armed agrarian revolutionary movement, that is, the protracted people's war led by the CPI(Maoist), will also go on advancing by giving them more and more befitting replies.

In the above context, the armed agrarian revolutionary movement developing in Northern Bihar is not only directed against the feudal mafia and police, including for land, but also against the state machinery represented and protected by imperialism, feudalism and the CBB. While owning the responsibility of the Madhuban raid, the section of the SAC (equivalent to a State Committee) of the CPI(Maoist) responsible for this region, issued a press statement saying that: *the immediate purpose of this raid was to oppose the increasing*

Continued at page 19

Sujata

Since the last week of June 2005 the print and electronic media has been circulating sensational stories of an adivasi uprising against the CPI (Maoist) party in Dandakaranya. Just as the “embedded journalists” did during the US aggression against Iraq, the journalists of Chathisgarh floated whatever their police bosses fed them as news. There was neither any investigation into the incidents fabricated by the police, nor any verification of the police version and not even any attempt at all to find out the people’s version even in a formal manner.

What is even more repulsive, the media barons deliberately cooked up even more than what the police and the government spokespersons concocted. For instance, in the incident of June 18, when the mob that attended the meeting at Mattwada in Dantewara district attacked the Naxal stronghold village of Kotrapal, the people of the village retaliated in which three of the attackers died. It was not a difficult thing for the media persons to find out the facts. However, they chose to publish big lies in banner headlines that Maoists had killed 12 adivasis when the latter rose in uprising. And this so-called news spread from Raipur to all over the country with each newspaper adding its own masala to the story. With news channels dinning into our ears such lies round-the-clock, one can imagine the impact of the lies repeated several times on the psyche of the people in far off places. This shows how, in the age of information high-tech, lies can be turned into “news” in the eyes of the people by repeating it ad nauseum.

The various parliamentary parties, police, and other government officials have been appealing to the Maoists to give up the path of violence and to join the “mainstream”. The so-called Jan Jagaran Abhiyan is described as a first major blow to the Naxalite or Maoist movement in Dandakaranya where the CPI (Maoist) has had undisputed control for over two decades. The reactionary ruling classes have been continuously dreaming of suppressing the Maoist people’s war but, to their dismay, it has been advancing by leaps in Dandakaranya, particularly since

the 2001 Congress of the erstwhile CPI (ML) [PW]. This received a further fillip with the merger of the PW and MCCI in September 2004.

Although the present phase of the so-called Jan Jagaran Abhiyan began in June this year, the reactionary ruling classes of Chathisgarh had tried such campaigns much earlier. Before going into the facts regarding the so-called Jan Jagaran Abhiyan and the present developments in Dandakaranya, one must understand the reasons for the ruling classes to take up such a campaign.

Background to the present situation in DK:

In the region of DK, presently comprising Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra, and Kanker, Bastar and Dantewara districts of Chathisgarh, the local adivasis have been organizing themselves under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist) and waging struggle against exploitation and oppression by the landlords, big contractors, forest officials, police, imperialist and comprador bourgeois companies, and others since the past 25 years. In the course of this struggle, they took up arms against the State and inflicted considerable damage to the class enemies. In some pockets of DK, the rule of the class enemies, including the state’s administrative rule, had been smashed and embryonic forms of people’s power was established in its place. The emergence of the revolutionary organs of people’s political power and the breaking away of a significant part of the region from the clutches of the traditional authority of the tribal elders and the feudal and state authority, has unnerved the reactionary ruling classes who have decided to act unitedly to suppress the growing people’s war. It is the advances made by the people’s war that had compelled all the Parliamentary parties in Chathisgarh to come together, notwithstanding the deep-rooted conflicts and contradictions among themselves, to unleash massive brutal attacks against the adivasi people who are waging the war under the leadership of Maoists.

Thus, the main party of the Opposition, the Congress, is supporting every

repressive measure of the ruling BJP in the state. The Congress has shown special interest in South Bastar (Dantewara), where it won all the MLA seats, in conducting the anti-Maoist campaign. Several companies of central para-military forces were deployed in the past few months. Mass arrests, tortures, destruction of property of the activists, and other forms of harassment have become common. The campaign is led by the Congress leader of the opposition, Mahendra Karma, and is often accompanied by the BJP minister in charge of Dantewara, Kedari Kashyap, while addressing meetings against the Maoists.

This is not the first time that the Congress had taken up such a campaign. Earlier, it had taken up two such Jan Jagaran Abhiyans (JJA)—one in 1990-91 and the second in 1997-98. But both the campaigns had utterly failed thereby creating a lull in their activity for some time. The police had taken up a massive suppression campaign in the past six months in the name of “Operation Area Domination”. But the suppression campaign had no impact and it failed miserably in curbing the activity of the Maoists. **On the contrary, the Maoists achieved some significant tactical victories and in a period of 2 ½ months from April to mid-June, they had either killed or injured over 100 CRPF personnel in a series of ambushes.** It is against this backdrop that the Congress led by Mahendra Karma, stepped forward to take up this campaign. And the BJP government extended complete support to the Congress. The ruling classes, particularly in Chathisgarh, pretty well know that they cannot suppress the ever growing revolutionary movement only through police action. Therefore, they often resort to such evil designs as creating a rift among people, instigating and pitching a section of the people against the revolutionary masses in the name of the so called Jan Jagaran Abhiyans. They take up such campaigns as part of the multi-pronged counter-revolutionary attacks and even intend to project it as a model to curb the Naxalite movement at the national level.

The Recent JJA & Peoples’ Resistance

The reactionary elements, in the name of a team of opposition (Congress) party’s MLAs, toured the CPI (Maoist) stronghold

areas since 5th June on the pretext of studying the intensifying activities of the Naxals. The team visited Belchar and Vinjaram, the places where a larger number of police personnel died in ambushes conducted by the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) during April – May. After visiting these places, they had secret parleys with their local henchmen and instigated them. As a sequel, secret meetings were held at the local level at Rani Bodili, Kutru, Thandimedri, Bandepara, Naimed, Mattwada, Jangla and some other places also. Thus, in fact, they prepared the ground for the so called Jan Jagaran.

As a part of this conspiracy, at first, the tribal and Panchayat elders of Thadimendri deceptively invited the local leaders of revolutionary mass organizations for discussions, severely beat them and handed over five of them to the police. Elders of a few other near by villages also decided to conduct such events and kill the leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations in their areas. Consequently, they held two larger public meetings simultaneously on 18th June, one at Thadimendri and the other at Mattwada, by mobilizing innocent people from the villages of their influence. In fact, their conspiracy was to misguide and lead all of the people who attended the meetings to attack the villages where the revolutionary mass organizations had been stronger. But, due to the past experience the people and the militia quickly understood such evil designs and consequences, became alert, and under the leadership of the PLGA and party, did not allow the Thadimendri public meeting to take place. Moreover, they even punished the ex sarpanch of Rani Bodili, the leading person.

However, the reactionaries could succeed in holding a public meeting at Mattwada. As intended, they could even send the mob who attended the meeting to attack Kotrapal village as they felt this village had been the nerve centre of the revolutionary movement in the area. As the mob armed with bows and arrows was approaching to attack the village, children of the village noticed it first and quickly informed the leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and militia who at the moment had been in a meeting in the near-by woods. The leadership and the militia immediately alerted the entire village of the

imminent attack by the reactionary goons. The village youth took proper covers and retaliated the reactionaries' attack with their bows and arrows, and 'burmars' (muzzle loading guns). They fought back the attackers with a do or die spirit, thanks to the military training given by the PLGA and the political consciousness imbibed through the Maoist Party. The reactionary goons ran away. Thirty of them were injured by the arrows of the revolutionary youth of the village, Kotrapal. In the melee two fellows died in the stampede. The militia caught hold of 10 attackers. Among those 10 arrested were two fellows, Shuklu and Pandu, who led the attack on the village. This was the actual incident that took place on 18th June. Here, an amusing trick played by the Kotrapal youth during the fight needs to be mentioned. They, in fact, did not fire a single 'burmar' as they did not have the gun powder. But what they fired was ordinary fire crackers only! The sound of the fire crackers was enough to make the reactionary goons panicked!

The incident did not end there. As the evil intension of the feudal gentry was to smash the revolutionary village Kotrapal, they came back next day together with 10 policemen and created havoc. They bashed up two women in the village cruelly and burnt the houses of four peasants and food grains of the village co-operative. Thirty quintals of the grain, 12 thousand rupees cash and the houses were reduced to ashes. This was just a sample of the State's cruelty. This was nothing but perpetuation of repression of the innocent adivasi toilers by the feudal landlord classes with the tacit support of the police in the name of the mass awakening campaign ("Jan Jagaran

Abhiyan"). In fact, this was nothing else than a plain and simple counter-revolutionary suppression campaign.

The news about this incident spread to several near by villages like wild fire. Revolutionary people from all those villages came in thousands in support of the people of Kotrapal and extended their help and cooperation in any manner what they could. These revolutionary masses prosecuted the 10 culprits arrested by the Kotrapal village militia in a people's court. The people's court pronounced in the presence of thousands of people, a judgment that Bhuvaneshwar Thakur, one of the main gang leaders of the anti-people suppression campaign, should be punished whereas the other culprits should be released with a stern warning. In this entire episode, only three persons got killed at the hands of the revolutionary masses and militia, and one person was punished as per the judgment of the people's court.

Yet another incident must be mentioned here. Mahendra Karma and his gang tried to conduct a big public meeting in another hamlet of Kotrapal, of course with huge police bandobust, again on 1st of July. The militia and the PLGA fighters came to know about it promptly from the vigilant people of the area, and could smash the evil designs of the reactionaries. Mahendra Karma quickly fled off the stage of the meeting. Police let loose their vengeance upon the villagers, burnt down seven huts of the poor, fired at an old woman causing a severe bullet injury, and even shot to death point blank two old poor peasants, Vanjam Mangu (58) and Uyike Sannu (52). In spite of such a heinous incident that took place, the media did not write or utter a



Education is being provided to the children and youths of the villages

single word about it! On the contrary, the media, as already mentioned earlier, publicized that Naxalites not only killed 12 adivasis but burnt their houses also! Of course, it is quite understandable. How can anybody expect the media would trumpet critical tunes when both the ruling and opposition parties collude and collaborate?

The Jan Jagaran Abhiyan failed in Dantewara yet again, but for the Gobelian propaganda and the murderous attacks on people by the police-goon combine. The Abhiyan was confined to road side villages only for the fear of strong resistance in the interior areas. The people herded by the police into the so called relief camps at Kutru, Naimed, Maatwada and Bhairangarh slipped out of the camps at the onset of the rains. They returned to stay in their villages and confessed about their mistakes in front of the revolutionary masses. Thus, the present Abhiyan miserably failed due to the mass resistance in a relatively shorter period than the past two Abhiyans. The people's enemies once again got thoroughly exposed and defeated. Once again the slogan – "*Toilers, unite to defeat all feudal lords and reactionaries, and annihilate their State! Build New People's Power!!*" – is echoing in Dandakaranya.

Govt's Lies & Deceit

Now let us look into the allegations leveled against the CPI (Maoist) and distortion of facts by the leaders of the Jan Jagaran. They accuse that the Naxalites obstruct the beedi leaf plucking works thereby making the adivasis forego the source of their livelihood, prohibit the weekly markets – the only source of essential commodities the adivasis depend upon, destroy the adivasi culture by banning the *gotuls*, and make the people lose their employment opportunities by obstructing the road-laying works. They further accuse that the Naxalites kill innocent people indiscriminately by branding them as police informers. Therefore the Naxalites, they say, are becoming the target of the adivasis' anger. Let us take up these accusations and distortions one by one briefly to know the reality.

There is no truth at all in the wicked propaganda that the Naxalites banned the beedi leaf plucking works. In this matter,

the government never sticks to any policy regarding the rates of wages, awarding the contracts, etc. It implemented a cooperative policy during the decade of the 90s. Later on the works were awarded to private contractors for three years. Now, again the cooperative policy is brought into effect, but only in South Bastar. The sole reason to shift the policy, the government offers, is to cut-off the funds flow from contractors to the Naxalites! What the people have been demanding from either the government or contractors is their justified rate of wages to pluck and collect the beedi leaves. They have been demanding 90 paise per bundle of 100 leaves. Contractors agree to the demand and get the work going. But the government is adamant not to pay a wage rate of more than 45 paise; that too it will not pay the wages on a daily basis; and further makes a false promise that it will pay bonus to the labourers after the leaf is sold out completely at the stock yards. People are ready to work even at such a low wage rate, but only demand justly that the wages be paid daily. Naxalites have been supporting these just demands. But the government doesn't heed to any of the demands, and moreover blames that the Naxalites are responsible for stopping the work. The Naxalites have stood firmly on the side of the people of DK for the last 25 years, and how could they ban the work that was a bread-earning source for the poor adivasis? It is the government that stopped the beedi leaf plucking and collection works.

