

# *Janashakti*

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**Editorial :**

## **In the cause of People's Democratic Revolution**

Seven Communist Revolutionary organisations have merged to form the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)-Janashakti. The principled and patient unity talks conducted by us have yielded positive results. In all humbleness, we declare that it is only a beginning and the task of unifying all communist revolutionaries into a single party remains to be achieved, which is the main and urgent task of the CRs today.

The combination of unity talks and efforts with united activity, whenever possible, greatly helped us in developing a common understanding and approach, and better integration, thus gave a momentum and strength to the unity talks.

Our discussions led to basic agreements on questions concerning the programme, path, national and international situation, and a certain period pertaining to political and organisational review. Free, frank and straightforward discussions, combined with an approach of learning from each other's experiences and showing flexibility in evolving points of commonness, while remaining firm on principles, helped us in successfully completing our discussions.

The CPI (ML)-Janashakti reiterated its rebounding confidence in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought as a guiding ideology for the party of the proletariat. It is rededicated to the successful completion of People's Democratic Revolution in semi-colonial and semi-feudal India by concrete application and practice of its guiding ideology to the Indian situation. It rejected in unequivocal terms the path of parliamentarism and terrorism and adopted the mass-line.

The first issue of JANASHAKTI is in your hands. It is the monthly organ of CPI (M-L)-Janashakti. In the context of mounting attacks on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, in the wake of shedding of masks by revisionists in Soviet Union and the East European countries, in the context of increasingly belligerent attacks by imperialism on third world countries, the selling-out of the interests of the people to the imperialist sharks by the ruling classes in India, unbridled exploitation and oppression by the imperialist-comprador bureaucratic

capital-feudal alliance, the mud and blood through which the people are being drawn by the exploiting classes, Janashakti will strive hard to expose the treachery of the ruling classes and stand by the side of people. We dedicate ourselves to the cause of People's Democratic Revolution.

In the course of the national liberation movement against British colonialism and People's Democratic Revolution, several thousands of communist revolutionary ranks and leaders and the best daughters and sons of the working class, peasantry, middle class, intellectuals and democratic forces laid down their lives. We salute to the memory of their martyrdom, which inspires us to perseverance in the revolutionary path.

**Document :**

## **Communique and Unity Declaration of Seven Communist Revolutionary Organisations**

released on the eve of their merger into a one-party organisation on 30th July, 1992, which will be known as the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)-Janashakti in all spheres of its activities.

### **Communique**

The sell-out of the country to the imperialist powers by the ruling classes of India from the time of the compromising deal of transfer of power in 1947 till today, unbridled exploitation of the masses, the horrific condition through which the people of India are passing, the capitulation of the revisionist parties like the CPI and the CPI(M) to the ruling classes, and also the enhanced attack on Marxism and socialism faced by the communist movement throughout the world by the recent developments in erstwhile USSR and China, are the scenario under which we, the the seven communist revolutionary organisations viz. CPI (ML)-Resistance, UCCR(ML), CP(ML), led by Com. Paila Vasudev Rao, CPI(ML)- Agami Yug, CP(ML) led by Com. Khokan Mazumdar, Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and Communist Revolutionary Group for Unity, feel that the unity of the communist revolutionary forces is the need of the hour to develop the struggles of the masses against the forces of darkness and reaction.

Under these circumstances we conducted talks on ideological, political and organisational issues. We reached agreements on main issues concerning the programme, path, national and international situation, question of unity and organisational principles. We, the seven organisations, have decided to merge into a single-party organisation which will be known in all spheres of activities as the COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST- LENINIST)-JANASHAKTI. The Central organ of the merged organisation will be JANASHAKTI. Comrade K. Ramachandran has been elected as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the merged organisation.

We appeal to all other communist revolutionary organisations and individuals that the objective situation pertaining to India places before us the task to close our ranks, to unite and build up the party of the proletariat, to change the present situation and complete the New Democratic Revolution. The unity of all communist revolutionaries is a must, let us strive for that.

We appeal to people to launch and intensify all forms of struggle against the anti-people policies of the present regime and against all exploitation, oppression and suppression of the people by the ruling classes to advance the revolutionary movement forward. Attached herewith is the Declaration of Unity adopted unanimously by the seven organisations.

1 K. Ramachandran

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Resistance,

2 Madhu

Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist- Leninist),

3 Paila Vasudeva Rao

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led by Com.Paila Vasudeva Rao,

4 Kaushik Banerjee

Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist)-Agami Yug

5 Alok Mukherjee

Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist), led by Com. Khokan Mazumdar,

6 Parimal Dasgupta

Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries,

7 Jiten Dasgupta

Communist Revolutionary Group for Unity.

## **Unity Declaration Of Seven Communist Revolutionary Organisations**

1. The problem of our revolution should be considered in the background of the revolutionary movement of India as it emerged historically from the days of colonialism. In the post-Second World War period, the problem of unfinished National Democratic Revolution has come to the forefront of our revolutionary movement due to the transference of State

Power in 1947, with a partition of the country, having a compromise deal between imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes of India without the achievement of real independence and sovereignty. The political power, with the understanding and the condition of protecting the interests of imperialism and remaining within the British Commonwealth, was vested in the hands of comprador bourgeoisie and their feudal allies.

Here what Lenin said in 1920 in his Preliminary Draft of the Thesis on National and Colonial Question is fully applicable to the real position of India as it emerged due to this transference of power. Lenin said "It is necessary to constantly explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practiced by the imperialist powers in creating, under the guise of politically independent states, which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily."

In 1925 in a speech at a meeting of students of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, Stalin has correctly assessed and warned: "Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism, and concern more about its money bags than the interests of its own countries, this section of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most influential section, is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, it is forming a bloc with imperialism against workers and peasants of its own countries. The victory of the revolution cannot be achieved unless the bloc is smashed." Stalin also pointed out that the historic responsibility and the tasks of the Communist Party of India in the national liberation movement, in gradual process were: i) to play an independent role in the National Liberation Movement; ii) to form a national revolutionary bloc; iii) to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in that bloc, iv) to prepare the proletariat for the role of the leader of the national liberation movement; v) to dislodge, step by step, the bourgeoisie and its mouth-piece from the 'honourable' post of leadership.

But failure of the Communist party in this respect is quite evident. During the period of National Liberation movement, the Communist Party of India failed to direct its activities towards the creation of such a situation. The hegemony of the Proletariat in the movement did not enshrine into effect. The party rather acted tamely behind the bourgeois leadership of the National Congress, without ruthlessly exposing its

vacillation, docility and compromising manoeuvre but conversely giving imprint in the minds of the proletariat and peasantry to consider the bourgeois leadership as the real national leader. At the time of the compromise deal of 1947, it bestowed full recognition to the leadership of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes as the 'celebrated bargaining agent' of the national independence movement. The political slogan of the Party as to " Let the Congress and League get united", " Let Gandhi and Jinnah get united" further elevated the political leadership of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes to the honourable post of leadership. The most lamentable position was that the Communist Party with an un-Marxian and erroneous concept, advancing a "Two Nation Theory" on the basis of religion in India, infused a moral strength to the demand of the Muslim League and rendered a theoretical help for the partition of the country so to say. The political deal and treachery of the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord classes and their mouthpiece routed and upset the advancement of the national liberation of India. The National Democratic Revolution could not be completed. A new situation has been created due to the treachery of the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord classes in the post-second world war period and the failure of the Communist Party to play the revolutionary role. The new problem of Indian Revolution has emanated from the situation of the unfinished National Democratic Revolution. With the transfer of power, the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes came to the fore as the new ruling classes to protect and serve the interests of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism in India. India was turned from a colonial and semi-feudal country to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. It has been emerged through the interaction of the fear of the bourgeoisie in India towards revolution and the vested interests on the one side, and the new tactics of imperialism to safeguard its own interests on the other side in the burning colonial situation that developed due to mass upsurge in the colonies against imperialism in the post-second World War period.

With this, our revolution has acquired the character of the New or People's Democratic Revolution. This revolution was set in motion, historically at first, in the orbit of the communist movement, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal order of China by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Ze Dong and became victorious having shaken the world

anew, especially in the colonial orbit of the Asiatic region, after the historic October Revolution. It is this revolution which India and similar semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries are in need of at present. We must apply the basic orientation as to the strategy and tactics of this Revolution to the concrete conditions of our country. It must be understood that the talk about socialist revolution at this stage is sure to bring a misdirection in the revolutionary movement and goes against Mao Ze Dong Thought. These ideas must therefore be rejected. It is the duty and responsibility of communist revolutionaries in India today to orient all their activities with proper perspective for shaping and carrying forward the People's Democratic Revolution.

2. There reflected various trends in the Communist Party of India. The party at first accepted the transference of state power as the achievement of independence and accorded its enthusiastic support to the Constitution imposed by the new ruling classes with the grandeur of the Constituent Assembly. It formulated : The Nehru Government represented the progressive and anti-imperialist section of the bourgeoisie and it had to be protected from the pressures and attacks of the feudal forces, pro-imperialist and reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. This political line was put forth by P.C. Joshi, the then General Secretary of the Party and it was, thereafter, politically identified as the right deviation of the Communist Party in the period of the post transference of power.

In 1948, in the Second Congress of the Party, this political line was rejected. The new line, as brought out under the leadership of B.T. Ranadive, was that : The independence was a sham and so, the Communist Party must complete the task of National Democratic Revolution in India with a new drive.

Further, at this stage the entire bourgeoisie (including the middle bourgeoisie) went over to the camp of imperialism. As a consequence, the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution remained intertwined and hence both the revolutions have to be completed in one stroke.

B.T. Ranadive, having championed this line, castigated Mao Ze Dong's political proposition of New or People's Democratic Revolution as reformism. This line of B.T. Ranadive was a jump from right deviation to left opportunism. With this erroneous line, the Party was engrossed in sectarian and terroristic mode of activities with wrong strategy and tactics and it became disastrous for the Party, politically and organisationally. The heroic peasant armed struggle of

Telangana (which later met with betrayal) at that time under the leadership of the Party, entered into alley with the ultimate failure and disaster caused by the 1948 line.

The international communist leadership sought to correct this erroneous political line in 1950 by advising the communists in India to take "lessons from the experiences of the national liberation struggle for freedom and national independence against Anglo-American imperialism and the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudal landlord classes collaborating with them."

The understanding of the Party underwent changes in the subsequent period. In 1955, Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Party came to the fore with the assertion that "Indian freedom is a reality. This must be recongnised." The Madurai Party Congress introduced the formulation of 'protecting independence' in place of 'achieving independence' and took the objective of the formation of the 'Government of Democratic Unity' through parliamentary way as an intermediary stage before the People's Democratic Revolution. Thus the entire objective of People's Democratic Revolution was pushed to the background. In 1956 the Palghat Congress of the Party has clearly accepted the 'formulation of the newly achieved independence and sovereignty of India,' and accordingly the Party programme of 1951 practically stood amended with respect to the character of the state. The party in this congress, on the one side, became divided into two thoughts, in the main, viz, " National Democratic Front" and "Democratic Front" and on the other side, strengthened its objective of the formation of the Government of Democratic Unity. The objective of the formulation of National Democratic Front was : It held the view that the ruling Congress is divided into two wings - reactionary and progressive. " Hence, the objective of the Communist Party would be to form National Democratic Front and a National Democratic Government with the progressive wing of the Congress." On the other side, the objective of the Democratic Front was, to form a Democratic Front and the Government of the Left and Democratic Forces with the left parties and groups. The Palghat Congress became the exponent of the Democratic Front and parliamentary politics related thereto. In 1957, after the formation of the communist ministry in Kerala, the Party became vigorous with the political objective of Kerala - way. The slogan of the formation of government of democratic unity became an all-major and important step for changing the

direction of the politics of the Party towards parliamentarism. In 1958, the party, entering into the Amritsar Congress, declared its hope to come to power through peaceful means. It can be said that the Amritsar Congress introduced full-fledged British Labour Party politics inside the Party. In 1960, in the Vijaywada Congress, the Party, being panicstricken about the growth of reaction (seeing the birth of Swatantra Party under the leadership of C. Rajgopala Chary) declared its policy to make all the effort to bring a shift in the policies of the Nehru Government towards the left to resist the rising reaction thereby. Along with this policy the other declarations and policies like 'support the progressive policies of the Government'; 'Develop close links and unity with the progressive congressmen and the masses following the Congress, and support pro-socialist and peace-loving policies of the congress government followed.

