

of proper and efficient coordination of the Main, Secondary and Base forces of the PGA in military campaigns. There is lack of combat-readiness among our forces which had led to serious losses when the enemy launched attacks in a planned manner.

- 2) *Political consolidation of the Party committees and other units has been accomplished to some extent and yet it remains a serious problem today. Some of the committees that were reconstituted after being disrupted due to enemy attacks and loss of senior comrades have to improve in quality. Since most of the cadre in the lower level committees are newly recruited, ideological-political development and organizational experience are yet to be acquired. Concentration by the leadership to develop the cadre ideologically and politically by guiding them on the basis of practice is lacking. Due to political weakness of the various committees and Party units we are not able to fulfill the various political-organisational-military tasks confronting the movement today.*
- 3) *Failure to build a strong people's militia. Since militia should form the basis for recruitment and strengthening of the Main force of the PGA, our recruitment of armed fighters into the PGA has not gathered momentum. This has also an impact on our resistance to the enemy offensive and our Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns. If our Base force is weak our resistance to the enemy will also be weak. This is one of the major weaknesses in the movement*
- 4) *The problem of formulating appropriate tactics based on concrete political situation and concrete class analysis is continuing. This is seen in our failure to adopt the forms of struggle and forms of organization suitable to the changing conditions both in the Guerilla Zones as well as in other states. There have been some efforts in NT and AP to evolve tactics for plains but this task has to be taken up in all regions and states. Study of socio-economic conditions in the plains should be taken up in order to draw specific tactics. The leadership should concentrate on conducting socio-economic investigation.*



People's War

**Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [People's War]**

No. 8

July 2003 – December 2003

Rs. 10/-

People's War

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shortcomings in NT identified by the NTSZC, CRB and the PB, it is certain that we can bring a qualitative change in the situation as a whole and achieve greater advances in our ongoing people's war. Education of the entire Party on the tactics in the plain areas, making concrete plans to implement these effectively and overseeing the actual carrying out of the decisions of the higher committees through concentration by the state and central leadership; and achieving better coordination between the three Zones in AP will create conditions for a state-wide mass movement in coordination with the guerilla war in the countryside. The enemy's all-out offensive is bound to be stepped up and assume even more brutal and diverse forms in the coming days. There will be a tough time ahead and there may be some more serious losses before we make a significant breakthrough. However, this can be reduced through the conscious role played by the leadership." (Political-Organisational Review, 2nd CC meeting, December 2002)

Thus we had arrived at the conclusion that there has been a considerable decline in the subjective forces and the movement in NT, relatively less so in ST, but overall, there has been some growth in the movement in AP as a whole. There has been some development in AOB and other parts of AP like Rayalaseema and south Coastal region. Overall, we were able to withstand the severe enemy attacks and the all-round offensive by the enemy and sustain the movement though we had failed to gain the upper hand over the enemy in the state as a whole. This assessment of the CC made in December '02 is basically correct and valid to this day.

The 2nd CC meeting had also evaluated the serious shortcomings in the arty and the movement in the period following the Congress thus:

"The glaring short-comings seen in the development of our movement since the Congress are:

.1) Weakness in orienting our entire forces to advance the people's war and developing them in accordance with the requirements of the war persists in spite of some improvement. During military operations there is lack of mental make-up among our forces to advance swiftly and take on the targets. There is also the problem

has been declining since the past three to four years? What is the task before the Party in various states to assist the recovery and advancement of the movement in NT? What is our assessment of the situation at present? It is necessary to deal with these questions and educate the entire Party on how to look at the situation and make further advances by overcoming the unfavourable factors.

Assessment of the 2nd CC meeting

The CC meeting held in last Nov-Dec assessed the prevailing political situation in the country and internationally, the state of our subjective forces in the various states, particularly the situation in NT and AP, and arrived at the following understanding:

“Thus overall, when we assess the development of the movement in the state as a whole, we can say that we could not gain an upper-hand overall, we could sustain the movement in the face of the all-out offensive by the State. In this multi-pronged offensive launched by the enemy with the help of the imperialists and the Central government, the ruling classes dreamt of wiping out our Party, the PGA and the ongoing people’s war in the shortest time. Specially-trained forces like the Greyhounds and the para-military forces were deployed in big numbers throughout the state. Covert operations were promoted according to plan, informer network was developed by hook or by crook, a series of reform schemes were initiated under dozens of attractive labels, villages were adopted and people were threatened to ward off the entry of our squads to their villages. Huge amounts were poured in to achieve their objective of crushing us.

We had suffered some grave losses in NT in particular in this all-out offensive unleashed by the enemy. In the state as a whole, we lost over a 100 cadres in the past 18 months.....

“55 comrades became martyrs in NT and 45 in AP and 5 comrades in AOB. However, the ruling classes had failed to achieve their objective of suppressing the movement and inflict a setback for the Party. Seen Zone-wise, there is a considerable decline in the cadre strength in NT and a relatively lesser decline in ST. At the same time, there is some growth in our forces in other parts of AP and AOB.

“By carrying out the Rectification campaign successfully in NT, and getting rid of the political, organizational, military weaknesses and

Red Salutes to the Heroic Martyrs! Let us vow to carry forward their dreams with redoubled determination!!

In just three months from March -May 2003 our Party had lost five senior comrades - Com. Kolam Sudarshan Reddy (Ramakrishna or RK) and Anupuram Komurayya (Sudhakar) – both members of NT SZC, Comrade Yellanki Aruna (Lalitha), the DCS of Adilabad, Comrade Karumanchi Prasad (Jaipal), member of APSC and Nomula Ramana Reddy (Mahender), Secretary of Hyderabad City Committee. Besides these five leaders, we also lost ten other comrades during this period.

All these comrades have long-standing revolutionary career. They were popular leaders among the oppressed masses of AP. They were outstanding organisers and uncompromising fighters, known for their deep love and commitment to the people. They were selfless communists with unwavering conviction in the cause of the people’s liberation. They are the cream of the society and worthy successors to the legacy of comrades Charu Mazumdar, Saroj Dutta, Vempatapu Satyam, Adibhatla Kailasam, Panchadi Nirmala, Shyam, Mahesh, Murali and other leaders of the Indian revolution who had become martyrs in the course of blazing the trail for a new society free of all exploitation and oppression.

These beloved martyrs fell to the bullets of the mercenaries of the reactionary ruling classes in AP. They were killed so as to protect the interests of the big landlords and the CBB, to protect the interests of the imperialists who feel threatened by the growing people’s war in the plains, forests and cities of AP. The hands that had pulled the trigger to murder these heroic sons and daughters of the Indian working class are not those of mercenary police men but of the world Bank, IMF, WTO and their comprador agents ruling the country from Delhi and Hyderabad.

Chandrababu Naidu, the most loyal servant to the imperialists, has stepped up the brutal onslaught on the revolutionaries in AP during this summer with the objective of inflicting the maximum damage with the fond wish that his party would come back to power in the Assembly elections next year. Aware of the fact that it is the revolutionaries who pose a threat to his prospects of returning to power, Naidu’s government had unleashed a special campaign to suppress them.

The martyrdom of these comrades is a great loss to the Indian revolution, particularly to the ongoing people’s war in AP. These martyrs, loved by the rank and file of the Party and the broad masses of AP, will inspire and propel thousands more into the ongoing People’s War. They will remain in our hearts forever reminding us of our tasks and filling us with inspiration and revolutionary determination to carry out their unfulfilled dreams.

Let us vow to carry forward the unfinished tasks with redoubled vigour and determination !

Let us vow to avenge the death of these martyrs by achieving greater advances in the ongoing People’s War!!

Red Homage to our beloved mass leader Com. Ramakrishna !

On March 23rd the Indian masses paid their Red Homages to Com. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru who were martyred in anti-colonial struggle. A day passed. People in Telangana paid their Red Homage to the fallen heroes, Com. Ramakrishna and others, who led their lives in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle. At the time of martyrdom of



Bhagat Singh, the rulers were British whereas now imperialists and World Bank pet-dog Chandrababu rule the state. Former colony turned into a semi-colony of neo-colony type of control and exploitation, but the reason for the martyrdom is same—to liberate the people of our country from the clutches of feudalism and imperialism. We pay our red homage to our beloved leader Com. Ramakrishna (RK, Sudarshan Reddy) and Com. Sudarshan (Narsaiah), Com. Ravinder (Yadava Rao) and Com. Bharat (Bujji Rao).

Com. Ramakrishna went to Adilabad forests to attend a meeting called by SZC. At that time police combing operations were going on. On a tip off, the special forces were deployed heavily in the forests of Laxmipur on 24th. Search operations followed to locate the exact place. In the mean time Com. RK and other three were surrounded by the police and firing took place in which four comrades were martyred.

Com. RK was born in Mogilicharla, a village in Warangal district and a red bastion for more than half-a-century. When he was student of a college in Warangal town joined in RSU, and transformed it as one of the centres for RSU activity, which was once famous for BJP and CPM's student fractions' goonda activity. In 1983 he took the responsibility as student organiser and gradually became popular. In those days serious repression was started in the town. In the midst of repression itself RK developed his organisational talents. He was twice arrested, once in 1985 and again in the early 90s but came out on bail and intensified his

Party Letter

On the Current Situation in NT and AP

Dear Comrades,

In the period of just three months from March-May 2003, our Party had lost five important leaders—three from the state committee and two secretaries of district committees, apart from another ten comrades belonging to lower levels. Among the martyrs from the leadership were: Comrades RK (Polam Sudarshan Reddy) and Anupam Komuraiah (Sudhakar) of NTSZC, Kaarumanchi Prasad (Jayapal) of APSC, Comrade Yellanki Aruna (Lalitakka), the DCS of Adilabad, and Comrade Nomula Ramana Reddy (Mahendar), the secretary of Hyderabad city committee. Other organisers who we had lost were comrade Sridhar, a senior organiser in Hyderabad, comrade Bhupathi, a commander of the LGS in Anantapur, comrades Kamala and Swarna of Adilabad, and some others. These have been the biggest losses to our Party after the 9th Congress occurring in a relatively short period of three months.

In fact, in the period of two years following the Congress, we had suffered serious leadership losses in some states. We had lost around eight state committee members in all, including the recent ones: four members of NTSZC, two members of APSC, one member of DKSZC, and one member of B-JSC apart from several comrades of DCs and ACs.

As the news of the losses began coming one after another without much gap, it is but natural that the entire Party is perturbed by these developments. Questions are being raised on the reasons for these serious losses. Why are we unable to prevent the losses in spite of continuous reviews and formulation of tactics to check the losses? What is wrong in our tactics being adopted to counter the multi-pronged offensive of the government? How to make up for the severe losses of leadership at this critical juncture when the enemy is engaged in a brutal all-round offensive to wipe out the movement? What will be the future course of development of the movement, and particularly the future of the movement in NT that



she was elected as DVCM, later in 2002 she was elected as Secretary of the committee.

Com. Aruna's approach was very gentle and caring towards the Party cadres, mingled with the masses and party cadre and turned their teacher, organiser, guide, well-wisher and a fighter. As a true Maoist, she always tried her level best to serve the masses and to acquire knowledge from her senior leaders and people. As a guerrilla fighter, she developed her military skills and showed courage, initiative and determination in various actions like raids, ambushes and encounters with the police.

She was a rebel in nature from her childhood, which helped her to express opinions with comrades and to criticise the wrong trends which she observed. She fought in a methodical way against patriarchy in the party and society.

For the 9th Party Congress, she was elected as a delegate from North Telangana. There she participated actively in the debates on various issues and expressed her commitment and understanding towards the issues, which inspired the Congress. Com. Aruna remained a true revolutionary and model communist till her last breath. She was a red shining star in the revolutionary movement of North Telangana and particularly leader of the revolutionary women's movement of India. The Party, Army and the masses pledge to avenge the death and to fulfill com. Aruna's dreams of a new India. ❀

activity in the village. Party handed over him a job that to keep an eye on the activities of those comrades who were attending police stations to sign regularly for their conditional bail. MCPI and BJP constantly threatened him to eliminate him.

At the time of peasant conference in 1990 at Warangal, he played an important role to make it a grand success. After the conference a break-through came in the movement in the form of intense land struggles that terrified the feudal forces. Ever since 1991 Com. RK remained underground. First he took up the responsibility as a squad commander. In 1992 he was promoted as district committee member. In the course of development he took the responsibilities as district secretary and later as a member of the NTSZC in 1998. As a revolutionary leader he guided the student front, later urban work, rural movement in plains and also the forest movement. He was thus steeled and tempered in the furnace of class struggle. Due to enormous experience in various fields his political, organisational and military skills had improved.

Com. RK always initiated to openly declare the party stand on day to day political developments. As DCS he lent the support of the party to the struggling masses like students, workers, peasants, women and other sections. When the Congress govt in AP restarted repression, he initiated cover organisations to mobilise the peasantry on various issues. Notorious landlords of Warangal tried to kill him and the police left no stone unturned for nabbing and killing him. But the heroic masses of Warangal and the brave cadres sacrificed their lives to safeguard the life of their beloved leader and teacher com RK.

When the state repression was at its peak and red resistance was increased com RK became target no.1 in the list of Warangal police. Almost in 10 incidents of encounters with the police he escaped narrowly while the other squad members laid down their lives to save him. Day in and day out he faced serious security problems but nevertheless he always concentrated to develop the armed agrarian struggle in Warangal and as a SZCM he participated in the debates of the state committee, through which he made creative contributions to intensify the guerrilla war there.

He took the responsibility of Nizamabad and West Karimnagar districts in 2002, when the movement was facing serious losses. Soon after sharing the responsibilities he tried his level best to understand the problems of those districts, and sent a detailed written report to the SZC. Com. RK, a legend in the history of the Warangal movement, will live forever in the hearts of the people. People of NT and the entire Party will never forget his contribution for the development of the People's War.

Red Salutes to North Telangana Peasant Leader Com. Komuraiah

Comrade Anupuram Komuraiah (AK), a heroic fighter and leader who led North Telangana peasant movement for a decade, was shot dead by the AP Special Police in a false encounter on 25th April, 2003, in the forests of Karimnagar. Police Superintendents of Warangal and Karimnagar captured him in Vijayawada town, on information given by a



covert agent, severely tortured him for two days, and finally killed him. The CC, CPI(ML) [People's War] pays its Red Homage to the beloved martyr Com. AK.

Com. AK was born in a village Dammakapeta of Karimnagar District in the early 60s. He joined in the revolutionary politics in his school life as a member of Radical Students Union. Due to financial problems he discontinued his studies and took the profession of his caste. However, his revolutionary aspirations continued and led the anti-feudal struggles in his native village. The 80s decade represents an upsurge of peasant revolution in Karimnagar district. It

influenced all the walks of life and spread to entire North Telangana districts. Com. AK was influenced in this upsurge and dedicated his life for the cause of revolution.

He joined as a professional revolutionary in 1982 and became a Party Member in 1983. First he was assigned the job of couriering. He was captured by Warangal police and severely tortured by the police officials of the Warangal town but he did not disclose any secrets. He was imprisoned for a year and after his release, he immediately joined the revolutionary movement. First he joined as a member of a guerrilla squad, then onwards he took various responsibilities in the party committees, as

the Party there. He was recruited into the Party as a PR in 1992. He became a central organiser by 1995. He was thus the senior most CO in Hyderabad and shouldered different types of responsibilities. He was most hunted comrade by the police, in the twin cities revolutionary movement. In his personal life he was extraordinarily exemplary, like Com. Mahendar. The simultaneous loss of these two comrades of Hyderabad, effected seriously the day to day coordination of the party activities.

The people of Hyderabad will certainly avenge the brutal killings of the people's leaders in the name of encounter by the government of AP. *

Com. Aruna(Lalitha), a Bright Red Star in the Revolutionary Movement

On May 14th, 2003 Com. Aruna, District Committee Secretary of Adilabad, along with two other comrades, Com. Kamala and Com. Vanitha, was shot dead in a fierce encounter with Grey Hound Forces in the forest of Adilabad who launched the summer offensive aimed at liquidating the leadership of the party. We pay our Red Homage to the fallen heroines. Com. Aruna was born in early sixties in a remote village, Bandalingapur of Karimnagar district. She completed her education in Korutla and Adilabad towns. At the time of her student life in Korutla, she was inspired with the great Jagitial peasant uprising and joined the revolutionary politics. She born in a conservative upper caste family where her brothers were leaders of Hindu fascist party BJP. They forced her to disassociate with the politics. Almost for a decade she mobilised students and teachers and other sections in various places of Adilabad district. She joined as full timer in 1989.

From 89 to 93 she worked in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra. There she worked as an organiser among women and later as a squad member. In the course of the five years period she strengthened Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan and contributed to the movement as a good teacher and area committee member. At the same time she also learnt very much from the people and got confidence on her abilities.

In 1993, she was transferred to Adilabad. At first she joined as deputy commander of a squad, then onwards gradually she performed various responsibilities in the district revolutionary movement. In 1996,

‘democracy’ and ‘human rights’ of the World Bank and its pet CM of AP, Chandra Babu Naidu.

Com Mahendar came in touch with revolutionary politics around 1990 while studying in Hyderabad. He became a professional revolutionary in 1992, was arrested in '94 and spent some months in jail. Later he worked as a commander in Nalgonda district and was elected as DC member in 1998. Due to the needs of the city movement, he was transferred to Hyderabad. There he took the responsibility as secretary in mid -2000.

Com. Mahendar was a revolutionary of the younger generation i.e. of the 1990s and he was just 30 years old at the time of martyrdom. He displayed a strong will and character and left an indelible imprint in the revolutionary movement, wherever he was-whether in jail, in the guerrilla squad, or in the city. He and comrade Bhavani became life partners in the beginning of 2000 but com. Bhavani became a martyr in the encounter in Nalgonda in June 2001.

Com. Mahendar was a good military instructor and trained the guerrillas. When he worked in Nalgonda, he participated in different actions executed by the PGA fighters. As a leader of the student, youth, peasantry and working class he showed a good maturity in handling the problems. He was instrumental in carrying out a detailed social investigation of the condition of different classes in Hyderabad which stands out as a valuable asset for our work in the urban areas. He instilled immense confidence among the comrades and the people with whom he worked by displaying tremendous enthusiasm in the midst of brutal suppression campaigns of the enemy, a sense of revolutionary optimism pervaded him always. He was a good teacher and leader who inspired the rank and file and the masses with the hope of victory in the revolution and the inevitability of Socialism and Communism. Revolutionaries will continue to be inspired by com. Mahendar's indefatigable energy, indomitable will and deep commitment to the masses and the cause of revolution.

Com. Sridhar

He hails from Vallur mandal in Mahboobnagar district. He was influenced by the civil liberties leader com. Purushotham and worked in different cover organizations in the district before going to Hyderabad. He worked in Hyderabad as a factory worker and got into touch with

Karimnagar district committee secretary and North Telangana Special Zonal Committee member.

Com. AK took the organisational responsibilities of Huzurabad, Husnabad plains of Karimnagar district and successfully built resistance movement against the first offensive campaign of the state in the years 1985 to 89. In a severe repression, he properly guided the squad and encouraged the people to resist the onslaught of the state and led the anti-feudal, anti-state movement in these areas. Then onwards he continuously moved in the entire district to lead the peasant revolutionary war. In the ups and downs of the guerrilla war, he developed his abilities and guided the district movement.

When the internal crisis of the party broke in 1985, and again in 1992 in which, he fought with the wrong politics of the then leaders of the Party and gave political and organisational confidence to the rank and file of the party and the people. He steadfastly led the peasant movement and became very popular during the land struggle in Karimnagar during the upsurge in the early 90s when people occupied thousands of acres of the landlords.

The feudal landlords of the Huzurabad were notorious for their feudal oppression. Com. AK, born in the midst of the worst feudal oppression, fought for his entire life against feudalism. So naturally he became the target of the feudal lords and state machinery. So at the time of first offensive campaign of the state and later in the second campaign (1991-94) he was targeted by the state machinery and he was hunted by the landlords for almost one and half decade. He never came into the dragnet of the enemy and always escaped in the encounters and safeguarded his squad. From 1992 to 2002 for almost a decade as a district committee member and secretary he extensively studied the movement, participated in the class struggle and directly guided various organisational pockets in the district. So he had a good command and knowledge of the terrain and was close to the masses which gave initiation to direct the party and the guerrilla army in his turbulent times.

He suffered with chronic health problems due to the torture of the police and arduous life of the guerrilla. However, he faced it with patience till 2002. Finally he asked the committee to relieve him from his organisational responsibility which became a serious hurdle for his day to day movement. Without any petty-bourgeois hesitation, he himself proposed to his higher committee to assign him work in technical field.

The concerned committee accepted his proposal and sent him for technical front.

After joining the new assignment, temporarily he came back to complete a pending job assigned by the NTSZC. But the person who assured to pass on vital information of the state administration to Com. AK, himself turned as a covert and handed over him to police in Vijayawada.

A great fighter and leader of the people, Com. Anupuram Komuraiah's life itself represents the history of Karimnagar peasant revolution. He will live in the annals of the North Telangana peasant revolution for ever. Party and people pledge to avenge for his killing and to advance the revolutionary war in his foot steps. ♦

Hail the Heroic Martyrdom of the proud son of Nallamala, Comrade Prasad !

Comrade Karumanchi Prasad, popular as com. Devanna and Jayapal among the Party rank and file and the revolutionary masses of AP, was killed in an encounter with the AP Special Police forces on the first of June 2003. Another comrade, Sandhya, was also killed along with him. Com. Devanna was a member of the AP State Committee of CPI(ML)[People's War] at the time of his martyrdom.

Com. Devanna was a senior comrade of almost two decades standing and had worked in different fronts in his long revolutionary life. He began his revolutionary life as a member of the Revolutionary Writers Association and as a youth organizer in the district of Prakasham during the mid-1980s. Later he went underground and began work in Nallamala forest division where he was a popular leader among the masses for almost a decade. He became the secretary of the Nallamala Forest Divisional Committee for five years during the second half of the 90s.

He was allotted the responsibilities of the Party magazine and press in AP after the state plenum in January 1999, which he took up with as much zeal as he showed in the organizational work. He showed his mettle as a writer of the masses through his simple, lucid and popular style of writing that was easily understood by the ordinary squad members. His articles in 'Kranti', the organ of the state committee of the Party in AP, and the several booklets that were brought out, are a living testimony for the lucidity of his writings.

Com. Devanna was elected to the state committee in the state

conference held at the end of 2000. He was relieved in 2001 from the propaganda work and was allotted the work of guiding the movement in Rayalaseema. For almost two years since then he concentrated on building the movement in Rayalaseema region, closely moving with the squads, solving the organizational problems and giving them concrete guidance in the field, taking political classes, studying the concrete conditions in the region and trying to achieve a break-through in the movement.

Soft-spoken and cordial towards the comrades, at the same time he showed burning hatred towards the enemies. His timely reaction to atrocities on Dalits and particularly the approach he took when the upper-caste feudal forces launched brutal attacks on Dalits in Vempenta village in Kurnool district, won the vast masses of Dalits in the region to the side of the Party. He also studied the economic, social and cultural lives of the Chenchu tribals in Nallamala forest during his period of his work in the region.

Com. Devanna's deep commitment, love and affection for the masses endeared him to them. He expressed serious concern whenever mistakes were committed by Party cadres in their relations with the masses. He involved himself actively in the rectification campaign that was taken up in AP in 1999 that brought a great change in the relations between the Party and the masses. Ever ready to transform himself comrade Devanna received criticism from the cadres spiritedly and made his self-criticism without any hesitation.

Com. Devanna's martyrdom is a great loss to the revolutionary movement of AP. The Party has lost a leader who was emotionally attached to the oppressed masses and cadres, a sincere and committed revolutionary who never showed hesitation to rectify his shortcomings and remould himself to the needs of the movement. The CC, CPI(ML)[People's War] pays its red homage to this model revolutionary and vows once again to avenge his death by intensifying the people's war and dealing death-blows on the enemies of the revolution. ☆

Com. Mahendar, a Hero of the Revolutionary Urban Movement !

Com. Mahendar (Ramana Reddy), and com .Sridhar were shot dead in a fake encounter in the outskirts of Hyderabad city on April 19, 2003. We pay our revolutionary red salutes to these proletarian heroes. All the encounter deaths are glaring examples of the

persons too often and contacting them in legalist methods still persists. Protection is weak for the SCMs/SZCMs while moving with the squads in the area. There are also other serious weaknesses like using cell phones carelessly, fixing up the same contact places for long periods, using exposed shelters, and so on. We have to make serious and conscious effort to overcome these weaknesses and shortcomings.

Thus in the background of the mounting repression and continuing weaknesses persisting in our Party and the movement, it will not be a surprise if we suffer some more losses in the immediate future. However, by drawing concrete plans for resisting the enemy and implementing these effectively, by mobilising the masses politically along with their various issues, preparing and involving the masses actively in the people's war, overcoming our weaknesses through proper conduct of the rectification campaign, and taking all the necessary precautions for the preservation of our forces, particularly the leadership, without falling into an underestimation of the enemy offensive, it is possible to reduce our losses. It is necessary to orient all our work in the three Zones in AP with this understanding. By diligently implementing the above, it will be possible to check further losses, gradually recover from the losses and revive the movement in NT.