Likewise, Naxalites banning the weekly markets is also a blatant lie. In fact, police and CRPF forces, wherever they are camped and operate, forced both the sellers and buyers, on several occasions even harassed and bashed them, to close down the markets. Police banned adivasis carrying bows, arrows and axes that are very essential to the adivasis for their self-protection while trekking through the jungle to come to the weekly markets. In the vast interior villages where the Naxalites' hold is stronger, weekly markets are held regularly and not even a single market is banned by the Naxalites.

And as for destroying Adivasi culture, it is the Naxalites that are enriching it with a democratic and socialist content, while countering all archaic feudal traditions —

like superstitions, human and animal sacrifices, etc. It is, in fact, the Maoists that have sought to develop the gondi language, the mother-tongue of the Adivasis, while the ruling establishment has tried to crush it through imposition of the languages of the respective states.

And as for governmental development projects the Maoists have always demanded hospitals, schools, irrigation, etc for tribal welfare — not roads for police's quick movements to harass and kill Adivasis.

Conclusion

In Orissa too the police has conducted such kinds of Abhiyan in the past in Rayagada but failed miserably. In Gadchiroli and Gondia districts of Maharashtra also similar type of the programmes have been taking place in the name of "Gaon Bandi", i.e., prohibition of entry of Naxalites into villages. All these programmes are sponsored by the police. The Maharashtra police gave the news to the media that until now more than 150 villages of both the districts have declared gaon bandi on the Naxalites. The state government declared a cash reward of rupees 2 lakhs to each of those villages. Wherever such Abhiyans take place, the police immediately organize local goons, lumpen and reactionary elements as the so called "Jan Suraksha Samitis" and "Shanti Senas". But none of these survived. All of these police sponsored Jan Jagaran Abhiyans in all the places have been getting thoroughly defeated.

The Maoists of Dandakaranya have brought a new awakening amongst one of the most backward and neglected people, not only in India, but also the world. Totally neglected and looted, not only under British rule but also for half a century after so called independence, the tribals of DK are now building their own future. They are building their own government, their own army, have begun developmental projects through shramdan, have been educating themselves, have been utilising modern medicine for the first time (not witchcraft), and have been building their own future. To do this they have to continue the battle against the forces of darkness represented by the present rulers and all their agents. ■ ■

Revolutionaries Retaliate to CPM Terror

Sanya

The Naxalite guerrillas have struck again in West Bengal. This time they have struck with clinical precision, proud defiance and of course with vengeance. In the evening of 9 July 2005, the Maoist rebels gunned down three CPI (Marxist) leaders and activists. In Majhgeria village, district Bankura, they shot dead the Ranibadh zonal committee member, Raghunath Murmu, and local CPM leader Bablu Mudi. In Dulugdi village, district Purulia, Mahendra Mahato, another CPM leader was gunned down in the same manner. While walking away, the people's guerrillas shouted slogans describing the victims as police spies. "All police informers would meet the same fate", they declared before leaving (The *Telegraph*, 11 July 2005). To cap it all, as if to give the whole episode a fitting finish, Prabal Sengupta, the OC of Barikul PS, who had just returned after having gained appropriate training in anti-landmine operations, was himself blown up by unknowingly detonating a grenade left behind in a bag by the guerrillas. Nineteen other policemen who stood around him received splinter injuries. This event, like the one that took place in Kokrajhar last year, has started a new drama on the political stage of West Bengal. It is a drama that will, as media reports on the reactions of the CPM led government, the CPM party leadership and the people as a whole tend to show, have consequences more far reaching and more significant than the earlier strike in Kokrajhar. It is a strike that the people of Bengal have been longing for a long time.

Let us first refer to the drama that is being enacted in the course of this action. How is it that the Maoist guerrillas, even after the arrests of so many of their leaders, could strike with such ease and a carefree manner at a place where the ruling CPM party—backed by the police and paramilitary forces—were supposed to be in a stronger position? How many people were involved in the whole operation? Were there two armed squads, or was it the handiwork of one single squad that travelled 25 kms very swiftly to get rid of the third victim in Bandwan with the same ease. Women guerrillas were reported to

have taken an active part in both the operations.

The maimed police in Bankura and Purulia are in utter confusion though some days have already elapsed since the incident. According to CID reports, those who killed Raghunath Murmu and Bablu Mudi in Majhgeria did not come in army fatigue (*Bartaman*, 12 July '05), while, according to another source, they had been wearing black uniforms (*Sanbad Pratidin*, 11 July '05). After more investigation, the police have come to the conclusion that the total number of persons involved in the action could be anything between 12 and 80 (*Bikeler Pratidin*, 11 July '05).

Were the three CPM leaders annihilated simply because they were CPM activists? The answer is a simple 'No'. In that case, many more would have been killed by this time. The Maoists are not likely to pursue a policy of senseless killings of CPM workers. They are sensible enough not to do what the CPM, in alliance with the Congress party, did towards the CPI (M-L) members in West Bengal during the stormy decades of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Today, the three CPM workers were killed because they were police informers (CPM leaders now a days are instructing their cadres to act as informers). The Bengali daily, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (11 July '05) stated, quoting intelligence sources, that most of the police actions conducted during the last one year were based on information supplied by Mahendra Mahato. The same was true at least of Raghunath Murmu, as the newspaper report indicates. The CPM mouthpiece, *Ganashakti* (11 July '05) lamented that the Naxalites had killed farm labourers who were the leaders of the poor. The fact is that they were killed because they passed secret information on the movement of the revolutionaries to the police, although some among them might have been farm labourers. Here their social standing is not important. What is important is their role as state agents and as counter-revolutionaries.

It is quite interesting to note that although three persons were gunned down, the names of only Raghunath and Bablu figured in the report. What about Mahendra? Mahendra was the "richest"

man in Dulukdihi village. He owned over 20 bighas of land, which made him stand apart from the rest of the villagers. In a village where no one else can make both ends meet and can own even a bicycle, Mahato owned a Rajdoot motorbike. To cap it all, because of his clout with the CPM, Mahato has bagged contracts for several block projects like digging of ponds and wells, as well as building of roads. The life-style of Mahendra Mahato resembles that of other CPM leaders in many rural areas. They live in luxury and comfort, while the people starve and die because of poverty, undernourishment and disease.

Plight of the State Machinery

What is particularly disturbing for the state is the failure of their intelligence network. The new home secretary, Mr. Prasad Roy admitted: "We failed to receive information on time. In many cases we are not getting information on time and these intelligence lapses often lead to such massacres" (*The Statesman*, 12 July '05). Let them be prepared for more such lapses in the days to come.

The fact that the morale of the police and paramilitary forces has gone down to an all-time low is clearly evident from the media reports. Mr. Chayan Mukherjee, the ADG (Law & Order) remarked that most of the forces deployed, apart from BSF and CRPF, have received the crack Greyhound training and are fully equipped to deal with any situation. Yet on that fateful 9th July—the day Raghunath Murmu met his doom at a place barely 100 metres from the nearest police station, "as many as 20 paramilitary personnel and an officer apparently heard the gunshots, but refused to budge". The much-publicized 'Greyhounds' fed by the Buddhadv-led government refused to come out of their lairs. Poor Chayan Mukherjee! Your pet 'Greyhounds'—trained in the art of maiming and killing revolutionaries with utmost brutality—are now so panic-stricken about Maoist guerrilla attacks that they are having sleepless nights in their dens!

One police officer of Majhgeria police camp did not try to conceal his fear: "Maoists hold meetings in the villages at night near our camps. But who will dare to ven-

ture out. We are like prisoners in these camps" (*The Indian Express*, 16 July '05). The Bengali daily, *Bartaman* reports that in Belpahari and Barikul areas, police morale has gone down to an all-time low. If they go out on combing operations in the jungles, they are mortally afraid of being blown up by landmines. The situation is so grave for the state that Mr. Subhas Avasti, the DGP, has already issued instruction that the police forces, even if they are on combing operations, should never go alone and should get back to their camps before dusk. The top police official was forced to admit that the Naxalite revolutionaries have already established their hold at night over parts of South Bengal, and that the areas under their control is expanding.

Plight of the CPM

Side by side, these heroic actions by the Maoist guerrillas have reduced the CPM to a rather pathetic state. The CPM leadership in West Medinipur district are having sleepless nights. The CPM stalwarts resolved to organize protest rallies in all parts of the state. The irony is that they could not do it in Belpahari, Banshpahari and Lalgah—areas where, as the top cops themselves admit, the guerrillas hold sway. The CPM leaders are so panic-stricken that they are staying outside their village homes, and some of those, who were not fortunate enough to move out to other areas, do not venture out of their homes. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* stated that in Bankura, Purulia, West Medinipur, Birbhum and Hooghli districts, at least 50 CPM leaders had to take round the clock police protection. *Dainik Statesman* (13 July '05) reports that being isolated from the people, the CPM leaders have increasingly been looking towards the police for their own protection. In Bankura district, 11 leaders including Amiya Patra, the state committee secretary, have been under police protection from 2002. A pathetic commentary on the election victories of the largest ruling party of West Bengal indeed!!

It is pertinent to point out here how police torture had told on the body and mind of the victims. In July 2002, Abhijit Sinha was arrested from his residence at Dum Dum—a place near Kolkata, along with Prof. Koushik Ganguli, Parashar Bhattacharya and others. Abhijit was witness to the physical torture made by the

then ASP, Anil Srinivasan on Koushik and others and the police intimidation he himself faced, traumatized him so much that he was forced to end his own life. Meena Sardar, a poor peasant woman of Belpahari, was arrested and imprisoned; she lost her mental balance due to police terror. After being released on bail and deprived of any medical treatment, she has now been passing her days as a liability on her mother.

Now the tables have turned. Imbued with Maoism, the revolutionary masses of Bengal are striking back with a vengeance. In the countryside, and the balance of forces is changing. Those who traumatized people and thought that they can go on doing so for ever, are now themselves being traumatized by the impending revolutionary storm. The 'white terror' has been replaced by the 'red terror'. It is terrible for the people's foes, but rejuvenating for the masses.

It is reported that in many areas of West Medinipur, road contractors are not coming up with projects fearing that that would invite the Maoist wrath, even though more than Rs.3.5 crores are being sanctioned from the prime minister's rural road construction fund. The cops admit that they are not getting any information about the whereabouts of the attackers and that "at least some villagers were clearly 'helping' the attackers. Are the Maoists lying low? No, they are not lying low. Instead, they are making their presence felt with defiance. The investigation team of the Forward Block, a left-front partner, reported after getting back from the affected areas that even after killing two CPM leaders in Bankura, they are moving around openly and issuing directives. The Bankura district leadership of the Forward Block was quite astonished to find that the Maoists organized a meeting on the very next night at a place near Majhgeria village attended by 70 to 80 villagers. The *TOI* (16 July '05) reports that amidst police claims of "combing operations", the Maoist guerrillas in police fatigues abducted six members of the counter-revolutionary village resistance group, who were leaders of the CPM's youth wing DYFI, late on 14 July night from Bidri village of Belpahari, beat them up and let them off on the next day with a stern warning—"go to the police and you will meet Raghunath Murmu's fate".

Both the CPM state secretary, Anil Biswas and the chief minister, Buddhadev Bhattacharya are trying to explain the Maoist attack in this way. They fall back upon the theory—already obsolete—that "developmental works" undertaken by the so-called left-front government have isolated the Maoists and it is out of frustration that they are resorting to such attacks. We will not quarrel with these reactionaries on this issue at present. However, we would like to reproduce some parts from the editorial of *The Statesman* dt. 16 July '05. It read as follows: "...Policemen are being made to pay with their lives because the state's Marxist leaders have been unable to deal with the abysmal backwardness and poverty in those two districts. Adding fuel to the fire are Goebbelsian claims about the 'fruits of development' having improved the lives of the poor. These fantastic claims in a sense lend credibility to the Maoist cause..."

