

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*



<p><b>3</b></p> <p><b>Open Letter from com. Sushil Roy to...</b></p>	<p><b>16</b></p> <p><b>Latin America: A Boiling Cauldron</b></p> 	 <p><b>28</b></p> <p><b>The relevance of Bhagat Singh's Ideas...</b></p>
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<p><b>International</b></p> <p>Conflict in Darfur</p>	<p><b>Political</b></p> <p>11 Fact finding report on Encounter killing of Com Madhav</p> <p>14</p> <p>Women's Empowerment</p> <p>22</p>	<p><b>Science &amp; Technology</b></p> <p>GE Technology</p> <p>8</p>
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## Open Letter From Com Sushil Roy to Mr. Buddhadeb Bhattacharya Hon'ble Chief Minister of West Bengal

*{We reproduce here an open letter from Com. Sushil Roy, a politburo member of the CPI(Maoist) to the CM of West Bengal, comrade Roy has been incarcerated in the jails of West Bengal and Jharkhand. In spite of his age and failing health he is being harassed by the CPM-led government of West Bengal and the Congress-backed government of Jharkhand. At present he is lodged in the jail hospital at Chaibasa with a fractured hip bone. We call on the people to demand his immediate release on humanitarian grounds..... Editor}*

Honourable Chief Minister,  
My regards,

The matter of my letter to you is very serious and very wide. But thinking of your valuable time I will try to draw your attention towards a few points in short. The matter of my letter is completely political, I don't have any personal grudge against you.

The Jhargram Session Court has awarded me five years rigorous imprisonment for treason against the state on the basis of the 35<sup>th</sup> Arms Act of the Indian Penal Code 121-A/122/124-B. My age is 68 years 6 months now. I had a cataract operation of both the eyes in 1995. The operation was done by the famous eye specialist Dr. Sunil Bagchi. The left eye got completely damaged just after the operation. Even after the operation there was blood hemorrhage in the other eye due to blood pressure. So there are chances of complete blindness at any time. Along with that I am suffering from Ischaemic heart diseases, enlargement of the prostate, piles with regular bleeding, constipation etc. Treatment is going on in the jail hospital.

I came to know from 'Pratidin' dated 29<sup>th</sup> May and through my lawyer that the CPM led state Government has appealed to the High Court demanding my life imprisonment. I have some questions and a statement regarding this role of the state government, which I am informing you through this letter, kindly read this patiently.

As far as my knowledge goes, and the lawyers also say, that the clauses of the I.P.C. in 'Independent' and 'sovereign' India are following the colonial rules made by the British Imperialists. The 'Independent' and 'sovereign' Indian Government has not framed any new clauses of I.P.C. My question is, in order to continue their colonial rule and ruthlessly suppress the

freedom loving Indian masses and patriotic revolutionaries, the British imperialists had made those clauses of the I.P.C. and by these rules the oppressive British imperialist rulers had termed the great patriotic revolutionaries as 'Terrorists' and hanged hundreds of revolutionaries like Masterda Surya Sen, Khudiram, Bhagat Singh, Dinesh Gupta etc. Hundreds of others were kept in life imprisonment in Andaman Jail and other frightening jails and lots were done to death in these jails. In the background of this historical perspective the questions that naturally come to mind are - the present "Independent – sovereign" democratic Indian government and the Left-democratic State government of West Bengal are using the same laws made by the British Imperialists to suppress the movements of workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and other toiling masses and branding them as 'terrorists' 'extremists', putting them in life imprisonment for struggling against the exploitation – oppression and control of American Imperialists, the ring leader of neo-colonialism in India, and other imperialists and of the comprador Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords. **Is our 'Independence and sovereignty' a fake and a ceremonial declaration to fool the Indian masses? Is the democratic setup, laws, judiciary still a servant of the British colonial system? And is it forced to follow the footsteps of the British Imperialists as well as other imperialists for being contract-bound and faithful to the laws and judiciary made by them? Are the Parliament, Constitution and Judiciary, Administration, Jails of this 'independent-sovereign' country still under the control of the foreign rulers? Has the MPs and MLAs of the Left-democratic front of West Bengal ever opposed it in Parliament and the state**

**assembly?** I have deep interest to know about all these things.

The British imperialists had given death sentence to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose also on the ground of treason to the state. But the Indian people respect him and other great revolutionaries of the British era as great patriots. Hence, to decide the definition of a patriot and treason is not the sole right of the ruling classes and their parties. It is for the people to decide the actual definition. As a ruling party, those whom you are branding as 'treason' and 'terrorists', you are not speaking as a citizen of a 'free and sovereign' country. You are evaluating this as a servant ruling alliance bound by the system of foreign neo-colonialism. In a Marxist evaluation, 'Communist', 'Social Democrat' or 'Leftists' whatever name the ruling parties take in a class divided society; they all are keeping the interests of the national or foreign exploiting classes. Has the left front government of West Bengal taken any different stand from Congress, BJP and other right reactionary parties in the policies of their practical politics and practice? Even both the 'Communist parties' CPI and CPI(M) never seem to take even the minimum interest to take a different stand in these matters. In the present circumstances I need to introduce myself in brief.

In 1961 I got a permanent job in the Usha Fan factory in Bansdrani of south Kolkata. I came in touch with the then CPI party during the India-China border clash. A strike was started in 1963 on different demands in our factory. The Nehru government proclaimed an ordinance banning all strikes in any organization and threatened, applying the Indian security act. But the struggling workers ignored Nehru's threats and continued the strike for six months and ultimately won the struggle.

Noticing my advice and active participation during the strike the workers elected me to the executive committee of the union. The president of our union at that time was Indrajit Gupta of the CPI. In the meantime the debate of two lines between the Soviet and Chinese party in the International Communist Movement influenced our union also. The Indrajit Guptas were then in favour of the Soviet party line led by Dange. We kept our confidence on Chinese party line led by our Vice-president Haridas Malakar and secretary Bimal Chatterjee. Continuing the debate on different issues in the union we cornered them and they became a minority. Indrajit Gupta was heckled in many ways. In a seminar of workers in the Muslim Institute hall we even attacked Indrajit Gupta throwing chairs.

In the seventh party congress in 1964 when the CPI(M) was formed I joined that party. At the directions of the party we have joined mass meetings in Dharamtala with thousands of workers in procession from Hazra Park of south Kolkata against the bombings in Vietnam by the American imperialists. I have seen you in those processions then. I have shouted slogans 'your name, my name – Vietnam, Vietnam' along with you. During the three-day continuous strike programs in the 1966 food movement I have taken a leading role in south Kolkata. At that time I was beaten by the Congress hooligans and police and was also arrested. I also have given my labour and sweat for the first left front to come into power. In 1968 we have gheraoed the 'Trailoko house' of Dalhousie for three days and three nights so that foreign computers not to be installed there. The owners could not enter and were unable to install the computers. At that time the party directed that the CMDA is an imperialist organization. We will not allow imperialists to do any job in West Bengal. So we stopped the CMDA work by organizing workers for picketing in those areas where the CMDA was doing any digging work. At the directions of the party we even took up programs of arson in buses and trams during the movements. Such many unlawful acts we have committed at the directions of the party, all of which we need not say here.

Later, on the issue of the party's viewpoint on the Naxalbari peasant struggle I had disagreement in the union. The party had strongly condemned the Naxalbari struggle and termed it as extremism. Rather, in the background of the International Communist Movement of that period, I did not observe the Naxalbari peasant struggle as a mere peasant struggle. For me the great naxalbari movement was a political line, a target, a future for capturing state power. At that time I personally had debates on the organizational and political line of the party with the leaders like then state secretary Com. Pramod Dasgupta, Kesto Ghosh, Niranjan Sen, Satya Sen (Ranjan), Prasanto Sur, Bhola Bose etc. In a G.B. meeting in the Thyagraj hall of Ballygange I had put up a question opposing the popular party slogan "Peoples' democratic revolution is our word of worship", asking why it is being said that peoples' democratic revolution is our word of worship? It is only to recite; there is no practice in it. So should we always recite the hymns of revolution? Should we not put it into practice like China and Vietnam? Should we not make any ideological, political, organizational and military preparations for that?

Comrade Dasgupta was so annoyed hearing my question that he asked me to get out of the G.B. That discussion and many other meetings and debates before and after that, it was clear to me that the CPI(M) party will never go for revolution. Publicly for show, it was supporting the Chinese Communist party but in reality it will follow the parliamentary line of the renegade Khrushchev and Dange.

The events of the Peasant struggles of Naxalbari, police firing on it and the killing of eleven woman peasants including two children and seeing the real face of the social democratic and revisionist character of the party leadership, I cut off all relations with the party in 1968 and for the sake of revolutionary ideology I left my permanent job, home, relatives to work as a professional revolutionary in far away villages. Since 1990, I was only doing ideological, theoretical and political work within the working class in the industrial areas of Kolkata, Howrah and Hoogly.

On last 21<sup>st</sup> May, 2005 when I was about to get into a rickshaw after coming out of a labour slum area (No.-4 Madrasipet) a group of 4-5 plain cloths policemen forced me into a car and blindfolded me. They snatched my handkerchief, comb and purse. I did not have anything else. After driving the whole night in the same manner they took me to a two story building in a jungle area on 22<sup>nd</sup> May early morning, which was basically a BSF camp and about 150 BSF personnel was present there. In that camp two police officers continuously interrogated me on 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> May. Then on 24<sup>th</sup> May morning at about 8 O'clock they brought me to Belpahari police station. On the same day at about 10 O'clock they brought me to Jhargram court covering my face. Afterwards, in the FIR the police had shown that they have arrested me on 23<sup>rd</sup> May at Tamajuri village in the Belpahari police station area while engaged in a meeting and that they have recovered a small torch and a handbag. I was surprised because I have never gone to Belpahari and never heard of Tamajuri. But why did the police lie? One of the DSP officers (who have interrogated me most) when asked replied "This is our tactics." Afterwards the police somehow came to know my status in the party. The police officer told me "*You are not telling anything, only stories. I will frame you in such a case that you have to be in jail for the rest of your life and you will die in jail.*" Here my assessment is that, discussing with the state government, the police conspired to put up a strong case against me and according to that they presented a seizure list that they have recovered explosives, bullets, computer, cassettes, photos, money, ornaments, Marxist literature and many other documents from a house in Hindmotor. And on the basis of that they put up a case of treason under those clauses of the IPC. Once again I was surprised to know, because I have never gone to that house of Hindmotors, but the police have framed a false case showing those seized materials. Afterwards I came to know that the Nepali Maoists that the police have arrested before and after my arrest, the materials seized from them was used to make a seizure list to frame me. The

falsehood of the 'democratic' police of West Bengal has surprised me.

I didn't have any case against me in the area of my political work. There is no question of any case in the type of work I am involved. The Special Police Team of West Midnapur literally kidnapped me and framed a false case against me in Belpahari. Also few other cases are also lodged in different police stations in Midnapur. My arrest and those materials presented in court, showing, as seized from Hindmotor, the local police station and even the district SP knows nothing of it. They told me that, when they were interrogating me.

My question is, at whose interest have the police framed up a false case against me? Who is being made glorious with this – the police department, Judiciary or the State Government? Not only that, the police are arresting Maoist workers and supporters from different districts and putting them into jails with false charges. Whatever police was doing during the reactionary Congress regime, the CPM is doing the same mental and political torture (beating, burning with cigarette butts, not providing water to drink, not allowing for latrine and urinal etc.). People in the struggling areas are being arrested and subjected to barbaric tortures like severe beating, replacement arrest, breaking of roof tiles with rifle butts, breaking of ovens, kitchen utensils and other household items, mixing kerosene or sand in cooked food, destroying rice and other food items, beating and kicking old men and women and mothers, using filthy language, molesting young women etc. for the crime of being supporters of Maoists. For these purposes, the local CPI(M) party leaders, cadres and the outsider CRPF personnel are taking a leading part. I think that the news of these crimes of the police and paramilitary forces do not reach you.

I will not deny that after my arrest, along with the West Midnapur police, top police officers of other states (Andhra, Orissa, Jharkhand, Delhi and Kolkata) and the CID/IG/DIG/SP/DSP etc. had interrogated me and made mental tortures in many methods and I became sick many times but none of them tortured me physically. It may be

because, the intellectuals of West Bengal had appealed to you for not doing any physical torture to me. Many times you people have declared that you will deal with the Maoist movements politically. But you don't have any political work in Maoist areas. People in the struggling areas are doing the Maoists and in the struggle against reactionaries, in huge numbers. When the earth is being removed beneath your feet, the leaders and cadres of those areas are not able to counter that with political-theoretical debate but are creating terror with the help of goonda, police and paramilitary forces to break the struggle and organzaiton as earlier done by the reactionary feudal forces. The local leadership and cadres have taken the role of social police and workers of the CPM are spying for the police. Can you think that your party, being loyal to the great ideology of that party, hundreds of workers and common people have made selfless sacrifices with glorious examples, fearless of police bullets and jail, lost every thing to continue in struggle – the present leaders and cadres of that exemplary party are now engaged in spying for the police of this "Bourgeois-Landlord" state (as per the evaluation of Indian state by your party) to keep alive their taste of power and pleasures? - Alas Marx!!

It is hard to listen but I am bound to say that for this degradation of the leaders and cadets, they themselves are not responsible. The basic political line of the CPI(M) is responsible for this. The line in a communist party decides everything. The seeds of this degradation was sown in the documents of the seventh party congress of CPI (M) in 1964. It is clearly stated in the 111<sup>th</sup> clause of that document that the "Communist Party of India (Marxist) will try for peaceful transformation to socialism".

It is needless to say that the revolutionaries of the International Communist Movement have hooted this poisonous parasitic line of renegade Khurshchev out long ago. In India the renegade Dange was the main spokesman of this line.

Your party is working along this line from its very birth. The leaders and

cadres, within the limits of their own peti-bourgeois middle-class mentality and peaceful lifestyle, fitted the organizational and political party line, and limited all struggles within a few economic movements and within some demands which are acceptable to the ruling exploiting class. So, as soon as the party came into power, due to unavoidable reasons of a peti-bourgeois class character, the leaders and cadres made winning elections as the "Arjun's bird eye" and made a 180° tunraround from peoples' revolution mentally, politically and orgonizationally. They are now busy trying to sustain their power and to get back to power, busy in capturing important wealthy ministries, personal and group-wise corruption, mutual feuds and murders. In the local offices of the party there is no study of Marxism or discussions on Marxism-Leninism. There is a regular occurrence of group feuds and murders to capture the powerful posts with an aim to get contracts and promote businesses. Contradictions and debates in the local, zonal or district party committees are not on the party line or on strategy and tactics of revolution – it is about who will rule in which area, like mafias.

In the party, you or Biman babu and a few other leaders may have an honest and clean image but as a whole the party line is reformist and opportunist, so the corrupted, capitalist propagating and power mongers have captured the whole party. Whatever purification movements you want to implement to come out of this pit must fail certainly. The reason to this is that the seeds of the bitter fruits you have sown at the very birth of the party, how can the tree now bear sweet fruits?

You can definitely remember the teaching of great Stalin where he said – **"In those countries where the old state machinery (i.e. military, police, bureaucracy, constitution, judiciary, and jail) is still existing, if social democrats of those countries participate in the ministry, then however honest and popular they may be, in reality they can not do any thing else other than serving imperialists and bourgeoisie against the interest of the oppressed people."** Do you think Com. Stalin had said any

thing wrong after staying in power continuously for 30 years? In practical politics do you not actually serve the imperialists, capitalists and reactionary forces to be in power for the last 30 years? Com. Lenin had strongly condemned the French socialist Milera for joining the bourgeois ministry.

Though now on the pretext of the fall of the Soviet Union and Globalization you are trying to make others understand the need to be pragmatic and keep principles aside, actually it is your very old and only line, that is, to continue in power.

