

VANGUARD

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST - LENINIST) (PEOPLE'S WAR)

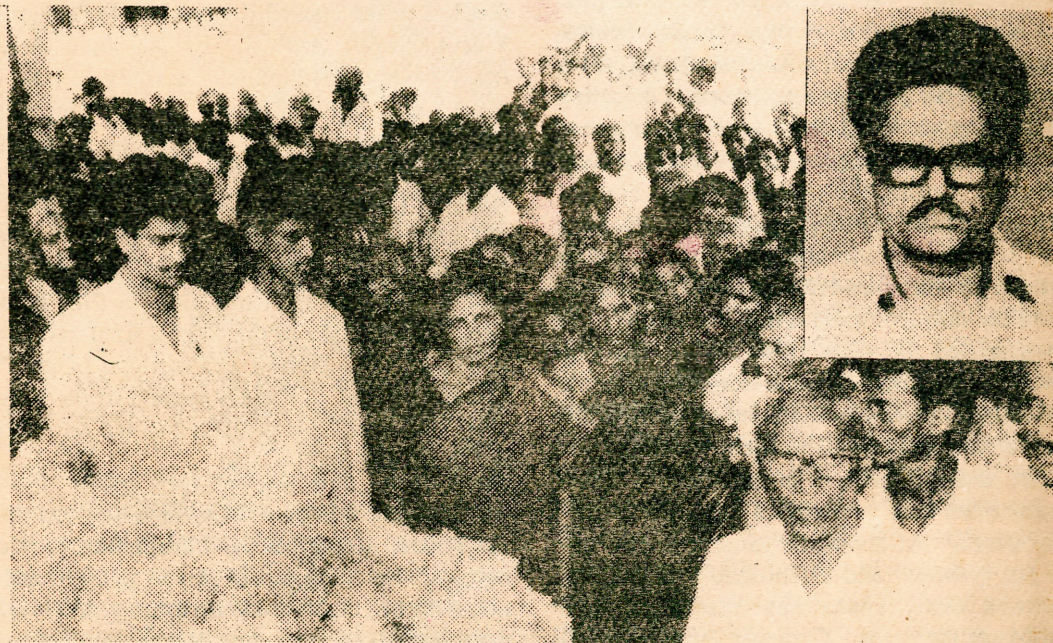
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RED SALUTES TO WORKER'S HERO AND AP PCM Com. SURYAM AND WOMEN ORGANISER Com. PADMAKKA

THE CPI(ML) (PW) dips its banner in paying homage to its AP PCM, the worker's hero, Comrade Suryam (55) and to Comrade Padmakka (30), a senior women organiser, who were brutally murdered by AP police on September 29th of this year in Nellore town of AP. As per press reports (full details not yet available) Comrades Suryam and Padmakka were picked up by police a day earlier, brutally tortured and finally shot dead. The police there upon went about as usual concocting an 'encounter story', placing the bodies on a bypass road between



People paying homage to com. Suryam at Guntur (Inset : Com. Suryam)

Kovuru and Nellore towns.

The Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy Govt. in AP, having failed in all its efforts to wipe out our Party root and branch, and being unable to stomach this defeat, resorted to this cowardly Kovuru 'encounter' murders. The ruling classes having faced time and again defeats in all their endeavours to isolate our Party from the masses of Andhra, inspite of launching brutal repressive measures against our Party members, activists and the oppressed masses, by deploying thousands of par military forces, got jittery about their prospects in the on-coming elections, and perpetuated this heinous crime on the out-skirts of Nellore town as a part of their desperate scheme, to arrest the growth of our Party and to liquidate its leadership, its mass base and its guerilla squads, so as to pave their

LONG LIVE MARXISM - LENINISM - MAO THOUGHT
Sept. 9: Com. Mao's 18th Death Anniversary

way for winning these elections. So the special task force choose as its targets for elimination, Comrade Suryam, the senior leader and APCC member, who won the love, affection and admiration of the party members and oppressed masses of coastal and Rayala Seema regions, and Comrade Padmakka, who was untiringly working to rouse and organise the women of Rayala Seema region, particularly those of Tirupati area.

Comrade Suryam (Chintala Venkata Swamy) was a communist revolutionary who grew out of the ranks of the working class - a fact he as well the Party are much proud of and a fact detested by the enemy so much so that in the press bulletin he issued concocting the 'encounter' story, he described him as a 'self-styled Provincial Committee Member'. Comrade Suryam was born in a backward village in Guntur district of AP in a backward caste peasant family. He studied upto 8th standard, after which he had to discontinue his studies to shoulder family responsibilities. While doing odd jobs that came his way he learned motor vehicle driving and started working as a lorry driver. At about this time he came under the influence of Naxalbari-Srikakulam struggles, and soon plunged into revolutionary activities. Upto 1977, while continuing in his job, he worked for the party as a part-timer, dedicating more time to party work than to his job. During that period he worked under the guidance of martyr, Comrade Guravaiah. During the period 1973-76 both of them working together revitalised and reorganised the Guntur district party organisation which was more or less devastated by the ultra-left activities of Linpio group. Soon the dormant trade union organisations in Guntur town started to breath fresh air and function with renewed energy under his able leadership and the town once again witnessed militant struggles of workers. Tobacco workers, jute mill workers, town-bus service workers, and the workers of small scale industries, all rallied and lead to struggles under his leadership and guidance. At about the same time the students also got enthused and established Radical Students Union in many educational institutions and launched militant struggles. Comrade Suryam developed during these struggles, standing in the fore front of these struggles, enthusing and educating workers and students.

In 1978 heeding to the call of the party, he left his job, his family and turned a professional revolutionary. There upon the party entrusted him the responsibility of looking after the arrangements and mobilising youths for the first state conference of the Radical Youth League, a task he performed so well that the conference was a huge success and youth

from many parts of Guntur district attended it in big numbers. The RYL conference brought in its wake the sparks from the freshly raging struggles in Telangana districts, and kindled revolutionary enthusiasm amongst the students and youth of coastal districts. Soon the revolutionary movement which was until then confined to Guntur town spread to the remotest corners of the district. Comrade Suryam, working under the guidance of Comrade Guravaiah, immediately mobilised and organised the youth and students and new struggles and new mass organisations mushroomed like fresh sprouts after the early rains. The oppressed masses of the urban areas moved in great numbers and occupied vacant and 'poramboke' lands for house sites, the oppressed peasant masses in the backward and remote areas of the district started occupying forest lands and 'Banjar' lands etc. These struggles were unprecedented in the entire history of Guntur district, and the masses' faith in the party grew. In 1980 the district party conference was held at which Comrade Suryam was elected to the district committee. Under the impact of these struggles and of the ongoing struggles of Telangana districts, the movement then spread to other districts in the coastal region, i.e., Prakasam, Krishna, West-Godavari districts. By that time there was already nascent revolutionary activity in East-Godavari district due to the influence of the raging struggles in the East forest division. There upon a Regional Committee was formed to which Comrade Suryam was elected. During this period he was elected as the DCS of Guntur district. With these new responsibilities on his shoulders, Comrade Suryam worked with much more enthusiasm and dedication. In 1987 he was elected as the secretary of the coastal Regional Committee. In 1990 he was elected as a member of the Provincial Committee and was again elected to the same post in 1994. In 1992 he was elected to the secretariat of the AP Provincial Committee.

During this period, in 1988 he was arrested by the police, acting on the information provided by a betrayer. He came out of prison in 1990 and plunged once again into revolutionary activities. His organisational and leadership capabilities came to the fore once again, when the party entrusted him with the responsibility of looking after the arrangements of the 1991 state conference of the 'Rytu Cooli Sangham' (the peasants and agricultural labourers' organisation). The fact that this conference attended by more than a million peasants and agricultural labourers, a voluntary gathering unprecedented in the history of Andhra, went on smoothly without a hitch and was a huge success, stands as a testimonial to his leadership qualities, organisational capabilities and painstaking hard work.

In 1992 the state committee entrusted him the responsibly of reorganising and revitalising the Rayalseema organisation, which was badly wrecked by the splitist activities of KS-Bandaiah clique, a task he was fulfilling at the time of his death.

The most outstanding quality of Comrade Suryam is his spirit of self-sacrifice and his death-defying courage. Before he was murdered by the enemy, he was so brutally tortured that his entire body was mutilated beyond recognition. But all this he bore and did not betray a single comrade to save his life. (Incidentally, his body was so mutilated, his aged mother on seeing it collapsed and died, adding further misery to the already grief stricken family).

His another outstanding quality is his love and deep sense of dedication towards the oppressed masses. He himself experienced what miseries and hardships the poor face right from his own childhood. Adding to that, his job as a lorry driver, enabled him to tour the entire length and breadth of the country, by which he understood that the miseries of the oppressed brethren in other parts of the country are no different from of his own in his native state. So the conviction that he should serve these masses, in their fight against oppression grew as the years went by. He not only organised and led the struggles of the oppressed masses, he also led the party and mass organisations in providing immediate relief to victims in times of dire calamities. When severe cyclonic storms devastated the coastal regions of Andhra during the years 1977, 1980 and 1991, the entire coastal region party organisation immediately sprung into action, and it not only led people in their struggles for relief measures, but also provided them with grain, utensils, house building materials etc. which were collected by our party cadres and activists from all over the state. When dalit brethren were massacred at Karamchedu and Chundur villages, the entire coastal region party organisation moved under his leadership, held meetings, demonstrations and struggles in support of the Dalits, demanding severe punishment to the culprits. The party under his leadership, gave assistance and supported the masses, when they meted out punishment atleast in part to the culprits responsible for the Karamchedu and Chundur massacres.

His another outstanding quality was his love, affection and concern for his fellow comrades. A simple and modest man himself, he gets easily aroused even by a simple achievement of his fellow comrades, and used to talk about it for days together. He used to show his concern about even the slightest difficulty his fellow comrades encountered in their day to day revolutionary life, so much so that, the cadres working

under him were actively engaging in revolutionary activities without a bother in their minds, as they know for sure, that they have 'Suryam Anna' to fall back upon. However his love for them, did not make him blind towards their faults. Towards erring comrades, his attitude was that of true Maoist - thorough going criticism, patiently reasoning and convincing, and offering a helping hand to them in their efforts to correct their errors.

Comrade Suryam was an eloquent speaker. Being a comrade who grew out of the ranks of the toilers, he used to speak in the tongue of the masses, explaining the most difficult in most easy terms, quoting extensively from his own experience, the experience of the masses and using age-old parables and sayings to illustrate a point. His speeches were both emotional and educative, captivating and arousing the listeners.

He was an ardent reader of telugu literature in general and revolutionary literature in particular. When ever he could squeeze some time out of the busy revolutionary life, he used to read and sing revolutionary poems and songs. It is with this bond he personally mobilised artists and organised the Guntur JNM team, which, thanks to his knowledgeable guidance, grew up into such a strong organisation, that it not only gave performances in the coastal and other regions of Andhra, it gave performances in many parts of the country also.

Comrade Padmakka:

Comrade Padmakka was a native of Adoni town in Kurnool district of AP. While still a student, comrade Padmakka come under the influence of revolutionary politics, and was actively participating in revolutionary politics since 1980. In the years 1982-83 she worked amongst the students of Kurnool and propagated revolutionary politics. During the course of her revolutionary activities, she fell in love and married a fellow comrade. Since then the couple dedicated their entire married life for the advancement of the movement. During the years 1985-90 she was continually reminding and was posing the women's issues before party committees at various levels. In the period 1985-90, while holding a 'tech' job, comrade Padmakka showed keen interest in the problems the women were facing in this society, and indicated her preference for working in the field of organising women, and was striving hard to gain an understanding regarding women's issues. From the latter half of 80's onwards, she undertook the responsibility of building women's movement in Rayala Seema region of Andhra, and laid down her life, becoming a martyr at a tender age of 34, in the course of fulfilling that task.



WITHDRAW THE MERCENARY INDIAN ARMY FROM SOMALIA !

THE elimination of ten Indian army soldiers on Somalian soil in the last week of August is a grim reminder of the days of the British Raj when Indian troops were used as cannon fodder in the British military expeditions on foreign soil. If the Indian soldiers, prior to 1947, were used as mercenaries by the British to fight their dirty war to protect their imperial interests, today it is the US and other imperialists who are using the armies of the Third World countries as cannon fodder to promote their global hegemonic interests. The UN is a tool in the hands of imperialism, particularly US imperialism, and the UN peace-keeping forces are used primarily to serve the interests of the imperialists. The tragic happenings in Somalia ever since the UN troops landed there in the beginning of last year under UNOSOM II (United Nations Observation in Somalia), make this crystal-clear.

From the very day they occupied Somalia in the name of helping the victims of the famine, the UN-US forces had launched a war of attrition against the forces led by Gen. Mohammed Farah Aideed, the one most likely to emerge as the leader of Somalia once the civil war ends. The UNOSOM forces openly sided with the notorious warlord, Gen. Mohammad Siad Hersi Morgan, the son-in-law of the US stooge Siad Barre who was deposed in 1991.

While spreading lies by virtue of their total monopoly on media access that, their humanitarian work of helping the starving and dying Somalians was hampered by Gen. Aideed's men, the US-UN forces had actually pursued a policy of shooting with impunity. They bombarded densely populated areas in the capital Mogadishu by using sophisticated computerised heavy artillery such as the airborne US Cobra helicopters and AC-130 M Spectre gunships with the sole aim of eliminating Gen. Aideed. Thousands of Somalian civilians died in these UN Peace troopers' "humanitarian" missions of bombardment. Somalian women were raped and sexually abused by these mercenary troops.

The Somalian people were so enraged by these inhuman atrocities by the UN-US "peace-keepers" that they retaliated by eliminating a score or so US Rangers. The guerillas loyal to Gen. Aideed also shot down some US helicopters.

The US, having failed to eliminate Aideed and his guerilla forces through their "Operation Restore Hope", lost all hope and morale and beat a hasty retreat by withdrawing all its troops by March this year. Not wishing to die on Somalian soil, the rest of the European troops too packed off home.

It was in such a situation that Third World countries like India were asked to provide more troops to

(Contd... On P. 23)



Comrade Padmakka while bearing all the problems and hardships a woman faces leading an underground life and resolving skilfully all those problems with a cheerful face was, at the same time, providing leadership to her fellow women comrades. The efforts comrade Padmakka untiringly and relentlessly put up for the last one decade to build up a women's movement have just started to bear fruit. Comrade Padmakka was in the forefront of those comrades who waged a serious polemical battle against the wrong notions prevalent in some of the newly emerging women writers and 'feminist' activists. Comrade Padmakka was an ideal communist who strived on to improve her ideological levels, so as to enable her to wage a serious struggle to unmask those elements who were masquerading as feminist champions, while receiving doles from imperialist 'voluntary agencies' and are indirect supporters of imperialism. Comrade Padmakka was constantly urging the party to provide regular guidance to her and to her fellow comrades who were working on the women's front. While doing so, she dedicated herself to the women's movement and was guiding her comrades, understanding and

studying the various women's problems.

For the first time in the history of our party in AP, women representatives were elected as delegates to the state special plenum in '92 and comrade Padmakka was one among them.

The AP police, specially appointed a task force to annihilate comrade Padmakka, who was leading women in Nellore and Rayala Seema regions in their struggles on various issues ranging from anti-liquor agitation to dowry deaths to atrocities on women. These savage officials were finally able to capture comrade Padmakka. The methods they used in their torture will put to shame even the once notorious BOSS (Bureau of State Security) of South Africa. Eye witness accounts state that her entire body was mutilated and her eye balls were gouged out. Let us hail the deep sense of sacrifice comrade Padma exhibited, in standing firm on her ideals, while withstanding all those tortures.

Let us pay our revolutionary salutes to comrades Suryam - proletariat hero - and Padmakka - the women revolutionary fighter - with unparalleled dedication and courage. □

LIBERATION, the central organ of the CPI (ML) group headed by Mr. Vinod Mishra, in its April '94 issue, published an article entitled "People's War Group: Down the Blind Alley". The commentary, supposed to give an "analysis" of the movement led by CPI (M-L) (People's War) however, has nothing new or original to offer to the reader. It is a stale repetition of statements, commentaries and analysis made time and again by the TDP and Cong(I) governments in AP as well as by the top police brass of AP, MP and Maharashtra since 1985. It was since 1985 an undeclared war was unleashed against the revolutionary movement led by the People's War Party in AP and Dandakaranya. No wonder the "Liberation" commentary reads like a page from the police file. The author, of course, deserves credit for his laborious compilation.

Needless to say, the article abounds in outright lies and vicious slander, false accusations and deliberate distortion of even well-known facts reported prominently in newspapers. Why the VM group ventured for this slander campaign trying hard to make it appear as serious polemics?

Round-about-turn on Revolution and Armed Struggle

Having landed itself irretrievably in revisionist quagmire, the VM group wants every one to believe that there is no revolutionary situation in the country and hence the correct thing to do is only to indulge in parliamentary politics. See how they put it:

"In spite of all the valiant attempts and innumerable sacrifices, if armed struggle is going nowhere, then the real problem must be lying not in the insincerity of certain individuals but the basic objective factors. What is needed on the part of the new leadership is the requisite boldness to realise that the present objective balance of forces in the country - or even in the remote pockets of Telangana - does not allow armed struggle to be carried on in the same manner it was sustained till now".

"A retreat in tactics..... including cautious exploration of the parliamentary form of struggle may perhaps be the way out even to sustain armed actions on a low key. The alternative prospect, is the gradual petering out of the movement with only some occasional armed actions by residual roving guerilla groups".

The VM group, having faced stagnation in its armed struggle and degeneration in its ranks during the 1970s and having made a complete round-about-turn on every fundamental principle during 1980s, can never believe that others could ever succeed in advancing armed struggle. During the late 1970s the VM group went about fancifully creating "Red Army" and "base areas" (whatsoever these may have meant, VM alone knows) in an area that is less than a tenth of the area of the PW-led guerilla zones of today. Then caught up in a blind alley during the late 1970s, the VM group, instead of finding revolutionary solutions to the stagnation in its armed struggle, actually gave up armed struggle itself and landed into exactly the same revisionist position the CPM followed in the late 1960s. Now it blames objective conditions for its failure to advance the armed struggle. By so doing, it had not only absolved its leadership of its responsibility for the setback, but had also postponed revolution and armed struggle to an indefinite date. Since objective conditions are not favourable for sustaining armed struggle, it is correct to participate in parliamentary elections. That is the logic of these latest brand of revisionists, hypocritically masquerading under the garb of Mao Thought.

The "Liberation" article concludes that PWG is "now facing stagnation in its armed struggle"; that "at present ideological and political confusion reigns supreme within People's War"; that "their (PWG's) armed struggle appears to be based on pure revolutionary desperation"; that "the movement has clearly overtaken the leadership"; and that "on the whole, the PWG seems to be treading along a blind alley". To the jaundiced eye the whole world looks green.