This has been pointed out by the CC in December '02:

"The enemy is bound to further intensify his all-round offensive against our movement and this poses a great challenge to our Party. Though we were able to regain the initiative in some regions, we must make even more conscious effort to gain overall upper hand over the enemy in the next two years. Unless we foil the enemy's country-wide coordinated offensive against our Party politically and militarily, we cannot make a real break-through in our people's war. In order to achieve this, we must strengthen the Party and the PGA, rectify the alien-class trends and shortcomings, and achieve successes in our tactical offensives. We must also strive to mobilize the masses on their day-to-day issues as well as political issues in a big way and work towards building a broad-based UF.

"All the above-mentioned developments and achievements since the Congress instill confidence in the entire Party that we can break the

- 5) *There is still the problem of timely political intervention by the leading committees in the fast-changing political developments in the country and internationally. Though there is response to several events, it has been mainly at a local level and its impact on the region/state and at the All India level has not been of much significance. It is true that capable and politically developed cadre who can build and guide mass movements are scarce but there is also the problem of grasping the political significance of building open mass movements on the part of the committees thereby giving it the least importance in their overall priorities.*
- 6) *Subjectivism, spontaneity and liberalism still continue in the leading committees and at various levels. The rectification should be continued on regular basis through criticism-self-criticism in the concerned Party units.*

There has been a deficiency on the part of the leadership in participating in the concrete planning of every task, and in the reviews after the execution or non-execution of the resolutions and the concrete plans. The leadership must draw proper lessons through this process. This deficiency was evident in the concrete implementation of our resolution of the GBs. Concrete planning for coordinating the task of building the GBs with the other tasks and campaigns was lacking"

(Page 53-4, CCPOR, December 2002)

The AP state plenum held in February 2003 made a similar assessment regarding the situation while identifying the serious weaknesses in the Party and the movement in the state. Some measures were drawn up to advance the movement.

However, the serious losses of leadership in NT, which took place after the CC meeting, are bound to have a retarding effect on the movement for a longer time. The impact will be more serious particularly in Adilabad and Nizamabad where we had lost the DC secretaries (the latter DCS also being a SZCM). In AP, the negative impact will show itself to some extent in the city work and in Rayalaseema, though it will not be an insurmountable one.

But what mistakes on our part had led to these losses? Is it merely

due to technical mistakes on the part of the leadership that had resulted in such serious losses? Or, are there deeper reasons?

Technical mistakes, no doubt, constitute an important reason. However, it would be naïve on our part to conclude that these losses are due to technical mistakes alone.

The most important factor that we have to keep in mind is the qualitatively higher level of enemy repression in AP as a whole and in NT in particular. One cannot compare the degree and scale of repression in NT with other regions in the state not to speak of that in other states. The diverse, ingenious and brutal methods adopted by the police forces there, the extensiveness of the informer network, the well-hatched covert operations of the enemy, the counseling, the reform programmes, and so on are something unheard of in the counter-insurgency operations in other states in the country. Given the magnitude of “white terror” and the advanced counter-insurgency techniques employed by the enemy, and our earlier failures in taking up effective counter-tactics to foil the enemy’s policies as identified by the CC and the NTSZC, it is not a surprise that we had suffered greater losses in NT and AP.

However, we must also see whether we had employed appropriate tactics based on the objective study of the enemy’s tactics and the socio-economic conditions? Whether we had undertaken successful military campaign to counter the enemy’s military offensive? Whether we had retreated in a planned manner from areas with relatively weaker mass base and unfavourable terrain during the summer offensive of the enemy? Whether we had firmly adhered to the mass line and concentrated on deepening our mass base by taking up mass issues and mobilising the masses on the issues in a revolutionary way? Whether we had built proper mechanism for coordinating various Party layers and the legal and illegal Party structures? Whether we had overcome the non-proletarian trends by successfully completing the rectification campaign and, whether the legalist deviation in particular is overcome and proper precautions are taken? Whether we could implement the decisions of the NTSZC, CRB, CC/PB taken in the last two years particularly since January 2002?

If these were done, undoubtedly it would have been possible to reduce these losses. Thus the problem lies in our inability, for whatever

achievements should not be underestimated when reviewing the situation in AP as a whole.

We could foil the enemy’s attempts to destroy our forces in a big way during the summer offensive. At the same time, we had suffered serious losses of leadership due to a combination of various factors.

To sum up the developments as a whole, we find that some major weaknesses still haunt the Party: political, organizational and military.

Politically, we are lagging behind in mobilizing the masses in a significant way by rousing them into militant struggles against the state and against other ruling class political parties. We are still unable to forge a joint front with other organizations on major people’s issues in an effective manner. Though we took up joint activity with other organizations on specific issues off and on, it has not been a consistent effort and did not encompass all the forces that have the potential to fight the state on the issues.

Organisationally, weaknesses persist in evolving appropriate forms of organization to correspond to the changes in enemy tactics, in adopting mass line and maintaining organic ties with the masses through various forms of mass organizations, in affecting the necessary changes in the functioning of the various Party committees, and in ensuring proper coordination between the legal and illegal activities by setting up the necessary mechanisms.

Militarily, our resistance is still feeble when the scale of enemy repression is taken into account. Lack of the required political motivation, mental preparation, and the military skills in taking on the enemy forces confidently, our failure to arm the masses and involve them in the people’s war to fight the state’s armed forces, still haunt the Party and the PGA. As a result, the enemy forces are able to enter even the areas chosen for developing into GBs.

Besides these three principal shortcomings there is also a lack of proper understanding regarding our tactics in the plains and urban areas though the leading committees in the three zones in AP made some attempts. Proper mechanism was not set up by the SCs/SZCs for their functioning. Proper covers are not arranged for the cadres working in the urban areas. The practice of underground leadership meeting legal

period since March. Our forces could successfully retaliate and retreat without any casualty in most of these incidents. There were 11 fake encounters during the same period. Two policemen were seriously injured in an encounter in the Chandampeta forest in Nalgonda. A Reserve police SI was injured due to a claymore mine blast in Nallamala forest in Prakasham district. One SI and a head constable were injured near Mondigowrelli village in Yacharam mandal in RR district in a landmine blast on May 13.

In AOB, our PGA had put up heroic resistance to the massive attack by the Grey Hounds forces on our production camp in Madhumallapadu forest of Kalimela in Orissa on May 4th. In our counter attack one RSI of the Grey Hounds forces was killed that held the enemy forces from further advance. All our forces could safely retreat without any casualties. The specially-trained greyhound forces too could not inflict any losses in spite of their well-prepared massive attack.

A constable was killed and another injured near Peddanti Jola village in Gummalakshmi puram mandal in Vizianagaram district in a landmine blast on May 30. There were also several exchanges of fire in AOB but the enemy failed to cause any losses.

Our forces had conducted raids on the police stations or blasted them in Mahadevpur in Karimnagar, Addanki in Prakasham, Roddam in Anantapur; organized ambushes—at least a dozen—all over AP; conducted attacks on the property of the imperialists-CBB-central and state governments (16 actions were undertaken on American property and goods on just two days on March 23/24); destroyed the property of the TDP leaders, imperialist-CBB property and that of the state and central governments worth over 30 crores of rupees in the three zones of AP; some banks were raided and money amounting to over 70 lakhs of rupees was seized; over two dozen TDP (including some BJP) leaders were annihilated all over the state and several more were punished; the informer network of the enemy was broken to some extent; and three incidents of kidnap of policemen created ripples in the state. Some mass struggles were also taken up under different cover organizations.

Continuing weaknesses in the movement :

Thus, overall, our forces had put up stiff resistance to the massive enemy offensive and achieved positive results in this short period. Our

reasons, to mobilise the masses into struggles and to deepen our mass base, break the informer network of the enemy, militarily counter the enemy offensive by forming an extensive network of militia units and mobilising the militia besides engaging our guerrilla forces in an effective way, counter the enemy's reform programme, and rectifying our wrong deviations, particularly the legalist deviation.

In addition to this, the problem of violation of technical rules has been a serious one. Relying on persons without properly checking their antecedents, not shifting shelters even though the same places were used for meeting several people or when there is some doubt about the shelter being exposed, loosely using cell phones to contact even legal people and so on, had played a no less role in the recent losses.

As the question of favourable terrain is also important, the losses are likely to be more in areas like NT and other parts of AP. Particularly, keeping in view the stepped-up offensive of the enemy during the summer, we should have withdrawn our forces from areas with weak mass base and unfavourable terrain.

It is clear that Naidu's TDP government, which had been continuously increasing the repression under the dictates of the World Bank and the imperialists ever since it assumed office in 1996, is now determined to inflict the maximum damage on our Party before the commencement of the Assembly election next year. This is particularly due to the crisis situation the TDP is already facing and the potential opposition that it faces from us even for carrying out its election campaign in several parts of the state. Hence it had further intensified the police operations during this summer since it is relatively unfavourable period for the movements of our guerilla units. Having known this tactic of the enemy our forces should have been more vigilant and should have adopted the tactic of lying low during these months. The utmost priority should have been given to the task of preservation of our subjective forces, particularly the leadership, during this period while taking up activity by observing all precautions strictly.

Weaknesses in our work in NT

In order to understand the present situation in NT we have to look

into the mistakes committed by us in the past few years and our failure to come out of these in time. We have to also take into account the scale of repression let loose by the enemy during this period. The weaknesses in NT began to be manifested since 1998 itself but we failed to identify these in time. Consequently, they began to be accumulated over time thereby transforming the situation into a favourable one for the enemy. The principal weakness at that time was our failure to build the Party cells and the people's Militia, and to effectively counter the enemy's multi-pronged offensive by intensifying the people's struggles. We could not evolve measures to counter the reforms being initiated by the TDP government in AP with the active assistance of the World Bank and the imperialists. We also could not assess the rapid and qualitative changes that had occurred in the enemy's military offensive and the changes in enemy's tactics in their counter-revolutionary war. The NT special zonal conference and the 9th Congress identified these weaknesses. After the Congress the NTSZC, the CRB, PB and the CC had gone deeper into the problems confronting the movement in NT and identified the weaknesses and shortcomings more deeply.

Explaining the reasons for the downward trend in the movement in NT, the CRB resolution in February '02 stated:

"To overcome this situation, we must deeply understand why this situation had occurred. Generally, if the enemy attacks concentratedly with new tactics, when the revolutionary forces are weak and in unprepared condition, or due to wrong tactics pursued by the party, the revolutionary movement may lead to loss of its initiative.

"The main causes are - the centre and state governments concentrating their multiprong attack on North Telangana as it is the key factor in our revolutionary movement. Even then, due to backwardness in pursuing tactics according to the changed circumstances, the NT movement has attained this condition. Although we overcame the repression that is continuing from 1991 and advanced it further, taken upperhand and taken the initiative into our hand, losing the initiative started from 2000. The causes for this situation are well before 2000 itself. Even though we identified the weaknesses in 1995 itself, but not deeply. In 2000 when the SZC conference was held they were recognised

forces too are on the increase in AP as a whole.

In the same period that had seen serious losses of leadership we had also tried to step up our activities to resist the enemy forces in order to regain the initiative. Our mass struggles and resistance to the enemy in AP had also taken place to a considerable degree during the last few months in the midst of the severe state repression.

Firstly, we undertook a series of famine raids in various parts of AP this year. Around 27 famine raids were reported in the press between Jan-May '03 in about five districts of AP. There were around 13 famine raids in Guntur in the latter part of last year. In Nizamabad, the rice under the 'Food for Work' scheme was seized and distributed in three villages. In January, a rally of 4000 people from 24 villages was held in Etur Nagaaram of Warangal. In Karimnagar, people from 10 villages held a dharna near the MRO office demanding waiver of electricity charges and supply of power during the period of famine. In Velgatoor mandal an officer who came to collect the charges was detained by the people for over four hours until assurance was given by the higher officials. All these raids and activities related to famine, involving hundreds of people in each and spread over a vast area, had created a positive impact on the masses of AP by showing the revolutionary way of solving a problem like famine. We could draw the masses closer to us and foil the desperate attempts of the enemy to isolate us from the masses through his terror campaign and reactionary reforms programmes.

There had been considerable resistance to the enemy's attacks and we could foil his attempts to inflict blows to our forces in a big way. For instance, during the summer offensive by the enemy (Mar-May), massive combing operations were conducted throughout NT, AP and AOB. There were 25 encounters (real exchanges of fire between our PGA forces and the police forces) in NT. Our forces had heroically resisted the enemy and retreated without any casualty in most of the incidents though we suffered serious losses in a few incidents. There were 10 fake encounters. In an ambush by our PGA in Reddipalli area in NT, three policemen were seriously injured.

In the areas under the APSC also, there were around 17 exchanges of fire between our PGA and the police forces during the three-month

masses towards its anti-people, pro-imperialist policies that are being carried out with a gusto. The ill-effects of these World Bank-directed policies are being felt by the various sections of the masses with a telling effect. There is also the revival of the Congress and the growing influence of the TRS in Telangana that have become strong rivals to the TDP in the coming elections. This is compounded by the difficulties of the TDP's lower-level functionaries from entering the areas of our movement. It is clear to Naidu that he will have problems in conducting election campaign in our areas if he fails to weaken us to the maximum extent possible. Hence this has become an additional factor for his hastiness in stepping up the police operations and desperate attempts to eliminate our guerrilla squads, Party activists and leadership at the present juncture. This is bound to increase further as elections draw closer.

As we had pointed out in the earlier CC resolutions and circular, the so-called global campaign against terrorism came in handy for Naidu's government in AP and the BJP-led fascist government at the Centre to step up their campaign against the revolutionaries in the name of countering terrorism. They have more chances now than at anytime in the past for obtaining aid from the imperialists for their counter-insurgency war. They are also playing up the possibility of the opening up of a corridor from AP to Nepal to facilitate the easy flow of arms and coordination of armed struggle between the various revolutionary forces in India and Nepal, links with the ISI, and so on, in order to step up their military offensive. The top police officials of AP led by the SIB chief Gautam Sawang, Warangal SP, Nalini Prabhat had recently undergone training in the US from the US Marines. Police officials from some neighbouring states too had received the training from the Marines. And last year, a team of police officials led by the DGP of AP visited Israel to acquaint themselves in counter-insurgency tactics and to acquire the latest arms and technology to fight the people's war in AP. The AP government has given permission to the police department to use two helicopters continuously to suppress the revolutionaries.

Resistance:

While such has been the situation with regard to the repression and the preparations for a further stepping up of the all-round country-wide offensive by the state and central governments, the resistance by our

and changed our tactics. We reviewed the wrong trends in our outlook and wrong work styles of work. Still more change is needed in practice.

“Resistance has started going downwards from 98 itself as we had failed in estimating concretely enemy's strength and evolving suitable tactics in time. The weakness in understanding the central tasks as well as in implementing those that were understood, due to spontaneity in the style of work, we failed in bringing suitable military structural forms or taking up resistance campaigns. We have not concentrated in building party cells, people's militia and GRCs suitable to our needs. On the other side, the economism that is continuing since long time became a hurdle to mass struggles, organisation, education as well as for political propaganda. The failure in understanding deeply Com. Mao's teachings such as – ‘People make history’ ‘People's war will be waged through active participation of masses’ – as well as sectarian trend that is continuing since long time in people's dealings resulted in one section of the people distanced from us and we failed in moving them actively. Legalistic work methods were continued due to wrong outlook in estimating the enemy, which resulted in loss of several valuable comrades. In addition, subjectivism, liberalism, spontaneity, bureaucracy, sectarianism, patriarchy trends have been becoming hurdle for the committee functioning.”

The CRB also pointed out that in the present situation in NT it is not possible to make a major breakthrough immediately and that it will take some time to come out of this situation and regain initiative. This is because the weaknesses and shortcomings have been persisting since long and we cannot shake them off so easily. Moreover, due to the severity of the enemy offensive, it will take even longer time and there may be more losses before we regain the initiative.

“The above weaknesses and shortcomings inflicted serious losses to the movement. In SZ conference and afterwards in SZC meetings some decisions were taken to overcome these weaknesses. It will take some time to come out of this situation as we lost the initiative in this offensive enemy campaign. We must keep in mind that some limits will be there in continuing our activities.”

The CRB resolution chalked out the following concrete measures to defeat the enemy offensive and regain the lost initiative:

“1) In this period gaining small, daily-based victories is important by close attachment with the people. These victories should be on mass issues as well as on giving effective blows to the enemy. We should not see for the big successes but small successes gained in our own way. These successes will enthuse masses, party cadre and PGA and increase the faith on people’s organised strength, on party and on PGA. For that purpose we should function by concentrating the three forces of PGA.

2) We must give blows to the enemy by studying the tactics of the enemy. We must concentrate on ambushes and smash the police forces. Our resistance should be concentrated around our guerrilla bases. We must smash the notorious police officers, high-ranking ruling party leaders and black gangs. We must make arrangements for the intelligence and recce, which are necessary to smash the enemy.

3) The organisational gap formed due to different reasons should be overcome by concentrating on secondary forces (LGS, DC) on organisation. In addition the duration as well as number of the camps should be reduced. By taking into account the enemy’s offensive, secondary forces should be concentrated on organisation and main force should support the secondary force, conduct the propaganda and resistance. LGSs should be strengthened numerically as well as in weaponry.

4) We must rectify the wrong trends in estimating the enemy. The weaknesses of legalism and running away trends, which are products of under and over estimation of the enemy, will bring serious losses for us. This should be educated and concrete estimation of the enemy should be taken up.

5) The wrong trends that are continuing in committee functioning should be rectified. Rectification campaign should be taken up. Theoretical and political education should be intensified. Particularly education on tactical questions should be taken up. Concrete education should be given to increase the talent of organisers.

6) Commanders and fighters should be trained to resist militantly and boldly in the midst of enemy repression.

7) In the present situation where we lost the initiative, if we recruit with impetuosity, serious losses will occur. If we take without standards

meetings of the top police and administrative officials taking place on a regular basis (every three months). The recent meeting of the top officials of nine states in Bhopal under the leadership of the Union Home secretary, Ashok Bhandari, emphasised that simultaneous police operations in all the affected states alone could tackle the problem effectively. The meeting underscored the importance of combined and simultaneous operations by the police forces in these nine states, namely, AP, Maharashtra, Orissa, Chathisgarh, MP, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and UP. The usage of air cover for the operations on the ground and air strikes where necessary is also being given serious consideration. Specially trained Commando forces are set up in the states of Orissa, Chathisgarh and MP similar to the Grey Hounds in AP. Thus one can expect a more coordinated effort on the part of the various states, mainly led by the AP government, in launching more extensive combing operations in the border areas of these states. Two CRPF battalions were recently deployed in Chathisgarh that had given rise to criticism from various parties like the CPI and the Chathisgarh Mukti Morcha (CMM).

The present focus of repression, however, remains NT since the ruling classes are aware of the potentialities of that movement and the impact a serious setback in the region could have on other regions and states in the country. AP, and particularly NT, has been the heart of the revolutionary movement led by our Party that had kept the ruling classes on tenterhooks for almost a quarter of a century. Hence, the ruling classes are more determined than ever to suppress it using all means at their disposal especially at the present critical juncture in the history of the movement in NT when we had suffered serious losses and there is a significant decline in the tempo of the movement. They want to strike it, as the saying goes, when the iron is hot. They fear that any relaxation in their brutal suppression campaign could see a massive revival of the movement and this spectre haunts them all the time. The present stepped-up offensive by the ruling classes in NT should be understood in this background.

Moreover, there are immediate exigencies for the TDP government in AP that fuel the relentless campaign in NT and elsewhere in AP. The ensuing Assembly elections next year will be a challenge for the ruling Party faced as it is with the disenchantment and disillusionment of the

Mannanoor and Padara in Mahboobnagar district. The aim of the enemy is to achieve greater speed, efficiency and coordination of the police forces in their operations within a short time once they get information about the movement of the guerrillas. Regional commands of the Grey Hounds forces are set up in Vizag, Tirupati and Nagarjuna Sagar. Plans are drawn up to lay roads in the strategic region of Nallamala.

Incentives and rewards to the villages have also increased recently. In Devalamma Naagaram village in Nalgonda district for instance, 5 lakh rupees were sanctioned in the name of the people when the local reactionary elements of the TDP confronted the guerilla squad. In another incident 2in Ralla Anantapuram village in Anantapur district, after the attempt by the PGA in capturing the MLA was foiled by the local TDP supporters, the Chief Minister announced a reward of 10 lakh rupees and declared that a similar amount would be sanctioned to any village if the people confronted our forces. Thus concerted effort is made to instigate the people to confront our forces through the local landlords and other reactionary lumpen elements of the TDP besides deploying huge police forces. The real objective behind this policy of rewarding the villages is to consolidate the grip of the TDP locally and instigate attacks against our Party. The DGP had proposed to the government to sanction revolvers to those who are prepared to confront our guerilla forces.

In the East and SKL divisions of AOB, the enemy offensive has been continuing without a let-up. Though the enemy is beset with logistical problems due to the unfavourable terrain there and the mass base enjoyed by our forces due to the long period of work among the masses, serious attempts are being made by the enemy to overcome the unfavourable factors by amassing more of his forces and using helicopters when needed. The AP government had specially allotted some helicopters for its police operations in the border areas.

It was the AP Greyhounds forces with hardly any participation of the Orissa counterparts that undertook the recent attack on our arms production camp in bordering Orissa on May 4th. This shows that the AP police is not hampered by state borders and is well prepared to undertake military operations in the neighbouring states at will.

The coordination between the police forces of various states where our Party has a significant presence had increased of late with regular

cannot face the obstacles in the movement, weaknesses will occur in understanding downward trend in the movement, resulting in losses in different forms. Quality should be taken as primary in recruitment and standards should be observed. PGA should be strengthened.

8) New tactics should be evolved with concrete study depending upon the changed circumstances. Leadership should accompany squads and should give concrete guidance. This will be the key factor at the present situation. So that the morale of the cadres will be strengthened and guidance will be attained to face the obstacles. At the same time leadership should be in protection. Protecting the leadership is the key factor at this period.

9) Broad masses should be united against World Bank sponsored policies and fascist repression. Different UFs should be formed with lower level cadres of opposition bourgeois parties (mandal, district level). Issue based 9-party UF should be formed with revisionists and revolutionary forces.

10) New covers should be formed in plains and struggles should be taken up against exploiting classes and government though it may be on a small scale. People should be organised secretly. Propaganda should be taken up secretly. Different working class struggles should be led in different covers. Different resistance struggles should be taken up in plains. The mass struggles, resistance struggles taken up in plains and towns should lead to anti-government struggles and they will be helpful to GBs and repulse the fascist repression.

11) The enemy is trying to crush our movement in NT as it is the main movement going on under the leadership of our Party. To save this movement, we should intensify the movements in AP, AOB and DK so that the enemy will be diverted to AP, AOB and DK and make the TCOC campaign a success. Countrywide propaganda should be taken up."

The 3rd SZC meeting held in July-August 2002 took decisions in light of the CRB and PB resolutions of January and May 2002 respectively and the NTSZC secretariat resolution of January 2002.

The CC, in its second meeting in December '02, warned against the danger of the tendency to underassess or overassess the situation in

NT. It explained that there may be some more losses for a while and explained the factors that can be utilized to develop the movement in NT:

“However, in the present difficult situation, there is both a tendency to over-assess the situation or under-assess it. Therefore, it is very important to grasp the actual situation in NT and make a correct assessment.

“There is, no doubt, an ebb in the movement. We had suffered grave losses and this had affected the morale of the cadre to some extent. However, the bright side of this is that the leadership is in tact and the mass base is still considerable. Hence there is every scope for overcoming the present difficult situation provided the leadership pays attention to come out of the weaknesses and shortcomings. There may be few more losses for a while, but we can check the slide in the movement and regain the initiative. The objective situation in the country and the world, the unfolding struggles elsewhere in the country, particularly those led by our party and the MCC, are also factors that will be of help to the development of the movement in NT. We can check the slide in the movement by learning lessons from our failures, overcoming our weaknesses and shortcomings, and taking the proper tactics to counter the all-out offensive of the enemy.”

We can realize from the above-mentioned facts that we are facing a difficult situation in NT due to weaknesses that have been haunting us since quite a few years and that it is not possible to bring about a qualitative change in the situation overnight. The weaknesses mentioned above can be overcome only through conscious planning and effort by the leadership. The continuing weaknesses in implementing the mass line are reflected in the weakness in building the Party, the people's militia and the united front. It is also reflected in our failure to effectively counter the armed offensive of the enemy not just through the units of the PGA but also by involving the masses actively in the people's war; and in various other spheres. The failure in intensifying the people's war by resisting the enemy forces with the involvement of the masses and the failure in politically rousing the masses by utilising the excellent opportunities opened up due to the deep crisis of the ruling classes in AP has affected recruitment, morale and the movement as a whole. Unless we overcome these

weaknesses and initiate measures to implement the decisions taken, it is difficult to check further slide in the movement.