We know, according to Marxist theory, the policy and practice of a party is determined according to the fundamental line of a party. Practical policies of a party are determined by fundamental principles. The fundamental principle of a Marxist party is "Capturing state power through revolution". When the practical policy is different from this universal policy, that is nothing but pure revisionism.

You may have to take lessons from the disastrous results of the Communist Parties of Indonesia in 1965 and Chile in 1973. There the leaders, Aijit of Indonesia and Allende of Chile came to power through the parliamentary system. On an experimental basis and to gain experience they brought a bill in the parliament to nationalize the land and the oil companies owned by American imperialism. Before the bills were made into law, American imperialism staged a military coup-de-ta through the CIA, cruelly killed 50 million communists and thousands of progressive people including the two leaders of those two countries. The reasons for failure in those countries was that they didn't have any military of their own. They were dependent upon the old military, police and bureaucracy. The communist cadres were also completely unarmed and the benefit of that was utilized by American imperialism.

Taking lessons from these fearful results and failure, this much you would have understood is that if they want to come to power through the parliamentary system and want to stay in power, they have to die if they oppose the imperialists including American imperialists and their

agents the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. So revolution and a revolutionary party may go to hell. After coming to power and to win elections continuously they have to give people something in their own interest and to propitiate the imperialists, big bourgeoisie and big landlords. So, looking backward, in 1963 when American President Mr. Johnson (after the death of Mr. Kennedy) came on an India tour, the then Finance minister of the central ministry Mr. Morarji Desai (who was actually a CIA agent, as was known later), to please the American President, so that he invests American capital in India, ecstatically said that – "We are opening our (motherland) womb before the foreign capitalists". It is needless to say that on the pretext of globalization you have got hold of that flag of Morarji.

Due to the reformist and 'to give something' type thoroughly economic politics to stay in power, your party now has entangled itself into the web of apathy to struggles, compromise, corruption and opportunism. So with your fascist mentality you are not ready to tolerate protests or movements by other parties or organizations. If struggles are built up by other parties or organizations other than under your flag, disturbance is created in your happy family, and due to your inability to counter them politically, you show your highbrow and arrogant attitude like feudal landlords and term them as "anti-social", 'separatists' and 'terrorists' and have embraced the anti-revolutionary and reactionary methods to barbarously suppress them with the police and Paramilitary forces of the 'bourgeois-landlord state'. You have forgotten that the ideological basis of your party is the great Marxism-Leninism. Certainly to run a 'bourgeois-landlord state' there is no importance of ideology and that can be thrown out calling it as old-fashioned and that is what you are doing. Then for what reason do you hang the signboard of "Marxist"?

I am not denying that in the past, Communist revolutionaries had made mistakes in the application while keeping faith in fundamentally correct political line. Due to the intense hatred towards revisionism, revolutionary zeal, and

inexperience they made some serious mistakes. They were in some hurry due to devotion and zeal for revolution. They had paid with their life for those mistakes. I must pay my homage to those great revolutionaries. I also salute those mothers who have given birth to them. As a result of those mistakes the party was divided into many groups and those reactionary revisionist agents of the vested interests took advantage of this. Walking in that slippery blood soaked path of revolution, the revolutionaries have again learned newer style of work and are holding high the banner of revolution more strongly.

Still there are some mistakes in cases of application while fighting with the powerful state machinery, with their small strength. Those are being corrected quickly. They are not doing anything, which is anti-people. If anything like that comes to your sight, I am calling for strong political criticism. At the same time, give rights to the Maoists also for open political criticism for your wrong and anti-people policies. In the open field of struggle let hundred flowers blossom – the hundred schools of thought contend. What's the fear?

The CPI (Maoist) is not banned in West Bengal. None of the mass organizations supporting it or under its leadership are banned. Still anyone sticking posters supporting any movement openly is termed as a Maoist-terrorist, arrested and sent to jail on false charges of treason. Where are we, Mr. Buddha, in Bengal or in a jungle?

We can understand this if the same were done in states ruled by the reactionary Congress or BJP. But when a left and democratic government led by a 'Communist party' is doing such reactionary fascist acts behind their leftist label, can it be called anything else other than adultery or hypocrisy?

You have opposed the barbaric activities of the 'Salwa jhudum' which was started taking inspiration of Hitler's Nazi Gestapo forces under the leadership of Mahendra Karma, the opposition leader of the BJP ruled state of Chattisgarh. It is a very correct step. Both the BJP and Congress have unlawfully confined about 50 thousand poor adivasi families in concentration camps through this program. The Police

is creating a spy network giving military training to selected people from them to identify the Maoists or to kill them. This they are trying to divide the adivasi people influenced by the Maoists and are creating a situation of civil war. The CPI(M) politburo has strongly condemned it and asked to ban it immediately. Certainly it can be congratulated. But what are we seeing in West Bengal? Here, at the initiative of the police of West Midnapur, on the pretext of increasing public relation they have taken programs like 'Sankalp school', 'Medical booths', 'planting trees', 'Football game' etc. Here the first question is – so the police is admitting that they are separated from the people and people hate them? Second question- do these programs fall under the duty of the police department? Here the police is also creating 'Salwa jhudum' on a small scale by alluring the poor adivasi people in different ways. They are creating secret squads from the adivasi people for spying on the Maoists and to identify and capture them. In this way adivasis are being made anti-adivasi (as they are supporters of Maoists) and dividing the nationalities. Why is the CPI(M) politburo a silent spectator about this?

The West Bengal government has stationed thousands of police and paramilitary forces armed with modern weapons in the struggling areas of the Maoists. They have asked for 12 companies more of paramilitary forces from the center. To strengthen the police force they are being trained by the military, spending lakhs of rupees. We don't know what political work will be done by this oppressive force basically created to suppress the just struggles of the people. Nobody will definitely expect that rifles of these forces will spread flowers in place of bullets. Why the state government not admitting that it started a civil war, failing to counter the Maoists politically and it has to take responsibility for that.

If your intention is to counter the Maoists politically, then why are you sending thousands of armed forces there? You claim that your party has 2,50,000 workers in West Bengal alone. Why don't you send at least 250 workers

to that area? Let them start political debate there. Let them take up programs for the just demands of the people and isolate people from the Maoists. At the same time stop arresting the Maoists and allow them to start political debate and movements on different issues openly in villages and cities. Are you talking about the arms of the Maoists? Can you tell about any single political party taking part in parliamentary elections in India which doesn't have deadly firearms? Every party has and they are using these for killing also.

Actually your problem is that, you don't have any political worker educated in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. In these 30 long years, your party cadres have become opportunist, greedy, selfish, arrogant, apathetic to revolutionary politics and getting mental satisfaction thinking that spying for the police is the greatest revolutionary work. And at the same time are finishing their political work by shouting, "peoples' democratic revolution is our word of worship" in meetings and processions.

Great Comrade Mao Tse tung said that **"Revolution is not a banquet, drawing a picture or needle work, - revolution cannot be soft, modest or gentle. Revolution is a revolt, in which one class turns the other up-side down."**

As a result of the political line of your party, revolution is being confined into the circle of a safe lifestyle of the middle class, petti-bourgeois class. And to cover up this opportunism and to deceive the cadres and people you are shaking hands and posing for photographs with the leaders of those countries like China, Vietnam and Cuba etc. who have captured power through armed revolution, to show that your party is still on the path of revolution. Comments not required!

The State Government under your leadership has demanded for my life imprisonment. If there was a Government of the Congress or BJP in the state, they may also have demanded the same. Because, the national and foreign reactionaries will be enthused. American docoit leader Bush will be most happy. He will be more enthusiastic in helping you with more capital for such a 'good boy' government. I would like to know

whether even the left-democratic government of West Bengal would walk in the same path as the other reactionary governments serving the vested interests? Especially when the chief minister himself is the nephew of the revolutionary poet Sukanto?

Once an old broken ship sinks then thousands of new ships will float in the sea. Once an old banyan tree dies, immediately there will arise thousands of new saplings. Revolutionaries can be killed. Confined in a jail. But revolution cannot be killed, cannot be confined in a jail.

May the ministers of your 'left-democratic' government fight for wealthy ministries for a safe and happy life. To safeguard the sacred "bourgeois-landlord state", you may do your 'revolutionary' duty by inciting thousands of military forces on the struggling masses to save the constitution and democracy.

I will finish my letter wishing you a healthy long life to give leadership in this job. But I will make one last request, hope you will keep it. Till I am in jail and before I go completely blind give me a chance to continue political and ideological debate. And according to that make arrangements to get papers, pen etc. and whatever Marxist literature and documents that are available in the market. Don't take away the right of continuing debate on the theoretical, political and ideological front. Give the journalists the right to publish my writings in Ganashakti and other newspapers.

At the end I can tell you, being a nephew of the great revolutionary martyr Dinesh Gupta, as a heir of his blood, to take forward the incomplete work of those great revolutionaries I am still singing the song –

*Let the hundred flowers blossom  
The weeds be uprooted  
We are the Sun of revolutionary mornings  
Eight or nine o'clock  
We must bring a new spring on the earth.*

**Date: 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2006**

**Sushil roy/4300A**

**Prisoner on the charges of treason  
Presidency jail, Kolkata - 700027**

# GE Technology: Further Strengthens Imperialist-starngle Hold On Indian Agriculture

*Sujan*

Another green revolution is being introduced. This time, as it is being claimed, it is for the development of the dry land farming and to address the problems of small and marginal farmers/peasants. It is also claimed that this will help reduce hunger and malnutrition. On January 3<sup>rd</sup> of '06 inaugurating the 93<sup>rd</sup> Indian Science Congress, Prime Minister of UPA government, Mr. Manmohan Singh requested the scientist community to play; an important role in bringing about a second green revolution for the above purpose. He clearly stated that the modern agricultural technologies should be introduced for further development of agriculture and that of the peasant/farmer community. He asserted 'We must ensure that the second green revolution technologies have a special focus on dry land agriculture and do benefit small and marginal farmers'. He also stated that the technologies and strategies introduced by the first green revolution have run their course and farmers utilized those technologies for their benefit during the last three decades. Now there is much need for the introduction of the second green revolution to serve the interest of the farmers and the countrymen. The green revolution – technologies, of course, registered success in handing over Indian agriculture to the imperialist forces (MNCs), leaving it open for their reckless plunder and exploitation! The green revolution. Of course, has increased productivity; enabling the achievement of self-sufficiency in food, but at an enormous cost of soil heath and degradation of ecology. It has successfully ensured that Indian agriculture remains dependent and under the firm control of MNCs. This success story also tells that farmers of the country have to spend close to one trillion rupees a year on chemical fertilizers and pesticides! Green revolution technologies have completed their course, devastating the agrarian economy and the rural society! Despite self-sufficiency in food grain production, hunger and malnutrition stalk across rural India and the country now stands next to sub-Saharan countries! Between '98 and 2003, debt drove more

than 1 lakh number of the peasant/farmers community to suicide. Since 2003 to this day many more thousands of farmers killed themselves. This phenomenon is continuing and the number of suicide deaths is increasing everyday. The green has turned into dark grey. The green revolution is now so detested that 40 percent of peasant/ farmers wants to quit farming and go in search of other sources of income. Another 26 percent feel that agriculture is unviable. This success saga of green revolution technologies, which have run their course, is being complemented by second green revolution sponsored by imperialist forces and MNCs.

## Ge Technology Ensures More Imperialist Control On Agriculture

The Prime Minister laid emphasis on introduction of new agriculture technology. It means more dependence on imperialist global market. The technology referred to is biotechnology and more specifically Genetically engineered (GE) or Genetically modified (GM) technology which is controlled by the US based MNCs. Obviously, it operates within a globalized market system. Hitherto, seed used to be considered as the basic right of the farmers. It is the farmer who saved seed on his field and was free to exchange it. Now they have to pay royalties for using these seeds as these are not to be considered as public property. According to the trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPs) regime these are private property of seed multinationals. As a consequence, farmers' dependence on large MNCs increase, and they are being compelled to operate within an international market. The MNCs captivate the agriculture; deprive farmers/peasants of their right on seed and free owner farmer become prey of ruthless exploitation of MNCs. Long traditional farming practices of the countries farmers, their rich and varied knowledge system, biodiverse and self-sustaining agriculture is going to be lost. Over thousands of years tens of thousands of varieties of rice have been developed by subsistence peasants adopting them to local

environment and external conditions – this has been the independent basis of our food security. This independent basis is to be surrendered to the MNCs to follow the dictate of the imperialist forces. The very introduction of this system not only raises serious moral and ethical issues, but also threatens the independent basis of the country's food security.

## What is ge technology

The Department of Biotechnology (DBT) defines genetic engineering as the technique by which heritable material which does not usually occur or will not occur naturally in the organism or cell concerned, is generated outside the organism or the cell and is inserted into the said cell or organism. According to DBT, it also means the formation of new combinations of genetic material by incorporation of a cell into a host cell, where they occur naturally (self-cloning) as well as modification of an organism or in a cell by deletion and removal of parts of the heritable material. (Sahara Time, November 18, '06)

Bt rice seed is also engineered genetically. It has the property to resist pests like stem borer and leaf folder. A synthetic version of a gene (called cry 1AC) is inserted within the seed. This synthetic version of a gene which is naturally occurred soil bacterium known as *Bacillus thuringiensis* (Bt). This Bt is inserted into the plants (deoxyribonucleic acid). So-engineered plant can; crate its own toxin and destroy the pests.

No country in the world has approval the proposal for commercial sale of Bt rice developed by the USA based agribusiness. The USA is an exception. But it is now facing problems. For the last two years, rice producers of the USA are not prepared to grow GE rice due to consumer's resistance throughout the world. The commercial sale of Bt cotton has already been approved by the government of India and the field trials of Bt brinjal are in the process of finalization. While in 25 countries of European Union no biotech rice is allowed to be grown, sold or marketed, the Indian government has allowed field trials of Bt rice in India ignoring the danger of contamination.



## Field trial without regulatory

Mahyco–Monsanto has been conducting field trial on rice containing Bt cry I Ac since 2003. In 1998 Bt cotton was tested in open air trial. The bio safety assessment did not precede field trials and the promoter conducted these trials even keeping in dark the farmer, the local authorities and the state governments. The field trials go on without any monitoring. The regulators are there, but they do not think it necessary to regulate. The irregularities in regulatory procedure are very much common. However, the union govt. recently regularized these irregularities, incorporating rules to allow field trials even prior to completion of safety tests! It is natural for a govt. which serves the interests of the MNCs, opposing that of farmers and the countryman. The body of the Genetic Engineering Approval Committee (GEAC) was formed to favor the bio-tech industries and the seed developers. So it is nothing strange that most of the senior office bearers of GEAC belong to biotech industries who promote GE or crop developers themselves. In response to a petition in last September, the Supreme Court temporarily stopped GEAC from granting permission for field trials of GE crops. The Supreme Court did not order the Union govt. to stop all those field trials which began without safety test and ignored the regulatory procedures. So the field trials continue affecting farmers, crops and countrymen adversely.

Ignoring the danger of contamination Mahyco-Monsanto is allowed to continue field trials on rice containing Bt cry I Ac gene. It is revealed that the field trials of Bt rice are taking place in Karnal in Haryana, in Allahabad and Gorakhpur in UP, Thane and Bhandara in Maharashtra, Coimbatour in Tamil Nadu, Raipur in Chattisgarh and in West Bengal. Two of these States – Haryana and UP – are known as Basmati growing states. The rice exporters there have expressed their concern as in case the nearby fields are contaminated by Bt rice, the Basmati rice of the country will be unacceptable to other countries. In the last financial year i.e. 2005-06 India exported thousands of tones of Basmati rice earning 673 million dollars (30.3 billion; rupees). Bt rice contamination will devastate rice exports.