In an article entitled "Maoists' rage in CPM citadel augurs well for the hapless lot", the *Hindusthan Times* (14 July '05) correspondent wrote: "...That the fruits of development have been misappropriated mostly by the CPM leaders and activists and in some cases also by other political parties including the Trinamool and Congress, is a bitter truth. So, an increasing number of people view Maoist activities as a fight for their basic rights. And why won't they? A few landmines have been blasted so far and the government is running with pots of cash and development schemes. It was only after the blasts that the government realized that these areas needed development. It even admitted for the first time that poverty existed in these places".

In his speech on the action in the WB legislative assembly, the Chief Minister repeated what he has been stating on different occasions and at different times. The Maoists are not the sons of the soil; they came from Jharkhand and they were led by a Telugu-speaking activist from Andhra Pradesh (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 15 July '05). He seems to have been caught up with an Andhra-phobia these days. If at all the guerrillas were led by a Maoist leader from Andhra Pradesh, what is the problem with him? An all-India revolutionary party

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Andhra Pradesh Government's Talk of Land Distribution, A Hoax! People Showed The Way Towards Land Distribution!

Chitra

The land distribution question was once again debated in AP when the Naxalites focused their proposals before the people of AP and the state government. All the bourgeois and the revisionist party's leadership interpreted the problem and its solution according to their own political outlook.

None could actually deny the same. Almost every bourgeois political party came out with the statement that the distribution of land to the poor is necessary. The government too did not deny it. The YSR government announced a commission to decide upon the wasteland and said it would take up distribution depending on the report of the same. The main opposition party of the state, the TDP came out with a statement that it has already given *pattas* to the landless. Anyway, later developments made it clear that the government is least bothered about the distribution of land.

The people understood the answer and started taking what they need. A lot of land occupation struggles broke out in many parts of Andhra Pradesh. This is a report from one part of the state.

People played a major role in this situation. They lost their lives. They lost their belongings — houses, animals and many other things. It was a saga of struggle and repression. In one word it was the process of development of the revolutionary movement in this part of the state for the past twenty-five years. It was part of the on going armed agrarian revolution under the leadership of the Maoist Party.

The readers of the People's March are aware of the propaganda meetings held during the 'peace' process in the state. People of the state took up struggles for their right to land, right to a better life and in a way right to live like a human being as a part of and rehearsal to seize political power through revolution.

What follows is a report of the struggles in the northern part of the state. This area is popularly known as the 'agency' area and is led by as the Andhra Orissa Border Special Zone (AOBSZ) of the CPI(Maoist).

The whole area comprises tribes. The people of the Peddamallapuram mandal took up agitation with the demand to form a special adivasi mandal. People of six mandals in Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts demanded the category of scheduled Mandals.

Kondareddi, a local tribe demanded recognition as a scheduled tribe. Nearly five thousand people belonging to 60 – 70 villages of Pappu, Kurmanur and Kappathotti panchayats conducted a demonstration in the Chithrakonda town center. Another 1500-2000 people of Kalimela and Malkangiri areas also conducted rallies on the same demand.

Land struggles

Coming to land struggles, it was like the rekindling of the earlier Srikakulam armed struggle in some parts of the district. A part of the district together with a part of the Vijayanagaram district has developed into a division in the AOB zone.

In Mashimi panchayat of Srikakulam district, 350 families of 8 villages came together and occupied 102 acres of land. The local tribe called *Savara* distributed the land among them. Each family got one to one and a half acres. Importance was given to the totally landless families.

In Ganasari village of Srikakulam district the *dalit* masses occupied four acres of the landlord's land for building houses. In fact it was their land. The landlords seized it from them with the aid of the power and authority of the state. Now it was the peasants' organization under the guidance of the Maoist Party that returned their land.

The masses of Maasaguda village in the plains of Srikakulam district occupied 25 acres of the landlord's cashew plantation. Eleven persons were arrested and cases foisted on them. But the people were not frightened and continued the struggle. They were successful in distributing the plantation to 20 families.

Coming to the East division that comprises Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of North Andhra, struggles were taken up in the plain areas of Soutidibbala, Dalipadu, and Ullempadu panchayats of Konalova area. The

landlords of the Kapu and the Kamma castes occupied these lands of the local people. Now the people obtained them back. The distribution of land is going on.

In Cheedipalem village 115 acres of land was re-occupied from the Reddy landlords. In Mohanapuram 80 acres including 40 acres of cashew plantation was occupied. Sixteen acres was left to the four brothers of the landlord's family. In Ebulam, Kummariveedhi, Cherapalli 26 acres of land was occupied. In Panasalaloddi village the people occupied 7 acres of the coffee plantation.

One occupation struggle grew to become a serious issue. In Kothabanda the village masses cut 35 acres of teak plantation. Since it was a major plantation, the government took it seriously. It propagated that the tribes are destroyers of the forest and that the Naxalites were provoking the people to do the same. It also ordered for an enquiry and appointed a Special Collector as the commissioner. Around 360 personnel of the forest department came and occupied the timber plantation. The people of the area opined that though it is necessary to protect the forest, people must be given land when there is no other alternate land.

Eight families occupied and redistributed 25 acres of land in Errabayalu and Sariapelli villages in Pedabayalu area near Paderu, the administrative center of the government in the agency area. In Gurthedu area, 15 acres of land was occupied. The bonded laborers of Darakonda village occupied 40 acres of forest land under the leadership of the peasant organization. Twenty-five acres in Lakkavaram – Pedapadu villages and 50 acres in Koyyuru was occupied.

How the land was distributed

The land distribution was not that easy. It was preceded by a thorough class analysis. The people of the village were categorized into, poor peasant, landless peasants and middle peasant. Importance was given to totally landless peasants. Leaders and the cadre made a class analysis and prepared reports. Opinions of the leaders of the mass organizations and

related persons were taken into account. The selection was carefully done.

It was not a simple land occupation struggle. Andhra Pradesh has witnessed in the past the CPI, the CPI(M) and also *Bhoodanam* types of land distribution. The Naxalbari struggle attained its glory by virtue of its surpassing the state defined limits of ceiling on surplus land distribution and moving towards attaining political power in the rural areas. The question of land distribution or the struggle for grabbing the *zamindars' and jotedars'* lands was of course there but its orientation was to establish a parallel revolutionary power centre for doing all such tasks. If the land struggle moves within the existing laws of the Indian state it assumes the character of mere economic struggle. Here lies the question of the revolutionary linkage between the struggles for alternative power structures as the primary aim of the struggle for land. And after distribution the land in the hands of the landless and poor will be maintained on the basis of this new revolutionary power in the countryside.

Repression

Land is the key factor for any government. The government, which, until then, was talking about 'democracy,' threw off its veil all of a sudden when the people started occupying land. It hurried to end

the 'peace' process. This was what had happened in 1990 too. In 1990, after a brief period of relaxation the government started unleashing repression.

Despite repression, the masses not only got their land back, Committees for Land Struggle were formed in many villages. Most of the land occupied was distributed among the needy. This instilled confidence in the people in their struggles. It instilled confidence in the path of agrarian revolution, in the armed struggle, in the New Democratic Revolution.

These land struggles indicate that power is the basic factor. If the landlords have the power or the support of the power of the government, they unleash it and exploit the masses. If the masses have power, they collectively utilize it for their community living.

It is clear from the recent experience that ruling class parties like the Congress, TDP will talk about land reforms through land distribution but whenever the people take the initiative in their hands for real distribution of land under the leadership of the Maoists or even spontaneously, the state machinery comes down on them with all its brutal force.

Mr. YSR assured the people that he would distribute one lakh acres of land by January 26th itself. A big propaganda was

taken by his government with all fanfare. The erstwhile Chief Minister Mr. Naidu and his TDP countered the government's arguments and the pet plan of YSR. However, the administration declared that they had allotted 'pattas' to the landless and were searching to find further surplus and govt. lands, again to distribute. God may bless the YSRs and Naidu but people are moving on their own to occupy the land.

Some liberal bourgeois elements are arguing that the occupied lands were not cultivated due to police excesses. So the land in various parts of the state occupied by the people under the leadership of the Maoists remained as waste lands. It is true that the major portion of the land has been kept idle due to the serious repression of the successive governments. To resist the onslaught of the police, peasants need their own people's army to protect them and to resist the state. This process has been started and the embryonic form of their RPC (Revolutionary People's Committees) is taking birth and people's militia are becoming an active supporting force to defend the peasants.

The Revolutionary People's Governments being built in the areas of the movement under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) are the embryonic form of the New People's Power. ■ ■

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like the CPI(Maoist) would naturally have activists from all parts of the country. All of them are Indians, i.e., the sons of the soil, and naturally do have the right to organize people of all states. The CPM itself has recently nominated two of its central leaders to the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal, although none of them is a resident of this state. If there is no problem for you to send your partymen to the Rajya Sabha, why then should the presence, if at all, of a Naxalite leader from Andhra Pradesh or any other part of India pose so much of a problem to you? Mr Chief Minister, it smacks of provincialism on your part. We would like to give friendly advise to you. Please think twice before making such foolish comments in future.

A New Hope for the Oppressed of WB

Poverty gives rise to the desire for change. The poor, undernourished people

of India—oppressed and exploited for ages by the feudal forces, comprador big bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters are waking up from their slumber. They are standing up with arms in hand. Rural Bengal today is echoing the defiant marching steps of the poor peasant guerrillas who, dreaming of liberating themselves and the entire country from the yoke of imperialism, comprador capitalism and feudalism, are extending their armed struggle to every corner of the state. Defying hardships, incarceration, torture in police custody and defying death, the peasants, workers, students and youths are scaling new heights of heroism. Their days in prison are also full of struggle. The revolutionaries from Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Dandakaranya, Bihar and other places are almost flinging away their most precious lives for the cause of revolution, the cause they hold dear. The successful guerilla

actions of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army have once again borne out the truth that "where there is oppression there is resistance". Yes, it is a retaliatory action against the policies of state repression pursued by the CPM-led West Bengal state government at the dictates of their imperialist masters. This also signifies that people dare to face the state atrocities, ensuring their march forward.

A new dawn will certainly emerge on this vast motherland of ours, to rid the muck of all ages. It will entail immense sufferings and sacrifices. This anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolutionary war led by the CPI(Maoist) would certainly defeat and crush US imperialism, comprador capitalism, the feudal forces and their political lackeys of different hues in the near future and transform our beloved mother-land into a country where human values would triumph over the lust for profits. ■ ■

1984: Nanavati Report & Rape of Justice

Sarita

October 31st 1984: Indira Gandhi is assassinated for the crimes perpetrated on the Sikhs in Punjab and the military assault of the Golden Temple. On Nov. 1st all hell broke loose. In just two days over 3,000 innocent Sikhs were butchered in Delhi alone; thousands more in other parts of the country. Hundreds of women were raped and crores of property of the Sikh community looted.

Jassi Bai witnessed her son and husband being butchered before her very eyes. Harbans Kaur, at just the tender age of 18 saw her husband tied to a pillar and burnt alive. The stories of horror haunt the living with no action taken against the perpetrators of the genocide. Some even continued as ministers for a full ten years in the past 21 years after the holocaust. The police and administration were silent collaborators continue with their brutalities.

But the anti Sikh pogrom was not the only one in post-1947 India. In 1947 itself lakhs of Muslims and Hindus were killed in the British-planned partition of divide and rule. The riots were engineered from the very top of the political establishment. No action has ever been taken against the culprits. In 1971 thousands of Naxalites were butchered in Kolkota in a Congress-CPM conspiracy, and some of the chief perpetrators, like Priya Ranjandas Munshi, continue to be ministers in Congress governments. Yet again no action taken. Again in 1984 there was the anti-Sikh holocaust. And then there were the horrors of the Gujarat pogroms, where over 2,000 Muslims were butchered, hundreds raped and crores of property looted. Again no action was taken. In fact, in all cases it has been the victims themselves and their families who have had to face arrest, surveillance and continued harassment, besides horrifying impoverishment. In Gujarat even after the UPA govt has come to power over 130 Muslims continue to languish in jail under POTA, while the Sangh gangs remain untouched.

The Nanavati Report

The report is an eye-wash, and even the limited accusations have been dismissed by the Congress Action Taken Report (ATR), tabled in the Parliament. And only when there was an outburst by the Sikh community and fear of losing their

power in Punjab and seats in many Sikh-dominated constituencies, did they make the killers Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar resign. That too, after making statements of their innocence.