Present situation: Repression and Resistance

Being aware of the weaknesses of the Party and the movement in NT, the enemy had decided to step up his all-round offensive without a let-up. At the same time, attempts are also being made to extend the same type of offensive operations in other parts of AP. Surrenders are being encouraged in a big way through counseling, offering awards, rehabilitation packages, and so on. Covert operations are undertaken on a large scale and attempts are made to create confusion, mutual mistrust and suspicions among the cadres. The aim of this psychological war along with massive police operations is to create demoralisation in the revolutionary cadres and the masses. Extensive informers network is maintained by using all possible sources. Numerous organisations are formed to instigate the masses against the revolutionaries; attempts are made to block the entry of the guerrillas into the villages through coercion and threats to the villagers. Militants are taken away, tortured and eliminated in fake encounters. Special attention is paid to track down the squads and particularly the leadership. Disinformation campaign is being unleashed to sow confusion among the Party ranks and sympathisers. Attacks and threats against legal activists and sympathisers are increasing. Thus the war has intensified on all fronts—political, military, cultural, psychological, moral, and so on.

The same tactics are sought to be employed in other parts of AP and AOB. While in ST, these tactics are in existence since some time, it had extended to districts like Guntur, Kurnool, Anantapur and Prakasham. In Guntur, in particular, several militants have been killed in the past one year. The NT-style operations are being reenacted. Organisations such as Palnadu Tigers like its counterparts in NT are formed which threaten and kill activists in the villages and issue threats to legal activists.

A Joint Command and a Coordinating Centre is set up in Nagarjuna Sagar to coordinate the enemy operations in the five districts of Mahboobnagar, Nalgonda, Kurnool, Prakasham and Guntur. 27 acres are allotted for setting up the Centre. The police forces have begun their operations under this Command. New police stations and outposts had been set up in the interior areas such as the outposts recently set up in

Hence, all the imperialist powers were united in the first war of aggression against Iraq in 1991. Moreover, no single power today is in a position to stand firmly against the US imperialists. They do not have the economic and military capabilities to stand up to the US. But their contradictions with the US that had begun to intensify after the collapse of the Soviet superpower has pushed them towards greater militarisation and formation of trade blocs. The formation and strengthening of the European Union is seen as the only effective way to challenge the might of the US. The emergence of the Euro has the potential to develop as an alternative to the dollar as the world currency. Trade wars between the US and the EU, and between the US and Japan have become common in recent years. The intervention of the US in the Balkans, particularly its role in Kosovo, had further aggravated the contradictions between the US and EU.

While the US had embarked upon a grand imperialist scheme for world domination and to keep the potential rivals in Europe too under check besides controlling the defiant regimes in the Third World, the European powers—mainly France, Germany, Belgium, and Russia, have been trying to create hurdles for the onward march of the US juggernaut. But their acts are still confined to non-cooperation to the US' war effort and not opposing it actively as seen in the latest American invasion of Iraq.

Imperialism as a whole was also united in their new Globalisation offensive against the Third World countries since opening up of these markets was the common goal of all. Thus the imperialist institutions like the World Bank, IMF and later the WTO were used to achieve this goal by forcing virtually every country to unbridled imperialist exploitation and plunder of the resources. However, this very act had also created the grounds for more acute competition among the imperialist powers for the newly-opened up sectors of economy in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As the crisis of overproduction and overcapacity in each imperialist country intensified the contradictions too became irreconcilable.

Thus the US ruling classes are not in a position to accommodate the interests of the other imperialist powers as was done in the phase of superpower rivalry. Hence the US imperialists have decided to go

enemy offensive and regain the initiative if we carry out the tasks according to concrete time-bound plans and mobilize all the forces in the campaigns. Leadership must concentrate on identifying our short-comings, weaknesses and failures at every level and make concrete plans to overcome these. Thus the entire Party should be politically motivated and organizationally-militarily prepared to implement the tasks in a creative manner always keeping the central task as the focus of all work". (page 53, CCPOR, December'02)

Tasks before the Party in relation to NT

Keeping in mind the fact that we are facing a difficult situation in NT and that recovery and further advance in the NT movement requires great conscious effort on the part of the entire Party, we should strive to implement the following tasks in all earnestness:

1. Open up new battlefronts in the various states by concentrating our forces. Intensify the armed struggle in other parts of AP and AOB. Create difficulties for the enemy by hitting out at him from all directions. Expand the areas of class struggle to disperse the enemy forces over a wider area.
2. Achieve better coordination of our guerrilla forces in the regions bordering AP. Launch joint attacks on the Special Forces of AP in the border regions.
3. Lure the enemy deeper into our territory where the situation is unfavourable to the enemy forces. Avoid confrontation with the superior enemy forces when the situation is not favourable to us. Retreat our major forces from areas under enemy's control. Adhere strictly to the guerrilla method of engaging the enemy forces where he is weak.
4. Preserving our forces, gradually accumulating strength, and dealing blows against the enemy when it suits us best should be the guiding principle in our guerrilla war at the present phase.
5. Unleash a countrywide propaganda campaign to expose the enemy brutalities in NT and AP. Rally the other revolutionary, democratic forces in the country in support of the basic democratic rights of the people of NT and AP. Build a broad-based movement against the fake encounter killings, tortures, arrests, destruction of properties,

and suppression of the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people. Organise fact-finding teams with known intellectuals and civil rights activists to bring the facts before the public.

6. Render all assistance to the movement in NT by way of sending materials, technical assistance, and so on. The entire Party should be prepared to carry out any decision coming from the higher committees with the aim of reviving the NT movement.

Comrades!

Today the overall situation is still favourable to us despite the severe losses we had suffered in recent months. There exist immense revolutionary possibilities to make a break-through in the ongoing people's war in the country. Though we do face quite a difficult situation in NT, it is possible to come out of it provided the entire Party acts in a conscious manner.

The NTSZC and APSC should review the reasons for the losses more deeply and concretely, take the necessary lessons, and implement these with all seriousness so as to minimize the losses.

Let us turn the present unfavourable situation in NT into a favourable one by implementing the tactics worked out by the NTSZC, CRB and CC in a steadfast manner.

Let us adhere firmly to the mass line and deepen our mass base.

Let us foil the enemy's attempts to weaken our Party and the ongoing people's war by putting up strong resistance and dealing heavy blows on the enemy forces.

Let the entire Party rally in support of the people's war in NT and render all assistance to make great advances.

Let us open up more battlefronts and engage the enemy in battles over a wider area.

Let us shed the non-proletarian trends, particularly the legalist trend, and orient all our work with the perspective of establishing Base Areas.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

Political Bureau,

CPI (ML)[PEOPLE'S WAR]

26-8-2003

\$61,000 for the average white household. If you exclude property, then black households had just \$200 in savings on average compared to \$18,000 for whites! One third of black families were heavily in debt. It was even worse in Latino homes half of whom had more debt than assets.

According to a new report by the International Labour Organisation, US workers put in the longest hours among industrialised nations—on average 2,000 hours a year, more than two weeks more a year than their Japanese counterparts and ten weeks more than in Germany! No wonder US workers are 20% more productive for their capitalists than the Japanese and Germans are for theirs. Despite such hard labour put in, American workers are worse off. 19 million Americans now pay more than 35% of their incomes just to keep a roof over their heads. Bankruptcies are becoming more and more common. The number of people collecting long-term unemployment benefits is at a 19-year high. Factory workers were laid off but the number of managerial workers actually grew. One out of every three employees hired in the last three years is a “manager”, increasing the managerial class to 15.3% of the workforce.

Inter-imperialist Collusion and Contention

Collusion and contention among the imperialist powers is the characteristic feature of the entire history of imperialism. While collusion is temporary and relative, contention is permanent and absolute.

As Lenin pointed out: “*The dismembering of the world among the capitalists is not due to their specific vicious character. Rather, it occurs because concentration has reached such a stage that they cannot but take this path to obtain profit.*” (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*). In the imperialist stage, it is this drive for resources, markets and superprofits that push the imperialists to unending wars of aggression to colonise the world and to incessant conflicts among themselves for world domination.

Agreements and alliances among the monopoly capitalists of various countries to divide up the world are temporary and relative. “*The form of struggle among international monopoly organizations may change frequently for various comparatively local and temporary reasons. But the nature of the struggle and the class content of the struggle will never change as long as classes exist.*” (Ibid.)

Ever-Deepening Social Crisis

The world's richest 20 percent now receive 86 percent of the world's gross domestic product. The poorest 20 percent receive only 1 percent and the middle 60 percent just 13 percent. The world's richest two hundred people saw their incomes double between 1994 and 1998 to over a trillion dollars. The world's richest three people have assets greater than the combined output of the forty-eight poorest countries. According to the 1999 United Nations *World Development Report*, it would take \$40 billion to extend basic health and nutrition, basic education, water sanitation, reproductive health and family planning to the entire world's population. A yearly contribution of 1 per cent of the wealth of the two hundred richest people (about \$7 billion) could provide universal access to primary education and 5 per cent would pay for all the basic social services.

An analysis of the concentration of wealth in the US - the world's most successful capitalist economy, reveals that the top 10% of households in the US own 73% of the country's net worth. That's well up from 68% in 1983.

The top 1% of American families has never held so much of the nation's wealth in this century as now. In 1945, they owned one-third. In 1976, during the era of strong labour movements, poor stock markets and progressive taxation, that share fell to 22%. But since then their share has doubled to over 42%. Of all the nation's wealth! The world's richest man, Bill Gates, the owner of Microsoft, personally owns more wealth than the bottom 40% of US population or that of 120 million Americans combined! There are now 65 billionaires in the US. Globally, more than a billion people live in abject poverty, their collective income no more than 400 of the richest men and women on earth. And this inequality is growing. Between 1983 and now, the poorest 40% of Americans saw their wealth shrink from \$4,400 to just \$900. Even the middle-classes saw a reduction in their wealth by 11% in the same period. Whereas in 1980, the salaries and bonuses of the top business executives were 42 times larger than the pay of the average American factory worker, now they are 419 times larger.

And it's even worse for American Blacks and Latinos. The net worth of the average black household was just \$7,500 compared to

The US Imperialist Crisis and the War on Iraq

We have witnessed five major wars of aggression led by the US imperialism in the decade following the collapse of the Soviet superpower in the beginning of the 1990s—Iraq in 1991, Somalia in 1992-93, Kosovo in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, and once again Iraq in 2003.

Twelve years after George Bush Sr, the then president of the US, made his famous “New World Order” speech in 1991, that promised a world without wars, without dictatorships and, of course, a world firmly under the control of a single all-powerful world policeman—the US, we have now a situation of “No World Order” and the US imperialists are sitting on a powder keg unable to restore order even in a single country. The dream of solving all conflicts in the world through dialogue in a kind of “Pax Americana” had only created further instability and chaos in Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and the entire Middle East.

The war on Somalia was short-lived. The heroic resistance put up by the Somali people and the guerillas loyal to General Farah Aideed forced the US to withdraw its 28,000 troops when the body count of the American mercenaries began to increase every day. Urban guerilla warfare by the Somalis made the capital city, Mogadishu, a graveyard for the American Marines. It was the “bravery” of these professionally trained best-equipped special forces in the world in shooting down thousands of Somali civilians that had created the grave-diggers by transforming the civilian population into heroic fighters. In just ten months from December 1992 around 10,000 Somalis were killed mainly due to the indiscriminate shooting by the US troops who had no accountability reminding one of the classical colonial times. The reason given for sending the US troops was the usual imperialist lie—a ‘humanitarian operation’ to bring food to the starving Somalis. And this was done under the UN auspices. The facts, however, were completely different.

By 1991, the pro-US President Siad Barre had leased nearly two thirds of Somalia to four US oil companies. When he was overthrown, the US needed another way of guaranteeing their interests. Initially they chose a local leader, Mohammed Farrah Aideed, but when he proved

unreliable, they intervened directly. And even before the US troops set foot on Somalian soil, the US embassy set up shop in oil company Conoco's corporate compound. At the same time, Colin Powell, then chairing the US military's Joint Chiefs of Staff, described the invasion as a 'paid political advertisement' for the Pentagon. Powell opposed calls to spend more money on the pressing needs of health, housing and education, taking the opportunity to argue instead for continued military spending.

In the 1991 war of aggression on Iraq the US-led coalition of some 32 countries had confined themselves to aerial bombardment of entire Iraqi territory and, in the absence of a major ground war, the mercenaries did not directly face the wrath of the people of Iraq. The annexation of Kuwait by Iraq at the time came in handy for the US-led imperialists to justify their war of aggression on Iraq.

But the present war on Iraq, which is intended to occupy and colonise Iraq to serve the needs of American-British imperialists, has given way to the classical-type of national liberation struggle. Although the invaders have temporarily succeeded in occupying Iraq, it is beyond any doubt that they too have to turn tail, just as all imperialist colonisers had done in the past, faced with growing armed resistance of the brave Iraqi masses. This is already clear from the reports coming from the battlefield. More American soldiers had died in the period following the occupation, which is said to have been completed on May 1st, than those killed during the war prior to the occupation. This only shows that it is easy to bombard and destroy a country's military, economy, basic infrastructure, and so on but it is impossible to colonise it. In the long run it is the national liberation struggle that is bound to emerge victorious. This is a law of history.

A study of the five wars led by the US imperialists since the collapse of the Soviet superpower, we find the gradual transition from multilateral aggression (by the combined forces of all the imperialist gangsters along with some acquiescing comprador henchmen in the Third World countries) to unilateral invasions by the US imperialists.

In order to understand the compelling reasons for the US-led imperialists to unleash these wars of aggression and for the unilateralism of the US in invading Iraq in 2003, we need to go deeper into the nature of imperialism, inter-imperialist collusion and contradictions, the relation

accumulation of capital.

Of the four bubbles in the US economy, two, i.e., hi-tech investment bubble in dot.com and internet companies, and the stock market bubble that financed all those internet start-up companies have collapsed. Share prices around the world have now drastically declined from their peaks in March 2000. The third bubble is still expanding: namely, the property market. American and British households, continue to borrow money to buy property, which is considered the safer investment after their experience of the stock market debacle. That bubble has still to burst. And the last is the bubble of paper currencies, in particular, the dollar. The present pattern of unusually weak investment spending and equally unusual strong consumer spending is analogous to the condition of the US economy of 1926-29. In 2002, the bubble of dollar supremacy began to burst. The dollar is diving against other currencies as foreign investors stop buying US companies, shares and bonds. In 2001, net inflows of capital into US markets equalled \$44 billion each month. But in each of the first three months of 2002, only \$25 billion came in. And foreigners own 39.5% of the US Treasury bond market and 23.8% of the US corporate bond market. Both levels of ownership are at record highs. And foreigners also own 12.7% of the US stock market.

One of the largest sources of dollars was from foreign companies buying US companies or setting up production facilities in the US. In the period 1990-95 average annual European dollar flows from mergers and acquisitions (M&A) was only \$10 billion. But in 2000, Europeans invested over \$600 billion in the US. Taking away US investments in Europe it was a net \$214 billion to the advantage of the US. That alone financed half of the huge US trade deficit. By 2002, European purchases of US companies has dropped to just \$7 billion. So the dollars dominance over currency markets is slipping and will lead to alarming trade deficit.

A dollar crash would have a devastating impact on US financial markets that could spell disaster in other capital markets around the world. It would lower prices for equities and bonds, alike. It would undoubtedly deal a devastating blow to consumer confidence, would also result in a higher cost of capital, lead to greater recession and unemployment and intensify the social crisis.

in the real economy providing sufficient profits to meet the future claims of fictitious capital, we find that corporations are becoming more and more dependent on financial operations to maintain their profits.

As one study notes: “*an increasing proportion of the total return on investments since the start of the 1980s has resulted from capital gains (an appreciation in the market value of the securities concerned) rather than earnings (dividend or interest plus reinvested profits).*” Thus the financial structure of world capitalism during the 1990s has come to increasingly resemble an inverted pyramid—a growing mass of fictitious capital resting on a much smaller proportionate mass of surplus value. Like an inverted pyramid, such a financial structure is inherently unstable.

By the first quarter of 2000—the peak of the market—the value of corporate equities, their market capitalization, had risen to \$19.6 trillion, up from \$6.3 trillion in 1994. But there was no connection with the underlying economy. Market capitalization as a percentage of GDP had needed only five years—between 1995 and 2000—to triple from 50 per cent to 150 per cent. In the same period, after-tax corporate profits rose by 41.2 per cent. By contrast, it had taken 13 years—between 1982 and 1995—for market capitalization to double from 25 to 50 per cent of GDP, while corporate profits rose 160 per cent over the same period.

Interest rate cuts at the end of 1998 and in the lead-up to 2000 helped inflate the US financial bubble even further, until it reached its peak in April 2000. A year later the US economy had entered a recession.

The most significant feature of the recession is that it is unlike any other in the post-war period. It has not been induced by the Federal Reserve lifting interest rates in response to rising inflation. On the contrary, the general tendency in the recent period has been one of lower prices, if not actual deflation—that is, falling prices.

The root cause of the recession is the fall in investment in the wake of the collapse of the share market boom. This has led to growing fears that, with 11 interest rate cuts in 2001 failing to bring about an upturn, the US economy could be in a situation akin to that of Japan, where monetary policy has no impact because deflationary conditions have developed. These conditions, in turn, are an expression of the over-

between imperialism and war, and the current crisis of imperialism, particularly the crisis of American imperialism, that had become the driving force for the war on Iraq.

Imperialism and War

We all know that imperialism means the finance capital’s craving for world domination. Capitalism had become transformed from free competition to monopoly by the fusion of finance capital with industrial capital in the end of the 19th century and developed into imperialism. And for the monopoly capital, the national market is too small and needs incessant expansion of the market. Since the very nature of capitalist exploitation inhibits the expansion of the local market, monopoly capital seeks to capture the external markets and sources of raw materials. And the intense competition among the various monopoly capitalist groups within a country as well as that between the monopoly groups in different capitalist countries, makes it imperative for them to produce goods cheaper to maintain their monopoly profits. And to do this, the capture of cheap sources of raw materials, and maximum exploitation of the workers in their own respective countries and in the backward countries, becomes very much essential. The monopoly capitalist groups of each country, despite their competition among themselves, unite to annex other countries. The state is continually militarised to achieve this objective since the monopoly capitalist groups of one country have to contend with the monopoly capitalist groups of other countries that are on a similar mission. Since the entire world was carved up into colonies and spheres of influence of various imperialist countries by the beginning of the 20th century, any attempt to redivide the world meant war. And the monopoly capital’s drive for hegemony over external markets, cheap sources of raw materials, and the need to exploit cheap labour in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America—which is the very essence of monopoly capital—inevitably led to wars between the various imperialist countries. Such is the essence of Lenin’s thesis on imperialism, which is valid to this day.

As Lenin explained, “*Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of the striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by an extremely small group of the richest or most powerful nations - all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define*

it as parasitic or decaying capitalism.”

There is a continuous drive to dominate the world market, and only 500 companies dominate the world market.

Unable to comprehend the essence of imperialism Karl Kautsky (and modern-day revisionists) argue that international peace can be achieved through international cooperation among the imperialists to exploit the world jointly. Kautsky argued that external expansion and war are the result of the conscious policies of certain imperialists and that super-imperialism can bring permanent peace through cooperation. Lenin exposed this fallacious argument of Kautsky: “*Kautsky’s ‘On Superimperialism is aimed at creating an illusion that permanent peace could be achieved under capitalism. It is an extremely reactionary idea attempting to dupe the masses; it is a means to detract people’s attention from contemporary acute contradictions and outstanding problems to an illusory future of the so-called ‘neo-super-imperialism’.*” (Ibid.)

And we have seen two horrendous world wars and the world has been in a perpetual state of war after the conclusion of WWII. It is said that the world knew of only 17 days of relative peace in the period after WWII. There has been war in some corner or other of the globe throughout the past 58 years although there has not been a New World War. Until the end of the ’80s the world was constantly in the danger of a New World War due to the hegemonic ambitions of the two superpowers. Militarisation of the two superpowers proceeded on a scale unheard of in world history. The European imperialist powers and Japan, due to their military weakness vis-à-vis Soviet social imperialism, sought the military protection of the US imperialists. Thus, at the time of the Soviet collapse, the collusion between the various imperialist powers was still a dominant feature in spite of growing competition for the world market.

Thus the US imperialists could carry the other imperialist powers in their war of aggression against Iraq in 1991, both due to the commonality of interests between the imperialists in looting Iraqi oil and the willingness of the US imperialists to share a part of the booty with the others, and the inability of the other powers to take any other course of action in the given circumstances owing to their economic and military weaknesses.

The latest wars of aggression since the beginning of the 90s

For a few years, during the great hi-tech boom, the reality of the decline in profitability was hidden by cheap accounting tricks, but the scandal of Enron has exposed all that. And the greed and graft of some of America’s top corporate executives has increasingly angered middle-class investors who now stay out of the stock market as a result. Even Vice President Dick Cheney’s former company is under investigation for malpractices.

And without profits, there will be no investment. Almost the entire recent rise in GDP is from rebuilding stocks. But this is a short-term phenomenon. Unless consumer spending and business capital spending takes off, demand for new production will sag. And capital spending shows no sign of the real level of growth necessary to jump-start the economy.

The Underlying Basis for the crisis in the US Economy

If we compare and contrast the growth of finance capital with the figures on economic growth for the US and the world capitalist economy, then one of the most important features of the 1990s economic cycle begins to emerge. This is the growing divergence between fictitious capital on the one hand and the growth of GDP on the other.

By the late 1990s, the volume of foreign exchange trading was more than \$1 trillion per day. This represented an eight-fold increase since 1986. By contrast, the global volume of exports for 1997 was \$6.6 trillion, or \$25 billion per day.

The amount of investment funds has similarly expanded. By the mid-1990s, mutual funds and pension funds totaled \$20 trillion, ten times the 1980s figure. Sections of finance capital can secure a profit from purely financial operations for a period of time, so long as additional finance keeps flowing into the markets. But at a certain point, finance capital has to appropriate a certain portion of the surplus value obtained from the working class. In other words, to ensure the stability of the system, the real economy must expand fast enough to meet the claims of fictitious capital.

However, what is now happening is the reverse. Rather than growth

Total debt service payments reached a record high of 14 per cent of disposable income. In 2001, the US national income grew by \$179 billion. Debts, on the other hand, increased more than \$2 trillion, ten times faster than income. The impact of the growth of indebtedness has direct bearing on consumption spending that has been continuously on the decline. Corporate borrowing, reached a record of \$4.93 trillion by the end of September 2001. Telecom debt alone now equals nearly as much as the combined total of the infamous US Savings and Loan crisis of the 1980s and the junk bond crisis of the 1990s. For each dollar added to net new fixed investment, there were 7.7 dollars added to indebtedness. The cost of carrying this debt is a big burden and it is growing. Although wholesale prices (prices at the factory gate) are falling at an annual rate of 2.6%, average real interest rates are over 10%, one of the most painful rates for debt service in American history. The US, at present, requires an inflow of \$1 billion from external sources *every day* to finance its balance of payments deficit.

Thus massive increase in debt and the lack of profit are the two features in the American economy that point to a massive imminent crash. The \$2.5 trillion lost in the telecom meltdown was the largest single loss of wealth ever to occur in the stock market and, surely, worse is yet to come.

Fall in profits

More important is the failure of profits to grow with spending. Under capitalism, production is for profit and profits alone. But US corporate profits peaked in the second quarter of 2000 at \$518 billion. By the fourth quarter of 2001, they were down 44.4%. Manufacturing companies earned \$175 billion during the second quarter of 2000. That dropped 71.2% by the fourth quarter of 2001.

Profits are essentially the unpaid part of the value added by the workforce. And if profits are the basis for investible resources for the future, then a chronic lack of profits indicates that America is consuming its capital; eating its seed corn. US corporate profits have slumped to their lowest level in the post-war period. In the 1960s, they were 9% of GDP. At the nadir of the recession in 1991 they had plummeted to 4%. By 2002, profits are less than 3% of GDP!

unleashed by the US imperialists and supported directly or indirectly by most of the other imperialist powers shattered the myth that war had taken a back-seat in the contemporary world.

It is true that imperialism, much weakened by war, had to change its method of rule after the Second World War due to the growing resistance in all the colonies. Rather than direct military conquest and subjugation, which was proving costly for the imperialist powers, they began to dominate the world through neo-colonial methods of exploitation utilising their economic might and dictating the terms of trade. The industrial goods are exchanged at a high price for low cost primary products. The former colonies are also forced to sell off their resources due to their heavy indebtedness to the imperialist powers. Using the imperialist agencies like the IMF and World Bank, they are compelled to remove their tariff barriers and open up their markets to the imperialist powers. In the process, they are forced to privatise their utilities and cut subsidies on essentials such as food and fuel, education and health, pushing the population into deeper misery.

And when the imperialists find any country refusing to toe their line, they use military means to bring it to submission. The bombing of Somalia, Serbia, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Iraq in the past decade is a grim reminder of the violence that is inflicted upon all those who dare challenge their power or interests. At the same time the deepening crisis in the world economy and the mad scramble for markets is leading to increasing contradictions between the imperialist powers. Presently this contention is still mainly in the form of trade wars and low-key proxy wars. But more aggressive proxy wars and even direct conflicts between the various imperialist powers in the future cannot be ruled out. War is a characteristic feature of imperialism.