It is clearly revealed that the “controlled field trials” of GE crops are a myth. Allowing GE rice even in the field trials means economic as well as environmental disaster. Once it is in the field, it remains out of the knowledge whether the other plant varieties have been contaminated by the GE variety. If it is contaminated it could cause the extinction of other varieties. Another danger is also there i.e. the growth of insects having resistance to the toxin which results in more pesticides to control those.

Its effect on human health has not been tested fully. But a recent study in Madhya Pradesh reveals that farmers exposed to Bt cotton had allergic reactions like skin eruptions, swollen face and so on. Further it is stated in Frontline December 1, 2006 that “studies world wide have shown that eating GM food could result in wasteful growth of gut tissues, bacterial proliferation, intestinal tumors, immune system suppression and interference with the development of vital organs and reproduction”. High level toxin is associated with this technology for ensuring mortality of target pest as far as possible. So consumption of this rice means consumption of a lot of the toxin!

It is now a well established fact that allowing GE crop to grow, even in field trials leads to economic and environmental disaster. Here in India as untested GE products are available in the open market and the procedure of conducting field trials are unsound, genetic contamination is unavoidable. Moreover the infamous episode of Navbharat seeds shows that field trials of GE seeds are synonymous with large-scale cultivation. The recent Chinese rice contamination scandal also reveals that the GE crops cannot be regulated. Mexico is another example where Genetic contamination was discovered in maize which affects it and its diversity disastrously. The Genetic contamination scandals are found not only in China and Mexico but also in all parts of the world. Consumers do not accept GE products and their number is increasing along with worldwide protest against the GE crops farming.

## Worldwide peoples opposition GE crops

On January 7-8 2006 more than 50 representatives came together to reject GE

as a solution to on going agricultural crises. They were from Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra and called themselves South Against Genetic Engineering (SAGE). SAGE promised that it will continue to struggle, for “GE’s deserved death”. Its representatives are from various sectors—farmers, farmers’ organization, NGOs, consumer groups, media persons, scientists, academicians and civil society activists. They are terribly concerned about the adversities of GE farming which is being promoted by the Union govt. They are opposing GE farming and continuing to propagate against the introduction of GE in agriculture.

The Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (MEC) raised a protest in January ’06 against field trials of Bollgard II seed (patent company, Monsanto’s next generation Bt cotton in the country). They alleged, on the basis of their findings, that there had been “blatant bio-safety violations” and demanded that all those trials should be banned. They also pointed out such bio-safety violations in various states in the country – i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Punjab.

Despite these protests and opposition the govt. has been continuing to introduce GE /GM crops in agriculture at a hectic speed. It does not pay attention to address the blatant irregularities, rather it turns deaf ear to the voice of protest, oppositions to GE farming, the demand to ban field trials, and expressed concern about GE crops contamination, while farmers, being cheated, deceived and misled by Mahyco-Monsanto, are getting more and more dissatisfied. This is now getting expression in direct action. On November 10, 2006, a 150 strong crowd led by Tamil Nadu Farmers Association gathered in Ramanathapuram village near Coimbatore and uprooted the Bt rice crop from the field of a farmer’s family. In Haryana and Uttarpradesh activists of Bhartiya Kissan Union (BKU) burned the harvest of Bt rice trials in two farms in last October, 2006. The activists also burned a field in Rampura village in Karnal district in Haryana to prevent contamination. The BKU activists compelled the police to seize the grain which was found in a plot in Rudrapur village in Gorakhpur district of UP. The BKU and local panchayat president

also field a complaint to police against Mahyco, The department of Biotechnology and the GEAC alleging violations in safety measure in GE rice field trial plot. The direct action of the agitated farmers are spreading through out the country.

The rice exporters too expressed their concern in a recently held press conference and demanded that the govt. should stop the field trials. The executive director of the all India Rice Exporters Association stated "Any contamination from GE rice field trials will be a death blow for millions of farmers and exporters. We want the govt. to draw the correct lesson from the plight of the US rice industry and stop further GE rice field trials in this region now. If the govt. does not heed our warning, it could prove to be costly and irreversible blunders." (Frontline, December 1, 06)

Kavitha Kuruganti from the Centre for Sustainable Agriculture, Hyderabad said "Until independent scientific laboratory studies show that this crop is safe for human consumption, the govt. should not allow any field trials to take place"(Ibid)

While farmers, consumers, rice exporters, environmentalists and scientists are vehemently raising their voice and resorting to direct action the managing director of Mahyco, had the audacity to tell the Frontline "Why are they so concerned about exports? We should think of filling our own bellies first. Bt rice will help increase productivity by reducing crop damage due to pest attacks". Expressing his reaction at the farmer's protests against the field trials he told," These people are preventing technology from reaching farmers. They are standing in the way of scientific research". What else a crony and servant of an MNC can say? He just parroted his master's argument to lure and deceive the people. The stark reality has already shattered the myth. Now protests against GE farming and its products are permeating not only in different parts of India but also throughout the world. Between 1999 and 2003 Europe had imposed a de facto ban on GM food imports even violating WTO rules. Frustrating the hope of biotech companies and Washington, the opposition to GM foods have been going on since 2004. In reaction to WTO courts' verdict against de facto ban on GM food

in France, Austria, Germany, Greece, Italy and Luxemburg the individual countries of EU opposed the verdict saying they will resist any attempt to make them accept GM food. Hungary has declared to remain GM – free in; its economic interest. "Greece and Austria have affirmed their total opposition to the GE crops. Italy has called the WTO ruling 'unbalanced' and Poland's Prime Minister had pledged to keep the country GM-free. Local govts are even more opposed: more than 3500 elected councils in 170 regions of Europe have declared themselves GM-free. "(Guardian News paper dtd 2006). Now in 25 countries of the European Union no biotech rice is allowed to have entry. In the face of the peoples growing opposition to GM food, US food companies have to leave European market and they are now concentrating on developing countries. But here too it is not a smooth sailing! The US food companies are meeting strong opposition from unions and farming groups. In Latin America Bolivia is going to fully reject GM foods. In Korea, Indonesia, Philippines and else where US food companies are facing large demonstrations in opposition to GM foods. In the Middle East too, GE imports are banned. People's agitations, protests and demonstrations are growing throughout the world.

### **His Masters' voice**

The govt. of India, even amidst such a worldwide opposition to GE foods and crops, peddles stories taught by MNCs. As a representative of the indigenous ruling classes, the cronies of MNCs, continue to deceive the people. On Sept 30, 06 Union Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar, disregarding protests against GE foods and crops, said that other than Bt cotton, several transgenic crops are in the pipeline, including pigeon pea resistant to bollworm, Bt brinjal, tomato resistant to leaf curl virus, tomato with delayed ripening and improved shelf life and potato with enhanced levels of essential amino acids. He did not tell the fact that the repeated failure of Bt cotton, how it devastated the cotton farmers of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra leading to suicides of thousands of farmers! However, a peddler of MNC should not tell the reality following accepted norms of fairness! So he took up the next point. He placed the importance of transgenic technology which was

significant in solving problems in improvement of crop plants, particularly reducing over dependence on pesticide and other chemicals and improving lower production and productivity. Moreover, as he described, biotechnology offered a tremendous potential to tackle the issue of food security as well as nutritional security. "If used in a responsible manner, it can help reduce poverty and improve the livelihoods of the rural poor". Of course he did not forget to say that "confidence is needed to be built among the consumers that GM foods are safe and eco friendly". What more can the MNCs propagate? Reality does not confirm this propaganda. A farmer from northern Karnatak said, "In agriculture, GE is not good for crops, soil, animals or humans, its introduction leads to the loss of agro-biodiversity. It increases seed costs and use of pesticides continues. Further, the farmers don't get returns. Since farmers are not literate, they believe whatever the companies tell them. But it is clear these crops have no nutrition, only water and pesticides" (The Hindustan Times, Feb 8, 06). Another example that was cited by D. Raghunandan, Greenpeace India, opposes the claim of "increase/yield and production". The experience of the world's most widely grown GE crop, soyabeans, shows that the yields of GE soybaeans is around 5% less than conventional soya. The varieties of GE rice are not supported by credible claims of increased yield either. Eduardo Galeano Urugneyau writer and journalist stated the experience of his country – there is evidence that these inventions of Dr. Frankenstein damage the health of the soil and reduce national sovereignty. Are we exporting Soya or exporting our land? Aren't we now trapped in the cage of Monsanto and other giant companies whose seeds, herbicides, and pesticides we have become dependent on?..... The vast expanses destined for GM Soya, razing native forests and forcing out poor peasant farmers. The highly mechanized form of farming creates very few jobs; instead it exterminates small farm plots and orchards with the poisons it sprays. The exodus accelerates to the big cities, where it is supposed those driven from the land will be able to consume, with luck, as soon

**Continued on page 15**

# The conflict in Darfur: Sudan on US imperialist firing line!

-Jyoti

The US has given January 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 as the dead line to Sudan to accept the UN forces in place of the 53 member African Union force numbering 7000 which is stationed presently in Darfur region of Sudan to oversee the peace deal arrived at Abuja, the OPEC headquarters in Nigeria in August 2005. The UN Security Council passed the resolution 1706 in August 2006 under US pressure, to deploy UN forces of 20,000. This resolution did not come for implementation as Sudan vehemently opposed it. US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, warned in September that Khartoum faces “a choice between cooperation and confrontation, after desperate attempts by the US and western imperialists which tried to force on Sudan to accept the 20,000 blue helmeted UN forces. Sudan resisted vehemently and a compromise deal was struck to send 4000 more African Union troops and UN to augment more funds for the logistics support to the supervising forces.

## Threats of forcible intervention

In September, Mr. Bush in his speech to the UN cried hoarse that there was genocide (ignoring his own war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan) in Darfur. Devils do recite the scriptures, goes the adage!! And under UN charter, UN can enter even without the permission of any country in case of a genocide. Bush, after he failed to force Sudan to agree to the deployment of UN forces, immediately appointed a special envoy Andrew Natsios, a former administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, to Sudan. Natsios came out with the real intention of the US: that the Bush administration will resort to an **unspecified “Plan B”** if the Sudanese government does not agree by Jan.1 to deploy international peacekeeping forces for its Darfur region. Natsios, speaking to reporters, declined to explain what he meant by “Plan B,” saying he was not trying to make a threat. “On January 1st, either we see a change or we go to Plan B,” he said. If there is no change in Sudan’s attitude, “then a more confrontational approach will take place,” “The United States will not accept any of this ....”. Iran, Syria, North Korea and now Sudan are on the firing line of the US imperialists.

## Sudan’s stand

Khartoum always claimed that a U.N.-led international force would mean a return back to colonialism.

“Our position is that the forces of the African Union should continue in Darfur,” Omar Hassan al-Bashir, President of Sudan, told reporters. “We categorically . . . reject the transformation of the African force in Darfur into a U.N. force.” There is wider support from Arab people that in the name of UN, US should not be able to meddle in the affairs in Sudan. Arab intellectuals are raising a point that with one or other pretext the US wants to interfere in Sudan. There is little difference between US and the UN, is the popular feeling among the People of Arab countries. “The so-called ‘international peacekeeping force’ is an euphemism for foreign military intervention which is destined to have disastrous repercussions for the people of Darfur and Sudan as a whole”, says Gamal Nkrumah, the foreign editor of leading Egyptian newspaper, Al-Ahram

“We don’t want the United Nations back to Sudan no matter what the conditions,” said Sudan President Bashir at a news conference during the nonaligned movement summit in Cuba. While the African Union is advocating an “African Solution” (not allowing any western powers interference), Pakistan and Algeria opposed any sanctions against Sudan. Arab League firmly opposed any “precipitative action”. Despite wide spread opposition US and Britain are trying their best to force the deployment of UN forces with or without the consent of Sudan and to initiate punitive sanctions against Sudan.

## Sudan and history of uprisings

Sudan is Africa’s largest country with a multinational population of 4 crore. It is just more than one quarter of the US size, Darfur alone is the size of France. Sudan is typical mixture of Arabs and black African tribals. The 39% of Arabs dominate the power structures and the 52 percent black Africans consists of various tribal groups.

Sudan like many an African state, is synonymous with civil wars. Various nationalities are fighting for selfdetermination, autonomy and against neglect of their provinces by the central

government. There were rebellions in the South East and Western parts of that country in the past too. The civil war in the south resumed in 1983. The main participant in the war against government was the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA), the armed wing of the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), under John Garang’s leadership. The southern rebels had been taken into the government under an agreement ending 21 year armed struggle for self determination. After 6 years, there will be referendum on the question of secession from Sudan.

In its fight against the minority nationalities and ethnic groups the Sudan regime cruelly suppressed the rebellions with military might. It raised Arab militias like Janjaweed (like *Salwa Jhudum*) which along with government forces has killed thousands of Darfur tribals and twenty five lakhs had to cross the border to neighbouring Chad to escape the military and the Janjaweed. These 25 lakhs people are now lodged in the refugee camps in sub human conditions, facing manslaughter, rape and all kinds attacks by government sponsored Janjaweed vigilantes.

## Rebellion in Darfur- Background

Darfur is in the semi-arid and one of the most backward regions of Sudan. It has a predominantly agriculturoil economy with 80 percent workforce engaged in agriculture. Since 2000 Sudan is able to export oil and it has recorded good trade surplus on account of the oil trade. In the neighbouring Chad abutting Darfur, there are vast oil resources, and estimates are that Darfur also has vast oil reserves. Sudan is reputed to have very rich mineral resources.

Darfur is Sudan’s westernmost province bordering on Libya and Chad. It is very large (almost 400,000 square kilometers) and quite populous in comparison with other regions of Sudan (with around eighty lack people). 2/3 of the peasants are in the subsistence farming. The amount of rainfall determines the character of the population going from north to south: camel herders in the northern arid zone, settled peasants in the center, cattle nomads in the south bordering on the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province. **The black African Fur tribe are over half of the population, hence the name of the province Dar (home) of the Fur, and the rest**

is divided between over fifteen different ethnic/linguistic groups. All the inhabitants are Sunni Muslims.

The region was home to the independent Sultanate of Kayra around the mid-17th century. In 1916 it was finally annexed to then Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

In 1991, Daud Bolad, a Muslim Brotherhood activist of Fur ethnic origin initially supported the Bashir's regime. Disillusioned by neglect and Arab's domination, he tried to organize a revolt. Daud Bolad was defeated and killed. His attempted uprising marked a turning point in people's consciousness in Darfur.

### Revolt and Repression

Historically, North Darfur and parts of West and South Darfur have suffered recurrent droughts. Crop yields have remained low and unpredictable due to erratic rainfall, pest infestation and the lack of agricultural inputs. The livestock has also dwindled due to pasture and water scarcity.

The main cause of this conflict is the widespread feeling of being consistently marginalized socio-economically and the sense of alienation which is giving rise to the struggles for self determination.

The present conflict started in February 2003. It has rapidly developed into wide spread guerrilla war. The guerrilla struggle was intensified on April 25 when the SLM rebels attacked the provincial capital at el-Fasher, killing 72 troops of the garrison, destroying four aircraft on the ground and capturing General Ibrahim Bushra, the garrison commander.

There are two rebel groups struggling against the Khartoum forces. One is the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM). The SLM is based mostly on the Fur and Masaleet tribes. The second rebel group is the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), based mostly on the Zaghawa tribe. SLM is the major and most powerful group among the two. The Sudanese Liberation Movement is for secession from Sudan. The Sudanese Liberation Army, led by Mini Arkoi Minawi, says it wants to "create a united, democratic Sudan."