The Nanavati Report concludes that the violence was "organised" and "involved the backing and help of influential and resourceful persons", but then goes on to state that there is "absolutely no evidence" to show high-ranking Congress leaders were involved. Even on those well known to have instigated the pogrom the Nanavati Commission is vague, saying that they were "probably" involved. On the police that openly collaborated with the rioters the Report says merely that they were negligent and "probably" connived in the attacks. Even regarding the inaction of the army the Report is again vague..

Taking advantage of all these "ifs" and "buts" in the report the Congress ATR took no action at all. But this very report was itself set up only in 2000 by the NDA government a full 16 years after the event. It has gone the way of all such reports which are just instituted to diffuse discontent or for political mileage of one or the other party — not to administer justice to the victims and their families.

Post-1984 Events in Retrospect

The main culprit for the entire massacre was the then Prime Minister himself, Rajiv Gandhi. It was he who master-minded the massacre, ordered the police and administration not to intervene and brought in the army after the worst was over. As India was still burning with the riots at a meeting on the birth anniversary of his mother on Nov. 19, 1984 he said "*when a mighty tree falls, the earth around is bound to shake*". Again in an interview to the Sunday Magazine (March 16 1985) he justified the massacre saying that "*the violence was extensive only in those areas where Sikhs distributed sweets*". He even opposed a judicial inquiry into the events. No wonder Sonia is totally silent and it was left to her stooge PM to shed crocodile tears, even though he himself is a Sikh.

A judicial inquiry was set up only in mid-1985, which only began functioning in 1986. Hearings were held in secret and none of the politicians against whom credible evidence existed (as detailedly outlined in the PUDR report "Who are the Guilty") were cross-examined. The Delhi police worked overtime to sabotage the few criminal cases they were forced to register. Attempts were made to shut down the relief camps and send the victims of the violence to their burnt-out homes within a week of the massacre. In one of the few cases all the 31 accused were acquitted in 1992.

Since 1984 there have been nine Commissions but zero justice. No action has been taken on the perpetrators of the crime, whether politicians, police or criminals; and little relief has been provided to the thousands of families destroyed.

How to Achieve Justice?

It is difficult in the prevailing system. The anti-Sikh pogroms clearly show that the politicians of any hue did not deliver justice, the administration did not, the courts did not, the numerous Commissions did not, nor did the very own Sikh party — the Akali Dal — which shared power at the Centre for numerous years. Then where can the victimized get justice?

It is rather difficult in the prevailing system. The overthrow of the entire system, lock-stock-and-barrel, is the only guarantee for the oppressed getting any justice. Meanwhile it is only the organised and revolutionary strength of the masses that can wrest justice through the use of its combined force. Let us not await justice for another 21 years, let us take the law into our own hands and meet out justice in people's courts.

Commissions of Co-option

Commissions are an effective tool of co-option of dissident intellectuals and drawing them into the establishment. Crores are spent of the individuals associated with them. The present Congress-CPM combine has perfected this art of co-option of 'left' intellectuals. Since May 05 the UPA government has created 50 commissions on any and every problem from improving the lot of dalits to water to saving tigers. NGOs play a major role in this. And this list does not include the statutory committees. There are ministerial groups, committees, missions, and high-level groups. Most of these committees produce nothing or otherwise are made to produce 'findings' dictated by the finders — govt., World Bank, et al.

Manmohan falls at Bush's Feet CPM falls at Congress's Feet

Suman

As the international crisis deepens and imperialist contention intensifies the US is vigorously pushing to build its bloc for the coming battles. Since 9/11, US unilateralism and the theory of "those not with us are against us", is nothing but the philosophy of bloc formation. Of course, at the international plane the process of bloc formation is still going on and none have consolidated. Strategic and military alliances are the essence of this process; which goes one step beyond the deepening of economic ties/dependencies. While some countries like Israel have always been part of the US alliance many others are sought to be drawn in. Frantic efforts are being made by the US in Central Asia, West Asia and South and South-East Asia. For the entire Asia region India is being seen as an important tool of US's geo-political strategies. In Central Asia, Russian assertion over the past two years has seen the US being pushed back to some extent, and in Afghanistan their rule hardly extends beyond Kabul. In West Asia the US is bogged down in Iraq due to the heroic Iraqi resistance. In Latin America the US's attempts to extend NAFTA to the entire sub-continent has not materialized. In such a scenario India gets more prominence in the US's geo-political strategic plans:

India is important for various reasons. First, due to its size it has a sizable market. Even if a mere 10% of the top population is considered this is more than the largest country of Europe. Second, it has a huge army which can be used as cannon fodder by the imperialists in all parts of the globe. Third, it has a high amount of educated and scientific personnel (English speaking) which can be used as cheap labour for US Empire-building. And lastly, it has a long history of a servile comprador class that can act as faithful tools of the imperialists; particularly the past 15 years of the history of globalisation in this country has shown that whichever the party in power the capitulation towards the US has gone apace without any significant shifts. These are the 'rich' credentials of the Indian rulers and as a reward for their servility Manmohan Singh and his gang were given a rousing welcome to the White House.

The recent Manmohan Singh visit to the US was merely the culmination of an entire process of greater and greater capitulation to the US, that has been going on since 1991 and which took a leap with Clinton's visit to the country. Particularly it is a continuation of the secret Strobe Talbott-Jaswant Singh talks that took place behind the backs of the Indian people during the BJP-led rule. It is said that it was during this March that the terms of the agreement were struck with the visit of the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, to this country. The nature of the agreements struck, earlier by Pranab Mukherjee on defence (see earlier issue of People's March), and now by the PM of the country, has taken the country a significant step forward drawing it deeper into the US camp. Much of the present agreements now signed were agreed upon during the Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbott talks, exposing the BJP's so-called opposition as nothing but a hoax. Vajpayee's continuous so-called attacks on the agreement is nothing but a fraud as the basis for these agreements were set in his regime.

Till now the CPM has made a show of opposing such deals; now for the first time, in its latest politburo meeting they have openly said that they are satisfied with the PM's explanation given in parliament on the visit. In fact they have never opposed the deals, only made some noises to fool the masses & their cadres. This is their standard refrain. All parliamentary outfits are in line to develop a closer US-India nexus.

Now let us come to the present deal. Together with the Defence deal signed a month earlier these agreements have been all-encompassing. They cover such strategic areas as nuclear and geo-political, as also in industry and finance, agriculture and even education. In Manmohan Singh's high-flying visit he was not only accompanied by most top ministers but also chiefs of business houses and top bureaucrats. It was in fact two chief cops from both sides who quietly (secretly) worked on the deal — the National Security Advisors from both sides. The deals were struck in such secrecy that even top Congressmen were unaware of what had

been agreed upon.

The Nuclear Deal

It was a total surrender to the US. Without any reciprocity assurances from the US the PM virtually signed on the dotted line handing over India's nuclear sector for US control and domination. While the US continues to proliferate nuclear weapons and has not built a nuclear reactor for energy production since the 1970s, it has demanded (and India has capitulated) that India not to test any nuclear weapons and build nuclear energy plants on a massive scale. The level of commitments made to the US on this issue was of a most humiliating nature and acts to further infringe on the sovereignty of the country. The agreement for nuclear energy must be seen as part of the Bush administration's plans to push nuclear energy on a big scale in the US itself. Faced with depleting oil stocks, and serious problems in most oil producing regions of the world (West Asia, Central Asia, Venezuela, Russia) it is seriously considering the nuclear alternative to supplement energy sources. The fact that this will be producing huge quantities of unmanageable radio-active waste is being ignored.

The Agreement signed has committed India to: "reciprocally" segregating "in a phased manner" the country's military and civilian nuclear facilities; "voluntarily" planning its civilian nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Safeguards; signing and adhering to the Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; working with the US to help conclude a Multilateral Fissile Cut Off Treaty (MFCT); continuing with stringent non-proliferation export control policies; adherence with the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), etc. These latter agreements are aimed to stop other countries from making nuclear combustible uranium, thorium, etc and allowing the US to maintain its monopoly. Most of these are a product of the Jaswant-Talbott talks during NDA rule.

Top nuclear scientists have themselves criticised the agreement saying that separation of the civilian and military nuclear facilities is impossible and if it was to be done it would be prohibitively expensive.

They reacted in anger and disbelief of what had been signed away. So, in other words, the PM has de facto handed over not only the "civilian", but also the "military" nuclear facilities for UN (read US) inspection. Besides, though India is not a signatory of the NPT (Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty) it has agreed not to test any nuclear weapons. It has also gone one step further in falling in line with the US's long-standing demand for accepting the MFCT.

By this agreement the US has virtually given the Indian rulers an Israel-like status turning a blind eye to its nuclear power. From criticizing it not being a part of the NPT it has turned to favouring its nuclear programme, only bringing it under US control as a counterweight to China.

In addition it has agreed to become the dumping ground for the dangerous US nuclear energy reactors creating a huge market for a highly capital intensive method of electricity generation. Disposal of nuclear waste from these reactors is a major environmental hazard and till today the imperialist have not found a way for the safe disposal of the radio-active waste. Just from the one Tarapore plant India produces 60 tonnes of nuclear waste each year. Now, as per the agreement, India seeks to expand its nuclear energy power from the earlier 6,000 mega watts to a huge 40,000 mega watts. One can imagine the extent of nuclear waste that will be generated. This nuclear energy entails high capital costs and is highly risky, when solar energy is more viable.

So, now India will become a huge market for the US's outdated nuclear reactors. It will also become increasingly dependent on the US for its entire fuel resources.

Export of 'Democracy'

The PM, in his July 18th speech, has promised to join with the US in exporting 'democracy' to the rest of the world. In a separate document entitled "*Indo-Global Democracy Initiative*" the two countries agreed to "assist other societies in transition seeking to become more democratic". The "*Initiative*" further commits the two countries to "*reaffirming the (April 2005) Community of Democracies Santiago Commitment and agreeing to jointly implement the Santiago commitment including with other states and civil society to promote democracy and development*". The Bush Manmohan statement have committed themselves to jointly promote "*sta-*

bility, democracy, prosperity and peace thorough the world". India also committed to support the US-proposed UN democracy Fund.

This *Initiative* has very serious implications as it, in essence, means ganging up with the US in its aggressive policies and war activities against other countries of the world as all these are being done in the name of promoting democracy. On the basis of this agreement India would have to send troops to Iraq (which the US has been demanding from the very start) as that war of aggression is also taking place in the name of 'democracy'. So also in Afghanistan or anywhere else in the world. And if this document is read together with the defence agreements signed by Pranab Mukherjee it virtually entails drawing India fully into the US camp.

Also this agreement will be used against the people of the world in the name of fighting terrorism. The two leaders resolved: "*To combat terrorism relentlessly. They applaud the active and vigorous counter-terrorism cooperation between the two countries and support more international efforts in this direction. Terrorism is a global scourge and the one we will fight everywhere.*" The stooge Manmohan spoke of "*Bush's steady-fast determination and leadership in meeting international terrorism*" adding that "*there must be zero tolerance of terrorists*"

So pursuing the Taliban in Afghanistan, or the Islamic regime in Iran, or the regime in North Korea or the new republics in Central Asia, etc all become a part of the US's drive for 'democracy' and countering terrorism, which now the Indian rulers are committed to join.

Greater Economic Entanglement

For the first time ever top business houses were part of the official delegation of the PM comprising the major chiefs of the comprador big bourgeois houses like, Ambani, Tata, Narayan Murty, Premji, Birla, etc. For the first time ever a CEO (the heads of these business empires are called Chief Executive Officers) Forum has been formed comprising ten CEOs from Indian and US big business each. The purpose of this Forum is clear: to facilitate the greater flow of US investment in India and tightening the stranglehold of US finance capital over the Indian economy. The CEO's Forum openly states that it will take issues like the removal of blockages on trade and invest-

ment. The forum agreed that India needs to modernize infrastructure and enhance investment climate. Bush went out of his way to speak of the India-US economic dialogue to focus high level attention on trade, finance, investment and the environment and the enormous value in setting up the CEO's Forum. **In essence, this will act as a powerful lobby to push US business interests in India.**

In agriculture they decided to further push genetic varieties in India in the name of deepening "*knowledge exchange, research and training*".

In the field of education it has sought to open out the Indian market to the US universities. The PM has agreed to make available lectures and resource materials of top US universities to those in India.

People, Rise Against Indian Ruler's Capitulation to US!