The Communist Party of India, through the process of various changes in its policies and the adoption of parliamentary politics, gradually became the carrier of ideology and politics of Social Democracy in India. It resulted in the elimination of the revolutionary character of the Party. The circuit of modern revisionism would evolve inside the Party as a natural course.

The Sino-Indian border clash in 1962 was an important point of controversy inside the Party. The ruling classes of India, who actually unleashed the war, made all-out attempts to flare-up anti-China feelings and national chauvinism throughout the country, but the sorrowful position was that the event created confusion inside the Communist Party of India. The powerful Dange group inside the party leadership, taking foot-hold on the decision of Vijaywada Congress, came out condemning China as the aggressor and went to the extent of calling upon the people to come 'forward to defend the motherland under the banner of Jawaharlal Nehru.' The other section of the Party leadership was not willing to condemn China. However, it took an escapist attitude towards the real issue and no political explanation as to their stand was catered from their side. On the other side, along with the question of 1962 border clash, various questions with respect to the policies so far pursued by the Party, as evolved through the decision of different Congresses, especially with respect to the attitude towards the Nehru Government, came in for discussion in various forms at various levels of the Party. Having made scathing criticism or expressed opposition to the

old policies of the Party as well as to the policies guiding the thought of the Party leadership, different political documents, articles and criticisms came into circulation in West Bengal, Andhra and other places, both in the Party fora and secretly under various pseudonyms. The discontent and opposition to Dange revisionism were intense inside the party. A major section of Party members were opposed to it. The conflict of policy and principle was simmering inside the party. The division of the Party became inevitable in the trend of events. However, the struggle that ensued was diverted from the main ideological and political issues by focussing the attention on the Dange letters. Finally, the Party split and the C.P.I. (M) came into existence.

But the new Party, i.e., CPI(M) did not take any basic departure from the old party. The Party congresses of both the parties held in 1964 adopted identical programmes, though they raised different slogans like 'National Democratic Front' and 'People's Democratic Front'. Though the CPI (M) raised the slogan of People's Democracy, it was not based on the concept of completion of unfinished revolution against imperialism and their native allies. It had nothing to do with the concept of People's Democratic Revolution as formulated by Mao in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal order. Both the parties adopted the path of parliamentarism.

At the same time, the CPI(M) created various political confusions with political jugglery. On the whole, its political modus operandi of practising militant parliamentarism within the parliamentary fold. While the CPI remained a direct supporter of soviet modern revisionism all along, the CPI(M) started as an indirect supporter and gradually became a direct supporter of modern revisionism. On the whole, both the parties having carried the policies of parliamentarism on their bosoms, became the holders and carriers of the ideology of Social Democracy and revisionism inside the Communist movement in India. Therefore, it will be unreal to search for a revolutionary role in these parties. The irony of history is that, though in 1964, the newly born CPI(M) roused the hope to be a revolutionary force having been designed as a pro-Chinese party to follow the revolutionary politics, it was proved to be false, and revisionism established its authority over it.

3. The Naxalbari Peasant revolutionary movement has drawn a clear line of demarcation between neo-revisionism and revolutionism. It once again brought to the fore the significance and applicability of the path of People's War to

our revolution. The struggle that developed against the neo-revisionism of CPI(M) encompassed ideological and political questions and the question of Line. In this course the communist revolutionaries in Andhra, West Bengal and various other states in India rejected theories like "peaceful transition"; "peaceful co-existence"; "peaceful competition"; "party of whole people" and "government of people" peddled by Khrushchevite modern revisionists and basically upheld by the neo-revisionist leadership of CPI(M) as nothing but a negation of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, path of revolution and taking the treacherous path of revisionism and capitalist restoration. The communist revolutionaries rejected the path of parliamentarism pursued by the neo-revisionists which stood exposed more nakedly with the move of the CPI(M) leadership to suppress the Naxalbari Peasant Revolutionary Movement by brutal force. Finally, the communist revolutionaries upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought and the path of People's War had broken away from the CPI(M).

In the last more than two decades, we the communist revolutionaries encountered splits, serious setbacks and difficulties. We have been through many permutations and combinations.

The experiences we had during this period and the interests of our revolutionary movement emphatically point out the significance and urgency of achieving a principled unity among the communist revolutionaries of India.

4. Today, when we are making a significant advance in our unity efforts, we find the objective situation quite challenging and, at the same time, excellently favourable.

The communist ideology, the forces of socialism, democracy, independence and peace are facing an all-out attack from the imperialists, exploiting classes and reactionary forces all over the world. On the one hand, the Soviet modern revisionists have abandoned their Marxist and Socialist garbs. On the other hand, the revisionists led by Chinese revisionists are making desperate attempts to retain the Marxist and Socialist masks as a part of their move to rope in a section of communist revolutionary forces into their fold and continue their attacks on revolutionary Marxism in a disguised form.

The revolutionary movements in India are striving to overcome the setbacks and divisions and emerge themselves into a formidable force. The exploiting ruling classes are determined to prevent this. They are already directing the

edge of their attacks against the communist revolutionaries and the movements led by them. For this, they are combining brutal and 'soft' weapons, including divisive and diversionist tactics.

There is also another side: the exploiting ruling classes are facing the worst economic crisis and bankruptcy. Their contradictions, power squabbles and political instabilities are intensifying with every passing day. They find the situation volcanic with evergrowing discontentment, protest and organised struggle of the people and the peasant resistance struggle in some pockets of our country. While they are finding it too difficult to rule by old methods, the people are looking for more effective forms of struggle and revolutionary alternatives.

The world capitalist system is in the thick of unprecedented crisis. Despite the talk about establishing a new world order and the emergence of a 'single super-power', the factors of collusion and contention between the two super-powers and the growing competition among the imperialist powers continues to operate. The world continues to be turbulent. The opposition, protest and organised struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and war are a growing phenomenon in the present world. While the Russian imperialism is making a determined attempt to retain its super-power position by overcoming its present problems and weaknesses, the people of former Republics, who are asked to pay through their noses for all this, are coming out into more organised struggles in defence of their own living conditions and rights.

The question before us is: How to fully utilize the favourable objective conditions and effectively face the challenges. A united and strong revolutionary party of the proletariat is the need of the hour.

5. For more than two decades now, since we broke from neo-revisionism and re-dedicated ourselves to the task of People's Democratic Revolution, the communist revolutionaries have made countless and supreme sacrifices. The revolutionary movements have moved through many difficulties and setbacks. We saw the rise and clash of various trends with all their consequences. The splits, enemy's tactics and the changes in the political situation multiplied problems and bred more divergences and splits. Not only basic differences, but also wrong approaches and methods had contributed to the phenomenon of splits. Even the forces who are for the revolutionary mass-line continue to remain divided on certain issues and also because of certain wrong

approaches and methods. Prejudices, apprehensions, subjective and sectarian attitudes blocked the initiatives and complicated and frustrated the unity moves. In a word, the wrong trends and the phenomenon of splits caused an immense harm to our revolution.

We seriously realised that there is no reason for the communist revolutionaries who have no basic differences on the revolutionary mass-line to remain amongst themselves perpetually divided because once they happened to split for the reason of historical mistakes; because they continue to differ on some secondary issues or on issues which cannot and need not come in the way of the basic revolutionary task and the divergences which can and must be overcome to form a single organisation. We also realised that no single organisation, as they are situated today, can, by itself, meet the needs of providing the leadership for our revolution. Divisions among revolutionaries means divisions among the people and the movement. These divisions have seriously affected our striking power, our image and credibility and our links with the people. We must put an end to this situation.

6. Political proximity, overcoming certain hang-overs and the genuine realisation of the need and urgency of overcoming the problems of our movement have created the necessary favourable political conditions for the present unity process.

In our unity talks, we were guided by the basic approach that unity must be based on the basic question of line. It will either be day-dreaming or a negative attitude towards the very question of unity to expect or demand for unity on all aspects of the problems as a pre-condition for unity. We must be clear that unity cannot last long even if it is based on detailed working out of each and every point or aspect of the agreement, but is devoid of genuineness of purpose and principled approach. We must unite on the basis of basic agreement, even if with some points of divergence. We must learn to work in a single organisation and the leadership as well as differing comrades must show enough stamina, maturity and responsible attitude towards handling the divergences in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. This is the most important lesson that we must learn from our past mistakes and there is no other way.

We discussed and clinched the political issues, and other issues, such as our approach towards unity, etc. Our experience proved that any other method would have bogged down our discussions with no political direction. Any attempt to

turn the discussions into exercises of bald assertions, scoring points and manoeuvres will not only be futile, but can also strike at the very root of our unity efforts. Free, frank and straight-forward discussions combined with an approach of learning from each other and showing flexibility and accommodation in evolving the points of commonness, while remaining firm on principles, helped a lot in successfully completing the discussions.

We had some rounds of bi-lateral, tri-lateral and multi-lateral discussions. Firstly, the three organisations namely, CPI (ML) - Resistance, UCCRI (ML) and CPI (ML) - TND signed a Joint Note in November, 1990. This joint note clinched the major political issues and thus provided a basis for unity. But, the leadership of CPI (ML) -TND dragged its feet and finally backed out from the agreement and unity process without declaring so. At the same time, the unity forces inside the CPI (ML) - TND like the major part of West Bengal state unit and organisation which was known as CPI (ML) Agami Yug, Com. Paila Vasudeva Rao from the CC itself and some others from some states, who carried on a consistent struggle for unity and stood by the Joint Note left, the CPI(ML)- TND and joined the unity process. The unity efforts gained momentum and strength with communist revolutionary organisations, Viz., CPI(ML) led by Com. Khokan Mazumdar, CPI(ML)- Agami Yug, CPI(ML) led by Com. Paila Vasudeva Rao, Co-ordination Committee of communist revolutionaries led by Com. Parimal Dasgupta and the communist revolutionary Group for Unity led by Com. Jiten Dasgupta, wholeheartedly welcoming and becoming a part of the whole unity effort and process. We exchanged notes, held discussions and adopted the documents prepared in the light of the joint note and discussions. We noted some points of divergence for resolution in the united party in accordance with the process of internal discussions.

We combined our unity talks and efforts with various forms of united action wherever possible. These actions involved work to evolve a common understanding and a common approach. This combination of unity talks and united action greatly helped us in developing commonness and better integration. It gave momentum and strength to the whole unity process.

7. The history, i.e., the political-organisational review, is a common property of communist revolutionaries. We must be clear that a comprehensive review can be attempted and

greater justice be done to the history only by a united party and a collective endeavour of communist revolutionaries and on a wider scale. Even before that, when necessary, we can resolve some of the questions related to it. But the resolution of the divergent views related to it should not be viewed as a pre-condition for unification.

The communist revolutionaries, along with the movements, are divided into a number of organisations, groups, factions and individuals. At the same time, all of us have a common concern for the unity and advancement of the revolutionary movement. We must all, unreservedly, own the entire communist and revolutionary movement irrespective of present divisions. In our attempts to review, we must be guided by the objective of uniting larger forces on the basis of correct lessons. We must be objective, dispassionate and take the situation as a whole into consideration. In our approach, we should address ourselves to the ideological, political and organisational trends that reflected in the various phases and twists and turns of our movement and examine how they affected the whole course of development of the revolutionary movement and organisation. The basic understanding we reached today and the experiences we gained must guide us in drawing lessons from the past. Our objective is not to condemn history, movement and leaders. We must see the achievements and positive factors along with the trends, mistakes and failures that occurred in the movement in the light of concrete conditions and as a part of the problems faced by our own movement. Clearly, we own the achievements as well as the failures of our past. By adopting this approach, we shall be able to correct our own leadership, uphold and carry forward their contributions. This is how we see the past to serve the present and the future movement.

Guided by this basic approach, we draw some conclusions here:

I. The present communist revolutionary Movement is both a continuation of the past Communist Movement as well as an outcome of the struggle and break from revisionism and neo-revisionism. The political struggle of the revolutionary communists inside the CPI and CPI (M), after the turning-point of the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle, culminated in the revolutionary polarization inside the communist politics and movement with a clear demarcation between Marxism - Leninism and Revisionism.