The root cause for the current offensive by the US imperialists is the deepening social and economic crisis it is facing domestically and the severe crisis in the world economy that is accentuating all the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

Let us look into the economic and social crisis that the US is confronting at home and why it has no alternative but to unleash wars of aggression to achieve world hegemony.

Crisis of US imperialism

The first serious crisis in the US economy surfaced in the early '70s. This was reflected in the first official trade deficit in 1971, the unpegging of the dollar with the major currencies and gold thereby allowing it to float freely in 1973, and the massive decline in the share of the US in the world output and GNP. By 1984, the US became a net importer of capital for the first time after the First World War. And in 1985, after serving as the world's creditor for 65 years, it became the largest debtor with \$110 billion of foreign debt. By 1991, the external debts of the US reached a staggering figure of \$400 billion. The US public debt quadrupled in the Reagan-Bush era.

The position of the US imperialism thus began to worsen after the 1970s and particularly by the end of the 1980s. Its undisputed hegemony over the entire imperialist camp, owing to their economic and military superiority in the aftermath of the Second World War, began to be undermined. At the end of WWII, it produced almost half the world output and had a GNP twice that of Western Europe (the present EU) and Japan combined, and this had dropped drastically by the 1980s. The US' share of the world's stock markets, which was 70 % in 1966, dropped to 32 % by 1990. And with the formation of the EU and the emergence of the Euro, the European economy was emerging as a challenging rival by the later half of the 1990s.

It was in this background that the American ruling classes began to hatch schemes for establishing the undisputed hegemony of the US over the entire world. In fact, the drive for world hegemony by the US continued throughout the period after the Second World War. The existence of the socialist camp until the mid-'50s, and later, the rivalry with the Soviet superpower made it impossible for the US to realise its hegemonic plans. The collapse of the Soviet superpower created favourable conditions for implementing its diabolic scheme of world hegemony.

The economic crisis in the US economy was offset to some extent during the 1990s owing to the new markets that were opened up in the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe, the unending recession in the Japanese economy resulting in the US eating into the Japanese markets, and a series of measures within the US that were aimed at increasing the profits of the US capital and stepping up attacks on labour. Mergers and

acquisitions of companies aimed at reducing the costs of production and obtain monopoly profits in an era of unprecedented competition between rival capitals became a dominant trend among the US corporations in the later half of the '90s. However, this began to peter out by the beginning of the new Millennium after the capital in every imperialist country went through a feverish phase of mergers and acquisitions. The extraction of greater surplus value from the American working class through intensified exploitation is the single most important factor that had contributed to the relative upswing in the US economy during the '90s. Another major contributor was the external debt that had increased on an unprecedented scale during the '90s.

In the US economy, if there is one area where the 1990s outstripped all previous decades, it is the growth of debt, particularly external debt.

At the end of 2000, US's net debt to the rest of the world was \$2.19 trillion. At the end of 2001, net debt totaled some \$2.60 trillion. This represented some 22 percent of GDP, up from 16.4 percent in 1999 and nine percentage points higher than the 12.9 per cent recorded in 1997. This means that the US now absorbs about two-thirds of total world savings. In other words, the US has become a giant financial vacuum cleaner, sucking out capital from the rest of the world—a great reversal when seen in the context of the historical development of US capitalism. The US first became a creditor nation in 1917, when British investments were liquidated to pay for the war against Germany and US banks and finance houses profited from the war indebtedness of the European countries. The US continued as a creditor nation until the late 1980s. Now, in the space of little more than a decade, it has become the largest debtor nation in the world. Let us review some of the indices of this transformation. From 1983 to 1990 the total debt of US non-financial sectors doubled from \$5.36 trillion to \$10.85 trillion. In the 1990s, it rose by 62 percent, from \$11.31 trillion in 1991 to \$18.26 trillion at the end of 2000. In every year since 1992, inflows of foreign investment into the US have contributed more than 10 percent of the total funds supplied in US credit markets.

Internal debt is also rising. According to Federal Reserve Flow of Funds data, the ratio of total outstanding debt to disposable income rose from 87 percent in 1990 to more than 101 percent at the end of 2000.

that the very same imperialist agencies that vigorously promote liberalisation and globalisation all over the world are also the ones promoting the concepts of grassroots democracy, empowerment, human rights, and so on.

But if one analyses the strategy of the exploiting classes we find that it is the most common thing to resort to both repression and reform simultaneously. While letting loose the worst type of massacres on the struggling masses, the same fascist governments also dole out funds for so-called welfare schemes, development activity, and so on at least for a tiny section of the population. Worse still, they even talk at times of human rights violations by their own mercenary forces and set up human rights commissions.

And we have seen the worst massacres unleashed by the US imperialists in Afghanistan and Iraq recently while at the same time distributing food packets and other humanitarian “aid” to the victims of their inhuman bombardment. The same UN that authorises the use of brutal force to bombard territories in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Iraq also sends humanitarian missions through its “aid agencies” supplying water, food, medicines, and so on. The same World Bank that displaces lakhs of people making them homeless and landless by constructing large dams, sets up organisations to fight for compensation and build homes for the displaced people. The same imperialist agencies that degrade the environment through incessant felling of the forest through various projects also set up NGOs demanding protection of the forests. And precisely in the same way, the imperialists who ravage the entire world through their policies of liberalisation and globalisation, also set up organisations like the NGOs to provide relief to the people affected by these policies. (The main purpose of course is to depoliticise and demobilise the oppressed masses). Even political parties are established by the imperialists among the struggling masses in order to provide a “safety valve” for people’s wrath as in the case of the Congress party in 1885 by the British colonialists.

However, the pace of forming the so-called NGOs had increased since the beginning of the 1980s coinciding with the phase of imperialist globalisation. The reasons are not hard to understand.

Globalisation as we all know is a policy of the imperialists intended to maximise their plunder of the world’s oppressed people, particularly

unilaterally in their wars for domination and control of the strategic regions and to grab the markets of these powers. Trade wars and protectionist measures became the common feature throughout the 1990s. The strategy of the US is to gradually snuff out the competition from the other imperialist powers and secure its hegemony over the world market. And to establish world hegemony capture of the oil reserves is an important prerequisite for any imperialist power.

Today, the world economy is once again afflicted by over-capacity in many key industries leading to an intense struggle for markets and profits. In steel, for example, over-capacity is estimated to be around 35 percent. Over-capacity in agriculture is likely to be at least that level and it has been calculated that global demand for cars would be met even if US production were completely eliminated. The electronics, telecommunications and computer industries, to name just a few, are all marked by bitter struggles for markets.

It is the existence of such over-capacity, which creates the situation where all sides preach the virtues of “free trade” even as they advance new protectionist measures, insisting that their opponents are to blame. And at the same time, the protectionist drive increases the instability within the global economy, leading to further conflicts.

The Bush administration’s decision to impose duties of upto 30% on imported steel in March 2002, followed by \$180 billion farm industry subsidy bill in May 2002, has resulted in a marked sharpening of trade tensions within the global economy.

The Japanese government announced that it had imposed a 100 percent retaliatory tariff on US steel imports: the first time Tokyo has taken such a step in a trade dispute. Japan announced the imposition of duties on \$123.43 million worth of US goods if the World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules against the US on the steel tariff. The Japanese decision was followed shortly after by Brazil, which announced it would also be taking the US to the WTO, thereby joining the European Union and other steel producers.

The European Commission has already drawn up two lists of goods it intends to hit in retaliation for the US steel tariff. The US policies on steel and farm subsidies came under intense criticism at the meeting of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD),

which comprises the world's 30 largest economies.

The 18-nation Cairns group of agricultural countries, which includes countries not part of the OECD, issued its own statement condemning the US farm bill. A member of the US delegation, Andrew Natsios of the US Agency for International Development, hit out at the European Union.

"I would just urge the Europeans to stop their protectionist stand and look at their own policies, which are the problem," he told reporters. "I think there's a little hypocrisy in arguing that our subsidies are a problem. If the Europeans would reform their subsidies we'd be certainly willing to discuss the subject."

The imperialists are fighting bitterly for every market and every strategic position in the world arena. This gives rise to enormous instability and is bound to produce a situation similar to that of the turn of the last century. This can be seen clearly in Africa where we are witnessing the struggle between a decaying imperialist power (France) and a rising power with few previous interests in the continent (the USA). This inter-imperialist conflict has been an important underlying factor in the wars in the Central Lakes region in Africa, in the former Zaire, in Congo-Brazzaville, in Sudan, etc. Thus, Uganda has become one of the important pawns of Washington in the region helping Washington to win positions in Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire which have, in effect, switched to the US sphere of influence. France was the loser in this conflict.

In Sudan we can see a combined campaign of US-backed countries (Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia) to oust the Islamic government in the North by supporting the guerrillas in the South. France, once again, finds itself on the wrong side of the equation. But the most startling example of the great imperialist powers fighting over natural resources over the dead bodies of thousands of ordinary people was, without doubt, the war in Congo-Brazzaville during the Summer of 1997. This was a war openly fought between French and US oil companies (with the backing of the governments of Paris and Washington and their allies in the area) for the control of the country's oil resources. A few months after, the country was almost completely destroyed, 10,000 people had died, and the French oil company Elf had regained its contracts over the Congo's resources. This same conflict of interests is repeated all over the world. France, Russia and the USA are fighting over the oil in the Middle East (especially

revolutionary and progressive organisations and individuals. This is also due to the lack of proper understanding regarding the role of the NGOs and the relation between the ongoing Globalisation, the various imperialist agencies such as the World Bank-IMF, and the NGOs. The active participation of the CPI and CPI(M) in organising the ASF had also lent a "Left" image to the WSF and created illusions among some intellectuals and progressive sections in society. The facts regarding funding by the TNCs and imperialist agencies to the WSF are being glossed over and even hushed up by the organisers. And with people like Balagopal (who is still considered a radical intellectual by some circles in India though he had given up the line of class struggle and Marxism since long) in the forefront in organising the ASF, the event gained some more credibility among some intellectuals in AP.

Since the bulk of the constituents of the WSF comprise NGOs, it is very much essential to have a clear-cut understanding regarding the role of NGOs, the philosophy, politics and the aims of the WSF, and adopt a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. This is all the more important and urgent for the revolutionaries as the WSF is now planning to hold its next Conference in India in January next year and the city of Mumbai is chosen as its venue. This is the first time that the WSF is holding its conference outside Brazil and we must also understand the reasons behind choosing India for the event.

Globalisation and the NGOs

Ever since the onset of the present phase of Globalisation and Liberalisation in the late 1970s, and particularly since the collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist states in the Soviet Union and East Europe in the late 1980s, a new propaganda campaign with fashionable, radical terminology is unleashed by international capital in the subtlest of ways. The vehicles of the new vocabulary are the so-called Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that have proliferated on a massive scale.

The new vocabulary of the NGOs is 'empowerment' of the deprived sections, 'civil society', 'anti-statism', 'social justice', 'human rights', 'identity movements', 'sectional movements', 'self-help', 'community development', 'sustainable development', 'participatory democracy', 'environmental protection', and so on. It is not surprising to see the same vocabulary in the documents of the World Bank, ADB, and other UN agencies and UN-sponsored World Summits. It may look paradoxical

WSF, NGOs and Our Stand

In the first week of January last Hyderabad witnessed a massive gathering of various organizations and individuals from different countries of the world who were supposed to be opposing Globalization. The event was organised by the World Social Forum (WSF) under the banner of Asia Social Forum (ASF). The chief sponsors at the local level were the revisionist CPI(M) and CPI. And some organizations belonging to the broad ML camp too took part in the ASF jamboree.

However, some revolutionary organisations, progressive organisations and individuals boycotted the event and exposed the hollowness of the slogans of the WSF and ASF such as “Another world is possible!” “Another Asia is possible!”. A parallel rally was organised by the Forum Against Imperialist Globalisation (FAIG) in the same week (January 4th) in Hyderabad which showed how another world and another Asia is possible only through the complete elimination of imperialism. It brought out the link between the imperialist funds and the WSF, the dubious stand of the ASF and its parent organisation, the WSF, towards Globalisation, and exposed the hypocrisy of the organisers of the ASF in trying to project it as an alternative before the people.

There were heated debates in the progressive and some M-L circles about the stand to be taken towards the ASF.

Initially, there was some confusion even among some of our party members regarding the standpoint to be adopted. Though it was clear to everyone that the WSF and ASF provided no real solution for Globalisation and the basic issues of the people, some felt that participation would help in putting forward our views before a larger audience. Some others felt that we would be isolated by not participating in the event since a large number of progressive organisations and individuals were taking part in it. There were also opinions that the WSF should be regarded as a friend, that we should seek to forge a united front with it, that we should use it to focus attention on the ongoing state repression in AP and elsewhere, that we can interact with the various organisations and individuals by participating in it, and so on.

The confusion in the understanding regarding the nature of the WSF, its purpose and aims, its impact on the people’s revolutionary movements and class struggle was reflected in the various stands taken by the

in Iraq), and in Central Asia. Afghanistan is still being torn apart by rival factions, each of which is backed by not only imperialist powers like Russia and the US, but also Third World countries such as Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The whole of Asia is the arena of a vast struggle for markets by all the main imperialist powers.

War – A means of survival for the American ruling classes

In such a background of intense socio-economic crisis at home and intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions with the other imperialist powers, the US monopoly capitalist ruling classes had drawn up the strategy of establishing undisputed world hegemony particularly after the collapse of the former Soviet superpower. Its new role as the sole superpower was played out for the first time in 1991 in the first war of aggression against Iraq.

The central theme of the new strategy of the American ruling classes under Bush is to rule the world by brute force even resorting to genocides and extermination of entire communities if needed. Unilateralism is the lever on which this ‘Project for a new American Century’ (PNAC)—the brainchild of Vice President of the US, Dick Cheney and other Right-wing hawks, rests. In the post Cold War era following the collapse of the Soviet superpower in 1990, American imperialism became the sole remaining superpower. It began to consolidate its position and make plans to achieve world hegemony by military means. Until the collapse of the Soviet superpower the European powers and Japan were allied to the US and sought its military protection against a perceived Soviet threat during the 1970s and 80s, while during the 1950s and 60s it was the ‘threat’ of communist revolutions that kept them tied to the US imperialists. However, the contradiction between the US and other Western imperialist powers, which was on a low key in face of the common enemy, became acute after the collapse of the Soviet superpower. The emergence and consolidation of the European Union, the rise of the Euro as an alternative to the dollar and the intensified competition among the American, European and Japanese TNCs for the world resources and market, brought the contradictions and the dog-fights to the fore.

It is in such a background that the US imperialists drew up the strategy of achieving unchallenged global hegemony by military means unilaterally even if other powers do not approve its plans for global domination. In fact, the perspective set out by the PNAC speaks of an American Empire with unfettered global domination. It says that the American goal should be to discourage the challenge to its leadership from the advanced nations and check their aspirations to play a greater regional or global role. As a continuation of this 1997 Project conceived under 'Democrat' Clinton, the Republican Bush drew up the 'National Security Strategy of the United States of America' in September 2002. This document reiterates the American stand of unilateral imperialism in the most unequivocal terms. It asserts that the US has the right to use military force anywhere in the world, against any country and at any time of its choosing if it deems it as a threat or may become a threat at some point to the American interests. This is not just 'pre-emptive' strike but 'preventive' strike as aptly described by an American critic. This means they will now attack any country that they consider a potential threat to the security of the US in any way. Pre-emptive strike meant striking at an enemy who is about to attack and hence justified as an act of self-defence. But the new strategy of 'preventive' strike does not wait for the emergence of danger of an immediate attack by a supposed adversary; it seeks to destroy another country on suspicion that it may pose a threat to the national interests of the US. Through this strategy paper the US had declared its right to bomb, invade and destroy any country that it chooses as its target. The paper refuses to respect the sovereignty of any country thereby openly declaring its non-recognition of any international law or multilateral body such as the UN. It also talks of its right to topple any regime it thinks is detrimental to the vital interests of the US at any point of time in the future. If we understand this arrogant and unilateral strategy of American imperialism it will not be difficult to understand the adamant stand it had taken on Iraq against the opposition from the overwhelming majority in the UN Security Council and world opinion. Nor is it difficult to understand its unilateral decision to pull out from the International Court of Justice for war crimes committed by the American soldiers, and on its unilateral stand on a host of other issues. It had also threatened France and Russia to punish them for not toeing the

Congress headed by Ahmed Chalabi, a man convicted in Jordan for the biggest bank embezzlement in the country's history, and such other actions by the colonial Bush administration in Iraq in the two months of occupation has shown to the masses of Iraq and the entire world the type of democracy the US has been waxing about.

It has also revealed to the entire world the nature of "democracy" practiced within the US by the fascist war-mongers in Washington. The American people will soon know that their militarist rulers in the name of democracy duped them by repeated lies about the reasons for invading Iraq, that there are no "weapons of mass destruction" that threatened the US; that Iraq had no involvement in the attack on the World Trade Center or connections to Islamic terrorist groups; and that the Iraqi people did not welcome the American and British forces as "liberators."

It is the daily attacks and acts of sabotage by the Iraqi people against American and British forces in Iraq—the real war of liberation through a protracted struggle to drive the foreign invaders out of their country—that will bring home the truth for the American people. It is impossible for the US to control Iraq even with its massive deployment of troops. The resulting huge American casualties will lead to an unprecedented crisis for the American imperialism within its own country.

The Iraqi national liberation fighters will continue to resist, and their struggle will inspire the oppressed masses throughout the Middle East to rise in opposition to US imperialism and its accomplices in the region—the oil sheikdoms and corrupt Arab bourgeois regimes from Jordan and Egypt to Syria and Lebanon. It will become a catalyst for an unprecedented eruption of popular struggles against imperialism not only in the Middle East, but internationally. In Iraq, the Bush administration has landed US imperialism in a new quagmire, whose implications are even more catastrophic than the Vietnam quagmire of the 1960s and 70s. And just as Vietnam became the focal point for an eruption of political and social struggles within the US, so too will Washington's crimes in Iraq repel the broad mass of the American people, becoming a focal point for the deeply felt anger and disgust of working people for the right-wing clique headed by Bush and the financial oligarchy which it serves.

July 15, 2003

vehicles and Humvees. They roll with two tanks up front, occupying the whole road. They shoot everything in sight, everything suspicious. It's 'fire at will'. They love shooting Saddam portraits with 25 mm cannons. They have no fire discipline. The initiative is left to the soldiers, 20-year-old kids. That's the reason why they also shoot civilians."

The American mercenaries had done the same things in Somalia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq in 1991, to cite only from the last one decade. Human rights abuses in all these countries are indescribable. The same indiscriminate shooting of civilians killed at least 10,000 in Somalia. In Afghanistan, thousands were massacred in jail in Majar-e-sharif. Massacres were unleashed after the opponents had surrendered.

But dogged resistance by the Somalis had forced the US mercenaries to turn tail. The same would happen in Afghanistan and Iraq. Already the body count of the US mercenaries in the post-Saddam Iraq under American-British occupation had surpassed that during the war. And this is bound to increase with every passing day. Besides, there is also increasing mass resistance and protest demonstrations demanding the Yankees to go back. This is bound to take on a character of countrywide resistance movement.

The *Wall Street Journal* noted that US troops *"have a hard time distinguishing between ordinary civilians and enemy fighters."* It added that while thus far failing to stop the attacks, the offensive and the resulting civilian casualties *"have raised support for America's foes."* And anyone can see the development of a broad front of popular resistance the longer the occupation of the American-British forces. On June 26, the Arab cable network Al Jazeera reported statements by two Iraqi organizations, the Mujahedeen of the Victorious Sect and the Popular Resistance for the Liberation of Iraq, calling for resistance to the American occupation.

The suppression of the Iraqi people in the name of "liberation", with daily killings of even children, house-to-house searches and mass arrests, ban on calls for the withdrawals of American troops, either in speech, print or through protest demonstrations, cancellation of election for the post of mayor in Najaf as the US could not find a puppet candidate, indefinite postponement of "interim government" even of the Iraqi collaborators, reliance on pro-US exiles grouped in the Iraqi National

US on the proposed second resolution on Iraq.

The new strategy is an inevitable consequence of the permanent war economy of the US since the Second World War. The American economy will collapse the moment its armament industry grinds to a halt. Its military spending is roughly half that of the entire world; if the spending is reduced the rate of unemployment would be unimaginable leading to severe social, economic and political crises. Thus if the Soviet Union had collapsed the US imperialists had to find some enemies to keep its war machine running. Hence it had been continuously escalating its military expenditures. September 11 came as a boon for an economy in the depths of crisis. Islamic terrorism is projected as a big threat and elaborate schemes of military spending are drawn up to counter the terrorist threats and to provide homeland security. And of the 800 billion dollar trade in armaments the US companies alone do half. War and arms industry have become the lifeline for the American ruling classes.

The invasion of Iraq is a prelude to even more gruesome wars of aggression and brutal bombings on helpless countries in future. Of the three main objectives set out by the American imperialists, the first and the most important objective is to establish undisputed world hegemony by breaking the will of every defiant country. The second is to deepen US control over Middle Eastern oil resources, the main source of power in the present-day world. That is why even as the conquest of Iraq is drawing to a close, open threats are issued against the regime in Syria accusing it of making chemical weapons, hiding the WMD of Iraq and sheltering the leaders of Saddam's regime. The ground is already prepared for the invasion of Syria. The third objective is to divert the domestic population from its declining socio-economic situation, worsened by regressive social policies imposed by the same gang running the nation's foreign policy.

Incompatibility of Democracy with Imperialist Wars of Conquest

The United States is the most deeply class-divided of all the industrial nations. It is a country whose social relations-dominated by vast disparities of wealth-are increasingly antithetical to any form of democracy, and

instead conform to rule by a financial oligarchy.

As Lenin pointed out long ago: *“The political superstructure of this new economic order, namely, monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), is transformed from democracy to political reaction. Free competition requires democracy, but monopoly requires political reaction.”* (*‘On the Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism’*)

And this lack of real democracy and the dominance of political reaction are reflected in the US and the countries that it controls. No wonder, given the extreme inequalities in the American society and the ever-worsening living standards of a significant section of the population, petty crime for sheer survival should also increase at a rapid pace. This is reflected in the huge prison population in the US that has been growing at a faster rate than at any time in the US history.

A new report on the US prison population sheds light on the brutal reality that underlies the supposed blessings of contemporary democracy in capitalist America for broad sections of the US working class. The Justice Department’s Bureau of Justice Statistics’ report-*“Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2002”*-shows that as of midyear 2002 a record 2,019,234 prisoners were incarcerated in American state and federal facilities.

The US has a higher percentage of its citizens in prison than any other country in history, and accounts for an astonishing 25 percent of the world’s prison population.

More than a quarter of US inmates in mid-2002 were black males between the ages of 20 and 39. This means 12 percent of black men in their 20s and early 30s-more than one in ten-are in jail or prison. The report calculates that over the course of a lifetime, 28 percent of all black men will have spent some time behind bars.

Since 1990, the prison population has exploded, almost doubling from 1,148,702 in 1990 to 2,019,234 in mid-2002. While the stock market boom of the 1990s meant super-enrichment for the upper layers of society, growing numbers of people-a disproportionate number of them young and African-American- were being locked up in the nation’s prisons and jails.

The numbers of inmates held in local and county jails rose by 5.4

the human will and resilience, the undaunted aspiration of an oppressed nation for freedom and independence. It is something incomprehensible to the imperialists and their compradors. The entire world had been a witness to the nervousness of the paper-tigers who had all along been claiming that everything was going on as per schedule and as anticipated but had to order in another 1,20,000 mercenaries to reinforce the 2,50,000 troops already deployed in the war front.

The writing on the wall is quite clear: imperialists can never sleep in peace through brutal invasions and occupations of others’ territories. For the world people had undergone centuries of colonial rule, fought heroically against their oppressors and ultimately kicked them out of their soil. **The spirit of independence, liberation and freedom continues to dominate the people everywhere. No power, however powerful and strong it might be, can subjugate another nation, however weak and small it may be. Such is the lesson taught by history. Yearning for liberation and freedom can never be subdued by executions and massacres. The people, having learnt the value of freedom, will never allow the imperialists to enslave them again.** They will fight with all their might until they drive out the aggressors from their land.

When such is the inexorable logic of history Iraq will be no exception. The Iraqis are bound to drive out the American and British mercenaries, however long-drawn and bloody the struggle might be. The high-tech weapons and the bloody massacres by the American mercenaries cannot win the war in Iraq though they could win a few battles. In fact, even the battles that were fought and are being fought are so cowardly that one cannot but help laughing.

As described by a war correspondent for the military affairs magazine *Raids*, Yves Debay, who observed the US *modus operandi* at very close range: *“They even shoot cows ... I have the impression it’s a way to mask their fear. They are very afraid. And it gets worse every time they sustain losses.”*

And how did the American mercenaries advance into Baghdad?