Those who are not blinded by opportunism can see with crystal clarity the advances in armed struggle achieved by our Party in the face of heaviest repression. Dandakaranya and North Telangana are already in the primary stage of guerilla zone and are advancing to a higher stage. The armed struggle has not only sustained despite the massive onslaught by the special armed forces and the para-military, but is developing deeper and extending to newer areas. Our Party's extension to new areas was primarily based on consolidation in the existing areas. And this consolidation work is being carried out in the midst of heavy state repression. None of our armed guerilla squads are shifted from their areas of activity except for military needs. This is in stark contrast to the "roving guerilla groups" of the VM group! Whether the "Liberation"

group of liquidators and modern revisionists like it or not, the armed struggle waged by the PWG and other genuine revolutionary parties and groups is bound to create a people's upsurge in the coming years. It is only by intensifying armed struggle of the peasantry in the vast countryside and developing several guerilla zones throughout the country that a real countrywide mass upsurge can be brought about and a change in the objective balance of forces can be effected, and never through the parliamentary form of struggle as VM & Co. think.

For revolutionaries, a "retreat in tactics" does not mean going down the parliamentary gutter by giving up armed struggle but taking up 'tactics of self-defence' through which our Party has been advancing at the present juncture.

Mass Support: Banal self-boosting and blindness to facts

In line with the "Liberation" group's tradition of self-glorification, the arcle indulges in banal self-boosting with little reverence to facts and draws a distorted comparison of the performance of the two groups to impress that it has a stronger mass base.

In the typical manner of a philistine, the "Liberation" spokesman gloats gleefully that his "Party leadership surfaced into the open amidst lakhs of people" while KS "offered himself to be easily picked up by the enemy in utter isolation". A sound comparison by any count! As the whole world knows, KS allowed himself to be picked up a few months after he was expelled from the Party. So much isolated was he from the rank and file of our Party that he could hardly take away even a handful of cadres with him. The misplaced comparison of their present top leader with a discredited leader thrown-out of our Party speaks volumes about their pathetic condition.

If at all an honest assessment of the mass support for our party is sought to be made through the mass mobilisations it undertook, there are up to ten examples ever since the Jagityal peasant rally in Sept. 1978 to the latest mobilisation of the peasantry in Nizamabad in 1990 for water, electricity and remunerative prices for their produce. It was these militant mass movements that prompted the state to come down with a heavy hand on our Party and the struggling peasantry. In spite of this, our Party has been able to combine mass activity with guerilla activity.

Moreover, to compare the performance (even in terms of crowd-pulling) of a Party that has been totally legalised and devoured by the system against which it

was supposed to be fighting, with that of a banned Party waging life-and-death struggle under conditions of extreme hardship and facing massive onslaught of the reactionary state is itself mischievous to say the least. The onslaught on such a massive scale had never been witnessed in the annals of Indian Communist Movement so far.

If you were a bit honest to history you could have compared your performance with that of your Dangeite brothers in the immediate aftermath of the Telangana 'betrayal' in 1951 when the revisionist CPI was cheered by millions in Telangana and when it won more than 90% of the legislative seats from the region. Even an arch-betrayer like Ravi Narayana Reddy could poll more votes than Nehru for the former still had the aura of Telangana armed struggle that could dupe the masses for a while. Doesn't the "mass support" your Dengite 'Maoist' leader, Mr. Vinod Mishra, received on his shameless coming overground seem like a small stream compared to the ocean of mass support and euphoria that greeted the Dangeite Marxist leaders in the aftermath of the historic betrayal of the Telangana armed uprising in the early 1950s.

Or, for that matter, if you were a bit objective and honest, you could have compared yourself with the performance of the People's War (in terms of crowd-pulling, which alone is the measure of success for revisionists) in recent history. In the few months of partial let up in repression in the first half of 1990, the People's War organised meetings and demonstrations drawing lakhs and lakhs of people. If you are not blind to reality, you would have realised that our Party, in spite of being strictly underground without even a single Party functionary becoming legal, could mobilise a million or more people to the conference of the Rythu Coolie Sangham in Warangal in May 1990. Incidentally, organising such meetings was a minor part of the People's War programme even in that so-called legal period! Whereas you, even after legalising your entire Party including your top leadership could not draw even a lakh of people to greet your topmost Party leader who had "emerged unscathed" from the wrath of the police after decades of underground life.

A strictly underground Party mobilising people to the tune of a million without even a Central Organiser (the lowest-level Party Organiser of PWG) coming out in the open!

A totally legalised Party with even the topmost leadership voluntarily coming out (a plain surrender) and yet failing to mobilise even a lakh of people!

Such are the facts before anyone who wishes to see.

Compared to 1990, the People's War has grown stronger. Whether it is in terms of political and ideological level of the Party cadres, or in the number of armed squads and their military training, or in terms of mass base and support. That our Party, remaining strictly underground, would mobilise the masses in their millions with the least legal opportunity showing itself, is to state the obvious. But the fundamental thing to be noted, dear "Liberation" windbags, is that our Party lays stress not on public shows of strength but, on the contrary, on preparing the masses for an armed upsurge by systematically, consistently, resolutely and relentlessly deepening and extending guerilla warfare, on training the people for armed resistance and making the masses conscious of the need to establish their own authority.

Gloating about Degeneration

Yet another instance of self-boosting the writer indulges in makes even more amusing reading. Claiming that the "revolutionary nucleus" (whatever that may mean!) of the "Liberation" group and its revolutionary structure is intact, he derides that "degeneration" has set in within the core of the leadership of PWG.

"..... many who subscribe to PWG thought process could only focus on the issue of desertion by a couple of our MLAs. True, a few of our parliamentary functionaries became victims of opportunism and degenerated but the revolutionary nucleus of our Party and the Party structure, especially, at higher level, have emerged unscathed. In sharp contrast, degeneration seems to have set in within the core of leadership of PWG.....".

To prove this, he cites a lone case of surrender of Mr. Bhaskar Rao, alias Niranjana, a member of the AP State Committee, in March last.

Is it uncommon in the history of world revolution for a section of the leadership of the Party (not to speak of cadres) to get stuck half-way and become degenerate at every turning point in the revolutionary movement? Engels said more than a century ago that "the movement of proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance". A section of leadership loses faith in revolution, begins to waver, and either gets stuck at the crucial phase in the course of development of the movement or passes over to the enemy. As Com. Mao pointed out, to be a revolutionary throughout one's life is not an easy task. Anyone aware of the laws of class struggle cannot fail to realise this truth. The entire course of the Indian Communist Movement, too proves

this.

For instance, Satyamurthy CCS of that time was thrown out of the Party in 85-86 and later became a police agent and now a BSP leader. At the same time another PC member Shivaji, against whom disciplinary proceedings were instituted also surrendered even after his arrest and later turned an agent. Later, in 1988 Mukku Subba Reddy, also a CC member has surrendered. To cap it all, came the dissruptionist and factionalist activities of the founder leader of our Party, KS himself, along with three other senior members of our Party leadership in 1991. After a thorough inner-Party discussion, they were expelled in May '92. Two years later, in March '94, came Niranjana's surrender. His degeneration, however, began much earlier. Both at the October '91 State Plenum and the November '92 State Plenum of AP, some cadres criticised Niranjana for his bureaucratic methods, sectarian solutions to the problems faced by the movement, and highly individualist functioning and egoist behaviour. Imbued with petty-bourgeois false prestige and afraid of self-criticism, he remained inactive almost for a year and finally surrendered.

To conclude from the surrender of Niranjana that degeneration had set in within the core of leadership of PWG is, to say the least, sheer blasphemy and wishful thinking on the part of the "Liberation" group.

In contrast, it will not be a puzzle to any keen observer as to how the "revolutionary nucleus" of the "Liberation" group and its "Party structure, especially at higher level", managed to emerge "unscathed". Well, when a Party masquerading in the guise of MLM Thought, gives up armed struggle, opens up its entire secret apparatus and prefers to sit in the parliamentary pig-sty in the name of being with the mainstream, which ruling class in the world (barring the fascist) will not welcome it with open arms? Where is the question of the so-called revolutionary nucleus emerging unscathed when the entire Party itself has merged into the bourgeois-reformist stream and became degenerated into yet another revisionist Party under the garb of Mao Thought?

Blatant lies and vicious slander

Here are some samples of the blatant lies patented by the "Liberation" article:

"Most of its (PWG's) dalams have either been smashed by the enemy or are disintegrating"

"among the ranks of this group, are seen large-scale desertions, demoralisation and dispersion"

"more than 40-50 cadres of PWG are reported to have joined BSP"

"the extreme form of kidnappings led to the other extreme of negotiations and even behind-the-screen deals with the enemy"

"alternating support to TDP and Congress(I) became permissible under the mirage of the guerrilla zone in Dandakaranya"

"three members of Bhoopathi dalam killed seven other members of the same dalam and surrendered to the enemy"

"It is indulging in all sorts of anarchism"

It "mechanically identifies and equates Mao thought with the path of revolution in China"

"a separate centre and a new organisation is formed with the professed aim of fighting the 'left' deviation in Charu Mazumdar's line represented by our (i.e., VM's) Party"; "it elevates underground struggle to the level of principle"; "it sacrifices everything else - political struggle, mass action, all-India organisational perspective etc - for the sake of what it (PWG) considered as the sole task of establishing a guerilla zone in Dandakaranya" and so on and so forth.

Much of these lies and slander spread by the "Liberation" group about People's War for the consumption of its gullible ranks have already been exposed in the columns of the newspapers in AP. For the benefit of the rank and file of the "Liberation" group, we wish to lay bare some of these blatant lies and distortions of facts.

Firstly, is it true that most of the "prominent dalams" of People's War such as "Sagar Dalam, Sankar Dalam, Swamy Dalam, Punnam Dalam and Korukonda, Nagulakonda and Tandava dalams etc.," as quoted by the writer, "were destroyed by the enemy"? It is a fact that some of these dalams had lost a few members and commanders in encounters with a far superior enemy force. But due to our Party's firm roots among the masses, we never had any difficulty in finding fresh recruits. Like the proverbial phoenix, each and every dalam which was supposed to have been wiped out by the enemy forces, rose from the ashes striking terror in the hearts of the enemy.

Just one instance: The Nagulakonda dalam in East Godavari forest region, which the writer assumes to have been wiped out by the police has never been disbanded inspite of the severe losses it suffered three times during the last three years. After the loss of entire squad three years back, Com. Gopanna was made

commander and the squad continued to operate. In another incident, Com. Gopanna (Vijay Kumar) and other squad members were murdered by the police but the squad was immediately revived with Com. Punnam as new commander. Punnam dalam is not a separate dalam as alleged by the "Liberation" article. Last year, Com. Punnam too was arrested while undergoing medical treatment. Yet the Nagulakonda dalam is actively operating in the same area under a new commander. A squad that is supposed to have been smashed by the police atleast three times has been revived immediately every time. Does this not show the support that our squads enjoy among the broad masses?

To give yet another instance, the Swamy dalam, which the article fondly assumed as wiped out, has been revived within a few weeks after the fierce encounter in Padkal village in Nizamabad district last September. The heroic fight put up by this small dalam of seven will remain a glorious episode in the annals of the Indian revolutionary movement. Locked up in a house and surrounded by nearly 400-500 enemy forces comprising of the BSF, CRPF and the Special Task Force, this dalam put up a fierce fight for 26 hours. This fierce resistance and the heroic escape of the commander, Com. Swamy, from the enemy dragnet has already become legendary folklore in the region and an inspiration to the people in AP and elsewhere.

In his vain bid to prove his theory of degeneration among the cadres of PWG, the writer, cites the case of Bhoopathy dalam in Karimnagar three of whose members (not seven as presumed by the writer) were killed by one Kattula Sammaiah who latter surrendered along with his wife and another squad member to the police. The above incident did occur on Nov. 17 last in Sriramulapalli village of Karimnagar distict but the fact was that Kattula Sammaiah had long before became a police agent and had been maintaining secret contacts with the local SI through a mediator by name Suman. The said incident was a pre-planned conspiracy of the police under the direct supervision of the district SP Tushar Tripathi. Kattula Sammaiah was instructed to kill other members of the squad and to surrender with the weapons before the SP in exchange for Rs. 10 lakhs as reward and full police protection to his life after surrender. On that fateful night, unaware of the sinister plot, the members of the squad went to sleep as usual entrusting sentry duty to this very police agent who shot them dead and joined the police who were waiting nearby. According to the plan, the police would go to his assistance if the latter meets any resistance from the squad members. The incident, first of its type in our party history, reveals the ugly plans of the police and the shape of things to

come. Through such incidents, the police planned to spread lies of infighting within dalams and try to demoralise the party ranks and wean away the masses.

The entire plan of the police hit the columns of the press through the confession by Suman, the mediator himself, who was kidnaped by one of our squads and was produced at a press conference on Jan. 7 this year. And all the facts in graphic detail were out before the people. Was Mr. Srinivasa Prasad unaware of these facts which appeared prominently in all the AP dailies? Instead of squarely condemning these bizarre methods of the police the "Liberation" group, unfortunately, revels in echoing the concocted police story.

Enemy infiltration and purchasing of weak elements in the movement will continue to plague any revolutionary party till the final victory of revolution. The history of world revolution has plenty of such instances. Even the Bolshevik party had a police agent - Milovsky - in its CC itself and even Com. Lenin trusted him till the end. It was only after the victory of the revolution that this agent's name was exposed upon verification of the Tsarist police records. Through heightened revolutionary vigilance on the part of the Party's rank and file and especially the leading committees against enemies, their agents and fifth columnists in their service, we can succeed to a large extent in preventing such incidents from recurring in future.

Since 1980, i.e., ever since the formation of our Party, People's War, 750 of our comrades and sympathisers including members of the leading committees, commanders, COs, squad members, ordinary PMs and members of our mass organisations had been murdered by the enemy forces. But the losses could be made up quickly, thanks to the continuous supply of recruits which indicates the mass base and support for our Party, notwithstanding the charges from various quarters that we have no roots among the masses. It may be an eye-opener to the "Liberation" group which believes the police reports that PW dalams have almost been wiped out, to know that the total number of squads of the PW at present is the highest in its history inspite of some losses in one or two areas.

The BSP ghost?

Is there any truth in the "Liberation" group's assumption that 40-50 PWG cadres have joined the BSP and that the latter is "striking a sympathetic chord among the followers of PWG?"

Not a single active cadre of our Party has ever

joined the BSP. The "Liberation" group should have published atleast one or two names in support of their gleeful claim instead of evasively putting it as "reported to have been" and than trying to draw conclusions on that basis. The truth is that some cadres who were expelled from the Party or became inactive long ago have joined the BSP. Renegade Sathyamurthy who was expelled from the Party way back in 1986, and a medical student named Chiranjeevi who became inactive in 1977 itself have now joined the BSP.

It has been a common ploy of all political parties to make tall promises of containing repression in order to win a few votes from the people of rural Telangana. Prior to the 1982 elections, the TDP even hailed the Naxalites as patriots and made similar promises just as the BSP today. But, true to its class nature, the TDP unleashed a massive reign of terror in rural Telangana after it came to power. During the 1989 elections, the Cong (I) tried to make police repression an election issue in order to gain sympathy of a section of the masses. Later it unleashed even more brutal repression than the TDP.

Today, since both the TDP and Cong(I) stand thoroughly exposed as the perpetrators of repression, the BSP is trying to hoodwink the people saying that it will put an end to the police repression. To interpret this as "BSP striking a sympathetic chord among many followers of PWG" is sheer slander and foolishness.

Moreover, to indulge in perverted logic that "alternating support to TDP and Cong(I) became permissible under the mirage of the guerilla zone in Dandakaranya", either reflects the disturbed mental state of a lunatic or the mean manipulating mind of a master liar. Which of these fit the spokesman of the "Liberation" group is left to readers' imagination.

Lure of Power Through Ballot makes guerillazone a 'mirage'

That the guerilla zone in Dandakaranya should look like a mirage to the VM group is nothing surprising. It cannot seem otherwise for a group that had deluded itself through unrealistic dreams that it had base areas in Punpun, Bhojpur and Naxalbari even in early '76 when in actual fact they were nothing more than areas of peasant resistance struggle; for a group which was claiming until the late '70s, that its PLA was growing from strength to strength when in reality their so-called PLA units were only a few peasant guerilla squads; and for a group that dogmatically asserted even as late as '79 that the decade of the '70s would be the decade of liberation when objective re-

ality had long back (even by '71) shown that it was only a fanciful imagination.

Having gone through a decade of petty-bourgeois left-sectarian romanticism and subjective dreams in utter disregard of objective reality, caring little to learn from past mistakes as other groups like our Party in AP did, or to learn from the militant mass movement initiated by Parties like ours, the VM group suddenly found itself face to face with harsh reality after the severe setback in Bhojpur and other areas of peasant resistance struggles. Disillusioned with its left sectarian romanticism, and not daring to make a thorough self-critical evaluation, it failed to find the real way to advance. Its petty-bourgeois limitations came in the way of such a painstaking work. Therefore it is no wonder that everything - guerilla zones, base areas, armed struggle and revolution itself - seemed to them a mirage. But due to its petty-bourgeois nature, the VM group did not dare to admit it openly. Instead, while chanting about "areawise seizure of power", "insurrection" etc., it began to waver after its All-India Conference in '79 and took the first hesitant steps into the quagmire of revisionism at its Third Congress in 1983. From then on, there was no looking back. For, the road to revisionism is after all a one-way traffic. This group hit the rock-bottom of the abyss of revisionism at its 4th Congress in 1988. With guerilla zones having become a mirage, the VM group chose to enter the pig-sty and make seat adjustments with bourgeois opposition.

It began to even dream of capturing power through ballot in one or two states, of forming a Provisional Revolutionary Government and demanding the convening of a constituent assembly. All this in the name of "insurrection" and "areawise seizure of power", never mind the eclectic combination. It is, after all, meant for the consumption of its own gullible rank and file. Constant chanting of Mao Thought and mock-reverence for com. CM would ally the fears of the sincere revolutionaries in its ranks. Such has been the manipulation by the Dengites in the garb of Mao Thought.

In the history of the ML movement in India, facing state repression has always been the most important turning point. It has been at this point that many groups degenerated. New theories, new programmes, new perspectives, new political-tactical lines and new 'bold' (!) initiatives - in short, every innovative thing in the world is drawn up, everything except a concrete plan and an initiative to face state repression.

The VM group too, after courageously fighting

landlords and their henchmen in the initial stages, could not muster enough courage nor could evolve proper tactics to face state repression towards the late 1970s. Hence the movement fell into stagnation and began to degenerate. The leadership, instead of chalking out concrete plans to break the stagnation by taking the movement to the higher stage of fighting state repression, diverted the movement into 'safer' routes (ironically in the name of "Indian route to the Chinese path") of Parliamentarism, legalism, national alternative etc. in the guise of a new political-tactical line.

It was only by preparing the entire Party to face the state repression and effectively defeating the enemy tactics that our Party could take the movement to a higher stage in Dandakaranya and North Telangana.

From an 'anti-autocratic front' to a 'patriotic and democratic front' to an 'Indian People's Front' to the 'left and Democratic confederation' to the 'National People's Front' - such have been the feats of the VM group in the name of creating a national alternative.

From the "unification of CPI (M-L) factions as the key link" to the "unification of all the factions of the original CPI i.e., the CPI, CPM and CPI (ML)" - such has been the "dialectical" transformation of its much-professed task of Party unification.

In the name of taking bold initiatives at the All-India level, it had given up everything that was revolutionary - an underground Party, armed squads and unity of the basic classes.

The "flaming fields" of Bihar were allowed to be reduced to ashes through betrayal by the leadership of the "Liberation" group and the countless sacrifices of martyrs are used as capital for gaining a few electoral seats.

Anarchism or Revolutionary Terror?

