

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*

**Nuclear Deal—**



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AGREEMENT**

**EXPOSE TRAITOROUS DEAL  
OF STOOGES PM**

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**Report**

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## US STOUGE MANAMOHAN FURTHER TIES INDIA TO US SHOE STRINGS

**T**HE so-called 123 Nuclear Agreement signed by Washington and New Delhi is a charter to tie India further and more tightly to the apron strings of US imperialism. It has to be read in conjunction with the Hyde Act 2006, which is binding on the US and thereby on this 123 Agreements. The deal, as Bush said at the very inception of the negotiations, is to further facilitate the strategic ties between India and the US in the field of defense. In addition US big business expects giant lucrative deals as a result of this agreement and Indian big business is planning for a small cut of the cake. That is why the Prime Minister arrogantly says this agreement will stand in spite of the opposition by all the parties and even his governments 'left' allies. They know full well that the 'opposition' is mere mock political gimmickry as all these parties have been kow-towing to the US when they themselves have been in power. The CPM, that is closer to other imperialist powers like Russia, is also known only to squeak when it comes to opposing the US.

It is the Hyde Act that has the most humiliating clauses for India and it is this Act that governs how the US will implement the deal. This has been clearly spelt out by the US imperialists. Nicholas Burns said on July 28<sup>th</sup> "*we had to make sure that everything under the civilian nuclear agreement and the 123 Agreement was completely consistent with the Hyde Act and well within the bounds of the Hyde Act*". He adds "*if there is any reason for the US to invoke the right of return (of nuclear fuel) we can certainly do so..... and to do so there could be about six reasons that could happen and only one is to do with nuclear tests*". The Hyde Act is a domestic US law, which gives directives to the 123 agreement. It was passed in December 2006. Under the Act, the US President has to annually report to the US Congress that India's foreign policy is congruent to that of the US and more specifically India joining the US efforts in isolating and even sanctioning Iran.

The (Henry) Hyde Act not only draws India into the clutches of the US defense

strategy, it also forces India to serve US foreign policy. Yet the stooge Prime Minister says it no way infringes on India's sovereignty! Besides legally calling for a recall of all equipment for reprocessing in case of violation of the agreement, it has such clauses that demand of India to take a stand against Iran's supposed nuclear proliferation and the Act has introduced the highly controversial Proliferation Security Initiative. The Hyde Act also contains in its preamble the objective of confirming the US non-proliferation goal and its injunction against selling reprocessing technology. This was initially objected to by the Indian government. It even has such humiliating clauses as to

India of the right to conduct a nuclear test and the right to process spent fuel — a defacto bilateral CTBT, which India had so long refused to sign. It can cut off nuclear supplies at any time crippling all the nuclear reactors. In addition the US right for end-use verification would mean US inspectors freely roaming India's nuclear installations.

Besides, US big business and the Indian compradors are waiting to sign gigantic business deals at the cost of the people of the country. The Wall Street Journal carried an extensive report about the dependency of military and business operations between India and the US on the nuclear deal, where, according to the newspaper, at least \$250 billion of military, energy and

nuclear reactor sales are hinged on the nuclear deal. It added "*if it falls apart it will have real near-term consequences for everyone in the defense industry*".

Simultaneously India's big comprador houses are working overtime to change the laws so that it can enter the nuclear energy business. A draft

### Statement of GPI (Maoist)

The Hindu reported in its August 23<sup>rd</sup> issue a statement by Com Azad, spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist), referring to the deal as "*a total sell-out*". The statement warned that the Centre's move to push through the accord would lead to a "*perpetual dependence of our country on the US*". The statement further accused the MNCs, GE and Westinghouse, of playing a key role in pushing the deal on India's back, as they would derive huge profits from energy contracts. The deal, it said, would make India totally dependent on the US for nuclear fuel supplies and by giving the US the right to terminate the agreement on a one year written notice, the country would be pushed deep into the vice-like grip of the US.

demand that India oppose the so-called nuclear proliferation by Iran.

By breaking this agreement into two frames — the Hyde Act and the 123 Agreement — the Indian rulers and their US masters thought they could better fool the Indian masses and most of the extremely humiliating clause have been kept in the Hyde Act and out of the 123 Agreement. Later, if the US plans to take any action against India it just has to say that it is acting according to its own law. The Indian rulers and particularly the PM's main agents (particularly the National Security Advisor, the main architect of the deal) have used their Chanakya cunning to keep the 123 Agreement vague while allowing the real teeth to be in the Hyde Act. Then they can 'innocently' claim that Hyde Act is nothing to do with India and is part of US law on which India has no say. What is worst this Agreement is for an unprecedented period of 40 years. Never have an agreement of this kind been for such long duration.

In essence the agreement is a Charter for dependence on the US and will deprive

legislation amending the Atomic Energy Act, permitting other companies (besides NTPC) has been doing the rounds of various ministries since the first discussion started between the US and India. Besides, NTPC, Tatas, Reliance, GMR group and others are preparing to enter this sector.

But this nuclear agreement is not just about increasing US business; it is the continuation of a deep military tie-up between the two countries. The agreement is for an unbelievable 40 years. Till as of now no such agreement has been for such a lengthy period. There is a massive tie up of the Indian Navy with the US. The Indian Navy is being targeted by the US for big cooperation described as the US's "Strategic Sword Arm". In early September this year the Indian Navy is set to join the biggest ever maritime exercise with the "Quadrilateral", including the US, Australia and Japan. In addition the US secretly sold to India its ageing USS Trenton, together with six H-3 helicopters in Jan 2007. It is also selling the overhauled landing ship

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# MUSLIMS TO HANG, HINDU FASCISTS PROMOTED, FOR SIMILAR CRIMES

ON July 26 2007 Justice Kode's TADA court began sentencing the 100 convicted persons (Muslims) of the March 12<sup>th</sup> 1993 bomb blasts case in which 257 people were killed and 1400 were injured. Out of these 100 accused, 96 were convicted, 20 were given life imprisonment (up to death) and 12 were given the death sentence. The 'evidence' against most was scanty; and the judgment passed after 14 years of incarceration.

Rubin Memon was given a life sentence, as an abandoned Maruti car, found a few days after the bomb attack with an AK-47 and some ammunition, happened to be in her name. Ironically her husband, Suleiman, was acquitted. Sanjay Dutt got six years from the TADA court for possessing a weapon; while Shiv Sena MLA, Sarpotdar, did not even spend a single day in jail even though he was caught red-handed by the army in a car that had unlicensed weapons, machetes, etc while inciting mobs during curfew at the peak of the riots.

Yakub Memon, portrayed by the media as to be one of the king pins, one of the many brothers of Tiger Memon (the prime accused, and now in Pakistan), is the most educated of the Memon brothers. He was educated in an English medium school and college and had a flourishing Chartered Accountant business. He, along with his wife, parents, brothers, Suleiman and Rubina, left the country soon after the blasts. They returned in 1994 after assurances of leniency were given to them by the Indian government. But all were arrested immediately on arrival. Yakub squealed all that he know to the police on later investigation and played to the government tune implicating Pakistan in the blasts. Yet, neither he nor his two younger brothers (both of whom have become psychiatric cases in the jail) were granted bail in this 14-year period. Now Yakub has been given the death sentence and his two brothers, life imprisonment. He has not been able to bring up his child who was delivered two months after his imprisonment.

Though the methods used by these Muslim fundamentalists, of killing the

public, is not only wrong, it is also counter-productive; yet it is the pent-up fury within the community that is easily exploited by not only the fundamentalists and Pakistan govt. but even the Indian government. Such bomb blasts only assist the government in whipping up hysteria and giving legitimacy to its increasingly terrorist measures against all the struggling masses, including the victimized Muslims. The present judgments of passing the death sentence on such a large number of persons is unprecedented and displays the thoroughly Hindu fascist bias of the very state machinery itself. This is particularly glaring as not a single person has been convicted in the riots preceding the bomb blast which took four times the number of lives, in spite of all evidence being provided by the Shrikrishna Commission Report.

It was on Dec 6<sup>th</sup> 1992 that the Hindu fascists destroyed the sacred Babri Masjid with full cooperation of the then Congress government at the Centre. 15 years have now passed and the 2 FIRs filed have never been acted upon. One is against 'unknown' kar sevaks and the other is against 49 accused, including Advani, Joshi, Singhal, and others. It was immediately after this that riots broke out throughout the country with the Hindu fascists attacking Muslim in an organized way with full cooperation of the state machinery. The worst was in Mumbai, where the police, Shiv Sena and congress government unleashed mayhem against Muslims. In the riots (actually an anti-Muslim pogrom) that took place from Jan.1993 about 1,000 were killed and 2,000 injured; the bulk of these were Muslims. The bomb blast took place at the end of these riots on March 12 07. The government appointed the Shrikrishna Commission to look into the riots of Mumbai. {Shrikrishna is a retired judge of the Supreme Court and now heads the 6<sup>th</sup> Pay Commission.}

The Commission produced its report in 1998 and the government decided to set up a Special Task Force to implement the findings of the Shrikrishna Commission. But, since then not a single action has been taken against those clearly implicated by the report. The Shrikrishna Commission

indicted 31 policemen, including Joint Commissioner of Police, R.D.Tyagi; police inspectors Patankar, Wahule; sub-inspector Vasant More and Shiv Sena/BJP politicians like Sarpotdar, Gopinath Munde and Ram Naik for inciting the mobs. Of these 31 not only has no action been taken, 10 have since been promoted. Sarpotdar went on to become a MP and Ram Naik a Cabinet Minister. In the Hari Masjid firing at Wadala where 6 Muslims were killed in cold blood the Shrikrishna Commission Report specifically indicted the police and sub-inspector Nikhil Kapse. Kapse has been promoted, and instead, police charges of murder and rioting have been framed against 54 Muslims.

The Shrikrishna Commission Report is gathering dust and only when there has now been a hue and cry for its implementation Sonia Gandhi is making some pretense to save face (and the Muslim vote-bank). The Supreme Court went so far as to say that "it cannot pass any specific direction merely on the basis of the findings of the inquiry Commission". This was in response to a petition filed in the midst of the present stream of hangings being passed. But against the slum-dwellers and so-called encroachments it can pass order after order just on the basis of a PIL!!! At the height of the present controversy Shrikrishna said that in the 5-years of preparing the report he could have disposed of 20,000 cases; but went on to add "*all the way from the CM to a police constable there is a heavy bias*".

But this is not only the fate of the Shrikrishna Commission report; all similar reports indicting the Hindu fascists have always gone without any action whatsoever. The perpetrators of the Maliane communal massacre of 1987 are yet to be charge-sheeted; in the 1984 anti Sikh riots no one is nailed; the perpetrators of the post-Godhra genocide continue to roam free; and even after 10 years since the killing of 11 dalits at Ramabai Nagar, Ghatkopar, Mumbai, no action is taken against the police responsible. On the contrary hundreds of dalits continue to face police cases and in spite of the Justice Gundewar Committee report indicting the

police and sub-inspector Kadam (responsible for the firing) no action has been taken. The murderers of hundreds of Sikhs at Delhi in 1984 continue to be prestigious leaders of the Congress; and the mass murderer of hundreds of Naxalites in 1972, Priya Ranjandas Munshi, is today a senior Cabinet minister in the UPA government.

Meanwhile the ex-Maharashtra Shiv Sena CM, Manohar Joshi, has threatened violence if any attempt is made to implement the findings of the Shrikrishna Commission Report. He said "*communal passions will get inflamed and society will stand exposed to the threat of being torn asunder if.....*". Manohar Joshi was Maharashtra CM in 1998 when the Shrikrishna Report was submitted. The Congress government in Maharashtra, in order to save it self from the mounting criticism on it for not

implementing the Shrikrishna report is trying to make a show of taking some action. To divert attention it first announced a special police cell to look into the cases; when this was openly mocked at (the police are the main accused) the CM announced that special courts would be set up to look into the cases. But as happened over the past sixty years no Hindu fascists and their police henchmen will face any problems.

Ironically when time and again it has been the government that has been directly or indirectly involved in most of the communal riots that have taken place (and not just during the Gujarat genocide), the Centre has introduced a draft new Bill entitled 'Communal Violence (Prevention, Control, and Rehabilitation of victims) Bill' which seeks to give more powers to the State governments to deal with such a situation. It is like putting salt in the wound.

The story goes on and on where Hindu fascists are let off free in spite of the most gruesome murders, genocides and rapes committed by them; while the common masses are arrested tortured, killed in fake encounters and now even sent to the gallows if they dare to resist the powers that be. This is the nature of the justice meted out by the Indian penal system. It is quite natural that people have lost total faith in this system and seek justice through other means. Real justice to the perpetrators of the horrible crimes against the masses can only be really achieved in people's courts with the masses deciding the sentence. The Hindu fascists and police responsible for the continuous genocides.... 1984, 1992/93, 2002 and numerous others must be severely punished by the masses. Only then justice will be seen to be done. **DA**

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### Continued from page 3

USS Nashville to India. In addition a more than \$10 billion deal is at stake where India plans to buy 126 multiple-role warplanes and 200 helicopters.

Two months back in an unprecedented move the Indian government allowed the docking of a US nuclear ship at the Chennai port for five days. 5,000 US marines then roamed freely all over the city without any visa or document required under normal circumstances by foreigners. These same ships are used in the war against Iraq and such participation amounts to a defacto participation in the US war. Yet there was no opposition from any political party including the DMK government in Tamilnadu. The CPM put up a mock opposition (soon withdrawn) and diverted the real issue of the question of sovereignty of the country to merely an environmental issue. When the PM was asked whether such permission had been given he merely retorted that the docking was routine and did not require specific permission. In other words allowing American marines into the country and an American warship into Indian waters is "routine"!!

Finally, the deal has to be passed by the US Congress and requires endorsement by the IAEA and also the 45-member Nuclear Supplier's group. It is ironic that such a major International agreement while it has to be passed by the Congress in the US in India it does not even requires the ratification of parliament! And as far as the NSG endorsement goes even here the US has backtracked on its earlier assurance that it would get the NSG to amend its

guidelines to ensure "full civil nuclear cooperation and trade at the international level". In the July 2005 joint statement it was clearly stated that responsibility for getting the NSG to amend its guidelines to allow nuclear commerce with India rests with Washington and not Delhi. The present Joint Statement shifts this responsibility on to India with the US giving verbal assurances that it will back India's demand. Primarily it must be remembered that this Agreement is part of the systematic plan of the US to draw the Indian ruling classes into its geo-political strategic orbit to act as its gendarme in the region, much as Israel does in West Asia. This was stated as such by US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's infamous 2000 Foreign Affairs article in Ashley Tellis's Carnegie Endowment paper proposing the deal, which says: "*if the US is serious about advancing its geopolitical objectives in Asia, it would almost by definition help New Delhi develop strategic capabilities such that India's nuclear weaponry and nuclear forces could deter against the growing an utterly more capable nuclear forces Beijing is likely to possess.....*"

This most humiliating agreement is supposedly being opposed by the entire opposition and also the 'Left' allies. If that were really the case they could easily strike it down. But their opposition is not consistent and is aimed merely at duping their own rank-and-file who would be embarrassed by such a humiliating agreement. The BJP has always been a vehement spokesman of closer ties with the US and when in power has taken concrete

steps in that direction. And the so-called 'left' has developed the knack of making much noise and in the din allowing the most reactionary and traitorous legislations to be passed. When the stooge PM made his speech in the Lok Sabha, which was full of lies, half truths and outright distortions, while the opposition shouted slogans, the CPI/CPM and other 'left' sat silently through the speech and merely at the end just walked out. Till date while the BJP is demanding a vote on this agreement in parliament under rule 184 the CPM leader Yechuri has been giving statements that the Cabinet has full constitutional authority to take decisions on international issues. They are seeking ways to wriggle out of even nominal opposition. If they really were opposed to this agreement they can easily walk out of the government. Knowing their spinelessness the PM outrightly challenge them "to do their worst".