The government forces reacted with increasingly violent attacks on the civilian population. The guerrillas opened training camps on the uninhabited slopes of Jebel Mara and recruits flocked in. Unable to control the situation, the Sudan government unleashed air power using Mi 24 combat

helicopters and bombed civilian areas. They recruited large number of vigilantes, Janjaweed. Janjaweed was used in merciless massacre of civilians.

There have been an estimated 30,000 casualties, one million people are displaced within the province and over 120,000 have fled into neighboring Chad. The fight is basically between black African insurgents and the Khartoum government and its local agents, the Janjaweed. The deep causes of the rebellion lie in Arab domination and neglect of the Africans. The African rebels point out that in spite of being a loyal part of the Muslim north, Darfur is in fact as badly off in terms of lack of infrastructure, neglect of education and economic underdevelopment as the Christian south.

Destruction of the means of livelihood of the population was another tactic of the Sudan government. Wells were poisoned, cattle were killed and foodstuff stores were destroyed. This caused massive displacement of civilians who fled to the neighbouring Chad. About 2,000 villages have been destroyed across Darfur, and violence and disease have left as many as 4,00,000 people dead and 25 lakhs homeless.

### The games the imperialists play

Throughout Africa's colonial and Cold War history, conflicts were very often used by world powers to further their own imperialist interests. US is no exception in the present context.

It is Sudan's oil, like Iraq's oil, which fuels American interest in Sudan.

Sudan is the third largest producer of oil in Africa. It has large reserves of oil and minerals. With one or other pretext the US is bullying Sudan since long. Once it was accused of supporting "International terrorism". Since 1997, there are several restrictions on Sudan by the US. In that year the U.S. government imposed a trade embargo and a total asset freeze against the Government of Sudan.

The US is most concerned about Chinese, and French monopoly of Sudanese

oil. Chad, Darfur's neighbour to the immediate West has huge oil reserves. There is no doubt that there are oil reserves in Darfur itself. The Chinese and Total Fina Elf of France know all too well that the potential for exploiting Darfur's oil in commercial quantities is tremendous. That is the reason why the US and West is interested in the Darfur's "Humanitarian crisis".

While the Sudan regime is the culprit in suppressing the rebellions and organizing vigilantes and is responsible for the ghostly crimes in Darfur, the US is desperately trying



to enter the strategic area of Darfur in the guise of supporting the hapless Darfour people.

French Foreign Minister Philippe Douste-Blazy who travelled to Darfur in September had to tell time and again journalists that the international community had no "hidden agenda" for Darfur. Rightly suspected by all vigilant people!! That too after the world witnessed what was the hidden agenda behind all the "war on terrorism"

### China becoming important player

China has been attempting to play an important role in this region. The African Summit with heads of fifty countries held in Beijing is a pointer to China's growing interests in this region. Sudan is an important trading partner to China quite from some time.

Despite the embargo Sudan has not succumbed to US pressures and it has been counting on Russia and especially China's

help. China's interests in Sudan have increased considerably. Seventy one percent of the Oil is exported to China and major share of imports are also from China.

The Chinese are major players in the Sudan oil industry, and own the rights to Block 6, which covers South Darfur and where there are unexplored oil reserves.. The Chinese own (through China National Petroleum Company) 40 percent of the main southern oil concession that produces oil for export — the only one so far producing for export. Chinese have many other investments in Sudan, such as

helping them build refineries and arms manufacturing plants. Six percent of China's total oil imports are from Sudan.

The Chinese are on the Security Council and they abstained on the resolution to refer the case of Darfur to the International Criminal Court, in March 2005. They along with Russians and African Union members are pressing against any serious puritative action against Sudan. US and its allies especially the Britain are for deployment of UN forces and serious actions like embargo by all the member countries of UN, enforcing

“no fly zones”, etc., Apart from these US is seriously weighing the options of unilateral action on Sudan.

In September, the United States and its allies are counting other options, in confronting the Sudanese government, including the possibility of military intervention despite Bashir's objections. It is clear that Sudan is able to insulate to some extent because of China's support. For the present the US and EU are unable to push sanctions because of this factor.

Sudan could become potential flash point in the coming days.

**[PM]**

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### Continued from page 21

would help the poor and oppose privatisation.

According to the revisionist left, the electoral victories by these forces will bring a new horizon in Latin America and the world. But the experiences of the past and recent past show that these so-called left governments in Latin America have failed to keep their radical promises and rather implemented the neoliberal policies with an iron fist in a velvet glove. The most recent example is Lula. In 2002 the Workers Party candidate Lula won the President election in Brazil with a promise of redistribution of land to the landless poor, renegotiations of IMF loans and IMF imposed policies. He shamefully switched his colour and betrayed the people by sticking on the path of neo liberalist policies and has in fact turned out worse than his right-wing predecessor.

While Chavez in Venezuela showed some radical possibilities by taxing the oil multinationals and increasing state revenues and creating better health and education for the poor of Venezuela, he has strong economic ties with Russia and China. Morales is showing some positive signs by nationalizing oil gas and mines but his recent declaration (mid May) of land reform is devoid of any radical substance and is rather a path to avoid confrontation with the existing ruling classes of big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. Morales knows that strong peoples movement in Bolivia is capable of ousting him as they have done with previous regimes if he fails to deliver.

### Conclusion:

In a recent Conference of the Latin American Conference of Popular Autonomous Organisations in Uruguay in February 24-25 2005 activists from all over the continent met. Some of the key observations which emerged from the conference is that in each of the Latin American countries where social democrats or progressives won, the social movements face new challenges and in some country like Uruguay after the victory of Tabare Vazquez many of the social movements demobilised and lost their edge. The *“participants discussed how to prevent growing expectations in social democratic governments from impeding the accumulation of popular power.”* They also observed that the official unions in Latin American countries are infiltrated heavily by the bourgeoisie (whether social-democratic or openly reactionary) and the workshop also clearly pointed out that the workers cannot depend on bourgeois laws and bourgeois controlled unions to protect their rights and so a new path of creating truly proletariat power is to be envisaged. (From-Znet-Marie Trigona) The huge tide of peoples' movements in Latin America is getting diverted into parliamentary reformism and without a revolutionary and Maoist direction they are getting frittered away.

The general experience of the so-called left governments in Latin America is that they get elected riding on the wave of popular dissent against the imperialist and comprador social system but after forming the government their main aim turns out to be to maintain the stability of the government following the

rules laid down by the ruling classes. They get entangled in the coercive machineries of the semi-colonial states and become just a puppet in the hands of the imperialists and their cronies. For the sake of protecting their government they put all revolutionary programs into cold storage. The experiences of the parliamentary lefts are same as that of Asian countries particularly in India where victory in the assemblies of three states and forming governments has become the be all and end all of their program.

The valiant masses are aspiring for a complete social, economic, political and cultural transformation, which will end 500 years of tyranny in Latin America. But the parliamentary left and centre left coalitions are incapable of bearing the torch of rebellion. Instead of attacking the structures of exploitation and oppression, they choose to accommodate them or rather fit themselves in the semi colonial state and become protectors of the imperial and comprador interests. In Latin America, injecting forceful politics into the popular struggle is a priority. We have seen fruitless ending of many a militant people's movement because lack of political formation. For this reason, the large popular mobilizations that oppose privatizations and overthrow governments, have to take up the task of seizing political power by linking their movements with armed struggle which will attack the very basis of imperialist subjugation, the landlord and comprador class, and by removing their hegemony, can they achieve liberation.

**[PM]**

# **Apclc Fact Finding Report On Encounter Killings Of Madhav And Seven Maoists In Nallamala Forest – Andhra Pradesh**

**T**he CPI (Maoist) AP Stat Secretary Madhav alias Burra Chenniah Goud and seven Maoists including five women were killed in encounter with the police on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2006. The alleged encounter took place in the dense Nallamala forest contiguous to Erragondapalem Mandal of Prakasam district in Andhra Pradesh

## **Police version**

The Director General of Police Mr.Swaranjt Sen and other senior police officers have claimed that the incident is a genuine encounter. The SP of Prakasam district Mr.Balasubramanyam said that “a Greyhounds team searching Nekkanti are a (a tribal hamlet) chanced upon some activity near Doraboyanipenta (another tribal hamlet) at 10 P.M on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2006. The Greyhounds team saw some pitched tents and cooking arrangements. It opened fire and the Maoists retaliated. The exchange of fire continued for one hour. Police later searched the area and found eight bodies lying scattered in a radius of 2k.m.The police further stated that ‘some of the Maoist leaders might have escaped or died while fleeing for life’ The Home Minister Mr. Janareddy while congratulating the police, categorically said that encounter killings are inevitable to maintain ‘law and order.

Disbelieving the version of the police the Human Rights organisations including APCLC have condemned the incident and described it as a fake encounter and fall out of brutal strategy of ‘hot pursuit’ of Naxalites to wipe out the movement.

In the background of recent serial encounter killings in the state, seriousness of the present incident and the confusion about the death of state level leader of the CPI (Maoist), a six member Fact Finding Team (FFT) of APCLC inquired into the incident and brought forth the following facts and circumstances regarding the ‘encounter’.

The team with great difficulty went inside the Nallamala forest and located the exact place where the encounter took place. During the course of inquiry the team members visited tribal hamlets in the forest

and talked and interviewed the people. The Team met persons who had helped the police in carrying dead bodies down from the hill and also the tribals in Nekkanti hamlet who cleared the trees for preparing the Helipad. The team came across the shepards on the way to palutla village. They gave crucial information about the incident as some injured Maoists met them on the way while running for safety. Finally the Fact Finding Team met the DSP in Markapuram town and talked to the SP of the Prakasam district and sought some clarification on the alleged encounter.

## **The scene at the place of encounter**

The incident of encounter took place on Kodavatilanka hill situated between Palutla villege and Nekkantipenta at a distance of 15 and 10KM. respectively. The team reached the scene on 26<sup>th</sup> July. The team found utensils, kit bags, medical kit and some articles scattered all over the place. By watching two ovens and the substance in the bowels the team understood that at the time of incident the squad members might have been involved in cooking. About 20 steel plates of which five were found damaged, and 30 to 50 kgs of rice, some tea and milk powder packets were found scattered on the ground. The team could observe torn out notebooks, letter pads and two documents relating to Mahboobnagar and Nalgonda district plenary meetings held in 2004. There were four- sentry posts arranged to guard themselves and to keep a watch on the police. The team members saw three bullet marks on the trunks of the trees and a blood marks near the heliped.

From careful observation of the scene one can reasonably infer that there was no adequate arrangements for holding a state level meeting by the Maoists. As the number of steel plates found at the place is only 20 and the quantum of rice left may be sufficient for two or three days. The Fact Finding team believes that 10 to 12 Maoists might have gathered there either for a review of their programmes or to conduct political classes. There was no evidence to indicate that the Maoists had

planned to hold a State level meeting and the police successfully disturbed it.

## **Exchange Of Fire?**

The firing might have taken place between 7.30 and 8.00 am on 23<sup>rd</sup> July. The police themselves have admitted that they fired first at a woman who was on sentry duty. The injured Maoists while escaping from the scene of encounter met the shepards on their way and informed that five of their comrades died in the firing and five members had gone for fetching water and looking after security arrangement. Soon after hearing the firing they might have escaped for safety.

The tribals who had gone for bringing down the dead bodies overheard the discussion among the greyhounds, and the same was informed to the team members. The essence of conversation is that ‘if the Maoists had been alert and used the weapons there would have been more casualties on the side of greyhounds.’

The DSP Mr. Ranganath also confirmed that a greyhound’s team consisting of 25 members participated in the action and first fired at the women sentry. It appears that there was no rapid fire from both the sides. There might be some resistance from the Maoists. Since the Maoists just reached and were settling down on the hill, the greyhounds might have encircled the Maoists and fired pointedly. As per the injured Maoists only five of their comrades fell down to the bullets. The remaining three might have been captured, tortured and later killed by the greyhounds. Those who had gone for fetching water might have escaped immediately after hearing the gunshots.

The DGP in his press brief told that they have good intelligence output and informer network to trace the movements of armed squads in the forest. The DGP said with jubilation that the greyhounds team has successfully completed the task. This implies that the police have been pursuing a policy of hunting down the Naxalites in the guise of encounters.

Based on the information gathered from the tribals, material at the site, the first hand information left by the injured Maoist with

the shepherds, the team is of the opinion that police had a clear information of the movement of the armed squad, encircled it and killed. There might be minimum resistance from the Maoists. If the greyhounds had maintained some restraint they could have captured the victims alive. The intention is to kill the naxalites.

### Flouting all legal procedures

In order to prevent the police from violating all procedures of law and the NHRC directions that are to be followed in encounter killings, APCLC moved the High Court of AP and sought the following directions.

1. To preserve the dead bodies and take necessary steps to preserve them from decomposition
2. To conduct post-mortem examination by the experts, shift the dead bodies either to Osmania Medical Hospital, Hyderabad or Medical Hospital, Guntur.
3. To handover the dead bodies to the concerned relatives after proper identification.
4. To prosecute the greyhounds or persons responsible for the encounter killings under 302 IPC.

The Honourable High Court responded very favourably and directed the State Government and concerned officials to perform post-mortem by the specialists, to identify and handover the dead bodies to the relatives. This must be done in the presence of APCLC president Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (petitioner), the district judge and the collector. APCLC President

complained that the post-mortem, was conducted hurriedly, only two relatives are allowed to identify the body. The CD's of the post-mortem were sealed and signed by the APCLC President, District Judge and sent to the High Court.

Indeed, it was an herculean task to bring the dead bodies and send them to the mortuary. First, the tribals protested to carry the dead bodies and later accepted afraid of future consequences. There was unreasonable delay in identification and transporting the dead bodies. Five days after the incident the relatives received the dead bodies. They found it difficult to identify their kith and Kin list of victims.


### The list of the victims:

1. Madav alias Burra Chinnaiah Goud alias Sri Sailam, A.P. State Secretary, CPI (Maoist). Karimnagar District.
2. Rajitha alias Suseela, Hyderabad.
3. Vijaya Lakshmi alias Shyamalakka, Hyderabad.
4. Ramesh alias Eswar, Anantapuram.
5. Rama, Ardavedu Mandal, Lakshimpuram village, Prakasam District (Commander, Nallamalla Forest Division Committee Secretary).
6. Nagamani - Julakallu Village, Piduguralla Mandal, Guntur District (Squad member).
7. Uday Kumar alias Ramana, Hyderabad.
8. Kusuma alias Sangeetha - Ramajipalli, Pedda Sankarapalli Mandal, Mahaboobnagar District.

Police have made all attempts to suppress the evidence. How can they collect CD's, wireless sets, other documents before the inquest? Any revenue officials do not endorse the amount of cash they recovered at the spot. Although the inquest has been conducted by the officers concerned, it is only the police announced the details of the articles and things at the scene of offence. Will the police produce before the court the material that they have collected from the scene! APCLC has filed a writ petitions on this extra judicial murders and it has come for hearing before a division bench. How the Honourable High Court responds and what would be the wisdom of and judicial mind of the court on this issue of blatant violation of basic and fundamental right to life.

APCLC requests all the human rights organisations across the country to make a voice against the extra judicial murders and bring pressure on AP state government to stop immediately the state encouraged murders. .

Write to the following


1. The Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Raj Bhavan, Raj Bhan Road, Hyderabad  
Fax No- 040-23312650; E Mail-  
governor@ap.nic.in
2. Dr.Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy,  
Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh  
C.Block, A.P.Secretary, HYDERABAD  
Fax No-040-23454828;  
E.Mail-cmcamp@ap.nic.in 

### Continued from page 10

as they produce. its agrarian reform; or rather, agrarian reform in reverse”.