It is clear that the Indian rulers are, with each passing day, taking the country and its people deeper and deeper into the clutches of the US imperialists. This is having disastrous affects on the lives of the people of the country. The country is being driven to rack-and-ruin, while a handful of elite make fortunes eating off the crumbs from the imperialist table. Our traitorous rulers are going all out to sell off everything to the imperialists, particularly the US, mortgage the country's defence apparatus to the US, hand over the entire Indian assets, money, raw materials — everything, including its water, to the imperialists. All the parliamentary parties collaborate in these traitorous schemes.

If India is to be saved from total slavery the people have to rise in revolt. They should not get taken in by the mock opposition of the CPI or CPM or the NGOs. It requires a mass upsurge to be able to reverse the policies of the imperialists and their agents in this country. Just a month earlier we have seen how the administration and the police in Haryana acted as the tools of a Japanese firm, just as they had done during British times. So also in Rajasthan. They butcher the Naxalites just as the British butchered the likes of Bhagat Singh and others. For Manmohan and his gang it is not zero tolerance to terrorism, but zero tolerance to any form of resistance to their unjust policies. But, it is the oppressed masses of this country that will find the way out to genuine freedom.



In Honour Of Comrade Cangöz And The Other Fallen Heroes The Fruits Of Their Sacrifice Will Emerge From The Seeds Of Proletarian Revolution

{Press Statement Taken from the Internet}

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is grief-stricken and angered by the vicious killing of General Secretary Cafer Cangöz and 16 other comrades of the Maoist Communist Party [Turkey-North Kurdistan] (MKP) at the hands of the reactionary Turkish army.

Three attack helicopters and over a thousand soldiers participated in what was really just an airborne massacre completely disproportionate to the small guerrilla contingent defending the leading comrades. The helicopter gunships and bombs that struck down comrade Cangöz and the other comrades and other electronic devices used to locate them are among the most advanced weaponry in the world. This shows how low the ruling classes in Turkey are ready to go in dealing with the peoples of Turkey and their best daughters and sons. These brutal reactionaries and their imperialist masters have real fears because they know they are deeply hated by the workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities and revolutionary intellectuals and democratic forces throughout the country. Without the all-around support of world imperialism, especially the US and its military arsenal, the Turkish ruling class could not survive a single day.

General Secretary Cafer Cangöz and comrade Aydın Hanbayat, the Deputy General Secretary, along with the other comrades Okan Unsal, Ali Rıza Sabur, Alattin Ates, Cemal Cakmak, Berna Sagili Unsal, Kenan Cakici, Okkes Karaoglu, Taylan Yildiz, Ibrahim Akdeniz, Binali Guler, Dursun Turgut, Gulnaz Yildiz, Cagdas Can, Ahmet Perktas and Ersin Kantar were on their way to the location where the second Congress of the MKP was to be convened when they were encircled and attacked by the Turkish army from land and air.

Comrade Cangöz was well known to the enemy. He struggled for decades for the liberation of the peoples of Turkey as part of the world proletarian revolution. He spent more than ten years in the Turkish dungeons. In prison he was a daring and inspiring model of resistance and defiance and was loved by the imprisoned revolutionaries and hated by the prison authorities. Even while imprisoned, this comrade paid a great deal of attention to the problems of the communist movement in Turkey and internationally. After his release from prison in 2002 he played a key role in organising the founding congress of the MKP and in forging the political line adopted at that congress, an historic event which fought to consolidate a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding in the party. Since the first Congress, comrade Cangöz had been fighting to reorganise and strengthen the party and bring about a breakthrough in waging people's war.

Comrade Cangöz was a firm supporter of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Under his leadership the party strengthened its ties with the Movement even more and played a more vigorous role in the international movement.

The loss of comrade Cangöz and the other senior comrades and fighters is a tragic loss to the revolution in Turkey and worldwide. But they did not die in vain. The fruits of their sacrifice

and struggle will emerge from the seeds of proletarian revolution, which have been sown widely and deeply among the masses of all nationalities in Turkey and live on in their hearts and minds.

The enemy hoped to crush the MKP but the party, surrounded by the masses supporting it wholeheartedly, has begun the hard task of transforming grief and an-

ger into scientific revolutionary plan. The enemy hoped to strike fear into the masses in Turkey, but already thousands are defying them by honouring the fallen comrades, in Dersim, Istanbul, Ankara and other cities in Turkey and Europe.

We call on all of the proletarian revolutionaries in Turkey to rally around the MKP in this time of great grief and difficulty, rise to the new challenges, take on new responsibilities and carry forward the work that our fallen comrades had begun.

The comrades in Turkey played an important role in forging RIM as the embryonic centre of the world's Maoist forces. One of the tasks of this centre is to help strengthen the Maoist parties and organisations. The Committee of RIM pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with the MKP as the party struggles to overcome this loss step by step and achieve as soon as possible the breakthroughs in revolutionary struggle that the masses in Turkey so desperately need.

As Mao Tsetung put it, "*Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people.*" No matter how great the enemy's military might, the strength of the tens of millions of the oppressed and exploited masses in Turkey, once they are fully unleashed and organised in revolutionary struggle, will prove to be stronger. The ugly, vicious ruling classes of Turkey and their imperialist masters will ultimately be swept away by people's war, opening the door to a beautiful future in Turkey and all over the world, the communist world that comrade Cafer Cangöz and the other fallen heroes gave their lives to bring about.

**The CoRIM
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words. All the political parties other than the BJP supported the farmers' agitation and condemned the police action for their varied self interests and vote politics. As soon as the news of police firing had spread, farmers in Sriganaganagar and Hanuamngarh came on to the streets and raised their voice against police brutalities. In Ghadsana, Anoopgarh and Rawala farmers shut down the government granaries. Farmers organized rallies in different parts of the State to express their solidarity to farmers of Tonk district and to condemn the police atrocities.

On June 15, opposition parties began to place their statements in public demanding the resignation of Chief Minister Vasundhara Raje. They termed her regime as an oppressive one and she had no right to continue. Following the usual norm of mainstream politics Vasundhara Raje

Late News

Meanwhile, as we go to the press, in an adjoining area of Rajasthan, the Sriganaganagar district had been turned into a massive police camp in view of the mass sit-in to be held in Ghadsana. Prohibitory orders imposed in Ghadsana have been extended till August 5th and all entry points to the town sealed under strict surveillance of the police. On the eve of the peaceful sit-in over 150 farmers were arrested including all the leaders of the Kisan Mazdoor Vyapari Sangharsh Samiti. The farmers claim that the government has betrayed their very own commitment given to them in December last year.

blamed the opposition parties for instigating farmers. Amid this game of blame and counter blame the police have been continuing to terrorize the people even after a week hunting for those involved in the agitation. Today, particularly the CPM is playing the active role of fire-fighters turning up at all the trouble spots — whether Ghadsana, Gurgaon or elsewhere. As true fire-fighters their job is to diffuse the anger and seek a compromise in the best interests of the establishment. While farmer's resentment has been spreading in various parts of the state, the Raje Govt. has responded by transferring the District Magistrate, Add Dist. Magistrate, the S.P. and A.S.P. That was nothing but a cunning trick to dilute the intensity of the agitation. The new collector has also been following the same policy of repression in other ways. He is now busy to advice victims' family about the futility of the agitation — an indirect threat, well understood by the villagers at large.

All the opposition parties (both the ruling class and other parliamentary parties) are trying their best to utilize the situation. The leaders of these parties are enthusiastically visiting the affected villages and are paying lip-service to entice the farmers. These votaries of 'main stream' politics are endeavouring to increase their vote bank, and to have a better edge than the others. So their demands are concentrating on compensation money and

resignation of the Vasundhara Govt. Neither do they arouse the people against this oppressive state machinery nor do they put forward any concrete plan to solve the scarcity of irrigation and drinking water.

All these ruling class parties are in governmental power either at the central or at the state level. These governments are following the same state policy and have stained their hands with the common man's blood. They are preaching a lot about democracy and are following the policy of state autocracy. Whenever the people organize themselves to assert their democratic rights, Govts guided by these parties came down on them, deployed the state armed forces, terrorized the people, tortured them to death and opened fire, at will to kill them. Hundreds of democratic movements were drowned in pools of blood by the state's armed forces.

These very ruling class parties and their govts are always advising people to be in 'main stream' politics for the fulfillment of their democratic rights. Farmers of Tonk district demanded their right to have access to drinking water which is the fundamental right of the people. They demanded water for irrigation from the Banas River on which the Bisalpur dam is situated. As the farmers are living in the vicinity of the river they are the rightful claimants for irrigation and drinking water. Even then the govt. throttled their voice and unleashed brutal atrocities claiming five lives. Then, why do they not take up arms to resist state violence and assert their right to save their own lives?

Continued from page 7

measures of repression and the suppressive designs of the Patna and Delhi rulers. Secondly it is against the expansionist designs of the ruling classes inseparably tied with imperialism, particularly the US imperialism; particularly, against Nepal. Hence it expressed actual and living solidarity with the Nepali people and their protracted people's war led by the CPN (Maoist). Thirdly, it was a step in the direction of developing the PLGA into a full fledged PLA to transform the guerrilla zones into liberated base areas.

The Madhuban raid has written a new chapter in the triumphantly advancing agrarian revolutionary war in the country, that is, the protracted people's war in Northern Bihar and the Indian sub-

continent. Despite some losses its achievements are manifold. **Firstly**, it has further vindicated the view that guerrilla war can be carried out and advanced in the plain area too. **Secondly**, it has more clearly pointed out that the fighting capability of the guerrilla forces in Northern Bihar has reached a higher level. **Thirdly**, it has amply indicated the possibility of raising the struggle of the special area of Northern Bihar, Northern UP and Uttarakhand, under the leadership of the SAC and also the CC of the CPI(Maoist), to the level of Andhra, Jharkhand, Bihar Chhathisgarh movements, are greater. **Fourthly**, it has given a befitting reply to the increasingly repressive designs of the ruling classes of India and their imperialist's chieftains particularly the US imperialists, **Fifthly**, it

has forcefully expressed the intimate solidarity of the struggling Indian people to the struggling people of Nepal and their victoriously advancing protracted people's war led by the CPN(Maoist). **Sixthly**, the glorious role played by the women guerrillas in the Madhuban raid has become its most glaring achievement. It has further proved that women are equally capable in playing a most daring role in all matters, particularly in military affairs. **Lastly**, it has further kindled the aspirations of the Indian people that by taking arms into their hands and by relying on their own mighty strength they can create new miracles in the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) in smashing the old and rotten India and building a completely New India.

Seeds Bill 2004: A Blueprint to Murder of Indigenous Seeds

Dr. Gupta

Indian agriculture is in dire straits, somewhat comparable with the devastation that came in the aftermath of the Permanent Settlement in 1793. Imperialism, mediated by the WTO, World Bank, etc., has now assumed a direct role in the commercialization of land, fertilizer, technology, pesticides, crop-pattern, seeds and what not. The situation has come to such a pass that peasant struggles in India as a whole have got to address the distinctly emerging phenomenon in the deep-rooted semi-feudal conditions. This write-up concentrates on the Seeds Bill 2004, an openly declared act to fulfil the surrenderist pledge already made to the WTO.

It is common knowledge that the Indian peasants in the whole of the geographical landscape do not work the same type of land in the same climate, culture and environment. Specificity in this respect is the hallmark of Indian agriculture. And seeds constitute an essential component of agricultural activity. Indian peasants have so long got used to producing their own seeds locally. In a country where 70 percent people depend on agriculture for survival 75 percent of the seeds used for agriculture is produced by the peasants themselves. The dangerous Seeds Bill 2004 that the UPA government wants to push through, has all the potential to make the peasants completely dependent on the seeds market and to deprive them of their age-old right to save, sell and share seeds among themselves.

In the early 60s HYV seeds were introduced apparently to stave off the acute crisis in agriculture by flinging the doors open for the MNCs, World Bank and other institutions to chalk out agricultural planning and provide inputs for agriculture. The Indian context, topography, land patterns, etc. were simply overlooked and in came hybrid seeds, terminator seeds, and all such seeds in the process. Secondly, with the seeds, chemical fertilizer invaded Indian agriculture in general, and the areas of so-called Green Revolution in particular. Chemical fertilizers conspicuously represent imperialist interests – import of foreign ingredients, production in foreign lands, import of foreign technology, foreign loans and most of all the tie-ups between

the Indian compradors and the MNCs. Along with fertilizers and imported seeds what devastatingly impacted Indian agriculture was the chemical insecticides and technology. The model areas of the so-called Green Revolution – a World Bank project to contain the Red Revolution – has already started to backfire, destroying the natural fertility of the soil, water resources and spreading cancerous diseases. Instead of destroying the feudal base the reckless way of modernization of agriculture generated the growth of a new rural rich with one leg in the semi-feudal structure and superstructure and the other in hybrid capitalism.