Liberation Group accuses us of 'indulging in all sorts of anarchism'. Coming as it is from the heirs of the second International, we are only too flattered by this accusation. We take it as a compliment. For, it only gives us additional proof that our party is on the correct track. Has there been a revolutionary party in the history of world communist movement that has not been accused of spreading anarchy, of creating a reign of "red terror", of indulging in banditry?

In the eyes of the reactionaries and Mensheviks, the Bolshevik party of Com. Lenin was a conspiratorial party spreading terror and anarchy. The CPC under

(Contd on P. 28)

THE CASTE QUESTION AND THE BSP

THE significant gains made by the SP-BSP Combine in the UP elections last November has raised unprecedented hopes and expectations among the SC/ST/BC minority communities about the prospects of their capturing political power in other states as well as at the centre. The UP experiment is being projected by Kanshi Ram's BSP as a model to be emulated elsewhere. And attempts are afoot to forge a political alliance of the oppressed castes and minorities in several states. Intoxicated by the unprecedented euphoria created by the electoral victory in UP, Kanshi Ram is already submerged in the dreams of occupying the Delhi throne.

On the other hand, the results have come as a rude jolt to the entrenched ruling class parties like the Cong.(I), the BJP, the Janata dal and the revisionist CPI and CPM. Almost every ruling class party is in the throes of a serious political crisis. Panic-stricken, each of these parties has begun to alter its strategies, slogans and plans to face the new challenge from an altogether unexpected quarter.

The BJP, which had put up 85% of its candidates from the Forward castes in the November elections in UP, began to frantically replace some of its office bearers and fill up its Executive Committees with members from the Backward castes and Dalits in an attempt to "widen its social base" and to shed its "pro-Brahmin", "Pro-Bania" image. Swadeshi, anti-Dunkel, Social Justice etc., have become the new slogans of this Hindu fascist party in its desperate attempt to project a pro-poor image.

The Cong.(I) which found its four-decade-long vote bank among the dalits and adivasis eroded tremendously, has hastily announced several welfare schemes for the "uplift" of these downtrodden sections in states where it is in power. It had organised several caste rallies in the past few months in AP, Karnataka and elsewhere, included castes like Kapus in the list of OBCs and promoted a "dalit" as the Deputy Chief Minister of AP. The Janata Dal, which was the biggest loser in the UP elections with its strength in the Assembly down from a high of 208 in 1989 to 92 in 1991 to 27 in the 1993 elections, began to consolidate its position in neighbouring Bihar through a series of measures from organising innumerable rallies of the various backward castes to the inclusion of the powerful intermediate peasant caste of Kurmis in the list of OBCs. Clearly, the spectre of a polarisation of voters of Dalit/OBC/Minorities and the prospects of their alliance assuming power in some states is haunt-

ing the various ruling class parties thereby creating internal dissensions and crises.

At the other end of the spectrum we find some so-called Left intellectuals describing the BSP as a new revolutionary force having the potential to liberate the Dalits, minorities and the OBCs from the clutches of the Brahminical, obscurantist, Hindu fascist forces. Yet some others, swearing by the name of Marxism and passing-off as "Dalit" Marxists, have hailed the new awakening among the Dalits and the OBCs as a great revolutionary movement comparable to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China during the late 1960s. They assert that the New Democratic Revolution in the concrete conditions of India can be accomplished only through the slogan "Political power to the oppressed castes (Bahujans)!" issued by the BSP.

Not content with lauding the BSP to the skies, some of these "Marxist" intellectuals have been indulging in incessant attacks on the Communist Revolutionaries for their alleged indifference to the caste question and even branding them as Brahminical Parties preserving the hierarchical caste system.

Now, what are the socio-historic conditions that have contributed to the new awakening among the oppressed castes in UP and elsewhere? What is the significance of the victory of SP-BSP combine? Can the combine, or the BSP, bring about the socio-economic liberation of dalits and the OBCs as proclaimed day in and day out by Kanshi Ram? What is the ideology, aim and class character of the BSP? Whose class interests does it serve?

Before answering the above questions, one has to understand the relation between caste and class in the Indian context, the attempts made by various reformers to end the caste inequalities and the changes that have occurred in intra-and inter-caste relations in the past few decades.

Caste-Class relation

The question of caste and its inter-relationship with class is a complex question that has confounded the Marxists in India for long.

Treating the question of caste mechanically like any other superstructural category and declaring that it can be eliminated once the existing social system is changed through a social revolution, the Communist Party, ever since its inception, had not given due importance to the immediate social problems faced by

the oppressed castes.

It is true that the complete solution of the caste question is possible only after the present semi-feudal, semi-colonial state and society are changed through the New Democratic Revolution. At the same time, we should not forget that the struggle of the downtrodden castes against social and cultural oppression by the upper castes who are firmly entrenched in positions of power forms an integral part of the wider class struggle going on in society for total change.

Applying Marx's famous words to the Indian context, where caste is a concrete living reality, we can say: "All hitherto history of India is the history of class and caste struggles." From the time of the Charvakas to the present day, i.e., for over two-and-a-half millennium, the oppressed castes and classes have been raising the banner of revolt time and again against the unjust, cruel, criminal, barbaric caste system - a system the like of which has never been witnessed anywhere else in the world. Sanctified by the Hindu religion, this authoritarian, undemocratic and hierarchical institution of caste stultified the human mind, suppressed the human abilities and potentialities and distorted human development. By placing a vast section of the population - almost a fifth - outside society as outcasts and creating several rigid hierarchical gradations even within the peasant castes, Sudras, it has effectively checked the formation and growth of class consciousness for long.

Right from the time of Buddha, various religious and social reformers, such as Basavanna, Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Tukaram and others launched extensive movements to fight the evils of the caste system. But the caste system continued as the "steel frame of Hinduism" untouched by the "stormclouds of the political sky."

Cast-Class Awakening During the British Period

When the British arrived on the scene, they did not touch the Brahminical Hindu order with its inhuman caste system but, on the contrary, had even tried to strengthen it through their policy of 'Divided and Rule' in order to perpetuate their colonial rule.

But the British colonialists, from their own class needs, had set about an objective process that gave rise to new social classes from within these castes while the caste system continued in newer forms.

The upper castes in the Chaturvarna system - the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas - became the new ruling class of Zamindars, the industrial, com-

mercial and financial bourgeoisie, and the new bureaucracy, retaining of course, all the birth marks of their respective castes.

The peasant caste of Sudras became transformed into tenants under Zamindars and absentee landlords and into a class of peasant proprietors divided into upper, middle and lower strata. Some of these also became part of the modern working class engaged in industry, mining, plantations and transport. The majority of the Dalit castes became largely landless labourers while a few became part of the working class.

The rise of these new social classes, however, had not replaced the caste system but had only modified it to suit the new social needs arising out of the transformation of the feudal economy into a semi-feudal colonial economy.

During the British period, the democratic awakening of the depressed castes took place as an integral part of the general democratic awakening of the oppressed classes, masses and nationalities against imperialist rule.

In the first phase of the struggle against caste inequalities and discrimination, Brahmins were made the principal target of attack in the Southern and in the Western parts of India.

By virtue of their monopoly over traditional education, the Brahmins continued to exercise their monopoly over the newly-introduced bourgeois western education also thereby dominating the new occupational structure created by the British. The monopoly by the Brahmins was so total even in the political parties that out of 16 AICC members from the Madras Presidency in 1920, 15 were Brahmins. The Sudras, who were denied access to education under the Chaturvarna system, naturally placed in a disadvantageous position when the new educational and employment opportunities opened up. This, in spite of the fact, that in the omnibus category of Sudras there were a few castes which were relatively well-off economically and some members of which were even big land owners. The most deprived of all were the dalits who had no chance whatsoever to enter schools and colleges. Temples of learning along with temples of worship were forbidden to the dalits for over 2.5 millennium not to speak of other innumerable atrocities perpetrated against them.

It was against such a background that the anti-Brahmin movement in the South and the West attained formidable proportions in the last quarter of the last century and in the first quarter of the present century.

In Bombay Presidency, Jotiba Phule, along with

Telang and Ranade founded the Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873, the first-ever radical organisation that challenged the privileged positions of the upper castes and waged a relentless war against caste system as a whole. Phule declared that the low castes were the original inhabitants of India and that it was the Aryan invaders who enslaved them and exploited them through their ingeniously derived caste-based Hindu hierarchical social order. He brought together the major peasant castes such as the Marathas, Kunbis, Malis and the Dhangars along with the dalit castes like the Mahars and the Mangs and galvanised them into a common powerful front against the Brahminical domination. The Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur also patronised these struggles of the peasant castes and dalits against Brahmin domination. These struggles against Brahmin domination later transformed themselves into militant peasant uprisings.

In the Madras Presidency, the Justice Party launched the anti-Brahmin movement after declaring its manifesto in 1916.

The political agitation of the Justice Party soon became the self-respect movement in the mid-1920s under the leadership of Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker. The Justice Party had won the elections to the Madras Presidency in 1921 but it was a Party of Non-Brahmin upper caste landlords, Rajas, Industrialists, lawyers and doctors.

In 1944, Naicker created the Dravida Kazhagam, a militant organisation which regarded the 'Aryan' Brahmins as the principal target of attack. This phase of the movement brought the Non-Brahmin upper castes to positions of power in the state machine and the political parties.

While all these movements did create a democratic consciousness and unleashed the democratic aspirations among members of hitherto oppressed backward castes and dalits, they finally ended up by placing power and privileged social positions in the hands of Non-Brahmin upper castes who became the new oppressors. It was the Reddys, Kammas and Rajus in AP, Mudaliars, Chettiars, Vanniyars in Tamil Nadu, the patels and the Marathas in Maharashtra, Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka and Nairs in Kerala who benefited the most from these movements. These castes in turn, became the new tormentors of the dalits and the other socially backward castes.

An independent movement of Dalits was organised only in Maharashtra by Dr. Ambedkar during the second quarter of this century. The dalits emerged as a distinct political force after the Mahar Satyagraha of 1927 for the right of water. The All-

India Depressed Classes Federation, founded and led by Dr. Ambedkar in 1942, played a prominent role in focussing the social injustices and denial of basic human rights for the dalits such as non-admission to temples and public schools, ban on the use of public wells, residential segregation etc. As a result, the constitution of 1935 allowed for special representation of these Depressed Classes. Due to the efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, 8.3% reservation could be secured for the SCs in 1943.

Thus although Dr. Ambedkar could succeed to an extent in bringing about a democratic awakening among the dalit masses, particularly among the Mahars in Maharashtra, and could secure legal status for the dalits, the mass of the dalits in the rural areas continued to languish under abominable conditions of upper caste chauvinism not to speak of inhuman economic misery. Untouchability, residential segregation, non-entry into hotels and other public places in the rural areas continued in practice in the post-47 period. Atrocities by upper castes backed by the state increased on the dalits wherever they tried to assert their rights.

So disgusted was Dr. Ambedkar with the anti-Dalit attitude of the state and the Nehru Govt. that he preferred to resign from his post of law minister in the union cabinet in 1951. He was also disillusioned in his last days when he found that his liberal democratic vision of a free casteless and secular India with equal opportunity for one and all was, after all, an unrealisable dream. It was this disillusionment that prompted him to advocate and lead mass conversion of dalits into Buddhism in 1956. Such religious conversions were a symbol of protest. For centuries, conversion into other religions was seen by dalits and other oppressed castes as a means of escape from the vicious caste system of Hinduism.

Growing Dalit Assertion

After '47, seats were reserved in Parliament and Assemblies for Dalits in accordance with their population. 76 out of 500 Lok Sabha seats were reserved for the Dalits. There was also a convention to have atleast one Dalit member in the Central Cabinet and in most of the State cabinets.

By their sheer numbers, the dalits had become an attractive votebank coveted by every Party.

Based on Dr. Ambedkar's idea of Liberal democracy, with equality of opportunity, the Republican Party was formed in 1957 after his death as an independent political wing of the dalits.

In the 1957 elections, the RPI allied itself with

the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and achieved considerable electoral success. But it split in 1958 and from the early 1960s it degenerated into a stooge of the ruling classes with one faction aligning itself with the Congress, an alliance that lasted until 1989 and with another faction supporting the opposition.

The growing dalit assertion is a notable feature during this period. A section of the dalits, disgusted with the capitulationist policies of the various factions of the RPI, organised themselves into a more radical movement known as the Dalit Panther Movement. Though short-lived, this movement, which was at its peak during 1972-75, brought a new renaissance in the Marathi literature and raised the hopes and expectations in a whole generation of Dalit youth and students. But lacking a perspective of building a broader class front of all the oppressed sections and dominated by a liberal democratic outlook, the movement, gradually degenerated and some of the leaders were absorbed by the ruling classes.

Interestingly, when dalit students and youth were raising the banner of revolt during this period, Kanshi Ram was actively serving the ruling classes through the RPI in which he was active from 1964 to 1978.

There were also other dalit movements such as the one led by the Karnataka Dalit Sangharsha Samiti, which, after showing signs of militancy in the initial phase of its formation during the 1970s, soon degenerated, split into several factions, and was co-opted by the ruling classes.

The chauvinism of the upper castes, their bitter opposition to caste-based reservations as witnessed in their anti-Mandal mania has brought the SC/ST/BCs into a common front to preserve their rights.

The introduction of caste-based reservations by the Janata Govt. in 1977 has brought about a further polarisation in Bihar and UP. The BCs, who comprise over 60% of the population in these states, were always politically insignificant and rallied behind the Non-Brahmin upper castes.

The non-Brahmin agrarian upper castes like the Ahirs, Jats, Gujars and Rajputs (AJGAR) - the main beneficiaries of the Green Revolution - led by Charan Singh's Bharatiya Lok Dal, emerged as a powerful political force in UP from the mid-1970s by utilising, and partly accommodating, the aspirations of the enlightened sections of the BCs. It had taken another two decades for these BCs to be welded together into a political force of their own in combination with the dalits and the minorities. But now it is the dominant landowning castes from among the BCs such as the

Yadavas and the Kurmis who gained the major share of power in UP by utilising and partially accommodating, the aspirations of the dalit masses and the OBCs. In Bihar, the solidarity among the BCs grew as a direct response to the FC opposition to the reservations introduced by Karpuri Thakur Govt.

The Janata Dal used the caste card cleverly to capture power in Bihar in the '89 elections. It allotted more than 80% of the seats to the non-FCs while the Congress(I) awarded more than 70% of seats to FCs.

The 1989 Parliamentary elections marked the end of the Congress monopoly in politics. Not only the Cong.(I), but almost all the Parties became discredited in the eyes of the people. The rise of the Hindu fascist forces became a direct threat to the minorities who comprise over 15% of the Indian population. In UP the Muslims constitute almost 23% of the population. Along with these factors is the growing economic crisis, with soaring prices, dwindling employment opportunities, scrapping of subsidies and social welfare measures, increasing economic inequalities and growing poverty, all of which are seen to be the direct offshoots of the Cong.(I)'s pro-imperialist policies of liberalisation. It is in this background of the loss of credibility of the Cong.(I), the menacing rise of Hindu fascist forces, the growing acute economic crisis, and deterioration of living conditions of the dalits and other oppressed sections coupled with the creation of a neo-rich class from among the BCs like the Yadavas and Kurmis, that the SP-BSP combine could make impressive gains in the UP elections. Though the BSP could gain only 68 seats, and the combine a total of 177 seats, it has brought to the fore the new trend of polarisation of the BC/SC/ST minorities who form almost 85% of the vast majority of the Indian population.

Origin, Growth, Aims and Class Character of the BSP

The origin of the BSP could be traced to the Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation (BAMCEF) founded by Kanshi Ram in Dec. 1978 with employees from Pune and Delhi. The BAMCEF soon took into its fold almost all the SC officers in UP who constitute about 20% of the force. It is this Dalit bureaucracy and the vast petty bourgeois stratum of dalits that is solidly behind the formation of the Dalit Samaj Shoshit Sangharsh Samiti (DS4) and later the BSP with the aim of sharing power in the Govt. in alliance with other bourgeois parties. Though social issues like education and social uplift of the dalits and fight against alcoholism were some of the professed aims of DS4, it did not really make any headway. It

did not make attempts to build a people's movement to end the social evils.

The DS4 contested the Delhi Corporation and Haryana Assembly elections in 1982 and the Jammu & Kashmir election in '83 but could not win even a single seat though the number of votes gained was impressive. It indulged in bourgeois gimmicks such as organising Cycle Yathras from Kanyakumari to Kargil (J&K) and Kashmir to Porbandar in 1983.

With the aim of forming a more organised political party to fight the elections, Kanshi Ram formed the BSP in 1984. Though it drew a blank in the UP assembly elections in '84, the BSP won an impressive 7 lakh votes. Its share of the total votes which was less than 5% in the '84 elections became 9.33% in '89 and rose to over 10% in '91. It won 12 MLA seats in the '91 elections. The entry of BSP had cut into the traditional SC/ST vote-bank of the Congress(I).

The aim of the BSP is to capture power at any cost by mobilising the massive vote-bank of the dalits. Since it cannot win power by basing only on the dalit votes, it is prepared to strike a deal with the BC/minority leaders belonging to the Cong.(I), Janata Dal or any other ruling class party. Its strategy is to woo a BC leader like Mulayam Singh Yadav in other states too and thereby get into the corridors of power. It has been searching for a Mulayam Singh in a Congress Shiv Shankar, an ex-Congress Bangarappa or even a Veerappa Moily. These tactics of Kanshi Ram's BSP are no less manipulative and cunning than those of any other bourgeois parliamentary party.

The BSP's close links with sections of the comprador big bourgeois have already come to light to some extent. The Kalias and the Malhotras had funded and backed the BSP in the recent elections. The industrialist Jayant Malhotra had resigned from the Cong.(I) and contested to Rajya Sabha on behalf of the BSP. He has a notorious record of being the fund manager of Janata Party, later shifting his loyalty to the Cong.(I), of toppling the VP Singh Govt., and has been close to Chandra Swami and Chandra Shekhar. He was close to Rajiv Gandhi and maintains intimate relations with the present PM. He is instrumental in convincing the Cong.(I) to extend support to the minority SP-BSP Govt. in UP. The BSP is prepared to stoop to any extent and to take the support of any bourgeois parliamentary party for a few crumbs of power.

The comprador big bourgeoisie is able to influence the policies and programmes of the BSP through the powerful Dalit bureaucracy which itself has a comprador character, by and large. The top dalit

bureaucrats - the IAS, IPS, IFS officials, the top officials in banks and other public sector undertakings etc. - are more loyal to the all-powerful landlords, capitalists and the big business than to their own deprived dalit brethren. It has now become almost an universal phenomenon in our country for those among the oppressed castes who had undergone a certain mobility in terms of education, income or occupation to identify themselves with their new-found middle, upper middle or ruling class brethren. The process of modernisation, by creating an opportunity for the upward mobility for a tiny section of the dalits, has brought about a class differentiation within the dalits too along with the bringing together of the structurally adjacent castes.