The very introduction of GE technology leads to disaster. It ensures more ruthless plunder and exploitation of MNCs – imperialist forces rendering devastation of country's economy, environment and abject dependence on imperialists. It is an “agrarian reform in reverse”. But who does bother for that? It is not Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister of India, nor his cabinet ministers. It is not the UPA, nor NDA and their constituent parties. Nor even those other multi-colored fronts who aspire to form govt. All are shameless. Dignity and prestige of the country

does not carry any sense to them. They turn their deaf ear to the voice of the people who demand for the development of a free, independent and self reliant path of progress. Though the word “sovereignty” is very common in the rulers' vocabulary and is used now and then, it does not have any place in their hearts. These parties and their leaders do not have any regard to this land and the countrymen. What they have in their mind is how promptly they can follow the projects dictated by the imperialists, more particularly at present, the US imperialist Mr. Manmohan and Mr. Pawar, with great enthusiasm, have been peddling the

“UN Millennium Development Goal of reducing hunger by half – by 2015”. So under cover of suitable slogans, as dictated, they are introducing biotechnology to meet imperialist hunger for more exploitation and plunder. The fundamental causes are not to be addressed by them. These can only be addressed by peoples' Govt. which emerges in the course of peoples struggle to build a new social system – a social system that ensures equitable distribution of social assets and access to food as basic and fundamental rights. Dignity of the people and sovereignty of the land can only be ensured by such a peoples' Govt. 



# Latin America: A Boiling Cauldron

*D.Rao*

Latin America, better to say the whole of the American continent barring USA and Canada, is an extreme example of massive inhuman exploitation. Everywhere in the continent the local oligarchy representing ruling classes – i.e. landowners, mine owners and comprador bourgeoisie - colludes with Imperialist Global Capital, making grotesque profits for themselves and their foreign masters. In the fields and in the factories millions of people are being ruthlessly exploited by them and the vast majority of the countrymen are suffering from hunger, living on the edge without work, without roofs, without health, without education. While the resources of the continent are getting drained continuously to inflate the coffers of Multinationals and their local cronies, the masses are being reduced to abject poverty. The last 20 years of practice of neo-liberal economics not only increased the loot by global capital but also made life more and more miserable for the people of Latin America with increased austerity measures adopted by the government of all hues. It is also to be kept in mind that these ruling classes of landowners, mine owners, comprador bourgeoisie are hand in glove with imperialism and are at the root of all problems of the Latin American people. They have driven the continent in the path of an export oriented economy where the total continent has been serving as a rich resourceful hinterland for metropolitan capital. This is reflected in the net resource transfer out of the Latin American and the Caribbean region from 2000 to 2003 of 782,200,00,000 US dollars (Source: ECLAC, UN). These ruling classes are now confronting people's unrest more and more, and resorting to various means to placate them. But the wretched people of this continent are gradually realizing that "people's rights are not begged for but are won in the struggle."

## **Historical perspective:**

The history of Latin America in the last 500 years is the history of colonisation and exploitation as well as valiant resistance of the masses against the oppressors. The discovery of America in 1493 A.D by Columbus was followed by European

invasions. These invasions literally committed genocide of the indigenous populations. The settlers took over the fertile lands and the decimated Indian population were pushed into the highlands and interiors or to serve as labour badly exploited and oppressed, on the lands, that was once theirs. In North America the indigenous population almost got wiped out by the civilized barbarians. In the south, barring Brazil, where the Portuguese colonizers settled, the Spanish emperor took control. The valiant indigenous people of Latin America though they lost the initial battle, still did not completely succumb to their enemy. The imperialist design to use indigenous people as slaves was greatly jeopardized due to armed attacks by Indians and their desertion. These events compelled the Colonizers to import slave labor from Africa to toil in the fields and mines.

At the time of the Napoleonic war in Europe, around 1810 A.D, both Spanish and Portuguese control over their Latin American colonies got weakened and the emerging ruling classes of the big landlords, mine owners and export oriented comprador lumpen bourgeoisie in collaboration with the progressive national bourgeoisie and exploited masses rebelled against the metropolitan control of Spain and Portugal and almost the entire continent freed herself from the shackles of retarding imperialist control of Spain and Portugal. In the leadership of Simon Bolivar, the Andean region of Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela got liberated from Spanish rule in 1825. But the strong Nationalist dream of Simon Bolivar to integrate Latin America as a nation and get rid of North American imperial control remained unfulfilled. Independence from the control of the Imperialist power did not initiate independent capitalist growth in the continent. The export oriented Comprador bourgeoisie in alliance with landlords and mine owners opposed the economic policies which would encourage growth of local or national industries by guarding them against cheap industrial import from Europe and North America. This ruling alliance also fiercely opposed redistributionist land reform programs

which would have expanded the buying power of the masses who were toiling in the fields, resulting in expansion of the local market and economic production. The tussle between the progressive nationalist bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie and Landlords was eventually won by the later group and they established new bonds of subservience with the emerging imperialist and capitalist powers of British and US imperialism who required the rich raw or semi processed products from the fields and mines of Latin America. While, in the USA just the reverse happened. The industrialist progressive national bourgeoisie of the north was able to defeat the export oriented Cotton growers, Plantation owners, slave owners and mine owners of the south and ushered in the Capitalist path of growth.

The masses of Latin America were deceived of the promises of liberation from Imperialist rule. The control of political power by the ruling elite did not come smoothly. People's rebellions, coups, mass upsurges throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century all over the continent shows how courageously people fought against the cronies of imperialism.

## **Tentacles of Global Capital**

### **IMF-WB Policies**

The structural adjustment programs which was imposed in India in the 1990s was applied and experimented long before in Latin America. The Chilean dictator Pinochet after ousting the progressive Salvador Allende in the 1970s implemented the Structural reform programs which gave immense maneuverability to foreign capital to dictate terms. In the 1980s and early 90's when the military dictatorships of Latin America drove the economies into a deep debt trap and people's movements were turning towards radical change on the continent, it was impossible for the imperialists and comprador class to operate through military dictatorships. They changed the form of government and allowed the new civilian regimes to come into being to sabotage the possibility of radical change by deceiving the people with the façade of democracy while they kept economic, military, political control in



the new governments. The hopes of the people were belied, who saw puppet military regimes being replaced by comprador civilian regimes under the facade of parliamentary democracy, and so remained hostage to US and Global imperialism. The deep debt crisis actually helped the new civilian regimes and their foreign masters to justify the IMF, WB proposed austerity measures like: fiscal cuts, wage freeze and retrenchment and other labour market reforms to decrease the bargaining power of the proletariat, privatization of public enterprises and denationalization of the resources. Far from ending future borrowing, these policies added to the enormous debt burden and dependence of the region on Imperial Capital.

### **NAFTA Blues & FTAA: 1994— onwards the “Trade” doctrine**

“Trade is the most certain path to lasting prosperity” — George W. Bush, Summit of the Americas

Mr. Bush spoke this half truth; certainly “Trade” proved to be the path of lasting prosperity for the foreign investors and their local collaborators and compradors; not for the toiling farmers and workers who experience everyday their real income and wages getting decreased due to voluminous international trade crushing all barriers.

After the end of the Cold War US imperialism tried to secure its firm control on the Americas. Its target was to dismantle all trade barriers from Alaska in the north to the “Straits of Magellan” in the south. This would allow US imperialism to stake its claim on the natural resources, labour resources and markets of the land, while keeping Japanese and European capital at bay. To realize the Grand plan first they implemented the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) comprising of US, Canada and Mexico in 1994. From the very beginning the NAFTA was designed to be heavily skewed in favor of US agribusiness, industries and capital. The US Govt did not decrease any subsidy towards its large agribusinesses, which rendered their products very cheap in other countries if trade barrier were removed and also was able to keep the protectionist measures against import from Canada and Mexico intact. In spite of these uneven set of rules US was able to ram through very

critical liberalization rules with respect to investment and investment protection, intellectual property rights and as well as removal of trade tariff barriers for industrial and agri-products. The NAFTA agreements ensured supreme investment protection to the investors. They could demand compensation if change in domestic policies, ranging from environment, health & food, safety regulations, result in “indirect expropriation” of the profit of the investment. After almost 12 years of implementation, NAFTA brought enormous profits to this capital and misery to the people of all the three countries. In Mexico, which is being sighted as the success story of the free trade agreements to the whole world by these imperialists, according to UN Human development report 2005: *“In stark contrast to this export success story, economic growth per capita between 1990 and 2003 averaged just over 1%. Real wages are stagnant, and unemployment is higher than at the start of the 1990s.”* By importing subsidized maize from the US lowering its tariff down to 99%, Mexico had strangled its own subsistence maize farmers for whom the maize farming has become economically unviable and it contributed to a 70% decrease in real income of the Mexican maize farmers and loss to agricultural employment was 1.3 to 1.85 million. “Agricultural export growth has been concentrated in large irrigated commercial farms, while small farmers have had to adjust to increased import competition.”(UNDP-2005). As farming became economically unviable, almost 1000 Mexicans are leaving rural Mexico every day in search of jobs to the towns or as illegal immigrants to the US. The increase in manufacturing exports did not lead to a high technology boom in the country because “half of the exports originate in the Maquiladora zone, where production is dominated by simple assembly and re-export of imported components.” This dependence on low wage labour intensive manufacturing not only made the existence of the “Maquiladoras” unsafe as foreign investment is sure to fly to the next low wage destination in the world but also, despite increased and sustained productivity by labour, real wages have not increased as organized bargaining by the unions do not exist in the export

processing zones of Mexico. The increase of women in the export processing zone workforce has decreased their wages almost 10% less than the men. Long working hours, sexual harassment, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, termination of jobs, and all the vices of capitalism are experienced by the workforce in these export processing zones. NAFTA also brought job loss to the developed partners of the treaty. This indicated greater appropriation of the labour by capital. In the US the official figure of NAFTA job loss is 5,25,000 in the first 10 years.

This gloomy performance of NAFTA has awakened the Latin American people and they had risen to the occasion by protesting rebelliously against the grand design of US imperialism to annex the total Americas to its coffers through the “Free Trade Areas of the Americas” (FTAA) treaty. Due to the valiant protest by the masses the head of states of the continent did not dare set a firm date on the FTAA which the US wanted to be set for 2005. The failure on the part of the US to push through the FTAA negotiations did not restrain it from signing free trade agreements with Chile, Colombia and Peru while with Ecuador the talks are on.

### **People’s Struggle rock the continent**

The recent events in Latin America and throughout the American continent have chilled the bones of the US and other imperialists, global finance capital and their local collaborators. Massive people’s struggles throughout the continent against the Free Trade Agreements with USA, for equitable radical distribution of land, demanding indigenous people’s rights, nationalization of resources, against the malpractices and loot of multinationals, for sovereignty of the countries, scrapping of IMF-WB sponsored policies and waiver of IMF-WB debts have gained tremendous momentum, millions of people marched in US in solidarity with the so called “illegal” migrants who are used as fodder to the capitalist machinery to run the US Economy. Throughout Latin America the migrant movement got widespread support among the masses who themselves are fighting against imperialism and their local cronies to maintain their day-to-day existence.

## **Ecuador:**

Ecuador saw a month long protest in March '06 by the Indigenous community and workers against the ongoing Free Trade Agreement between the caretaker Ecuadorian Government of Alfredo Palacio and the US government. From March 13 indigenous Ecuadorians in the leadership of Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) and the Confederation of the Peoples of Kichua Nationality of Ecuador (Ecuarrunari) began a national mobilization against the Andean Free Trade Agreement and the bilateral free trade agreement with USA which Colombia and Peru have already signed. The protesters demanded that the government should make public whatever they have negotiated in the free trade agreements till now and stop the negotiation and call for a country wide referendum. They also strongly demanded that election for a constituent assembly be conducted which will draft a new constitution for the country. The protesters were also demanding that the government should cancel its contract with Occidental Petroleum, a US multinational Oil company as Ecuadorian officials have alleged that Occidental broke the law six years ago when it failed to report the transfer of a 40 per cent share in its operating concession to EnCana of Canada. The energy minister of Ecuador was not able to take a decision to scrap the contract with Occidental due to tremendous pressure by US imperialism. The protesters demanded that Ecuador should neither be a part of the US sponsored Plan Colombia nor should it allow its territory to be used by the US/ Colombian army for implementing their terror program.

The demonstration started in 14 of the 22 Ecuadorian provinces along with capital Quito. Thousands of protesters took part in marches, road blockades and demonstrations which increased day by day and saw the resignation of the interior minister of the interim caretaker government, Alfredo Castillo after publicly stating that the protesters "are right" to demand that the TLC (The Spanish acronym for Andean Region Free trade agreement) negotiations be "much clearer." As the movement gained nationwide momentum and severity on 21<sup>st</sup> March, 06 the caretaker president announced a

national emergency banning all democratic rights in the constitution. Defying the emergency 3000 protesters marched in Quito on March 2003. But the leadership of CONAIE and Ecuarrunari called off the protest on 23<sup>rd</sup> March and promised to be back on the agitation path if the free trade deals are signed or the Government fails to take appropriate action on their demands.

It is to be remembered that the rebellious masses of Ecuador like their Bolivian counterparts compelled the last president Lucio Gutierrez, who got elected on radical promises and did a volte face shamelessly and embraced neoliberal policies and friendship of Bush, to step down, and he had to flee his presidential palace by helicopter. Just some months back the people's movement forced the Ecuadorian legislature to frame a bill which will empower the state to renegotiate all the contracts with the foreign multinational oil companies who are reaping enormous profits due to the high prices of crude and petro-products in the international market. The economy minister has proposed a new oil law which will increase the government's share of windfall oil revenue from an average 30% to 50%, but the legislature are for a 60% revenue. The US oil giant Occidental has threatened to take legal action against the government if the new oil law is passed because the new law will violate contracts signed between 1992-2002.

A prelude to the struggle against FTA, 4000 contract workers shut down production in 12 Oil fields of Petroecuador, the state run oil company, in the Amazon provinces of Napo, Orellana and Sucumbios on March 8 demanding payment of their three month's salary which was not paid by the contractors. Army soldiers used tear gas and bombs to eject the strikers from several oil company sites. They ended their strike on March 12 only after promises by the Ecuadorian government to release their payments.

## **Colombia:**

In Colombia rebellious masses under the leadership of leftist revolutionaries FARC-EP, EPL and ELN are waging a war against the proxy army of the US, the Colombian army, rightwing paramilitary groups, private army and security agencies of foreign multinationals. Colombia is a

major supplier of coal, oil, to the US. The US and British multinationals own and operate huge mines in Colombia. Colombia is also infamous for the drug trade, which was started by the US which has helped funding rightwing paramilitary groups, like the AUC. Colombia is the third highest receiver of US military aid through Plan Colombia, sanctioned by Clinton and later under plan 'Patriot' designed by Bush. The Colombian government is getting money fight against drugs and "Terrorism", a favourite label of the imperialists and their cronies to stamp on any rebel organisation that dares to defy their dictate. Uribe, the current president, elected in a fraudulent election in 2002, started dialogue with Left wing Revolutionaries, but armed with renewed US help backtracked from the dialogue and lifted the ceasefire by attacking rebel positions. But FARC-EP, which almost control one third of the country, gave a befitting reply to the oppressors and their army. Especially from 2005 they achieved several important victories, which have certainly demoralised the oppressors. More repression over the common masses actually increased the resolve of the masses in opposing the ruling classes and their armies. The US govt along with the Colombian govt is trying to paint FARC-EP like a drug trafficking organisation but correlation of drug trafficking with FARC-EP operation has never been established. Whereas the US has openly supported paramilitary groups like AUC who not only have a very dismal human rights record but also actively made huge money from drug trade; and Mr Uribe the spineless President of Colombia has given soft treatment to the paramilitaries who have agreed to lay down their arms in return for reduced prison sentences for crimes including massacres and torture. Recently the Colombia government of Uribe has signed a free trade treaty with the US which will lower all tariffs on US imports in Colombia and it is feared that 2.5 million Colombians will be jobless if highly subsidized US agricultural imports enter the Colombian markets.