This phenomenon simultaneously tightened further the imperialist noose around the neck of Indian agriculture. Leaving aside various effects of this type of modernization – which figured in a number of articles in the People's March – we can only refer to the menace of excessive use of pesticides in Punjab, that has already led to epidemics of cancer, according to the Punjab Pollution Control Board and the Post Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research. The study conclusively proved that *"crops absorb only 10 percent of the pesticides sprayed on them; the remaining 90 percent enters the soil or water or the air"* and *"since these chemicals are used in huge amounts, they are everywhere in Punjab."* [The Telegraph, 5th May 2005]. So it is clear that the US controlled World Bank prescription of inducing the green revolution in agriculture under the aegis of the imperialists has not only strengthened the imperialist penetration it has caused immeasurable loss to Indian agriculture and the people dependent on it. This imperialist stranglehold, particularly of the US, has been greatly ensured by Indian's signing the WTO agreement during the Congress government in the early 90s and faithfully toed by the succeeding governments of the BJP and Congress with 'Left's support. It is in the light of this abject surrender in continuity to the imperialist interests we have to consider the draconian Seeds Bill 2004.

India's peasantry, have since long produced 75 percent of their seeds. The Seeds Bill 2004, pushed by the current

dispensation will not only adversely affect the peasants it will deprive them of their traditional right to their seeds. The Seeds Bill, introduced on December 5 and to be tabled in the Lok Sabha soon shall go to exert a dangerous impact on the peasants and all the consumers who depend on agricultural produce. Apparently the Bill places the innocuous objective of *"increasing the use of quality seeds"* *"in comparison with farmers' saved seeds"* for *"the private seed industry"*, *"regulation of sale of seeds and increasing the availability of quality seed for sowing"*; *"increasing private participation in seed production, distribution, certification and seed testing"* etc. With such pretentious objectives it is clearly stated in the Bill that such above measures are oriented towards *"liberalized import of seed and planting materials compatible with World Trade Organisation commitments."* The Seeds Bill's stress on an increased role of the private sector and transnational seed corporations in the Indian agriculture is actually a policy of robbing the traditional right of the Indian peasants to produce indigenous seeds by such rhetoric like *"quality seeds"* as superior to traditional, peasants' grown seeds. The Bill, which has declared to fulfil the commitments to fall in line with the WTO diktats, is clearly anti-peasant and deliberately formulated to apply rigorous brakes on the innovative seeds adapted to environmental conditions and largely providers of staple foods of the Indian people.

The phrases as inserted in the Bill like *"compatible with WTO commitment"* speak volumes on India's freedom of choice except to allow private and transnational companies to market patented seeds in India. This is clearly in line with the recently passed third amendment to the Indian Patents Act enabling the patenting of methods of agriculture and plants including seeds. It is to be noted here that during the signing of WTO regulations a smoke screen was set up declaring under Article 27.3(b) of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights to allow the WTO signatories to *"exclude from patentability: plants and animals."* This Article also gave an impression as if the signatory states were to enjoy the scope of preventing

plants and seeds from being patented. The Seeds Bill 2004 lets off the genie in the WTO bottle of regulations and prods the government to announce the compatibility factor with the WTO strictures.

It is basically anti-peasant and hits him where it hurts the most. **The crucial aspect of the Bill is the registration of all varieties of seeds without which no peasant shall be allowed to sell, save or share seeds.** This clearly chokes the traditional rights of the peasants who grow and develop seed varieties well-suited to local soil and climatic conditions. If this Bill turns into an Act the peasants shall be deprived of the right to sell or barter seeds at the local *haat* every week. On the *haat* day the government inspectors shall force them to hand over their seeds to them. And if it is opposed, the inspectors will show him Chapter VI, clause 35 of the act which gives them the dangerous power to *"take samples of any seed of any kind or variety from any person selling such seed."* The peasants are not only put under such threat, the Bill when becomes law will vest such savage powers in the government inspectors on the strength of the above clause to treat the unwilling peasants by such official step to *"break open any container in which any seed of any kind of variety may be contained or to break open the door of any premises where any such seed may be kept for sale."* These are the brute measures to be taken to implement the WTO regulations through the proposed Seeds Bill 2004.

This is a Bill to meet the demands of the seed manufacturing MNCs like Monsanto. The aim is to force the peasants to buy seeds from the market. Such measures to keep the doors wide open for attacks by the MNCs and other institutions shall further generate widespread protests of the Indian peasantry.

The sychopants of the government policies shall refer to chapter IX, clause 43 of the Bill that contains such sugar-coated deceptive declaration, *"Nothing in this Act shall restrict the right to sell his farm seeds and planting material"*. Soon after it is qualified by such a tag warning *"except that he shall not sell such seed or planting material under a brand name or which does not conform to the minimum limit of generation, physical purity and genetic purity prescribed."* The question is as to who will ascertain these qualities when a

peasant goes to sell his seeds. Naturally the government bureaucrats will enter the scene with immense power to negate the interests of the ordinary peasants. These clauses of the proposed Act empower the central seed committee to specify minimum limits of germination, genetic and physical purity, etc. and to demand that such data be indicated *"on the packet or container"* by the producer. Who on earth can believe that Indian peasants in general do possess such technical know-how to go through such a rigorous legal process? What they at most ascertain how their own seed varieties germinate and yield good crops in a specific local condition. This proposed Act holds out a danger for them as it thrusts them into a never-ending cumbersome process of furnishing technical proof of their seeds' genetic purity and health. Thus they are practically robbed of their right to sell or exchange their own seeds. For the MNCs making hasty inroads into Indian agriculture such problems related to sale of their seeds do not at all arise for being armed with geneticists, well-equipped laboratories, and most of all the enormous clout in the state administration itself. The very bureaucratic process renders the general peasants uncompetitive in the market. Can anybody ignore this stark fact that it is next to impossible for the common peasant masses to undergo such a rigour of spending money to go to a committee or an institution to ascertain the quality of his seed, to obtain a certificate of approval and then sell, save or share it with others by killing his precious time. Let alone this process, the whole gamut of bureaucratization will invariably lead to corruption compelling the few, very few peasants who dare to represent themselves with their seeds to bear the brunt. The limited room for exemption given to the peasants in the Bill merely allows saving and sowing in their own plots of land. With such a whitewash the Bill actually takes away the most important traditional seeds rights of the peasants like sharing, exchanging and selling the saved seeds. **Thus the Bill in all respects ensures the entire seed demand of the country in the exclusive domain of the seed industry controlled and owned mainly by the MNCs.** It is in order to put this question straight as to why the UPA government propped up by the so-called Marxists is in such a hurry to

push through the Seeds Bill while the Protection of Plant Variety and Farmers' Rights (PPVFR) Act is hanging for implementation for the past four years since its passing in the Parliament? The answer is not far to seek. The MNC-controlled seeds industry can not accept such an Act passed under mounting pressures of the peasantry. The Seeds Bill 2004 is in reality the very negation of the above PPVFR Act. So long the seeds industry supplied about 20 to 25 percent of seeds, the rest was produced by the peasants themselves. Now the seeds industry of the MNCs focus on grabbing that market for the rest of about 70-75 percent seeds market. The UPA government now entered the scene to appease the MNCs through the Seeds Act thereby making by way for the seeds industry to spread its tentacle to seize the entire seeds demand of the peasantry.

There are some other dangers if the Bill turns into an Act. The Bill states explicitly that *"No seed of any kind or variety shall, for the purpose of sowing or planting by any person, be sold unless such seed is registered"*. This spells doom for the peasants as most of the seed varieties cultivated in India are never registered. This forced registration clause puts the peasantry in a bizarre situation either to grudgingly accept the cumbersome process (which is also possible in a few cases only) or to abandon the entire right to home-grown seeds. **Because, if a peasant uses his own saved and unregistered seed, he will be liable to imprisonment.** Naturally the large-scale domination of Indian agriculture by the imperialist agencies, MNCs, etc. will be guaranteed by the Seeds Bill 2004 by way of economic stranglehold, physical application of force and the constitutionally accepted rules and regulations of the country. There is one provision in the Bill that ridiculously announces that if the registered seeds produced by the seeds companies fail to produce sufficient crops, the peasant can ask for compensation under the Consumer Protection Act (CPA). Is it not a fantastic imagination to expect the illiterate & poor peasants of the rural India traversing a long distance to sue such companies under the CPA? How many literates took to the painstaking initiative to sue Reliance for offering MNC's supplied Karlo Duniyan Mitti Mein mobiles as *"Khabhi Mobile....Khabhi*

Computer” under Consumer Protection Act?... a safety valve to serve the swindlers. The Seeds Bill 2004 simply cheats the peasants in the name of receiving compensation in individual cases from the mostly MNC owned seeds companies. One can not forget the instance of the reckless and arrogant role of Union Carbide in the notorious case of gas leak deaths and the crippling of hundreds in Madhya Pradesh even after mounting pressure from within the country and outside for compensation after so many years. Then how many of the peasants shall move the court to go through such a troublesome process and receive compensation and in how many years? The crude irony of the Seeds Bill lies in its compensatory provision: the peasant failing to fall in line with the proposed Act can be fined a maximum of Rs. 50,000; while in an extreme case of fault, if any, the huge seed companies have to cough out a laughably paltry amount!

Right now there are more than 400 odd seed trading companies in India. But about a dozen may be identified as major players and the powerful companies are mostly owned by the MNCs. When the MNCs receive the boost from the impending enactment of the Seeds Act, the small seeds companies too will vanish. Mergers have already started. And it is to be kept in mind that already the powerful MNC seed company Monsanto holds 26 percent stake in Mahyco, India's biggest seed company. This process will go on fast in the immediate future. One can remember how Coke and Pepsi swallowed many beverage manufacturers like Thumps Up, Gold Spot, etc. This swallowing process will be seen in the seeds industry as well with the forceful presence of mega players like Monsanto, etc. when the Seeds Bill is enacted.

McKinsey and the CPI(M)

In the later 1990s the McKinsey management company of America was

embraced by the so-called Marxists in India. The World Bank under the notorious McNamara's presidency in 1968-81 imposed a western model of development retaining the semi-feudal set-up and perpetual dependency of the Indian compradors on imperialist capital. In January 1999 McKinsey presented its first "Manifesto for a Business Revolution" – a prescription to bring doom to Bengal's agriculture by way of agribusiness, contract farming, etc. was presented. In the McKinsey Report for West Bengal prescriptions were made for flavoured rice, fine rice, pineapple, mango, tomato, potato, etc. Besides that there are pieces of advice for the "Marxists" to abandon rice production in vast tracts of land to produce flowers, spices, green vegetables, oil seeds, etc. The Report explicitly announced the produce from the Bengal land would be exported and foreign companies would import fruit juice, jam, etc. The McKinsey report which is already being implemented by the "Left" Front as its agricultural policy and propagated by the CPI(M)'s Kisan Sabha, Panchayat leaders, etc. is a noose around the neck of Bengal agriculture. For seeds the McKinsey medicine is hybrid seeds in lieu of HYV seeds which have already shown signs of decreasing returns. Such hybrid seeds, the McKinsey Report clearly states, shall be supplied by the MNCs and some seeds companies operating in India. Not only that, the Report made it clear that fertilisers and insecticides too shall be supplied by those companies. The gains are for the MNCs in both ways: the produce from our land will be sold through them in the western market and seeds, fertilisers from their companies will be pumped into the Bengal soil. Thus like the distorted industrialisation under the aegis of imperialism, commercialisation of agriculture under the domination and control of the MNCs and their agents – frequently a combination of compradorial and feudal interests – shall go on with the unstinted support of the

Congress, BJP, CPI(M) and such political swindlers. It is in order to refer to the case to Andhra Pradesh under the dispensation of Chandrababu Naidu's TDP. Naidu was the biggest champion of the McKinsey prescription for Andhra Pradesh.