Some sections of upper rungs of bureaucracy and other professionals of the BCs and Dalits who became the 'new-rich' are thus harbouring hopes of benefiting through the New Economic Policies of the Indian Government. Especially the upper middle class sections of these castes living in metro cities and other major urban centres are being swayed by the decadent imperialist culture being fostered by the TNCs and are becoming brahminised, Hindu Chauvinist supporters. It is clear that whether it is the SP-BSP Government or any similar regime, the ruling classes of our country will utilise this top Brahminised stratum from among the dalits and the BCs to garner support for their exploitative policies and to suppress and oppress the vast majority of the poor belonging to these very castes. Shrewd as they are, the ruling classes have employed a Sikh military officer to storm the Golden Temple in 1984 and Sikh police officers to suppress the militants in Punjab. They will use the same dalit and backward caste officials to suppress the poorer sections among these castes when the latter take to the path of struggle.

Thus led by the comprador dalit bureaucrats and urbanised petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and backed by a section of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the BSP has emerged as a Party in service of the Indian ruling classes. Its faith in the constitution, in parliamentary democracy, absence of any land reform programme and anti-imperialist programme and its reluctance to take up any grass-roots level movement of the masses, make it an acceptable party for the ruling classes too. The BSP, like any other bourgeois parliamentary party, can in no way solve the basic problems facing the Indian people.

No Land-Reforms Programme

In our country the land question is the main issue for the oppressed masses. Infact in all the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries, it is the land question, that

constitutes the main issue. Yet, the BSP has so far not declared its stand regarding this issue. In all those areas which, to some greater as lesser extent come under the influence of BSP - from Haryana to UP, to AP - every where it is the land issue, that is the main issue confronting the Dalit and backward castes, peoples. Yet the BSP has neither a policy, nor a programme for resolving the land question.

Among the landless peasant population in India, the people from Dalit and backward castes constitute the over whelming majority. And among the Dalits, who constitute about 24% of the population, about 95% have no land at all. While some of them are confined to the traditional caste related work, the majority are agricultural labourers, whose livelihood depends solely on agriculture. All those have to fret it out day and night in order to seek a living. All these dalits are the victims of oppression and exploitation of the landlords. Unless and until the feudal system is destroyed root and branch, that is to say, unless until the agrarian revolution with 'land to the tiller' as its axis breaks out, it will be impossible to obtain justice for the oppressed masses belonging to the Dalit, backward castes, and minorities.

The Indian ruling classes, who retained the state machinery left over by the British even after 1947, have been resorting to various acts to attract and win over the Dalit and backward caste peoples. While the congress party which was continuously in power has been creating the likes of Jagjevan Ram and Koneru Ranga Rao (AP's Dy. C.M), now Kanshi Ram is coming forward with his 'Bahujana Samaj Party'. Though wearing the guise of BSP with a view to capitalize on the growing consciousness amongst the Dalits, until now he has been drumming up the same old policies, the various political parties like the Congress, BJP, the revisionists etc., implemented. Kanshi Ram has no social programme at all regarding the real issue (i.e. land question). The BSP which is sharing power in UP, the state notorious for the number of atrocities on Dalits, has not done anything for the upliftment of the Dalits. It is a common phenomenon in our country, in the states where congress is in power, other political parties like the Janata Party etc., while on one hand promote caste-based conflicts and on the other hand cry hoarsely that it is their Governments, that have taken measures for the upliftment of the dalit, backward castes, Adivasi masses etc., and in those states where other parties are in power, the congress men resort to the same thing. Now Kanshi Ram also joined this chorus. There was neither a fundamental change, nor any effort in that direction after the emergence of the BSP. It will be of no avail if some one here is

provided with a job, and another one made a minister elsewhere. In the so called land reform exercise under taken during Indira regime as an aftermath of Naxalbari, how much land did the dalits get, in any one of the provinces, be it UP or Bihar or AP etc. Even today, while the land is concentrated in the hands of land-lords, who constitute a mere 6-7% of the population, how much land the landless peasants really got? Where the so-called 'pattas' were given, how many dalits actually took possession of the allotted land, and are tilling it? Which bank or which Govt. provided the necessary capital and implements to the dalits? And how many dalits got such assistance? The BSP has so far not uttered even a single word regarding this situation. Even if it does so, even then there will be no basic difference between the BSP which accepts the present constitutional frame work and to what PVN did way back in 1974 or doing in 1994. Can the BSP uphold our Party which has been supporting and leading the struggle of Dalit and backward caste masses, who are occupying the 'patta' lands of the landlords in the Telangana region of AP? Everybody knows that none of the leaders of the BSP, either central or state, has opened his mouth to express his opinion on that struggle which was going on for the last four years.

It is common for the ruling classes to utilise caste and religion in a way that will see that their plunder goes on unhindered. While caste was utilised as a tool for the oppression of the masses during ancient times, at present some are utilising it by posing as the liberators of the oppressed masses in order to utilise the growing self-awareness of the oppressed masses and to divert them from their path and utilise them as vote banks. The Congress leaders who bitterly opposed Ambedkar throughout his life, have now erected his statue in the parliament premises, and are saying that they will follow his teachings, all this, in order to capitalise on the ever growing affection and admiration amongst the Dalit masses towards Ambedkar. The BSP and certain M.L. groups also belong to this category. All this is nothing but vote catching exercise. There is no honest effort at all to solve the basic issue of the oppressed masses, the land question. The BSP, a bird of the same flock, pushed aside the struggle on which the Dalits should be mobilised, and took up the attractive catch-phrase "The Delhi throne to Bahujans, to Kanshi Ram".

Now let us look at the policy our Party adopted for resolving the caste and land questions.

The table given below is based on a survey conducted by our activists, during a land struggle that break out in AP, in 1978, under our Party's leadership.

village	number of poor peasant agricultural labour families	number of upper caste families	number of backward caste families	number of scheduled caste families
A	134	2	45	87
B	175	2	126	47
Total	309	4	171	134

It can be seen from the above that in these two villages, more than 70% of the people belong to Mala, Madiga(Mahar) and backward castes. These are the oppressed masses. These are the people who produce food for the world. They constitute not less than 80% of such producers. Yet, these very people are those who spend their life in a perpetual state of semi-starvation. Out of the 309 poor peasant families in the above two villages, except four, all the rest belong to the backward castes. Even according to Govt. reconning out of them about 45% belong to Mala and Madiga castes.

What is the main issue the above mentioned Dalit and backward caste masses face? In fact the issue is nothing but the land question. They are solely dependent on land for their livelihood. But that land is concentrated in the hands of a handful of upper class landlords. Unless this is resolved, that is to say, unless

and until the possession of the land changes from the very few upper caste landlords into the hands of the oppressed masses, in to the hands of oppressed caste people who constitute the majority amongst them, it will be impossible for any one to resolve the caste question. It is with this understanding our Party started mobilization of all the oppressed masses against the landlords' hegemony over the land.

So, the caste question in essence is a class question. It will be a struggle waged by the oppressed caste people, who are the majority, against the handful of upper caste landlords. Oppressed masses from all castes will unite as one in this struggle. The real resolution of the caste issue can come about only through the land struggle, through the agrarian revolution.

But to speak about caste issue without going in to the main issue of the oppressed caste masses, the land question, who ever speaks in this manner be it be the BSP or someone else, it will tantamount to nothing but a deception of Dalit and backward caste peoples.

If one takes a look at the history of BSP it will reveal that Kanshi Ram and BSP will follow the same old policies, the big bourgeois - big landlord ruling classes have been following since 1947.

In India, the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses, will break out in various forms,

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REPORTS

MASS STRUGGLES ON THE AGRARIAN FRONT

A number of mass struggles are pushing ahead on a variety of issues on the agrarian front. Here is a resume of some of these struggles.

Against Famine in Orissa

The Orissa state government declared 12 out of 17 districts as famine districts. In Malkangiri district, starvation deaths are ever on the increase. Large sections of people are migrating. The adivasis of Malkangiri formed an anti-famine struggle committee and launched struggle. On 28.6.93, 350 adivasis held a demonstration at Malkangiri and questioned the District Collector how the administration could spend Rs. 7 lakhs for PM's tour in famine areas instead of spending it on relief works. The struggle committee demanded the sowcars of 'Kalimela, Bolangir and Malkangiri and collected 407 bags of paddy, and 11 bags of rice towards famine relief fund and distributed it to 400 families in 30 villages.

Bastar

Led by the DAKMS, adivasi people of Bastar obstructed the trucks of sowcars and made them contribute rice for famine fund. 47 bags of rice in Basagudem range and 12 bags in Jegurugonda range were collected. Also an amount of Rs. 12,000 was collected for famine fund. This relief was distributed to 20 villages in those two range areas.

DAKMS gave a call for mass demonstrations to condemn Police atrocities against adivasi women. A total bandh was observed on 7th October 1993 in South Bastar and a protest week was observed from October 25 to November 1 in North Bastar. During protest days adivasis boycotted the weekly shandies, blocked traffic, closed down all shops and conducted wide propaganda against atrocities on women.

In Bastar district adivasis are holding praja panchayats in villages and democratically settling disputes among people thus strengthening their solidarity in struggle. The exploiters are tried in public and the wrongs suffered by the masses are being set right such as restoring back lands usurped by badgentry and landlords, getting compensation paid for the loss suffered etc.

United Action Committee in Adilabad

In Adilabad a 'peasant united action committee' was formed to fight for reasonable support price for gingelly. On 18 June '94, a demonstration was held in Chennur town with 600 peasants. Farm labourers and daily wage agricultural labour in 22 villages of Khanapur area struck work and got their wages enhanced. In both mandals several villages witnessed struggles of agricultural labour and farm workers. In Dhannur village, the recalcitrant landlords were brought to their knees after a prolonged strike of 20 days. Enhancement of wages was won in all villages.

United Struggles of peasantry in South Coastal Andhra

In Palnadu area of Guntur district a united action committee against famine was formed with all sections of peasantry and under its leadership a total bandh was observed throughout the area on 25 June '94 demanding lift irrigation projects. The bandh was a grand success. In spite of Nagarjuna Sagar Canal flowing through this area and the presence of perennial river Krishna in the area, the peasantry are facing famine for years together for want of irrigation. So they demanded lift irrigation. Having formed an anti-famine action committee in 1993 during the whole of last year peasants held several demonstrations and rasta rokos at Macherla, Durgi etc. With the Palnadu bandh on June 25 the attention of all political parties is drawn to this issue and the government stood fully discredited. All sections of peasantry are widely mobilised under the united action committee.

Women in the fore-front of land struggles

A decade ago government assigned 170 acres of banjar land to 70 yanadi families. But they could not cultivate it for want of investment and irrigation. Kamma landlords of Adigoppula village took advantage of this and occupied these lands. Yanadis being a roving tribe went away in search of work and food. They returned in 1990 and asked for their lands. The district collector pleaded inability to retrieve the lands from the hands of Kamma landlords and instead as-

signed 130 acres of forest land elsewhere. If they clear this land and bring it under plough again the same fate would befall it. Having no other way to earn a living, the women folk of the yanadi families, brushed aside the hesitation and timidity of the men folk and stepped forward to reoccupy the land assigned to them earlier. To begin with, on 2 June '93 they occupied 2 acres of land adjacent to the village since the women had nowhere to go for nature's calls. This land was under the occupation of the president of Obulesunipalli. In the very presence of the president, women removed the fencing and burnt it down. The next day more number of women went armed with chilly powder, axes, bows and arrows and chased the landlords and their henchmen from the lands. The following day landlords made an attack with other additional strength, but could not stand the ferocious struggle of the women. Thus with women's initiative the yanadis reoccupied 65 acres of the 170 acres of their land. They are preparing to take over the remaining land also.

People punish rapists of Muslim women

In Kolluru village of Bellamkonda mandalam of Guntur district landlords of Naidu caste Hindus were perpetrating atrocities on poor muslim women of agricultural labour families. All the oppressed people of the village solidly stood with the muslim families and rebuffed the landlords. When the wife and daughters of one poor muslim named Moulali went to a farmer's land to cut grass, the land owner Somayya began behaving indecently towards them and when they refused his advances he made all sorts of counter allegations on them saying they are abusing him and bet them in public. Even though the muslim woman was in advanced stage of pregnancy he tried to molest her. Since the oppressed sections of the village are now uniting evermore closely and getting organised, they held a peoples' panchayat on this incident and made Somayya pay Rs. 1500 as compensation for medical treatment of the pregnant woman. After this all the landlords hatched a plan to harass the Muslims and banned them from collecting grass in their fields. A landlords' goonda named Kasayya began spreading false allegations that the muslim women calling names all the peasant families. A open enquiry conducted by peoples panchayat exposed his lies. So, after 3 days of this panchayat that Kasayya and another Satyam the brother of Somayya caught hold of one muslim woman, wife of Mirsa, in the fields, blind-folded, gagged and molested her in a beastly way. Enraged with this the villagers caught hold of those two culprits and paraded them from Gollapeta to Kolluru with 600 people following in a procession and women slapping the culprits with

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MUSLIM WOMAN BURNT ALIVE IN NIZAMABAD BY FEUDAL GANGSTERS ABETTED BY POLICE!

PEOPLE OF KULASPUR WILL CERTAINLY WREAK VENGEANCE

HASINA Begum of Kulaspur in Nizamabad district of AP was burnt alive in her own house on 4 May '94. The vernacular daily press and even THE HINDU have prominently reported the incident but not to focus on the atrocious behavior of the feudal elements against minorities and woman, and much less to bring out the police-goonda nexus. Instead they choose to toe the 'police line' to high-light this incident as an example of the growing 'ire' of the rural masses against the 'People's War' Party. The propaganda machinery of the establishment laboriously spun longish news-stories gleefully concluding that 'people' have burnt down Hasina since she was a party sympathiser and that too in retaliation to the killing of a police constable Anjayya belonging to the same village, earlier by the Party militants. The "free press" has thus zealously guarded its role as "his masters' voice".

Anybody who cares to look at the more-than-a-decade-long history of the peasant movement raging in this village will easily understand what is the truth.

During NTR's regime, during the 1985 period, organising of anti-people pro-feudal gangs in each village is wantonly encouraged by the AP government and actively abetted by the police, as an aid to crush the growing peasant movement. NTR even hitched upon a sheepish plan to provide guns to all such anti-people goonda gangs. But these gangs had to beat a retreat in the face of popular resistance. During those years, these gangsters in the village were fully exposed and a few of them, Lingareddy and Narayana Reddy of Gouraram and Koli Chinna and Gangaram of Mylaram villages, were even eliminated thus dealing a severe blow to this force. But since 1991, with the reintensification of brutal police repression and the induction of para-military forces, these gangs again began to surface and make trouble. The government clearly realised that all alone it cannot deal with the growing strength of the peasant movement even by deploying para-military forces and so wantonly propped up these gangs to work hand-in-glove with the police forces.

In Kulaspur village also feudal badgentry Gangareddy and Hanumandlu together organised one such gang. They enrolled some lumpen gangsters and some ruff elements who returned from Gulf. As the peasant movement under the leadership of People's War cuts at the root of the feudal 'authority' of such gangsters they took up cudgels against the Party and the struggling peasants. As the gang became more and more reckless and hindering the movement, Gangareddy was killed by the people. Irked by this loss, this murderous gang desperately attacked the

local sangham (RCS) and killed Com. Golla Chinnaiyah and severely wounded Com. Pullayya in 1991. So, in retaliation the RCS activists and people killed Hanumandlu, another gang leader, in 1992. One more person also died in this incident. The gang lied-low for some time but the feudal landlords again struck in 1993 again by killing a local peasant leader Butchayya of Badsa village. A police constable from Kulaspur who took active part in this murder was clearly marked out by the people for vengeance. He was done to death in March 1994. The feudal lords, their goondas and particularly the police got much perturbed at this and unleashed monstrous attacks against the people. They hounded-out several families from the village.

Hasina Begum's family was also one of those thus thrown-out of the village. On 4 May when she tried to collect her things from her abandoned home, she was spotted by these goondas.

Since Hasina's younger brother is an activist of the peasant movement, the goondas who bore grudge against him, kicked up a wordy dual with Hasina and made it a ruse to rage her house to the ground. Blinded by rage, they arranged a fire with the pulled-down timber of the house lit it and threw the lady into it. When she jumped out of it and ran for a nearby slushy-pond, they again physically carried her, pushed her into the flaming pyre and stood there to make sure she turned into ash. These monsters did all this before the eyes of her five-year old son Saleem.

The police did not turn up at the scene of offense until a full day elapsed. Even then, none was apprehended. What all they did was only to feed the press with misinformation that it was an act of mass frenzy. This was a shrewd ploy to save the killers from criminal proceedings and at the same time to defame the peasant movement. The cruel police wanted to kill two birds with this one stone and the press readily ran to their service. All those who cry hoarse about square deal to minorities also do not have any qualms even to look at the episode.

But the people of the village and the entire surroundings know very well the truth. They know who are people and who are their enemies. The government, the police and the enlightened press can go on fancying themselves with all sorts of 'intelligent' interpretation of the happenings but the suffering people, the struggling people will not take this affront lying low. The enemies of the people cannot get away with Hasina's murder. □

TRIBAL PEOPLE'S FAMINE RAID

THE famine raid at Satyanarayanapuram of Khammam district by about 800 adivasi peasantry, including more than 50 women, armed with home-made traditional weapons is a class by itself in people's armed struggle. It happened around mid-night on 24 August last year. About five lakh rupees worth of food-grains and consumer goods - roughly about four truck-loads - were confiscated and distributed among the adivasis who came all the way from Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. Satyanarayanapuram is about 25 kms away from the border. The rice-mills, houses and other properties of five big landlords and notorious oppressors were exclusively targeted. Amidst severe police repression and almost daily brutal raids of the armed police the adivasis could neatly execute this spectacular raid and what is more, the police could not recover even a singly confiscated item even later on.

To the administration which is unmoved by innumerable representations of the adivasis demanding famine-relief measures, this suo-motto action of the sufferers to save themselves from hunger-deaths came as a rude shock. But except moving the police into action, even afterwards the government did pretty little to obviate adivasis' woes.

Satyanarayanapuram is notorious for rapacious Kshatriya landlords. Sitharamaraju, Ramachandraraju, Anjaneyaraju, Bhadramraju and Nanabbaia - all these five families migrated from West Godavari district some decades ago. Ruthlessly exploiting the cheap-labour of the innocent tribals of this area and usurping their fertile lands, they became owners of hundreds of acres of arable land. These families own almost all the irrigated lands under the Musaleru dam. They own fruit gardens, large fisheries, rice mills and theaters. More over they pride their loot and vulgarly exhibit it through palacious bungalows, cars and lavish spending inciting hatred among the famished people all around. They cruelly crush anyone who dares to ignore their bidding or question their authority. In the whole area not even a singly family could be found who was not a victim of their oppression. Adivasis of about 100 villages in Bastar district are subjected to their plunder and crushing might for several decades. These landlords stood in the fore-front to enforce monstrous repression on peasant struggles in this area in late 60s and 70s. As the peasant movement suffered a set-back, the atrocities of these landlords have further grown worse and their loot knew no bounds.

So, not only from the point of the pangs of hun-

ger and famine, also from the view of the needs of the peasant movement, the adivasis have pitched upon the correct target.