## **Mexico:**

In the market of San Salvador Texcoco on 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> May local flower vendors and residents who were organized under the banner of the People's Front in the Defense of the Land (FPDT), were

demonstrating against the city mayor's decision of handing over the local flower market to private parties to erect "Wal Mart" like departmental stores. The police brutally attacked the demonstrators on 3<sup>rd</sup> May and in the police brutality one 14 year old boy was killed. 40 protestors were arrested. On 4<sup>th</sup> May, residents and adjoining Atenco also started protesting in solidarity with the Texcoco residents and the police again came down heavily on the protesters and arrested a total of 190 people in two days. A nation wide protest is continuing in Mexico against the Vincent Fox government to demand the release of the prisoners. 20 Mexican organizations along with EZLN, the Zapatista rebels, called for a protest day on May 19<sup>th</sup> and a massive rally in Mexico City is planned on 28<sup>th</sup> May for the release of the prisoners.

The valiant struggle of Atenes peasants is still fresh in the memory of the countrymen. The peasants fought heroically to stop a plan of the Mexican president Vincent Fox to build an Airport in Atenco capturing 5,000 hectares of communal ejedo land. In July 2002 the peasants armed with machetes and organizing militantly barricaded the town of Atenco for three days after the military police stooped down heavily on their peaceful demonstration on July 11<sup>th</sup> 2002. The insurrectionary masses rose to the occasion and fought pitched battles with Molotov cocktails and machetes with the police, took 19 local government authorities hostage, barricaded the town, burnt down cars. For three days the town was under control of the masses and the Fox government was forced to abandon its plan to build an Airport on communal land with foreign investment.

Almost 12 years back, on the eve of 1994, guerrillas streamed into four towns of Chiapas. In the week long battles that ensued Mexican troops massacred more than 100 (unofficially 400) persons, the guerrillas who called themselves the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) retreated into the forests on the borders of Guatemala. The rebels refused to bow down under military pressure. On January 12 a cease-fire was declared. The rebellion was a protest against the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), which was scheduled to be forced from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1994. Since then

the EZLN has not taken any military initiative and now-a-days their communiqué is stressing of civil society initiative against injustices. The EZLN is touring the country to organize various oppressed sections of the society and broad masses to start a countrywide mass upsurge to demand a Constituent Assembly Election. Though EZLN did not take part or support any candidate in the last Mexican presidential election it also did not boycott the election. The militant zeal, tactics and politics is somehow missing from the old revolutionary EZLN whose communiqués are increasingly using the word "civil society" and "civil society initiatives" and deviating towards a post modernist type of ideology which will only cheer and assist the ruling classes to maintain their hegemony.

#### **Puerto Rico:**

Puerto Rico, a Caribbean country, which is still a colony of the USA, though the people of Puerto Rico don't have democratic rights to choose the US president, is an example of how profound is the so called democratic mission of US government!

Tens and thousands of workers in Puerto Rico have marched and picketed to protest the layoff of 95,000 public employees in 2005, except those related to safety, health and essential services, including 40-45 thousand teachers that began on May 1<sup>st</sup>. On that day the colonial administration of Gov. Aníbal Acevedo Vilá, claiming it had run out of money and having a budget deficit of \$750 million shut down public schools affecting 6,00,000 students and many other government agencies across the island. To protest the looming layoffs, many unions organized a march in San Juan the capital of the island on April 28 that drew 50,000. On May Day, several thousand people rallied in pouring rain, including contingents from the unions of electrical workers, teachers, and non-teaching university employees.

The government has used the layoffs and shutdown of public services to force through the first consumer sales tax in Puerto Rico's history as the Senate voted to impose a 5.9 percent sales tax on May 4<sup>th</sup> to generate revenue to pay for the workers wage. In a way the ruling classes tried to shift their failure of economic policies on the masses. Using the budget

crisis the colonial government is trying to impose more stringent austerity measures and in fact started imposing increased utility rates and tuition hikes in the universities, pressured public employees to take early retirement in recent months. As sugar coating, it also approved a new onetime 5% tax on corporations with earnings of more than \$10 million.

On May 9 2005 the electrical workers union UTIER, the Teachers Federation of Puerto Rico, and other unions held a demonstration on the docks of San Juan, blocking access to a large cruise ship. In the cities of Mayagüez and Ponce, unionists held mass pickets at shopping malls

#### **Brazil:**

On April 16 2005, 400 families, organized by the Rural Landless workers Movement in Brazil (MST is the local acronym), invaded the 600-hectare (1,480-acre) plantation owned by Suzano Papel e Celulose SA in Teixeira de Freitas, the biggest pulp and paper company in Latin America, located 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) northeast of Sao Paulo. They uprooted about 200,000 eucalyptus saplings and built temporary shacks in the land ignoring Brazil's 1988 Constitution, which says that the unproductive land may be expropriated as long as the owner is compensated. On April 28<sup>th</sup> the rebellious landless peasants moved from the occupied land after they were assured by the government of distribution of land to them but vowed to come back to the plantation if their demands are not met. The pulp and paper company cultivates 1,84,000 hectares of eucalyptus trees in the continent. On March 27 in Para state the military police forcibly evicted 600 families belonging to the MST from an encampment on the Rio Vermelho estate in Sapucaia municipality. The Quagliato group had illegally appropriated the estate. Angered by the eviction, some 800 families from an encampment in Lourival Santana blocked the PA 150 highway near Eldorado dos Carajas, and occupied a property known as the Peruvian estate. Brazil's Movement of Small Farmers (MPA) held a national campaign of mobilizations from March 27-30, with nearly 10,000 people participating in actions in 14 states against big agribusiness interests and in defense of campesino agriculture. Actions included

marches, road blockades, demonstrations and debates

The MST, on April 17<sup>th</sup> 2006 observed the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the day in 1996 when the Military Police fired at some 1,500 MST members who were marching on the PA-150 highway in Eldorado dos Carajas, Para state. The military police killed 19 protesters and wounded 69 others. The rural landless farmers organized under the banner of MST intensified their activities throughout April 2006.

Landless rural workers and peasants united under the banner of MST, which is one of the biggest landless peasant's movement in the continent, from the 1980s, are occupying the unproductive lands of the big landlords and have distributed those lands among the landless peasants. MST supported the Workers Party Presidential candidate Lula in the last presidential election in Brazil hoping to get an equitable radical distribution of land to the landless peasants of Brazil. But got disillusioned in the self proclaimed socialist president who not only committed an U-turn and embraced neo-liberalism but also colluded with ruling elites of big landlords, ranch owners and Agribusinesses to suppress the activities of the MST. The Lula government did not implement its avowed moderate target of distribution of land to the landless peasants. And his so-called socialist government's record is poorer than the previous reactionary government.

On April 2, 2006 nearly 1,500 members of Brazil's Movement of Dam-Affected People (MAB) and other organizations demonstrated at the Minas Gerais Energy Company (Cemig) in Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais state. On April 1, 3000 people took part in a march for water, energy and sovereignty for Brazilian people in Belo Horizonte, supporting 7 activists who were on hunger strike from 31<sup>st</sup> march. The protesters were protesting against the energy prices in Minas Gerais state which are highest in Brazil and the masses who use less electricity have to pay more than the industrial corporations. The protesters objected against the privatization policies of the Inter American Development Bank, which is the major financier of the hydro electric projects. The military police of Brazil carried out a string of repressive measures against the protesters from March 31<sup>st</sup> to April 4 which

resulted in several people being injured and arrested.

#### **Haiti:**

The democratically elected president of Haiti, Aristide, who was elected in 1990 with a huge margin, had been overthrown within seven months by a coup by the Haitian army, who were faithful to the previous military dictator. In 1994 when Astride came back to power he disbanded the Haitian army. Astride was re-elected in 2000 with a huge margin and in 2004 he was again overthrown by a coup planned by the US in collaboration with the French government. The disbanded Haitian army officials with US help attacked the poorly armed Haitian police who were loyal to Astride, and these *contras* in collaboration with the local US ambassador kidnapped Astride to the Republic of Central Africa. The country was taken over by the US, French and Canadian peace-keeping forces who chose a puppet regime and handed over the peace keeping of Haiti to a UN sponsored Peace Keeping Force constituted of 'Revolutionary' Lula's Brazil and 'Socialist' Chile. But constant people's movements and mobilization for fresh elections forced the UN to conduct elections in Haiti and in February 2006. The CEP or the Interim Election Commission of Haiti tried to manipulate the counting, as the Popular Candidate Rene Preval had got more than 52% of the vote, by counting the invalid 8% votes against Preval. When the CEP was not declaring the result the people took to the streets protesting against the undemocratic action of the Election Commission it was forced to announce the result. Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere and 1% of the population control half of the country's wealth and the country has a long revolutionary tradition of Toussaint L'Ouverture a black slave who organized the masses to overthrow the colonial regime and establish the Haitian republic 200 years ago.

#### **Chile:**

Thousands of Chilean workers marched in the capital on May Day and some militant section of the marcher's attacked and ransacked the symbols of US imperialism, some MNC showrooms and offices and banks.

Three Mapuche Indian prisoners and one of their supporters ended a 62 day

hunger strike against the draconian Anti terror Law of Chile after the senators assured them of action to repeal the law and working on their parole. (Reuters, 16th May) The four were sentenced to a 10-year imprisonment in 2004. Mapuche Indians, the largest indigenous group in the country is struggling against the large commercial agricultural plantations, which are encroaching upon their forests and destroying their way of life and livelihood. The Mapuche Indians are continuously waging battle against the plantations by occupying land, burning plantation trees and destroying the infrastructures. The fascist regime of Augusto Pinochet enacted the law in 1990 to curb people's protests and the 'democratic' government of the ruling classes, which is running the country from the end of the dictatorship, is using it against the same people who revolted against the dictator to end his regime. The Chilean president Bachelet who once was imprisoned by the fascist military regime and a victim of state terrorism has declined to give a presidential pardon to the hunger strikers.

Bachelet, the latest heart throb of the "army of uncritical left cheerleaders", the adjective used by James Petras, a longtime Latin American analyst, has vowed to "walk the same road" as the former socialist president, Ricardo Lagos. Lagos not only supported and implemented neo-liberal policies but also signed a free trade agreement with US and repressed people's movement within the country.

#### **Bolivia:**

Bolivia has seen rebellious social upheaval in very recent past when people of Bolivia rejected the neo-liberal globalization and privatization of natural resources of the country, which has impoverished the common masses while increased the wealth of ruling classes and their foreign masters. Bolivia, the country named after the legendary *Simon Boliver*, is rich in natural resources. It has enormous natural gas reserves second only to Venezuela in the continent, even-then it is one of the poorest countries in the continent. People of Bolivia have organized strong social movements, developed unions and fought against injustice.

In April 2000, the indigenous and non indigenous Bolivians in Cochabamba were successful in stopping the privatization of

the local water supply by a consortium of multinationals led by the US company Bechtel and the project designed by the WB by organizing street protests and blockades. The French giant Suez tried to reap profits from the privatization of water resources and supply in 2005, but the courageous masses of El Alto evicted the company in 2005. In February 2003, 34 Bolivians were killed in a protest against income tax increase suggested by the IMF. In October 2003 people rose in thousands against the president Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada's decision of privatization of the rich natural gas resources of Bolivia. 60 protesters were killed. Street protests and blockades increased in reaction to the barbaric action of the government troops and the protesters called for resignation of the president. On October 19<sup>th</sup> 2003, Lozada had to resign, vice president Carlos Mesa took the presidential post and arranged a countrywide referendum on the gas resource issue on July 2004. But the referendum did not have the option of nationalization of the gas resources. So street protests across the country increased day by day and in March 2005 Mesa resigned from the presidential post. Evo Morales, the indigenous leader of MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo : Movement towards Socialism) was elected president in December 2005 after his promises of nationalization of natural resources like oil and petroleum reserves and forests, scrapping of the neo-liberal model imposed by the IMF-WB on Bolivia, radical redistribution of lands to the landless and securing rights of the indigenous farmers to cultivate coca which is endangered by the current war on drugs by the US .

But Morales, a son of the soil, who organized Movement towards Socialism and also was the president of the Coca grower's union, was not as radical in his actions and convictions as he was in his speeches. At the height of the 2003 popular uprising in Bolivia demanding the nationalization of resources Morales was in Geneva attending meetings on parliamentary politics hobnobbing with the ruling elite of Europe.

Morales is walking on a path that is non-confrontational with the ruling land owning classes and comprador businesses of the country. Though the May first announcement of the nationalization of oil

and gas resources by Morales was cheered by millions of Bolivians and created fear among foreign multinationals operating in the country and imperialists, his mid May announcement of land redistribution was a clear sign of non confrontational path with the land owning magnets of the Bolivian society when he ruled out mass expropriation and instead proposed for redistribution of 5 million hectares (12.36 million acres) of state-owned property to indigenous groups and then identify unproductive private land for possible redistribution. According to a UN report of October 2005, 100 families control over 25 million hectares of land while 2 million Campesino families have 5 million hectares of land in Bolivia.

### **Argentina:**

Argentina suffered a devastating financial crisis in 2001 due to the aggressive implementation of neo-liberal economics from the 1990s under the leadership of President Carlos Menem. The pundits of neo-liberal economics in the pursuit of maximizing loot for imperialist capital, controlling inflation and privatization of public assets made the country's economy fragile. In 2001 the country's economy collapsed with a collapse of the peso and of the domestic credit system and the economy slipped into a deep slump with a 20% fall in GDP in the next year. Income distribution became worse and poverty rates doubled within a year. The banking institutions collapsed and it was one of the worst nightmares of the capitalist economists. Lifelong savings of pensioners evaporated in just days and thousands of people took to the streets protesting against the neo-liberal policies and the crisis created by the IMF-WB duo. The mass protests and popular uprising forced six governments to change within a few months. In 2003 the 'left-leaning' Néstor Kirchner took office in Argentina and ensured the protesting masses that he would bargain hard with the IMF and other International creditors. The country threatened to default with its payment to IMF and its threat forced the IMF to back away from its demands for increased austerity measures and higher interest rates in the country's economy and Argentina was able to renegotiate its over 100 Billion USD foreign debt to a significantly reduced value. Kirchner has

supported the repeal of amnesty laws protecting military officers. But it was the same Kirchner who has been collaborating with the US in many spheres.

### **Electoral Scenario and its impact on peoples movement**

The massive people's movements have turned into a giant social movement from below and pervade the entire continent of Latin America. These are against imperialist onslaught and exploitation, particularly, against the U.S. imperialist. People's demand and movements are creating a massive pressure on the socialists, social-democrats, parliamentary communists and other ruling class parties under the garb of 'leftists' to at least temporarily declare a pro people stand to defuse the people's unrest and save the existing system. Haiti saw the victory of Rene Perval, a close associate of Aristide (the former elected president who was ousted by US backed contras in 2004) and in Bolivia the victory of Evo Morales came after almost a year long protest by the rebellious masses. In Chile the socialist party (which was part of the ruling coalition) candidate Michelle Bachelet the former defence minister of the previous government won the presidential election and vowed to follow the footsteps of the previous socialist president Lagos who signed a free trade treaty with the USA. In Brazil Lula da Silva won a second term in the October, 2006 election deceiving the masses with pro-people vocabulary. In Nicaragua the Sandinista leader and former Marxist Daniel Ortega blessed by the Church, flanked by a former contra as his Vice President won the presidency election of Nov., 06. His 'left' image helped him to come back as he pledged to promote the private sector and build on free trade agreements. Rafael Correa, a leftist economist won the presidency in the recently completed election in Ecuador. Mr. Correa, during his campaign called for Ecuador to cut ties with World Bank and IMF, and also pledged to institute 'Citizens' revolution'. While in Mexico parliamentary left supported candidate Lopez Obrador of the Democratic Revolutionary Party was defeated by just 0.5%. In protest of massive manipulation in vote counting thousands of people took the streets and Mr. Obrador pledged to head a govt. that

**Continued on page 13**

# Women's Genuine Revolutionary Empowerment

(The example of Soni, vice-president of a Revolutionary People's Government in Dandakaranya)

Dear readers,

I would like to tell you the story of a woman. She is not an educated woman. She is born into an adivasi family. Her name is Soni. She is a revolutionary. Not an ordinary revolutionary. She is the vice president of an Area level 'janathana Sarkar' (Revolutionary People's Government) in Dandakaranya.