The same correspondent has described the American advance as the *“infernal column”*: *“They organize columns of 40 to 50 armored vehicles. Up front, M1 Abrams tanks, followed by Bradley fighting*

crimes of staggering dimensions—the White House, the Congress, the judiciary, the military, the media, the corporate aristocracy. The so-called democracy in the US will burst as ignominiously as the bubbles of the stock market and investments once the masses begin to realize the hoax that is being enacted by their ruling institutions in their name.

US imperialism is a paper-tiger

US imperialism—the most powerful economic and military power in the present-day world and a Superpower that has no parallel in history, is, in reality, a “*colossus with feet of clay*”, a paper tiger that is scared of its own shadow. Without the backing of its mind-boggling array of the most diabolic weapons of mass destruction, the US mercenaries would never have dared to set foot on the soil of other countries. That even these weapons could not boost the sagging morale of the US troops in Vietnam and had to beat a retreat ultimately is a different story.

It is the possession of the huge arsenal of WMD that makes the US the most arrogant bully and a consistent warmonger. It is so much fascinated by its weapons of mass destruction that it thinks it can subjugate any nation through relentless bombardment of its military facilities, armed forces and basic infrastructure. Their ‘shock and awe’ strategy is aimed at shattering a country “physically, emotionally and psychologically”. Upholding the racist theory of ‘shock and awe’ of the American strategist Harlan Ullman, Bush, Rumsfeld and their cronies had openly expressed their intent behind the planned attack on Iraq. In fact, Rumsfeld had gone so far as to assert that 60,000 ground troops were more than adequate to occupy Iraq since the ‘shock and awe’ strategy would bring the Saddam regime and Iraqi resistance like a pack of cards. But the actual Commander of the Forces was not too sure and after much wrangling within the top-brass in Washington a quarter of a million troops were deployed in the Gulf. When the ‘shock and awe’ strategy failed miserably, when the much-anticipated and publicized uprisings of the Iraqi masses against the “tyrant” Saddam did not show the least signs even after a week of incessant bombing in the most barbaric manner, and when Iraqi resistance was mounting in spite of the mounting death and destruction, it was the turn of the Anglo-American strategists and their enthusiastic supporters in several other imperialist countries and Third World comprador regimes to be overtaken by ‘shock and awe’ at

percent last year, rising to 665,475, the largest growth in the jail population in five years. The US is a leader not only in incarceration, but also in capital punishment. There are more than 3,600 condemned inmates on death rows across the US. On March 19, on the eve of the Bush administration’s attack on Iraq, federal death row inmate Louis Jones, 53, was put to death. Jones was a veteran of the 1991 Gulf War, and his lawyers argued that he suffered from Gulf War Syndrome, which made him violent and drove him to rape and murder a young servicewoman.

Since the war on Iraq began, the state of Texas has passed a grisly landmark with the 300th person put to death in the state on March 20. George W. Bush, during his five years as Texas governor before assuming the presidency, presided over 152 of these state killings. These executions included women, the mentally impaired and those sentenced to death for crimes committed as juveniles.

The huge and growing prison population in the US testifies to the unprecedented level of social inequality in the American society. Fantastic levels of wealth for a privileged elite go hand in hand with worsening economic insecurity for the broad masses, and chronic poverty for tens of millions of the most oppressed—the breeding grounds for petty crime, drug abuse and all of the other symptoms of a dysfunctional and diseased social order. This oligarchic social structure is increasingly maintained by means of repressive laws, police violence and racism.

The steady rise in the US prison population has continued under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, as the two parties vied to champion repressive “law-and-order” measures, while funneling ever greater shares of the national wealth to the uppermost social layers.

Unprecedented Post-9/11 Repression at Home Surpasses that of McCarthy Era

After 9/11, the repressive apparatus has been strengthened to an unheard of degree filling it up with die-hard Right-wingers close to the criminal coterie in the Republican government. Thereby a massive attack is launched on the basic democratic rights of the people under such black acts such as the Homeland Security Act, Patriot Act, and a host of other laws that curtail the personal freedoms and privacy of the individual.

Everything is sought to be justified in the name of safeguarding the larger interests of the nation and society.

The USA Patriot Act, rammed through Congress in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks, defines terrorism as “*acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws*” and are intended “*to influence the policy of a government.*” This definition could easily be applied to any of the millions of people who demonstrated against the war in Iraq.

The government can threaten any defendant with being designated an enemy combatant, thrown into a military brig and held indefinitely without legal counsel, in order to coerce him into pleading guilty in court and foregoing his right to a trial.

The government is institutionalizing a procedure under which the president, invoking his position as commander-in-chief, can issue an edict and imprison anyone he chooses. To declare someone an enemy combatant, the president is not even required to present proof of the targeted person’s alleged offense.

Court rulings have expanded government power to conduct secret surveillance, upheld secret immigration hearings, denied basic due process rights to detainees at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba, and granted Bush the power to deem US citizens “*enemy combatants*,” who can then be held indefinitely on no charges and without access to a lawyer. The cumulative effect of these decisions is to create an executive branch with near-dictatorial powers. Never, even at the height of the anti-communist hysteria of the late 1940s and 1950s, did the federal government claim such sweeping powers to detain and hold suspects without any judicial process and under conditions of total secrecy, as does the current administration.

The US ruling classes thus require war both to come out of their economic crisis by way of establishing their undisputed world hegemony, as well as to unleash massive attacks on the rights of a growing discontented population. The so-called war on terrorism became the most convenient tool to unleash their war on both fronts. A mass frenzy is created after 9/11. A feeling of mass insecurity has been created by the imperialist-controlled media of an imminent threat to the interests of the

US everywhere in the world and likely attacks on the US citizens. Simultaneously, assaults on the social conditions and democratic rights of the working class intensified.

The entire print and electronic media, not only in the US but also in the entire world, connived to manufacture and sell the most blatant lies to the world people, particularly the American public. The spectre of weapons of mass destruction was used for an entire decade as an excuse for maintaining the blockade of Iraq, preserving the no-fly zones and subverting Iraqi sovereignty. By creating a sense of paranoia, mass insecurity and helplessness among the American people in the face of a potential terrorist threat anytime and anywhere against them, fascist Bush thus gained legitimacy for his war against Saddam’s regime.

The absurd extent to which lies had been manufactured as news in the US media is revealed in a recent poll conducted at the University of Maryland after the occupation of Iraq. The poll found that one third of the American public believed that American military forces had found weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Some 22 percent said that Iraq had actually used chemical or biological weapons in the war. Other polls have reported that some 50 percent of those questioned believed Iraqi citizens participated in the September 11 attacks, while 40 percent believed that Saddam Hussein directly assisted the hijack-bombers. Thus the so-called public support for the war on Iraq rests on a web of lies and misinformation woven by the media and hence will evaporate with the first rays of truth that will be brought home with the intensification of Iraqi resistance and the increase in the body count of American mercenaries.

It will not take long for the American people to see through the barrage of lies and myths that they had been fed with by the criminal gangsters in the White House and the Pentagon. The ostrich-like pretence of the Bush administration that the mass opposition of the Iraqi people to American occupation is nothing more than isolated “pockets of resistance” or the work of “Saddam Hussein loyalists”, and the claim that the US would replace Saddam Hussein with a democratic regime, is being thoroughly exposed by the daily events occurring in Iraq.

All of the institutions of the American ruling elite are implicated in

subjection of one person by another when it rejects the participation of those who are fighting these in all earnestness? Its talk of the “*means and actions to resist and overcome the domination*” (by capital) while closing its doors to armed means of resistance only shows its true character of disarming the people and maintaining the status quo. Point 13 of the Charter makes this very clear when it asserts: “*the World Social Forum seeks to strengthen and create new national and international links among organizations and movements of society, that - in both public and private life - will increase the capacity for non-violent social resistance to the process of dehumanization the world is undergoing and to the violence used by the State, and reinforce the humanizing measures being taken by the action of these movements and organizations.*”

The WSF thus seeks to resist brutal state violence and the process of dehumanisation in the world with non-violent social resistance—the most Utopian of dreams. One wonders at the audacity of the authors of these principles of the WSF Charter to preach non-violent social resistance to the fighting people in the killing fields of the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories, Kashmir, Afghanistan or Iraq. Their means will end up, whatever their intentions be, in helping the ruthless violence and plunder by the Israeli Zionists, the Indian ruling classes, and the blood-thirsty American mercenaries.

The WSF proclaims that “*the meetings of the WSF do not deliberate on behalf of the WSF as a body. No one, therefore, will be authorised, on behalf of any of the editions of the Forum, to express positions claiming to be those of all its participants. The participants in the Forum shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body. It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings.*”

The above only shows the ineffectiveness of the WSF as a body since it cannot take any decisions that are binding on the members. It thus becomes a mere debating club that deliberates on issues but does not go into action.

Another point in the Charter of Principles of the WSF indirectly

in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is sought as a way out of their deepening crisis that had set in since the mid-1970s. The imperialists are aware that the process of globalisation is bound to be accompanied by mass impoverishment, unemployment, starvation deaths, debilitating diseases and environmental degradation at unheard of levels. It is bound to give rise to massive anti-imperialist movements on a global scale and armed resistance to the imperialist onslaught. The unity of the oppressed classes that inevitably follows can spell the doom of the authors of the globalisation—the imperialists and their comprador stooges in the Third World. The ongoing Maoist people’s wars will further intensify and will spread to new regions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The working class struggles in the imperialist countries will deepen and a revolutionary crisis is bound to develop in these countries. The oppressed masses all over the world will look towards socialism as the only alternative to the present system of capitalist greed and exploitation that alienates the human beings, and pushes them into the most miserable conditions of existence. It is this spectre of socialism being resurrected that is haunting the imperialists and all their running dogs ever since the collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist regimes in the former Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe.

In fact, with the collapse of these regimes, the entire imperialist camp was overjoyed and the reactionary media under their control wrote stories after stories on the totalitarian nature of “communist regimes”, about the “crimes” of Stalin, and endless accounts of atrocities under the Communists that were supposed to have been dug up from hitherto hidden archives. This temporarily unfavourable situation for the revolutionary forces is sought to be utilised to the maximum by unleashing vicious propaganda that communism is dead, that Marxism has become outdated, that there is no basis for working class unity as the workers are divided and subdivided into various sections, nations, sexes, religions, and so on. Post-structuralism, post-modernism etc became fashionable trends particularly since the early 1990s among several left intellectuals who had lost faith on class struggle and working class dictatorship. The ideological offensive of the imperialist capital went on throughout the decade of the 1990s but began to fizzle out towards the end of the decade. The theoreticians and ideologues of the new theories trumpeting the “final triumph of capitalism”, “end of history”, “demise of Marxism and communism”, “Identity politics” in place of class politics, and so on,

began to be discredited as the crisis and the inherent contradictions of the world capitalist system deepened further with the brutal onslaught of globalisation.

On the one hand, the collapse of the bureaucratic capitalist regimes could not provide any worthwhile succour to the imperialist capital. And, on the other, in almost all these countries the old discredited revisionist parties came back to power rejecting the new dispensation of the Western variety. Intense struggles against imperialist globalisation began to take root in several countries and these began to acquire a global character. Further advances were made in the ongoing people's wars under the leadership of the Maoist parties in Nepal, Philippines, Peru, India, Turkey, and elsewhere. Capitalism became further discredited in the eyes of the vast masses though socialism did not yet become the dominant ideology in the eyes of the world people who are yet to understand the full implications of the setback to socialism.

Growing working class unity and the birth of new Marxist-Leninist parties in several countries of the world shattered the myth of identity movements being the dominant theme in the contemporary world and that unity of the class was a thing of the past. All these developments unnerved the reactionary ruling classes in the imperialist countries and their comprador henchmen in the Third World.

Thus it was in such a background of all-round crisis of imperialism, the upsurge in the people's movements worldwide and the loss of credibility for the capitalist ideology that the need for depoliticising the masses and diverting their struggles into peaceful channels became a pressing one for the imperialists in order to carry out their globalisation offensive smoothly. NGOs were perceived as convenient tools for fulfilling this need. Globalisation thus provided the basis for the mushrooming of the NGOs during the decade of the 90s and the beginning years of the new millennium.

It was in Latin America where globalisation was first thrust on the countries during the 1980s and where the people's struggles against it became quite sharp that the proliferation of the NGOs could be seen the most. In Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru the policies of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation played havoc with the lives of the people. Most of the assets were privatised resulting in massive unemployment and poverty. The scrapping of subsidies and welfare programmes brought

The actual trap is in the key concept of “civil society” that transcends all class differentiation and lumps together capital and labour, oppressor and the oppressed, imperialist-backed NGOs and genuine people's movements. This concept has become the most fashionable, attractive, and populist one especially after the setback to socialism. It is being promoted by the liberal bourgeois classes and also by the imperialist agencies like the World Bank and the United Nations. The concept of civil society helps to obfuscate the reality of the existence of classes, class contradictions and class exploitation. It preaches for a dialogue between the oppressors and the oppressed and to resolve the mutually irreconcilable contradictions in an amicable way, which means to give up the basic class interests of the working class for the sake of a few reforms. And for achieving this objective, the WSF will provide space for debate and discussion to both sides. That is why it invites the representatives of the governments and the associations of businessmen along with trade unions and other organisations involved in mass movements. But even on this ground the WSF is not sincere. Its hypocrisy is revealed in its attempt to prevent the revolutionary forces from participating in the Forum while inviting representatives of governments, bourgeois political parties and even of the UN. It had refused to invite the FARC of Columbia (though it had expressed its willingness to attend the WSF meeting), the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (mothers of the disappeared in Argentina), or the Basque groups from Spain.

Point 9 of the Charter says that *“Neither party representations nor military organizations shall participate in the Forum. Government leaders and members of legislatures who accept the commitments of this Charter may be invited to participate in a personal capacity”*. The room is thus made for the participation of the representatives of the ruling classes and the imperialists while debarring the revolutionary parties and military wings from attending the Forum.

The question that naturally arises is: How can the WSF boast of being a meeting place for free exchange of experiences when the experiences of committed and serious organisations conducting armed struggles are not even taken into account? How can it remain a body that is committed to fight neo-liberalism, war, all forms of domination and all

anyone would take the discussion on these matters seriously since the delegates such as those mentioned above were the very ones who represented governments that fleeced the people of the Third World in the most rapacious manner. For instance, Charles Josselin, the Minister for Cooperation of France, is directly responsible for dealing with the foreign debt of the African countries. And France expropriates, in the form of interest payments, a sum representing over 60 % of the national budgets of the former French colonies in North Africa thereby pushing the vast majority of the masses of these countries to grinding poverty and miserable living conditions.

And the anti-globalisation rhetoric too borders on the farcical since it is these European imperialist powers that are vociferously promoting the globalisation and privatisation leading to massive job lay-offs of millions of workers in their own countries and forcing the Third World countries to open up their economies for unbridled plunder of their capital. The talk of ‘participatory democracy’ by the imperialist spokesmen as mentioned above is only a smokescreen to cover up their most brutal assault on democracy in their own countries.

Character and aims of WSF

Firstly, as we had seen in the foregoing, the WSF is a loose congregation of various NGOs, mass organisations and trade unions of the social-democratic variety, sectional organisations and groups, some Trotskyite elements and even mayors, administrators, ministers and local administrators representing the interests of imperialist plunderers mainly of the European Union. Such a hotchpotch congregation is the logical outcome of the politics on which the WSF was built. And the constituents, in turn, further manipulate the Forum to their ends.

What are the declared aims and objectives of the WSF? It says it is an *“open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas....and interlinking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neoliberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism.....”* and that it *“brings together and interlinks only organisations and movements of civil society from all countries in the world...”*

mass revolts against the ruling classes by the middle of the 90s. The IMF riots in Venezuela, the general strikes of workers in Bolivia, the Zapatista rural rebellion in Mexico, the indigenous people’s revolts in Brazil, the urban uprisings in Caracas and cities of Brazil and Argentina, etc made the imperialists jittery. They began to increase their so-called aid to these countries and also promote the setting up of more and more NGOs besides simultaneously unleashing the most brutal repression on the rebellious masses. For instance, as noted by James Petras, while there were about a 100 NGOs in Bolivia in 1980, they increased to 530 by 1992. They received an amount of \$738 million in 1991 from the World Bank and the various imperialist governments with the claim of eradicating poverty that had reached horrendous levels due to globalisation.

According to a report released by the OECD (The organisation of the richest 24 countries in the world which had later admitted Mexico and Turkey too) in 1989, there were 4000 NGOs in the member countries. They spend about \$3 billion (around 15,000 crore) every year. There were some 50,000 NGOs in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America according to an estimate in 2000. The annual budget of these NGOs is around 40,000 crores of rupees. These are actually underestimates. The number of NGOs actually runs into lakhs.

For instance, in India alone, as on March 31, 2001, the number of NGOs registered under the FERA were 22,924, **which again is a gross underestimate of the actually existing number.** They received an amount of Rs. 4535.23 crores of foreign funds increasing by more than 15% over the preceding year. The NGOs in Delhi received the highest amount followed by Tamilnadu and AP. The highest share in these grants was contributed by the US followed by Britain and Germany. Besides, the Indian government too had allotted funds to the tune of a few hundred crores in consecutive Five Year Plans to the NGOs with the claim of promoting social services and micro-level planning. And the various state governments have been using the NGOs for carrying out their so-called reform schemes in their respective states. As a result thousands of NGOs have cropped up in some states like Jharkhand, Chathisgarh, Tamilnadu, AP, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Delhi and so on. In fact, it is the World Bank that is directly instructing the governments to implement the welfare and development schemes through the NGOs. And most of the World Bank-aided projects in the Third World have the involvement of the NGOs. This fact was brought out in an official document of the Word Bank

itself. Entitled "*The World Bank and Civil Society*" (September 2000), it states: "*More than 70% of the projects supported by the World Bank that were approved in 1999 involved non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society in some manner.*"

A Brief Outline of the NGOs

The term Non-Governmental Organisations is actually a misnomer. The NGOs are financed and directed by the various imperialist agencies, the imperialist governments and the comprador regimes. They act as the liaison between the people and the governments. They are the vehicles through which the exploiters seek to influence the opinions of the 'civil society'. They are the servants of imperialist capital. Almost all the NGOs are directed by the invisible hand of the imperialists who set them up or fund them in accordance with their strategic goals. Huge funds are thus poured into the coffers of the NGOs in the name of development, social justice, human rights, grassroots democracy, etc. In the past decade the World Bank and other UN agencies have been insisting that funds should be utilised through the NGOs. So do the various governments. With such huge funds at their disposal the NGOs act as elitist organisations completely divorced from the masses. Yet they focus themselves as benefactors for the people. It is estimated that hardly 10-15% of the allocated imperialist funds reach the needy people while most of it goes for the maintenance of the NGO establishments and the running expenditures of the so-called volunteer workers.

There are three categories of NGOs according to the type of functions they perform. The first category of NGOs are those that provide immediate relief to the victims of war, natural calamities, accidents, etc. These were the most prominent form of NGOs until the time of European reconstruction in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The second category of NGOs focus their concentration on long-term social and economic development. These came into prominence in Europe from 1960s. In the Third World countries these NGOs are engaged in imparting technical training, in the construction of schools, hospitals, toilets, etc. They claim to promote self-reliance, development of local productive resources, development of rural markets, people's participation in development activities, etc. They encourage self-help groups, micro-credit societies, and so on.

The third category of NGOs concentrate on social action. They

in Porto Alegre where some more organisations joined them in March 2000. Later in June of the same year, they attended the anti-Copenhagen plus five conference in Geneva where several European organisations agreed to join the proposed WSF.

There were actually two parallel meets of the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre at that time. The official congregation of the WSF consisting of NGOs could gather only 10,000 people while the parallel meet of WSF attracted more than 50,000 people. This fact, however, was suppressed by the organisers of WSF. Finally, the official conference of the WSF released an 18-point Manifesto.

Porto Alegre was chosen as the venue as it was the capital of a state then run by a coalition of social democratic parties led by Lula's Workers' Party (PT). Later, Lula became the President of Brazil after his PT captured the majority in the Parliament.

The COB (Organising Brazilian Committee) acts as the International Secretariat of the WSF and is dominated by the social democratic trend of PT which is linked to its European counterpart—ATTAC (Action for Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens) The International Council is comprised of some 80 organisations, including ATTAC, Genoa Social Forum, a section of the Trotskyite Fourth International (Revolutionary Communist League), American Council of Social Sciences, Samir Amin's World Forum of Alternatives, and the Communist Refoundation from Italy.

Among the French delegates to the Second WSF at Porto Alegre in Jan 2002 was a high-level government delegation sent by the French President Jacques Chirac and the Prime Minister Lionel Jospin that included six government ministers and four top presidential aides. Also part of the delegation was the mayor of Paris, three French presidential election candidates and the general secretary of the Centre-Right RPR. Then there was the Prime Minister of Belgium, and the ex-President of Portugal who had overseen the implementation of the neo-liberal policies in his country in the midst of fierce opposition from the working class.

With the presence of such a delegation at the WSF one can easily imagine the nature and the outcome of the debates on matters such as Third World debt, privatisation, liberalisation, etc. Needless to say, hardly

revolutionary forces.

Some NGOs who work at the grass roots among the deprived sections of the society have to necessarily take up the people's issues and initiate struggles. Though these struggles are watered down ultimately there is potential to give these struggles a correct orientation through our active orientation. The limitations and the role of the leadership of the NGOs should be exposed through such intervention.

The outwardly anti-imperialist standpoint of some of the NGOs is actually directed not against imperialism as a whole but against particular imperialist power or powers. The NGOs in Europe, for instance, adopt a radical posture towards the rapacious and aggressive policies of US imperialism; the NGOs in the US often adopt an approach directed against the European imperialist powers; the NGOs belonging to different countries in Europe adopt standpoints supporting their own respective governments and exposing other countries within EU, and so on. A particular TNC within a country too can employ or fund an NGO to expose its rival TNC in the same country. Hence we should be extremely conscious when making assessment about the NGOs and not go by their rhetoric or their proclaimed objectives that are quite often radical-sounding. Inter-imperialist contradictions are invariably reflected in the operations of the NGOs.

Formation of the World Social Forum

As we had noted in the foregoing, the decade of the 1990s witnessed a massive movement against imperialist globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, first in the countries of Latin America and then throughout the world. As the imperialists were determined to carry out their plan for opening up every country to their globalisation offensive, they had also to think of ways and means to contain the people's struggles against globalisation by channelising them into peaceful path. The massive demonstrations in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that spread to the imperialist countries themselves by the end of the 90s as witnessed in Seattle, Prague and elsewhere, made the imperialists think of a worldwide forum to channelise this wrath into a manageable way.

The plan for WSF was first floated in the year 2000 by Bernard Casen of ATTAC. In that year, eight Brazilian organisations came together to form a Brazilian Forum in Sao Paulo. They decided to hold a conference

talk of strengthening people's capacities, releasing their inherent potentialities, enhancing the social awareness of the masses, overcoming the influence of pre-capitalist social systems, etc. These NGOs negotiate with World Bank, IMF, WTO, and other UN agencies and suggest reforms, mobilise people peacefully and build pressure on these imperialist agencies and the governments to bring reforms and changes in policies.

The first category of NGOs comprise mainly of Christian religious institutions like the Churches, though these are also present in the second and third categories of NGOs. Broadly, we can characterise the first category of NGOs as charity organisations; the second category as developmental organisations; and the third as participatory and globalist organisations. The first category of NGOs characterise the period of direct colonial rule, the second dominated the period of the 'cold war', and the third are active in the period of globalisation. Though there is an overlapping of functions in the case of some NGOs, their categorisation is made basing on the dominant activity.

It must be kept in mind that the functions of the NGOs in different periods are decided by, and accord with, the changing needs of the imperialists in different periods.

NGOs came into the scene mainly in the 20th century though a handful existed in the 19th century. There were 344 NGOs in the West at the time of the First World War. The main purpose for which NGOs were formed was for propagating and spreading the culture and values of the colonial powers in the colonies along with collecting the necessary information and indulging in espionage activities. Hence they received the support from the colonial governments. The Missionary institutions like the Church were the main form assumed by the NGOs at that time. And these extended all sorts of support to the colonial rulers.

In the next phase following the end of direct colonial rule, i.e., the phase of neo-colonialism, there was a spurt in the number of the NGOs throughout the world. The role of the American NGOs surpassed that of the European ones during this period. Since America did not have colonies barring the Philippines, and since there was generally hatred for the other colonial powers in their former colonies, America could easily penetrate into these countries after the end of direct colonial rule. The strength of the US vis-à-vis the other imperialist powers that got weakened during WWII was an advantageous factor for the American imperialists. Hence

along with the American capital the NGOs too entered almost every country of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The most important factor that had acted as a catalyst for the proliferation of the American NGOs was the need to contain the 'threat of communism' that seemed to loom large over several countries. The ideological, political and military leadership to counter the 'communist threat' was taken over by the US imperialists. It may surprise us to hear that America had sent its NGOs to the Soviet Union during the famine in 1921 supplying food, clothes, medicines, etc. worth over half-a-billion dollars. The American Relief Administration (ARA) was the NGO most actively involved in relief work in post-revolutionary Russia. This was done after all the efforts of the American imperialists to quell the Russian revolution by supporting the counter-revolutionaries failed miserably. The American NGOs had also supplied food grains to Austria and Hungary after WWI to check the advance of revolutions in those countries and to wean them away from Bolshevism. The aim of the imperialist aid passed on through the NGOs in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe was to strengthen the capitalist forces, push those economies toward liberal economic policies, and to create a good impression about US imperialism. There was, of course, the economic factor. For instance, the 5,40,000 tonnes of American foodgrains that were shipped to Russia by the ARA helped stabilise the prices of foodgrains in the American market while acquiring the label of philanthropy in exchange. The American NGOs also served as important vehicles for transferring the surplus foodgrains of the US to the Third World countries through such schemes as 'Food for Work', 'Mid-day Meals', etc.