II. The formation of AICCCR to rally around all the

communist revolutionaries under one banner was correct and historic.

III. The emergence of the left trend after the formation of the AICCCR and the methods adopted by this trend led to a break inside the AICCCR in West Bengal and other places and to the expulsion of the APCCCR from the AICCCR and thus created a division among the communist revolutionaries. Thus arose two streams among the communist revolutionaries, one led by revolutionaries who waged a bitter struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism and who led the Naxalbari peasant struggle and the other one led by those revolutionaries who conducted a bitter ideological struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism as well as against the left sectarian line and were wrongly expelled from the AICCCR.

IV. A revolutionary party was required to lead the revolutionary movement and there were conditions and need for a party. Viewed in this light, the formation of CPI(ML) on April 22, 1969 on the basis of the people's war path was a positive step. As the APCCCR was left with no option after their wrong expulsion from the AICCCR, the APRCP was formed on the basis of the people's war path and mass line on April 10-12, 1969 and this was a positive step.

V. Struggle against left sectarianism was conducted from both inside the CPI(ML) as well as from the outside. This political struggle, conducted from the angle of mass-line was basically correct.

VI. In the last two and a half decades, the communist revolutionaries had gone through many permutations and combinations. Besides a basically correct trend, the left trend continued in one form or the other and along with the trends of right opportunism, sectarianism and liquidationism had also manifested and developed in various forms. Some, who went all-out in pursuing the left trend, took an about-turn towards the right opportunist trend. Some, who were staunch advocates of the mass-line, fell prey to either sectarianism or right deviation. There are some who appeared to be on the side of correct policies but ended up with the right trend moving along the road of conciliation. Some of the self-proclaimed staunch upholders of Marxism - Leninism - Mao Ze Dong Thought embraced Trotskyism and anti-Marxism. Some, who called themselves as the only adherents of proletarian revolutionary line, in fact, engaged themselves in left phrase-mongering sectarianism and

inaction. Some even began to see 'socialism' in the erstwhile Soviet Union. Thus, in a word, the right deviation became a main danger in the later period. In this context, we must always be guided by Lenin's warning with regard to wrong trends. Lenin said : "The left and right trends are alien to Marxism and are two sides of the same coin. They are twins." Our experience also proved that these trends are harmful to the revolution and they must be opposed and fought unreservedly. At the same time, we must keep in mind that right deviation is the main danger inside the communist revolutionary movement in India today.

In the organisational sphere, we saw various wrong trends like factionalism, groupism, bureaucratic centralism, ultra-democracy, negation of inner-party discussions and struggle, and distorted, even vulgarized criticism and ideological struggle. The phenomenon of spiltism has contributed to the growth of opportunism and other unhealthy trends. All these had seriously hampered the building of a well disciplined, strong and united party based on the correct concept and practice of democratic centralism.

In the sphere of unification, the sectarian, opportunistic and subjective approaches and practices had adversely affected the principled unification of communist revolutionaries in India.

Despite these wrong trends and their consequences, the revolutionary movement has many positive achievements to its credit. All through, the struggle has been going on in one form or the other against the left and right trends. Taking the situation as a whole, the forces who are persisting in the adherence and practice of correct mass-line and who are making a constant and earnest effort to learn from the positive and negative experiences and rectify the mistakes, incorrect ideas and practices are a growing force today. The experiences show, that perseverance in mass-line, principled struggle against wrong and alien trends and undeviating efforts to grasp and promote the positive factors and forces is the only way before us to advance the cause of our revolution.

8. In the last two decades, we missed the best of opportunities to build a united and single party of the proletariat. As a result, several organisations have come into existence. Many of them are based on a line and democratic centralism. It remains a fact that no one can claim to have united a major part of the communist revolutionary forces and movement. The unity achieved by our seven organisations is a

unity of CPI(ML) communist revolutionary forces and non-CPI(ML) communist revolutionary forces. This unity is a definite and significant step towards uniting all the communist revolutionaries into a single and united party. This united party functions on the basis of a line and the principles of democratic centralism. We are fully conscious that the task of unification is not yet complete. We consider it our responsibility to pursue this task thorough to the end with all the seriousness it demands. We adopt various forms and steps to achieve this goal.

In our present unification, we proceeded with a clear understanding that we must see the unification not as some organisations joining or merging in a particular organisation, but as the unification of all uniting organisations on the basis of a line and organisational principles and emerging themselves as a single organisation. Here, we were guided by the common urge and realisation that a party of the proletariat, sufficiently strong enough in terms of cadre, leadership and links with the vast masses, is the most urgent and essential need of our revolutionary movement. This unity is at once a unity of people, aunity of movements and unity of vanguard forces of the proletariat.

Our present unity marks a successful culmination of our prolonged, consistent and principled efforts for unity. We are convinced that the agreement reached by us on the political and organisational issues laid the necessary ideological, political and organisational basis for our unity. Let us protect this basis with all our convictions. We must struggle to deepen and advance the unity and integration through common and undeviational efforts to transform it into the practice of building the party and the revolutionary movement. We must deepen and advance it in the course of our struggle against all wrong and alien trends and our constant efforts to tackle the problem of divergencies in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

In the course of the National Liberation Movement and People's Democratic Revolution, several thousands of communist revolutionary ranks and leaders and the best daughters and sons of the working class, peasantry, middle classes, national and democratic forces have laid down their lives. Still several lakhs of people have experienced countless sufferings and brutalities in the hands of the enemy. Their

dreams and urges for an India, free from the yoke of imperialism and its allies - comprador big bourgeoisie and feudalism - are yet to be realised. Let our unity serve as a fitting revolutionary tribute to them.

The enemy always wanted us to remain divided, weak and quarrelling amongst ourselves. The enemy even mastered the techniques of inciting, engineering and utilising divisions, antagonisms and clashes amongst us. It considers the emergence of a strong and united party based on revolutionary mass-line as a potential threat for it. Let our unity serve as an answer to these evil designs of the enemy.

With this basic understanding, we declare the end of our separate identities and resolve to build a single organisation, which will be known in all spheres of activities as the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) JANASHAKTI JANASHAKTI will be the Central Organ of our Party.

9. Our organisation is guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism- Mao-Ze-Dong Thought as enunciated and practiced by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. We consider ourselves as an inseparable part of the World Proletarian Revolutionary Movement. As proletarian internationalists, we consider it our responsibility to extend our fighting solidarity to the working class, oppressed nations and people fighting for socialism, national liberation, national independence and world peace all over the world.

Our revolution is in the stage of People's Democratic Revolution. Its main axis is agrarian revolution, Imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism are the common enemies and the targets of attack for this revolution. We unite all the revolutionary classes and forces, i.e., working class, peasantry, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of a firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry in the course of class struggles and revolutionary movements, with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the common enemies through a protracted people's revolution and establishing a new democratic society.

Internationally, we further intensify our struggle against imperialism and the policies of hegemonism pursued by the two super-powers- US imperialism and Russian imperialism. It is our international task to strengthen the solidarity, unity and

struggles of the working class, oppressed nations and people against imperialism, hegemonism and war policies of the two super-powers in the world today. It is also our national task to lead the masses for their solution.

10. We are clear that the shedding of masks by the revisionists in the erstwhile Soviet Union, East European countries and other places by no means put an end to our struggle against revisionism. In reality, this struggle is bound to take a more fierce form. We are now faced with naked, as well as concealed, attacks from revisionism. Attempts are going on to regroup the revisionists, who are not yet prepared to denounce Marxism-Leninism openly, and the sections of the revolutionaries whose commitment to the thorough-going struggle against revisionism has been shaken to one extent or the other, into a new international centre of revisionism under the garb of Marxism and Socialism. It will be suicidal to lower our guard against revisionism and right deviation. We must be clear that revisionism is always opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought. We could withstand, and can advance, only by waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, legalism, economism and other wrong trends. We must continue this struggle with all the firmness it demands. As in the case of the communist revolutionary movement in India, right deviation continues to be the main danger as in the World Communist Movement. We must oppose and fight against it to advance the world revolution. We must, at the same time, be on guard and carry on the struggle against Left-sectarianism as this trend too is alien to Marxism-Leninism and harmful to the revolution. We are clear that we have nothing to choose between various wrong trends and we can defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought only by thoroughly defeating the wrong and alien trends in whatever form they may manifest. This is the only way to advance the cause of the revolution.

11. We appeal to the communist revolutionaries all over India to rise to the occasion. Let us move in a concrete and decisive way to overcome the hurdles in the way of unification. Let us pledge to put an end to the phenomenon of splits and make the unification of all communist revolutionaries as the main, growing and irreversible trend. We hope, our unification will give an impetus to the process and trend of unification. We call upon the communist revolutionaries. Let us all

combine our efforts to achieve still greater unification.

K. Ramachandran,	CPI (ML) Resistance
Madhu,	UCCRI(ML)
Paila Vasudeva Rao,	CPI(ML) led by Com. Paila Vasudeva Rao
Kaushik Banerjee,	CPI(ML) Agami Yug
Alok Mukherjee,	CPI(ML) led by Com. Khokan Mazumdar
Parimal Dasgupta,	CCCR led by Com. Parimal Dasgupta
Jiten Dasgupta,	CRGU.

Dated : 30th July, 1992

**Article :**

## **Lessons of the two great revolutions**

The Russian and Chinese revolutions marked the beginning of a new era in world history. They signified a radical turn in the progress of humanity and a complete rupture from the old and decaying society. They were aimed at abolishing all the classes of exploiters, all exploitation of man by man, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and organising a new classless society.

The October Revolution was victoriously led by CPSU under the leadership of Com. Lenin. The Chinese Revolution led by the CPC achieved victory under the leadership of Com. Mao Ze Dong.

The basic aims of these revolutions were the same. But they differed in their targets and methods employed in achieving the common aims. The target of the Russian revolution was despotic tsarist rule based on feudal lords, monopoly capitalists and foreign agents. It was started as bourgeois democratic revolution and victoriously marched towards socialist revolution. The Chinese revolution was a new democratic revolution, the targets of which were feudalism and imperialism.

The epicentre of the Russian revolution was in the cities and gradually extended to rural areas. The working class as the main force and in the leadership, forged an alliance with the peasantry and other toiling masses. The cyclonic storm of the Chinese revolution at first liberated the villages and then surrounded the cities. It took the form of protracted armed struggle. Taking the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class as the main axis, it forged a united front of all revolutionary classes.

Both these revolutions passed through a zig-zag and arduous course. They advanced through their perseverance in the struggle against 'right' and 'left' opportunisms. They could not have been victorious but for their Bolshevik revolutionary organisations, tempered by struggles against wrong ideological, political and organisational deviations. This victory marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social democracy and the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

The victorious Russian and Chinese revolutions, while

advancing towards socialist revolution, fell prey to revisionism. Modern revisionism reared its ugly head as a challenge against international proletarian revolutionaries.

The revisionism that reared its head in the USSR after the death of Com. Stalin had metamorphosed into an international modern revisionism. Until the death of Com. Stalin, the Soviet Union advanced in its socialist construction and the revolution. The counter-revolution was crushed; the imperialist aggression was repulsed; the Germany-Italy-Japan axis of fascist powers was defeated in the heroic patriotic war

waged by the Soviet people under the able leadership of Com. Stalin.

When the Bolsheviks first took power, as Com. Lenin put it, *"We assumed that we could proceed straight to socialism without a preliminary period in which the old economy would be adapted to socialist economy"*.

Lenin proposed to the party and the country in early 1921 the series of measures that came to be known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP meant a change in strategy, based on a clear recognition of the objective reality. Instead of immediate transition to socialist economy there could have been a fairly long transitional period, perhaps five to ten years by Lenin's estimate, during which the ground work for socialist economy was carefully prepared. Instead of an all-out assault, there could be a period of tactical retreat, regroupment and consolidation. With the frankness and truthfulness of a Bolshevik, Lenin proclaimed openly that *"NEP was a temporary retreat to state capitalism"* for laying the economic foundation for political gains of a socialist state and *"NEP Russia will become socialist Russia"*.