The adivasis were led by a guerilla armed squad. The 800 people formed 7 batches of varying numbers between 90 to 140 persons. Each batch was again subdivided into smaller groups and each group had a specified leader. The raiders started around 3 p.m. on 24th from their respective places, walked through thick forest unnoticed by anybody and assembled in the vicinity of Satyanarayanapuram around 10 p.m. in the night. After midnight some teams entered the village, snapped telephone lines and erected barricades on the road. The raid was actually unleashed around 2'o clock in the morning. The canal situated in between the forest and the village was covered by sentries. The raid went on for nearly two hours in which two rice mills, one big grocery store and the houses of five landlords' families were ransacked. All throughout the raid the local villages stood by the adivasis and rendered a helping hand. In all 15 quintals of paddy, 25 bags of rice, one truck-load of steel utensils, one truck-load of clothes, one tractor-load of provisions and other goods were confiscated. About 4'o clock in the morning the raiders retreated towards their villages and all the participants distributed the spoils among them equitably.

After this, 500 AP police surged into MP borders, as deep as 30 kms and made a series of raids on MP adivasi villages continuously for six days. Bastar police also joined the campaign of spreading terror in tribal villages. Unable to trace the confiscated goods the police, out of spite, took away the skins and hides from tribal homes and spoiled beyond use the stored mahuva flower by pouring kerosene and destroyed all the kitchen wear etc., But adivasis safeguarded the grain and other goods in the hillocks and forest. All the people stood unitedly and resisted police repression.

This well organised famine-raid greatly enthused the oppressed people of AP and MP on both sides of the state borders and showed them the path to fight against rulers' apathy.

The raid is particularly significant for its systematic organisation, military sense and meticulous execution of a mass militant raid of this magnitude involving several hundreds of untrained and backward people. This will provide pioneering experience for large-scale people's armed actions on chosen targets. □

LET US REDEDICATE OURSELVES FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE CAUSE OF THE MARTYRS!!



JULY 28th is the day our beloved leader **comrade Charumajumdar** attained martyrdom. For the past 7 years, July 28th is being observed as the day of commemoration of all those martyr

comrades, who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the realization of Peoples Democracy. In all the struggle areas, July 28th became a struggle day in its own unique way. In all the struggle areas it is a common sight on this day, people trying and succeeding in holding meetings, hoisting red flags in village after village, taking pledges that they will dedicate themselves for the realisation of the dreams of the martyrs, bowing their heads in honor of the fallen heroes and offering glorious tributes to them with great love and affection. This is one side of the picture. However there is an other side - the enemy going on rampage right from 20th July, deploying hundreds and thousands of additional forces, throwing challenges that he will not allow the commemorative meetings to take place on July 28th, menacingly conducting flag marches. And yet, people foiling the schemes of the enemy, adopting ever newer and newer forms, gathering at new places somewhere or other as the circumstances permit, holding meetings, be it a gathering of four people or four thousand people, paying rich tributes to the martyrs - this has become the symbol that represents people's fighting

spirit. Continuing this glorious tradition, this year also, the entire party, all the guerilla squads and the people paid rich tributes to the martyr heroes upholding the high standards set by those comrades.

By now 23 years elapsed since our beloved leader comrade CM., who broke the back bone of revisionism, and who brought back on to the agenda the politics of protracted armed struggle, the new democratic revolution and agrarian revolution. In this entire period the country witnessed many developments. Where as some M-L groups are progressing along the path of the politics of protracted armed struggle, taking lessons from it, there also emerged many right opportunists, who display the banner of Marxism-Leninism, claim that they are the real heirs to M-L party of 1969, and say they will carry forward the cause of comrade CM. The people of the country are watching the history of the M-L groups, their fighting potential, and as to who are the real heirs that can firmly carry forward the ideals of the martyrs. Even now Revisionism remains the main danger as it was in the past. The only way we can offer real tributes to all the martyrs, is to fight relentlessly, upholding the banner of struggle for rooting out revisionism thoroughly. As true heirs to the banner of the CPI(M.L), let us move forward for the realisation of comrade Charu Majumdar's cause, building strong guerilla zones, extending the movement to every nook and corner of the country, with the aim of building liberated areas! Now, when the objective conditions for the revolutionary movement, both nationally and internationally, are becoming more and more favourable, let us move ahead and defeat the offensive war launched by the enemy with tactics of self-defence. The blood our martyr comrades shed in Telangana and Dandakaranya areas is still warm.



⇐ *Com. Jugal Iruka*

Com. Sindri Jami ⇐
(Prabhakar)

*killed in an encounter
on 8.2.1994 at Gondipalli,
Visakha Dt., East Division.*



RED SALUTES TO THE MARTYRS OF DANDAKARANYA AND NORTH TELANGANA

DURING this summer, some of our comrades in the Dandakaranya area became martyrs in 'encounters' with the enemy. Out of these, two comrades were squad commanders, two were deputy commanders, and others were party members, squad members, and 'Sangham' members. All these comrades fulfilled their role and task in advancing the movement, by standing firmly displaying unparalleled courage and valour in the face of ever intensifying repression. The COC bows its head and offers its red salutes to these fallen heroes.

Mandwa Martyrs:

The M.P. police laid an ambush and opened fire on the Malajkhand squad on 10th July of this year, near the village Mandwa in Balaghat district of M.P. The guerilla squad fought back valiantly. But as the special police forces deployed were in large numbers and suddenly fired upon the squad with modern automatic weapons from a very close range, four comrades lost their lives and the rest escaped. Of the police men one was killed and three were seriously wounded. Sub-divisional committee member comrade Ajad Nike (Kosaraju Gandhi), squad area committee member comrade Sukhlal Yadav, comrade Vinay and comrade Rukmini Bai became martyrs in this encounter.

Comrade Kosaraju Gandhi:

When the forest committee decided to extend the movement to Balaghat district, comrade Ajad, entered that district as the commander of the very first squad. Comrade Ajad, was one amongst those comrades who for more than four years, from, 90 to 94, worked hard to promote, extend and consolidate the Balaghat movement. Comrade Ajad came into contact and was influence by the revolutionary movement after the emergency period of mid seventies. Soon he grew up as a full-time worker. From 1981 to 1984, he worked as a central organiser leading underground life in the rural areas of Warangal district of AP. In 1983 he was arrested and imprisoned by the enemy. He was in jail for a brief period and as soon as he come out, he once again took up in the responsibilities without any hesitation. From 1985 to 87, he worked as an organiser in the Bhadrachalam-Venkatapuram area of AP (Khammam district) and built up Girijan movement. From 1987 to 89, he worked as a member of the Bastar divisional committee. During this period he under went military training, and developed as a guerilla fighter. He devoted his entire life to the people, and grew up overcoming the hardships of underground and guerilla life. Tall and sturdy, a smile always illumi-

nating his face, comrade Ajad became one amongst the peasants and tried to understand their problems. He is a veteran leader who gained experience by performing various duties the movement entrusted. Comrade Ajad, is well aware of the hardships the poor face, as he himself faced poverty right from his childhood, and could not continue his studies due to financial difficulties, and worked as a daily labourer. Comrade Ajad (Babanna) not only understood the circumstance in the districts of Warangal, Khammam (in AP), Bastar and Balaghat (in M.P.), where he worked, he also understood the circumstance obtaining in AP, MP, MR and Orissa. For him language was no hurdle. Wherever he went, he learned the local language. He had a melodious voice. He used to mingle with the adivasis singing and dancing along with them. The martyrdom of such a comrade like Kosaraju Gandhi, is an irrecoverable loss for the movement.

Comrade Sukh Lal:

Comrade Sukhlal's name is synonymous with discipline. He was an ideal guerilla, who had the yen for utilising every movement that can be squeezed out in guerilla life. From 1985 on words he took part in the peasant movement of Husnabad area in Karimnagar district of AP and developed his political consciousness while facing severe repression. During the days he was in jail, from 1987 to 91, as a leader of 'Sangham', he improved upon his thinking and from 90s onwards worked as a full-time member. Towards the end of 1990 he entered the Dandakaranya movement, and under took various responsibilities in the Balaghat squad. In 1994 he was elected as an area committee member. He was just 30. He had a very simple life style. He used to easily mingle amongst everybody and was very affectionate towards others. He was discharging his duties properly, as a disciplined red fighter and was offering well intentioned criticisms, that are aimed at correcting the mistakes of his comrades. He is a model guerilla.

Comrade Vinay:

Just out his adolescence, comrade Vinay (20) is the red lotus that blossomed in the Balaghat movement. He discontinued his studies and was looking after agriculture when he got inspiration from the movement and actively participated in the 'sangham' activities of his village. He was sent in from AP to the Dandakaranya. Comrade Vinay, who was a native of Indurti village in Husnabad Taluk of Karimnagar district, was participating in the movement from 1988 onwards. He not only bore with patience all the hard-

ships of a guerilla life, he was an ideal in all respects to his comrades-in-arms. This comrade very quickly learned Hindi and Gondi languages and won the love and affection of the Girijan peasantry.

Comrade Rukmini Bai:

While the above three comrades started from AP, crossed Maharashtra, and become martyrs in central India while performing revolutionary duties, comrade Rukmini Bai was a local. Inspired by the activities of the 'Sangham', comrade Rukmini Bai actively took part in the movement and came into the squad life as repression intensified. She joined the squad just 10 days prior to her martyrdom. Little Rukmini became immortal in the Balaghat movement while she was still under the process of understanding squad life.

Comrade Shankar:

In July '94, the para-military forces deployed in AP, brutally murdered in a false encounter Comrade Shankar (Prabhakar), a member of the Karimnagar district committee. Comrade Shankar, fell ill and was going out of his area for medical treatment, when the Government forces, which got the information regarding his whereabouts captured him, and after brutally torturing, murdered him. And as usual they cooked up a story of a false encounter and released it to the press.

Comrade Shankar was a youth of 32. Comrade

Shankar was born in Korutla town in Karimnagar district of AP. While he was still a student the Jagityal peasant movement made an impact on him. From 1983 onwards he actively and with much initiative worked in the revolutionary movement. He worked as an organiser in Metpally area of Karimnagar district and was arrested in 1984. After coming out of prison, without showing any hesitation, he showed his readiness for revolutionary work. During 1987 he worked as a courier to the FC for a brief period, and was sent by the party to the Bastar division in '88. He got married in 88, and the couple devoted their married life for the advancement of the movement. Comrade Shankar and his wife, both took part in building up of Bastar girijan movement. Keeping in view the needs of the movement, the APPC recalled him, and entrusted the responsibilities of Metpally area. In '92 he was elected to the district committee. Let us offer our Red Salutes to Comrade Shankar, who worked hard for the advancement of Karimnagar peasant movement amidst intensifying repression and combing operations.

Let us pledge that we will uphold this glorious tradition of sacrifices, the blood of our martyrs set before us, stay unflinchingly in the battle field until our last breath, becoming one amongst the masses and create a mighty tidal wave of mass struggle, which the enemy cannot smash. Let us rededicate ourselves for the realisation of the cause of the martyrs. □

(Somalia : Contd From P. 4)

substitute the retreating US-European mercenaries. The Indian comprador Govt. readily agreed to dispatch 5000 troops - the second biggest contingent in UNOSOM after the American withdrawal - equipped with tanks, helicopter gun ships and armoured personal carriers to continue the "humanitarian mission" left unfinished by the US troops.

The Indian media has been shamelessly lauding the "exceptional role" of the Indian Army mercenaries in Somalia commanding them for their "success" in winning the hearts and minds of the Somalian people.

The fact is that the Indian contingent is caught in a pathetic situation. The Indian troops have no knowledge of the terrain, local language and customs and, like any mercenary force on foreign soil, find themselves isolated from the local populace. They now placed themselves in a tricky situation wherein they cannot even pull out of Somalia without incurring further losses. Except in parts of Mogadishu the 18,700 strong UNOSOM forces have no control over any other region in the country. As the civil war in Somalia escalates further, more corpses of the Indian mercenary soldiers will start arriving home.

Voices are already being raised for an immediate withdrawal of the Indian troops from Somalia.

"I do not see why a single Indian life should be lost in somalia", said the former foreign secretary A.P. Venkateswaran, "we sent our soldiers in a bad situation as cannon fodder in place of troops from advanced countries who had pulled out even before we went. Are the lives of our soldiers so cheap?"

However, not having learnt its lessons from Somalia, the Indian Govt., has assured the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, that it will send its troops to take part in an invasion of Haiti if needed along with taking part in UN operations in Rwanda, Angola and wherever they are called upon. The Indian Govt. has made commitments to the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali during his visit to India in the second week of September that it will raise a brigade of troops as standby for UN peace-keeping operations.

Why such an initiative is being taken by the Indian compradors at this juncture is not difficult to understand.

A statement justifying the stand of the Indian government by major General D. Bannerjee, the deputy director of the Indian Institute of Strategic Studies, brings this out clearly: "A few lives is a bearable cost to pay if India wants membership to the Security Council, it should also be willing to share the risks that come along with it." □

WORLD BANK & IMF : 50 YEARS OF UNBRIDLED PLUNDER AND UNTOLD CRIMES

50 years ago, on June 30, 1944, Henry Morgenthau, the US Secretary of the Treasury, read out a message from the US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to the delegates from 44 countries attending the UN Monetary and Financial Conference at the scenic New Hampshire mountain resort of Bretton Woods. Describing the Great Depression as "the great economic tragedy of our time" that led to "fascism and finally, war", he envisaged the "creation of a dynamic world economy in which the peoples of every nation will be able to realise their potentialities in peace and enjoy, increasingly, the fruits of material progress on an earth infinitely blessed with natural riches." This, in a nutshell, was the shared vision of Bretton Woods, that gave birth to two new institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the IMF.

50 years later, however, one finds that the fruits of this vision were, after all, shared only by a handful of the rich imperialist countries and the rapacious MNCs leaving the vast majority of the people of the world to destitution and disease, deprivation and alienation; that the "dynamic world economy" has slipped into an unprecedented crisis the like of which has not been witnessed since the Great Depression; that the world has been in a continuous state of war with over 50 local wars in the post-World War II claiming more lives and destroying more material wealth than was witnessed during the Second World War; that fascist and semi-fascist regimes characterise most countries of the world with violation of human rights reaching its zenith in the world at large; that "the earth, infinitely blessed with natural riches" has been depleted of its riches and is being denuded and degraded on an unheard of scale; that the peoples of every nation, instead of realising "their potentialities in peace", find even their minimum abilities and capacities stunted, distorted and suppressed and find themselves at war among themselves.

And, ironically, this 50 years of human "progress" is directly related to the 50 years of meddling with humanity by those very same Bretton Woods institutions.

The IMF and the World Bank, through their macro-economic stabilisation programmes and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP), have been fleecing the people of the entire Third World countries in the most brazen manner with deleterious effects on

people's livelihood, health, housing and environmental conditions.

The bizarre activities and the gory catalogue of crimes perpetrated by these twin monsters in the Third World countries during the 1970s and 1980s are well-documented by several writers. All of them are unanimous in their conclusion that the Fund/Bank policy presentations to the Third World countries inevitably resulted in:

— the aggravation of inequalities and disparities in wealth and incomes between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' and a development bias towards urban sectors;

— drastic reduction in social-welfare measures related to health, education, drinking water, irrigation, poverty alienation, employment generation etc.

— a decline in incomes as seen in a fall in real wages, rise in prices of essential commodities and in unemployment.

— the adoption of 'user charges' i.e. pricing essential services like water, electricity, sanitation etc. whether people can afford to pay or not justifying this by the magic word of free market.

— widespread violation of human rights such as the right to health, housing, livelihood, education and safe environment. Destruction of local knowledge, identity and skill.

— the stifling of democratic institutions and a crack-down on Trade Union activities.

— focus on export-oriented economies like converting the agricultural economies into industrial economies thereby resulting in the restructuring of land ownership and a shift in agricultural patterns spelling disaster to the local economies.

— forced evictions leading to increase in homelessness and landlessness.

— the marginalisation and alienation of the poor and the creation of reserves of 'cheap labour'

— loss of national sovereignty

— the flight of capital from the Third World countries to the imperialist countries and several such disastrous effects.

According to the UNDP 1992, Report, during the

80s, the imperialist countries have received \$ 1.3 trillion from debtor nations which has been called "the greatest transfer ever of public wealth into private hands."

Brutal evictions of the peasantry have taken place in the Philippines, Mexico, South Korea, Botswana and Indonesia - the so-called "success" stories of the IMF's SAP.

The outbreak of cholera in several Latin American countries have directly resulted from IMF's policies of reduction or a total scrapping of subsidies and other social welfare measures. The outbreak of cholera in Peru in mid-91 which quickly spread to Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Equador and Columbia was directly attributed to the IMF's policies by the Director-General of the World Health Organisation. In a press statement issued in Lima, Mr. Hiroshi Nalkajima, the Director-General of WHO said:

"The economic adjustment programme dictated by the IMF, is responsible for the increasing cholera epidemic in Peru. Without doubt, in order to comply with payments claimed by the IMF, Peru now finds itself in a position of not being able to allocate more resources to fight the cholera epidemic."

The IMF and the World Bank have asked country after country in the Third World to open up their economies to foreign capital and goods, to privatise their PSUs so as they may be taken over by the plunderous MNCs, to bring about financial sector reforms to place the contry's financial resources in the hands of the imperialist financial sharks, to scrap all subsidies to the poor and the under-privileged and to reduce the social-welfare schemes, to take up trade reforms thereby placing the prices of the indigenous products on par with the prices in world market and to institute tax reforms to reduce direct taxes and increase indirect taxes thereby directly hitting at the poorer sections of society and so on.

In almost all the countries that have implemented the SAP, growth rates of economy have fallen and unemployment had increased leading to unprecedented stagflation. Since Govt.'s interference is discouraged by the IMF/World Bank and poverty alleviation schemes are seen to be interfering with the markets, mass poverty has resulted in several countries of Third World. The famine in sub-saharan Africa is an offspiring of the IMF/World Bank's policies.

Growing authoritarianism in South Korea and Malaysia, prostitutiion in Thailand, disappearances of a large number of people in Chile and Argentina and strife in much of Latin America are the IMF's gifts to

the Third World people. Several countries have witnessed decline in real wage levels and standards of health and housing.

The most revealing account of the IMF's gory role in many Third World countries has been brought out by Mr. Davison Budhoo, a former IMF and World Bank staffer, in his open letter of resignation. He has exposed the blatant statistical fraud carried out by the IMF in Trinidad and Tobago during 1985-87, laid bare the hypocrisy of the IMF and held it directly responsible for the creation of mass poverty and destitution in most of the Third World countries.

In his scathing indictment of the IMF, Mr. Budhoo had explained as to how the IMF is a law unto itself, how it acts as a Suprenational Power lording over whichever country falls into its vice-like grip; how it has scant regard for the Legislative Executive, and Judicial systems of a country and tramples underfoot the sovereignty of the client-country. It is worth while to quote at length from Mr. Budhoo's letter to understand the role of the IMF on the occasion of its 50th year.

Firstly, in his letter of Resignation addressed to the IMF's Managing Director Mr. Comdessus, he exposes how the IMF rules several Third World Govts. by proxy:

".... in scores of developing countries that are unfortunate enough to fall wihtin our grasp, we hold simultaneously and completely in our hand Legislative and Executive and Judicial Powers over wide-ranging matters relating to national economic and financial policies. We do our own 'tainted' evaluation of economic and financial performance; we write our own Letter of Intent under the name of the Minister of Finance and present it to him for signature; we administer the 'program' specified in the Letter of Intent (this includes determining whether or not the country has met the "performance criteria" that we have established, and whether, therefore, it is eligible, on 'target' dates, to draw down the financial resources that we had committed, and that other supporting institutions had promised)."