While parliament wastes much time in debates, which have little value, there is urgent need for the people of the country to take to the streets and launch a massive opposition to this deal with the US. Not only that, the people must demand an end to all military exercises with the US and kicking out the FBI and CIA from our country as a first step against the US's growing clutches in the country. There is need for vehement opposition in the streets against this deal and it is time the masses awoke to the dangers of going deeper and deeper into the clutches of the US imperialists. **DA**

# SACHAR COMMITTEE REPORT EXPOSES THE HORRIBLE PLIGHT OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA

*Jayant*

**J**USTICE Rajinder Sachar Committee was constituted for collecting systematic information on Muslim's socio economic status and public and private sector opportunities compared to other communities. It was also asked to analyze the above data and suggest the areas of intervention by the government to address the issues relating to the socio economic and educational status of the Muslim community, which is about 156 million and constitutes 13.5 percent and about one-third of the world's Muslims.

It is the first ever-comprehensive study about the status of the Muslim community India. The findings of the Sachar Committee unmask the "secular" garb of the Indian state and clearly expose its communal character. It explains clearly how Muslims are treated as secondary citizens of this country.

The report essentially deals with the relative deprivation of Muslims when compared to other social religious communities in various dimensions of development. This deprivation is mainly attributed to discrimination and poverty. The discrimination faced by the Muslims is unique and can't be seen in other minority communities in India like Jains, Sikhs and Parsis. The data presented in the Sachar Committee also highlights the sense of insecurity of Muslims.

Muslims in this country are not part of the mainstream in the society but are clearly on the margins of the structures of the economic, social and political framework. They are more vulnerable and this fact was glaringly clear on many occasions particularly during the recent communal riots. Their vulnerability to attack is because of their lack of representation in the hierarchies of power. The condition of Muslims in Gujarat is a perfect example for this. Muslims constitute just 9 percent of the state's population and are scattered across villages and districts; particularly after 2002 they were systematically hounded out of major residential areas and not allowed to return.

## **Education:**

In the area of education, the Committee report shows clearly that the literacy and educational status of the Muslims is particularly low. The literacy rate among Muslims is far below the national average and this gap is greater in urban areas and in women. Both Mean Years of Schooling (MYS) and attendance levels of Muslims are low in absolute numbers in comparison with other socio-religious groups. According to the 2001 census, 59 percent of Muslims are literate as compared to national average of 65 percent.

Twenty-five percent of Muslim children in the six to fourteen age group have either never been to school or have dropped out at some stage.

It is commonly falsely believed that Muslims being conservative prefer to send their children to madrasas, where they acquire religious and other education. At the all India level, a mere 3 percent of all Muslim children of school going-age are enrolled in madrasas. Muslims are not averse to sending their children to mainstream schools. Like others, a majority of the middle class Muslims prefer to send their children to regular mainstream schools. But despite their willingness and ability to pay all of them don't have access to certain 'good' schools for one or another reason. In some cases, when they succeed in sending their children to some such schools they don't find a congenial atmosphere. They experience an atmosphere of marginalization and discrimination.

A very important reason for this low education is the absence of primary schools in their vicinity. More than 1000 villages with Muslim concentration in West Bengal, Bihar and UP do not have any schools. The situation is worse in villages with a smaller Muslim population.

Because of this exclusion of the Muslims from educational opportunities, the disparity in graduate attainment rates between Muslims and other categories has been widening since the 1970s in both urban and rural areas.

In higher education, the differences

between Muslims and others stand out even more sharply. In the initial phases of planning, Muslims had a higher graduate attainment rate than SCs and STs. That has now changed and the latter have taken over the Muslims. Only one out of 25 undergraduate students and one out of 50 postgraduate students in "premier colleges" are Muslims.

The low educational status of Muslims may also be partly due to the lack of employment opportunities. This can be clearly seen from the data presented in the report, which shows that the unemployment rate among Muslim graduates is the highest among socio-religious communities, both poor and not poor. It is further supported by the fact that Muslims do not see education as necessarily translating into formal employment. Thus the low perceived returns from education have alienated the Muslims from the education system.

## **Employment Opportunities**

Worker population ratios are lower for Muslims than any other socio-religious community and this is more so in the rural areas. Muslim women fare even worse in both rural and urban areas; their lowest figures for work participation show up in urban areas.

Muslim participation is lower in professional, technical, clerical and managerial work. In proportion to their population, Muslims are relatively much fewer in the formal sector, in both public and private sector employment, which provide some measure of social security, status and power. We can see a very high concentration of Muslims in self-employment activities. More than half of the Muslim workers are self-employed in household enterprises. They are concentrated more in certain industries such as tobacco and textile products, retail and wholesale trade; and sale, repair and maintenance of motor vehicles, electrical machinery and apparatus manufacturing. On the whole, more Muslims than others are to be found in production-related activities and transport equipment



operation. About 34 per cent of Muslims are engaged in such occupations as against 21 per cent of all workers. Again, Muslims are more highly represented than others in sales related work. Muslim participation is relatively lower in professional, technical, clerical and managerial work, particularly in urban areas.

Under the current globalization policies, employment in the formal sector is any way gradually and systematically sinking in the past two decades. Workers of all the deprived communities face the brunt of this process as most of them work as self-employed, casual or regular salary workers in the informal sector. A large number of regular workers in the formal (small and medium industries; and also public sector like railways) as well as the informal sector are employed, on a piece-rate system. They are without any social security. Muslims are the most vulnerable among such regular workers. As many as 73 per cent of the Muslims, as against 63 per cent of SC/ST and OBC “regular workers” are employed without any written contract.

Most of them are not eligible for any social benefits. Only a very small proportion of them get the benefit of provident fund, pension, healthcare, etc. Their earnings are low. The difference in earnings between Hindus and Muslims is much larger in the private than public sector. Their job conditions (length of contract, social security benefits and the like) even as regular workers are poorer than those for other socio-religious groups. Further, it is found that they tend to be more insecure and vulnerable in terms of conditions of work.

Further, the concentration of Muslim workers in self-employment – street vending, small trades and enterprises ensures perhaps that the community as a whole is far more exposed to the disruptions and damage caused by urban conflict and violence. The immense fragility of Muslim participation and the low level of their asset accumulation in general further intensify their vulnerability to the displacements, physical and economic caused by situations of continuous communal strife.

Muslim participation is lower than the workers of other socio-religious groups in regular salaried jobs especially in government or in large public and private sector enterprises. In case of government

jobs the situation is much worse. There are only 3 per cent Muslims in the IAS, 1.8 per cent in the IFS and a mere 4 per cent in the IPS. There are 4.5 per cent Muslims in the railways and they are overwhelmingly at the lower levels. In the postal services and banks, Muslims are very poorly represented. Even in the universities and educational institutions there are only 4.7 per cent Muslims. Their participation in government jobs shows a negative trend for example in 1960, 4.5 per cent of IAS; and 4.04 per cent of IPS officers were Muslims and it has decreased to 3 and 4 per cent, respectively, in 2006.

There is a slight variation in different states. The highest percentage of government employment for Muslims is in Assam (11.2 per cent) but this is also far less than the share of the state’s Muslim population (30.9 per cent). Other states with a better picture of representation are: Karnataka (8.5 per cent job share alongside a population proportion of 12.2 per cent); Gujarat (5.4 per cent against 9.1 per cent); Tamil Nadu (3.2 per cent against 5.6 per cent).

The most glaring cases of Muslims’ deprivation in government jobs are found in the Left-ruled states of West Bengal and Kerala. In West Bengal, only 4.2 per cent of government staff was Muslims as against their population share of 25 per cent. In Kerala, the Muslim representation in government jobs is 10.4 per cent, to a population percentage of over 20%. In all the states the percentage of Muslims in government jobs are found to be less than the Muslim representation in the population.

A very disturbing fact is that Muslims are very poorly represented in defense and security related activities. This is a matter of some concern because, within the existing system, it is crucially linked to the sense of well-being and security about life and assets perceived by the community. There is nil representation of Muslims in intelligence and RAW wings. The share of Muslims in “public order and safety activities” at the Central level is just about 6 per cent, while that of Hindu upper castes is 42 per cent. At the state level, the share of Muslims is barely higher, at 7 per cent. Only 4 per cent of Muslims are engaged in defense-related activities. Several reports, including the Srikrishna Commission

Report on the 1992-93 riots in Mumbai, have stated that the police are often biased against Muslims and that special efforts are needed to recruit more persons from minority backgrounds as well as to de-communalize the police.

## **Infrastructure & Public Services**

A very important aspect brought out by the data is the clear discrimination against Muslims in the sphere of state provision of public services of all kinds. Even in cases of social and physical infrastructure also Muslims are highly discriminated and are poorly served. Muslim concentration villages, as the Census of 2001 shows, are not well served with “pucca” approach roads or local bus stops. A large number of Muslim concentration villages in states such as West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Jharkhand and Jammu and Kashmir lack postal and telegraph services. Several of these are states with a high Muslim population.

Further, there is a clear inverse association in small villages between the proportion of Muslim population and the availability of educational infrastructure. In most states, the proportion of Muslim concentration villages with medical facilities is lower than the proportion of all villages with such facilities. These facts regarding education, physical infrastructure and health facilities indicate a distinct bias in public service provisioning in Muslim concentration areas.

In another glaring example of discrimination Muslims have poor access to bank credit. The average size of credit is meager and low compared to other socio-religious groups. The percentage of households availing bank facilities is much lower in villages where the Muslim population is high and this could be partly because of non-availability of such facilities. This amounts to the financial exclusion of Muslims and has far-reaching consequences for a community already economically vulnerable and educationally backward. For those primarily engaged in self-employed work, access to credit is a crucial input. It is observed that in several areas with Muslim concentration happen to be marked as “negative” or “red” by the banks (where giving loans is not advisable,

presumably because of low recovery) happen to be of Muslim concentration. Such blanket bans adversely affect entrepreneurs of the community.

There are a very small section of entrepreneurs in Muslims and one of the major problems that Muslims in general and entrepreneurs among them in particular, face their business presence of inadequate credit facilities not only from private and public sector banks, but also from Small Industries Development Bank of India, and National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD).

### **Political Representation:**

Regarding their political presence in spite so much hue and cry about the Muslim vote bank their presence in political power is very less. In the current Lok Sabha, there are only 36 Muslims of 543 candidates. This is less than seven percent, which is again less than half of their population.

The most disturbing is that several constituencies in the state assemblies with sizeable Muslim population are declared as reserved for SCs, and, more important, many of them do not have high a SC population. Consequently, Muslims are deprived from contesting elections from the "safe" seats. For instance, nine assembly constituencies in Uttar Pradesh having more than 35 per cent SC population are unreserved. On the other hand, eight SC reserved constituencies have 25 or less SC population and, except one, all have more than 25 per cent as Muslim population. This is a deliberate strategy of policymakers to keep Muslims out of the political sphere; and also pit SCs and Muslims against each other.

### **Conclusion:**

The Justice Sachar Committee report and the data presented in the report are very convincing. The relevant data shown in the report proves that the discrimination

of the Muslims is absolute and it is in all spheres. Be it is providing basic public services, or infrastructure or education facilities or employment, Muslims are discriminated at every level. They are excluded from the economic and natural resources of the country.

The relevant facts are that Muslims are among the most deprived of India's social groups and communities and their social, occupational and economic profile is appalling. Marginalization, discrimination, violence and social exclusion have further depressed Muslim aspirations and pushed down levels of achievement. Their political space has been conspicuously abridged. This has been compounded by physical and social insecurity.

They live in constant fear. Their integrity and loyalty to the country is always questioned. This clearly shows the communal character of our 'Secular' ruling classes. We can't single out BJP for its communal bias as all the governments are equally biased when it comes to the treatment of Muslims in this country.

A series of planned events of communal violence, and continuous "hate Muslim" campaigns by Hindutva forces has alienated them further from the so-called mainstream. Such insecurity breeds fear and forces them to ghettoize. The worst sufferers are women. The political system, irrespective of the parties in power, including the 'left', has so far failed to take up the issue squarely.

Today, besides the socio-economic insecurity, all Muslims are virtually seen as second-class citizens in the country and putting up a puppet 'Muslim' as President or vice-President of the country is going to make no difference to the plight of the ordinary Muslims. In India, not only the bulk of the parliamentary parties, but the very state machinery has a strong

Hindutva bias and is anti-Muslim. This applies equally to the bureaucracy, police, judicial system and all others. Keeping Muslims in a secondary position and continuously whipping up hysteria against them is part of state policy that thrives on the British principle of "Divide & Rule". The masses of the people are being led astray by the high-pitched anti-Muslim propaganda. Muslims must realize that they should not fall victim to the fundamentalists in their own community and attack the common masses and ordinary Hindus whether by random bomb blasts or other such means. They must join with other democratic and revolutionary force to target their (and the rest of society's) main enemies, who are today getting away with murder and genocide of the most vilest kind.

On the other hand all democrats must get over their soft-Hindutva hangover and strongly and firmly stand up against all discrimination and oppression of Muslims. Whether it is the illegal destruction of the Babri Masjid (which the government should rebuild), or the various anti-Muslim pogroms, or whether it is the more subtle forms of discrimination, all genuine democrats and revolutionaries must firmly stand with the Muslim victims; and only then will they get the confidence to ally with them in a joint front against a common enemy.

The killer gangs led by the Modis, Advanis, Bal Thackerays, Singhals, et al continue to roam free as do their more camouflaged Congress counterparts. It is these criminals that need to be brought to justice. As far as Muslim overall backwardness gaining equality in the present biased set is would be impossible; for that there is need for a revolutionary change in the system, which can usher in a genuine democracy in the country through the new democratic revolution. **DA**

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### **Continued from page 11**

imperialists and their cronies to control the resources of our country and make super profits out of it.

As we see in NELP-7 more blocks are going for bidding, large iron ore mines are being doled out to comprador and imperialist companies, denationalization and privatization of coal mines are in the plan of GOI and energy ministry, complete

deregulation of the Power sector is also in the pipeline, Large Dams are being made, Gigantic SEZs (Special Economic Zones) and Industrial Hubs are being planned snatching farmland from the tillers. The terrible terror unleashed by the ruling classes is making the lives miserable for the people of our country and destroying livelihood of millions of people and also

uprooting them from their own habitat. All this is being done under the pretext of Greater Public Good and national interest. Slightest protest by the oppressed people are dealt with guns and bullets. To resist this attack and to claim their right to life, people of our country must fight the local cronies, Compradors and their Imperialist masters. **DA**



## GOVT. FACILITATES RELIANCE INTERESTS AT PEOPLE'S COST

*D.Rao*

**O**UR beloved country is rich in natural resources and human power. In the last few months, discovery of oil and gas in different exploration blocks and declaration of expected commercial production schedule from earlier discovered blocks has become routine news. Simultaneously and in contrast to that, every day millions of our fellow compatriots are living a life that is worse than death itself. Around one-lakh farmers committing suicide in the past 10 years is just a tip of the iceberg of the misery of the people. Farming has become a non-sustainable profession for the small farmers. Increasing cost of inputs, unavailability of loans from banks and high lending rates by usurers are forcing the indebted bankrupt farmers to commit suicide. The newly discovered resources of Natural Gas in KG Basin, which could have been used to produce cheap fertilizer and power for the farming sector and rural economy, is being treated as private property by the big comprador business houses like RIL (Reliance Industries Limited) to make windfall profits out of the peoples' resources. The rise in international prices of Crude oil for the past 3-4 years is benefiting the Exploration and Production companies (E&P) enormously. The latest announcement of the price of natural gas by RIL from their NELP-I KG Basin 98/3, D-6 exploration block will result in a delivered price of \$5.2 to \$6.2 MMBTU (Million Metric British Thermal Unit) for power plants and fertilizer plants in Andhra, Maharashtra and for the customers of HVJ (Hajira-Vijapur-Jagdishpur) pipe line of Gail India limited. The initial production rate of D-6 block will be 40 Million Metric Standard Cubic Meter per Day (MMSCMD) which is almost half of the current Natural Gas production of India and later on the production from this block can be increased to 80 MMSCMD.