There was a proliferation of the second category of NGOs in the US especially since the time of John f Kennedy. He declared that socio-economic development and political democracy were the pillars of the US foreign aid as he considered these to be the real guarantee against communism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Hence programmes of self-help, community development, technical training to the youth, literacy programmes, agricultural development schemes, etc were initiated. The success of the Cuban revolution in 1959 in the very backyard of American imperialism and its tremendous influence on the countries in Latin America gave a sense of urgency to this task. The American ruling classes on the one hand unleashed fascist repression in Latin American countries through the existing military dictatorships and despotic regimes or installing them

modern-day NGO phenomena. As several post-modernists were one-time Marxists, they lend credibility to the NGOs as progressive, and even radical, organisations.

To sum up, the NGOs are apologists for imperialism who cloak themselves in attractive language. They trade in people's dire poverty and secure funds from imperialist donors or individuals abroad by showing the poverty-stricken masses from the Third World. Like parasites they live on funds acquired in the name of the impoverished women, children and disabled people; in the name of development; in the name of empowerment, and so on. They serve as ideologues for imperialism by justifying the penetration of imperialist capital into the countries of the Third World, and promote the vice-like grip of the imperialists over the economies of these countries. That is why the imperialists, selfish blood-suckers as they are, pour in huge amounts to form and nurture these organisations. Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, Heinrich Boll Foundation, and a host of other imperialist institutions pump in millions of dollars every year to maintain these NGOs. They fund every type of project, institute, study etc. For instance, the Ford Foundation has granted funds to numerous organisations and projects in almost every country in the world that had reached an astronomical figure of \$ 8 billion (almost 40,000 crores of rupees) since its formation in 1936. It had commissioned research scholars and intellectuals to undertake studies on subjects that are of relevance for the imperialists. Also known as Non-Profit Organisations, these NGOs actually work for increasing the imperialist profits. Without a consistent and relentless struggle against these disguised imperialist agents and apologists, revolutionaries cannot bring the masses out of reformist and constitutional illusions. Lack of vigilance will lead to the weakening of the revolutionary parties and movements as witnessed in several countries especially in Latin America. These NGOs played no less a role in subverting the working class dictatorship in the former socialist countries and later the bureaucratic capitalist regimes in the Soviet-bloc countries by doling out Western capital, funds and ideology.

While the above is our basic assessment regarding the NGOs, we should also keep in mind that the NGOs have been able to attract a large number of progressive and anti-imperialist elements that are genuinely interested in social change. These elements have joined the NGOs attracted by the latter's radical rhetoric and also due to the weaknesses of the

8. **NGOs serve as a medium to mould the opinions of the people, to create the ideology and illusions needed for the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation.** They can influence the ideas of the people in a way that the state and the ruling class parties directly cannot. By trying to project themselves as selfless philanthropists and committed to people's welfare, they seek to win the sympathy of the people. Their radical, anti-imperialist rhetoric and talk of development, modernisation, and grassroots democracy, democratisation of the civil society, social justice, anti-statism, humanitarianism and human rights, empowerment and so on, can dupe the progressive and even some revolutionary sections. Thus they **create ideological mystification among the masses and pave the way for the smooth plunder by imperialist capital.**
9. **They act as tools of the international capital for the colonisation of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.** They prepare the ground for the penetration of imperialist capital into these countries and create the conditions for the smooth operation of capital and extension of market. By selecting the most backward areas for their work, the NGOs had succeeded in introducing market relations in these areas in the name of community development, promoting self-help groups, etc and actively promoting the imperialist-aided development schemes. They are actively involved in so-called development projects in almost all the countries of the world and particularly in backward tribal areas.
10. **They seek to stall the advance of revolutions in the subtlest of ways and, where revolutions are victorious, seek to destabilize the working class regimes and restore the capitalist system.** Hence the NGOs select the most backward, strategic regions that are the potential storm-centres of revolution for their work besides concentrating on the basic classes in the urban slums.

Post-modernists, who believe more in individual enterprise than collective, talk in terms of identities such as gender, caste, ethnic and national entities and reject the very concept of class unity. And, having succumbed to political defeatism, they advocate the view that we have come to the 'end of history', that 'there is no alternative to capitalism', that reforming capitalism from within is the only recourse left to us in the given circumstances, and thus provide the ideological basis for the

where necessary, while on the other initiated several reform programmes. The then Pope too called upon the Church in Europe to send at least ten per cent of the missionaries to Latin America to "help the people overcome poverty and misery" so as to counter the spectre of communism.

The way the NGOs operate in the countries invaded by, or attacked by the imperialist powers, that makes a mockery of the humanitarian aid, should open anyone's eyes. In Vietnam, for instance, even as the US dropped bombs and napalm creating death and destruction on a massive scale, it deployed its NGOs such as CARE(Co-operative Assistance for Relief Everywhere), CRS(Catholic Relief Services), WV(World Vision), IVS(International Voluntary Services), American Red Cross, Vietnam Christian Service, and so on to provide relief and rehabilitation to the war victims in Vietnam. And in Afghanistan and Iraq we have seen how the most savage bombing by the US-led imperialists was accompanied by humanitarian aid. Bombs and bread were dropped simultaneously. As soon as a country is ravaged and people are killed, maimed and uprooted from their homes, the NGOs would step in giving the 'healing touch'.

What is more ironic, the US Congress had amended its Act concerning foreign assistance in 1975 stipulating that aid can be stopped in countries where human rights were being violated. It was a time when the most notorious dictators were being nurtured by the US imperialists in almost every continent—a Pinochet in Chile, a Marcos in the Philippines, a Suharto in Indonesia, a Mobutu in Zaire, to cite a few. And the US itself was guilty of the worst violations of human rights through acts of direct aggression. The direct offshoot of this new policy was the rise of human rights NGOs which talk of human rights even as their masters impose fascist dictatorships.

The American NGOs act as sub-contractors for the government projects in the Third World. They serve as tools of American policy when compared to their European counterparts, the simple reason being the huge funding they obtain from the government which has been more than 80% of their total spending. They work to spread the American influence, the American world outlook and the Western ideology in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America through education and training. Charity is the smokescreen under which funds from Fords, Rockfellers, Carnegie and other TNC foundations flew to these regions. As the increasing dependence of the NGOs on government funds posed the

danger of the latter losing their credibility, the US Congress had tried time and again to enact laws that at least 20 per cent of the funds should be procured by the NGOs from private sources by 1985. Later it extended the date by a few more years. However, even this clause had to be given up as most NGOs failed to procure the stipulated 20 per cent of private funds.

In the phase of globalisation, particularly after the collapse of the regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the NGOs have taken up as their main task the neutralisation of the ill-effects of globalisation and liberalisation. They are not against globalisation but want it to be implemented by involving the people or 'participatory globalisation' as a UN official put it. They campaign for globalisation with a human face, sustainable development, and so on. They create the illusions among the people that it is possible to reform the imperialist agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, ADB and others. Thus they try to dilute the wrath of the masses against imperialism and veer them to reformist ideology.

The main aims of the NGOs

These can be stated as follows:

1. They channelise the popular discontent along constitutional, peaceful and harmless ways by acting as '**safety valves**'.
2. **They seek to divide the oppressed people into sections and identities thereby preventing the development of class unity of the oppressed classes.**
3. **They further seek to obliterate and obfuscate the class divisions and distinctions within the social groups and sections by advocating the unity of the oppressors and the oppressed on the basis of identity alone such as gender (women), caste (dalit), ethnic (adivasi), nationality, etc.**
4. They try to instill the false belief among the oppressed that there is no alternative to capitalism and that capitalism had finally triumphed. They proclaim that Marxism has become outdated and communism is dead, and hence one should strive to improve the contemporary world by democratising the civil society and promote '**globalisation with a human face**'.
5. They take up an anti-state stand, which looks outwardly attractive to

progressive circles too. However, **they try to accomplish privatisation at the micro-level what their masters do at the macro level.** That is, while international capital lashes out at the role of the state in regulating the economy and wants the market to operate freely without state intervention (how false this is in reality is a different thing), the NGOs talk of self-help, co-operation, community development, and so on. The state is thus absolved of all its social responsibilities towards the people in matters such as providing education, health care, clean drinking water, sanitation, irrigation, employment, etc that are placed in the hands of individuals and private groups. Thus the NGOs make common cause with the imperialists with regard to privatisation. And they concentrate particularly among the poverty-stricken masses in the backward rural areas and urban slums. The backward areas inhabited by the adivasis are given priority for their so-called charitable work and development schemes. Through this they strive to neutralize the wrath of the deprived masses.

6. **They seek to depoliticise the masses by talking in terms of non-Party activism.** They claim that they are apolitical and call upon the masses to stay away from all political parties; that they should solve their problems themselves through self-help, cooperation etc. Thus, by advocating such a seemingly apolitical strategy the NGOs actually work to preserve the status quo and to retain the influence of the ruling class ideology and politics on the masses. They pose themselves as alternative to the political parties and try to replace the revolutionary parties by projecting themselves as the champions of the poor.
7. **They seek to demobilise the masses by diverting them from the path of struggle and coopting the best elements into the establishment and reformism.** They have succeeded to a large extent in rallying the left intellectuals to the side of capital while maintaining a progressive and even radical posture. With huge funds at their disposal, the NGOs have been able to attract and coopt the left intellectuals by funding them for attending seminars, workshops, conferences and involving them in projects and Institutes for research and policy studies. Hundreds of projects and Institutes are set up by imperialist capital all over the world that manufacture theses as per the requirements of the imperialists. By associating themselves with these projects intellectuals lend credibility to them and create illusions among the people.

The POR identified the serious weaknesses and the shortcomings of the Party, namely, the lack of a comprehensive plan to counter the reforms programme of the government, lagging behind in taking up people's issues during this period and even in integrating with the masses in some areas. The Plenum assessed the political battle waged by the Party against the TDP government in the first half of 2002. It also identified the shortcomings of the Party in dealing with the issue.

The Plenum identified three significant achievements during the two-year period since the Conference.

1) The success of the military campaign (TCOC) and the PGA Anniversary campaigns. These campaigns had created a good impact on the people of the state. As a result of these campaigns the battle-front was expanded to new areas. The enemy's brutal offensive could be stalled to some extent. By undertaking the campaigns in several districts simultaneously, the enemy forces were forced to spread out over a wider area.

2) The second big achievement was on the political front. The Party succeeded in exposing the TDP government of Naidu on the issue of Talks by politically laying bare its double-standards and hypocrisy. The Party had gained political prestige and more credibility among the masses through this political battle as the government was forced to sit on equal footing with our Party for Talks in spite of its repeated pronouncements that our Party is a terrorist organization. We could isolate and expose the TDP government and take our stand on the issue to the masses at large.

3) Education and Rectification campaign was also successfully conducted during this period. The Rectification on patriarchy was taken down to the mass organization units and to the masses in some villages. Consequently it created great enthusiasm among the masses. It helped the Party to self-critically evaluate the various manifestations of the non-proletarian trend of patriarchy.

The Plenum also summed up the attempts made to evolve new tactics for the various regions in the state and identified the serious shortcomings still persisting at various levels. It was resolved to concentrate on mass work and to rouse the masses politically against the state

attacks the Marxian political economy and the Marxist concept of social development by saying that the WSF is "*opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, development and history and the use of violence as a means of social control by the State (what it means here is the socialist state—editors).*"

Then it talks of upholding "*respect for Human Rights, the practices of real democracy, participatory democracy*" and so on. Its example of participatory democracy is the one practised in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul and, particularly in its capital, Porto Alegre.

Half of the organisations in the WSF are imperialist-funded NGOs. The Ford Foundation had given a grant of about \$3,28,000 during the years 2001 and 2002 to the Brazilian Association of NGOs for conducting the WSF conference and seminar as well as for strengthening the International Council of the WSF as a policy-making body. (Of this amount \$65,000 was granted to the Feminist Studies and Assistance Centre). These funds were allotted by Ford Foundation in the name of 'Peace and Social Justice'. Thus in the eyes of Ford the WSF was supposed to bring in peace and social justice even as the MNCs and TNCs like his continue to plunder the world without any hindrance.

The facts regarding funding by the Ford Foundation were refuted by the organisers of ASF in Hyderabad when it was raised by some people. That this was a blatant lie was proved incontrovertibly by a critic who brought out the facts by digging them from the website of Ford Foundation. In fact, after the ASF conference in Hyderabad, the Ford Foundation had granted another \$5,00,000 to the Brazilian Association of NGOs claiming that it was meant for the WSF conference of 2003. This is clearly mentioned in its website. Thus the denials by some of the organisers that the Ford Foundation does not fund the WSF is only meant to dupe the people.

Another important constituent of WSF—Oxfam—has a long history of being funded by several imperialist agencies. Oxfam or the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, was formed during the Second World War in Britain. It spread to several countries during the 1960s and 70s. Oxfam International is formed with 12 Oxfam organisations and have activity in almost every country in the world. In Iraq, it is involved in providing

clean drinking water to the citizens after the American bombardment of Iraq's basic infrastructure. It is well known for its lobbying with the UN agencies and various governments to bring about laws that will alleviate the conditions of the people. It claims that after its work in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it had "become aware that the fundamental causes of poverty are to be addressed. As a result, development programming was directed toward self-realisation and community action". It claims to tackle the "root causes for poverty, social injustice and inequalities" (!).

The Heinrich Boll Foundation is another partner in the WSF. This NGO claims it is fighting for social justice, gender democracy, ecology, sustainable development, and so on. It is affiliated to the Green Party-a partner in the ruling coalition in Germany, has offices and networks in several countries of the world and runs several institutes such as the Feminist Institute.

The ICCO(Inter Church Co-ordination Committee for Development Projects), another partner of the WSF, is a Protestant NGO funded almost entirely by the Netherlands government.

ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and for Assistance to Citizens), one of the main founders and organisers of the WSF, was formed first in France in 1998 in the name of James Tobin, a Nobel laureate in economics and a fervent advocate of corporate "free trade". ATTAC was later developed on an international scale. One of its goals is the establishment of a Tobin Tax of 0.05-0.1 per cent on international transactions and the amount thus collected would be used as an international fund to aid in "development" and the "struggle against poverty". ATTAC thinks "another world is possible" through "better control over globalisation". ATTAC received grants from the European Commission of the EU, the French government's Department of Social Economy, the National Ministry of Education and Culture and some local governments.

According to the daily Le Monde, "ATTAC and Le Monde Diplomatique received 80,000 Euros from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help them organise the World Social Forum."

And, simultaneously the same Ministry was whole-heartedly



Wage an all-round counter-offensive to defeat the all-round enemy offensive!

– *Call of the AP Plenum*

The State Plenum of AP comprising of the areas under the guidance of the APSC was held from February 5th-12th 2003 in Padmakka Hall in Sukhdev Nagar. Com. Padmakka (Rajitha) was a member of NTSZC who was killed by the fascist mercenary police of Chandrababu Naidu government in July 2002. Com.Sukhdev was a member of the DKSZC who became a martyr in an encounter with the Chathisgarh police in May 2002. The military ground was named after Alatom martyrs (the four martyrs who died during an attack on a police party in Nallamala forest in AP in July 2002).

The Plenum was held to evaluate the Party's work in the two years following the state conference and to draw up new tasks in the light of the review. A total of 30 delegates, including observers, participated in the Plenum. Prior to the state plenum, district/divisional plenums were held in Mahboobnagar, Nalgonda, Nallamala Forest Division and Rayalaseema Divisions and the work in the respective districts/divisions was summed up. A political-organizational review (POR) was prepared by the APSC and was circulated among the delegates a few days before the plenum.

The POR pointed out the achievements since the last state conference especially in the light of the central POR adopted by the 9th Congress. It noted the positive impact of the Tactical CounterOffensive Campaign, the PGA anniversary campaign and the PGA recruitment campaign in the state. It pointed out the effort made by the Party in evolving the tactics for the plain areas, the strategic areas and the urban areas in line with the direction given by the Congress.

Criticism and self-criticism of the SZC were deep and with the spirit of the rectification campaign. Lastly elections were held. The plenum unanimously elected some members into the SZC along with alternate members.

Com.Sonu from CC concluded the plenum. He said the review was deep, straightforward and concrete and that the tasks formulated were in accordance with the situation. He explained analytically the aggressive coordinated advancing of the governments of the four states with an aim to suppress the revolutionary movement in the region. He said the revolutionary forces in these states also must resist in a coordinated manner, must fight with the challenge of taking the present condition to mould Dandakaranyam into a liberated area, to make true the aims of the martyrs.

After the successful completion of the plenum a procession was taken out and the guerillas holding banners raised slogans and declared that they will implement the decisions of the plenum. With the singing of the International and lowering of the flag, the plenum ended successfully.

Immediate tasks

Let us develop the war capabilities of PGA-let us defeat the enemy offensive by intensifying the people's war!

Let us build and consolidate guerilla bases (GBs)! Let us form organs of political power at the GB level! Let us expand the GBs!

Slogans

Let us fight back the aggression of the imperialists, mainly the American imperialists in the name of Globalisation, Privatisation and Liberalisation!

Let us fight back the Hindu Fascist attack. Let us fight firmly against the Hindu Fascist gangs!

Let us oppose the state repression! Let us fight back all the undemocratic laws! ★

supporting George Bush Jr's so-called "war on terrorism". No wonder, the spokespersons of ATTAC like Susan George, are the most vehement opponents of direct action in the form of big protests but also campaign for excluding those who engage in such tactics.

It is due to the financial support from these NGOs that the ASF could spend eight crores of rupees for its jamboree in Hyderabad.

While imperialist-funded Foundations and imperialist-backed NGOs are one face of the WSF, the other face is the social-democratic one. All these social-democratic parties—whether it is the Brazilian PT, the French ATTAC, the German Greenpeace, India's CPI and CPI(M)—are vigorous champions of globalisation. They only talk of neutralising its negative impact on the masses or advocate 'globalisation with a human face'. Lula da Silva, the President of Brazil, claimed to be building bridges between Davos (World Economic Forum of international predatory capital) and Porto Alegre (WSF). Hence he flew to Davos directly from the WSF meeting in Porto Alegre in Jan 2003 to impress upon the imperialist sharks to make globalisation more humane and advised the imperialist countries to do away with protectionism and promote 'free trade'. He became a spokesman for so-called 'free trade' which had delighted the imperialist representatives who attended the WEF meet at Davos. The comprador character of Lula is further revealed in the deal he had recently struck with Bush even after the brutal US invasion of Iraq and butchering thousands of Iraqi people.

The CPI(M), the Indian counter-part of Lula's Workers' Party (PT), is actively implementing the World Bank-dictated policies in West Bengal.

Thus the WSF is a fusion of social-democracy and NGO social activism. It seeks to diffuse the struggle against imperialist globalisation, strives to seek alternatives within the status quo i.e., within the world capitalist system, rejects class struggle and opposes revolutionary violence, and acts as a safety valve for venting the wrath of the masses through peaceful channels.

That is why the ASF meet in Hyderabad was silent about the devastation wrought by the WB-IMF-WTO policies in India and more specifically in the state where the Conference was held. The brutal repression and human rights violations in Kashmir find no mention. The

ruthless onslaught by the World Bank's most loyal stooge in India, Chandrababu Naidu, on the people of AP and the daily killings of revolutionaries and their sympathisers in the state is glossed over. It is not that the organisers were incapable of understanding the link between globalisation and state terror; it is their political standpoint that had prevented them from spelling out the truth. Its slogan of "Another Asia is possible!" or the WSF slogan of "Another World is possible!" is vague and abstract, not addressing the question of what is the nature of that another world, what are the means to achieve it, and how is it possible to achieve another world without eliminating imperialism completely. But the rhetoric and the slogans of the WSF and the ASF are appealing to the liberal intelligentsia, the petty-bourgeois radicals and elitist sections of society who see no other alternative to capitalism and hence think of reforming it from within. It is also appealing because people are disillusioned by all political parties and the WSF poses itself as an alternative to political parties. The social-democrats strengthen these illusions.

Reflection of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the WSF

One should not be misled by the harsh words used by the WSF against the US. Its silence with regard to European imperialists is a reflection of the inter-imperialist contradictions as explained earlier. Even the anti-US stand is not anti-imperialist but only against some policies of the US. Europe has been a stronghold of the Social-Democratic parties since several decades. They have been wielding state power in several countries for long periods after the Second World War. As a result of the long history of working class struggles in Europe, and the spectre of socialism due to the proximity of the socialist countries in the aftermath of the Second World War, the ruling classes in the European countries had to accede to the demands of the workers and initiate several social welfare measures. Hence the workers in most countries of Europe enjoy better working conditions—shorter working week, higher pay, and better social welfare benefits—when compared to the workers in the US. Faced with strong resistance from the workers the ruling classes in the European countries are finding it quite difficult to push through the policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization with the same ease as carried out by the American ruling classes. Hence even some ruling class parties

months, it stated that though there was partial success against the enemy, we still have to mould PGA politically and military. It said strong will, sacrifice and initiative were not on par with the level of the movement. The functioning of the SMC and the Commands was reviewed along with the results of the PGA recruitment campaign. The functioning of the medical unit, tailoring unit and the instructor's team that were started under the commands was discussed. GBs and the problems related to the Revolutionary People's Committees were discussed. It was felt that the SZC could not concentrate on the work according to its decision.

The functioning of the mass organizations and mass struggles taken up in the last 27 months and the problems of United Front were discussed. The work of the regional agricultural development committees and the cultural front were discussed.

Delegates made amendments after discussions and the plenum unanimously agreed that it is necessary to write on the women's front separately.

The plenum also discussed the work in the broad masses deeply. Though the problem was discussed successively since 1993, it was felt that there was no considerable progress. It stressed the need to expand into the vast mass fronts to fulfill the tasks. Later there was a discussion on the issue of resignations of the sarpanches. Though this struggle had much impact on people, spontaneity, lack of people's role, not taking the respective strength in some areas into consideration, were identified as the mistakes. Regarding the government reforms it felt that though our general attitude is correct, we have to formulate tactics according to the consciousness of the people so as not to be isolated from the people.

The plenum unanimously passed the resolution on setting up the sub-zonal party bureaus and formulated the immediate tasks of developing the fighting capability of the People's Guerrilla forces, intensifying the guerilla war and thereby defeating the enemy offensive and consolidating the guerilla bases. The Plenum decided that consolidating the party, strengthening the military front, and laying foundation for United Front shall be the chief tasks. It called upon to mobilise the broad masses on the three political tactical slogans.

The secretary of the Central Committee, Com. Ganapathy, delivered the inaugural address in the plenum hall. In his speech he appraised the international and the domestic political situation. He underscored the need to strengthen the party ideologically and organisationally so as to establish its leadership over the people thereby successfully advancing the revolutionary movement in India with the aim of establishing liberated area in Dandakaranya. He also emphasized the need to develop the fighting capability of the People's Guerilla Army forces, to develop the people's militia as a militant base force, and to intensify the guerilla war. He called upon the Party in DK to rectify the defects in our work among the people and to develop the conscious and militant role of the vast masses in the People's War. He appealed to all the delegates to discuss the POR deeply and take appropriate decisions after evaluating the shortcomings and defects in our practice.

After the inaugural address, before taking up the discussion on the POR, plenum made resolutions on the martyrs, Greetings to Jail comrades and on the American Imperialist's occupation of Iraq.

The POR summed up the current situation in the world, particularly the increasing imperialist attacks in the name of terrorism after 9/11, the increasing opposition to imperialism mainly American imperialism, the intensifying Maoist revolutionary movements in many countries in the world, the political economic social condition in our country and the political economic conditions in Bastar and Gadchiroli in DK. It concluded that we have to intensify the people's struggles in the favorable situation prevailing today.

The POR identified that though there is improvement in the functioning of the SZC, alien class tendencies such as spontaneity, subjectivity, liberalism, bureaucracy are still continuing. It recognized that the rectification campaign had helped them identify their mistakes and to overcome the same. The efforts made in the political, academic education departments and the press and publications were reviewed. The various campaigns in the past 27 months, namely developing the party organization, education-consolidation and rectification campaigns were reviewed.

Reviewing the TCOC taken up in two phases in the period of 27

talk of 'globalisation with a human face', 'sustainable growth', 'environmental protection', or 'protecting bio-diversity', and so on.