(p. 7-8, 'Enough is Enough', Davison L. Budhoo)

The opening of the IMF office in Delhi recently shows how the IMF wants to supervise the day-to-day execution of its dictates by the Government of India. Two years ago there was a furore in the Parliament over the Letter of Intent signed by the GOI which was supposed to have been written by Lewis Preston, the President of the World Bank.

The essence of the so-called Structural Adjustment programmes of the IMF is revealed in all its ugly colours:

"... When we use the term 'structural adjustment,' there is a big difference between what we want others to believe, and what we know to be true. For us the term "structural adjustment" conveys a politically inspired ploy, as against an economic concept that can be measured and evaluated in relation to some criterion of economic efficiency and optimal resource use by the recipient. More specifically, when we talk of "structural adjustment" we have nothing else in mind but an irresistible motivation to implement, in every country of the South, the following political agenda: to call an immediate and complete stop to economic policies that can be interpreted as being in the slightest degree 'socialist' or 'populist' or 'people-oriented', or weighted, however slightly, in favour of the poor and economically underprivileged, or based on the collective, social consensus of the population concerned. All such policies, if they exist, must be summarily scratched, and substituted forthwith with the type of Reaganite free-wheeling capitalism that is so comprehensively built into our 12 to 18 month stand-by arrangements, and our 3 year SAF and ESAF."

"Now as we implement, in each country of the South, this agenda for political transformation, we have no expectation whatsoever that our policies would lead to economic development or enhancement of the social welfare function of our Third World clients; in no instance do we aspire to have our programme set the stage for sustained economic and social transformation - a goal that we hoodwink others to believe that we are out to achieve, We hide behind the mask of 'structural adjustment' to do political things in Third World nations that make all known precepts of economics to look like old hat."

(p. 105)

That the conservative policies of the IMF are totally unsuitable and irrelevant to the needs and conditions of the Third World countries was brought out in a manner that leaves none in doubt: "Self-defeating and unethical as it may seem, what we have done and are doing in Trinidad and Tobago is being repeated in scores of countries around the world, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa. Sometimes we operate with greater restraint, sometimes with less, but the process and the result are always the same: a standard, pompous recital of doctrinaire Fund "advice" given uncompromisingly and often contemptuously and in utter disregard to local conditions and concerns and susceptibilities. It is the norm now rath-

er than the exception, that when our "one-for-all and all-for-one" Fund cap doesn't fit the head for which it is intended, we cut and shave and mangle the head so as to give the semblance of a fit. May be we bust up the head too much in Trinidad and Tobago, but have no illusions that the way we operate throughout the world - the narrow and irrelevant epistemology underlying our work, the airs and affectations and biases and illusions of superiority of our staff vis-a-vis government officials and politicians in the developing world, our outrageous salaries and perks and diplomatic immunities and multiple "entitlements", the ill-gotten, inadvertant power that we revel in wielding over prostrate governments and peoples - can only serve to accentuate world tensions, expand even further the already bulging ranks of the poverty-stricken and destitute of the South, and stunt, worldwide, the human soul, and the human capacity for caring and upholding norms of justice and fairplay."

(p. 5)

Futher elaborating the same theme, he writes:

"Adam Smith and the utopian, absolute laissez faire political economy that goes with the system for the 1950s tending always towards perfect competition was the dream of a few hare-lined and misstuided neo-classical economists desperate for a return of western prosperity within the framework of Pax Atlantica reigning supreme in the post-war world. Yes, yes, these nostalgia hunters would have us all return to the nineteenth century reality of master and slave, of colonial powers and colonized peoples saying prayers in mosques, and lining streets to beg and die, and dancing naked in the jungle in blissful submission to those who were divinely ordained to rape the heritage of others and drain their substance."

"And for forty years, we chased that western dream of more and more prosperity and economic hegemony for North America and Western Europe. We chased it in the most unlikely places and at incalculable cost to hundreds of millions of hapless people in the South. And we knew no justice or fair play, and we had no conscience or soul. And today, still in pursuit of that dream, we point our loaded gun at the Trinidad and Tobago economy and at the economies of scores of other hapless Third World countries, and commit statistical malpractices, and cheat and lie and wheel and deal on the rationale that this is the only way that can safely allow us to plug in "right" figures in our "financial program" - "right" figures that in turn will place us in a position to sing our theme song and fool ourselves that the nostalgic dream of our forebears may yet become a reality".

"Devalue ! Tax the poor ! Remove all subsidies to the underprivileged! Fire the people! Cut out social services! Let the children starve! Let malnutrition of all in the shanty towns be our Performance criteria! Increase prices of bread and Jams and soap and water! Negate the constitution! Kill all hope and aspiration from the heart of the downtrodden! Go back again to saying your prayers in the mosque, and begging in the street, and dancing in the jungle! Turn back the clock two hundred years and let us again be the masters and you the slaves! Lay yourself out in a garbage heap as grist for our Steamroller, our Heaviest Steamroller! Play, Developing World by the rules of the Dream to be Recaptured! Lie prostrate - lie obediently prostrate as our Heaviest steamroller plough through you for glorification of our Founding Fathers and for the pique and career development of our present-day staff!"

"... I ask you to analyse critically our "program" for Trinidad and Tobago - even if you can ignore all the lies and the cheating we had to do there to put "substance" in that program. Analyse it on its merit, as a means of "restoring financial balance", and "structurally adjusting" the Trinidad and Tobago economy. Analyse the existing programs that we have for Peru and Brazil and Guyana and Grenada and the Dominican Republic and Venezuela and Bigeria and Tanzania and Zambia and the Sudan and Vietnam and Bangladesh. Analyse them carefully, Mr. Camdessus, and come back and tell me with a straight face that what we are doing in the Third World is not a total farce that turns all economic logic on its head. Come back and tell me that the mess that we are making of the Third World is not motivated by considerations that are alien to the needs and realities and aspirations of the countries concerned. Come back, Mr. Camdessus, and tell me that - if you can."

(p. 46-47)

Finally, the direct link between the IMF, G-7 and the reverse flow of resources from the Third world to the imperialist countries is laid bare in the concluding part of his letter:

"As matters stand, the G-7 proposes and the Fund/World Bank disposes; we stand ready at every stage to do what the master tells us to do."

"Of course, the G-7 itself never sticks to the 'rules of the game' for, properly functioning multilateralism, is riddled with conflicting interests and perspectives. However, on one thing there is well-nigh consensus; it is this: the major cause of funda-

mental imbalance within the system is the U.S. fiscal deficit, and the inevitable need, because of that deficit and given domestic policies in certain G-7 surplus countries, for a revers out flow of funds from the Third World over a continuing time period and on a fairly massive scale."

"In the Fund, we have come to accept as a fact of life that the United States has the right and privilege to live beyond its means through the accumulation of foreign debt. Equally, we have come to accept as a fact of life that others in the G-7 have the right and privilege to refuse to make themselves less competitive internationally, thus precluding the United States, with no further effort on its part, from exporting more to reduce its balance of payments deficit (closely linked to its fiscal deficit). In this conjuncture, Third World domestic savings, siphoned off as capital flight, has become the most crucial element to maintain Quality of Life in the west. Blood money of the poor and poverty stricken of the South, legally and illegally exported to the west by our well-heeled to limp along. The death and stench of the shanty town allow the west to enjoy Life in Super-Abundance, with all the paraphernalia of Cadillacs and Porches and nuclear weapons and SDIs and B2 bombers."

What quantum of blood money from the poverty-stricken of the South is required to keep the existing system afloat? Well, there is no exact measurement of the stock of Third World capital flight to the West, but most informed recent research puts the figure in the region of from US \$ 800 billion, probably more than equal to the market value of the entire stock of outstanding Third World debt (nominal value of around US \$ 1.3 trillion). The implications of this is clear - if Third World savings in the West in the form of capital flight by a handful of well-heeled transnational residents, undertaken mostly illegally sometimes with the connivance of banks and always under Fund official or unofficial auspices, were allowed to remain in the South, where they were generated and where they belong, there would be no Third World Debt crisis at all, really a stage, to provide the occasion and the instrument for the Fund to force its politically inspired "Structural Adjustment" down the throat of the South. Without the capital flight that we so deliberately generate in our programs, the rug would be pulled from off the feet of our master, and modern-day multilateralism would become as a fish out of water, devoid of its irresistible purpose to emasculate the South and destroy its peoples for glorification of the Fund/World Bnk and a few misguided countries of the West."

(p. 112-113)

□

Com. Mao was a "bandit party" and Com. Mao was the biggest "red bandit" of all with a handsome reward on his head. We are only too proud to be the rightful heirs of these conspirators and bandits. Let the reactionaries, the statusquo-ists and the Indian variety of Mensheviks like VM & Co. proclaim from housetops that we are a bunch of terrorists, anarchists and red bandits. It only confirms our correct revolutionary line. We shall continue to spread red terror in the hearts of the reactionaries in rural Telangana, in the vast tracts of Dandakaranya and shall extend this reign of red terror all over the country. Let the spineless philistines and the reactionaries whose sweet dreams are disturbed by the peasant resistance bemoan: "It's terrible" and that the peasantry is "going too far". We, the revolutionaries, are only too thrilled to see the peasantry upsetting the established reactionary authority of the landlords and the bad gentry. As Com. Mao pointed out:

"To put it bluntly, it is necessary to create terror for a while in every rural area, or otherwise it would be impossible to suppress the activities of the counter-revolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry. Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted."

(MSW Vol-I P. 29)

Referring to the terrorist actions even in the classical bourgeois revolution, Marx wrote in the famous Nene Rheinische zeitung in 1848:

"The whole French terrorism was nothing but a plebeian manner of settling accounts with the enemies of the bourgeoisie, with absolutism, feudalism and philistinism."

The terrorism and anarchy, the People's War is accused of spreading is nothing but the "plebeian way" in which the people wish to settle accounts with the enemies of the ongoing revolution. We place the question squarely to Mr. VM & Co: Is there any other alternative before the revolutionaries than to inspire the people in revolutionary violence? No doubt, there are some avoidable excesses. These are being taken care of through self-critical reviews from time to time and all the people are kept informed.

Liquidationism pure and Simple

Another accusation leveled against us by the "Liberation" group is of elevating "underground struggle to the level of principle."

Instead of replying it ourselves, we would rather request VM & Co to go through their own arguments, in their polemic with PCC, CPI(ML), published serially in "Liberation", April-July '84 issues.

"..... for us the question of building secret apparatus and underground structure is a fundamental and basic question, a matter of principle. Neglecting this task would be, as Lenin described it, a crime to revolution."
(emphasis ours)

To quote further from the above article:

"A necessary training for our cadres consists in learning to protect and develop an underground structure countering the enemy's intelligence. And for your kind information, the majority of our comrades who are working in and for the underground structure are not warranted persons, and a large number of them are not even known to the police."

Well, that was in 1984. When the VM group had taken the first few steps into the abyss of revisionism, they began to advocate for the legalization of their party part by part until finally the entire underground structure lay liquidated. A striking parallel could be witnessed in the history of the Russian revolution which Com. Lenin had pointed out very clearly:

"The liquidators advocate an 'open', legal party. They are now afraid (the workers have made them afraid, and Trotsky advises them to be afraid) to say so plainly. They now say the same thing using little disguises. They say nothing about legalising the party. But they advocate its legalisation by parts!"

(LCW Vol.18 P. 394)

Diametrically opposed to this, and in full conformity with Com. Lenin's teachings on combining the illegal party and legal work, has been the practice of our party. We have consistently been striving to implement Com. Lenin's guidelines that:

"In terms of the form of the organisations, the illegal 'adapts itself' to the legal. But in terms of the content, of the work of our party, legal activity 'adapts itself' to illegal ideas:"

(P.392, Ibid)

VM group's abandoning of underground work and secret party apparatus and legalisation of the party part by part reveals not just its hopeless confusion of concepts but its liquidationism, pure and simple.

We shall briefly trace, for the benefit of our readers, VM's acrobatic jumps from a strictly underground party to a completely legal party.

From Petty-bourgeois Romanticism to Downright Revisionism

The roots of this transformation lie in the petty-bourgeois sectarian romanticism of the VM group and its worship of spontaneity during the decade of 1970s. Even as late as their All India conference in May '79, this group did not have any understanding of the role of mass organisations and mass struggles in the revolution. At a time when our party in AP, having learnt the lessons from the past mistakes through a thorough-going self-criticism, was engaged in building a wide mass base and state-wide militant mass movements through several mass organisations, this group led by the petty-bourgeois romantic revolutionary, Vinod Mishra, rejected in a sectarian manner, all forms of mass struggles, dogmatically stuck to the "line of annihilation as the "only form" (in fact, the VM group was then known as the "only form" group!!) of struggle and accused our party as revisionist(!). It banked upon a spontaneous upsurge of the masses and had no inkling at all as to how to build a mass revolutionary party.

As every Marxist-Leninist knows, there is an inherent connection between Left adventurism and revisionism. Both have a common root, subservience to spontaneity, and a common petty-bourgeois basis. Neither has any confidence in revolutionary mass actions and mass movements. Needless to say, if the leadership of such a group or party does not attempt to make a thorough-going self-criticism of its left adventurism and sectarianism it invariably passes over to revisionism when it faces a severe set back. In the absence of revolutionary leadership that is capable of analysing its past sectarian practice in an objective manner, as was done by our party in AP as early as 1973, the VM group, with its predominantly petty-bourgeois composition serving as a fertile soil for this growth of vacillations and waverings, lost conviction in armed revolution when its romantic subjective dreams of a quick victory of the Indian revolution turned out to be a mere soap bubble, and gradually passed over to bourgeois-reformism.

From "annihilation as the only form" and outright rejection of mass organisations in general, this group suddenly began to float all sorts of mass organisations devoid of any revolutionary content. Just as it imagined in its left-sectarian days that annihilation of a notorious landlord would spontaneously draw the masses into armed uprisings, it now deluded itself that giving a call for a "broad patriotic and democratic front" to oust the "autocratic clique" and floating nonpolitical(!) mass organisations would spontaneously draw the people into the fight against autocracy and

fascism. Our party had clearly warned the VM group as early as 1981-82 that it was pursuing bourgeois-reformist politics and practice, that its mass organisations with general sign-boards such as All Bengal Students Association, All Tamil Nadu Students Union, All India Students Association etc. may appear so much broad-based but in practice will lose the revolutionary direction.

The VM group was as divorced from objective reality in its revisionist 'avatar' of the 80s as in its earlier left sectarian incarnation of the 70s. It began to think of everything only in "All-India" terms. It imagined itself as the national revolutionary alternative. For the sake of an "All-India perspective" it gave up the basic task of building guerilla zones, abandoned armed struggle, opened up the entire party, began to hobnob with bourgeois opposition and even gave unilateral support to the NF-LF combine during the parliamentary elections. It formed the IPF, initially projecting it as an extra-parliamentary national alternative committed to revolutionary struggle, but soon it became not a national alternative, but an alternative to their party itself. Sliding deeper into the Parliamentary mire, VM's party, operating in the name of IPF, soon became corrupted by the atmosphere of the pig-sty and the lure of bourgeois legality. In a word, it was a brazen betrayal of revolution by the leadership of the VM group. No wonder our party's underground structure and illegal work should seem an anathema to these modern heirs of the Second International!

Armed Struggle haunts the desperate liquidationists

The confused commentary says that "upon closer scrutiny" (of the police files?) "one can find that their (PWG's) armed struggle is neither based on Mao Thought nor does it have any resemblance to Birbhum or Bhojpur, or for that matter even the Srikakulam armed struggle with their conscious framework but appears to be based on pure revolutionary desperation."

To say "it appears" is an evasive way of stating the conclusion even after the so-called "closer scrutiny". To have true knowledge of an object one must examine all its facets, its inter-connections and inter-relationships, its change and development. Truth is always concrete and never abstract. Those who do not grasp this do not know the ABC of Marxism or dialectics. Even after "closer scrutiny" if our movement "appears" to be "based on pure revolutionary desperation", who in the world dare teach our writer the method of analysing a movement dialectically!

The Birbhum or Srikakulam armed struggles, inspite of having a conscious framework, had their own limitations arising out of the left sectarian line and the adventurist tactics practiced by our party at that juncture. Moreover, these struggles remained confined to a limited area which made it easier for the enemy forces to encircle and suppress.

In our hatred for revisionism, we rejected all forms of mass organisations and mass struggles. We under-estimated enemy's strength tactically, misunderstood the character of the era and anticipated a quick victory. In our revolutionary impetuosity and our subjective anxiety to make the decade of the 70s the decade of liberation, we declared that Srikakulam had become another Yenan. Due to our wrong tactics and several other adverse factors, these armed struggles led by our party received severe setback within a year or two. The primitiveness of our party organisation and lack of painstaking work of party building showed itself in the fact that, after the setback, we had no organisation at all in these areas of armed struggle to keep the revolutionary spark alive. The same was true of Bhojpur struggle.

These are hard facts and one needs a strong system to digest them. While the VM group could never swallow these facts, our party realised this even by '73. Our party firmly upheld the revolutionary content of these armed struggles while rectifying the negative aspects that contributed to their failure. And based on the lessons drawn from these failures we began to build a conscious mass base, a strong party organisation with a stable nucleus, armed squads under the control of the party and a broad anti-feudal, anti-imperialist alliance at the village-level. The work in urban areas was also consciously planned with a long-term perspective unlike at the time of Naxalbari, and Srikakulam struggles. We have advanced to the primary stage of guerilla zone in Dandakaranya and North Telangana according to a consciously-drawn-out plan and perspective. Our party's guerilla zone perspective and a dozen or so circulars and documents testify these facts. If only the writer had the patience to scrutinise our party documents and practice instead of going for a "closer scrutiny" of police files, he would have had no difficulty in realising that the armed struggle waged by our Party (the "pure armed struggle-wallahs", as the writer compliments us) in Dandakaranya and Telangana is at a far more advanced stage, covers a far more extensive area, and is being waged as per a consciously drawn-out concrete plan under centralized guidance not to speak of a higher conscious frame work than in Srikakulam, Birbhum or Bhojpur. It is due to these factors that our movement is able to sustain and extend inspite of the "encirclement and suppression"

campaigns unleashed by the enemy forces for over a decade.

Is it possible to sustain armed struggle for a decade in the face of massive onslaught by the enemy based on pure revolutionary desperation? Please try to clear up the hopeless muddle and confusion that has befogged your mind. It is your own party, dear writer, that has gone over to bourgeois reformism out of sheer desperation arising out of your failure to make any headway in the armed struggle in Bhojpur and Patna. Recognition of the significant advances made by the People's War in its armed struggle by way of building the guerilla zones, will no doubt land you in an awkward position. For, it amounts to the admission of the mistakes in your party line which maintains that objective balance of forces in the country at present is not conducive for the development of armed struggle. Clearly, the specter of guerilla zone is haunting the liquidationist VM clique.

Right Danger is the Main Danger

Lastly, we are accused of forming a separate centre "with the professed aim of fighting the 'Left' deviation in CM's line" as represented by VM group. This is a gross distortion of history.

Right from the time of the severe setback after the martyrdom of Com. CM, our party's consistent stand has been that revisionism is the main danger both nationally and internationally. We have waged a bitter political struggle against the right opportunist trend represented by T. Nagi Reddy, C.P. Reddy, D.V. Rao, S.N. Singh and the like. The revolutionary-minded people are all aware of our party's consistent defence of the revolutionary struggles of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, the great revolutionary contribution of Com. CM and the historic significance of the formation of CPI(ML). The political articles written by KS in PILUPU (an organ published in '73 to '75) and Red Flag as well as our party documents establish this beyond any doubt.