The price of natural gas proposed by RIL does not reduce the cost of fertilizer or power and rather it will lead to a massive hike and will allow RIL to amass billions of rupees robbing the masses, who are the end-user and as well as true owner of the resources. Earlier, just after the discovery of Gas in D-6 Block RIL had signed a long term gas supply contract with the NTPC

Gujarat unit to supply 12 MMSCMD of Natural Gas at \$2.47/MMBTU for 17 years. Now, to come out of that deal RIL has made some unilateral changes in the contract agreement terms and conditions. NTPC submitted a petition to Mumbai High Court against RIL. RNRL (Reliance Natural Resources Limited) led by Anil Ambani also moved the Mumbai high court after the declaration of price by RIL. RIL is also bound to supply 28 MMSCMD Natural gas at the same price fixed with NTPC to RNRL for its upcoming Power Projects as a part of a de-merger deal between two brothers.

**So now Mukesh Ambani plans to sell the gas at more than double the rate earlier contracted for (for 17 years) giving it windfall profits. In fact import of fertilizer will work out cheaper on gas sold at above \$3/MMBTU to the fertilizer companies.**

The Ministry of petroleum and natural gas (MOPNG), which, as per the New Exploration and Licensing Policy (NELP) is bound to approve the pricing formula provided by the E&P company, initially declined to intervene in the gas pricing by RIL. But MOPNG was compelled to intervene after the power and fertilizer ministries disagreed over gas pricing. The Oil and gas ministry, which tends to act as a tool of Reliance, has reluctantly constituted a committee to assess the RIL pricing formula of natural gas from the KG basin field. The pricing formula, which includes some weight of capital investment proposed by RIL has also raised various doubts.

### **Planned Deregulation of Oil and natural gas sector through NELP and Pipeline policy**

The recent price declaration by RIL is a result of a decade long deregulation process of Oil and natural Gas Sector pursued by the Government of India (GOI) as a part of the overall liberalization process dictated by the World Bank and IMF. Throughout a decade or so, the Indian Natural gas sector is slowly being pushed towards deregulation by the Indian ruling classes. At the beginning, in the nineties, joint ventures (JV) with private and Foreign Firms were established in the Oil and Gas

exploration blocks in Panna, Mukta & Tapti fields where ONGC tied up with British Gas and RIL. After that, the New Exploration and Licensing Policy (NELP) was introduced in the late nineties by the GOI to bestow control over the lucrative natural resources of Oil and Natural gas of India in the hands of the imperialist MNCs and Comprador big bourgeoisie, giving lots of sops.

Till 2006, the Natural Gas, Oil and LPG pipelines and the transportation business was handled by PSUs like GAIL, IOC, ONGC, OIL etc. GAIL was the major transporter of Natural Gas through its HVJ pipeline network from Gujarat up through Delhi. The Discovery of natural gas in the eastern coastal region of the KG basin in AP by RIL and later on by ONGC and GSPC, required cross-country gas pipes to transport the gas towards the west and to the east of the country. The GOI promptly promulgated a national gas grid policy in December 2006 where any private, foreign, or public enterprise can lay natural gas pipeline as a part of the National gas grid. 100% FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) is also permitted in laying and operating of such natural gas pipelines. This pipeline policy will further provide control over the national infrastructure to Imperialists and their cronies like Reliance. Primarily it will help RIL to lay its own pipeline and take control of the Gas transmission business gradually. Joint participation of GAIL and RIL for the pipeline is already on the card, and, in the near future, RIL may grab control of GAIL as it has done in the case of IPCL.

Today ONGC and OIL are the main producers of natural gas in India where ONGC produces the lion's share of it; while OIL's production is mostly used for local consumption in Assam and Tripura. Gas produced from ONGC's Bombay High Offshore fields is fed through the HVJ network. Gas from Joint Venture fields like Panna, Mukta, Ravva and Tapti is also fed through the HVJ network. Petronet LNG and Shell import Liquefied natural gas and also market them through the HVJ pipeline network.

Most of the Natural gas, till date is used for generation of Power and the production of fertilizer. This accounts for approximately

75 % of the gas used, while the rest of the gas is used as Industrial Fuel, Petrochemicals and other industries like CNG, domestic gas, glass factories, Iron and steel Units etc. Till 1997 the gas price was determined by the GOI, which kept the prices of Gas low and beneficial for downstream industries especially for that of Power and Fertilizers. In 1997 the GOI mandated that the Gas price would be linked to an international basket of fuel oils. It was also decided that the price of Gas would increase gradually from 55% initial parity in 1997-98 to 75% in 1999-2000 of that Oil prices. But an increasing trend in the world oil price in 2000 implied a high price for indigenous natural gas if full import parity was implemented. The ruling classes did not take that decision as it would have straight away increased the price of Urea and Power and their over all scheme of gradual deregulation could have backfired. The gas prices remained constant for some years but the bureaucratic capitalists of the GOI, MOPNG and PSUs like ONGC also wanted an upward revision in gas prices so that their coffers get filled with more revenue, which can

be spent at the bureaucratic wish and at the dictates of their imperialist masters. Pressure from MNCs and private lobbies was also increasing to deregulate the Gas price as Gas from JV fields like Panna Mukta was also being supplied to customers at a capped price. From 2005 onwards two sets of price mechanisms coexisted in the Indian gas market: 1) Administered price mechanism (APM) for gas supplied by ONGC and other PSUs for Core sector power and fertilizer and 2) free market gas or non APM gas. The GOI decided the administered price of gas, which was consumed by the Power and Fertilizer sector. Table-1 provides a comparison of gas prices in India.

As we have discussed earlier, the price of natural gas till now is protected for the power and fertilizer sector who jointly use around 75% of the available natural gas and this bulk of gas is presently supplied by ONGC through GAIL's HVJ pipeline. *One*

*of the main targets of the privatization and deregulation of the gas business is to throw open this immense power and fertilizer market at market determined price for the comprador and imperialist Exploration and Production (E&P) companies and Oil and Gas Giants.* The said E&P companies, who have not only secured lucrative exploration blocks through NELP bidding but also discovered Natural Gas and Oil in their designated blocks. The price deregulation will also help Oil giants like Shell, who has already built and commenced a LNG re-gasification terminal at Hazira to market LNG at high prices. It is also to be noted that though Petronet LNG, which is a consortium of PSUs, has negotiated long term contracts for supplying LNG to domestic customers, Shell, who has worldwide gas and oil assets

block will result in a delivered price of \$5.2 to \$6.2 MMBTU for power plants and fertilizer plants in Andhra, Maharashtra and for the customers of the HVJ pipeline. RIL claimed that they have invited bids from 10 users for a total gas allocation of 32mmcmd by 2009-10. But it is to be kept in mind that the intermediate industries will pass on the price hike to the people of the land. According to Anil Ambani, the retail power tariff with this natural gas pricing in Maharashtra is going to be not less than Rs 5/Unit, which is very high. The fertilizer experts calculated that \$1 /MMBTU increase in NG price will increase the cost to the tune of \$21 per Ton of Urea production and at the current production level of 20 million tones the overall projected increase will be enormous. Natural gas is used as a feed stock and fuel

SUPPLIER	PURCHASE PRICE (\$/MMBTU)	DELIVERED PRICE(\$/MMBTU)	Remarks
ONGC (administered price)	1.81	2.76	
Petronet LNG	3.66	4.83	
Shell LNG	3.70	4.87	
Panna ,Mukta JV	3.86	5.05	
RIL		2.47	Long term contract with NTPC & RNRL for total 40 mmcmd of Gas from D-6 block
RIL	4.79	6.2	*Latest price announcement for D-6 gas

Table-1: Price of natural Gas in India

and can easily go for long term supply contract, is not engaging in long term contracts for supplying LNG and rather negotiating very short term contracts for LNG supply. It is quite likely that Shell is waiting for complete Natural Gas price deregulation. The RIL price announcement and acceptance of the same is very crucial in determining the future of the natural gas sector and for the people of India. The Oil and Gas sharks, hand in glove with the GOI, are waiting for that opportune moment to roll out complete deregulation of natural gas prices in India and the acceptance of the RIL price will ensure the beginning of complete deregulation.

### **Gas pricing: Peoples' resource Snatched by Private Players**

As we have already seen that the latest announcement of price of natural gas by RIL from their 98/3 KG basin D-6 exploration

for production of Urea in fertilizer plants and the current discovery of indigenous Natural gas could have drastically reduced production cost of urea by replacing costly Naphtha (which costs around \$18 per MMBTU) as feed stock for many plants.

The logic of the RIL to arrive at a Market determined price for natural gas is totally flawed. If we compare the "discovered" price with the present price in Table-1 we find that the ONGC is selling Gas to fertilizer and power producers at a delivered price of \$2.76 /MMBTU and it is not generating a loss by selling Gas!! In fact the ONGC is one of the largest profit-making companies in the public sector. With the doubling of the prices one can imagine the type of profits that RIL will make. As it is a well recognized fact that Exploration of natural Gas and distribution of gas through pipelines is one of the cheapest sources of energy. As natural gas is the perfect feedstock for low cost urea production and power generation, which can serve millions of people of our country, the price of the gas should definitely be arrived upon by considering the actual Production Cost of the Natural gas. But already the GOI has handed over the booty

through NELP rounds to private players. These private players have a contractual mandate to market the exploration output in the domestic market at market prices. For Oil, the market price is linked to International market prices and for gas the price will be determined by a pricing formula formulated by the E&P Company linking it with market prices of OIL and approved by the MOPNG.

### **NELP: A Conduit of Loot**

The NELP ensured the pathway to channel internal resources worked out / found out by ONGC to the hands of Indian / Foreign private players. A CAG Report in the late nineties observed that though ONGC had to hand over the fields to private players after NELP block allocation, it was not even compensated for its developmental efforts in those blocks and basic data about those blocks were also generated by ONGC. Moreover, the post NELP oil discoveries show an uncanny trend in oil and gas discoveries where the maximum discoveries have gone to private and foreign consortiums where RIL tops the list. Barring the KG-Basin discovery made by ONGC, and handed over to Reliance, its success in different blocks is quite meager. This phenomenon cast a shadow over the bidding process of NELP. Apparently ONGC still bids and gets the highest number of blocks but the blocks with real possibility of getting hydrocarbon invariably goes to the private players. It is always propagated by the GOI that around \$7.2 billion investments have been made in India through the NELP from the late 90s till now. But what they don't publicize is that the Comprador Big bourgeoisie are not investing in our country and they are happily investing the capital generated in our country to acquire fancied foreign assets. In just the one year of 2006-2007 the total foreign investment made by the Indian Big Bourgeoisie was more than \$3 billion, with ONGC in the lead.

The NELP provided the following facilities to Exploration and Production companies to ensure them enormous profit from Indian fields with 100% foreign participation and no mandatory State participation and neither any interest by the state Oil companies and PSUs : Removal of all fetters towards the Control of resources by the Comprador and Imperialist companies; Income Tax holiday

for the first seven years from the start of commercial production; no customs duty on Imports required for petroleum operations; paltry royalty at the rate of 12.5% for crude oil and 10% for natural gas (for offshore areas it is only 10% for oil and gas and for deep water blocks it is only 5% for the first seven years not only meant a huge loss of revenue, it also blocked the chances of indigenous technology development for exploration and production and ensured dependence on Imported premium priced technology). Lastly, the **NELP ensured freedom for marketing the oil and gas in the domestic market at market-determined prices: which gave a free hand to the E&P Cos to make super profits riding on the international crude oil prices while their actual production cost remains low and the profit is extracted from the common people, leading to complete deregulation of the OIL and GAS sector in India.**

Lastly, the exact terms and conditions and profit sharing arrangements offered by different E&P companies, is a closely guarded secret known only to the office of the DGH (Director General Of Hydrocarbon) appointed by MOPNG, and the E&P companies. The MOPNG and the DGH, who claim themselves as the sole caretaker of the oil & gas resources of the country, are not only relinquishing all control to the Private players but also ensuring them with huge profits while the people of the country will have to pay for the exorbitant prices of oil, gas fertilizers, etc. The information of the arrangements of those murky deals is also not being made public by the world's so-called largest democracy.

### **Comprador Role of the PSUs**

The emerging trend is that the public sector companies are tying up with foreign mega oil firms for bidding for the NELP blocks. It is not new that our PSUs are subservient to imperialist interests. Right from the so-called transfer of power the PSUs did not adopt a path of self-reliant growth and depended on imported technology from US, Europe, Japan or USSR. That's why after almost 50 years of Oil exploration, the ONGC is still not able to manufacture its own Rigs and has to hire or purchase Rigs at premium prices from abroad. Likewise most of the oil and gas

infrastructure depends on imported technology and machinery at premium prices, which creates dependence on technology. In a nutshell our PSUs have become flag bearer of imperialist interests.

### **Conclusion:**

The supply of OIL & GAS is limited and is getting concentrated in the hands of different private players and consortium day by day, which is detrimental for the real energy security for the people of the country. The price of Oil and natural gas should not be decided by selected few business houses, rather it should be determined by the needs of the people who are the ultimate user of the energy. But these natural resources are presently being used and will be used for shameless profiteering by the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialists if people of the country do not fight for their just right. Till date there is not much people's protest against the declared NG price by RIL and our parliamentary left parties are also silent over the pricing philosophy. The CPI-Marxists have raised some technical question over the irregularities of investment commitment and production figures of RIL but they are not challenging the basic pricing philosophy. As the pricing formula is not approved yet by MOPNG and it has been referred to a committee, the imperialist masters are showing their impatience and threatening their cronies in the ministries. The global giants like British Petroleum, Hardy Exploration and British Gas have started warning the government of an investor backlash over Exploration and production activity. Chevron India president John R Digby audaciously said that "market forces should drive the destination, customer selection and pricing of gas in India". If the RIL price is accepted, it will be a stepping stone for complete price deregulation in Natural Gas and the oil sector and that's what the imperialists and their local associates wanted to implement.

Till now in the form of regulated price mechanism some sort of façade of the trickle down Nehruvian economy was maintained by the ruling classes. But this is the opportune moment for the Ruling classes to roll out complete deregulation in the Oil and Gas market and energy sector. It is part of a larger master plan by the

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# JANATANA SARKARS: TREND SETTERS FOR THE ALL ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE

- a look into the work of the people's governments in Dandakaranya Special Zone

*Raago*

**P**EOPLE'S democracy' in a true sense is taking shape in one of the most 'backward' areas of the country. It is developing in divergent ways at various levels. The achievements of this people's democracy prove that this is a real kind of democracy, a democracy of the people, by the people and for the people in the actual sense. The main principles of this democracy are collective functioning and democratic centralism

This people's democracy functions through 'janathana sarkar' (people's government) being formed from village level on, in many areas of the Dandakaranya Special Zone under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), which terms these 'Sarkars' as the 'embryonic stage' of organs of real people's power. These 'Janatana Sarkars' elected by the people, have been mobilizing and organizing them in production, cultural, educational and military sectors, aiming at the all-round development of people's lives, livelihoods and their fighting capacities.

Here we present a brief picture about the functioning of the janathana sarkar in one area in the Maad division of the DKSZ.

## Revolutionary Cooperative agriculture

Here is an experience of a cooperative in production sector functioning in a real collective sense. The 'Janatana Sarkars' have been setting up Cooperative societies to boost up the people's economy, which hinges on agriculture and the collection of minor forest produce. The mode of production in the entire Dandakaranya area is backward and in some places it can be termed as primitive with people being unaware of the use of a plough. The labor power is also in short supply since villages with a small population being the norm. Even after six decades of the so called independence no government either at the center or at the state ever took up any measure to help the people in adopting modern methods of agriculture. Though this area has perennial sources of water like

rivers, streams, brooks etc; the state never took up any irrigation projects, minor or major. So the agriculture here even of today is entirely monsoon dependent. Moreover, most of the people lack even the minimum agricultural implements like ploughs cattle etc; leave alone the money to buy seeds. As such, the people and their 'Janatana Sarkars' realized that cooperative way is the only way before them for bettering their lives. But this was not a one step realization.