Soni's mother died when she was still young. She was trying to separate two groups fighting with each other when she was hit in the stomach. She died after 24 hours. They did not take her to the hospital because that was not in practice at that time. She could not be treated in any other manner too. The whole family could do nothing but watch her struggle to live and the final death.

The mother left behind Soni, her younger brother and three younger sisters. They were brought up by their father and grandmother. Being the eldest, Soni had a responsibility towards the family.

Her village was one of those which the revolutionary movement visited right from the time of its entrance into this area. Soni used to see the squad since her childhood. Her father used to attend the activities. But at that initial period women were not allowed to go to the meetings or to meet the squad. Moreover she was a child. But the situation gradually changed.

She was very much interested in songs. Even now she is enthusiastic to sing songs. So the squad used to take her along with them to perform.

Soni crossed childhood. By that time the Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS), (the women's organization in Dandakaranyam) was formed in her village. Naturally she became a member in the organization. Soni was active in the organization. After a while she became a member in the Range Committee of the organization.

Her activity continued. As a member of the Range Committee she used to

visit the surrounding villages. She organized many women into the organization. As an activist of the women's organization, she could fight against the patriarchal customs in the society. She got a better understanding about the forces behind the customs, behind their living condition and so on. She also learnt politics. She learnt to read and write.

Her father did not object to her activities. But later when the police knew about her, he was apprehensive. He started objecting. But Soni did not bother about her father's fears.

By the time her responsibilities in the organization increased, her sisters grew up. So she could spend less time in household work.

In 1998 – '99 it was decided to recruit her into the squad. Just before joining the squad she developed illness. She had to go to the hospital. It took one whole year to overcome the illness. After she recovered, the squad asked her to join them. But her father told her to stay for some time and to join the squad after 2 – 3 years. She too had second thoughts. She thought she would stay home. But the squad commander used to always discuss the situation and the prospects of joining them.

Soni had an experience with the police. She was deceived and picked up by the police. Let us now the story from her voice:

*Four years after this, as a part of my treatment I saw a doctor. I was accompanied by my elder sister and one of my women comrades. The doctor gave me 4 injections. I was suspicious why he was giving so many injections at a time. This did not happen in the earlier treatment. The effect of injections started showing. There was heavy sweating. I could not stand. I could not sit. I could not move.*

*I came to my sister's house with great difficulty. The doctor gave me three tablets and told me to take them after I go home. My sister was insisting that I should take them, thinking I would become better. She did not doubt the doctor. But my suspicion only increased*

*with my physical situation. So I did not have the medicine. I asked my sister for something to eat. Inside I was thinking what to do. I was with a strong doubt that the police might come.*

*I ate with difficulty and rested. The thoughts continued. Contemplating, I went near the door. I heard the sound of motor cycles and saw the police coming. I immediately went back to the bed, covered myself with a blanket and slept. The police stopped in front of the house and came inside. My sister was stunned.*

*The police enquired about me. They asked why I was sleeping. My sister told I was not well. They talked to me directly. They asked me to get up. I said I cannot. I told them that I was given injections and that due to the effect I was unable to stand. They said, "Sir is calling. You come and see him. You can be back immediately".*

*I told them I would come at 4' o'clock in the evening. But they insisted. I thought going with them is inevitable. I told the woman comrade accompanying me to return and pass the information to my village. Since we talked in the local language the police could not understand. I went along with them. They took me to the SI at the police station. Two of my relatives accompanied me. While going I told my younger sister to tell the police whatever I tell them, if she was questioned. If I did not speak, I told her not to speak.*

*The SI interrogated. He told me my original name and asked the details. He wanted to know which squad I belong to, how many members were there in the squad and where the squad moves. It was a marathon interrogation. At one time they even threatened to give me electric shocks. They put me in that room.*

*But all through, I maintained a different name and place. I told them I was innocent and that I did not know anything about the party. They tried to lure me. They asked me to tell at least that I was a member of the party. I did not admit that. I continued the story I told them before.*

It was the time when talks were going in between the Naxalite party and the government in Andhra Pradesh. The police started discussing what to do with me. Though they had specific information about me, they now had a doubt whether it was correct or not. In the present political atmosphere, they did not take the risk to kill me in an 'encounter'. They were not ready to face any problem from their higher ups.

Meanwhile, one of my brothers, a panchayat member came to the police station. He too told I was innocent. The police told him that they suspect that I would return and join the naxalites. My brother assured them that if I join the naxalites he could be arrested. They left me after 24 hours.

My brother brought me back to my sister's house. He told me that the doctor is not reliable and that he deceived me with the injections. He advised me to leave the place immediately and go to my village. I went back home.

Later the squad met me and discussed the situation. I thought it was high time I joined full time. The police would not allow me to work. Then

onwards I started working whole time in the Party.

Now Soni is working in the Janathana Sarkar (revolutionary people's government). Initially she was the president of the Sarkar in the village. Now she is the vice-president of the area level Sarkar. She has been in this field of work for such a long time that she has very clear opinions about how the people's government should be and how it could improve.

The people's government is changing the society in more than one way. Agriculture is the main aspect of people's lives. The people's government brought a great change in agriculture. It brought the people into collective tilling. It taught them irrigation. It developed fish culture. It developed the mode of production. Basing on this it brought change in all the fields of the people's life. This change developed more political consciousness in soni too.

One of the great achievements is to break the age old customs regarding women too. One of the tribes does not allow women to sow seeds. So to fight back this custom the local people's government allotted land to the women.

In this land the women of the village do all the work. This proved in practice that nothing would happen if women sow seeds.

Now Soni feels women must be involved more in the Sarkar and in all its departments. She also feels the importance of a residential school apart from the 10 – 12 village level schools under the people's government. She said the party is thinking in these lines. Agricultural committees are to be made multi purposeful, she said.

Coming to the participation of women, she said that women were increasingly being recruited in the party. They are in the militia and the cultural organization mostly. There are four women in the Sarkar where Soni is working, out of the total 12.

**Dear readers,**

This is the spirit of the Revolutionary movement. It is the spirit of the Revolutionary women's movement.

Come and see the women in struggle in Dandakaranya. Come and see the revolutionary movement. Come and exchange your opinions and experiences with them. This is the main stream of the society there. [PM]

Eventhough People's March is a Registered Newspaper we had to send People's Maech to bulk subscribers in West Bengal by Regd. Book Packet containing Printed Books. Now we are rceiving complaints over phone that the December 2006 issue posted on 16th Dec 2006 and the Jan 2007 issue posted on 2nd Jan 2007 as Regd. Book Packet were undelivered. Single copy and bulk subscribers are requested to send written complaints to the Editor of People's March regarding non delivery of People's March to enable us proceed further legally. As the intensity of struggles advances we have to face more such interferences by the reactionary state. We suggest the readers to help speedy translation & printing of the People's March in local languages to overcome such interferene by the reactionary state.

Editor

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### Continued from page 28

lakh peasants were compelled to commit suicide. And when peasants, workers and other sections of society struggle for their rights then they are dealt with batons and bullets and their unity is disrupted through religious frenzy, casteism and regionalism.

It is evident, that in this age of capital the imperialist globalisation and exploitation, the ideas of Bhagat Singh are quite relevant. It has become the immediate responsibility of revolutionary organisations to know his ideas and take light from them, particularly, regarding imperialism, religious blind faith, communalism, caste oppression, terrorism, on the character of the Indian rulers and emancipation of the people, for the founding of a revolutionary party and the need of revolution, and regarding methodology of revolutionary struggles and the role of the revolutionary classes. Now let us have a look at some of his fundamental views.

### On imperialism

Although, Bhagat Singh in many of his writings and statements has mentioned about the repressive character of British imperialism, but in context of the Lahore Conspiracy Case before the Special Tribunal, a statement was given on May 5, 1930, defining clearly what is imperialism. It was mentioned that imperialism is nothing but a great conspiracy of robbery. It is a climax of exploitation of man by man and of a nation by another nation. To fulfil their interests and to complete their agendas for exploitation, the imperialists not only overlook the judiciary or the laws but organise grave massacres through wars of aggression. They commit dreadful crimes. In the garb of maintaining peace, they destroy peaceful systems. While critically pointing to the British imperialism it is noted that *“the British government that has been imposed on the helpless and disagreeing Indian nation is a gang of criminals, dacoits and robbers that has organised all kinds of forces to murder the people and to devastate them. In the name of maintaining law and order, it destroys any opposition to its rule or those who expose its secrets.”* It is quite clear by these lines that Bhagat Singh

considered imperialism the main source of loot, disturbance and wars of exploitation of people and of nations. This definition of imperialism by Bhagat Singh is very near to the scientific understanding of it.

### On the Character of Indian Capitalists

There is a lot of debate going on about the character of Indian capitalists amongst the revolutionary circles. Some organisations and parties consider it as a free capitalist class and some divide it into two parts comprising comprador and national capitalists. Accordingly, some take it as an ally of imperialism and also take it as depended capitalists. But Bhagat Singh and his comrades had long ago recognised it as one who is ever ready to strike a bargain with and to bow down before the imperialists at any moment. It has been very clearly stated in the declaration of the “Hindustan Socialist Republic Association” (which was mainly written by Bhagwati Charan Vohra) that the condition of the working class of India is very grave; it is facing danger from both sides. On the one hand, from foreign capital, and on the other, from the deceitful attacks of Indian capitalism. Indian capitalism is daily making many alliances with foreign capital. Accepting the dominion status for India by some of the politicians also justifies this approach. Indian capitalists deceive the Indian masses and want to have some share in the government on the basis of mistrust for the Indian people. And in fact, in 1947, Tata and Birla and the like of big capitalists and their political representatives collaborated with the landlords, and by breaching the trust of the Indian masses accessed to state power.

### On Religious Fanaticism and Communalism

Religious fanaticism and dogmatism has played a great hurdle in the national liberation movement. The British, by spreading religious fanaticism, instigated communal riots and fragmented the unity of the masses. After the carnage of Jallianwala Bagh in 1919, the British government promoted communal riots on a massive scale. Particularly, in Kohat in 1924, terrible and inhuman riots took place among Hindus

and Muslims which compelled all the revolutionary forces to think over this question.

Bhagat Singh wrote an essay *“Religion and Our Freedom Struggle”* in May 1928 and it was published in the magazine *“Kirti”*. And after that in June 1928 another essay *“Communal-Riots and its remedy”* was written. At last, Bhagat Singh in reply to the questions of Bhai Randhir Singh of the Gadar Party (who was also in the jail along with Bhagat Singh at that time), wrote an important document, *“Why I am an Atheist?”* on 5-6 October, 1930. He questioned the existence of God in these essays. He described that belief in God is the result of mysticism, and mysticism is the natural product of mental poverty. He questioned the religious teachers as such: *“By being omnipotent why does your God not end injustice, cruelty, hunger, poverty, exploitation, slavery, violence and war?”* He repeated many a times the quotation of Marx—Religion is opium for the masses. He alleged that the religious teachers and the politicians instigate the communal riots for their vested interests. He blamed the print media also that by writing sensational articles they give a push to the communal feelings and cause personal enmity. As a remedy of this he stressed upon keeping religion away from politics; he further said that if religion is kept apart from politics then all of us can come together on politics. We can unite together in spite of practising different religions. He had a firm view that when religion intermingles with politics, then it becomes a killing venom that keeps on gradually destroying the living organs of a nation; cause quarrel between brothers, discourages the masses, blurs the vision of the masses, makes it difficult to identify the real enemy, weakens the fighting spirit of the masses and as such makes a nation a helpless prey of imperialist conspiracies of aggressive sufferings. When Babri Masjid is demolished in our country under the nose of the state power and Gujarat massacres are organised then the relevance of Bhagat Singh’s above mentioned point comes to mind.

### On Caste Oppression

On caste oppression Bhagat Singh



has described his views under the heading “*Problems of Untouchability*”. This article was published in “*Kirti*” in 1928. Scheduled castes were addressed as Achhute (untouchables) in those days and they were not allowed to take water from the wells. Their entry in the temples was also banned, and untouchability was practised against them. He strongly opposed such type of inhuman and discriminating conduct of the upper castes, particularly the classical Brahmins. He questioned: “*when you even refuse to offer water to a person, when you do not allow them to study in a school then what right do you have to demand for your own right.*” He was referring to a statement made by Noor Mohammed, a member of the Bombay Council. While objecting to the conduct of untouchability, he pointed out, “*a dog can sit in our lap, and roams freely in our kitchen. But a man touches us, and see, the religion gets corrupted.*” He was greatly disturbed when Muslim and Hindu politicians, in fulfilment of their political ends, started dividing the untouchables on the basis of religion and then by converting them into Muslims or Christians and started increasing their religious base. He gave a clear cut call to the community—“*Organise yourself and challenge the whole society on your own accord, then you will see that nobody will dare not to give you your rights. Do not be fodder for others and do not look towards others.*” But along with that, he warned against the rulers—“*Do not be swayed by the rulers. They do not want to do any help but want to make you a puppet in their hands. Only the bourgeoisie is the real cause of slavery and poverty.*”

In this way, he asked them to recognise their own strength. He said, “*You are the real proletariat. You are the mainstay of the country, the real strength. Arise! The sleeping lions, and organise rebellion*”. This call of Bhagat Singh is very precious, especially in these times when even today and when carnage of Khairlanje occurs we once again remember Bhagat Singh’s words against casteism and untouchability. That too was said at a time when all others, including the CPI were silent on it.

## On Terrorism

From many political corners it had been alleged that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were terrorists. Even MK Gandhi, like the British government, considered them as terrorists. That is why he did not stress upon cancelling the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Gandhi, on the contrary, at the time of the ‘Gandhi–Irvin-Pact’, signed on 5th March 1931, advised the viceroy to carry out the death punishment before the Karachi Conference of the Congress Party. And the British hanged them a day before the opening of the Karachi Conference. The next day, that is, on 24th March 1931, before leaving for Karachi, ‘the advocate of non-violence’, the Mahatma released a press-note—“in my own opinion, because of the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his comrades our strength has increased.” In this statement he asked the youth “not to support their path”. But the populace of the country particularly the youth strongly opposed the death sentence and showed black flags to Gandhi in Karachi cursing him through slogans.

Bhagat Singh has given a befitting reply (on his being alleged as a terrorist) in his various statements, the pamphlet thrown in the assembly hall, and in the statements given during the trial in the session and high court regarding Assembly Bomb Case. And also, in a piece named “*A Manuscript of Revolutionary Program*”, Bhagwati Charan Vohra in a reply to Gandhi’s essay “*Adoring the Bomb*” (in which Assembly Bomb Case was severely criticised) he vehemently turned down Gandhi’s positions. An essay “*The Philosophy of the Bomb*” was written refuting exhaustively the logic of Gandhi. Bhagat Singh had given finishing touches to this essay. Bhagat Singh had very clearly accepted in his writings that he was a romantic revolutionary and he was impressed by Russian leader Bakunin. But afterwards, he became a true revolutionary. He mentioned in one of his essays, “*The Manuscript of Revolutionary Program*” written in Feb 1931, “*In our society terrorism is the manifestation of lack of the grip of revolutionary thinking or repentance. In a way, it is, an acceptance of one’s*

*failure. In the beginning it was of some use. It brought an entire change in the politics; it sharpened thoughts of young intellectuals, rendered a burning form to the feelings of self-sacrifice and got a chance to express the truth and strength of their movement before the world and their enemies. But this is not enough in itself. The history of this (terrorism) is the history of failures in all the countries—France, Russia, Germany, Spain—everywhere the same story.*” From this it is evident indication that Bhagat Singh was not a terrorist but a revolutionary, who had definite thoughts and objectives and a long standing program for revolution.