Com. Lenin waged a relentless struggle for NEP, which ensures the victory of socialism by strengthening the relations between the working class and the peasantry, state industries and small peasant economy and by promoting the exchange of commodities between villages and cities. All this was impossible without rousing mass consciousness and class struggle. That was what Com. Lenin exactly did.

The hardest battles fought were in the agricultural sector. The restoration of free market during the first phase of NEP led to, as was its intent, the revival of agricultural production. But the revival of production meant a revival of capitalist relations in agriculture: a growing concentration of land-holdings, of grain surpluses, of capital in the hands of rich

peasants, a growing impoverishment of poor peasants and labourers. The kulaks refused to pay grain taxes, refused to sell grain except at highway robbery prices and in places engaged in open sabotage and open armed rebellion. The Soviet state was once more confronted with the spectre of famine and civil war.

In this grave emergency, and after a heated intra-party struggle against the 'left' and right oppositions, the CPSU, led by Com. Stalin, resolved to launch an all-out offensive against the last great bastion of capitalism. This was the campaign for collectivisation of agriculture. The struggle that began for the collectivisation of agriculture, lasting for some five years, amounted to the Second Bolshevik revolution. It was a revolution carried on both, from above by the Soviet state, and from below by the masses of agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants.

In transforming the victorious New Democratic Revolution into a socialist revolution, Com. Mao Ze Dong creatively applied the Russian experiences to the socialist construction in China. Apart from strengthening the socialist economic base, he emphasised the need for changes in the super-structure for uninterrupted advance of the socialist revolution and put into practice the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He brought forth the question of choosing between the socialist path and the capitalist path and guided the struggle against the capitalist path. It was a struggle aimed at bringing about radical changes in the super-structure ie. old politics, culture, education and state apparatus.

The life and death struggle between socialism and capitalism for NEP and collectivisation of agriculture strengthened the economic base in the Soviet Union. It speeded up socialist industrialisation. It enabled the Soviet Union to deal a death-blow on fascism during the Second World War. It consolidated the victory of democratic revolutions in East European and Asian countries and strengthened proletarian revolutionary parties in a number of countries. It defeated all opportunist and revisionist trends, both inside and outside Russia.

The struggle against the capitalist path and for socialist construction in China greatly enhanced the strength of socialist China. It enabled China to embark on the path of socialism in the periods of the Great Leap Forward, socialist transformation of agriculture, GPCR etc. It enabled China to fight against imperialism and social imperialism. It enabled China to stand

by the side of national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to extend co-operation and help to them. By initiating and conducting the Great Debate against modern revisionism, it became a rallying point of proletarian revolutionary parties and forces from all over the world.

Many people refer to the thesis of capitalist restoration in the USSR as the 'Chinese view' or the 'Albanian view'. This is correct in the sense that it was the CPC and the Party of Labour of Albania who stood first, most firmly, clearly and consistently in defence of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist line initiated by Khrushchev. It was they who did the pioneering work on the thesis of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, leading the way to solving the most difficult problems of theory and in marshalling reliable data. All Marxist-Leninists acknowledge their contributions.

But this does not mean that the thesis of capitalist restoration arises chiefly out of some 'national' experience of China or Albania, or would not have been discovered without the Chinese or Albanian parties. The thesis is based on international experience - not just, that of the Soviet workers and oppressed nationalities - and has objective validity independent of its first proponents. It has become the common property of Marxist-Leninists all over the world.

In accordance with the identity of the ultimate aims of these two great revolutions, there is a striking similarity in the struggles waged by these communist parties against imperialism, capitalism, revisionism and opportunism of all hues. At the same time, they differ in certain aspects. The role they played in the progress of humanity has no parallels. The lessons and experiences of these two great revolutions have profound significance for our future generations.

But how could it happen that these two great revolutions led by Com. Stalin and Mao unto their last breath, were sabotaged by the revisionist despots? How could capitalist roaders usurp leadership in the party and state power? How was it possible that these revolutions which were the fruit of innumerable hardships and sacrifices were reversed? Does that mean that nearly 40 and 30 years during which the proletariat held state power in the USSR and China were an illusion, or a mistake, or a waste of time? These are the basic questions confronting all proletarian revolutionaries and people of the world today. The same questions are confronting the Indian people and revolutionaries also. There is no doubt that these questions are arising out of an eagerness for the

socio-economic changes and for a triumphant revolution.

Dialectical and historical materialism teaches us that the existence of a society depends upon different periods of social development. Whatever are the conditions of material life of a society, such are the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society. Hence the origin of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions lies in the conditions of material life of society. It is the guiding principle for the activities of a proletarian party. The party of the proletariat must base its activities on the concrete conditions of the material life of social development.

Marxism does not negate that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society and that they do not in turn influence the social being ie. the development of material life of society.

Everything depends upon the circumstances, time and place. There are different types of social ideas and theories in a given society at a given time. There are old ideas and theories which serve the moribund forces of society. They hamper the development and progress of society. There are new ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society and thus facilitate the development, ie. the progress of society.

Development of material life of society gives rise to new social ideas and theories. But once they have arisen they become the most potent force which facilitates the development of material life of society. It is impossible to fulfill the tasks of development of material life of society without translating those new ideas and theories into action. So the new ideas and theories must force their way and mobilise and organise the masses against the moribund forces of society.

Marx said : "*Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses*". Hence it is the duty of the party of the proletariat to rely upon the needs of the developments of material life of society, to organise and mobilise the broad masses of people, to smash the reactionary forces and clear the way for the advanced forces of society.

This struggle between advanced ideas and moribund ideas express itself in a prolonged, arduous and fierce class struggle, the highest form of which is social revolution. The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of political power. Does this mean that all that is required is seizure of state power? No, it does not. The seizure of power

is only the beginning, starting point of social transformation. The whole point is to retain power, consolidate it and make it invincible. The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential to carry out these tasks.

As Lenin pointed out: *"The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration"* (Vol.XXIII, p.355). It scarcely needs proof that there is every possibility of capitalist restoration during the historical epoch of transition from capitalism to communism. But wherein lies the strength of the bourgeoisie?

*"If the exploiters are defeated in one country only and this, of course, is the typical case, since simultaneous revolution is a rare exception, they still remain stronger than the exploited"* (ibid,p.354). Hence the strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie lies *"in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie"* (Vol.XXV, p.173). Therefore the period of transition from capitalism to communism must be regarded as an *"entire historical era replete with civil wars and external conflicts, with persistent organisational work and economic construction, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats"* (Stalin).

This historical era is needed not only to create the economic and cultural pre-requisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also to enable the proletariat, firstly, to educate itself, and secondly, to re-educate and re-build the petty bourgeois strata. But why does the petty bourgeoisie need remoulding?

The overthrown exploiters throw themselves into the battle for recovery of lost power. *"In the train of capitalist exploiters follow the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, with regards to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution, that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of workers, grow nervous, rush about, snivel and run from one camp into another"* (Lenin, Vol. XXIII, p.355).

Such are the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding socialist construction and revolution. Any party which fails to fulfill these tasks will lose its vanguard role and cease to be the party of the proletariat. This inevitably leads to

analysis of imperialism given by Lenin.

These basic changes were not framed by their architects as a temporary retreat, as was the case with the first phase of the NEP of Lenin. They are meant, on the contrary, to be permanent. No wonder then that this heaven of revisionists is plagued by crises. No matter how thoroughly capitalist monopolies take-over all areas of economic life, no matter how far the capitalist state merges with them, the system remains capitalist and cannot conquer anarchy of production; it can only reproduce the chaos on a higher plane.

The revisionists and neo-revisionists in India claimed in the past that it was impossible to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and it cannot be said that a socialist country may develop into social imperialism because it is inconsistent with the basic principles of dialectical and historical materialism. Their argument was that society can only move upwards and does not regress back into capitalism. Today with the disappearance of the USSR they have landed in a morass.

Notwithstanding their ideological bankruptcy, it should be observed here that a retrograde change in character, from progressive to reactionary, can take place not only in individual persons but also in the social systems of whole countries, at least for a time. In the long run, the emancipation of oppressed classes and nations is inevitable, but in the short run there are bound to be twists and reverses.

*Engels' observations on the end of the Middle Ages in Germany are instructive on this point. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Engel wrote, the German Peasants had almost totally been stripped off their bondage and serfdom and become "Freemen". But after the middle of the 15th century they suffered a reverse. "Serfdom appeared in a second edition", Engels wrote, adding that this time "new serfdom" was by no means milder than the earlier one. Only later did the peasants re-emancipate themselves. (Letter to Marx, Dec 15 & 16, 1882)*

We have witnessed the final consequences of this retrogression in the Soviet Union for the past two years. The Russian bourgeoisie which was disposed of by the revolutionary Soviet people 75 years back has crept out of its tomb and established its second empire. The Russian bourgeoisie of today is more than a mere obstacle to progress; it is a leap backward, a momentous historical reversal. Its rule inspires with hope only the most moribund

sections of the world's other bourgeoisies, who pray and scheme that they will somehow obtain a similar second lease of life.

Starting with the denouncing of socialist construction, the Chinese revisionists have reached a ridiculous stage of finding a still higher stage of imperialism and named it as social capitalism, which according to them automatically passes into socialism. They even dared to argue that the gambling dens of capitalist share-markets are increasingly becoming instruments of public ownership of means of production, because as capitalism grows it makes more people own industries through shares and gradually the capitalists turn into trustees of people's industries i.e. socialist managers. The bourgeoisie of all countries lies, cheats and deceives. However, revisionism surpasses them because it lies about its own class origin. Chinese revisionists adopted the last-ditch disguise to cover their capitalist road with socialist rhetoric. They glibly talk of 'socialist market economy', socialist spirituality and morals, while giving full play to the capitalist forces.

The consequences of retrogression are profound. The international communist movement received a severe setback. The declining imperialism got a brief respite for breathing. The national liberation movements confronted with more stumbling blocks. The ruling classes of the Third World found yet another prop to their rule. Despite all these difficulties, one thing is certain. The monstrous revival of wage slavery and imperialist tyranny will be swept away by the proletarian revolutions and national liberation struggles. That will be the second edition of the great October Revolution.

In the early years after its formation, the Communist Party of India strived hard to spread Marxism-Leninism among the working class and peasantry in India and valiantly led many class struggles. At the same time, it harboured illusions about the leadership of the national movement and failed to adopt an independent policy. As a result, reformism and legalism crept in. Moreover, this reformism resulted in liquidation of even the militant struggles. Their reformism and bourgeois liberalism were reflected in their assessment of the nature and role of various classes in India, particularly the big bourgeoisie. In formulating the strategy and tactics of Indian communist movement, they come out with a revisionist understanding. The rise of modern revisionism in Russia had emboldened them. They took the policy of supporting the Nehru

Government. They started to create illusions among the oppressed classes that Nehru was committed to build socialism in India. They confined the programme of the party to only peaceful, legal and parliamentary struggles. They embraced Khrushchevite modern revisionism and degenerated into running dogs of ruling classes.

The neo-revisionists also followed modern revisionism. Their opposition to Krushchev is superficial and once Brezhnev came to power they embraced social imperialism and condemned Mao as adventurist. By attributing an independent role to the big bourgeoisie in India, they supported the Indira regime at all critical junctures and confined themselves to peaceful, legal and parliamentary struggles.

Both revisionists and neo-revisionists vied with each other to prove themselves as trusted servants of social imperialism and its vested interests in India. If the first and second generation leadership of the communist movement, which has earned a name with sacrifices has not failed in defining the aims and targets of India's revolution, if the leadership stood with the CPC in its fight with modern revisionism, it would have rendered an immense service to the cause of the Indian revolution and Indian communist movement. The main cause of this setback for the Indian communist movement is revisionist betrayal.

Some sections of the communist revolutionaries are now embracing the present leadership of China. Still others are digging out facts to prove that branding Russia as social imperialism was a monstrous crime as there were only distortions in the socialist society sprouting from Stalin's era. They heap praises on Gorbachev as the saviour of socialism in Russia. Left opportunism, which made the struggle against revisionism devoid of its correct political and ideological basis, turned into left revisionism.