The Maoist revolutionaries started organizing the people for taking up developmental works that will better people's economic conditions about two decades back. At first mutual aid teams were formed with volunteers from the peasantry. These teams prepared the fields, tilled the lands and sowed seeds. The Maoists also mobilized larger number of people for the construction of small ponds in many villages. The ponds were treated as collective asset and the people took up collective fish culture in those ponds apart from using the water for irrigation. The people sold a part of the fish that was raised and utilized that money for village development works. Thus, the people realized through their own experience that collective way or the cooperative way is the best way for their development and thus an urge for the establishment of cooperatives took strong roots among the people by the time they started forming their own organs of political power, the 'Janatana Sarkars'.

Now coming to the present This report is about the efforts of one such 'Sarkars' which is mobilizing and organizing the people for bettering their lives. As it is located in a very backward area the mode of production is relatively backward. There are rich, middle and poor peasants in the area. Tilling is done with bullocks and ploughs but all do not have the implements. The peasants here cultivate paddy, some variety of pulses and a few kinds of millets.

In this area the collective work in agricultural production started with the tilling of the land collectively with

ploughs. Gradually it spread to other works.

Thus the collective work became more systematic. Production increased. There was a great change in the mode of production. The collectiveness in the agricultural activity created the opportunity to increase the usage of cattle and other agricultural impediments.

Here are some of the data regarding the agricultural and developmental activity taking place in this area. The janathana sarkar bought 260 cattle and distributed them to the poor peasants. It has also distributed 540 quintals of seeds ranging from paddy, gingelly (a kind of oil seed), pulses, maize and millets. It built 70 houses and repaired another 350.

When the area was affected by a famine it distributed Rs. 25,000 among the people as a relief measure.

In this particular area on the whole 1436 acres of land was seized from the people's enemies, those who fled from the village and the landlords and rich peasants. Forestland too was occupied. 1057 acres of this land was distributed among 482 families. 310 acres were kept under the control of the janathana sarkar and 65 acres was given to the militia.

The cooperative committee distributed 2 quintals and 25 kilos of seeds worth 1200 rupees in the villages under its jurisdiction. They built one new house and repaired the rest.

The cooperative activity and the increasing revolutionary consciousness broke certain taboos regarding the participation of women in production. In the old society women were not allowed to do certain things in agricultural work like sowing seeds, going near the paddy crop after the harvest and later to the paddy store. So the Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS) took up the task of breaking these taboos. This women's mass organization started taking up women's problems much earlier before the cooperative activities started and the Janatana Sarkars were formed. Now women's organization is mainly taking up the task of mobilizing women into the

activity of the janathana sarkar.

The janathana sarkar helped the people in one more way. That is regarding the fixing of rates for the minor forest produce being sold in the weekly markets. It is also helping the victims of the genocides 'Salva Judum' campaign and state violence through the revenue earned and crop raised from the collective activity. Residential schools are also being financed by the revenue out of this activity.

The Salva Judum campaign of the Chathisgarh state government brought a lot of changes in the life of the villages. The repression unleashed in the campaign taught a lot to the masses in devising ways to defend themselves and the revolutionary movement. The militia that was already set up in the villages became more active. Militia platoons were formed and most of the youth, both women and men became full time activists in the militia. They have become another big family in the village.

Initially the janathana sarkar looked after the militia's needs. But within no time militia did not only become self-sufficient but is helping the janathana sarkar too in terms of production of crops and revenue. The militia gained revenue of 10,000 rupees out of the gingelly crop it sowed and harvested on its own. It produced 1500 quintals of paddy.

The cooperative activity in the area also developed a team of carpenters this year. This team went around the villages before the onset of the agricultural season and met the needs of the agricultural implements of the masses. The janathana sarkar bought furnaces and the necessary metal for the purpose.

Regarding cattle, the janathana sarkar in this area took it up in a creative manner. It distributes cattle and takes 20 kilos of paddy per year in reciprocation. It buys cattle with this money. The farmer could keep the new born with them. With a good foresight the government bought pregnant cattle.

In addition to cattle the janathana sarkar also distributed goats and hens mainly to those who lost them in the looting spree of the Salva goons. It distributed 100 packets of fish to develop pisciculture. It is also looking after the martyr's families. It is planning to look after the victims of Salva Judum in the nearby areas.

The development committee of the janathana sarkar is procuring the forest produce like the Mahua flowers and brooms from the people and selling it. This would facilitate the people's market necessities.

The forest protection committee, one of the sub-committees of the janathana sarkar takes care that the forest is well protected. It initially took up a campaign to discourage indiscriminate cutting of trees. Earlier people of this area used to clear vast tracts of forest for shifting (jhum) cultivation. Now since the villages are settled, protection of forest has become a matter of serious concern for all. One has to take permission from the forest protection committee of the Janathana Sarkar to cut forests. The committee would make a study and see which area could be cut in case of necessities for building houses, certain agricultural implements, beds and other such things. Those who cut the trees without permission would be punished. The punishments are mainly in the form of cash.

The experience of the janathana sarkar shows that a truly people oriented cooperative activity can certainly achieve tremendous benefits for the people. The success of the cooperative activity going on in these 'backward' forest areas of Dandakaranya is certainly a trendsetter for other areas.

## Changes in culture

The adivasis had a lot of unscientific, blind beliefs regarding production, health and human relations in their social life. Though the basic reason is their lack of scientific and articulated knowledge, these customs mainly benefited the traditional tribal hierarchies in many ways. The hierarchy in this adivasi area mainly comprises of the village head and the village priest. It was mostly hereditary. These families used to exercise enormous power over the village. Inter and intra family problems and contradictions were brought to the village head for a solution. With the given knowledge about the medicinal herbs and treatment of diseases the village priest was the native (witch) doctor and he too had a say in these matters. These heads intervened in matters of marriage, house construction and all other such social and essential matters.

When the village head decides a problem, the concerned families were to

present him a hen. When the village witch doctor performed a puja (incantation) as a part of treatment of disease, he too had to be given a hen. During festivals they were given a large share of the meat distributed among the villagers. In agricultural work, the villagers are expected to work in the fields of these two heads without any remuneration.

When the Maoist party entered the villages and formed mass organizations, the authority of these heads came to an end. As the people's mass organizations gained strength, they gained command over the village matters. The authority was a collective one and no single person enjoyed it. The matters were discussed in a meeting and all the villagers had a say in any matter. A decision was reached with a consensus. Both the Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sanghatan (DAKMS) and the Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS) took up a lot of problems and solved them. This was a part of educating the masses politically and scientifically. Nothing was possible without education as a campaign. This education was in the form of meetings and the cultural organization of the party, Chethana Natya Manch (CNM) had a main role in it. It prepared many songs, dances and playlets on the superstitions and age old evil practices and propagated about the unscientific nature of these evils. This appealed to the people and made them think.

Now after the janathana Sarkars were formed, these matters are being taken up by the cultural committee, education committee and the judicial committee.

The cultural committee looks after the cultural life of the people. The festivals of the people here are normally related to agricultural activity. The 'Vijja pandum' (seed festival) is performed before sowing seeds. The cultural committee performs the native dance, 'dhaka' occasionally. It conducts marriages and also sees that the marriage is not a forced one and is agreed by both the girl and the boy. The cultural committee took up education against the practice of killing persons with the suspicion that they are doing witchcraft.

One normal practice prevalent here is bigamy. The women's organization had been fighting against this practice. The

**Continued on page 25**

## OPPORTUNISTS NEVER UNDERSTAND REVOLUTIONARY DIALECTICS WILL ALWAYS

{These are extracts from a 30-page booklet brought out by the CPI (Maoist) replying to the ideological and political questions raised by the KMSK in their Bulletin 'Dialectics of Revolution' in November 2006. The entire section on 'Organizational Questions' has not been included due to lack of space. As this was a Document of the Party we have not taken the liberty to summarize it as it may give a different meaning. But printing extracts may therefore be a bit disjointed; yet it introduces the serious issues raised. We request that readers buy the booklet to get a full picture of the debate....Editor}

### INTRODUCTION

**R**ECENTLY, a breakaway group from our Party in Karnataka, calling itself as the Karnataka Maoist Swatantra Kendra (KMSK), brought out a Bulletin entitled the 'Dialectics of Revolution' in November 2006, and later two booklets of correspondence and the sum-up of five years inner-party struggle explaining the reasons for splitting the party and its perception of the so-called political, ideological and organizational crisis facing the Indian revolutionary movement. Many comrades in the Party are aware of the inner-party struggle in Karnataka, which went on for five years from 2001 October to 2006 July, till its culmination with the State Conference. The political, ideological and organizational issues raised by the leaders of this group were repeatedly discussed not only in the State Committee but also at various levels of the party and finally resolved in two State Conferences, one in May 2003 and again in July 2006.

The KMSK is a group formed by splitting the Karnataka (KN) unit of the CPI (Maoist) during the course of the State Conference held in the process of holding the Congress. In this Conference there was a two-line struggle where two views were presented: one, that basically supported the line of the Party, and the other put by four leading comrades with diametrically opposing positions. These two views had been subject to detailed discussion throughout the KN unit of the party prior to the State Conference and were finally clinched there.

Both views were heatedly debated at the Conference and voted upon. They included the two reviews of the three years work in the State. In the spirit of democratic centralism the majority views were adopted. When the members of this group found their views defeated at the Conference, they led their faction to a walk out, refusing to

abide by the majority decision. Not only that, in spite of assuring the Conference that they would not take any step that will damage the Party till the Congress, within a fortnight they held a plenum and formed another group.

It is a well-known fact that any proletarian Party in the world is built on the organizational principles of democratic centralism. This is the most democratic form of organizational structure when properly implemented. In India, when the centre of the CPI (ML) was smashed by the State soon after its formation by 1971, the party got split into many groups and in the late 1970s and 1980s the splits continued. As a result, in spite of the heroic image of struggle and sacrifice there was disillusionment about the movement. This was a result to a large extent due to the petty-bourgeois outlook of the leaders and the wrong understanding/implementation of democratic centralism. Thus the ruling classes and reactionaries who have always striven to engineer splits and disunity among the struggling forces and the masses were benefited by this process. In the late 1960s and early 70s, when the M-L movement was new to the country the Party could not consolidate soon after its formation due to an incorrect style of work and wrong assessments of the concrete situation as also due to massive repression and the martyrdom of the bulk of the leadership. At such a time rabid petty-bourgeois values were rampant in the movement. Individualism and a bureaucratic mind-set prevailed with the approach "My views alone are correct and all must accept or else we will separate". So with this approach the splits reached ridiculous proportions and few had any significant practice to show for the validity of their views.

Fortunately this process began to be

reversed since the mid-1990s. Those serious about revolution began to advance the revolutionary movement and initiate the armed struggle while the non-serious ones began to fade out or disintegrate. In the process the demarcation line within the M-L-M between the revolutionaries and revisionists became clear. The erstwhile PW, MCC, PU, etc belonged to the first category and since the last 7 to 8 years the process of merger and unification became the major trend. A large number of groups and revolutionary individuals began uniting into the CPI (ML)(PW) and the MCCI, with the line of demarcation between the genuine revolutionaries and the other rightists/revisionists within the M-L-M getting clearly demarcated. This trend was to be seen since about 1998 when all those serious of advancing the people's war in the country began uniting. Since 2000 the two main streams of the revolution began to grow closer and finally united into a single revolutionary party in Sept 2004. After the merger and formation of a united single party, the CPI (Maoist), in the country many of those remaining outside have been joining. Yet, at such a juncture a handful from KN have once again started such splittest activities to the delight of the ruling classes.

Unfortunately, while throughout the country the unity process has been continuing since, now this group has not only split the party in KN but has been roaming all over the country encouraging others to split. Particularly when the Congress of the CPI (Maoist), after two years of detailed discussions, formulated the correct line for the Indian revolution, the leading members of this group unable to adopt proletarian discipline have fallen prey to their petty-bourgeois traits and are trying to spread confusion. But, comrades in the revolutionary movement have shown



# DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION!

## TEAR DOWN THE MASK OF ALL OPPORTUNISTS!!

greater maturity saying “*whatever maybe your differences you should struggle from within as is the established tradition of any communist party; particularly when the Party is facing the full attack of the government such a step is unadvisable*”. After being defeated in the State Conference, instead of abiding by the decisions of the Conference and later the Congress, they resorted to a slander campaign against the Party, its leadership and the Party line.

The Bulletin, correspondence, and the sum-up of five years inner-party struggles contains many wrong conceptions politically, ideologically and organizationally apart from the distortions and half truths on the inner-party struggle in Karnataka, party history and the revolutionary movement as a whole. In this they have explained their political, organizational and ideological differences with the party leadership, basically opposing the political line of the party and its organizational principles. They have utilized weaknesses in the party to attack the very line itself. Many of the weaknesses have been identified and rectified to some extent and some more still continue and need rectification. In order to confuse the readers the opportunists have mixed up the weaknesses already identified and rectified with those that are still prevailing. If at all the solutions proposed by this group are implemented in the name of overcoming the weaknesses, the party and the movement would definitely fall into the mire of opportunism and revisionism.

The differences first emerged in the context of building the revolutionary movement in Malnad. It was initially confined to the issues related with the movement in KN, but later expanded into a full-fledged alternative line over a period of five years. Every question, whether political, ideological and organizational, has now become part of a line question.

### **POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES**

The points raised by the KMSK are far reaching and concern not only the very programme of the Maoist party but also

the strategy and tactics of Indian revolution. Most of the points raised by this group have been raised by some M-L group earlier and have been settled. But as they have again been raised by the KMSK, albeit in a new form, we shall deal with them again.

#### **1. On the changes that have taken place in the agricultural sector:**

One of the main accusations of this Group is that the Party leadership is very dogmatic in recognizing the changes taking place in the mode of production in the country with the growth of capitalist penetration in agriculture and this is the main reason for adopting a wrong strategy and tactics and for the failures. So let us examine their arguments on this issue.

After listing out these changes (in this they outline nearly all the indicators) one expects that it will be corroborated with facts and figures and with some analysis, if not in detail at least in brief. But these opportunists did not feel it necessary to analyze and establish their ‘findings’ by placing facts and figures. And this is not for the first time they have acted like this. Even during the inner-party debate on the issue of the concrete conditions in Malnad they did the same. Without collecting any data, without undertaking a deeper study and analysis of these data utilizing Marxist political economy they simply argued that many changes have taken place. **But it is mere sophistry to talk about changes without concretely identifying what type of changes they are. It is a method repeatedly adopted by these opportunists in the inner-party struggle.**

They just say “*we are not going into explanation of the above aspects for reasons of length. But if we compare these with the socio-economic-political situation that prevailed when the party’s Programme was first drawn up in 1970, it is crystal clear that significant changes have come in all these parameters*” and went on to conclude that “*It is true that the imperialism have preserved semi-feudalism for their own interests. But this does not mean that the feudalism, which is historically in the direction of decay, is predominantly preserved, as it was earlier.*”

*Nor does it mean that ‘refeudalisation’ is taking place, as some argue. It is against the law of motion of society. As part of its historical movement, feudalism keeps moving towards decay. In the absence of socialist forces and of revolution, its movement would be gradually towards capitalism, but it will not be static or will not strengthen against history either.”* (Emphasis added; KMSK Bulletin, Dialectics of Revolution P-44)

For the sake of clarity let us look at the main points they have concluded.

a) The imperialists and the CBB while preserving semi-feudalism are gradually transforming it into capitalism.

b) Due to the absence of socialist forces and (prospect of) revolution semi-feudalism is gradually moving towards capitalism.

c) Historically feudalism is in the direction of decay.

These three points reveal the concepts of the opportunists on the ongoing revolutionary movement and the ‘reforms’ carried out by the imperialists and their local compradors. It is not strange that for them only feudalism is in the process of ‘decay’ and not capitalism. The teachings of our great teachers Lenin, Stalin and Mao have shown that capitalism itself was in a state of decay when it reached the stage of imperialism ..... All these issues are conveniently sidelined and for them the imperialist sponsored ‘reforms’ carried out by the ruling classes in their all out efforts to come out of the intensifying all round crisis can bring progressive change and democratic transformation. Therefore imperialism, in their eyes, is not decadent and moribund but still can play some progressive anti-feudal role. To imply this means to deny the Leninist understanding of imperialism and Mao’s understanding of New Democracy.