The mouthing of these phrases is not due to any compassion for the suffering humanity or genuine philanthropy, but is meant to get an edge over the US in the cut-throat competition for the limited market. Hence these governments have been funding the NGOs, and some governments like the French had extended their support to the WSF. Most of the European NGOs adopt an anti-US stance but remain silent about the exploitation and oppression carried out by their own respective governments. This factor has also set the framework for WSF's agenda of reform within the existing system. The politics of Social Democracy that has been a significant factor in European politics has become the dominant trend in the WSF too. The campaign of the NGOs against the deteriorating working conditions and living standards of the working masses in the US, against the protectionism practised by the American ruling classes, and against the wars of aggression led by the US reflect the interests and the standpoint of the countries in Europe. Hence the close collaboration between these groups of 'civil society' and their respective governments.

The politics of the WSF is the politics of class collaboration. In the name of 'civil society', it attempts to bring together the oppressed and the oppressors into the same platform. Instead of approaching the question of Globalisation and war from the standpoint of the oppressed people, it tries to promote a pacifist approach and to give a human face to the terrible exploitation carried out by the capitalist class.

These facts were brought out by several trade union leaders of Brazil in their '*Open Letter to the Trade Unionists and Activists Participating in the World Social Forum 2002 in Porto Alegre, Brazil*', that starts with the thought-provoking question "*Is it possible to put a human face on globalization and war?*" It says:

"The WSF has presented itself, since its inception, as a forum for "civil society." The very concept of "civil society," which is so popular of late, erases the borders between social classes that exist in society. How, for example, is it possible to include in the same category of "civil society" both the exploited and the exploiters, the bosses and workers,

the oppressors and oppressed — not to mention the churches, NGOs, and government and UN representatives?

And further:

“The politics of “civil society” are today officially the politics of the World Bank. What is the content of these politics? Judge for yourself. The World Bank’s World Development Report 2000/2001 puts it this way:

“It is appropriate for financial institutions to use their means ... to develop an open and regular dialogue with the organizations of civil society, in particular those that represent the poor. ... Social fragmentation can be mitigated by bringing groups together in formal and informal forums and channeling their energies into political processes instead of open conflict.”

“Could it be a coincidence that among the funding sources of the WSF one can find the Ford Foundation — or that the World Bank’s website promotes the Porto Alegre Forum?”

Exposing the hoax of the so-called ‘participatory democracy’ so vigorously promoted at the WSF gatherings and propagated by the media, the open Letter states:

“The World Bank has just created an international department charged with overseeing the implementation of “participatory democracy” in 26 countries. It has also translated, published and distributed the book “The Participatory Budget: The Experience of Porto Alegre,” written by Tarso Genro [former mayor of Porto Alegre] and Ubirata de Souza.

Is this simply disinterested propaganda of the World Bank? Or, on the contrary, do the

“participatory democracy and “participatory budget” processes not, in fact, embody the above-cited strategy of “channeling energies” to avoid “open conflict”?

It goes on to explain how the so-called ‘participatory democracy’ and ‘participatory budget’ of Porto Alegre is a farce. It shows how it is only a small portion of the municipal budgets, which amounts to 17 % in the case of Porto Alegre, is earmarked for discussion and allocation by



Transform Dandakaranya into Base Area!

– Call of the DK Plenum

The first plenum of the third conference of the Dandakaranya Special Zone was held in March 2003 to review the 27 months of practice after the special zonal conference in December 2000 and to formulate the tasks basing on the present situation. 31 comrades including delegates and observers participated in the plenum apart from the CC members. Three members of the secretariat of the SZC acted as the steering committee of the plenum on behalf of the SZC. One SZC member and two other comrades worked as the presidium and conducted the plenum successfully. The plenum was successfully held from 24th March to 3rd April for eleven days in Comrade Sukhdev commune and Comrade Padma hall.

Prior to the plenum all the delegates including the observers studied the political and organizational review batch wise. Two SZC members attended each batch to introduce the issues in the POR and clarified their doubts. As part of the POR, the plenum discussed, *inter alia*, the enemy tactics and our counter-tactics, our work in the broad masses, resignations of the sarpanches-sham government reforms, and formation of sub-zonal bureaus.

On 24th morning the plenum delegates and protection comrades took a procession across the length and breadth of Com.Sukhdev commune. Slogans echoed that we would establish liberated area in Dandakaranya, that we would achieve the aspirations of martyrs, that we would make the New Democratic Revolution in the country successful. The secretary of DKSZC, Com.Kosa, hoisted the party flag and declared the commencement of the plenum. Later, the DVCM of Gadchiroli, Com.Ashok, inaugurated the martyr’s memorial column and recollected the memories of each and every martyr. He called upon the members to pledge themselves to fulfill the aims of the martyrs.

participation of revolutionary forces. The Charter of Principles and the structure of the WSF as explained earlier precludes such a possibility. Participation, on the contrary, only lends credence and legitimacy to the WSF project, confuses the masses and revolutionary well-wishers, and creates illusions regarding the character and aims of the WSF. Hence it is very much essential for us to clearly demarcate ourselves ideologically and politically from the programme and practice of the WSF and educate the revolutionary ranks and the masses from outside. We must ensure that our standpoint reaches the genuine anti-imperialist elements that are part of the WSF and work out the ways and means to take our politics to these genuine elements and to interact with them.

We must explain the difference between meetings and struggles. While we are always ready to go into struggles jointly with all forces, we do not participate in meetings that uphold standpoints fundamentally opposed to ours and thereby give credibility to the organizations and forums espousing such views. We must independently spell out our stand and clear up any ambiguity or obfuscation of the real ideological-political differences.

At the same time, we should guard ourselves against adopting a sectarian approach towards the WSF. **Our approach should be primarily that of struggle in the ideological-political sphere on their non-class or supra-class standpoint and their reformist approach in fighting imperialism** while openly expressing our willingness to fight unitedly along with the WSF if it engages itself in militant struggles of the people. We must keep in mind the fact that the WSF has been able to attract a good number of progressive organizations and individuals, who are disgusted with the alienation and dehumanization resulting from the inhuman capitalist system, are genuinely opposed to imperialist globalization and war and yearn for a radical change in the present exploitative system. We should not take the approach of condemning all those who participate in the programmes of the WSF. Instead, we must have a concrete programme to wean away these sections from the politics of WSF and draw them into the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the society. ⚙

the assemblies of representatives of popular organisations while the bulk of the budget money falls outside any discussion as it goes to pay back the foreign debt and other expenses. And how even the meagre amount that is to be allocated by the popular organisations (civil society!) after discussion, is manipulated and who benefits ultimately from this, is also exposed in the Open Letter.

The signatories also stated why they cannot attend the WSF:

“We will not be there because we are convinced that the defence of the organizations that workers have created to fight against capitalist exploitation is contradictory with the politics of “civil society” — which dissolve the borders of social class. It is contradictory, moreover, with the politics of “giving a human face to globalization” — which, as we know, is not a phenomenon of nature, but rather the product of global capitalism. “Globalization” by definition necessitates the destruction of our workplaces, our jobs and our rights. Capitalist globalization has destroyed nations, democracy, and the sovereignty of the poor. It cannot be “humanized.”

“We, who affirm the need to defend the trade unions as instruments of working class struggle, deny any legitimacy or authority to the NGOs to speak in the name of the exploited and oppressed.”

The Second WSF also held a special session under the appealing banner “A world without war is possible”. But it did not even have the bombing of Afghanistan in the agenda thus condoning the US-led imperialists for their barbaric deeds in Afghanistan and lulling the world people into passivity regarding the diabolic schemes of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, for recolonising the world. The Palestinian issue was discussed without going into the root causes for the problem, the Zionist expansionism and the imperialist support to the Israeli ruling classes, but went all out in stressing on the UN-sponsored “peace plan”. The WSF aspires to establish a world without war not by fighting imperialism but by preaching to the imperialists and bringing pressure on them.

La Haine, an Argentine organisation, issued a fitting reply to the invitation to the Third WSF that was held in Porto Alegre again in Jan

2003. Entitled **“We cannot participate in the Porto Alegre World Social Forum because we do not believe that another world is truly possible unless capitalism is destroyed”**, *La Haine* made a scathing attack on the class collaborationist politics of the WSF in the following words:

“Our relationship to the capitalists resembles the relationship that a herd of docile sheep entertains with an insatiable wolf pack. The WSF pretends to convince us that, somehow, we can change the skewed relationship into one of cooperation and equality; that the wolves will act like sheep.

“Those of us that maintain that wolves will behave as wolves will, that they are carnivorous and therefore will not stop feeding from their natural prey, well, they cannot participate in forums that, whether consciously or not, collaborate with the maintenance of oppression....”

It thus concluded the role of the WSF: *“The Forum’s role, a well known one now, is to deactivate real resistance by promising changes that, appealing as they may seem, even in the best of cases, do anything to alter the essential injustices that we struggle against.”*

Thus, after the euphoria created by the Social-Democratic-NGO-establishment media over the emergence of an alternative to the present system of globalisation, war and neo-liberalism of the imperialists (and to which even some revolutionary organisations fell prey), we find a large number of progressive and revolutionary organisations in various countries realising the true character and aims of the WSF.

What should be the policy of the proletariat towards the WSF?

We have seen from the foregoing analysis that the WSF is basically an amalgamation of NGOs and social-democratic organizations, that it aims at maintaining the status quo while chanting radical rhetoric, that it strives to hush up class contradictions in society and in the capitalist system and promotes a non-class approach to the problems confronting the contemporary world in the name of ‘civil society’, that it strives to divert the people from militant revolutionary struggles by channelising

their wrath and disenchantment with the system into peaceful ways, that it creates illusions on bourgeois democracy and that the ills afflicting the society can be cured from within by means of so-called ‘participatory democracy’, and that it seeks to replace the revolutionary political parties by forming thousands of social forums at various levels with vague programmes thereby leaving the masses leaderless and disorganised. An entire generation of rebellious workers, student, youth, women, intellectuals and other oppressed sections is sought to be pacified, neutralised and rendered impotent by confining these people to peaceful channels of protest. Thus depoliticisation and demobilisation of the masses by way of institutionalisation of their dissent, thereby rendering the masses impotent and disarmed in the face of the growing offensive by the imperialists and local reactionaries, is the inevitable result of the politics of the WSF. This poses a great threat to the genuine people’s movements and to the struggles led by the revolutionaries for the establishment of socialism and working class dictatorship. All this has to be exposed thoroughly before the masses.

Reaffirmation of the proletarian world outlook and the ideology of Marxism and communism among the various oppressed classes becomes a task that is all the more pressing before the revolutionaries. We must strive to break the ideological shackles placed by the NGOs and the WSF on the oppressed, educate them regarding the true character of imperialism and lead them into militant revolutionary class struggles to completely root out imperialism, feudalism and all the reactionary filth that is blocking the progress of the society. Various fashionable theories such as post-structuralism, post-modernism and their numerous variants that are attracting the intellectuals and the middle classes should be ideologically exposed. We must specifically target, ideologically and politically, the social-democrats, revisionists of various hues, and the so-called revolutionaries, who form part of the WSF and promote illusions on NGO-type activity. And in carrying out this task, we must strive to unite with all those forces that adopt a consistent anti-imperialist approach and a correct standpoint towards the WSF.

Direct participation in the WSF meetings will not help in exposing it ideologically and politically. And we should not have any illusion that it can be transformed from within by the

That is, the specific principal characteristics of the revolutionary war in our country are determining our military strategy as the strategy of protracted people's war. Proceeding from backward areas where the enemy is relatively weak and concentrating on the peasantry, particularly the poor and landless peasantry, establishing base areas as the principal task; later encircling the cities where the enemy is strong and thus capturing power countrywide- such is the essence of protracted people's war. The uneven development in our country shows that it is not possible to seize power countrywide simultaneously but we must achieve it through the line of area-wise seizure of power.

The rural area in India is very vast. But our party is still weak and is confined to a limited area. Hence our party cannot commence work in the entire rural area in the country immediately. Therefore, as part of our strategy, the state committees should take up work in the rural and forest areas according to their strength in a planned way. The party should concentrate on areas reeling under severe feudal oppression, on areas where the economic, social and political contradictions are sharp, and areas where the terrain (hills, forests etc.) is favourable. The party should give the first priority to such areas in allotting cadres with the perspective of developing such areas into guerrilla zones and base areas.

The revolutionary strategy in India will be the same for the entire country. However, the uneven development in the economic, social, political, cultural spheres in our country underscores the need for applying different tactics in different regions at any given point of time. The intensity of class struggle in the various regions and uneven development in economic, political, social and cultural spheres must be concretely analyzed and basing on that analysis, the political and military tactics (policies, forms of struggle, forms of organisation, work methods etc.) have to be formulated. Divorce tactics must be drawn up for different regions. Besides this, common political tactical slogans should be worked out for the entire country so as to mobilise the masses of the entire country on specific issues from time to time. Our political and military tactics must contribute for advancing the line of protracted people's war.

People are the determining factor in any revolutionary war. It is only by preparing the masses for war and involving them in the war in a big way the communist party will be able to successfully implement the line of people's war. The principal motive force of our revolution is the

repression and other political issues; to counter the enemy offensive by stepping up our military preparedness and arming the masses; and to counter the enemy's reforms programmes.

There were interesting debates on some political issues such as building squads with part-timers also, on the relationship between strategic and other regions, changes in the LGS system, and so on.

The Plenum synthesized the successful experiences of our Party's campaigns in Guntur district in coordinating the TCOC with various people's issues. The Plenum underscored the need to adopt these experiences in other districts. The Plenum finally set out some immediate tasks.

It called upon the entire Party to take up the issue of famine and to undertake famine raids by mobilizing the masses. It also drew up a plan for the consolidation of the Party, recruitment into the PGA, Militia building, and for unleashing a wave of anti-feudal struggles in the state.

The Plenum identified the serious weaknesses in integrating with the masses and how the ruling class parties in the state had sought to utilize this situation to their advantage by trying to make inroads into our areas through numerous reform programmes. It also identified the weaknesses in the military front and emphasized on the importance of political motivation of the PGA, enhancing the military training, fighting skills and efficiency of the PGA.

The Plenum underscored the need for unleashing an all-round counter offensive to confront and defeat the all-round offensive of the enemy i.e., to simultaneously take up struggles in ideological-political-military-cultural spheres. It called for effective coordination of the struggles in the various fronts.

The Plenum warned of the prospects of further intensification of the enemy's military offensive, particularly during the summer season that is about to begin. It called on the PGA and the entire Party to prepare themselves to defeat the enemy offensive and to avoid unnecessary losses.

The state committee members made frank self-criticism and received the criticism from the delegates. Later, the Plenum elected some members and alternate members to the state committee. ★

Concentrate on Mass Political Mobilization! Resist State Repression !

– Call of the Bengal Plenum

The second state plenum of West Bengal was held in the last week of July 2003, amidst revolutionary spirit. 22 delegates attended the plenum and another 4 did not turn up due to various reasons. First plenum of First Conference was held in 2002 to resolve the internal crisis, which cropped up due to the right opportunist political line of the then state secretary Com. Manik.

Prior to the plenum, the State POR was circulated to all the delegates, and was discussed separately in their respective meetings. On the first day of the plenum, all the formalities were observed, like flag hosting, inauguration of martyr's column, welcome address by the state secretary and election of two member presidium.

Later the CCM, in charge of the state, called upon the delegates to discuss freely on all the matters and to take proper decisions for advancing the movement. He recounted the glorious traditions of armed struggle and heroic sacrifice of thousands of martyrs in whose blood the land of Bengal is soaked. And that these rich experiences and traditions are passed on to the new generation, which has again initiated armed struggle.

A serious debate was held on state POR for three days. Some important issues discussed were: retreat from Goarbata, resistance against the state, committee functioning, coordination between party and mass organizations and on self-reliance in financial matters. The plenum assessed that education and rectification campaign was not completed and the party cells were not involved properly in the ERC.

The plenum took a decision that too many tasks should not be taken. Hence, it was decided to concentrate on the central task given by CC and to apply them in the concrete conditions of West Bengal. Accordingly the plenum took two decisions: one, to mobilize the masses on political issues in urban and plains centers whereas in the areas under the Bengal-Jharkhand-Orissa Divisional Committee, resistance to the state repression will be the main task.

After the debate on the POR, the CCM and the SCs made their self-criticisms. Later two comrades were elected newly to the SC.

At the time of the plenum the state's police forces conducted combing operations in the area but with the active support of the masses and people's militia of the surrounding villages the plenum was completed successfully.

The targets to be overthrown in the present stage of Indian revolution are : Feudalism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism. The motive forces of the new democratic revolution are - Working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. National bourgeoisie plays the role of a vacillating ally. These motive forces comprise 90 per cent of the country's population. In order to advance the NDR to victory, the working class has to provide the leadership, unite all the motive forces of the revolution, and destroy the main enemies of the Indian revolution - feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism.

The political strategy of the democratic revolution derives from the concrete class analysis of the present day Indian society. The working class is the leading force of the revolution. The task of the political strategy is to identify and decide who are the real friends and who are the real enemies of the working class which is the leading the NDR in India. Or in other words, political strategy is the revolutionary political plan of action drawn up by identifying the motive forces to unite with and the targets to be overthrown from the strategic point of view in order to carry the working class revolution to victory.

The NDR that is being carried out by uniting all the motive forces (masses of people) will be democratic in character in so far as it is directed against feudalism and national revolutionary in character in so far as it is anti-imperialistic. That is, the NDR will be a combination of these two types of revolution which take place simultaneously under the leadership of the working class. It is essential to clearly understand the difference between the old type of bourgeois democratic revolutions under the leadership of the bourgeois class and the New democratic revolutions led by the proletariat.

Seizure of the power by the armed force, settlement of the issue by war is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This universal principle taught by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with regard to social revolutions must be applied by the various working class (communist) parties to the concrete conditions in their respective countries.

Five specific principal characteristics of the revolutionary war determine the path of the Indian revolutionary war in order to successfully complete the NDR in India. Besides, these also determine most of the strategic and tactical principles related to the Indian revolutionary war.

People's War – Our Party Work among Broad Masses

[We are giving below the DKSZC's Circular on our work among the broad masses. We have left out the concrete programme in the circular as it is meant only upto AC level.]

Dear comrades,

In order to advance the People's War the aim of developing Dandakaranya as a base area, there is a crying need to improve our work among the people of various classes and not confine ourselves merely to the peasantry. Just as changes are taking place in all spheres in our country and various corners of Globe, in DK too changes are occurring in the class composition and class relations in varying degrees. As communist revolutionaries we must study these changes from a dialectical materialist outlook. Basing on the concrete objective conditions and class analysis, we must fix the priorities for working in the various fronts. It is a pressing task before us to affect changes in the forms of struggle and forms of organisation to be taken up and in the work methods to be adopted based on this class analysis. Towards this end, we must not only deeply grasp the spirit of the line of protracted people's war, but also concretely apply it to the conditions in DK. Besides, there is also the urgent need to implement the decisions with proletarian determination. Against the backdrop of the decisions taken by the plenum after serious discussions, the SZC is releasing the present circular. The SZC hopes this circular will contribute towards that end.

Comrades,

The present day Indian society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial character. The present stage of revolution is New Democratic. The ultimate aim is the building of socialism and communism.

The social classes in present day India are: Working class; peasantry-agricultural labour, poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants; urban petty-bourgeoisie; national bourgeoisie; landlords; comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat.

Advance the Class Struggle in the Direction Set Out by the Karnataka Special Conference held in May 2003

Dear Comrades,

The Karnataka Special Conference of our party was held successfully from 1-12 May 2003. It paved way for the resolution of the crisis in the KN party and for the unification of the party around its political line. It also laid the basis for the completion of preparations in order to develop a guerrilla zone in Malnad with the perspective of building a base area.

Events Leading to the Special Conference

In January 2001 the KN SC decided to place its proposal to shift the focus of rural work from Hyka to Mld before the CC. The extended CC Meeting held in April 2001 approved of this proposal. It also gave its consent to the proposal to conduct a Plenum in KN. It said that in this context, the Plenum should draw lessons from the SC's shortcomings in concentrating on building the rural movement in Rcr.

The KN SC concretized the decision to shift its rural work from Rcr to Mld in its May 2001 meeting and drew up an 18-month plan for implementation. However, since the party was not adequately prepared for the implementation of this task there was confusion. The Plenum, which was held in February 2002, failed to resolve this confusion. The POR could not be taken up for discussion. The decision to shift work was not taken to all cadres. The Plenum said that the SC took a bureaucratic approach in the Plenum process. It said that the SC had a subjective assessment of the situation in the party. It said that ultra democratic mistakes also contributed to the failure of the Plenum. Hence the Plenum resolved to conduct a Special Conference. It directed the SC to make a comprehensive review of our work in the last 20 years and draw up appropriate tasks to advance the revolutionary movement in KN. (For a review of the Plenum See SC Circular 1/2002, dated 4 April 2002, entitled *Problems and Lessons of the February 2002 Plenum and Tasks Before the Party*)

However, the partial crisis which had been simmering in the KNSC since October 2001, transformed into a full-fledged crisis in the July 2002 SC meeting. The SC was divided into a Majority and a Minority. (See the *Resolution of the Special Conference on the Problems that cropped up in the Party* for details about the emergence and development of the crisis.) The Majority claimed that there was a right opportunist line (ROL) in the party which was brought forward by a right opportunist alliance (ROA). The Minority denied this. It said that this was a manifestation of the subjectivism, bureaucracy, sectarianism and opportunism of the Majority. It said that right views and ultra democracy existed in the party. Thus, the resolution of this crisis became an additional task before the Special Conference.

The SC drew up a plan for resolving the crisis and conducting the inner-party struggle. It organized study camps from October 2002 to December 2002 up to all PR cell members. Select party documents and study material from the writings of teachers were taken up for study.

The CC made an evaluation of the differences in the KN party in its meeting of November 2002. This was placed before the Majority and the Minority in January 2003. On this basis the Majority and Minority decided to make changes to their draft PORs. The CC said that ROL-ROA did not exist. Instead it said that there was a right deviation from the party line by the Minority. It said that Com Ravindra had displayed political vacillation between October 2001 and March 2002. It said that he had involved in factional activity. It said that the Majority had dealt with the differences in an unduly aggressive manner. It said that the Majority stretched arguments to establish the Minority's opportunism and that it should have made a deeper analysis of the weaknesses in the state leadership to guide the rural movement. It also asked the Majority to separate the review from the debate in the POR and remove the polemical parts from 'Social Conditions and our Tactics' (*Socotac*) document. It also said that the Majority and the Minority had over theorized on certain questions in their review of the rural movement. The Majority and Minority decided to make changes in their respective PORs on points they agreed, based on these and a few other suggestions of the CC.

It then conducted a debate on the basis of the Majority and Minority draft PORs from February to March 2003 up to ACMs and some senior comrades of the party directly. The debate was taken to the rest of the

The Special Conference passed a resolution extending its support to the armed resistance of the Iraqi and Afghan masses to the recent acts of aggression led by US imperialism on their countries. In the time since then, there has been an attack a day on US and other forces in Afghanistan by rebels. It has today dawned upon the world that the resistance was not destroyed but conserved with the fall of Baghdad and now a full-blown guerrilla war has engaged the US-British armed forces in Iraq. The imperialist crisis with its ramifications on India and Karnataka deepen. With the further intensification of the General Crisis the scope for mobilizing the masses is widened.

Our party is advantageously poised to conduct the armed struggle in the rural areas and the class struggle in the urban areas. We have made a deep review, have drawn correct lessons, undertaken self criticism, and forged unity within our ranks. Our party has grown by 25% since the time of the Fourth State Conference in October 2000. We have deployed a fair proportion of organizers and PRs to undertake rural work in a wide area of strategic importance. We have formed District Committees and Area Committees to provide leadership to the party and the masses. We have decided to build a secret party capable of facing enemy onslaught. We have resolved to initiate our work among the working class. We have resolved to undertake proper measures to mobilize the broad masses in revolutionary mass organizations, LDOs, covers and JAFs.

By applying ourselves to work, by correctly practicing democratic centralism and the mass line, by drawing up concrete programmes for implementation of the tasks of the Special Conference, which have in turn been finalized in the light of the direction set by the IX Congress, we can make headway in KN. By persisting and waging a bitter struggle against an enemy which is waking up to the realities in the field we can create a worthy battle ground in the coming months for waging protracted peoples war with the enemy. If we succeed in this, the Special Conference will have realized the scope of emerging as a turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement in KN.

State Committee

CPI (ML) [People's War]

Karnataka

21 July 2003

sorted out only if the leadership and cadre develop broad-mindedness and see the matter politically, in the overall context of the tasks before the party and the pressing requirements of the movement. Outstanding finer differences can be resolved only in the course of the common collective practical activity of the party, which is to be realized in the implementation of the tasks set before us by the Specon. It is not advisable to open discussions on matters that have been discussed and settled in the Specon.

The POR has identified 10 non-proletarian trends in the party. These have to be rectified in order that they do not continue. Without an effective Rectification Campaign these alien class trends cannot be overcome and the movement cannot make significant advances. The SC will shortly announce the Rectification Campaign. It is in the course of overcoming these trends that the unity that has been achieved in the Special Conference can be consolidated across the length and breadth of the party in KN.