On the other hand, though we were clear about the 'Left' deviation in your group's political line and practice of this time, we did not publish any article against you since we had the hope that you may gradually realise it from your own experience. Moreover, the fight against the 'Right' danger was perceived by our party to be one of the principal political tasks at that time.

Your left sectarianism, on the other hand, by dogmatically upholding even the glaringly negative aspects in our movement during the period 1967-72 that are clearly evident even to a layman, only helped

strengthen the position of the revisionists and gave sustenance to their willy arguments.

The acrobatics performed by your group led by VM divorced from ground realities ever since its so-called re-organisation of the CC in the July '79 All India conference and took the slide into revisionist morass at the 3rd congress in '83 to reach the rock-bottom of the abyss of revisionism at the 4th congress in '88. All these teach us in a negative way what a revolutionary party ought not to do.

In the international plane, your abandoning of established M-L positions with regard to the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet Union, your capitulation to Dengist modern revisionism and your cunning arguments to assert the existence of socialism in the social-imperialist countries - all these show the extent to which a party can degenerate once it gives up class struggle.

To cut a long story short, to refute your charges against us, we request you to go through a few lines form your own reply to Kanu Sanyal's OCCR when it leveled some charges similar in spirit against your group in 1984. In the article entitled "co-ordination Hotch-Potch Vs united party" published in "Liberation", Jan, 1985, you wrote thus:

"You, who consider maligning the revolutionary traditions and the revolutionary leadership of CPI(ML) your central task; you, who consider shedding of their precious blood by countless martyrs under the red banner of CPI(ML) simply as wastage for an anarchist cause; you, who consider the revolutionary peasant struggles in the plains, heights and forests of Andhra, that mobilised thousands and thousands of peasants advancing the tradition of Naxalbari as simply the handiwork of few terrorists; you, who cherish the fond hope of setbacks in these struggles; you, who refer to the underground only in disdain; you, who hobnob with the bourgeois opposition, what else are you but liquidationists to the core? Your brave talks of armed struggle are meant for consumption of the ranks. The

Indian police by now, have become mature enough to distinguish between those who gossip about armed struggle in coffee shops and those who engage in armed struggle in the battle-field."

Forceful words indeed!

But what an irony that these very same words today mock at you and become a forceful reply to your accusations and lies against People's War!

The wheel, at last, has turned a full circle. By going back to CPM's position existing prior to the formation of CPI(ML) and advocating for the unity of the CPI, CPM and CPI(ML) (see VM's answer to the Nepali students published in the Nov. '90 issue of "Liberation"), you stand guilty before the entire revolutionary people for negating the very formation of CPI(ML) and the revolutionary ideals it stood for, and for negating the glorious Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Birbhum and other armed peasant struggles. You are guilty of debasing the countless sacrifices of our beloved martyrs who had laid down their lives in the course of these glorious struggles.

Dear Comrades, Revolutionaries!

It is high time the rank and file of the "Liberation" group who still have revolutionary potentialities left, throw out the right opportunist, liquidationist leadership or, if that is not possible, to liberate themselves from the bourgeois-reformist clutches of "Liberation" group and join the genuine revolutionaries.

"There is one, and only one, kind of real struggle, and that is - working whole-heartedly for the development of revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle at all times. Everything else is deception and Manilovism (futile day-dreaming - *Ed.*)"

Either join the real revolutionary struggle or become accomplices in your leadership's crime of brazen betrayal of revolution. There is no middle way. □

(BSP : contd From P. 17)

in different areas. While in those backward areas where feudal oppression is severe, it breaks out in the form of land struggles, in those relatively developed areas, it comes out as social struggle against caste discrimination, due to growth of self-awareness amongst Dalits. In whatever form it may break out, it is the bounden duty of all revolutionaries, to advance that struggle, to develop it into class struggle, and to try for establishment of socialist society devoid

of caste oppression, exploitation, and oppression, as that struggle is a struggle against feudalism. While it is so, it will be putting the horse behind the cart, to propose such theories and slogans like "First the caste issue and then the land issue", "Power to the Bahujans" etc. The BSP's policies on the land question and minorities question are exactly like this. These policies will show no effect either on the feudal relations or class relations in the villages - they will remain as they are. The situation will remain as it. Even though

here and there a dalit may become a 'surpunch', a MLA, a big officer due to reservation of seats, it won't change the situation, it will remain as it is or at best some individuals amongst dalits become "upper class Dalits". But the oppressed caste masses will gain nothing from it. The oppressed castes, classes will get no benefit from Kanshi Ram's BSP, as it has no proper understanding or programme on the land question. The BSP will practically serve the interests of the big landlord class.

In the coastal districts of AP, the social awareness amongst the dalits developed through many struggles. From 1985 onwards, the phenomenon of landlords massacring the dalits in broad day light, as they could not tolerate the growing awareness amongst dalits, is on the increase. The incident in Karamchedu village of Prakasam district during the TDP regime, and the incident in Chundururu village of Guntur district in 1991, during congress regime, both illustrate this point. In both these incidents a well planned 'programme' was conducted against Dalits. Neither in the erstwhile regime of TDP nor in the present regime of Congress, no punishment was meted out to the culprits responsible for this gory crime. During that time, some who came forward posing as 'dalit leaders' merely confined themselves to one or two speeches and tried to rouse the militancy of the people. But on the other hand, the local organs of our Party and the mass organisation stood firmly behind the dalits, and mobilised the people in to struggles against the ruling classes and upper caste landlords. Moreover, our Party lent its hand in support of the people in meeting out punishment to the main culprit, and brain behind the Karamchedu incident, the notorious usurer and landlord Chenchu Ramaiah, a close relative of the then TDP Chief Minister NTR. It is quite necessary to expose the acts of those so-called "dalit leaders" who are coming forward taking the banner of BSP, and who are trying to divert the Dalits of coastal districts, who under the influence of ongoing class struggles in Telangana districts, are preparing to militantly take up social struggles, from the struggle path and lead these dalits into the cesspit of elections.

The vast majority of dalits in the rural areas are landless labourers and without a redistribution of land, their emancipation is impossible. The BSP programme has nothing to bring about such a redistribution. It has no land reform programme.

Moreover, while attacking Brahminical Hindu order through rhetoric the BSP has no concrete anti-feudal programme. It is the feudal relations that are acting as a fetter to the further development of the productive forces in the country. Without rooting out

feudalism, it is impossible to achieve any real transformation of the Indian society, it is impossible to develop the productive forces by utilising the land and the vast natural resources and the unlimited human potentialities and it is impossible to root out the caste inequalities.

Kanshi Ram's ideas with regard to the role of women are no different from those of the upper cast Hindu fascist forces. He is on record saying, "women have no place in politics. They have to be confined to home in order to fulfill their necessary duties."

For centuries, the Indian women have suffered, under the oppression of feudalism, upper caste chauvinism, and male-chauvinism, and later by imperialism, thus making up a quadruple oppression. Dalit woman is the most deprived, socially and economically, in our society. It is for her that there is the utmost need to root out the Brahminical casteist Hindu order that sanctifies the inferior position of women in society through the Manu Dharma Shastras and other reactionary feudal scriptures. If mobilised, the dalit women can be the most consistent fighters against the caste system and against all the patriarchal feudal values and culture. Kanshi Ram, who swears that his party stands for social transformation and economic emancipation of the dalits and bahujans, denies an active role to women who constitute half of the population and advises them to confine themselves to domestic duties. This is neo-Brahmanism in the guise of dalit liberation.

No Economic Programme

Although the BSP came into existence in 1984 it has not yet spelt out its programme to make India a self-reliant economy. It has no clear-cut solutions to the real problems faced by the vast majority of the people such as poverty, unemployment, inflation, illiteracy, corruption etc. It has no anti-imperialist programme and has not even expressed its opposition to the Indian Govt.'s signing of the GATT Treaty and the various pro-imperialist policies pursued by the Indian ruling classes. It is clear even to a layman today that there cannot be real economic progress in the country without eliminating the imperialist stranglehold on the Indian economy, society and polity abolishing with feudalism.

As the burden of the imperialist crisis is increasingly pushed on to the backs of the Indian people, various sections of the people have been coming out into struggles: the working class against retrenchments, wage-cuts, lay-offs, lock-outs etc.; the peasantry for remunerative prices for their produce and against

the scrapping of fertiliser subsidy, against the hike in the rates of water, electricity, transport and the increasing costs of agricultural inputs, against Intellectual Property Rights; the students against the increasing costs of education and the scrapping of subsidies and scholarships; and various toiling sections against the soaring prices of essential commodities and growing unemployment. The struggles by the people of the various oppressed nationalities have intensified during the past decade posing a challenge to the ruling classes.

What is the attitude of the BSP towards these struggles of various sections of the people affected by the imperialist onslaught? Has it any programme to meet these demands?

The economic programme of the BSP is no different from that of any other ruling class Party. It is the same Mulayan Singh Yadav's Govt. which ordered police firing on workers killing seven in Datta when they were agitating against the Govt.'s move to hand over the public sector UP Cement Corporation to the Dalmas for a paltry sum in 1991. Today the SP-BSP Govt. in UP, by privatising 8 sugar mills, is continuing the same policies of the Cong.(I). It is as loyal to the comprador-bourgeois, big-landlord classes and to imperialism as the Cong.(I) and the BJP. It has no programme of taking over the industries of the comprador big-bourgeoisie and confiscating imperialist capital. It has no programme to annul external debt incurred by the Indian Govt. and to bring India out of the debt trap. The policies of the SP-BSP combine will take the country along the path dictated by imperialism and the Indian ruling classes the only difference being the caste composition of such a Govt. The ruling classes, caught in the midst of a severe all-round crisis, and finding their trusted political representatives like the Cong.(I), Janata Dal, BJP getting more and more discredited in the eyes of the people, find it easier to continue their exploitation and rule through their new "backward-dalit" political representatives. It is easier to fool the people through such a guise. For a while they would be able to lull the people under fresh illusions of a Bahujan raj.

It is the same old game played by the British imperialists. When they found it impossible to carry on their rule in the old way, they reconciled themselves to transfer power to their compradors who can keep their interests intact. Today the upper caste ruling elite may transfer governmental power to their dalals among backward castes and dalits while retaining the real power unto themselves.

A party without an anti-imperialist programme

will only take the country and the vast majority of the people into more and more imperialist bondage and suffering. That the BSP has no anti-imperialist programme shows that it has tied itself directly to the interests of the Indian ruling classes and imperialism.

Reviving Illusions In Parliamentary Democracy

The BSP, by putting forth its one-point programme of forming Bahujan Govts. in various states and at the centre through the ballot and claiming that only through such a course can caste be eliminated, has been trying to give a new lease of life to the dying corpse of parliamentary democracy.

The people have long lost faith in the parliamentary system and have realised from their own experience that election is but a devious means adopted by the various parliamentary parties to renew their license to (mis) rule for the next five years. Four decades of elections have not brought any betterment in the living conditions of the masses. Today virtually every parliamentary party stands thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people. The crisis of the parliamentary system is so deep that no party is in a position to form a stable government of its own. Either coalition governments or minority governments with outside support have become the order of the day. People have taken to the extra-parliamentary methods even to solve their day-to-day demands.

The ruling classes themselves bypass the parliament whenever they find it cumbersome and rule through ordinances. The Parliament is neither consulted nor informed about several crucial policy decisions which are taken by the respective ministries/departments or the Prime Minister himself at the behest of the IMF/World Bank or some imperialist government.

At such a critical juncture, the BSP had stepped in to once again revive illusions among the people in the Parliament and to divert the peoples wrath into parliamentary channels. Whether it intends to do it consciously or not, the objective result will be to appease the masses and thereby help the ruling classes.

Is it possible to bring about a basic change in the lives of the oppressed people and to eliminate caste inequalities by forming a Govt. of backward castes and dalits? Does such a Govt. imply political power to the Bahujans as claimed by the BSP?

The real power lies not in the Parliament and Assemblies but in the hands of landlords, capitalists, money-lenders, banks, MNCs and other owners of

property who exercise it through the state machinery. If Parliament and the Assemblies become a hindrance, they will be bypassed or done away with. Even if a genuine political party acquires a majority in the Parliament (most unlikely for all practical purposes) it will not be able to implement any of its policies without first destroying the old state machinery. The whole state machinery in India is so much communalised and biased against the dalits and the minorities that to expect justice from it would be asking for the impossible. The only solution will lie in smashing the entire state apparatus and replacing it by one committed to the people. It is also amusing to see Kanshi Ram expressing his faith in the Indian constitution which is actually the guardian and the protector of private property. Without replacing the present constitution lock stock and barrel, there is no scope at all for obtaining social justice to dalits.

To speak about the BSP's tactics more specifically, it is clear that it can hope to come to power only through an electoral alliance of the various backward castes, dalits and minorities. In this alliance the weightage will invariably be in favour of the BCs, both on account of their sheer numbers (40 to 50%) as well as the economic clout they have. And among the BCs, it is the dominant landowning castes which will actually be wielding the governmental power. In UP, it is the Yadav's and Kurmis - the two dominant land owning castes among the BCs - who are in control of the Govt. formed by the SP-BSP combine.

The BSP itself has made a Kurmi the leader of its legislature Party in UP though Chamar MLAs form the biggest group. The State Party President of BSP is also a Kurmi. Dalit masses once again become a mere votebank and passive spectators in the power games played by their leaders. While Brahmins and Rajputs were the worst oppressors of dalits under the earlier Govts., Kurmis and Yadavs become the new tormentors under the Bahujan dispensation. Most of the atrocities that have taken place in the past few months under the SP-BSP Govt. are found to have been perpetrated by the Yadavas and Kurmis both of whom are partners in the new political alliance. Even in Bihar it was found that during the rule of Janata Party after 1977, out of the dozen or so ghastly attacks on dalits, eight were committed by the Backward castes.

For the BSP which is bent upon acquiring a few ministerial posts for itself, such humiliation and injustice meted out to the dalits is tolerable. Its plans to lure the Kapus into the electoral alliance in AP will only result in placing power in the hands of the Kapus

who are no less tormentors of the dalits than the Kammas and other FCs.

Thus the BSP's aim of forming Bahujan Govts. through elections and its slogan of "Political Power to the Bahujans!" will only place the reins of power in the hands of the affluent and dominant castes among the BCs denying any say to the most backward sections and the mass of the dalits. The caste inequalities and atrocities would continue as ever.

Political Power to the Bahujans can be really achieved not by parliamentary means but by building a grass-roots-level movement of the oppressed of all castes on common demands under the leadership of the dalits. without dalit leadership "political power to Bahujans" will be only rhetoric even at the village level. Dalit leadership at the village level, established through the process of class struggle and struggle against caste discrimination, is a real guarantee to check the atrocities by the upper and intermediate castes on dalits. By giving up the dalit leadership at the village level and placing the fate of the dalits in the hands of a Govt. led by the affluent castes among the BCs, Kanshi Ram's BSP has doubly betrayed the trust of the mass of dalit voters.

Authoritarian Style of Functioning

Coming to its functioning and party structure, one finds that the BSP has no internal democracy whatsoever. How can a Party without internal democracy ensure democracy for the people at large? From its very inception, the BSP has been a one-man dictatorship and has been coordinating its activities through a small coterie. Formation of second-line leadership is deliberately discouraged.

Kanshi Ram himself had declared openly that what he required was not leaders but only followers. He had also stated that worship of the individual cult is an imperative need for any movement and that he had discovered this need from the experiences of Indian as well as world histories.

In a way, though paradoxical it may seem, Kanshi Ram is emulating the very same authoritarian Brahminical traditions and culture against which he is supposed to be fighting. In his style of functioning, Kanshi Ram is no different from a NTR, a Rajiv Gandhi or an Indira Gandhi. It is bound to give rise to serious internal dissension, open rebellion from the ranks and to splits as is already becoming evident.

Conclusion

The results of the UP elections point to a certain growth of democratic consciousness among the dalits and the socially backward castes. At the same time, the emergence of the BSP as a new champion of these castes points to the failure of the Indian Communist Movement in channeling the struggles of the oppressed castes in a revolutionary direction.

The assertion of the oppressed castes does not only reflect their aspiration to be free from upper caste domination. Lying beneath are the aspirations of an oppressed class to be free from all types of exploitation. As communist revolutionaries, we must recognise this close inter twining of the class-caste aspirations among the oppressed.

Our Party - People's War - has consistently held the view that the struggle of the oppressed castes against caste inequalities and discrimination is a democratic struggle and forms an integral part of the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in our country. We had all along drawn a line of demarcation between the organisations/associations of the dalits and other oppressed castes for the defence of their rights and the upper-caste organisations which are formed for maintaining their age-old caste-class hegemony. In spite of the limitations of the policy of 'reservation', and its reformist nature, we were in the forefront of the struggles for the reservation for dalits and the backward castes, in the struggle for the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations and in the struggle of the BCs, in AP during TDP rule in 1986.

As a result of our mobilisation of the oppressed of all castes into revolutionary class struggles in rural Telangana, we could succeed to an extent in ending caste discrimination in the region. However, we could not intervene actively in the movements of the dalits and the other socially oppressed castes in other regions. We must take it as our duty to more effectively lead the movement of the oppressed castes against upper-caste chauvinism and caste inequalities as part of the wider revolutionary class struggle for the elimination of class inequalities. It is due to the failure on the part of the Communist Movement that the bourgeois parliamentary parties and exclusively caste-based parties are able to divert the oppressed masses of these castes into reactionary and reformist channels.

The BSP is only a new addition to the existing parliamentary parties that try to utilise the growing awakening among the dalits, minorities and other oppressed castes for their narrow political interests. It has no programme at all for bringing about social trans-

formation and economic emancipation of the dalits and other oppressed castes. Its economic policies are no different from those of the other ruling class parties. They are bound to take the country deeper into crisis and increase the imperialist stranglehold over the country's economy. Its sole aim is to capture governmental power by striking an alliance with other ruling class parties. Its authoritarian style of functioning cannot bring democracy to the oppressed castes and people at large.

The growing aspirations among the oppressed castes cannot be fulfilled by the SP-BSP Govt. in UP. Liberalisation and other New Economic Policies adopted by the Indian ruling classes have already resulted in a drastic reduction of the subsidies to the poor and cuts in social welfare schemes. The ever-deepening crisis in the world economy and Indian economy gives no scope to the Indian ruling classes to meet the growing aspirations of the people. This is bound to give rise to a new wave of militant struggles on the part of the oppressed whose democratic aspirations have been roused tremendously. The BSP cannot fool the dalit masses for long: it will have to either support these militant struggles of the masses or crush these struggles on behalf of the ruling classes and imperialism.

The dalit assertion is bound to intensify their conflict with the dominant backward castes like Yadavas and Kurmis as is being witnessed in UP today. The dalits are bound to realise very soon that the SP-BSP Govt. is not their Govt. and that it can in no way halt the caste atrocities being perpetrated upon them and that the only solution lies in organising a militant non-parliamentary movement from below against caste oppression and linking this up with the New Democratic Revolution with Agrarian Revolution as its axis.