Nobody denies that changes have taken place when compared with 1970. These splitters try to portray as if the central and state leadership are so blind and dogmatic that they don’t recognize the changes after 1970. But the Party Programme, recently passed at the Party Congress, has taken into cognizance of all

these changes in points 10 and 15 and in other places. This is further discussed in the Political Resolution while discussing the impact of globalization on India. Not only that, in a separate detailed analysis, the nature of the changes in Punjab, where the changes are the greatest, were analyzed at length at the Congress. Finally, the implication of all these changes on our tactics have been outlined in detail in our document Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution.

When we look at the question of the mode of production we must do it in the context of Lenin's theoretical basis on this issue. The points to be considered as per the Leninist understanding are mainly, nature and extent of the wage labour, nature and extent of capital accumulation and extended reproduction, extent of class differentiation of the peasantry in the countryside, types and extent of tenancy, types and extent of credit/money lending, extent and nature of capitalist commodity production vis-à-vis simple commodity production, extent and nature of land concentration, the extent of the artisan population, productivity trends, question of superstructure and nature of political authority asserted in the village, existence and extent of non-economic forms of coercion, extent and growth of industry and manufacturing in the region, etc. Lenin has said that the development of manufacturing acts as an important factor in bringing about agrarian changes. So, while studying the mode of production in rural India we should not just look at it in isolation, but see its interlinking with the rest of the Indian economy, particularly the growth of manufacture and thereby the generation of capitalist relations.

In addition the above analysis must be concretely applied to a backward country where imperialism and its agents, the CBB, act to retard indigenous capitalist development. Today, the impact of imperialism and the CBB has serious implications for the development of capitalism in backward countries such as India. This is most crudely evident in this period of imperialist globalization where the gigantic amounts of imperialist and CBB capital have not led to a growth of capitalist relations but, on the contrary, a marginalization/displacement of vast sections of the population. IT, big industry, big retail chains, etc has led to the closure

of lakhs of small scale units on the one hand; while the total neglect of agriculture and policies like bank privatization (reduction in primary sector lending), dismantling of government support prices, etc, etc has led to unbelievable levels of rural distress whose extreme case are the thousands of suicides.

Now let us look into the facts as to what are the changes and how far they have changed the relations of production in the agrarian sector. Here we will only touch on just some points as a detailed analysis will appear in our magazines.

First, let us take the question of commodity production. In their Bulletin the KMSK argued that the increased usage of inputs led to capitalist development. Com Lenin said, "*One cannot even discuss 'consumption' unless one understands the process of the reproduction of the various parts of the social product.... It is not with 'production' that political economy deals, but with the social relations of men in production, with the social system of production. Once these social relations have been analyzed, the place of production of every class, and consequently, the share they get of the national consumption is thereby defined*". This key understanding is often distorted by the opportunists, who merely mention "consumption" (of inputs like tractors, tillers, fertilizer and pesticides), without analyzing its impact on the relations of production. For example because of the extra burden on the land (due to lack of employment in other spheres), with each successive generation the number of people living off the same small plots of land continues to grow — the land is regularly fragmented with each successive generation). To survive, these families have to increase productivity, so many of such families began to adopt HYV and were drawn into the market though they continued to remain at subsistence levels of existence and within the framework of the old production relations. This vast section of the rural population that has been drawn into the market by the imperialists are involved in what is called simple commodity production and not capitalist commodity production.

In simple commodity production the producer sells his product in order to purchase other products, which satisfy his specific wants. He starts with commodities,

turns them into money, and then once again into commodities. Commodities constitute the beginning and the end of the transaction, which finds its rationale in the fact that the commodities acquired are qualitatively different from those given up. Marx designates this circuit symbolically as C-M-C. Under capitalism, on the other hand, the capitalist, acting in his capacity as a capitalist, goes to the market with Money, purchases Commodities (labour power and means of production), and then, after a process of production has been completed, returns to the market with a product which he again converts into Money. This process is designated as M-C-M<sup>2</sup> (M<sup>2</sup> is profit or surplus value added to the capital invested). The bulk of the small and middle peasants (and even a section of the rich peasants), though they have been drawn into the market do not produce surplus value and are therefore involved in simple commodity production and not capitalist production.

Secondly, if we now turn to the question of credit we find, in fact in this period of globalization with a fall in primary sector lending, the amount of informal credit is once again on the rise. For all their needs, for productive and non-productive expenditure, the peasantry depends more on the private moneylenders and usurers. This kind of money-lending and usury practice is associated not with capitalism as the opportunists argue but semi-feudalism. According to the govt itself "*the credit extended to agriculture from the commercial banks constituted around 12 per cent to 13 per cent of total net bank credit in recent years as against the target of 18 per cent.*"

For example in Tamilnadu and Kerala, 'developed areas' according to the opportunists, in the areas where commercial crops like cotton, oil seeds, cardamom, rubber, pepper, etc. cultivated by middle peasantry, who produce for the market, are entangled in a number of ties of extra-economic coercion and exploitation — levying exorbitant rates of interest more than the market rate, forcing to buy the fertilizers, pesticides and other inputs at more price and even low quality, forcing the peasants to sell their produce at cheaper rates than the market price — by the notorious money lenders/merchants and private financial institution, called by the infamous name "*blade company*" in Kerala

and southern Tamilnadu. Thousands of small scale rubber producers in Wynad lost their land and other properties, even committed suicide, due to this pre-capitalist method of plunder. Two years back there were many struggles against these “blade companies” involving hundreds of people.

Thirdly, let us look at the question of the generation of surplus value in agriculture. If capitalism was predominant in agriculture the surplus value generated should reflect this. But we find the capital generation by means of investment in this sector is miserable. Over the last two decades public investment in Indian agriculture has virtually halved.

The so-called private investment in the agricultural sector in the post-reform period did not alter the conditions even by a little. Rather it further aggravated the miseries of the peasantry. By its own admission the government of India pointed out in its Mid-Term Appraisal of the Ninth Five-Year Plan points out, “*there is a strong complementarity between public and private investments, and inadequate public investment could lead to a 25 per cent lower private investment than desired*”.

Today, in this period of globalization and agrarian crisis the worsening terms of trade (due to the crash in agricultural commodity prices and leap in cost of inputs) the surplus generated in agriculture is being mainly sucked out by the imperialist and CBB companies leaving little even for the well off farmer. With the entry of the retail chains the bulk of the surplus will be extracted by these huge corporates where the farmers are turned into mere appendages of them.

We find that with the crisis in agriculture, except for the first decade of the Green Revolution, due to the disparity between the rise in price of inputs and falling price of agricultural output has resulted in a continuous squeezing of the surplus. For example, the crash in prices of coffee, tea, areca nuts, etc, has badly impacted the farmers in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu. In the period of globalization of the 1990s the crisis has got even deeper not only reducing this surplus even further, but pushing thousands of peasants to suicide. So, according to data available, gross capital formation in agriculture dropped from 11% of the total in the 1980s to 7.6% in the 1990s.

Besides this low generation of surplus in agriculture, even that which is generated, particularly by the big landlords goes primarily to other spheres. With the return on money lending and trading far more profitable, a large proportion of this surplus is not re-invested in agriculture, instead finds its way in such spheres of activity. In fact, as long as usury continues to dominate the countryside as a most profitable sphere of investment, it will restrict the growth of capitalist development. Of course, when compared with the pre-green revolution period with the inception of the ‘green revolution’ things have somewhat changed; but the limited extent to which it has generated capitalist farming can be seen from the poor levels of capital investment in agriculture taken as a whole.

Fourthly, if we look at the other indicator of labour power becoming a commodity to generate surplus value we find that more and more they are being pushed to destitution, eking out a living not in some capitalist enterprise but through odd jobs. Government employment generation schemes are more towards self-help groups; so are those linked to micro-finance; these only perpetuates the semi-feudal conditions of labour as the bulk are involved in petty production and not drawn in relations with capital to produce surplus value. Most labour extracted is semi-free and constrained by numerous extra-economic forms of coercion linked to caste, patriarchy, etc.

These are just some points touched on; these, together with others mentioned above will have to be looked into in depth. These will be taken up in our magazines and other publications.

Today the agrarian economy is in a serious crisis and with greater and greater imperialist and CBB penetration into the rural economy vast sections of the rural populace are being marginalized even further. What is given above is a mere sketch of this situation. At the Congress, a detailed study was presented on the changes in agrarian relations in Punjab. As a result of these studies, whether for Punjab or for the rest of the country, the Party is of the opinion that in spite of the growth in distorted capitalist relations, semi-feudalism continues to be the predominant mode of production. Unfortunately these splitters who wax eloquent about basic

changes in the agrarian economy have never taken the pains for in depth analysis or study neither of India nor even of Karnataka.

## 2. On Caste question

On caste question the opportunists accuse that the Party is dogmatic in understanding the particularity of Indian feudalism. But how have they themselves understood this question? How do they relate the caste issue with the so-called transformation of Indian society into capitalism? You cannot find any answer from them. Because they don’t even feel it is their responsibility to do such things. The historic Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPI (Maoist) made significant advancement on this issue. {See July 2007 issue of PM for a summary of the CPI(Maoist) Congress’s stand on caste.}

## 3. Understanding semi-colonial nature of India

The opportunists said in their Bulletin that “*whether it is under the control of one imperialist country or of several imperialists does not express its political essence. Such explanation does not bring out to the fore the fundamental difference in essence between the neo-colonial countries and semi-colonial countries.*” (Emphasis added; Page-46-47)

**It is clear that a semi-colony is a territory where imperialism rule these countries indirectly (in case the imperialists occupy, the territories under its rule it becomes a colony, as it happened in China after the Japanese aggression); that it is controlled and exploited not by a single imperialist power but many imperialist powers; that there is contention between these imperialists to take control of the whole country.** But the opportunists tried, of course vainly, to portray that the Party’s understanding is wrong.

World history traversed from there and now we are living in a neo-colonial period of imperialism. Why do the opportunists choose to quote Lenin, selectively, after a century when we are living in the neo-colonial period? It is only to bring forward their outright revisionist theory in the name of “*semi-dependent*”, “*intermediary stage*”, or “*states in the transition process*”. In which direction is India transforming? Towards a colony, neo-colony or towards complete independence? They have not said anything on this. They are deliberately silent on this. What



happened to their 'concrete analysis of concrete conditions'? It not only exposes their ignorance to understand the difference between the old colonial form of exploitation and rule and the neo-colonial form of exploitation and rule; but also their stale revisionist theory of "semi-dependent" India. These theories are nothing new in the history of the revolutionary movement. Many so-called ML groups and Maoists have already doled out this theory before.

But the point is why are they indulging in such an exercise and what is their motive in doing this? In order to establish their revisionist theory of 'semi-independent', 'relatively dependent' they are deliberately branding the leadership as 'dogmatic and blind to the reality'. While on semi-feudalism their understanding is that India is 'gradually moving towards capitalism' and on semi-colony 'it is politically independent and economically dependent'. These two aspects together amounts to negate the semi-feudal semi-colonial nature of India. Their characterization that India is semi-feudal semi-colonial country is mere verbiage to deceive the genuine cadres and some sympathizers who support them.

#### 4. Understanding about Indian CBB

First, let us see whether the CBB is an **exclusive** class. The comprador class in India was born and nurtured under the close guidance and patronage of the British colonialists to divert the growth of the independent capitalist class, which may provide leadership to the growing freedom movement. It is a separate class born by the collusion between the British colonialists and the feudal lords and big merchants of India. It has grown under the aegis and tutelage of imperialism. That's why this treacherous class has been serving imperialism since its birth and will continue to do so until its last breath. The birth, growth and survival of this comprador class is inseparably tied with imperialism. That's why we cannot separate the comprador bourgeoisie and the imperialists. The Comprador bourgeoisie will exist in India as long as imperialist rule and exploitation continue.

Sometimes as part of inter-imperialist contradiction or when a country is aggressed by any imperialist power a section may participate in the liberation struggle. Just because of its participation in the liberation struggle it should not be

confused whether it has acquired the nature of a national bourgeoisie. It must be clear that it is participating in the struggle only as part of the contradiction among the imperialists to gain control over that territory. It will not become a 'national' bourgeois by virtue of participating in the liberation struggle, as the revisionists CPI and CPM argue.

But the opportunists argue that India is politically independent and the CBB is 'having political-economic-military authority' and further it is "***theoretical blindness of understanding CBB only as part of imperialism without recognizing this distinctness will push the practice to the plight of groping for the way***". It is very dangerous to describe the CBB in this way. **While it is true that the CBB in India is not a puppet of the imperialists describing the CBB separating it from imperialism undermines that the CBB is an agent of imperialist rule and exploitation and its interests are inseparably tied with the interests of the imperialism; without serving imperialism it is not possible for it to serve itself so that its principal character is to serve imperialism; that its contradiction with imperialism, as a whole, is a non-antagonistic one. Failing to understand this will lead to 'discover' some anti imperialist role for a section of the CBB, like the revisionists and the right opportunists of the MLM camp did earlier, and pave the way for a strategic united front with them in the name of tactics or struggle against the main enemy.**

They also leveled several baseless accusations on the Party such as that it considers the oppression on nationalities in India and Indian expansionism as only an imperialist conspiracy. Also, that it is having "*mechanical conception of viewing feudalism means rural work and CBB means a matter concerning urban*". **(Bulletin P-49)** Actually it is only the opportunists who have such conceptions that our shortcomings in urban work, work among the working class and UF are linked with our failure to have a correct understanding about the CBB. Just one sentence above it is said "*It is also the reason for not giving due priority to urban work and the work among the working class and for not giving due importance to the question of UFs*".

5. Fallacy in identifying principal

contradiction

After quoting Mao elaborately on the principal contradiction the opportunists concluded that in India "*the contradiction between the alliance of the Indian ruling classes (CBB and feudal forces) and the broad masses becomes the principal contradiction*". **(Bulletin P-51)**. What are the reasons to arrive at this conclusion? It is said in the Bulletin that "*in the rural sphere the struggle will have to be conducted simultaneously against feudal exploitation as well as exploitation by CBB, imperialism and the state, particularly the exploitation by the CBB. The land question, which is the core question of agrarian revolution, has not remained today as a question related with the landlords alone. Today control over the land is not only in the hands of the landlords. It is in the hands of CBB and the state as well. The CBB's hold over the agriculture sector as a whole is increasing day by day. That is why resolving the land question comprehensively will be possible only by developing struggle against landlords and CBB classes both.*" **(ibid. P-51)**. While it was mentioned that "*the struggle will have to be conducted simultaneously against feudal exploitation as well as exploitation of by CBB, imperialism and the state*" it was conveniently omitted when identifying the principal contradiction. May be they must have thought that the 'control and the hold of imperialism and the state over land and agricultural sector' has not yet reached the level of CBB to include them in the principal contradiction. We can list many more such ridiculous arguments by these opportunists.

Comrade Mao points out three different forms of rule and control adopted by imperialism, which brought changes in the principal contradiction in a semi-colonial country like China.

One, when **imperialism directly aggresses** a semi-colonial semi-feudal country by sending its armed forces the contradiction between the imperialism and that country becomes principal; two, when **it adopts milder methods**, i.e. through political, economical and cultural, to oppress a country, **instead of military intervention** the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses becomes principal; three, when the revolutionary war reaches a stage which threatens the very

survival of imperialism and its running dogs **imperialism sends its armed forces in support of the reactionary ruling classes** or splits the revolutionary camp in order to continue its rule and exploitation. In that situation the contradiction between the broad masses and imperialism and its running dogs becomes principal. The method adopted by imperialism – direct aggression, indirect rule, and sending its armed forces in support of the ruling classes or splitting the revolutionary camp – determines the overall situation in the country and the principal contradiction.

Now, let us see how imperialism rules, controls and exploits semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. It still, without sending its armed forces, adopts “milder” methods. But the opportunists discovered the “alliance between feudalism and CBB” as the principal contradiction. This alliance is there since the birth of the comprador bourgeoisie. The alliance is not only between the “feudal forces” and the CBB but it includes imperialism also. Even after the transfer of power to the CBB and the “feudal forces” this alliance still continues. The opportunists should explain when the contradiction between the ruling classes and the broad masses become principal. Is it from 1947, when India attained ‘political independence’, or even before, or after ‘globalization’?