The infamous Vision 2000 document for that state was prepared by McKinsey shelling out Rs. 9.8 crore annual consultancy fee for the much touted roadmap for a 'Swarna' (golden) Andhra Pradesh. It talked loud on generating employment by reducing agricultural share of employment to 40 percent from 70 percent. [Outlook, 11 October 2004]. But what came about through faithfully following the McKinsey advice was large scale starvation deaths and suicides. Like in Andhra Pradesh the so-called Marxists are practising the McKinsey prescription – a blueprint for starvation, destruction of agriculture and shrinkage of the rice fields to Bengal.

The India peasantry has not seen such a scale of direct assault by the WTO, World Bank, MNCs, etc. with the political, legal and armed support of the Indian state. The semi-feudal economy will be in place through modification and retention. The Advanis, Manmohans, Yechuries, etc. have built up a grand alliance, despite political bickerings over petty power politics to slam the door of the Indian economy open and invite imperialist forces to spread their network of bleeding the Indian peasants further and further. Imperialist penetration on a vast scale in agriculture has now been a tangible reality even for the backward peasantry. This provides a scope for the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces to launch concentrated attacks on the enemies of the Indian peasantry. The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement can succeed only when the newly emerging developments are grasped, targets for attacks are determined and the real life battles are spread to all corners of the land.



Insult to the Heroic Martyrs of the Freedom Struggle

On July 8th Manmohan rose to thank the elite of Oxford University for giving him an honorary doctorate. To thank these chieftains of British imperialism for that recognition the PM burst into glowing tribute of the British Empire. He extolled its "beneficial consequences" to modern India, rule of law, free press, civil services, modern universities, judiciary, legal system, bureaucracy, police, etc. His entire speech went on in this praising the 'great' British Raj!!

In other words the thousands who gave their lives for the freedom struggle was a waste. He forgot about the two centuries of loot. Two centuries of rape and plunder. Two centuries of devastation pushing India back to the middle ages. The so-called "modern India" Manmohan spoke about has kept India till today in semi-feudal backwardness; but he probably has never stepped into a village of slum, where 80% of our population lives, so he would not know. The so called "rule of law" where a Supreme Court order has said it is the most organised goonda force in the country. So, it was also with all the other institutions of the Raj.

For the Prime Minister of the country to make such a statement only shows that that the Congress continues to live up to its tradition as a tool of the imperialists, where its very birth was by the British, to serve its interests. A.O.Hume would be proud of his product.

THERE IS MORE TO GURGAON THAN MERE POLICE SAVAGERY

Akhil and Ranjana in Haryana

Next time when you ride a Honda Motorcycle or Scooter, look that the hump beneath is the back of a worker bent with toil.

The police hordes swooping on the workers of a Japanese multinational subsidiary, Honda Motorcycles and Scooters India (HMSI), baton charging and dragging them savagely on the roads on July 25 were seen and condemned by millions who happened to see it on the news channels live or came to learn about it in the next day's newspapers. Hundreds of workers were injured, dozens seriously, many allegedly thrown into the gutters and hundreds arrested. No doubt the workers had not been violent throughout their months of struggle. But when the police attacked them in thousands many of the workers fought back valiantly though they were no match for the police who were well prepared for that day of atrocities. The next day, workers, their relatives and city dwellers that had developed concern for the workers and their cause fought with the police pitched battles in the streets around the government hospital when they found that they could not find many of the injured and missing workers.

Though the law forbids policemen to hit above the shoulders many workers had their skulls cracked by the baton blows. Numerous had their legs, arms and ribs broken. Multiple injuries spoke of unceasing brutalities even to those who were knocked down. According to eyewitnesses, dozens of lathi-wielding hands (police and hired goondas by the company) battering a single worker, was a common scene. And the workers fought back with stones and batons snatched from the policemen themselves. Wherever there was a counter-attack the policemen had to run away and seek shelter. The workers were unarmed and unprepared yet they did whatever they could like those who are attacked suddenly and answer the attacker's offence when trapped unaware. Only one would expect more ferocity from the workers who were

being denied justice for a long time.

The Workers' Struggle

The oppression and exploitation of the workers at this factory have been acute. The confrontation began since Nov. 04 when a member of the management hit a worker. The workers have been poorly paid and face insults and humiliating behaviour from the management. Large numbers were not made permanent. Often illegal cuts were made in their wages. They were not unionised and it was from Feb. 15 that the struggle for their rights intensified when the workers moved an application to the local labour authorities to register their union, affiliated to the AITUC. Here, in Haryana forming a union is de facto treated as illegal. The registration was delayed by over one month. In this process the company dismissed four office bearers of the union. As the anger of the workers grew the company suspended 54 more. In May the workers went on a go-slow when production dropped from 2,00 cars per day to just 400. It was then that management dismissed 1,000 workers and brought in hoodlums and contract workers. Thereby they were able to increase production to 1,000 units. As the struggle intensified the workers gheraoed the President of the company.

The recent agitation got precipitated on July 24 when the workers were asked to sign an undertaking of "good conduct". Instead on July 25th a procession was taken out. By 9 am about 5,000 had gathered at the Kamla Nehru Park in Old Gurgaon. From there they began marching towards the Honda show-room on the Gurgaon-Mehrauli highway. The police tried to stop the procession saying it was illegal. The workers then resorted to a rasta-roko (road-block) around 11.30 am. From a scuffle it turned into a violent clash when the police sort to forcible lift the road-block. The police were attacked with sticks and stones. They burnt the vehicles of the sub-divisional magistrate and two police vehicles. The DSP was thrashed and his two hands broken. The police fled and for two hours

the workers went berserk with their pent up anger exploding. During this agitation no AITUC leaders were to be seen.

As things quietened the police laid a trap for the workers. They told them that they had been called to the mini-secretariat for talks. In a pre-planned conspiracy the entire mini-secretariat area was encircled with massive re-enforcements of police and para-military. As the workers reached there at about 5 pm, without any provocation they were pounced upon and then followed three hours of mayhem. The brutality was unbelievable. Workers were beaten by the hundreds, many were thrown into the gutters. By the night the media reported that over 100 workers were missing and 700 injured. Many lay unconscious on the road. Till today there is no record of the missing and the number injured was officially brought down to 54. Sixty one were arrested including their lawyer. The next day the Gurgaon Bar Association went on a flash strike demanding the lawyer's release. He too was charged with attempt to murder though he was not even present at the time of the procession. When he requested hospitalisation, this too was not granted by the courts.

On the next day there was again a lathi charge when the police refused relatives from entering the hospital and account for the missing. Here even women fought back. Finally the whole issue was pacified by the political vultures, union leaders, and NGOs where the workers were forced to sign a humiliating agreement.

But the battle was heroic, but for the docile leadership, it could have definitely been a spark for the workers of Gurgaon to ignite a fire of workers' struggles in the region. In a statement issued by the CPI(Maoist), the attack on the workers has been strongly condemned. The statement added that "*this heinous incident brings back the memories of the British colonial era and the appalling conditions of the 19th century when the workers had to wage a life and death battle for organizing their own trade unions. That such a situation*

exists even to this day in our country, and the fact that such a shocking atrocity has been enacted by the Haryana police upon the dictates of an imperialist company, is an insult to over thousand million people of our country. The Gurgaon atrocity has not only shown the anti-people and mercenary nature of the Indian police, but, what is even more important, the fact that economic liberalization is inevitably accompanied by fascist political repression."

Revisionist Betrayal & State's Aggressiveness

They were being led by those who would put every effort to keep them in the legal mire no matter what oppression and atrocities are perpetrated by the authorities. Keeping workers within the bounds of the parliamentary garbage has been their practice for long. They prefer dancing to the tune of parliamentary drums rather than the real struggles of the working people on the streets. The whole thrust of Gurudas Dasgupta, who heads the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) and is a CPI member of parliament, was to move through the parliament to contain the goondaism of the Haryana Chief Minister Hooda and the police and local civil administration, while not showing any serious concern to further organise and expand the resistance of the workers in and around Gurgaon. He termed the "gangsterism, barbarism and police brutality" in Gurgaon as "unprecedented." Yet he merely considered peaceful 'opposition' to this mafia force!! A judicial enquiry by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court was enough for him rather than to go for building up resistance. He even did not utter a single word against the servile and pro-imperialist policies of the central government. Two days of resistance by workers was of their own making. Had they not been contained by the trade union bosses of this country and were left to themselves they would have given us some more glorious days of militant resistance.

The left brigade in parliament accused the Haryana government that it was "placing the interests of multinationals before the worker's welfare" and pleaded that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh should prove that he is a patriot. We have now this new sermon from the parliamentary "left" that World Bank appointed Manmohan does not look after the inter-

ests of the multinationals in this country and he now has an opportunity to prove himself a patriot by not condoning the Haryana government's behaviour which went "mad" in ordering its troops to act as private armies of a multinationals like Honda Motors. In fact today this is a common trend. For example, in Kashipur (Orissa) as well, the police and local officials have functioned as the private army of the mining companies.

But a foreign ministry spokesman of these 'patriots', referring to the Gurgaon incidents, said that "the legal interests of foreign investors will be fully safeguarded." The rulers are no doubt worried as Gurgaon itself has 70 multinational companies and the head offices of such companies as Pepsi, Coke, Gillette, Nestles, etc and is also an important IT hub.

And this is a fact known to all, that Hooda himself took up charge to unleash the attack on the struggling workers at the behest of Honda Motors management. It is almost universal in common conversation among the Gurgaon people that chief minister, Hooda, was bribed to the amount of Rs.18-23 crores of rupees to safeguard the multinational's interests. His brother is on the managerial board of the HMSI and these kind of local agents are paid handsomely out of the profits earned through the exploitation of workers. This kind of legalised bribery is to secure the services of the State's forces as private mercenaries. Hence the barbaric police brutalities on Honda workers. But Hooda is not alone in the crime against workers, it is the state administration as a whole, it is a policy of the pro-imperialist state — whether at the state level or at the central.

The CPI(Maoist) statement further said "The Gurgaon incident has also revealed the stark fact that the police in India act as mercenaries to whoever pays them, in this case, the management of the Japanese imperialist-owned Honda Company. The Indian police and the Armed Forces has acted as British mercenaries until 1947 and to the various imperialist powers since then. These mercenary forces have no nationalism and are trained to arrest, torture and kill the people upon the orders of the political establishment. It is upon the orders of the Haryana Chief Minister, Bhupinder Singh Hooda, and the Honda management that these mercenaries were

set off against the workers giving them full liberty to create a reign of terror and bloodshed."

The chief minister and his colleagues and the civil and police top brass under his control have defended the police action fully saying the police did what was required in the situation. The state booked 61 workers on the charge of attempt to murder (CrPC 307). Ironic, workers with attempt to murder charge, while the behaviour of the police, they said, was lawful. Then what is the enquiry Hooda has ordered without even suspending (they will be put on leave, Hooda said) the police and civil officers under whose orders the police operation was carried out? Usually, it is a way to douse the people's ire and to stop the intensification of the fight back. The fate of most of the enquiries which go against the interests of the capitalists and power wielding elements always end up either in smoke or the garbage can.

Japanese Reaction and the "Indian" Servile Horde

They all spoke in the same language with different tunes and in different words. First with the Japanese envoy, Yasukuni Enoki: "It's an unfortunate incident and should be sorted out by both parties amicably. Unfortunately, it will affect India's image and that's something that needs to be taken care of." His threat to the Indian government was that if labour unrest is allowed to spread, the environment for foreign direct investment (FDI) would suffer. Not only Honda but also Gurgaon is special to him because seventy percent of Japanese companies in India operate from the corporate lanes of Gurgaon. Japan is the fourth largest imperialist exploiter in India through FDI, with \$2 billion invested here since 1991. He further warned that the issue should not be "politicised" beyond a point. Well, he set the parameters for the behaviour of the Indian ruling classes. He expressed his views while participating in a workshop organized by the Indo-Japanese Initiative and the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) on July 26. The Japanese multinationals have faced working class protests in Suzuki (Maruti Udyog), Sony and Honda's cars ventures. They want an end to "labour problems" on Indian soil.

Another Japanese corporate boss,

Kiyomichi Ito, managing director of Toyota Kirloskar Auto Parts, had his own warning to the Indians: *"I'm afraid that such incidents would influence investor perception and may have an indirect effect."* He also said: *"Indians should understand that the capital investor has varied choices and China still remains an attractive investment destination."* Nothing veiled. The message is loud and clear: take care of imperialist corporate interests or we have other destinations. This is definitely a worrying warning for the Indian rulers. And they will listen.