The attempts by the leadership of the BSP to divert dalits and other oppressed castes into parliamentary channels must be defeated by mobilising at the grass-roots level and promoting dalit leadership over these movements.

We must evolve appropriate forms of organisation and struggle and specific slogans to fight caste oppression and thus rally the vast masses of dalits who harbour illusions on the BSP and other exclusively caste-based organisations. We must adopt a policy of forging a common front with the cadres of such organisations on specific issues related to caste discrimination while taking care to expose the bourgeois reformist nature and limitations of their leadership.

CM is one such. It is designed to enable the party to withstand the onslaught of Bahujana Samaj Party (BSP). It will be no wonder, if in the allotment of seats, the dalit and backward caste candidates get the lion's share. As, for the congress party, which fostered its own section among the dalits and backward castes, there is no dearth of the likes of Jagjivan Rams and Koneru Ranga Raos. Irrespective of who gets the major share in the seats, - whether forwards or backwards and dalits - the real power will always be wielded by the big-bourgeoisie - big landlord classes (the upper caste landlords, Ex-Zamindars, big industrialists). Though the Congress Party has many factions and as many leaders, their conflicts and factional fights are solely for a share in the loot and they have nothing to do with people's problems. There is virtually no difference between these factions in the way they oppress the people. The Andhra Congress organisation consists of notorious faction leaders, like Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, Chenna Reddy, Janardhana Reddy etc. Though they fight tooth and nail amongst themselves, they all adopt the same attitude, and come out and act in unison on any of one of the people's struggles in any region of Andhra, be it an anti-liquor struggle or a patta land occupation struggle - that is to deploy para-military forces and crush those movements with savage force. That is why all these faction leaders are rallying around the leadership of PVN and are appealing to the people to vote them back to power.

The picture in Karnataka is no different. In Karnataka the last five years of Congress rule passed with a Moily replacing a Bangarappa and is marked by rampant corruption and heinous anti-people acts. During these five years not a single basic problem of the people was resolved. The Ex.CM Bangarappa, started his own regional out fit, the Karnataka Congress Party (KCP) and is coming before the people posing as the champion of weaker sections, to win a few seats and thus claim a share in the loot. The Congress and the Karnataka Congress are vying with each other in showering love and affection on the weaker sections of the society. The recent act of the Moily Govt. enhancing the reservation quota, in imitation of Tamil Nadu Govt., is nothing but a desperate ploy employed to dupe the people and there by gain votes. The Janata Dal or what remains of it in Karnataka, with a motley gathering of leaders like Rama Krishna Hegde, Deva Gowda, SR Bommai etc.; is fighting with its back to the wall for mere survival. The BJP, which tasted blood in the last elections, is getting ready to strike; with a fond hope of riding to power on Hindu votes, it is inciting Hindu communal sentiments by raking up issues like 'Hubli Idgah Maidaan'.

In AP, the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) is entering the arena, devoting its entire energies for coming back to power. The Telugu people under-went untold hardships and miseries during the 7 years of one man autocratic rule of the TDP. NTR put to shame his predecessors in the brutal oppression he employed against the people's movement. He particularly let loose a reign of cruel suppression against the class struggle that was developing at that time under our Party's leadership. And since then he has not changed his track. Though he was the leader of opposition in the AP Assembly, he never bothered himself with any of the basic problems of the masses. When the anti-liquor agitation of Andhra people, especially of the Telugu woman, was sweeping the entire state like a tidal wave, NTR, who increased the Governmental revenues through liquor auction by hundreds of crores, and in the way lined his own pocket with a few crores, only joined that movement at its fag end posing as though he was its initiator and leader. The history of 7 years of NTR's rule is a history of brutal suppression of Dalit, Backward caste people's struggles for the realisation of their sectional demands. It is a history of shielding the culprits of Karamchedu Dalit massacre. TDP has no less role than any other party in encouraging and fostering factional feuds in Rayala Seema region. Both the TDP and Congress stand as equals in the game of mutual defections. NTR, for whom 'Telugu people's self-respect' became the catch word, drowned every heroic struggle of Telugu people in rivers of blood. The TDP proved itself to be a party of the local big bourgeoisie and big landlords. NTR, who went on talking about the imbalances in center-state relations in a grandiose manner, finally prostrated before the Congress Party on that issue. Rama Rao's autocratic rule was no different from that of the Congress variety. In this election farce the two autocrats are coming before the people, appealing to them to choose which autocrat they want to rule the state.

The BJP which having won elections in four states and having emerged as the largest opposition party in '91 elections, regarded Delhi throne as some thing already in its pocket, went on rampage, leading to the destruction of Babri Masjid. Having been badly mauled in Northern India in the subsequent elections, it is now making desperate attempts to gain a foot hold in South India. The BJP is dreaming of capturing the Delhi throne on the strength of Hindu votes, and is inciting Hindu communal chauvinism all over the country, by way of an Idgah Midaan issue in Karnataka, and an Alkabeer issue in Andhra. It is an our right Hindu fascist party. The BJP leaders are laying tall claims that their party is a party without a single blemish while hiding the fact that their party supported and

is supporting almost all the policies of the Congress Govt. in Parliament, and the fact that it was thanks to their party's support that the minority Govt. of PVN could continue to be in office. The BJP's history is also a history of accepting all the national and international policies of Congress Party, bowing to and accepting the hegemony of WB and IMF, and of crushing peoples struggles. The blood the Sangh Parivar spilled in its quest for power is the blood of the poor and minorities of the country. The BJP's history in AP is a history of its standing in the forefront in opposing and resisting the class struggles. The BJP, in all its history, never took up even one struggle on behalf of the toiling masses of the country. It's motto is to gain votes through Yagnas, Yagas Temples so on and so forth.

The BSP supremo Kanshi Ram, whose party is sharing power with Mulayam's Samajwadi Party in UP, by virtue of its winning a few seats, is dreaming of capturing the Delhi throne, by winning the elections in Andhra, and by getting a stronger foot hold in some more states during the next elections. The BSP leaders are maintaining a calculated silence on issues like Agrarian revolutionary movements, Nationally struggles, and people's struggles against religious chauvinism. Kanshi Ram's policies are no different from the policies of Congress Party which is selling out the country. Kanshi Ram's method is to attract in to his fold those elements who are holding leadership positions in various political parties, in the name of Dalit and backward castes. In AP, in addition to these elements, they are also recruiting well-known police agents. With a view to capitalise the growing people's indignation against upper caste exploiting classes as a result of class struggles, the BSP is trying to turn into votes the anti-TDP, anti-Congress feelings prevailing in the oppressed masses of Andhra. Towards this end the BSP people are making announcements that if they are voted to power, they will withdraw the para-military forces, and the TADA act, will lift the ban on our Party and other mass organisations, posing these issues as if they are the fundamental issues of the people. Though it may seem to be strange the fact is that the BSP is maintaining complete silence on such basic issues like the land question, the people's movement, civil liberties, awarding punishments to guilty higher police officials and the leaders backing them etc. The BSP is accepting the same constitution which the other bourgeoisie parties are painting as Ambedkar's constitution and are utilising its provisions to implement anti-people policies.

And the revisionist parties, the CPI, and CPI(M), while serving as a faithful lackeys of the Congress at center, in AP, they are prostrating before NTR, beg-

ging a few more seats. The history of the revisionist parties is a history of long abandonment of class struggles, and of forgetting about the oppressed masses while serving as faithful lackeys of the ruling classes. The CPM's history in Andhra in particular, is a history of siding with the ruling classes in the suppression of the people's movements which our Party built.

The 'Praja Pandha' group in AP, which goes under the banner of an ML group, considers our Party as its main enemy. It armed itself, joined hands with the police - launched attacks on our Party, choosing the liquidation of class struggles and fight against people as its main path. We appeal to the oppressed masses to consider the Praja Pandha group and its leadership which is serving the ruling classes as enemies of the people.

Another ML group in AP, the 'Jana Sakthi' and 'Prathi Ghatana' groups are afflicted with right opportunism, and made election politics as their main plank. While saying that they take elections as tactics on the other hand they are putting limits on people's initiative and militancy in Telangana districts of AP. While going on talking about protracted People's War, they have abandoned the Godavari valley struggle, are maintaining nominal peasant guerilla squads, and by denying in practice to advance the class struggle to a higher stage are succumbing to right opportunism. The task before Jana Shakti group is to make a through self criticism atleast now, and to have the courage to fight, to intensify the class struggle, and move ahead with the aim of building guerilla zones and base areas. Let us leave it to history as to what attitude they will adopt.

The people and the democrats of Andhra know very well that in all the elections that were held in Andhra since 1978, votes are getting polled only through the repression and intervention by para military forces - this especially so in the case of Telangana districts. This time the officials will severely try to force the people to vote not only in Telangana districts, but also in other areas where the movement extended, by threatening them that 'they will kill in an encounter, any person who does not vote!' The Congress which is in power both at center and state will deploy thousands of additional paramilitary forces, and will by force get votes in its favour. All the other bourgeois parties will extend their support to those policies. People have to resist and fight against these policies. The guerilla squads should mobilise people and organise struggles. Towards this end our programme in AP should be as follows: (In Karnataka, an election boycott campaign should be conducted mobilising students and youths. They should propagate those demands that are appli-

cable to this state from amongst the demands given below):

Programme

The BSP, SP, Vimochana and Pratighatana parties can be allowed to carry on election propaganda in Telangana and Dandakaranya areas if they publicly exhibit favourable attitude towards the following democratic demands. Even then, we must expose among the people the deceitful opportunist policies of the BSP-SP leadership and carry on propaganda among the people not to vote for these parties. We must expose among the people the right-opportunist policies of the Vimochana and Pratighatana parties who are sabotaging the line of armed struggle chanting the name of revolution and urge the people not to vote for them. We must prepare the people to challenge these parties to declare publicly their attitude towards the democratic demands and to accost them that they cannot serve people's interests through these elections and that they only serve the exploiting ruling classes through participating in elections.

The people should be asked to challenge and drive away the candidates of BSP, SP, Janasakthi and Pratighatana parties and the independent candidates who do not publicly declare in favour of the democratic demands of the people of Telangana and Dandakaranya. However we should not resort to physical attacks against them or destroy their vehicles. But at the same time the candidates of any party who bring police escorts to counter us should be driven away through all possible methods. Similarly, we must fully expose and hinder the attempts of those who incite factional feuds in villages as part of electioneering and those who distribute liquor and money among the people.

We must extensively propagate among the Dalits that it is not possible to abolish castes without abolishing feudalism, the basis of caste hegemony, caste chauvinism, and the very caste system in India, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism and their exploitation and oppression; that this is the main reason behind the failure of the struggles being waged for a long time against caste hegemony; that although caste domination and caste malice can be controlled to some extent through parliamentary path it is impossible to root-out caste by this way; and that therefore the Dalits should integrate themselves in armed struggle and the protracted peoples war.

People's Demands:

1. (a) Encounter killings should be stopped; Judicial enquiry should be conducted into all encounter deaths.

- (b) All naxalite prisoners should be regarded as political prisoners, all cases against them should be scrapped and they should be released.
 - (c) The police and para-military camps should be lifted.
 - (d) Para-military forces should be withdrawn from Telangana and Dandakaranya.
 - (e) TADA and other black laws should be scrapped.
 - (f) The ban on People's War Party and all mass organisations should be cancelled.
 - (g) The police officers responsible for encounter killings and atrocities on women should be punished.
 - (h) All special police forces should be abolished.
 - (i) People's houses and Martyrs' memorials raged by the police should be rebuilt.
 - (j) Compensation must be paid for all people's properties destroyed by the police.
 - (k) Bribes extracted from people by police officers should be refunded.
2. Landlords' patta lands should be distributed to agricultural labour and poor peasants.
 3. Drive away GATT, IMF, World Bank, MNCs, imperialists and particularly US imperialists.
 4. Fight against Caste domination, male domination, religious chauvinism and especially Hindu chauvinism.
 5. (a) Prices of essential commodities, school fees, house tax, water tax, professional tax and other taxes and levies should be reduced.
(b) Subsidies and funds for welfare measures should be enhanced.
 6. (a) Retrenchment of workers and closure of industries should be stopped.
(b) Oppose selling of public sector industries to Multi-nationals.
(c) Employment should be provided to all unemployed.
 7. (a) Condemn repression over all nationality struggles.
(b) The para-military and military from Kashmir, Punjab and North-east states, and the para-military forces from the Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Dandakaranya and other regions should be sent back.
 8. Indian troops should be brought back from the UN peace keeping forces.

Important slogans in the Election boycott campaign:

1. Boycott the fake elections. Exploitation and oppression in society will not end through elections. Only through the barrel of the gun oppressed people can achieve political power.
2. Land to the tiller: Forest belongs to the Adivasis.
3. Intensify armed struggle to develop guerilla zones with the aim of setting up liberated areas.
4. Long Live protracted People's War.
5. All powers to village committees.
6. Fight against upper caste domination and landlords' attacks against Dalits.
7. Fight against religious chauvinism, especially Hindu Chauvinism and the Hindu chauvinist fascist organisations such as BJP, RSS, VHP, Bajarangdal.
8. Drive out GATT, IMF, World Bank, MNCs, imperialists and especially the American imperialists from Indian soil.
9. Congress(I), BJP, Janata Dal, Telugu Desam, AIADMK, DMK, Karnataka Congress, CPI, CPI(M), MCPI are all parties of exploiting classes.
10. BSP and SP are parties which deceive people and serve the interests of the exploiting classes.
11. Long live - New Democratic Revolution.

(Struggle reports : Contd... from P. 18)

chappals in the van of the procession. Then a panchayat was held with one thousand people who ordered that the legs of both the fellows should be broken. The punishment was executed then and there. Then the landlords hatched a plan and torched Mirsa's house while all were asleep. Somehow the family could escape the fire. Later the culprits were brought before the panchayat and were paraded half-shaven in the village. Eight thousand rupees were collected from landlord as fine and the muslim family's house was reconstructed in which 300 people participated.

This has greatly enhanced the unity of all the oppressed irrespective of caste and religion against the landlords. This proves emphatically that the communalists and castiests can be rebuffed effectively if the oppressed are properly led in real anti-feudal struggles. Such mass anti-feudal struggles in rural areas are the only penaca for the cancer of communal and castiest disharmony the reactionaries are wantonly spreading.

□

What is going on today in this country is the fascist dictatorship of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois feudal classes, in the guise of democracy, propped up and abetted by the police, para-military and military force. It is not at all real democracy. All political parties which advocate coming to power through elections are those who would enforce the dictatorship of the exploiting classes, what ever garb they may done today. The history of parliament all over the world has already proved this. The history of Indian parliament also is a part of this and can never be anything else. No parliamentary party can carry on even for a single day in the semi-colonial and neo-colonial countries without bowing to the dictates of imperialists and crushing the democratic rights of the people. That is why nothing can be achieved through parliamentary democracy. So, during the period of these elections, we must carry on wide-ranging propaganda among the masses that voting should be boycotted and peoples army should be built by joining in guerilla squads to build the political power of the oppressed masses so as to achieve liberation from exploitation and oppression of the class, caste, nation and gender, and that the only way to achieve this is armed struggle and that all power should belong to peoples organisations only. □

PRISON COMRADES' SOLIDARITY

About 120 comrades imprisoned in Warangal prison have fore-gone one meal per day for 10 days in a row and donated the amount thus saved Rs. 4,174 to the welfare of earthquake victims of Latur and Osmanabad in Maharashtra.

The 34 revolutionaries languishing in Warangal prison observed Indravelli Martyrs' Day on 20 April and celebrated Party's 25th anniversary on April 22. They also held a black flag demonstration on 15 August exposing fake independence. Our comrades imprisoned in all jails in AP observed fasting on May 21 condemning the AP government's ban of revolutionary organisations.

By observing fast for two days the comrades in Warangal jail compelled the authorities to keep all the detainees, both the revolutionaries and sympathisers, together and thus foiled their attempts to isolate them.

We send our revolutionary greetings to all these comrades in detention for their steadfast struggles even in enemy camp.

BOYCOTT SHAM ELECTIONS!

STRENGTHEN CLASS STRUGGLE ALONG THE LINE OF PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY!

ASSEMBLY elections are to be held in ten states of the country during November-December of this year and January of next year. The various bourgeois political parties are busy coining newer and newer promises, refurbishing their old and rotten slogans and policies to attract the voters. One political Party pointing its accusing finger against the misrule of another party by way of 'chargesheets', 'white papers' etc., one party welcoming and encouraging defectors from another - has become the order of the day. The people of these states are witnessing this spectacle which is getting curiously and curiously by the day. As these parties think that elections in these ten states will have an impact on the general elections scheduled to be held some time in 1996, each one will approach the people with fond hope of recapturing power first in these states and thereby at national level. And with this aim all of them are set to dupe the people once again in their desperate attempts of recapturing power.

The COC, CPI(ML) (PW) calls upon the people of the four states which are scheduled to go to polls during November-December of this year, **not to participate in these sham elections and to boycott them. It calls upon the oppressed masses of these states in general and those of Karnataka and Andhra in particular to actively participate in the election boycott movement and to extend the people's democratic revolution to the four corners of the country over throwing the rule of the big bourgeois- big landlord classes.**

Before deciding on what demands the people have to place and what forms of struggle they should adopt during these elections, let us take a look at the conditions of various political parties in the election arena in AP and Karnataka.

It is the Congress party that is in power in these two big states of southern India. The AICC President and the first South Indian to be elected as a premier 'Pandit' Pamulaparthy Venkata Narasimha Rao (PVN for short) took the reigns of the election campaign in these two states in to his own hands and is going on administering 'Tulasi Theertha' to regenerate the faction ridden congress organisations in these two

states, so as to enable his party to win these elections and thereby pave the way for the '96 general elections.

The Congress Party under PVN's leadership, has cast aside all its 'Nehruvian socialist' pretensions and is standing naked before the people revealing its true self - as an instrument in the service of imperialism and domestic reaction. After the Congress Party recaptured power and formed a minority Govt. at the center headed by PVN, it virtually turned the country into a vassal state of WB-IMF combine, under the guise of liberalisation of economic policies, globalisation etc. The MNCs are looting and plundering the countries material and human resources at a hitherto unknown scale. The PVN Govt. by shamelessly sending its armed forces to join the so-called 'UN peace - keeping forces' - which in fact are nothing but tools in the hands of US imperialism, which is acting as a world gendarme and is perpetuating acts of aggression against Third World Countries using the guise of the UN - the Indian Govt., while on one hand is aiding and abetting the U.S imperialism in all their acts of aggression, is, on the other hand, shamelessly posing as the leader of NAM.

While the PVN Govt. is gearing up all its economic policies to suit the dictates of WB-IMF combine, its political party, the Congress, is painting a rosy future, promising the people that these policies will bring manna from heaven for them. The Congress party which is a past-master in the art of deceiving the people, is once again coming before the people with many attractive schemes. The recent measures taken by both AP and Karnataka Govt.s, on the reservation issue clearly exemplify this point. The Congress party, while on one hand, is crushing the on going nationalities' struggles and class struggles with iron heels, on the other hand, is soliciting votes shamelessly, on the plea that it has preserved the "integrity of the country" by crushing these struggles.

The Congress party is resorting to many tricks - some old, some new - in its desperate attempts at duping the people and winning the elections. The recent appointment it made in Andhra i.e., the appointment of Koneru Ranga Rao (a dalit) as deputy