Not only the alliance, but direct control over land was there in the hands of all these classes. The CBB emerged from the class of comprador merchants, feudal lords, brokers and big usurers. The maharaja of Mysore was a landlord as well as a CBB and we can find scores of such flunkies all over India. The Tatas, Birlas, Kotharis, and scores of other CBB own hundreds of thousands of acres of agricultural lands even before they get ‘political power’. So what is new in this? Do they own more land than the ‘traditional’ landlords? The state is the biggest landlord in this country. It owns millions of acres of agricultural as well as cultivable land. If control over the land is the criteria to determine the principal contradiction then, why is the state left out? This opportunist concept of principal contradiction is very much related with their earlier concept of ‘capitalist penetration in Indian agriculture’.

In India, feudalism, imperialism and the CBB are targets of the new democratic revolution. It is ruled by the reactionary

alliance of landlords and the CBB backed by imperialism. The masses, under the leadership of our Party and PLGA, are waging a revolutionary war against these enemies. The opportunists mix up targets of revolution and the principal contradiction.

6. On integrating aspects of insurrection with the strategy of PPW

The opportunists have put forward a concept, borrowed from CPN (Maoist), of integrating aspects of insurrection with the strategy of PPW. They came to this conclusion based on the ‘study and analysis’ they have made on the socio-economic changes in the country. There are two aspects in this ‘new concept’, one, the changes in the international situation, which demands, according to CPN (Maoist) and mimicked by the opportunists, such (con)fusion; two, the changes in the internal situation, i.e. penetration of capitalism in Indian agriculture.

In Nepal for all their talk of insurrection, in practice the armed struggle was led only in the rural areas as per the principles of PPW; and when the movement reached the stage of the strategic offensive, not insurrection but parliamentary tactics is being practiced. So the Nepal concept is still to be seen at the ground level in their country. Whatever, before coming out with this fusion theory the Nepal comrades went through a decade long experience of people’s war and set up extensive base areas.

The problem with the Nepal comrade’s new theorization is that the reason for this new ‘path’ is not clearly outlined, nor its implications. The only reason given is the link to the new development of technology and the supposed reduction of the world to a global village enabling the imperialists to strike anywhere with ease. So the necessity to rise simultaneously everywhere ..... i.e. cities and countryside. Unfortunately their own practice has not proved this.

But the KN theory of this fusion theory is somewhat different; it is linked to their concept of capitalist development in India. It is nothing but a ploy to avoid armed struggle in the name of ‘incorporating aspects of insurrection’, as in this “mixed” path there is extensive peaceful preparations to be made before the final uprising.

The KN opportunists found some

theoretical justification for their right opportunism when one of the revolutionary parties waging people’s war and advanced to the level of strategic offensive put forward this fusion theory. These opportunists trembled at the advancing people’s war at the all India level facing the cruel repression of the state armed forces. Even in KN when their empty talk of ‘initiating’ people’s war become imminent reality in spite of their struggle by all means to stop it, they failed and hastily ran away from the struggle advancing all types opportunist theory. The real nature of their proposal of ‘incorporating’ aspects of insurrection is nothing but the old opportunist theory put forward by the liquidationists VS and SM in 1985 in the name of ‘dual policy’, i.e. conducting guerrilla warfare (people’s war) in rural areas and political movements, political mobilization in the cities.

On the preparations for the urban insurrection it should not be misconstrued that the opportunists are sincere to that. It is only a cover to their legalist/revisionist tactics

So by taking recourse to this ‘path’ they have theoretical justification to avoid armed struggle, which has been the source and cause of their deviation, and do ‘peaceful’ and legal work. In their conception as there is significant capitalist development and also semi-feudalism; the capitalist development will entail the insurrection path and the continuation of semi-feudalism will entail the PPW path. This is naïve formal logic not a dialectical approach to the problem; it is like saying a horse has four legs and a donkey has four legs so a horse is same as a donkey.

7. On Starting Armed Struggle and Building Base Area in Malnad

The quintessence of the opportunists in developing the revolutionary movement, particularly starting armed struggle is similar to the opportunist line of the TN-DV and CPR groups. This is making mass struggles (of course it is a euphemism of opportunists for only legal struggles) a precondition for starting armed struggle. The principal and immediate task of the revolutionary party in a semi-feudal semi-colonial country is to mobilize the broad masses in the revolutionary war. How this should be done depends upon the overall situation, i.e. the sharpness of contradiction between the exploiters and the exploited

prevailing in that area, the level of consciousness of the masses to fight against the exploitation and oppression, the attitude of the state towards the revolutionary movement, the preparedness of the party to wage the struggle — and it is not just depending upon the socio-economic conditions.

Just like any other right opportunists and revisionists the KN opportunists also accuse that the masses, in Malnad, are not prepared for the armed struggle. People have to be 'prepared' by taking legal forms of propaganda and partial struggles. This 'line' is put forwarded by the liquidationist SNS, TN-DV, CP Reddy group, SOC of Tamilnadu and others. Notwithstanding some differences between them, these organizations are 'preparing' the masses for the last thirty five years to start the armed struggle. Even after three and half decades the 'preparations' are yet to be completed. None of them is sure when they are going to complete this 'preparation'. The KN opportunists have become the new heirs of this 'glorious' tradition.

They say that ***“Malnad is a relatively developed area and it is not purely under the first category of Strategic area. So we must adopt different tactics taking these changes into consideration”***.

This argument, although not in the same language, is not completely new in the history of the Communist movement. The question of building base areas is one of the demarcating lines between the right opportunists and the revolutionaries. In the name of centralized state machinery, modern army, developed economy or some other pretext the opportunists oppose the possibility of building base areas in India. Those who claim themselves as “Marxist scholars” advance some more arguments like in the present international situation where the imperialists have penetrated deep into the remotest rural areas, particularly after globalization, the expansion of the 'market economy' and as a corollary these remote areas are drawn into the cobweb of 'market relations' and become part and parcel of the 'world economy', it is impossible to build Base areas, sustain and expand them; at the most one can retain some armed bands and engage in armed clashes with the state armed forces. The opportunists, although do not directly oppose the possibility of building base areas, but in the name of

concrete condition of Malnad they raise questions on the party line whether it is correct to categorize Malnad as first type of strategic area. (There is nothing in the document as “first category of strategic area” it is said only as strategic areas and other types of rural areas).

The relative development of capitalist relations in Malnad is not even throughout the region. For that matter there is no region in India that is developed evenly and there is no region with out the penetration of capitalist relations. Such growth is not something new but it has started with the commencement of plantations during the colonial period and continues to grow. In all these strategic regions revolutionary war is the principal form of struggle and armed formations of revolutionary masses, i.e. people's army is the principal form of organization. The masses must be organized principally on the basis of revolutionary politics and organization. This is the most important task. Without this the revolutionary movement cannot advance. However, this does not mean that other forms of struggle and organization are not important. While paying our main attention to implement this principal task, we must also pay proper attention to achieve other tasks. In fact, the principal task cannot be accomplished without paying adequate attention to other tasks.

By keeping this strategic approach in mind we have to adopt suitable tactics, which will help to achieve the main task. Only by advancing in this direction, preparing the party, army and the masses for death defying sacrifices and training them up through an arduous process, by adopting appropriate tactics taking concrete changes in the enemy camp and our camp, we can build guerrilla zones and base areas. The KN movement has already embarked in this direction. The arguments by the opportunists are intended to divert from this direction and will deviate the movement from this correct orientation.

There is no doubt that we have some limitations and shortcomings in organizing the broad masses in an effective way on anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-state issues and building struggles. We have reviewed this and are making serious attempts to rectify this shortcoming. Concretely, serious efforts are being made to build such struggles. But to brand that the party does not have any understanding

and policy or tactics on these issues is like *making a mountain out of a molehill*. The erstwhile PW and MCCI parties have taken up many such struggles where these issues have come up in guerrilla zones and also in other areas. Joint fronts were formed and struggles were conducted on electricity, on remunerative prices, on irrigation water, on famine etc., but they could not be developed into a mighty movement due to our shortcomings and enemy repression. Even in KN, with all their shortcomings and weaknesses, the comrades there had tried to build the movement by taking up these types of issues. In fact, in the beginning our mass base was mainly based on the struggle against the Kuduremukh national park. Apart from this, cover organizations were formed. Campaigns and struggles were taken up to some extent against the forest department on evicting the adivasis in the name of 'clearing the encroachments' and also to assert the rights of the Adivasis over the forest. Groundwork for building broad-fronts for the areca growers was also made.

But what the opportunists say, apart from distorting these facts, is to ***“build legal broad-fronts and legal struggles as the principal form of organization and struggle”*** for a long period. In the name of 'developed area' they want to 'prepare' the masses for 'revolutionary war' by adopting the above said utter reformist 'tactics' purely based on economism. This understanding of the opportunists counters the political line of the party on building movements in the strategic areas.

The fact is, social investigation was conducted in about 125 villages by selecting model villages in the Adivasi, non-Adivasi, mixed population and CBB areas. On the basis of this investigation a report ***“Social condition in Malnad”*** was written and tactics were adopted based on this report and under the orientation of the party's document strategy and tactics. Except taking part in the discussions none of the members of this opportunist clique had participated in this process of investigation. It was explained in the meetings and in the plenums that it was only a preliminary study and further study is needed in the process of developing the class struggle in Malnad. Even in the investigation report it was mentioned only as ***“A report based on preliminary social investigation conducted by survey teams***



*during August-October 2001 in the Perspective Area”.*

Dominance of semi-feudal relations in Malnad was explained in the investigation report, which was approved in the July 2002 SC meeting.

While emphasizing the predominance of the semi-feudal relations the report also explains the level of capitalist aspects there. *“There is capitalist penetration in agriculture”. “It is true that labour power is bought and sold. This is a capitalist trait. It is also true that land exists in the form of private property. The legal system provides for the purchase and sale of land. This also is a capitalist trait. Thirdly, agricultural production does take place for the market. This also is a capitalist trait. But there is a semi-feudal rider that operates behind all this. And that is what is principal”.*

When these are the facts the opportunists distort them in order to justify their disruption of the party and movement. Without making even the slightest effort to study the conditions they have come to the conclusion that the situation in Malnad is different and needs ‘different’ tactics. We have seen people who study something and come to different conclusions and changing the tactics. But these opportunists have the audacity to propose ‘new tactics’ with their half baked ideas.

.....The second aspect they say is that Malnad is not a *‘localized economy and it is depending on the national international markets’*. The way the opportunists explained this is that Malnad cannot be liberated before the whole country is liberated. Therefore, there is no question of any advancement of class struggle to develop it in to armed agrarian revolutionary war and building a base area there. It will remain as a ‘guerrilla zone’ without guerrilla war for a ‘long time’ or eternal period because the revolutionary forces cannot control the national and international trade without which the commercial crops produced in Malnad cannot be marketed. This is nothing but vulgarizing the very concept of liberated base. The truth is that the opportunists do not have confidence in building base areas not only in Malnad but in the whole of India. Their concept of penetration of capitalist relations haunts them in every aspect of building the revolutionary movement. If you look at the tactics put

forward by them and their concept of ‘building political movements’ clearly exposes their concept of not building base areas. The essence of the preconditions they have given for building base areas means it is not possible to build base area not only in Malnad but also all over India. Who can assure that a situation will emerge that the enemy will be unable to *“impose an economic blockade”*?

The experiences of China, Vietnam, Philippines, Nepal shows that the market relation between the base area and the “outside” area was not snapped despite the economic blockade by the enemy. Regular flow of goods and essential commodities are maintained with the “outside world”. Of course, the economy in the base area may not remain the same way before its liberation. It will be re-oriented in accordance with the requirements of the people. Naturally, it entails great deal of sacrifice and hardship. If the leadership deals this problem as an inseparable part of PW and mobilize masses of that area and the country then only it will certainly succeed. When the people are motivated by the revolutionary politics and when they realize that they are the masters of their own destiny, not just the economy, they will be ready for any sacrifice and hardship.

The usual refrain of the opportunists will be that the Chinese conditions were different during that time. There is not even an iota of doubt that the conditions in China was different and it cannot be replicated as it is, but what lessons do we get from that revolution? Is it possible to break the encirclement and suppression campaign and the economic blockade or should we *‘wait till the enemy will be unable to impose economic blockade’*? Then what policy we should adopt-a revolutionary one or reformist-in Malnad and Karnataka to create that situation in the county? It is another demarcation between revolutionaries and opportunists/revisionists.

No doubt, the conditions not only in Malnad but in the whole Western Ghats are different from other strategic areas and vice-versa in some aspects. Commercial crops like coffee, tea, rubber, cardamom, pepper, areca, fruits and vegetables, flowers etc. are produced in large quantity and marketed outside that area. But the people are not just doing that. They also engage

considerably or to a large extent in production of food grain and minor forest produce and services. The poor and middle peasants grow commercial crops primarily for their subsistence. Moreover, the market for crops like tea, coffee, pepper, cardamom, rubber, and areca nut can be ‘localized’ to a considerable level. Raw rubber, curing of cardamom, pepper, tea, and coffee can be done at the home industries locally. Similar to agricultural cooperatives industrial cooperatives also can be formed. How are we going to accomplish these tasks? How do we ensure the well being of the masses? Only in the process of building, consolidating and expanding the base areas, taking enemy tactics and other objective and subjective factors into consideration we can formulate suitable measures from time to time.

On the question of infrastructure, anyone who has knowledge of our movement, either in AP and NT, or the “backward regions” of DK, AOB, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, MP, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, and Bengal can easily understand the level of infrastructural development taking place in those regions, particularly in transport and communication. Almost every nook and corner, except few pockets, can be approached by motor within a range of 5 KMs. Now the enemy engages helicopters for aerial survey, transporting personnel and goods and it will not be too far that they will be engaged in bombing and other combat operations. In the age of satellite communications, where the ruling classes use most modern equipments and centralize all information, differences in the level of infrastructure for military maneuvering is negligible. However, this does not mean that there is no difference between state governments, the tactics they adopt and the terrain in Malnad and other areas. But making comparison like most “advanced” and “backward” not only exposes their ignorance of the concrete situation of our movement and enemy tactics but also a lack of a correct understanding on the question of conducting People’s war in India.

8. Wrong Concept towards Mass Work & Mass Struggle

A major issue that this group is raising is that the Party is not adopting a correct approach to mass work and mass struggle. They claim that there is an over emphasis on armed struggle and that in the name of

armed struggle, mass struggle is neglected. This is a common theme of even the revisionists in the ML garb like the Liberation, Kanu Sanyal and ND groups and so this needs clarification once again (the issue had earlier been taken up in a comment on the Kanu Sanyal on their founding Conference a couple of years back).

Though there has been no doubt that some weakness in our ability to politically mobilize the masses, and this has been recognized by the Party (and steps considered for correcting it), the ground reality is that the mass mobilization on a reasonably large scale is taking place only in the armed struggle areas while in other areas it is very limited. The ability of our party to mobilize the masses has increased in areas where we have advanced the armed struggle. So, the logic of pitting the mass struggle to the armed struggle is absurd. Besides what is the mobilizing capacity of those who constantly emphasize legal struggles and who wax eloquent about mass work/mass struggle like the KMSK and others? Even after decades of work their ability at mobilization of the masses is very limited.

But leaving aside this ground reality the problem is the question of approach. It is a political question. The question arises as to mass work for what purpose? The revisionists and other bourgeois parties also mobilize the masses for their demands in order to extend their vote base. The reformists and NGOs also mobilize the masses either to consciously control the movements or keep them within certain limits, or with an understanding that getting relief is all that is possible. It is only the Maoists who are mobilizing the masses with the perspective of awakening them against the entire system and of drawing them into the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the present order. Organizational building also takes place with different perspectives: the fully legal loose mass structures suit the politics of vote/reform and approach for compromise. While solid mass organizations, with a strong cadre base, having an underground structure within it, is geared for militant battles and with a revolutionary perspective.