Com. Lenin pointed out: *"To determine its conduct from case to case, to adopt itself to the event of the day, and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat and the main features of the capitalist system as a whole, to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or supposed advantages of the movement - such is the policy of revisionism. And it patiently follows from the very nature of this policy that it may assume an infinitive variety of forms, and every more or less 'new question', every more or less unexpected turn of events, eventhough it*

*changes the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the shortest period of time, will always inevitably give rise to one or another variety of revisionism".* (Vol.XV, p.37-38).

The Russian and Chinese revolutions have succeeded in different socio-economic and political conditions. Nevertheless, they strived for the victory of the socialist revolution. They marched forward amidst the struggles against counter-revolution and imperialism and against revisionism and capitalist roaders inside the party. Internationally, they served the cause of national liberation struggles and working class struggles. But revisionism has gained an upper-hand at present and is reversing the achievements of these two great revolutions.

In the beginning of the socialist revolution itself Com Lenin warned that: *"This is only a beginning, but is a beginning of unusually great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more substantial, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty bourgeois egoism, a victory over habits that accursed capitalism left as a heritage to the worker and peasant. Only when this victory is consolidated will the new social discipline be created; then and only then will the reversion to capitalism become impossible, will communism become really invincible".* (A Great Beginning).

Firmly adhering to the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought, the Communist Revolutionaries will continue their fight against capitalist roaders. Learning from the past experiences, both positive and negative, from these two great revolutions, the Communist Parties world over will continue their fight for emancipation of humankind from all exploitation and strive to build a new classless communist society.

*"Countries want independence; Nations want liberation; and people want revolution."* Such is the main trend of the world events today. No tragedies, no setbacks, no episodes of restoration can reverse this historic trend. As Eugene Pottier's anthem of the working class calls us:

*"Let each stand in his place!*

*The international working class shall be the human race!"*

**Call to the people :**

## **Intensify the struggles against imperialist dictated anti-people policies of the Indian government !**

Dear fellow citizens,

The mire through which India, our beloved country, has been lumbered by all the successive governments that came to power since 1947 has brought our country to a critical juncture. For the last forty-five years, our country has been systematically led to such a situation that instead of self-reliant, independent growth, our country has become bankrupt. The continuous policy of subservience to imperialism has brought us to such a situation that we are pushed through an imperialist-engineered policy of selling-out our country. The abject surrender to the IMF conditionalities by the present Indian ruling classes is the result of this continued policy of subservience.

The IMF conditionalities are nooses of imperialism to enfeeble India. As a part of the conditionalities, India has had to devalue its rupee by 30 per cent. The foreign exchange regulations and restrictions were withdrawn to allow the imperialists to invest more capital directly. Import regulations are being withdrawn to ease the flow of foreign capital goods and technology into India. Whatever the concessions that the small-scale industries enjoyed are being done away with to remove the barriers before imperialist capital in their profit hunt in India, resulting in more than two lakh small-scale industries being closed. In the name of curtailing budget deficits, all subsidies are being withdrawn. As a result, fares and freights of all sorts of transport are being increased. Charges for electricity consumption are enhanced. Prices of fertilisers have increased. The social welfare measures like health, education etc., which are negligible compared to other countries, are being slashed in a big way.

The central government has announced a new industrial policy which is nothing more than an anti-worker, and an-out and-out pro-imperialist comprador bureaucratic capitalist policy. On the plea of efficiency and productivity, thousands of workers are being thrown out of their jobs through automation, mechanisation and computerisation. The 'Exit policy' has

become another name for closing down industries. The government itself has officially admitted that more than five lakh workers will lose their jobs within three years. Four lakh railway employees and nearly one lakh cotton-mill workers are going to be retrenched soon. To hoodwink the workers, retrenchment has been rechristened as voluntary retirement or the golden handshake.

The peasantry is also being attacked by this policy. Withdrawal of subsidies from fertilisers and electricity charges has increased the cost of production to a great extent. The government has almost stopped levy procurement and price support to crops. Thus, peasants are being thrown at the mercy of speculators. Though the Dunkel proposal has not yet been accepted by India, certain parts of that proposal are being implemented by the ruling classes by opening up large areas of agriculture to imperialist and comprador-bureaucratic capital.

At the behest of the IMF, privatisation has become the order of the day. Public sector enterprises are being opened up for direct investment of imperialist and comprador-bureaucratic capital. At the dictation of the World Bank, the buffer-stock of foodgrains has been minimised and the public distribution system is almost being withdrawn to enable profiteers and speculators to rule the grain-market.

Even the educational field is facing a deep crisis. Scope for higher education is gradually being narrowed down. Education is no more treated as a responsibility of the state, but a commercial commodity to be bought and sold. Mushroom growth of private institutions charging high rates of fees is to be found everywhere in India. Through capitation fees, overt and covert, wealthy people are being allowed to buy education for their children, whereas for the poor children even primary education still remains a dream.

Now the Central government has come out with its latest attack on the people. The Finance Minister announced another spate of enhancement of the prices of petrol, diesel and cooking gas through an administrative order just before his leaving the country with the begging bowl to seek 9000 million dollars as a loan from the IMF.

It has already been declared that very soon the railway fares and freights will be further increased. And in many states, the bus and other transport fares are being increased by their respective governments.

It is a deplorable fact that the parliamentary opposition parties and their governments in different states are playing a dual role. On the one hand, they are opposing the Central government's decision of raising the prices of petrol, diesel and cooking gas, on the other hand they are raising the bus and the other transport fares in the states they rule. The same opposition parties who are shouting against the Central government's surrender to the IMF conditionalities are themselves implementing the conditions imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in the respective states they rule. This is true for both the right and so-called 'left' opposition in the parliament.

People in different parts of the country are fighting against these anti-people policies. And both, the ruling party at the Centre and opposition parties who are in power in different states, are brutally suppressing the movements.

Under these circumstances it has become imperative for all our citizens to stand up as one against the present ruling class policy of selling-out our country to their imperialist masters. Workers, peasants, students and youth and people from all walks of life must unite to develop a relentless struggle to put an end to the rule which is serving imperialists and their servitors, the comprador big bourgeoisie and feudal lords.

Let us forge a unity of all democratic forces in this country to fight against :

Surrender to IMF-World Bank conditionalities;

Rise in prices of all essential commodities;

So-called 'exit policy' of closing down industries, retrenching workers;

Efforts to discontinue public distribution system;

Withdrawal of subsidies on fertilisers, food and social welfare services;

Enhancement of fares of all sorts of transport;

All-out privatisation of public sector enterprises and opening them up to direct imperialist capital;

Handing over large agriculture areas to the imperialist and comprador big bourgeoisie;

Privatisation of educational institutions and capitation fees;

Reduction in procurement of agricultural produce by the government institutions and withdrawal of price support.

Let us build a broad united front of workers, peasants, students, youth and all democratic organisations and individuals to build up a struggle against these anti-people and pro-imperialist policies of the ruling classes.

With revolutionary greetings,

Central Committee

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) -Janashakti.

## Statement :

# Mobilise world public opinion to defend the life of Abimael Guzman

Abimael Guzman, Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru, was captured on September 12, 1992, by the Fujimori regime with the active help of the "counter-insurgency" apparatus of USA.

US imperialism is aiding and abetting the Fujimori government. The imperialist media dominated by it portrayed Abimael Guzman as the most dangerous terrorist and the organisation he is leading for the last 12 years, the Shining Path, as involved in drug trafficking. A recent BBC investigation clearly exposed that it is the government forces and not the Shining Path guerrillas who are involved in drug trafficking. It is also an undeniable fact that millions of workers, peasants, students and other sections of people in Peru recognise Abimael Guzman as their leader in a revolutionary war waged against one of the world's most blood-thirsty regimes.

Eventhough death penalty was banned by the Peruvian constitution, Fujimori repeatedly threatened to impose the death penalty on Guzman. In the face of widespread opposition in Peru and the world over, Fujimori back-tracked from his plan of official killing on Guzman. In order to dispel the legitimate doubts that Guzman might have been already executed, he adopted a method, that reminds us of the barbarous medieval ages, of presenting Guzman alive to the press in a cage like a wild animal.

The selfstyled "guardians of democracy"-- US imperialism and its running dogs --remained deafeningly silent when all internationally established treaties and coventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners were trampled on during the so- called trial and subsequent verdict of life sentence of Abimael Guzman, and ten of his followers, including his spouse, by a military court.

Abimael Guzman was accused of 27,000 deaths. The trial took place at break-neck speed; he was denied the opportunity to consult his lawyer; there were no witnesses and no defence was allowed to the accused. All the press and observers were banned and an international delegation of

attorneys refused admittance into the courtroom. The faces of judges and prosecutors were hidden behind black hoods. This 'trial' and verdict has had only one concern: to permanently silence the leader of the Peruvian people as quickly as is possible.

There is every reason to fear for the life of Abimael Guzman at the hands of the Fujimori dictatorship, as extra-legal execution under the cover of attempted escape, 'suicide' or 'death by natural causes' is a common practice to eliminate political opponents of the Peruvian State. Starting from the massacre of hundreds of prisoners at El Fronton prison in 1986, to the cold blooded murder of more than 40 unarmed women and men prisoners at the Canto Grande prison in May this year, endless political prisoners were slain by the Fujimori dictatorship.

This must not be allowed. International public opinion must help stop the Peruvian government from adding Guzman to their endless list of murdered political prisoners.

It is urgent that many voices be heard to demand that the Peruvian government respect the international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war. That the life of Abimael Guzman be saved.

An International Emergency Committee to defend the life of Abimael Guzman has already been formed. It has brought together a broad array of jurists, defenders of human rights, political activists, journalists and other ordinary people in many countries. The address of the committee is as follows:

BCM International Emergency Committee

27 Old Gloucester St.

London, WC1N 3XX

United Kingdom.

CPI (M-L)-Janashakti appeals to all revolutionaries, democrats, civil liberties' activists and others to join the efforts of the International Emergency Committee to save the life of Abimael Guzman.

## Press Statement :

# Fight communal ideology

The CPI(ML)- Janashakti strongly condemns the demolition of the Babri Masjid by Hindu fundamentalists - BJP, VHP, RSS, Bajarang Dal and Shiv Sena combine - on the 6th of December. This act of demolishing a more than four hundred year old monument of a religious minority cannot be treated as just another communal act. This is the end result of the exploiting ruling classes by adopting communal ideology as their ideology in order to divert the attention of the people from the basic issues, to divide people on communal lines and thus to perpetuate their class rule.

While the BJP, VHP, RSS, Bajarang Dal and Shiv Sena combine has caused this situation, the Congress(I) led Central government also stands equally responsible for it. Since the formation of the Congress (I) minority government at the centre led by P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Central government has been appeasing the BJP on the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. All the wings of the State, like the legislature, judiciary and the executive, have been conciliating to Hindu fundamentalism. All the claims of the central government that it was striving to prevent the December 6th act and all its attempts to put up an innocent face that it was 'betrayed' are nothing but a farce. Had the central government really been interested in preventing the present situation, it would not have behaved as it did. The central government, which has now dismissed the the BJP led government in Uttar Pradesh, could have done so before lakhs of 'kar sevaks' stormed into Ayodhya. All the police, para-military forces and the army, which it deployed in Ayodhya could not have remained as mere spectators all through while the 'kar sevaks' were demolishing the mosque and indulging in other offences for hours together.

The Indian ruling classes have inherited the colonial policy of using communalism as part of the policy of divide and rule. Eversince they forced upon the people a communal division of India in 1947, the Congress had been in competition with other parties of the ruling classes and communal forces in flaring up communalism. Both the Congress(I) and the BJP have been dealing with the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue to suit their electoral purposes. Both have been cultivating Hindu communalism in pursuit of their electoral

gains. The massacre of more than 3,000 Sikhs following the assassination of Indira Gandhi helped the Congress(I) to win an absolute majority in parliament in the 1984 elections. After coming to power, Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM, unlocked the so-called Ram mandir as part of appeasing the Hindu communalists. In competition with this, the BJP - VHP combine took up the 'Programme of Shilanyas' and sought to flare up communal frenzy all over the country as part of their move to score above the Congress(I). It culminated in a Kar Seva in Ayodhya on October 30th, 1990 during which the Babri masjid structure was partially damaged. All this helped the BJP to come to power in four states and also to emerge as the main opposition in the parliament.