Congress president Sonia Gandhi, Prime Minister Manmohan, and others regretted that such an event had happened in Gurgaon. They expressed *"concern and anguish"* at the incident and asked the Hooda government to take care of the injured. Well, the injured were taken care of by directly taking them away from the hospital to the police stations and beating them again there. Those who remained in the hospital (six of all those admitted) complained profusely of negligence, unsatisfactory medical care and even being served with expired medicines and preferred to leave the government hospital for the private ones to have better medical care and facilities.

The so-called patriotic prime minister did not utter a word of condemnation of the Haryana government or the Honda management. Their first priority was to limit the damage to Gurgaon and that too within the Manesar (where HMSI is situated) constituency and not to let it snowball into wider protests in other industries around and throughout the country. When the Haryana Bandh call was given by the official left parties it was converted into a Gurgaon Bandh on the day it was to be held, i.e., July 28. Though there was heavy police bandobast in Gurgaon, Haryana and even Delhi, one could see that there was no serious attempt by the "left" to convert that day into real protests. The struggle had raced to the corridors of parliament through "left" collaboration so the streets largely remained deserted of the presence of working class protests.

The second priority was to not let it acquire political overtones of anti-imperialism. The whole thrust was to limit it to a mere worker-employer ordinary dispute of a specific industrial concern. Nothing

against imperialist penetration, exploitation and control; nothing against the comprador and servile nature of the Indian rulers and the classes they represent. What the Japanese ambassador had said, was achieved.

In other parts of India where the workers and democratic people protested one could hear the voices: *"push out multinationals from the Indian soil."* The revolutionary and progressive forces at many places politically went beyond that point. This needs to be further intensified to carry the message among the workers. And this is the crux of the matter. **The struggle against multinationals has to break from that point to bring workers to real anti-imperialist consciousness.**

But the official left was silent on this issue. They took care that it should not get linked in any way to anti-imperialism. So, the political advice of the Japanese envoy was well heeded. Instead, this 'left' and one of its icons, Buddhadev, boasted that other states should learn how the West Bengal government has been successful in containing working class agitations and the industrial environment there is conducive and peaceful for the capitalists and multinationals to flourish. In fact WB industries minister, Nirupum Sen, said *"our experience with Japanese as investors is quite pleasant.... I can assure you that the Japanese will not face any problem, because the Left Front is in power in West Bengal"*. The left leaders tried to focus on West Bengal as an ideal haven of industrial peace, and so, condemned Haryana's

Hooda more sternly that he had acted as a brainless boss. In fact, West Bengal has large Japanese investment and the CPM excellent relations with the Japanese TNCs. The West Bengal government is also the recipient of a huge loan of Rs.400 crores from the Japanese Bank of International Cooperation for infrastructure development (flyovers, bridges, etc)

The main thing which the Japanese envoy had wanted to be assured of was about peace of the industrial environment. Geetanjali Kirloskar, chairperson of the Indo-Japan Initiative, echoed the Japanese concern by saying, *"Investors are bound to exercise caution but it should not affect the scale of investment."* Indian big capitalists are worried that the foreign direct investment in India is only 4 billion dollars per year while the post-Maoist capitalist China attracts 50 billion dollars annually. They want India to exercise as barbaric a control over the working class as exists in today's China to attract investment — a free hand to hire and fire and make all trade union rights of the workers worthless and illegal.

They say that no Gurgaon should recur. Thus the so-called labour law reforms are being awaited eagerly by the industrialists and foreign investors and Manmohan Singh is being accused of keeping further 'reforms' on the shelf. We know these reforms are temporarily being withheld due to the fear of worker's anger, but, it is only a matter of time before they will be on the table. With Gurgaon events the clamour for speeding up World Bank dictated labour rules has increased the under pseudo sym-



pathies for the victims. Not only did Sonia and Manmohan shed crocodile tears for the workers, even the HMSI management has done the same while accusing outside forces (read parliamentary left) for misleading and instigating the workers. So for a peaceful climate for multinational corporations and for increasing the FDI even the spineless "opposition" of the "left" is considered as unwelcome.

The post-protest atmosphere in Gurgaon also included NGOs to diffuse and dampen the protest movement. These organisations could be seen helping victims a bit and preaching for a settlement, even if dishonourable.



HIT RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTRE

And the agreement that ensued, though basically anti-workers, is not being implemented. The agreement was reached between the Honda management and some representatives of the workers' Union at the advice of Sonia Gandhi and in the presence of Haryana chief minister, Labour Secretary, and four leaders from the CPI-CPM com-

bine.

The Agreement

The agreement includes (or does not include) the following:

- * The police cases against the workers are not to be withdrawn.
- * Suspended workers would face managerial enquiry.
- * There is a clause that trainees and casual workers, that number more than four hundreds, would be taken back. But this is not being implemented. Ninety trainees that went to join duty after the settlement have been refused

entry and asked to get their accounts cleared and leave. The casual workers too are being fired.

- * The Union would not raise any demands concerning the apprentices.
- * There will be no compensation for the dead workers, nor a job to the kin of

the dead. The union wanted to include a compensation demand but that was refused.

- * The workers would show "good conduct" and sign a paper entailing banning of any imitational activity hampering production.
- * There will be no pay for the agitation period from 27 June to 29 July.

The government and management have not come up with the list of the missing persons as demanded by the union and the people. There is a fear that many have died at the hands of police and Honda musclemen.

The goonda forces employed by the Honda management are not to be expelled. The muscle power of the Honda management would ensure "industrial peace" within the factory premises while the police would look after the streets. Such is the situation for the Honda workers. It is like a prison inside the factory. **They even have to take permission in writing before they leave for relieving themselves for a few minutes.** This has been part of the conduct which the management had enforced on the workers.

As the CPI(Maoist) statement concludes "*History has proved time and again that the reactionary rulers cannot subdue the people by resorting to barbaric, repressive policies. Such repression will only beget more resistance. The workers elsewhere in the country will emulate the militancy shown by the workers of Honda and their families and will wage bigger battles to eliminate all imperialist-comprador capitalist exploitation. As the comprador rulers of the country, in collusion with the imperialists, prepare to unleash more and more such atrocities on the struggling masses to push through their liberalisation agenda, the people of the country led by the working class, should prepare themselves to confront the State in bigger political battles.*"

Victims relatives photos opposite Page 27

Report From Nepal:

Maoist Forces Wipe Out An Entire Military Camp

(Report Based on a Press Statement by Prabhakar, Commander, Western Division, People's Liberation Army, Nepal of the CPN (Maoist) and taken from the Internet)

It was one of the most heroic and decisive actions by the people's forces of Nepal, led by the CPN(Maoist), since the beginning of the people's war in 1996. The People's Liberation Army forces fought heroically and determinedly to totally wipe out the military camp stationed at Kalikot in West Nepal, of some 250 RNA (Royal Nepal Army) puppet forces and seize vast quantities of military equipment. As the statement says "*Struggling against extra-ordinary complexities compliant with the law of revolution, the Nepalese People's War, by entering into the strategic offensive, is advancing victoriously to a height of the first plan*".

The Western Division of the People's Liberation Army, began its assault at 17:40 hours on August 7, 2005 upon the base camp of the white army at Pili in Kalikot. It attained a decisive victory by 4:00 the next morning. The People's Liberation Army captured highly explosive materials and important war equipments including an 81 mm Barrel with 150 bombs; one GPMG with 5,000 ammunition; 20 LMGs with 12,000 ammunition; 70 Insas Rifles with 30,000 ammunition; 80 SLRs with 21,000 ammunition; 2 SMGs with 3,000 ammunition; 2 Browning Pistols with 2,000 ammunition; two 2" mortars with 200 bombs etc. Out of 250 of the so-called security personnel in the camp, 159 have been annihilated and more than 50 are captured and taken as the prisoners of war.

On the side of the People's Liberation Army, 26 fighters including, the Battalion Commissar Comrade Lokesh (Sharad Avasthi) was martyred and some were wounded.

The statement ended saying: *We offer our hearty tribute to those heroic martyrs who sacrificed their invaluable lives for this important victory. Also, we express heartily condolence to the agonized family members and comrades fighting in arms with a wishing that, may it inspire to grasp the sacrificing culture of the transforming epoch by the blood of history. We heartily wish for the fast improvement of health of the wounded comrades. We express hearty congratulations and thanks to the commissars, commanders of different levels, including the Division deputy commander comrade Bibidh, who played an important role while preparing this plan of action and its implementation, and fighters, local party and masses from the base area.*

Finally, let the revolutionaries grasp the fact that acquiring victory through losses is the law of war! Final victory is definite.



Sister of a missing worker

Victim's relatives accusing policemen

Ayan **BULLETS FOR WATER**

Once again Rajasthan was in turmoil. On June 13, 05 Jaipur Tonk National highway was stained with human blood. Hundreds of agitating farmers gathered there on protest against the State Govt. from various parts of Tonk district. They demanded water to green their arable land. They demanded drinking water to quench their thirst. In response the State Govt. deployed hundreds of police personnel, the custodian of the 'biggest democracy of the world' and they did not hesitate to open fire on the plea of maintaining "law and order". Four of the agitating farmers and one Hansa, a pregnant housewife who was serving 'chapatti' to her son and mother at the first

been demanding that the water should be released from Bilaspur dam to Todisagar dam. The dam was built over the Banar river at Todaraising. The water of the said dam was the main source of irrigation of these tehsils. As the said dam has dried up, they do not have water for irrigation. Though arrangements were there to supply water from Bilaspur to Ajmer, Sawai Madhopur Krishangarh and Beaver, this was not available for the farmers in Tonk. Whereas, these are the farmers who were displaced for the construction of Bisalpur dam which was chalked out as a scheme for irrigation and drinking water. The command area of the dam extends upto some parts of Bhilwara district. It also covers parts of Tonk, Boondi,

stalled for pumping water as these have become useless. Five years ago tubewells of 10 HP could pump out water. Now even 20 HP do not serve any purpose. As a consequence, out of 237 Panchayat Samities, 87 are even in the "dark zone" i.e. where the water levels are beyond reclaim.

While the underground water level has been going down every year, the ruling parties have been continuing to politicalize the issue. During the previous Congress regime farmers agitation over water problems was utilized by the BJP and it promised to solve the problem. Even before the Assembly Election in 2003 and the Lok Sabha election in 2004 the present Chief Minister Vasundhara Raje promised to make necessary arrangements for providing water from the Bisalpur dam. After the victory in the State Assembly elections, the BJP came to the power and did not fulfill their promise. The aggrieved farmers organized themselves and formed the Bisalpur Bandh Samgharsh Samity led by Zahir, a local resident. On June 9, the Bandh Samgharsh Samity (B S S) organized street corner Meetings and submitted a memorandum to the collector and also to the irrigation minister. On that occasion they demanded that the Govt. should at least initiate the process of taking out tenders for canal construction to meet their long-standing demand for irrigation water. A large meeting was held on the next day. The farmers were eager to meet the collector or any other Govt. representative to get an assurance regarding initiation of the canal construction. The heartless authorities maintained an insulting indifference and did not take any initiative to have a dialogue with the agitating farmers, though in last October, after the police firing the Chief Minister Vasundhara Raje promised "*Never again will this occur. We should have main-tained a constant dialogue with the farmers*".

On June 13, the police once again opened fire on hundreds of unarmed peaceful agitators. **Within the past one-and-a-half years of the Vasundhara Govt. the police opened fire eight times on farmers and other innocent people.** The firing thereby proved that the government is expert in hollow promises rather than keeping it's



An Injured farmer being carried by Policemen

floor of her house, were killed and many were injured. The farmers had no arms in their hands, nor did they turn violent. They were just shouting slogans on their demands. Even then this was considered as a violation of the law and order and some sort of vandalism by the trigger-happy guardians of democracy. To cover up their brutal atrocities the police, as usual, managed three bus owners to file FIRs alleging vandalism.

Most of the farmers who gathered there were from Tonk, Maipura, Todaraising and Peeplu tehsils of Tonk district. For the last few years the farmers of these areas have

Nasirabad, Ajmer town, Jaipur and Kekdi. Farmers of the above tehsils have watched the water being given to Unniara tehsil, represented by Agri-culture Minister Prabhu Lal Saini, while Tonk and other tehsils have been left out. This sort of discrimination, even within the district, continues the aggravating resentment of the farmers. They are deprived of water though their areas are within a radius of 40 km in the command area. Whereas water of the Bisalpur dam are being provided through canals to areas which are 70-80 km from the command area, they are not even getting drinking water from the tube-wells which were in-

Continued at page 19