The question is not merely whether one has a few mass struggles or not, but how to draw the masses into the revolutionary movement on a mass scale while taking up

their struggles around their partial demands and immediate problems. How to draw the vast masses into the struggle for political power? It is this problem that needs to be addressed and not merely the question of taking mass struggles in general. What the leaders of the KMSK and the other so-called M-L groups emphasize in practice are mass struggles maintained within the confines of bourgeois legality and open structures, which restricts the struggles from taking more militant and effective forms. This alone in their opinion is mass movement. For the rest they use terms as sectarianism, anarchism, even terrorism. They dread the propagation of revolutionary politics widely amongst the masses and seek to confine this to small circles. The only result of all their 'mass work' is nothing but economist and reformist activities.

No revolution can advance until and unless the vast masses are mobilized to actively participate on a mass scale in it and not merely stay as passive observers. To do so requires that the Party, the people's army (or defence units) and the UF be effectively consolidated while doing the mass work. Building the secret Party deep amongst the masses and drawing them into the armed struggle and anti-imperialist, anti-feudal United Front can alone result in effectively wielding the three magic weapons of revolution for the seizure of political power. While mobilizing the masses this has to be the goal, or there will be no revolution. Let alone revolution there will not be even any effective political mobilization on the issues of the day. The mass organizations will get bogged down in routine activities and remain indifferent to the big political issues being thrown up daily.

This politics has to be introduced in the masses in a most creative and effective way, combining partial struggles with revolutionary propaganda and militant actions, coupled with systematic organizational consolidation. And in order to give such depth to the mass movement it is only possible through deep integration of the organizers in their areas of work and having a good understanding of the pulse of the masses. Besides, consolidation of this work politically, through raising the political consciousness of the masses and consolidating the advanced sections into secret party cells, activists groups and

mass organization leaders is not possible without such deep integration.

Many of these so-called revolutionaries of the KMSK type and other such groups seek to maintain their petty-bourgeois existence; do not consider the need to deeply integrate with the oppressed masses and so for all their talk of mass work the mobilization can only be superficial and lacks depth. Without such integration neither are comrades from petty-bourgeois background able to de-classify nor are they able to build effective class struggles. Most of these elements that pit mass work against armed struggle, have mostly this superficial style of functioning where at best they can build a trade union type of mass organization with a reformist agenda that serves little purpose for advancing the revolution. The experience in KN mass work, particularly in LDOs (Legal Democratic Organizations) is not different from this. It has been reviewed many times that our mass work mainly revolves around petty-bourgeois circles, confining only to holding seminars, meetings and protest marches. In the last six years it has hardly reached the basic masses.

Doing revolutionary propaganda in an abstract and mechanical way has little impact; also shying away from revolutionary propaganda on any pretext does not help draw the masses for the revolution. It is only by knowing the pulse of the masses that revolutionary propaganda can be creatively taken amongst them and they can be mobilized politically.

There is no doubt some short-comings in our ability to draw the masses on a wide scale into the political struggles exist, but the solution to this lies elsewhere and not as the KMSK would have us believe in divorcing the struggle around partial demands from revolutionary politics, divorcing all UF activity from the aim of building the Strategic UF in India, and divorcing the mass struggles from the armed struggle. Such an approach can only lead us into the mire of reformism, economism and finally revisionism.

With this we complete the main political/ideological questions raised. There are others too, but these are the main.

## **CONCLUSION:**

The essence of the KMSK line is to counter the very proletarian line of the Maoist party in India and divert the

revolution from the path of protracted people's war. Their differences are in the realm of theory and the party programme, on the question of strategy of the Indian revolution and on basic organizational principles.

Politically they negate the very programme of the party by: questioning the semi-feudal character of the country (in this they create more confusion by not taking any clear-cut positions); the question of the semi-colonial character of the country giving a type of independent status to the CBB and veering towards the discredited dependency theories; on the question of principal contradiction they bring forward some alliance theories thereby negating that the axis of the Indian revolution as agrarian revolution.

On the question of the strategy for the path of the Indian revolution they oppose the path of protracted people's war and are putting forward some vague concept of fusion between the insurrection path and that of PPW. Not only that they nowhere show how this path is to be implemented in practice and how their present practice is linked to this 'path'.

Even on organizational questions they basically oppose the well-established principle of democratic centralism in the name of fighting bureaucracy. No proletarian party in the world can be built without this organizational principle, which is the most democratic, that so far exists. Also on the question of the mass movements and mass organizations they promote economism, spontaneity, legalism and oppose any kind of revolutionary political propaganda and agitation.

In the realm of philosophy they utilize eclecticism and formal logic instead of dialectical materialism.

So we see in all spheres they have distanced themselves from the Maoist movement. Not only that their practice has a high degree of opportunism and disruptions. It is not a coincidence that the origin of this debate can be traced to the decision of the SC/CC to begin armed struggle in the Malnad region. They first sought to delay it, then to postpone it and finally to stop it altogether. When none of this worked they sought to link it to the line of the Party and in the name of 'differences' deserted the Party and distanced themselves from the armed struggle. But instead of modestly accepting their shortcomings and taking up activities

commensurate to their preparedness they sought to adjust the line of the Party according to their preparedness and accordingly split the party to disrupt the revolutionary movement. When the enemy is adopting various tactics to wipe out the revolutionary movement and the party and PLGA, which leads it, one of his tactics is to split the party or create confusion on the revolutionary line. No doubt for the role they played the KN opportunists, let alone attract repression from the ruling classes will be showered with all sorts of praise. The level of opportunism of this factional group can be understood by the fact that one of its prime leaders was a delegate to the erstwhile PW Congress of 2001 where he was one of the participants who sought to push a left sectarian line. Within six months of this he became the prime pusher of the right opportunist line in Karnataka; a 180 degree somersault. It was also he together with the other Karnataka delegate who presented the Malnad plan to the Congress and the CC. Within a few months he became the prime pusher for its postponement in the name of 'preparations' and then its withdrawal by placing an alternative plan.

Today the KMSK has brought forward their right opportunist line to sabotage the revolutionary movement in Karnataka from its very roots. Whatever maybe their intentions, objectively they seek the disruption of the revolutionary movement and its liquidation. History has shown that at important turning points in a revolutionary movement such non-proletarian lines do arise which seeks to destroy the Party from within. If it prevails the party is destroyed and turned into a revisionist party. History has shown that even the best of communist parties have been destroyed from within. The great CPSU, which successful fought the Hitlerian hordes was destroyed by Khrushchev revisionism. The legendary CPC with three decades of revolutionary practice and another nearly equal length of socialist construction, which included the huge strides made during the GPCR was finally defeated by Deng revisionism. A similar fate can be seen of many a party in Europe. Today the much-weakened state of the communist movement worldwide is primarily due to the prevalence of these bourgeois lines that have gnawed at the very vitals of communist parties and movements. That is why we say that it is

revisionism that is the main danger to the communist movement.

So also the Karnataka splitters through their line and disruptive methods have, to some extent, been able to push back the advance of the revolutionary movement in Karnataka.

The entire Party must seriously study and understand the essence of the political and organizational line of the splitters and what its implications for the revolutionary movement are. By developing a deep understanding and refutation of this line we can raise the political level of the entire party to be alert against such trends and understand how such non-proletarian trends worm their way into the Party and grow to become a revisionist line to stab the revolutionary movement in the back.

Such opportunists generally raise their head utilizing some weaknesses in the party and/or setback in the movement as the pretext for questioning the very proletarian line and basis of the party. Instead of pinpointing the causes for the weakness and reasons for the setback and work hard collectively to rectify and overcome from the weaknesses such opportunists give the weaknesses/setback as the reasons for questioning the very line of the Party. What the KMSK has done is nothing new. We see this often in past history. For example SNS pushed his revisionist line in the name of countering the left sectarian weaknesses and the setback after Naxalbari. Again a right opportunist line was pushed by VS-SM utilizing some of the weaknesses in the then movement of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW). Similarly the KMSK has pushed their line utilizing the weaknesses in the movement and difficulties faced in advancing the armed struggle in KN, a place that has never seen such a practice.

As long as class struggle in society exists, such alien class trends will be reflected in the Party of the proletariat, which, if not countered in time, will destroy it from within. Let us draw lessons from this example by negative experience, further develop our grasp of MLM and the political line of the Party, firmly counter such retrogressive views and activities, seek proper solutions to our weaknesses through a frank self-critical approach, overcome stagnations and setbacks where they exist by getting to the roots of the actual problem, and through this process advance the revolution to a higher stage beating back the enemy offensive.



## **CCOMPOSA CALLS ON PEOPLE'S OF SOUTH ASIA TO OPPOSE INDIAN RULERS AND US IMPERIALIST GROWING INTERVENTION IN SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES**

**T**HE Indian rulers seek total domination of the countries of South Asia acting as the gendarme of the US in this region. At the recently held SAARC Summit it went so far as to propose a South Asia Parliament seeking to undermine even the existing limited sovereignty of the South Asian countries. Earlier they had proposed a common currency for the region to further consolidate their economic hegemony in the region. At the SAARC Summit it continued to push SAFTA {South Asian Free Trade Association) in order to dominate the markets of the region and allow the unhindered free flow of goods made in India {mostly by the big comprador houses and the TNCs) to all countries of South Asia.

CCOMPOSA CALLS for the disbanding of SAARC and the setting up genuine forums of people to people relations between the countries of South Asia.

In addition the US has been aggressively and blatantly intervening in the internal affairs of all countries of South Asia. Their ambassadors are acting as de-facto extra-constitutional powers dictating terms and making open statements. Not only that they are directly involved in the counter-insurgency operations and are in the forefront to push for fascist measures against the struggling people of the region.

Lately, the Indian rulers, backed by the US, have been even more crudely intervening in the internal affairs of neighboring countries and even more crudely crushing the national aspirations for self-determination of the Kashmiri, Naga, Manipuri, Assamese, etc people.

In Nepal, the Indian ruling classes have been playing an active role to diffuse the democratic aspirations of the Nepalese people and prop up the reactionary elements after isolating the Maoists. They have been instigating the Madheshi people of the Terai against the Maoists, in league with the Nepalese monarchy. Hindu fundamentalists have been particularly active in setting up vigilante gangs to murder activists as happened in Gaur where 28 Maoists were killed. Recently these gangs murdered a Central Committee member of YCL {Young Communist League} in the Terai region together with another comrade. The Indian ambassador

has, of late, been pro-active, roaming in the interiors of Nepal offering large sums of money for schools, hospitals, roads, etc in order to wean away the masses from the influence of the Maoists. In addition the Indian para-military have fired on and killed the Bhutani refugees of Nepali origin, residing in Nepali camps, from returning to their motherland and have been fully involved in the US conspiracy to transport 60,000 refugees to the West as some modern day form of slave labour. The US imperialists and Indian rulers have been working together to prop up the reactionaries and neutralize the Maoists. CCOMPOSA strongly condemns the role of the Indian rulers and US in Nepal and demands that they stop meddling in the affairs of Nepal and the India people bring to justice the murderous gangs operating across the Nepalese border.

In Bangladesh the Indian rulers have utilized the present army-backed caretaker government to push through massive deals for Indian big comprador houses. They have sought to help the Tatas to make massive investments there and lately the Mittals have signed a gigantic deal in the energy sector of Bangladesh. The Indian ambassador has been actively acting in the country together with the US ambassador in the dealings between the various political parties and the caretaker government. CCOMPOSA demands that the large natural wealth of poverty stricken Bangladesh be utilized for the development of their own country and people and not robbed by Indian compradors and the US imperialists.

In Sri Lanka they openly threatened the government when it sought arms from China and Pakistan. The Indian rulers have already imposed humiliating free-trade agreements on Sri Lanka. They have also surreptitiously been assisting the Sri Lanka government to crush the just aspirations of the Tamil people for a Tamil Elam. CCOMPOSA demands the scrapping all these unequal agreements and supports the just struggle of the Tamil people for their self-determination from the jack-boots of the Sri Lankan ruling classes.

In addition the Indian rulers continue to maintain and tighten their vice-like grip over the small countries of the region like

Bhutan, Maldives, etc and continue their attempts to bully Pakistan utilizing the Kashmir card. Particularly they continue to forcibly maintain the oppressed nationalities within Indian hegemony. Not only does the Indian army of occupation crush their just demands with utmost brutality, they have been pitting one section of the people against the other to drown their just struggles in oceans of blood. This is to be seen in Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Kashmir and elsewhere. Besides the Indian rulers have launched a genocidal campaign to crush the revolutionary movement in India itself, massacring hundreds in Chhatisgarh under the banner of Salwa Judum and killing in fake encounters throughout the country. CCOMPOSA condemns these brutal fascist attacks and demands that the people of the oppressed nationalities be allowed to determine their own future and the immediate and total withdrawal of Indian army and para-military forces from all these regions.

South Asia has become a burning cauldron of revolutionary, democratic and nationality movements. CCOMPOSA supports all these just movements and calls on the peoples of the countries and nations of South Asia to unite against their common enemy, the Indian expansionism; to kick the US imperialists out of the region, and intensify their struggle against all reactionaries in the region.

1) Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla-CC; PBSP (CC) [Bangladesh]

2) Communist Party of East Bengal (ML)(Red Flag); CPEB (ML)(Red Flag) [Bangladesh]

3) Bangladesher Samyobadi Dal(Marxist-Leninist) BSD(ML) [Bangladesh]

4) Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) CPB (MLM)

5) Communist Party of India (Maoist) ; CPI (Maoist)

6) Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Naxalbari CPI-ML (Naxalbari) [India]

7) Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) CPI (MLM) [India]

8) Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist); CPN (Maoist) [Nepal]

June 25 07

DA

## Red Salutes to Com Ajayda; Central committee Member of CPI(Maoist)

As we go to the press the tragic news came in of the martyrdom of veteran Maoist leader, com. Ajayda. Living an underground life for nearly four decades, he died an untimely death due to suspected cerebral malaria at the age of just 64.

Com. Ajayda joined the communist movement in the late 1960s, faced brutal torture and jail in West Bengal in the 1970s, and through all the twists and turns in the Maoist movement in India he always stayed with the genuine revolutionary line. He was a Central Committee member of the erstwhile CPI (ML)(PU), then the CPI (ML)(PW) after the merger in 1998, and of the present CPI (Maoist). In spite of poor health he never wavered and continued the hard life of an underground revolutionary. All comrades can learn from such steadfastness and devotion to the cause of the people.

We pay our revolutionary tributes to this veteran communist leader and will print a full obituary in the next issue.

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activists say it has relatively come down. But there are still incidents where the wife is left and another wife is brought. Earlier the abandoned wife did not have any say in the property, though she had children. She had to look after herself or the parental family supported her. Now the janathana sarkar is solving it in a different manner. In one case where the man brought a second wife, the judicial committee ordered him to give a share of property to the abandoned wife. It specified the amount of land, the cattle and other such things.

Due to the genocipules Salva Judum campaign, the people are forced to go to a weekly market much distant from where they used to go earlier. Keeping in view the problem of distance, the cultural committee arranged small markets near the villages. It discussed and took money from the janathana sarkar and brought articles from the market and sold them.

When they fought back the initial phase of Salva Judum, the committee, on behalf of the janathana sarkar conducted a

'Bhoomkal Kharsad', meaning festival of all. It helped the CNM write songs on Salva Judum.

In a big move, the cultural committee brought a change in the participation of women in festivals and especially hunting. Earlier women were not allowed to participate in these festivals. The women's organization broke the tradition to a large extent and now the janathana sarkar is advancing it to other such issues. Recently it succeeded in making women part of hunting teams. This was the first time in the history of this area. The tradition did not allow women even to eat meat until recently.

As a part of increasing the production activity, the cultural committee also takes up propaganda about production and the modes of production.

The education committee looks after the establishment of schools and hostels. It arranges teachers. Their salaries are either in the form of kind or contributing to their agricultural production from the villagers.

During the Salva Judum campaign the education committee did a lot when the government closed down many of the schools. It held meetings with the teachers and students and promised them to start schools later. And it did. Some of the students were sent to the schools in the near by towns.