The act of demolition of the Babri masjid is a nakedly fascist onslaught against the rights of a religious minority, resorted to by the vocal Hindu communal forces led by BJP and VHP with all the silent approval from the Congress(I) and the central government. The damage done by the demolition of the Babri masjid cannot be repaired by simply banning certain communal organisations. Here, the central government has left BJP and Shiv Sena out of the purview of its move as though in its view communalism practiced by parliamentary parties is justified or permissible. By this act, the Congress(I) is justifying its own 'right' to continue the practice of communalism. People should demand the trial of all those responsible like L. K. Advani, M. M. Joshi, A. K. Singhal and others for treason. The Congress(I) led central government cannot absolve itself of its role and the entire performance of the central government, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in the whole affair should therefore be thoroughly investigated and they must be held responsible for the share of their crime in its development.

This act of perfidy has created a deep cleavage in the unity of the people of this country. More than two lakh people, who were mobilised in the 'kar seva', swayed with the communal venom spread by Hindu fundamentalists. They must be liberated from their ideological captivity. This cannot be done by aligning with one or other sections of the ruling classes since all of them at one time or the other, resorted to communalism and fundamentalism. What Calcutta and other districts of West Bengal witness today, even after fifteen years of Left-front rule, shows that these so-called left parties cannot be an alternative to fight communalism. On the contrary, this time too, the Left-front in general, and CPI(M) in

particular, came to the rescue of the Congress (I) and the central government through their attempts to absolve Congress (I) from its responsibility in the whole affair. The real alternative should come from the toiling people of this country since they are, irrespective of their religion or caste, the targets of all such incidents. Already there are many instances where people from both the communities helped each other and unitedly protected the temples or masjids as well as lives and properties from the rioters. This is the most welcome and positive trend which must be upheld and promoted.

The CPI (ML) - Janashakti therefore proposes to initiate a people's offensive against communal ideology and only the working class and other toiling sections of the people can give leadership to such an initiative. Revolutionary, democratic and secular forces and individuals must rise to the occasion in fighting this conspiracy of the ruling classes against the people of our country.

In the meanwhile, we demand that :

-- The disputed area be declared undisputed and the Babri masjid be reconstructed immediately at the cost of the government.

-- A thorough enquiry be conducted by an independent forum of democratic secular forces into the role of communal forces and organisations, including the role of the central government, to pin-point the responsibility for their whole development that culminated in the dismantling of the Babri masjid.

-- A special trial of all those responsible for the whole development be held.

-- Dependents of all those who lost their lives in the communal holocaust after the demolition of the Babri masjid be compensated.

-- All those whose properties were destroyed be adequately compensated.

-- All those who are displaced be rehabilitated and provided free essential commodities.

K. Ramachandran,  
General Secretary,  
Central Committee

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) -- Janashakti

13th December, 1992

## Repression:

# Legitimising private armies

The Indian Tea Association (ITA), with its 268 member gardens in Assam, has announced the raising of a private army ostensibly to counter the militant groups and provide security to their employees. According to H.P.Barooah, ITA Chairman, the security force would be 8000-strong and equipped with automatic and semi-automatic weapons. The ITA estimates a non-recurring expenditure of Rs 4 crore and Rs 8 crore annually to maintain the force. It proposes to deploy 40 men in each of the 200 gardens. The force mainly comprises of ex-servicemen and some retired police personnel.

Obviously, this proposal has the blessings of the Central government. It stipulated that licences would be issued only to individuals and not to groups. While the state government will issue licences for non-prohibitive bores, the Centre will issue licences for sophisticated weapons on recommendation from the state government.

The army too has endorsed the ITA's proposal. While approving the proposal to raise the private army, Lt. Gen. R.V.Kulkarni made some recommendations: that the personnel for the force would have to be drawn from all parts of the country and not from Assam alone, and that the Director General (Resettlement), Ministry of Defence, would co-ordinate with the ITA for the recruitment of ex-servicemen.

Chief Minister, Hiteswar Saikia said: "We have accepted the ITA's proposal. Their security force will be under the command of the Assam police and will work in collaboration with it". His plea was that most of the 800-odd tea gardens in Assam are located in remote areas, making it impossible for the government to provide adequate police protection. The state government recently inducted 66 companies of paramilitary forces in addition to what were already stationed in the state.

The dangerous implications of this decision are clear. It will be foolish to swallow the bait that the operational command of this tea security force will vest with the Director General of Police. Being raised, financed and equipped by the tea industry, for all practical purposes, it will be in the service of the whims and fancies of teagarden owners. There is no guarantee that this force will not be used to suppress the legitimate activity of tea-garden labour. Given the social and

economic conditions prevailing in the tea-gardens and notoriety of tea garden managements in flaying every law on the statute book, to oppress the garden labour, the force is more likely to be used against them and their democratic rights. The proposal to raise the force from all parts of India, smacks of colonial legacy of maintaining law and order by using people of one nationality against another.

Moreover, maintenance of law and order is the duty of any legitimate government, for that matter, any modern state. The entire system hinges upon one tenet that law should not be taken into the hands of an individual. Even if we agree for the time being that the said force is being raised to counter the militant activity of extremist groups, it amounts to surrender of the State government's authority to maintain law and order to corporate giants. In other words, the state government does not have the capability to rule any more and has surrendered its power to those who can afford a private army at their command. Money now literally buys power and authority to rule over people.

Of course, the big landlords and big bourgeoisie always used to have their private mercenaries. The use of private armies by landlords to terrorise and cow-down the rural poor and dalits in the countryside is well documented. The use of mercenary goondas to break strikes by workers and to eliminate unbending trade union leaders is also a daily occurrence. Even liquor contractors own their private armies to force the people to drink liquor and to terrorise women agitating against liquor. All this happens under the very nose of the law and order machinery which is also well documented. But what these nefarious activities lacked till now is formal legitimacy. Now the government of Assam, as well as the central government, have shown their inclination to legalise these private armies if they can show an obliging plea.

In all probability, the days are not far away when legitimacy is bestowed upon these private armies flourishing in the countryside and soon what-not-senas and what-not-Rakshana samitis will be turned into auxillary armed forces to suppress and oppress the people.

## Report from Gujarat:

### Dang... Dang... you are not alone!

*"Everything is done to dam flowing waters*

*Nothing is done to dam our fast flowing tears"*

Sing the tribals sitting in their impoverished hamlets amidst great natural wealth of the Dang forest in South Gujarat.

Dang is the smallest district in Gujarat. About 98 percent of its land is covered by dense forests. This 1760 sq.kms. stretch of forest is a source of teak and bamboo besides invaluable herbs and rare plants. It has a population of 1,43,000 of which adivasis form 92 per cent. The main tribes are the Bhils, Kuknas, and Warlis with a considerable percentage of Chaudharies, Kotwalias, Kathudias and Gamits who live in 311 villages.

For centuries, adivasis lived as the children of the forest. They have been eking out their livelihood by collecting various forest produce and by cultivating forest lands. All these years the government refused to even acknowledge their presence. There is no tangible industrial or employment-generation activity taken up by the government to benefit tribals.

Prior to 1969, even according to government survey records, the adivasis were cultivating 79,913 hectares of forest land. The forest department started to increase the forest cover and 21,154 hectares of land being cultivated by the tribals was taken away by the forest department. The hostile forest officials terrorised the adivasis whenever they tried to cultivate the land.

Denied any other source of employment, the adivasis began migrating for six to eight months to Bardoli, Vyara, Surat and other districts to cut sugarcane for the factories there, often walking distances upto 50 kms to reach these places.

Their attempts at getting organised were thwarted by the machinations of the state. During the late 1960s, Ratan Gambit started Dangji Sena. Its main demand was autonomy for Dang. A fiery speaker and campaigner, Ratan Gambit won the assembly seat with the adivasi votes against many odds. Soon he was lured into joining the Congress-I and the Dangji Sena was disbanded.

In early 1980s, Adivasi youth, who had studied upto high

school and a few with higher education, found that while they suffered with no hostel accomodation and no money even for food when they went to town for studies, non-tribals lorded over the Forest Labour Co-operatives meant for adivasis. Angered by the sufferings of their people, the students walked through the villages, creating awareness and fighting spirit. In this case too, many of these students were offered jobs by the politicians and the movement slowly fizzled out with only a few remaining in their militancy.

In November 1989, Veersingh Patel, Irfan Engineer and a few others formed Advasi Bhoomiheen Kisan Hakk Suraksha Samiti. The main demands of the Samiti are: Recognition of the Adivasi people's right to forest and their right to till the forest land. Initially the adivasi were organised in about 22 villages to occupy and cultivate the land which once belonged to them and has now been arbitrarily taken away by the forest department.

At once the repressive machinery sprung into action. It singled out the villages which they branded as naxalite strongholds and systematically subjected them to brutalities since May 1990. In that month, 44 adivasis, including 8 women were arrested, including 8 women, and severely beaten up to show what would happen if they side with the Samiti.

The most brutal act, unforgettable even after one year, occurred on November 20 last year. On that day, forest officials drove into the village of Kosimda and shot dead 22-year old Taraben Pawar at point-blank range, pounded her 65-year old mother-in-law Jhupliben with rifle butts, fired at Akatiya Pawar and set about terrorising the villagers by storming their huts and taking away their valuables.

Enraged villagers, who gathered outside various forest range offices to protest this gory incident, were indiscriminately fired at. At Chinchinagavtha, Keshu Pawar received a bullet in his leg and after five days his gangrenous leg was amputated.

Following Taraben's killing, Irfan Engineer and some of the tribals went on a hunger strike demanding the booking of the murderers. The government announced that it would pay one lakh rupees as compensation to Taraben's family, but rejected all other demands. In the middle of the night, it swooped on the hunger strikers and arrested Veersingh Patel and Irfan Engineer under the NSA along with many other adivasis.

While both were released, Veersingh Patel was detained again, released on bail and re-arrested on the same day. He was kept in custody till May 18, released the following day only to be re-arrested on the same day. Granted bail on May 22, he was arrested again. He was again released on bail in June, to be taken into custody in July. The repression is not limited to the Dang area. Samiti activities are being obstructed in the neighbouring districts as well. When a public meeting was planned by the Samiti to rally support for the Dang adivasis in Surat city on October 18, police withheld the permission and arrested Veersingh Patel, who was present there to address the meeting. He secured a bail order with a condition that he should not leave his native village at all.

The district collector of Dang, Mahendrasingh Dagur, observed that "tribals just have to come to him for redressal of their grievances instead of which they prefer to go to the Samiti". At this rate, with all its leaders in jail and activists forced to remain outside the district for fear of being arrested, the movement will die without a 'whimper'. (The Independent, 30-7-1992)

The main hopes of the government to cow-down the adivasis by resorting to brutal repression and arresting their leaders are clearly visible in the arrogance shown by this bureaucrat. For all these years, the district administration not only refused to acknowledge the presence of the adivasis, but also consistently drove them from their livelihood. It is now feigning as a good samaritan.

All the attention the district received in the past was some boasting of its scenic beauty. Since the Samiti activities started, adivasis of Dang received a considerable coverage in the media which helped in mobilising the democratic opinion in Gujarat. Many democratic personages extended their helping hand in fighting innumerable false cases foisted by the police. They also exposed the falacies woven around the reign of terror that let loose upon the adivasis by the administration.

With the solidarity and support from various sections of people, the people of Dang are moving steadily to realise their traditional and democratic right to life. They are planning to organise the anniversary of the killing of Taraben in the month of November.

From the helpless sigh deep inside the forests to the ringing

battle cry echoed throughout Gujarat, they have traversed a long path. No amount of deceit and terror will deter them from their march forward .

30th October, 1992.

## **Report from Andhra Pradesh: Anti-liquor movement sweeps the state**

Since August this year, a unique agitation by rural women has swept numerous villages of AP demanding a stop in the supply and sale of arrack in their villages. So powerful has been the protest that the annual auction of arrack shops in several districts has been put off for the time being. So widespread has been the agitation that almost all villages across the length and breadth of AP have been stirred with enthusiasm and mass action. So forceful has been the movement that every political party, eventhough dominated by liquor barons, has been forced to declare their stand openly in favour of the movement.