It is apparent that even today the true followers of Bhagat Singh, i.e., the Naxalites, who have been declared by the Indian and American governments as “Terrorists” are being tortured, assassinated and killed in many ways. They are being eliminated in fake encounters to crush the movement which is going on under their leadership. Along with the ordinary police and paramilitary forces and special commando forces, the air force is also being put into operation. The ‘crime’ of these people is only that they, like Bhagat Singh, want to change entirely the system based on social injustice.

## On the Use of Violence

In the Indian liberation movement a serious debate took place between Gandhi and Bhagat Singh and his comrades on the question of violence. Gandhi was of the view that, on the one hand, the military expenditures of the government increases due to the violent movement of the revolutionaries, as a result, the common citizens have to bear this extra burden, and on the other hand, the non-violent movement, which was going under his leadership, suffers great damages. In reply to a letter written by Sukhdev, Gandhi wrote, “Had the environment of the country been totally peaceful, we would have achieved our aim even earlier than this. **Whereas the contention of Bhagat Singh was that “however, non-violence is a good ideal but it is a matter of the past. The situation in which we live today, only through non-violence we can never achieve freedom. The world is totally**

*equipped with weapons, but we who are slaves should not be swayed by false dogmas and forsake our path.*” He made it clear by citing the examples of the armed revolutions of Turkey and Russia where struggles were organised through violent methods, and there they got freedom and also socially progressed. However, he also agreed that *“for revolution a bloody struggle is not imperative and there is no place for individual annihilations. That it is not the culture of bomb and pistol.”* (See the Statement in the Session Court, June 6, 1929). He understood it well that the method of revolution is decided by the rulers. He declared that *“so far as the question of method of establishing the revolutionary ideology through peaceful or other means is concerned, the selection of it depends on the will of the rulers of the times. The revolutionaries, by virtue of their love for humanity are the adorers of humanism. A revolutionary, if he takes to the bomb and pistol, it is out of the express necessity and as a last resort.”*

In fact, when the ruling class puts the gun on all the peaceful proposals of the revolutionaries, then they are left with no alternative except to oppose the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. Today the same is happening in Chhattisgarh where the rulers are resorting to “Salwa Judum” type repressive campaigns against the people and are on a killing spree. Along with some sections of the ruling classes, some of the intellectuals and Human Rights organisations are also raising the question of violence or extremism.

Today too some of the intellectuals and progressive and democratic sections of our country have also initiated anew the debate on the understanding of Bhagat Singh on the question of violence. They are of the opinion that after being jailed Bhagat Singh studied deeply and pondered over it, and then he converted himself from a “romantic” ideological revolutionary to a ‘scientific’ revolutionary and opposed violent methods in the revolutionary movements. To prove their position they put forward two points of Bhagat Singh. The first point is taken from the statement given in the Lahore High Court in January 1930

which is as follows: *“by Inquilab Zindabad our aim was not that which is generally understood in wrong terms. Pistol and bomb do not bring inquilab, nevertheless, the sword of inquilab is sharpened on the grinding stone of ideas.”* The second point is taken from *“Why I am an Atheist”*, which was written on 5-6 October, 1930. This point is like this: *By now I had only been a romantic revolutionary. Till now we followed others, now the time has come to shoulder responsibility. For a time the existence of the party seemed impossible in the prevailing circumstances. More spirited comrades, no the leaders, had started jeering at us. For a time even I feared that one day I too will be swayed by the idea of un-usefulness of our program. That was a deciding point of my revolutionary life. The echo of call to study was ringing in the corridors of my mind—Study! to be able to face the arguments put forward by the opponents. Study! to enable yourself to give logic in favour of your argument. I started studying. By doing so my old ideas and beliefs were purified in a strange way. Deep thoughts had replaced the romance of adopting violent methods that was extremely prevalent within our old companions. Now there was no mysticism and blind faith. Realism became our basis.*

*“Violence is only justified when it is used in great necessities. Non-violence should be the essential dogma for all people’s movements.”*

So far as the first point is concerned, Bhagat Singh was trying to explain to the judge the true meaning of Inquilab Zindabad and the importance of ideology in revolution and not to negate the role of violent struggles in the course of revolution. Secondly, in this same statement Bhagat Singh had clearly stated that *“the written statement we had submitted in the Session Court had defined our objective, and in that way it also explained our will.”* Let us see what he said in the statement submitted to the Session Court. He had stated that *“our aim is revolution, i.e., total change in the present social system which is based upon injustice.”* Along with that, he had stated that *“if the present ruling system did not stop from putting hurdles before*

*the arising people’s power then a mighty war is a must for the fulfilment of the ideal of revolution. After surmounting all hurdles and by moving forward the rule of the proletariat class will be established.”* Was Bhagat Singh in such a statement hoping for a serious war that would be non-critical, that would be non-violent and in which only the sword of thoughts will work?

So far as the second point is concerned, its context is altogether different. This point is taken out of an essay in which Bhagat Singh has expressed his scientific ideas about God, religion, religious communities, mysticism, and blind faith. In this essay the use of violence in the revolutionary movement is not questioned. In this Bhagat Singh has reported his activities and reviewed the political situation of that time. In 1925, after Kakori action most of the leaders of the Hindustan Republican Party were arrested. After that Bhagat Singh and his comrades had to face many serious questions and problems. They seriously studied and analysed the movements of our country and of the world and tried to free the Indian revolutionary movement from mysticism and blind faith and ‘romance of adopting violent methods’ (the purpose with which all the Hindustan Republican Party leaders were involved). He stressed upon the wider participation of the masses in the revolutionary struggles and stated that in the main the people will fight with non-violent methods, but in particular situations the violent activity will be justified. This is the only meaning of the last two lines of the second point. To understand the meaning of these points we should read the forward of “Documents of Bhagat Singh and his Comrades” written by Prof. Jagmohan Singh and Chaman Lal, published by Raj Kamal publishers. In this forward the last two lines are kept in a composite sentence - *“violence can be justified in certain situations but the main weapon of the peoples movement will be non violence.”*

Therefore, it is clear that the above-mentioned both statements of Bhagat Singh do not prove that he was opposed to the use of violent methods in revolution. If he had done so he would

not have given a call to the youth for organising an army wing in “*Document of Revolutionary Program*” (Feb 2, 1931), which was written after *Why I am an atheist?* Along with that, he would not have talked about organising “*an Action Committee*” (whose main task was to collect arms, train the forces for revolt and for carrying on attacks on the enemy secretly). [See Bhagat Singh and his comrades, page No. 404 of Raj Kamal Publishers’ paper back edition.] Besides, three days before their hanging, i.e., on March 20, 1931, he would not have written in the letter sent to the Governor of Punjab (jointly written by Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev), “*Certainly, we have taken part in the war, hence, we are prisoners of war. The last war would be fought in the coming future and that would be decisive. This is the same war in which we have participated directly and we are proud of ourselves.*” (See the same book, page 379-80)

### On Revolution

Bhagat Singh in his statements and articles has discussed in detail the concept of revolution and the role of different classes and sections in the revolutionary movement. He had said that if any government deprives the masses of their fundamental rights then it becomes the essential duty of the masses to not only uproot such a government but also to rise up to bring a revolutionary change in the social, economic and political areas of the present system. While clarifying the concept of revolution he said, “*What we mean by revolution is that the prevailing system based largely on injustice must be changed....Lastly what we mean by revolution is the establishment of such a social system where the dictatorship of the proletariat is acknowledged and the people of the world are liberated from the bondage of capitalism and saved from the devastations and tragedies springing from the wars launched by imperialists.*” This statement was given by him in the Session Court, when the judge wanted to know the meaning of revolution. This statement justifies what an extensive concept he had about revolution.

His concept about the role of

different classes and sections in the revolution was quite clear. He wanted such a revolution that should be for the people and also accomplished by them alone. It meant that the people should exercise control over the political power. Therefore, this concept of Bhagat Singh tallies with the quotation of Mao that ‘it is the people and people alone who are the motivating force behind revolution.’ **Bhagat Singh well understood the role of peasants and workers in the revolution. He used to say that “the peasants of the villages and workers of the factories are the real soldiers of revolution.” He particularly stressed upon the role of workers.** He had said that “*to dethrone the imperialists, India has only one weapon and that is the workers revolution.*” In this context, he wanted to establish the sovereignty of the proletarian class after revolution is achieved. He also well understood the role of youth. It was stated in the declaration of the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association that the future of the country lies in the hands of the youth. They are the sons of the soil. Their preparedness to face troubles, their fearless bravery, and spirit to sacrifice shows that the future of India is safe in their hands. Besides these classes and communities, Bhagat Singh stressed in “*Document of Revolutionary Program*” that, intellectuals, artisans and women too should be organised. Along with this, he stressed upon utilising the stage of the Congress Party and to work among the trade unions to take control of them, and also to conduct work among the social and volunteer organisations (including the cooperative societies) secretly.

So far as the question of the ultimate objective of revolution is concerned, there were a lot of differences among Bhagat Singh’s own comrades and also with the people out side. Some people advocated for national liberation, while others stressed on socialist revolution. Generally, Bhagat Singh stood in favour of socialist revolution, but he defined this revolution in this manner: “*If a country is slave then she cannot establish a classless society, cannot end exploitation and nor can they bring equality amongst the people. So the first*

*priority of such a nation is to break the shackles of imperialist slavery.*” In other words, the revolution in a slave country is in opposition to imperialism and colonialism. It is clear from this point that he did not aim at feudalism as such but considered the abolition of feudalism as an “*essential task*” of Indian revolution.

Bhagat Singh, like Lenin, suggested three necessary conditions for a revolution to be successful: 1. Politico-economic conditions, 2. mental preparedness of the masses for plunging into revolt, and 3. a revolutionary party which is fully trained and at the time of test should be ready to offer leadership to the masses. He was of the opinion that the first condition does exist in India, but the second and third conditions are waiting to be fulfilled. He wanted to prepare the minds of the people for revolution through fractional work among already existing organisations and also by building new organisations of the people, and also wanted to build a revolutionary party made of professional revolutionaries. He especially laid stress on studying and carrying out ideological struggle. In this context, one of his very popular quotations reads like this: “*the sword of revolution is sharpened on the grinding stone of ideas.*” He usually stressed that “*a revolutionary believes in logic to the maximum. He believes in reason and reason alone.*” He especially laid stress on revolutionising the ideas.

Today Bhagat Singh is not among us but his revolutionary ideas are still relevant. The clarion call for revolution which he and his comrades gave for revolution is still finding echoes everywhere. The struggle for revolution has not stopped after his martyrdom but charting a tortuous path is still continuing. He had rightly said: “*Neither we have started this war, nor it will end with us. This war will continue till the exploitation of man by man is ended, and the oppression of weak nations by the imperialist countries continues*”. Today it is imperative that Bhagat Singh’s revolutionary ideas are imbibed and are taken to the masses to change them into a material force. This will be the only real tribute to him.

On Occasion of the Birth Centenary Year and 75<sup>th</sup> Year of Martyrdom:

## The Relevance of Bhagat Singh's Ideas in the Times of Globalization

*"The British are rocked, their roots have been shaken. There will be an agreement and they will leave this land in about fifteen years, but the people won't be benefited in anyway. Many years will pass in confusion. Then the people will recall me."*

So said Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh, a few days before he was hanged to death in 1931. His prophecy proved true and about sixteen years later, in the year 1947, an agreement was struck and the British moved out entrusting the reins to the 'Indians'. Thus power got transferred 'from the whites to the coloureds'. Now many years, nearly six decades, have passed in anarchy. Now, more than ever the oppressed and exploited people and their true representatives are evoking him.

This year patriots, democrats and revolutionaries are observing the 75<sup>th</sup> year of martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev as also Bhagat Singh's 100<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary. This year is not only the birth centenary of Bhagat Singh but also of Rajguru (15<sup>th</sup> May 1907). This is also the centenary year of Chander Shekhar Azad's birth (27<sup>th</sup> July 1906). The celebrations are not being held as a formal ritual, as is done by the government of Punjab, every year on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March at the Husainiwalla memorial of these martyrs. Revolutionaries on this occasion are going to the working masses with a variety of mass programmes.

Bhagat Singh had said, *"They (the British) think that by destroying my body they will be more secure in this country. They are in the wrong. They can kill me but not my thoughts. They can cut my body into pieces but cannot suppress my dreams."* In fact, in our country neither the British could be saved nor could Bhagat Singh's dreams be destroyed. **History testifies that the dead Bhagat Singh has proved more dangerous than the living one.** The youth has continued to be intoxicated by his revolutionary ideas making them mad for revolution and freedom. They

braved baton and bullets and kept on joining the lines of martyrs.

After the transfer of power, or the so-called freedom of 1947, major sections of the populace felt that the hardships of their life and that of the country will stop and a new era of prosperity and happiness will usher in. But just within some years it was realised that those who were sitting on the seats of power in Delhi were not their true representatives. The economic policies they adopted for the development of the people and the country showed that they are friends of



not only big-landlords and big capitalists but also of the imperialists. Their main objective is to exploit the hard earned money of the labouring masses and to enrich the exploiting and ruling classes. Bhagat Singh rightly understood this mode of development. That is why he said, *"The way the Congress is leading the movement will certainly end into some kind of agreement."* He also said that if Purshotam Dass replaces Lord Reading and Tej Bahadur Sapru replaces Lord Irwin, it means no difference for the masses and their exploitation and repression will continue. He warned the Indian masses that our leaders who will sit to rule will allow a great lot of foreign capital and make friends with Indian capitalists and petty-capitalists. He also declared that in the near future we will see this leadership collaborating with the

foreign rulers and for the people there would hardly be any difference between them and the imperialists.

Truly speaking, the pace of development for 'free India' has simply charted the way he predicted. In 1947, 248 foreign companies were operating in our country. Today, their number is 20,000. Today, we can see the alliance of foreign capital and that of comprador Indian capital in every sector of the economy. Because of the implementation of liberalisation, privatization and globalisation, particularly after 1990, the real face of our rulers, as being pro-imperialism, is completely unveiled. Today along with the industrial sector, in agriculture and services too foreign capital is increasingly entering into the country. The 'nine gems' along with dozen of public sector units that generate profits to the tune of crores are being disinvested. And their shares are being sold to the mega-capitalists at throw away prices. Health, education, energy, irrigation, business, roads, airways and shipping, banking, insurance and telecommunication etc. are being grossly privatized and investment of foreign capital, up to 100%, has been permitted in very many areas. Agriculture that has till now remained the mainstay of 65% of the total population of the country has been made a grazing ground for the foreign MNCs such as Monsanto and Cargill. In the age of corporate-farming, mega-industrial projects and special economic zones, the land of peasants and tribals is being handed over to the MNCs in a big way. Previously, these companies used to supply fertilizers, seeds, insecticides, and other agricultural machinery for the agriculture. Now they have taken a leading role in purchase and trading of agro-products. Today, along with agriculture, our entire economic setup is caught in the tight grip of imperialist institutions such as WTO. As a result of it lakhs of industrial units are being closed down, tens of lakhs of workers and employees had to leave their jobs. And in the last 15 years, more than one

[Continued on page 24](#)