### Makers of their own change

The above facts clearly bring forth the fact that the adivasis of Dandakarnya have succeeded in laying a path to change their lives. This change does not benefit single individuals person. It is concerned with the change in the lives of each and everyone and the society as a whole. Thus the people have taken the steering of their lives into their own hands. They are making great leaps forward in the economic and the superstructure sectors, putting the parliamentary democracy to shame and throwing a challenge to the so called modern and developing world.

DA

### Continued from page 28

in 1985 he was a member of the first NT Special Zonal Committee. After the 1995 Special Conference when the Party was severely hit by the state repression in Nizamabad district he took the responsibility for the district as the secretary. He played an important role guiding the districts of Karimnagar and Nizamabad until 2000. In 2000, after the martyrdom of coms. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, he became the secretary of the NTSZC. In the 2001 Congress of the CPI (ML) (PW) he was elected to the Central Committee and was also a part of the Central Military Commission and he continued in this responsibility in the newly merged

party, CPI (Maoist). In 2005 as a member of the CC of the CPI (Maoist), after the martyrdom of the earlier state secretary Com. Saket Rajan, he took over the responsibility of Karnataka and successfully united the state unit against the right opportunist splitters and also took leadership of advancing the armed struggle in the Western Ghats.

In 1993 he married martyred comrade Padma and the two of them were legendary fighters of North Telengana; never knowing fear and courageously resisting the enemy even when all seemed lost. It was their heroic resistance, for example that saved an entire camp where a district conference

was being held in sept. 2000 which was exposed by a covert; in which SZC member com. Vinod was martyred. When the Party CC decided to begin the first raids on police stations in 1996 in order to beat back the increased attacks of the police and to bring a leap in the movement, he was the main commander in all those raids.

Com Murali will always be remembered by his comrades for his heroic role in the revolutionary movement; his simple ness and straightforwardness, and as a dedicated and selfless comrade. We pay our deepest homage to com Murali and vow to continue to take forward the ideals for which he fought and died.

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## JOINT STATEMENT OF INDO-NAGA PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY MEET

*Released in the press Conference at Dimapur on the June 30, 2007--downloaded from the Internet*

**W**E the undersigned from various parts of India and Nagalim express our deep sense of concern for the way in which the Indian state has been dealing with the Naga people's movement and the people's democratic movement s in various parts of India. We condemn the brutal suppression of voices of the people who have been fighting for their right to self-determination and liberation from all kinds of oppression.

The Naga people's struggle for self-determination and independence has been one of the longest fought struggles in the Indian sub-continent. We express our support and solidarity to the Nagas people's movement for National Liberation from the shackles of the Indian ruling elite and unequivocally state that the Naga People's right of self-determination is inalienably just and part of the internationally recognized basic rights of the people.

Further we state that it is the bounden duty of the Indian revolutionary and democratic forces and individuals to support the Naga people's struggle for national liberation and independence.

We also support and express our solidarity, in this context, to all national liberation struggles in the Indian sub-continent and to the struggles of the people for liberation from imperialist and feudal shackles and all forces of oppression and exploitation.

We are deeply concerned and agonized on the prevailing condition in the state of Chhattisgarh, particularly in Bastar where the revolutionary and democratic people have been brutally attacked and suppressed by the repressive anti-people state in the name of *Salwa Judum*, an extra-constitutional and criminal vigilante group created by the government of Chhattisgarh and abetted by the Central government of India. Along with several battalions of paramilitary and police forces, the Indian army is engaged in the so-called counter-insurgency operations, trying to suppress an extraordinary revolutionary mass movement against exploitation and for developing a self-reliant and Free People's Republic of India.

The *Salwa Judum* goons along with the 9 IRB and Mizo battalions have been at the forefront in unleashing the worst kind of atrocities on the people of Bastar region. The state agencies have used the 9 IRB battalion to create terror among the people by circulating exotic and demonizing propaganda that the Naga soldier would crush the people's movement very easily using their devilish tantric capabilities. The people's movement has encountered these kinds of evil designs of the Indian state by effectively countering this misinformation campaign by giving the people of the region the true human picture of the Nagas and about their movement for independence.

The repressive security operations of the Indian State have resulted in rape, arson and brutal killings of the people not even sparing the children and women. The Indian security forces have been playing the role of mercenaries in Chhattisgarh.

We as the team of concerned citizens appeal to the Naga people's organizations and all freedom living people here to raise their voice against the Indian State devious design of pitting people against people. We also appeal to all democratic organizations and people in this region to put pressure on the Indian government to withdraw 9 IRB and Mizo battalions from Chhattisgarh. These battalions have been used at the frontal attack on the innocent tribal population of Chhattisgarh. Many of the atrocities committed by the 9 IRB battalion in Chhattisgarh have been well documented by various civil and democratic right organizations.

As of now, many of the Naga soldiers—as is being reported in the local press of Chhattisgarh—have been going through acute psychological trauma and their condition has been very serious. We feel sorry for them. They have been the ideal cannon fodder in the brutal repressive policy of the Indian state against the adivasi people of Chhattisgarh. They have not been able to cope up with the adverse conditions under which they have been forced to live and commit the worst kind of atrocities on the people of Chhattisgarh.

We the members of the team from India are happy to be here and to keep abreast of the situation here. We are thankful to all those organizations, individuals and the press of the region for their kind help and concern. We are touched by the great sense of hospitality and warmth of the Naga people. It is a reflection of the values that they hold for in their more than half a century long struggle for their right to be a free people. It is also a kind gesture of reassurance of their concern as well as solidarity for the people of India which has been the central principle of their struggle. We believe that the Naga people are not alone in their struggle against oppression and domination. They have their solidarity from their brothers and sisters in India who are also fighting against all forms of exploitation.

Once again the team members from the different regions of India would take this opportunity to thank the Naga Ho Ho, the Naga Mothers Association, Naga People's Movement for Human Rights, Naga Student's Federation and a number of others for making this whole visit possible and we are confident that this would go a long way in the days to come as a long lasting friendship based on the values—democracy, justice and freedom.

Prof. Amit Bhattacharya, Head, Department of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata.

Dr. N. Venuh, Secretary General, NPMHR

Abhishek Srivastave, Freelance Journalist, Delhi

GN Saibaba, Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Prosun Chatterjee, Gana Pratirodh Manch, West Bengal.

Rona Wilson, Research Scholar, JNU, Delhi

Swapan Dasgupta, Radical Publications  
30, June 2007

Kohima

DA



## HAIL THE MARTYRDOM OF COMRADE SETTIRAJU PAPAIAH (SOMANNA)

**S**ETTIRAJU Papaiah (popularly known as Venkataramana and Somanna), a member of the Special Zonal Committee (SZC) secretariat of North Telangana, was abducted by the APSIB goons on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 2007 from Bangalore city, cruelly tortured, and then brutally murdered on the morning of 1<sup>st</sup> July. His dead body was thrown in forests of Medaram in Tadwai mandal of Warangal district. Sowmya Mishra, the SP of Warangal, tried to paint the brutal murder by the cold-blooded murderers of the APSIB as a real encounter.

Comrade Somanna hails from a middle peasant family in Tekumatla village in Chityala mandal of Warangal district. During the second half of 1970s and early 1980s Warangal had a strong radical student movement. The radical students integrated with the oppressed peasantry and organized them into anti-feudal agrarian struggles, which rose like an upsurge during the 1980s. It was at this time when the student-youth movement integrated with the anti-feudal movement that comrade Somanna, like several students and youth of the generation of the 1980s, joined the Party, became a professional revolutionary in 1983-84 and began his long revolutionary career as a member of the guerrilla squad in Narsampet area of Warangal.

During that time Narsampet was a strong citadel of the social-fascist, neo-revisionist CPI (M) led by a notorious leader, Omkar. Hence, in the course of intensifying the armed agrarian struggle, armed confrontation with the social-fascist CPI (M) became inevitable and comrade Somanna played an important role in the battle that was fought in Narsampet with the revisionist gangs. He organized the peasant youth, led them in the anti-feudal struggles and struggles against the revisionist CPI (M), and became a popular leader of the peasant masses of Narsampet.

When the faction led by Omkar split away from the CPI (M) and emerged as the MCPI it began to work hand in glove with the state and, together with the police and para-military forces, it launched brutal attacks on the revolutionary activists and sympathizers, burnt the houses and crops of their family members, destroyed their property, and carried out murders. As Omkar became the spearhead of these counter-revolutionary attacks the Party sent a special guerrilla squad to annihilate him and comrade Somanna was a member of this special squad. Omkar was injured in the attack but survived. When comrade Venkataramana (Kondanna), the commander of the Narsampet squad, became a martyr in a police attack, the squad fought back valiantly killing one CI and a police constable.

Comrade Somanna participated bravely in this encounter as a member of the squad. He became the commander of the squad after the martyrdom of Comrade Venkataramana and soon emerged as a popular leader of the peasant masses in the area. Narsampet area played a strategic role as a link between the forest and the plains of Warangal for a long period and hence had to face massive state repression. Several comrades became martyrs in the course of advancing the revolutionary struggles. As a squad member, commander, and Party organizer, comrade Somanna's role in building and leading the anti-feudal, anti-state struggles in this area and in confronting the revisionists ideologically, politically and militarily was widely recognized. His role was even more crucial during the undeclared war of 1985-89 periods.

Comrade Somanna was promoted to the



district committee in 1988. It was a time when the revolutionary movement was making serious attempts to strengthen the peasant movement by developing new forms of struggle and organization while confronting the undeclared war. Several district and regional level leaders became martyrs during this period and some had deserted the movement. At such a critical juncture comrade Somanna came into the district committee and played a key role in reorganizing the Party and the squads and in boldly confronting the enemy attacks. He played a significant role in the land seizure campaign and the peasant revolutionary upsurge in 1990.

He became the secretary of Warangal district and also a member of the North Telangana Regional committee in 1992 and was elected to the Special Zonal Committee of NT when it was separated from AP state committee in 1995. The second and third suppression campaigns of the enemy during the 1990s were very brutal.

Hundreds of Party organizers squad members and revolutionary youth were brutally murdered by the state and state-sponsored vigilante gangs. During this dark period of white terror in the history of the revolutionary movement in North Telangans and entire AP, comrade Somanna, as a district leader of the Party, made conscious and creative effort to bring the peasantry into various forms of struggle and organization. As SZC member comrade Somanna went to guide the Karimnagar west-Nizamabad district committee. He was once again elected to NTSZC in the Conference in 2001 and was also taken into the state secretariat.

Comrade Somanna stood firmly in all the ups and downs of the revolutionary movement of Warangla and North Telangana and also during the severe internal crises that had rocked the Party in 1985-87 and 1991-92. He never bowed before the enemy in spite of the severest repression in Warangal and North Telangana as a whole. His family was continuously harassed and his wife too faced serious repression. He was hard working, had utmost simplicity in his habits, always adhered closely to the masses, never leaving them in the most difficult conditions, and due to these reasons he was widely respected by the Party cadres and the people at large.

He was full of sprit even amidst the most adverse conditions. He was fully confident that the movement in North Telangana will revive if the Party leadership firmly carried out the Party line and evolved appropriate tactics and appropriate forms of struggle and organization. Hence he concentrated all his efforts to transform the unfavourable situation into a favourable one and to overcome the temporary setback in the revolutionary movement in NT. His health began to deteriorate in the past few years but despite the severe joint pains and other illnesses he never left the guerrilla zone and rejected the suggestion of his committee that he be shifted to other areas with relatively easier terrain or to urban centres. It was his sheer will power, which kept him always active notwithstanding his physical ailment.

The long revolutionary life of comrade Somanna, his communist qualities and spirit of self-sacrifice, deep commitment and immense confidence on the revolution and the oppressed masses, firm determination to revive the movement and tenacity will continue to inspire the Party cadres and revolutionary masses for a long time to come. The popularity of comrade Somanna could be assessed from the fact that thousands of people had poured into his village to Tekumatla on the night of July 3<sup>rd</sup> to have a last glimpse of their beloved martyr.

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## RED SALUTES TO COMRADE RAJA MOULI, CCM AND KNSCS OF CPI (MAOIST)!

**C**ENTRAL Committee member and Karnataka State secretary of the CPI (Maoist), Com Sande Raja Mouli (alias Prasad, Krishna, Murali) was kidnapped, by the AP and Karnataka Special Investigation Bureau (SIB) police from Bangalore on June 20<sup>th</sup> evening, brutally tortured for two days and then killed and his body thrown beside Dharmavaram Railway Station in Anantpur district of Andhra Pradesh (AP). This is yet another fake encounter enacted by the most ruthless and despotic SIB of AP. At the time comrade Prasad was playing a pioneering role, leading the incipient armed struggle in the western ghats (hill tracts) of Karnataka and simultaneously fighting against the right opportunist splitters who had caused enormous damage to the revolutionary movement in Karnataka. In the spirit of a true revolutionary he traversed a long revolutionary course leaving his homeland of AP to distant Karnataka learning from scratch a new language. Popularly known as com. Prasad in AP Murali's life is an ideal for communist revolutionaries.

He hailed from a backward caste working class family whose forefathers were agricultural laborers and yet rose to be one of the top-most leaders of the CPI (Maoist) in the country. His father was a coalmine worker in the Sinagareni coal fields of Karimnagar. He spent his childhood in his village Gudem (Peddapalli Tq) and studied up to the 10<sup>th</sup> standard here. At about the time he was completing his school studies, around 1979/80, the flames of the Karimnagar/Adilabad struggle began to reach his village. The area was dominated by big landlords and being inspired to fight against them he joined the RYL (Radical Youth League) in his village in 1980. Soon he became a leading activist of the area. In the very next year he participated in a 'go to the village' campaign and offered to become full time involved in the revolutionary movement. From then on Com Prasad never looked back.

By then the AP government had declared Jagtiala as a 'disturbed area' and

unleashed brutal repression in the area arresting many leaders and torturing hundreds. Yet, it was during this period that there was a wave of new recruits to the Party in the years 1981 to 83 from this region. Com Prasad grew to be district committee member of the RYL and also became a professional revolutionary in the Party in 1982. He played an important role in successfully building the RYL in an underground way in the new situation of acute repression.

Then he himself went underground and



was one of the earlier initiators of the squad formation (what is now called an LOS) in Husunabad taluka. He was an excellent organizer and his approach was very inspiring for the masses. From the very start he integrated very effectively with his squad comrades and the masses. A senior comrade recollected him saying at that very young age: "the relations within the squad are primarily dependent on the attitude of the commander towards his comrades: if it is formal and official there will be all sorts of problems; if it is close and caring then any problem can be solved". Husunabad was a fortress of the CPI revisionists who even launched attacks on the incipient Party physically and was also the first place where the government formed vigilante groups against the movement. In this

situation com. Murali played a major role in winning the masses to the Party by fighting against both the revisionist and the vigilante gangs.

He had an excellent quality of deeply integrating with any family, from the smallest child to the most elderly, whose house he took shelter. In spite of the pressure of work he would take a lot of effort to become one of the family. In this way he won the affection of all and was able to effectively maintain a network of shelters; thereby the party was able to operate under those severe conditions of police surveillance. It is said by other comrades that his shelters were so well maintained that they remain till today. He continued in this role from 1983 to 1985.

Com Prasad was known for his enormous daring and ability to battle even under the worst of circumstances. This quality he displayed from the very beginning. For example, in 1984 during a political class at Vijaywada, the house was raided; while most of the comrades got arrested he showed a lot of presence of mind and jumped over the wall and escaped. In 1985 he became a Central Organizer (CO). In the 1985 to 1989 period when the government had declared an undeclared war on the Party he played a pioneering role in deepening the mass base of the Party, which laid the basis for the land upsurge of 1990. He then played a leading role in the upsurge of the land struggle where thousands of acres of landlord's land were seized. In 1988 he was made a district committee member at the time when the repression had reached peak levels and the best of comrades were being martyred. In 1989 he became district committee secretary. Through this dark period of repression when losses were heavy he stood firmly. When the movement revived he played a part in creating the conditions for the mass upsurge that took place in the early 1990s. In 1991 when the North Telengana Regional Committee was formed he was made a member of that. In 1994 he became a member of the AP State Committee and when North Telengana separated from AP

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