### **Women give the lead**

The agitation broke out in a sleepy village called Dubagunta in Nellore district. One day in August, the women of this village rose with one voice and forced the arrack shops to close. For a long time they were expressing their resentment against the sale of arrack in their village which they saw as a direct cause of their sorrows. The adult literacy classes organised by National Literacy Mission acted as a forum for them to exchange their opinions and experiences. Three men of their village, who were drunk, fell accidentally into a well and died. The enraged women spontaneously rallied together and led a procession to the arrack shop. It was forcibly closed down by them. As the news of their success spread, women in surrounding villages also rose against arrack shops and closed them down. Soon the spark lit by the Dubagunta women spread to the entire district burning, down in its wake, years of humiliation and oppression suffered by thousands of women. The hitherto powerless women, bursting with power inherent in the collective Streeshakti, became a lesson for the women of other districts.

While Dubagunta women sparked off a movement, the

women of Saipeta village provided another dimension of braving the repression by collective action. A young man returned home late in the night in a drunken state and started forcing his mother to go to bed with him, mistaking her for his wife. When his father objected, he attacked his father with an axe. This incident made the village women close down the arrack shops in their village. They also served an ultimatum to the arrack contractor and Mandal Revenue Officer demanding that the arrack godown should be removed from their village within five days. Despite this, when they found that the arrack contractor was selling liquor, they attacked the godown and burnt down the arrack. The police foisted false cases on the women and started to interfere in the sale of arrack. The cadre of Progressive Organisation of Women (Streevimukti) reached this village while campaigning for the ban of the liquor trade. They organised Saipeta women and took a procession of 500 women to the mandal headquarters at Kavali town demanding withdrawal of false cases and a stop to repression. Eventually the government backstepped. This emboldened the women and taught them a lesson that repression could be fought back with their collective strength.

Out of a total of 864 arrack shops in Nellore district 500 shops were closed down by women. On September 11, more than 50,000 women from the villages of Nellore district gathered at the district collectorate. Annual auctions for permits for sale of arrack were to be held that day. The women demanded the cancellation of these auctions. Gheraoing the offices of the Excise department which hold the auctions, the women succeeded in forcing the officials to call it off for the day. On succeeding days too they gathered in full strength to force its postponement indefinitely. In all, the auctions were postponed 17 times in Nellore district. Similar protests spread to neighbouring districts of Chittoor, Prakasam, Krishna, Guntur, Khamman and West Godavari, where too arrack auctions were affected, if not postponed. At Ongole, women forced the officials to postpone the arrack auctions. The district collector along with contractors sneaked into the auction premises in the thick of the night and completed the auctions in a hurry, fearing that he could not conduct the business in daylight. This incident became the laughing stock for agitating women.

### **Mass Upsurge**

The anti-liquor agitation attracted women from far and wide for the problem was a universal phenomeon. Eventhough all

sections of women participated in the movement, it was the women belonging to the exploited classes and rural areas who played the active and leading role. They acted in a most militant manner. They had not only closed down the arrack shops and godowns, but also rebelled against those who refused to close them down. They trampled arrack sachets and burnt them. They kept vigilance at night to stop the transport of illicit liquor. In many places they burnt down the jeeps that were transporting illicit liquor. In many places goondas and police, who came to reopen the shops, were driven out with broomsticks and chilli powder. They stood valiantly even after months of braving repression and false cases foisted by the police.

Women's organisations like POW(Streevimukti), Stree Shakti, Andhra Mahila Sangham, Pragatisheel Mahila Sangham, women's organisations affiliated to parties like CPI, CPM, TDP and others also joined the movement. Other groups including Gandhian and Sarvodayan organisations, consumer protection groups, environmental groups and concerned individuals also lent their support to this movement. Students' organisations like PDSU, SFI, AISF, and youth organisations like YOC, PYL, DYFI, AIYF, Telugu Yuvatha and others also joined the mass protest and took an active part in the agitation.

Of late, Congress-I luminaries have started to vocally support the agitation. Prominent among them are Governor Krishna Kant and his wife Mrs Suman Krishna Kant, former governor Ms Kumudben Joshi and women legislators of the Congress-I. Even some ministers expressed their opinion in favour of the movement in their personal capacity.

In the beginning, the government and the arrack contractors did not take the movement seriously. However, the continuing intensity of the determined women's agitation and the widespread support it has received in many districts gave a jolt to them.

### **Callousness and Apathy**

For the last few years, the anti-liquor agitation was being conducted by various Communist revolutionary organisations in the Telangana area. When this movement reached its peak last year, the government resorted to selling arrack through government machinery. It turned police stations into arrack shops. Police resorted to brutal repression on whoever happened to vent their resentment against liquor as Naxalites.

They raided villages which boycotted liquor and committed numerous atrocities on people, and particularly on women.

At first the government attempted to dub the women protestors as Naxalite sympathisers and the movement as a Naxalite-inspired one. Thereby it hoped in vain to tarnish the image of the agitation amongst the public and then gain legitimacy to use its brutal police force and suppress the agitation. But this tactic fell flat as the determination of women agitators grew in strength.

The government outrightly rejected the possibility of introducing prohibition by pointing out the immense loss of revenue. The Chief Minister went to the extent of arguing that the income from arrack sales was being spent on various welfare measures meant for the weaker sections, thus banning the liquor trade would lead to a cessation of these measures to which the protestors pointed out certain facts. For example, while the excise revenue in 1990-91 was Rs. 800 crore, the budgetary allocation on various welfare measures was only Rs. 620 crore, including the central government assisted programmes.

## **The Nexus**

Here it is necessary to highlight the nexus between arrack contractors, politicians and government agencies. Andhra was dry when it was formed in 1953 with the bifurcation of Madras province, where prohibition was in force. The state then consisted of coastal and Rayalaseema districts which continued to be 'dry' even after the formation of the bigger state of AP in 1956 with the integration of Telangana districts which were 'wet'. The government lifted prohibition in Andhra area in 1969 making the whole state 'wet'.

At that time, the income of the government through arrack sales was around Rs.12 crores. It has now crossed the Rs. 800 crore per annum mark. According to an official study, for every rupee earned by the government the liquor contractors earn three rupees, this means the annual income of the liquor barons amounts to Rs. 2400 crores. With this enormous amount of money the liquor barons came to occupy commanding heights in the political set-up. The arrack contractors who are awarded sole arrack-selling rights in specific areas maintain private armies in the name of preventing illicit liquor. Not only does the liquor lobby fund politicians and their activities, but it also makes available their private armies to political parties for booth capturing and

putting down political opponents. The extent to which the liquor lobby controls politics can be gauged from the fact that over hundred MLAs and 5 MPs of AP, belonging to all political parties and parliamentary parties, including the so-called left parties, are liquor contractors or have close links with the liquor lobby. It is not surprising to find that four of the 12 private medical colleges, for which Janardhana Reddy's government gave sanction, belong to the liquor barons.

While auctioning sole arrack selling rights, the government stipulates Minimum Guarantee Quantity of arrack that has to be sold and the number of shops to be opened. Every year the government raises the MGQ to increase its revenue. This leads to opening up of more shops and sale of more liquor. The government's agencies, in their eagerness to raise the revenue, are forcing people to consume more liquor. They also collude with arrack contractors in the distribution of illicit liquor. A liquor baron of Nellore district, Ankaiah Goud openly stated to the press that he is not only selling the arrack supplied by the government, but is also selling illicit liquor for which he is paying lakhs of rupees in underhand dealings to politicians and officials.

September 1992 will go down in the history of AP as the anti-arrack agitation month. On September 28, several women's organisations took out Chalo Assembly processions in Hyderabad. It received widespread support from various sections ranging from Citizens against Pollution to AP Automen's Union.

The mass public opposition to liquor, particularly by women, has shown that it is an issue that is potent and can no longer be ignored. While involvement of the political parties and other groups in the anti-arrack movement adds strength to its demands, it also introduces many complications. No longer has the main demand remained simple. The demand for total prohibition of all types of liquor ignores the social and economic base of the arrack trade. It also ignores the political implications of institutionalising the repressive machinery of the government which does not discriminate between the seller and consumer of illicit liquor and makes them both criminals. Moreover, it transgresses the traditional rights of some ethnic groups of brewing liquor at home.

Demanding the government to stop the liquor trade by it and making it responsible for preventing illicit liquor will suit

the needs of the people at present. That is why this demand rallied wide support from people. The root question is whether the government concedes to the demands of women.

As Janardhana Reddy was unceremoniously shown the door and Vijaybhaskara Reddy's government sat in the seat of power, the outcome of the current agitation remains uncertain. So far, the new government has employed age-old delaying tactics by appointing a cabinet sub-committee. At the same time it indulged in the mud-slinging campaign that the disgruntled arrack contractors are behind the agitation. It also resorted to brutal repression. In many places goondas of liquor contractors attacked the agitating women. The most barbaric of them took place in Kurnool district to which the new CM belongs. Byreddy Rajasekhara Reddy, a local tyrant and liquor contractor, led two truckloads of his goondas in an attack on women agitators who were campaigning for stopping liquor trade in Tangedapalli, Sunnipenta and other villages near the Srisailam hydroelectric project. They severely beat the women, molested and manhandled them. They threatened the agitating women by saying that no one would come to their rescue if they were raped in broad day-light and openly declared that they would murder their leader, Sandhya., State Vice-president of POW (Stree Vimukti). They kidnapped 14 women and took them away in their trucks. Similarly, agitators were attacked in many places like Kurnool, Ongole, Srikakulam, Parvathipuram, etc.

Notwithstanding the delaying tactics, repression and mudslinging tactics, the women and people, at large, have remained resolute in their demand for stopping the liquor trade. They are persistent in their struggle and are confident of achieving their demand. The growing mass support with every passing day stands as a staunch proof of their efforts to put a stop to the liquor trade.

30th October, 1992.

## Report from Kerala :

# ADIVASI SAMARA SAMITI WINS FIRST ROUND

In the Late seventies, the Kerala state government laid a foundation stone for the construction of a medium irrigation project named Chimmini dam. The ceremony was attended by the then CPM Chief Minister, E.K.Nayanar and Central Minister, Jagjivanram. After nearly one and half decade the dam remains to be completed. While the developmental benefits claimed by the government are no where in sight, the plight of the adivasi displaced by the dam is pathetic.

The Chimmini dam is situated in the forests of Trissur district. The construction of the dam submerged the entire adivasi settlement of Kallichitra, displacing more than hundred people belonging to 17 families. At the time of the foundation - laying ceremony, Nayanar promised that all rehabilitation measures would be provided to the affected people. As usual with any other government, the 'Marxist' government also slid into slumber and conveniently forgot the plight of the 17 adivasi families.

After exhausting all kinds of methods to bring their problems to the notice of the state government, the Adivasis of Kallichitra formed Adivasi Samara Samiti in 1986 under the banner of Karshaka - Karshaka Thozhilali Union. After a prolonged agitation through various forms and fora, the government at last agreed to acquire 45 acres of land and distribute the same among displaced adivasis in 1990. It also issued an order to this effect and notified a 45 acre plot in Varaudarapalli village under Mukundapuram sub-division for acquisition.

At this stage, the Harrison Malayalam Plantations company has stepped in. It moved to Court for a stay order and got it on the plea that the notified land falls into 2453 hectares that were leased out to the company by the Maharajah of Cochin in as far back as 1928. Without raising even a finger to contest this argument and to vacate the stay order, the government remained as a mere spectator.

That the said lease agreement has no validity today can easily be ascertained by the fact that not only construction of private houses, but also some government and semi-government offices stand on this 2453 hectares. The

Chimmini dam itself is situated on this very plot. The company, in collusion with the government, blocked the acquisition of land for the displaced adivasis.

The persistent agitation by the adivasis including the fast-unto-death by its leader M.A.Kumaran, has not yielded any results. Adivasi Samara Samiti decided to intensify the agitation and to rally the solidarity among other sections of people. Due to its ceaseless efforts, it gradually gained the sympathy of the adivasis of the entire district, workers of the dam and other sections of people.

In June this year, the state forest minister K.P.Viswanathan visited the Chimmini dam to inaugurate a high power wireless transmitter located at the dam site. The people of 48 adivasi settlements in Trissur district organised a protest march to Chimmini dam. As the roar of the adivasis reverberated in the mountain ranges of the Sahyadri, many people gathered and expressed their resentment at the callous attitude of the government. The dam workers stopped the work in support of the demands of the adivasis. Unable to face the wrath of the people, the minister and the officials fled to Trissur.

The militant struggle of the adivasis has attracted the attention of people throughout the state and the consequent strong public opinion brought the government to the negotiating table. During the negotiations, the government agreed to acquire 40 acres of land (not the same land that was previously notified for acquisition) and to provide 15 thousand rupees per family for the construction of houses in the new settlements. It also agreed to provide free transportation, drinking water facilities and some other benefits.

The adivasis are an enthused lot because their militant struggle made the government to concede to their demands. At the same time they are cautious and are preparing for any eventuality as their recent win, they are confident that the unity and solidarity that they are rallying for will help them in realising their demands. Their resolution makes one optimistic of their fight for honourable rehabilitation, which is a just and democratic right of every citizen of India, and which will win a victory for their militant struggles ahead.

The militancy of the struggle and the mass support it drew has raised many questions. Is it always the most deprived sections of people, the adivasis, who should pay for the development of infrastructure that serves the big landlords and

the bigbourgeoisie? When will the governments realise that the so-called 'modern temples' are being built by dragging people through blood and mud? Has not the government fallen so low as to swallow its own promises in order to serve the interests of a private company? Are the Maharajahs and colonialists still to continue to rule India? Then, how can one consider the Indian government as sovereign.

These are some of the questions that the experiences of the children of Sahayadri throw before any patriotic citizen. And it is not altogether difficult to find comprehensive answers. More importantly, we must galvanise the masses into action to put an end to this deceit played by the exploiting ruling classes.

30th October, 1992.

## **Report from West Bengal**

### **Joint action against the raising of transport fares**

Immediately after the formation of the CPI (M-L) -- Janashakti, a united front comprising of the communist revolutionary organisations including CPI(M-L)- Janashakti and parties like SUCI, IPF, MCPI, etc. came to the point of taking up joint action programmes. The combine decided to hold a mass rally on August 31, 1992 to observe the 'Martyrs' Day' and also to declare the future programme of the campaign and agitation at that rally.

On 31st August, the processions of different constituent organisations reached the venue of the scheduled gathering of the ten-party combine at Rani Rasmani Road separately. For the CPI(ML)-Janashakti it was the first public rally in West Bengal and considering the short period for preparation, the procession led by it was impressive. Nearly eight thousand people were present in that rally.

It was announced at that rally that a campaign would be launched for a fortnight in protest against the anti-people policies and steps taken by the Central as well as the State governments. It was also announced that on 22nd September a mass squatting would be organised throughout the day in Calcutta and at the district headquarters of all districts of West Bengal in support of various demands.

The Marxist Centre, formed by a group of rebels who came

out of the CPI(M), joined the combine and the number of constituent organisations went up from 9 to 10.

While the propaganda and protest campaigns were going on, the Central government raised the prices of petrol, diesel, fertilisers and insecticides once more, to appease the IMF and the World Bank.

Taking this opportunity of price-hike in petrol and diesel, the Left Front government started conspiring to raise the transport fare in the state.

The ten-party combine immediately adopted a programme for a continuous propaganda and protest campaign against the central government's anti-people, reactionary and anti-national steps along with its associate Left Front government. It was further resolved that simultaneously with protest meetings and demonstrations, we would enter into a phase of agitation such as road blockading, squatting etc.

During the squatting on 22nd September, a demand was raised for the resignation of the Central government and a revolt was announced against the compromising policy pursued by the Left Front government. This programme was implemented in almost all the district headquarters.

On 23rd September, the combine of 10 organisations held meetings and demonstrations at many places and a call was given to the people to take part in a continuous agitation. In districts where none of the ten groups' exists, the CPI(ML)-Janashakti observed the adopted programme unilaterally.

A barbaric incident of rape by a policeman took place on the night of 22nd September at the Phoolbagan Police Station in Calcutta. As soon as people came to know of the incident, they spontaneously came out in protest against the police. The Phoolbagan Police Station was gheraoed and attacked. In order to calm the people, the police immediately arrested and suspended six police personnel involved in the incident.

As news spread throughout Calcutta and the rest of West Bengal on 24th September, angry people came out in protest against the policemen. The combine of ten organisations held various agitational programmes against this incident. Confronting people's wrath, the police took up a defensive position.

Amidst this confusion on the eve of the Autumn Festival of Bengal, the Left Front government slyly announced a hike in the transport fares including that of buses and trams.

This hike started on the 28th of September. From the morning, at three important places in Calcutta, namely the crossing of five roads in Shyambazar, and at the crossings of Sealdah and Gariahat the workers of the ten organisations' combine assembled to extend a call to the people to boycott the fare increase. At 3:30 p.m., they held a huge demonstration which started from Wellington Square. When the morcha reached Chowringhee area, it started a blockade on Rani Rashmani Road, S.N. Banerjee Road and Chowringhee Road. The traffic on these roads came to a standstill. 20 minutes later a large police contingent reached the spot and started lathi-charging the blockades. The people retaliated by stoning them. The whole of Chowringhee area was converted into a battlefield. This started in three more places during this time. When the police reached these places, there began a scuffle. The local people too became involved in the scuffle with the police. Consequently, a number of policemen, blockaders and members of the public were wounded. But nobody was arrested on that day.

On the same day, the student organisation P.D.S.F. organised a boycott against price-rise and fare-hike and observed a programme of road blockades in the College Street area of Calcutta. As soon as the police lathi-charged them the angry students broke down some police vans, buses and trams.

On the next day, i.e. on September 29th, a fare boycott was organised in the morning and in the afternoon road blockades took place in a similar fashion at the Bowbazar-College Street junction, Mahatma Gandhi Road and Amherst Street crossing and in the Upper Circular Road. During these blockades too there was a widespread scuffle between the police and the blockaders. At some places the police had to retreat in the face of beating, resulting in blockade for one and a half-hours at the Bowbazar crossing. On the same day, the students, i.e. members of the P.D.S.F., made blockades and broke down police vans, trams and buses.

On 30th September, the P.D.S.F. mainly carried on the blockades' programme. On this day too, the students clashed with the police and damaged trams and buses.

As the Autumn Festival approached, the action programme was temporarily postponed.

30th October, 1992.

## HOMAGE TO COMRADE SADHAN SARKAR

Com. Sadhan Sarkar, Central Committee Member of CPI(M-L) TND passed away at Delhi on November 4, 1992 due to post-operative complications that arose after a coronary surgery. The Central Committee of the CPI (M-L)-Janashakti is deeply shocked at the news of his sudden death.

Com. Sadhan Sarkar, was not only an important leader of the CPI (M-L), but even during his days with the CPI and CPM he was a prominent communist leader of the peoples' movement and the Party. We earnestly feel that Com. Sadhan Sarkar's death is a big loss to the movement and to the communist revolutionaries of our country. We will remember him always.

The Central Committee, of the CPI (M-L)-Janashakti pays its homage to Com. Sadhan Sarkar and conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family members and the CPI (M-L)TND

Red Salutes to Com Sadhan Sarkar.

Central Committee  
CPI (M-L)-Janashakti

November 5, 1992.

## LAL SALAAM, COMRADE SANGHA !

Com. Gian Singh Sangha, leader of the CPI(ML)-Janashakti in Punjab, was murdered by Khalistani terrorists on November 20th. While he was travelling on a scooter, two assailants chased him on scooters and fired gunshots at him. Eventhough injured, Com. Sangha drove the scooter for another two kms and fell down from the scooter. The assailants sprayed him with bullets.

The most popular, beloved and untiring Com. Sangha died a martyr's death. He was 45 years old and is survived by his wife Mrs. Gurbaksh Kaur and their adopted daughter.

He started his political career by organising unemployed teachers. By 1978 he established himself as a leader of the Unemployed Teachers' Union. He organised brick kiln workers, road construction workers, landless labourers and peasants and fought many a class battles standing shoulder to shoulder with them. He organised the Kirti Kisan Union and led many anti-government struggles braving repression.

This heinous and cowardly act clearly shows the real face of Khalistani terrorists. They have joined hands with exploiters of people and have murdered Com. Sangha who spent all his energies organising the exploited masses.

We deeply mourn the death of Com. Sangha. The C.C. conveys its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family. The memory of Com. Sangha will always inspire us in carrying forward our revolutionary tasks.

## Karimnagar bleeds

The AP government has unleashed a reign of terror in Karimnagar district. It has deployed thousands of police and para-military forces throughout the district to suppress the struggling peasants. Not a single day has passed without hearing news of raids on villages by BSF, ITBF and scores of other repressive battalions torturing people and molesting women. It resorts to false propaganda to discredit people's leaders by physically eliminating them in the name of 'encounters'.

On November 30th, the BSF surrounded the village Baddipally in Karimnagar mandal. They identified a house and threw handgrenades and fired into the house killing six comrades who were in the midst of a meeting. While one of them, Com. Vallula Gangaiah alias Sardar was a member of CPI(ML)-Janashakti, the remaining five were sympathisers. They were Coms. Sattenna, Ravi, Thirupathi, Pochayya and Mallayya. The government cordoned off the entire area for more than 48 hours and did not even allow press reporters to visit the village, obviously fearing that their staged 'encounter' would be exposed.

In another instance on October 16th, three more comrades were caught and killed by the police at Mogilipuram. They were Coms. Kiran, Ilaiah and Komra Reddy. The government claimed it as an 'encounter'.

With these killings, the government boasted that it had liquidated the most important members of CPI (ML)-Janashakti and that law and order would soon be restored. The government, which could not fulfil even a single promise it had made to the people, could only resort to repression in order to serve the interests of big landlords and monopoly capitalists. But it cannot deter the people, the worst sufferers of its economic and political policies, from the path of struggle.

# I am not that woman

I am not that woman  
selling you socks and shoes!  
Remember me, I am the one you hid  
in your walls of stone, while you roamed  
free as the breeze, not knowing  
that my voice cannot be smothered by stones.

I am the one you crushed  
with the weight of custom and tradition  
not knowing  
that light cannot be hidden in darkness.  
Remember me,  
I am the one in whose lap  
you picked flowers  
and planted thorns and embers  
not knowing  
that chains cannot smother my fragrance.

I am the woman  
whom you bought and sold  
in the name of my own chastity  
not knowing  
that I can walk on water  
when I am drowning.

I am the one you married off  
to get rid of a burden  
not knowing  
that a nation of captive minds  
cannot be free.

I am the commodity you traded in,  
my chastity, my motherhood, my loyalty.

Now it is time for me to flower free.  
The woman on that poster,  
half-naked, selling socks and shoes--  
No, no, I am not that woman!

Urdu: Kishwar Naheed

English: Mahmood Jamaal.

## Freedom's dawn

This dawn that's marked and wounded  
this dawn that night has nibbled on  
It's not the dawn we expected;  
it's not the dawn we were looking for.  
Hoping we would find it somewhere  
friends, comrades set out thinking  
somewhere in the desert of the sky  
the stars would halt  
Somewhere the night's slow waves  
would find a shore  
Somewhere the ship of our heartaches  
come to rest.

When we set out on youth's journey  
so many hands reached out to lure us back.  
From the restless bedrooms in love's place  
so many embraces beckoned, bodies called.  
But so much dearer was the face of dawn,  
the dress of morning maiden;  
Our dreams were stronger than our weariness.

But what is this we hear ?  
That all the battles have been fought,  
that the destination has been reached.  
It's all changed, our leader's struggling zeal ;  
Celebration is the order of the day, mourning forbidden.  
Yet anguish of the heart, unfulfilled desire,  
nothing is cared for by the dawn.

When did it come and where has it gone?  
The lamp still waits for the morning breeze,  
the night weighs on us still.  
This is not the moment of our freedom.  
Keep mourning!  
We have not yet arrived!

Urdu : Faiz Ahmad Faiz

English : Mahmood Jamaal

Pro-Communist demonstrators hold up a photograph of Lenin at a rally in April '92 to celebrate his 122nd birth anniversary.



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