The SC calls upon all party members to advance our movement in the light of the direction of the Specon by keeping the following points in mind:

Ø Let us concretize Specon Tasks for implementation

Ø Let us fix targets for achievement.

Ø Let us educate and implement *Tactics for Completing Preparations to Build a GZ in PA.*

Ø Let us be broad-minded and consolidate unity through the common collective political activity of the party.

Ø Let us complete the Rectification Campaign in order to make further advances.

The political situation is favourable for the advance of our movement in the rural areas and in the towns and cities. Imperialist globalisation is taking a heavy toll. The plight of the toiling masses is worsening with each passing year.

The response of the peasantry to the armed propaganda of the party is positive. We have undertaken survey in a fairly large area in the Malnad. However, our mass base is slender. The effectiveness of the guerrilla war is directly related to the conduct of the class struggle of the masses for agrarian revolution and the consolidation of the mass base by building up mass organization units, militia units and party cells.

party by the DCs and ACs. The documents were taken to all PMs whose membership had been confirmed by July 2002. PMs gave their opinion on the draft PORs that were placed before them.

In the course of the debate held before cadres in February-March 2003, and based on the opinions of the party rank and file, the Majority and Minority made further changes to their respective draft PORs.

In April this year the Majority and Minority had separate meetings with the CC and also had a joint meeting. In these meetings more common ground was created and the differences between the Majority and Minority were further narrowed. Before the commencement of the Plenum, the following changes were made by the Majority and Minority from their earlier positions. The Majority withdrew its allegation of the existence of a ROL and ROA. It said there was subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy in it. It said that right opportunism existed then. It was expressed in the form of a right deviation from the party line by the Minority. It also said that an opportunist alliance existed then. This was expressed in the form of an undeclared alliance. It made a deeper review of the shortcomings in rural work. The Minority said that there was neither right opportunism nor right deviation but right views existed till March 2002. It said that there was no opportunist alliance or factionalist activity but only ultra democracy and that there was opportunism in the Majority.

The division within the SC continued. There was also, on this basis, a polarization in the rest of the party. A certain amount of wrong education had also taken place in the time after the IX Congress. There was anxiety in the party on the direction these developments would take. In sum this was the situation in the KN party before the commencement of the Special Conference in May this year.

Goals

The Special Conference had several goals before it.

1. It had to make a comprehensive review of the KN movement in the last 20 years. It had to particularly look into the causes for the failure of the rural movement in Hyka and draw appropriate lessons from it. This was essential in the context of the decision to shift our work from Hyka to Mld so that the positive and negative lessons of our work in Hyka could be put to proper use in our future work in Mld.

2. The Specon had to draw up tasks till the next Conference. These tasks had to be drawn in relation to completing preparations in building a GZ in MId with the perspective of forming a base area. The Specon also had the goal of drawing up tasks with regard to the urban movement. It was further entrusted with the goal of finalizing tasks to build a strong secret party in Karnataka.

The Special Conference was also endowed with the goal of finalizing tactics for our work in PA.

3. The Specon was entrusted with the task of concluding the debate around the ROL and ROA. It had to resolve if there was right opportunism in the Minority, if there was opportunism in the Majority, if there was a right deviation from the party line or if right views existed, if an undeclared alliance existed or not, if factionalism existed or ultra democracy. The Special Conference finally had to resolve the crisis that had emerged in the KN party. It had to resolve the differences within the SC and its division into a Majority and a Minority. The division within the SC had repercussions on the rank and file of the party. Party work had been disrupted and the Special Conference had the task of settling these inner party differences so that the party could be unified. It had to implement the Tasks of the Specon based on the party's enriched political line.

Achievements

The Special Conference was a success since it achieved the above goals that were set before it.

The Specon was held in Com RK Nagar. It was conducted according to Party protocol and procedure. The party flag was hoisted on May Day in the presence of the delegates protection comrades and Specon staff. The martyrs column was unveiled. The Conference was inaugurated by Com Bharath of the CC delegation. He gave a report of the international and domestic situation. He told of the growth in the peoples' war in the 18-month period between the first and second CC meetings of the IX Congress. A four member Presidium was elected. One of its members was a woman comrade. All SCMs and the former KNSCS constituted the Steering Committee. AC level was the basis for the selection of the delegation. Dalit and women composition was there in the delegation. Adivasi representation was ensured by applying the directives of the IX Congress.

Conclusion

Comrades,

The Special Conference has asked the State Committee to undertake the task of a Drafting Committee to finalise the POR based on the two draft PORs and the deliberations clinched in the Specon. The SC presents its unified POR before you. This is not a draft. It is the finalized POR meant for education and implementation. The SC calls upon all party members to read and discuss the POR in their respective committees or cells, grasp the content and take it for implementation.

The POR contains a chapter entitled Tasks. This chapter was finalized at the Specon. In the succeeding SC meeting these will be concretized by drawing up a two-year programme for their implementation. It will also drawn up certain targets in this regard. The SC appeals to all DCs and ACs to make appropriate concretization at their respective levels and draw up a one-year programme for implementation. These have to be in accordance with the programme drawn up by the SC. The entire rank and file of the party must immediately immerse themselves in the realization of these tasks.

The Special Conference has finalized a document entitled *Tactics for Completing Preparations to Develop a GZ in the PA*. This should be educated throughout the party. Comrades working under the PA DC in particular and those areas which fall on the periphery of the PA DC's jurisdiction have a special role to play in implementing these *Tactics*. Urban work must be reviewed from time to time in the respective cells and committees. The CC's *Work in Urban Areas* must be taken as the policy framework for such reviews. On this basis the concerned cells and committees must draw up concrete resolutions for implementation.

While the Special Conference was a success, it also showed up a particular shortcoming. Some political questions such as democratic centralism and opportunism could not be taken up for discussion. On these there is still some lack of clarity. There have been differences between the Majority and Minority on the one hand and among the delegates on the other. Once after these political questions are discussed in the SC under the guidance of the CC, it will make suitable arrangements to conduct education and discussion in order to provide cadres the unified understanding of the party. Some of these and other differences can be

most important, it drew up a unified resolution on developments since after the IX Congress. This laid the basis for the success of the Specon.

The delegates participated freely and actively in discussions. Despite anxiety and emotion, they cooperated with the Presidium in the conduct of the Conference. The CC's directions on the procedural aspects of conducting conferences were adopted. Time quotas were fixed for members of the Steering Committee and delegates. Despite divisions in perception on certain key matters and close voting on some points, delegates played a major role in pinpointing the problems before the movement. For instance they focused on leadership concentration, shortcomings in mass line, impact of rightist politics, implications of ultra democratic methods, the effect of subjective assessments, the adoption of sectarian and bureaucratic methods in inner party relations and so on. The delegates also placed their frank criticism on the SC and CC following the self-criticism of these committee members. The delegation played an important role in making the Conference a success.

The non-delegates also played an important role for making the Special Conference a success. The PRs, senior part timers and cell members of the party read the two draft PORs and sent their opinions to the SC about them. Although they supported the political stand of one or the other PORs, cadres at the same time criticized the comrades whose POR they had upheld. These points of criticism helped the Majority and Minority in drawing proper inferences and in resolving the political and organizational differences in a proper manner.

Although the party could not adequately concentrate on building the movement in the last two years and particularly since July 2002 and although the two PORs made some unnecessary mutual accusations that could have been avoided, the Karnataka party was immersed in serious study and discussion during these days. There was widespread discussion and debate in the party. While engaging in the political debate, comrades at the same time pursued organizational work seriously. They displayed firmness in the midst of the crisis in the KN party. The political maturity of the party improved. Many opinions and viewpoints came up. These were properly summed up by the CC and the Steering Committee. This helped the Special Conference arrive at correct conclusions. It was a major effort in the practice of democratic centralism.

The Steering Committee proposed that the Conference should first take up the 20-year review from 1980 till 2000, then finalise the *Tactics for Completing Preparations to Develop a GZ in the PA*, then take up the Conference Tasks and finally hold the debate.

"The Steering Committee proposed that a particular POR must be chosen. By keeping it as the basis, amendments must be placed to it. The hall was asked to choose which of the two PORs should be kept as the basis. Or, delegates were also asked to give an alternate suggestion." The largest number of delegates placed an alternate suggestion. They were of the opinion that instead of taking up any one POR for discussion, the points of contention should be taken up. Responding to the first option placed by the Steering Committee majority of delegates opted for the Majority POR. However the difference between those who opted for the Majority POR and those that opted for the Minority POR was narrow. Some delegates abstained from choosing between the two PORs. They were of the opinion that point-wise discussion must be taken up. The Steering Committee considered the alternate proposal reflected the spirit of the house. Hence it modified its proposal and opted for taking up discussion point-wise instead of adopting any one particular POR for discussion. It was also decided that since the two PORs had common ground, the drafting committee would finalise the official POR after the Conference was over by basing on the two PORs and on the result of the discussions that were clinched at the Conference.

Hence the methodology that was adopted wherein no particular document was taken as the official Conference document, helped create a further conducive atmosphere in the holding of the Conference.

The Majority and Minority made self-critical presentations at the outset. The RB also made a self-critical presentation. This introduced a conducive atmosphere in the hall.

The review was conducted by making a division of the topics. Rural movement, SC functioning, CC Role and Trends were chosen for the agenda. In some of these topics, specific points were identified. For instance, in the rural movement SC concentration and adoption of mass line were two topics that were identified.

The Conference arrived at a unanimous understanding on the following questions: It said, *"The failure of the leadership to concentrate on the rural movement was the principal reason for the setback."* It also

said “the leadership should have provided guidance by basing in the villages.” On the question of adoption of mass line, the Minority moved the following resolution: “*The fundamental reasons for the failure of the rural movement were the lack of concentration by the leadership and the non implementation of the mass line. Of this, the lack of concentration by the leadership was principal.*” There was a tie in the vote. Finally the CC intervened and placed its formulation, which was unanimously agreed by the house. On this question the Conference resolved that: “*There was a shortcoming in the implementation of the mass line. And, that this problem became serious since 1998.*” Under urban work, the Minority moved a resolution. It said: “*Even if one looked at the subjective and the objective situation, there was a shortcoming in adequately understanding and giving necessary importance to organizations propagating Naxalbari politics such as SO, YO and CIO.*” But this was defeated. The Minority planned to move a resolution that “*dogmatism was the principal form of subjectivism in the KN movement and particularly in guiding the rural movement*”. However, it did not place this for a vote since it felt that it needed more discussion and clarity on the matter. These were the major points of contention in the review. They were discussed and resolved either unanimously or on the basis of a vote at the Conference. In addition, there were other resolutions on leadership continuity, bureaucracy, patriarchy and Com Jyothi. These points have been incorporated in the POR prepared by the Drafting Committee.

The Steering Committee presented a unified set of Tasks before the house and it also presented a unified document for approval entitled *Tactics for Completing Preparations to Develop a GZ in the PA*. These proposals were discussed and the Conference finalized them with some amendments.

The Majority withdrew its *Rejoinder* to the Minority POR. It also withdrew its stand on the existence of an undeclared alliance. The Majority and the Minority reserved their stand on opportunism. The Minority also recognized the existence of a right deviation in certain aspects from the party line and factionalism. This led to a further narrowing down of the differences. Hence the Steering Committee presented a unified draft entitled *Resolution of the Special Conference on the Problems that cropped up in the Party* which identified the existence of a right deviation, subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, and ultra democracy; some of the major points of contention in the debate were settled. The above

resolution analysed the process since after the IX Congress in three periods. It said that the first period lasted from May 2001 to September 2001. The second period commenced in October 2001 and lasted till March 2002. And, the third period commenced from July 2002 till April 2003. (For details see *Resolution of the Special Conference on the Problems that cropped up in the Party*). However, the Conference could not discuss the question of democratic centralism and opportunism. It decided to pass a separate resolution on this matter seeking future education for the party on this.

In addition, the Specon passed resolutions on KN martyrs since the October 2000 Conference, on comrades in jails and on international and domestic issues. (These resolutions accompany this circular)

Role

The success of the Specon may be attributed to the role played by the different committees and comrades.

The CC intervened positively in the process following its meeting held in November 2002. In January this year, it pointed out the shortcomings of the Majority and Minority draft PORs. It played an important role in narrowing the differences in the SC meeting held a few days before the Special Conference after holding separate consultation with the Majority and the Minority. Owing to the crisis in the KN party, the CC played an important role in intervening during the course of discussions and clarifying organizational, political and ideological questions in the Special Conference.

Despite the deep differences between the Majority and the Minority, attempts were made partially from January 2003 and rigorously in April 2003 to take a positive approach towards the other and resolve the differences in an amicable and democratic manner. The Majority and Minority acted with responsibility in the course of the Special Conference. They placed serious efforts in resolving their political differences on the one hand while adopting a mutually positive approach towards the other in the course of the Specon. Despite the persistence of differences, the Steering Committee succeeded in evolving a common methodology for conducting deliberations, in pursuing discussion on the POR point-wise, in placing forward a unified understanding on Tasks and Tactics and

which have been persisting for years. In order to overcome these weaknesses, we have to develop the spirit of protracted people's war in the entire party, PGA, mass organisations and the masses. The entire party has to work seriously to solve this problem. People's war is invincible. People are invincible. Then our party applies the universal truth of MLM and our general line to the concrete conditions in DK, any problem can be resolved. We cannot win ultimate victory in protracted people's war without twists and turns.

How are the classes and class relations? What is the state of our subjective forces? What are the favourable and unfavourable factors in our work in various fronts? What importance should be given to which front in the beginning? To what extent should we concentrate in each front? Where should we begin in order to advance? Such questions must be discussed concretely in all the party committees. The understanding of all the party committees should be developed in this aspect. Concrete decisions should be taken. Appropriate work methods should be worked out. The required literature should be published and distributed. The problems in the various fronts should be concretely examined.

Let us study and apply the strategy and Tactics, Central POR and the Political Resolution documents enriched by the 9th Congress to the concrete conditions in DK.

Let us grasp deeply the line of protracted people's war in the specific conditions in our country.

Let us place faith on the masses and advance firmly. The victories that we achieve in this front through our conscious endeavour will not only strengthen the three magic weapons to advance the revolution to victory but also contribute greatly to advance the people's war. It is only by struggling to transform the unfavourable factors into favourable ones, defeats into victory that a revolutionary party can achieve victory. It is proved repeatedly by the history of the world proletarian revolution.

**With Revolutionary Greetings
Special Zonal Committee
Dandakaranya**

peasantry. Hence the working class party, in its endeavour to prepare the masses for the revolution, should concentrate mainly on the peasantry. The peasantry has to be mobilised and consolidated principally around the slogans of "land to the tiller", "democracy (political power) for the people". The communist party should prepare the peasantry for the revolutionary war by inculcating the revolutionary political consciousness of seizing power by overthrowing feudalism, imperialism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and by mobilising the masses and consolidating them. They should be mobilised actively into the revolutionary war. While concentrating principally on the peasantry in the NDR, the party should, at the same time, make serious efforts to organise the other oppressed sections of the people and mobilise them into revolutionary war. In this effort the work in the working class, which is the leading force in our revolution, should be the most important. Students, employees and other sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie should be organised and prepared for people's war. On the whole, in order to prepare the people for people's war the party has to organise them into various class and sectional organisations, mobilise them into anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-state struggles and develop the consciousness to establish people's political power. Broad based and mighty united front should be established with the various sections of the oppressed masses on the basis of the NDR Programme. United Front is the real fortress to protect the revolutionary movement from the fascist suppression campaign carried out by the counter revolutionary ruling classes unitedly. The UF formed on the basis of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the communist party will be powerful and stable.

We cannot imagine people's war without the people's army. Hence, in the revolutionary movement that pursues the line of protracted people's war, the communist party's effort to build and develop the people's army assumes crucial importance. In countries like ours, revolution generally takes the form of armed struggle from the very beginning. Likewise, people's army will be the main form of organisation. Without the support of the people's armed forces, the task of organising the masses and mass struggles cannot be successfully carried out. It is only by forming the PGA and intensifying and extending the guerrilla war, developing it into regular army and regular war, that the party will be able to consolidate

the mass struggles with a higher objective. Only thus the basis for alternative people's political power can be laid, base areas can be established and revolutionary movement can be victoriously advanced.

Com. Mao thus observed: "United front is the united front for carrying armed struggle..."

In order to destroy feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, and to smash the present exploitative state structure, the communist party must make use of two weapons - the armed struggle and the United Front. Both these weapons are mutually related and mutually dependent. The development of one is the precondition for the development of the other. The armed struggle that is oriented towards the seizure of political power cannot develop without the active participation and support of the overwhelming majority of the masses. The revolutionary UF can lead to the victory of the revolution by uniting all the forces against the targets to be overthrown and by isolating the targets. The UF that has that objective of transforming into the organ of the people's political power cannot develop without the people's army and the intensification of the people's war.

In order to successfully complete the NDR, the communist party has to give the utmost priority to the task of forming and strengthening the revolutionary united front. This UF is the UF comprising of four classes - the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Among these, the first three are the motive forces of the NDR, while national bourgeoisie is a vacillating ally.

Worker-peasant alliance is the basis for this revolutionary united front. Rich peasantry and the national bourgeoisie serve as vacillating allies in the UF. The reason is that on the one hand, these classes are oppressed by imperialism and fettered by feudalism. And on the other hand, they themselves exploit the others. Since the immediate aim of the new democratic revolutionary UF is to eliminate the oppression by feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, these classes join the UF notwithstanding their vacillation arising out of their dual nature.

Even today, it is a significant section of these four classes that are under the influence of the big landlord-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois

with such understanding, and implementing the lessons derived from the practice with proletarian determination. Moreover, we are confronting serious problems in developing people's war more solidly.

We have to proceed with firm determination to solve this problem. It is true we are taking up this task at a time when the enemy has begun his all-round offensive against us with new strategic plan; when we had taken up the task of building the guerrilla bases and concentrating our subjective forces as a principal task; when we had drawn up the task of consolidating the party and PGA; when we are facing a severe shortage of able cadres who can undertake work in the working class and various sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. In other words, we are undertaking this task under unfavourable conditions. However, we could also look into favourable factors in the present conditions. The influence of our party and the movement is quite considerable among the working class and petty-bourgeoisie sections in the areas of our struggle and in the surrounding areas. We have contacts and blood relations with those people. Barring a few areas the majority of the people are not consolidated under the ruling class parties and organisations to this day. Deep dissatisfaction is developing among the vast masses due to the anti-people, pro-imperialist economic, political, social policies pursued by the comprador ruling class governments. Our party's ideological and political understanding and the people's war had relatively developed. Hence, these favourable conditions too exist when we are planning to solve the problem of work in other non-peasant sections and classes.

At present, as subjective forces that can take up in this front are weak and, moreover, several shortcomings are continuing in the matter of drawing up a concrete programme for this work and in firmly implementing the decisions taken, the adverse factors seem to be considerably stronger. But if we think deeply, we can understand that though unfavourable conditions are strong, the favourable factors are stronger in contrast. However, we have to work in this front according to plan, with patience, courage and firm determination. If we begin the work by allocating some ACMs and DCMs, more PRs, part timers and sympathisers, draw up appropriate slogans and work methods and review the practice from time to time at all levels, we can certainly achieve good results. Any way it will take a longer time to overcome these weaknesses

area and took some decisions to carry on work in the working class, various sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and other urban masses, there is no significant change in our practice. It is true that the DKSZC should bear the principal responsibility for the weakness persisting for a long time in this respect. But the immediate need to get rid of this weakness rests on the entire party in DK. Carrying on party work in DK means organising all the democratic revolutionary classes, sections and forces. There can be no other meaning to this. Establishing our party leadership over the people here means politically mobilising them and consolidating them. Besides this, it is very important not to confine ourselves to the peasantry but carry on work among other classes and sections of the people in order to :

Improve the class and intellectual composition of our party and strengthen the leadership of working class; strengthen and expand the PGA on the basis of the strong mass base formed due to the active participation of the broad masses in the people's war, form a broad based mighty united front by politically mobilising the democratic classes and bringing them out of influence of the ruling classes; consolidate and expand the new democratic political power that is emerging in an embryonic form; defeating the all-round offensive and "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy by intensifying and extending the guerrilla war; develop our political, organisational, military efforts in some key sectors needed for advancing the people's war; fillup the losses that occur in the revolutionary, and such other diverse needs of people's war. Our work in the sections other than the peasantry should be an inseparable of our entire work and organically linked to the above-mentioned tasks. However deep our mass base among the peasantry may be today, if we confine ourselves to the peasantry, we will face several limitations in the task of building a strong party, people's army and UF that are needed to advance the people's war victoriously. When seen from this strategic outlook, we can understand clearly that the work among these sections and classes cannot be neglected at any cost.

With regard to the new democratic revolutionary line, our understanding is basically correct. However, we are not able to achieve a significant breakthrough in this front or maintain the achievements made due to the shortcomings with regard to drawing up the concrete action plans guided by revolutionary strategic thinking, reviewing the practice

class political parties and the petty-bourgeois organisations. The workers are in various trade unions led by the various ruling class parties and the revisionist parties. The peasantry, youth, students, employees, dalits, women and other oppressed sections too are under the influence of organisations affiliated to above-mentioned parties. These sections and classes must be brought under the leadership of the revolutionary party. Towards this end, the revolutionary party has to take up the demands of these classes and sections. At the same time, the counter-revolutionary opportunist and reformist nature of the leadership of these parties and organisations should be exposed. The political consciousness of these sections and classes should be developed. The illusions, which they may harbour regarding the ruling, class parties, revisionist parties and petty-bourgeois organisations should be dispelled. To achieve this cause, we must concentrate mainly on building the UF from below. We must be vigilant so as not to allow the anti-people forces belonging to ruling class parties from coming into the UF.

In order to successfully implement its revolutionary strategy the communist party must give the required importance to the task of building the strategic revolutionary UF. However, we cannot overlook the fact that quite a significant number of people belonging to the oppressed sections are under the influence of the counter revolutionary ruling class parties, revisionist parties and various petty-bourgeois organisations. Divorce types of tactical UFs have to be formed at various levels with divorce aims and forces in order to bring these masses of oppressed people into protracted people's war and revolutionary UF. Moreover, if the revolutionary movement becomes relatively strong and opportunities for utilising the contradictions among the ruling classes for advancing the people's war become available, we must strive to utilize these as well. The tactical UFs should be built with the objective of contributing to the advance of the protracted people's war.

With regard to the forms of struggle and forms of organization to be taken up, the party has to take decisions basing on people's political consciousness and their organisational strength. Under no circumstances should the leadership take decisions basing on its own subjective wishes.

In the foregoing we have clearly seen the revolutionary political strategy of NDR in India and the military strategy of protracted people's war. Mobilising all the revolutionary motive forces (both armed and

unarmed) under the communist party leadership in order to overthrow the revolutionary targets and thereby achieve victory; extending from isolated areas to vast areas, small pockets to vast regions, establishing base areas in the rural areas where the enemy is relatively weak and then encircle the cities to seize power countrywide - such is the essence of these two strategies.

22 years ago, our party has extended from North Telangana to DK keeping in view the political and military strategies of New Democratic Revolution in India. We entered DK in the form of guerrilla squads and commenced work in the Adivasi peasantry. Gradually, we mobilised them into struggles on economic, political and social issues, developed them politically, and consolidated them into various organisations such as mass organisations, militia units, guerrilla forces, revolutionary people's committees and the party units. In this process, the revolutionary movement extended to vast areas and became strengthened. Moreover, our party has been making changes in the tactics with the aim of transforming the vast DK into base area. Keeping in view the strategic tasks some areas of DK were separated and merged with NT and AOB special zone and Maharashtra.

In the light of strategic aim and the immediate tasks laid out by our party's 9th Congress, we took some major decisions in DK. As part of this, with the aim of transforming DK into base area, we decided our party's principal cause as establishing guerrilla bases by strengthening the PGA, defeating the all round offensive of the enemy through intensification of guerrilla war. We have been striving for this in all earnestness.

Our general understanding regarding the revolutionary strategy and tactical line of NDR in India is correct as explained above basing on our S&T document. However, our revolutionary movement in DK is almost entirely confined to the peasantry. We have limited relations with sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. Significant changes are occurring in the class relations in DK due to changes taking place in the economic, political and social conditions. Due to these changes, the number of students, employees, workers, semi-proletariat, traders and national bourgeoisie is growing. There are also artisans in a few places. Besides, issues of Adivasi rich peasants have also begun to surface. Our special political work among the adivasis on the question of the right of self-determination has not

begun. Our political-organisational work among them is nominal. All these facts show that our work among the various democratic classes to build a UF is very limited. Entering all the democratic classes and sections and bringing them into the revolutionary movement will be a precondition for achieving our aim of advancing the movement to the higher stage.

In the initial stage of our expansion in DK - until the mid-1980s - we had not only worked among the people in several large villages which are presently centres for police stations and camps, but also carried out work among the educated sections with some extent. Repression has pushed us out of these centres. The movement that we had built in semi-forest regions basing on central organisers had also suffered under the repression. Although we had sent some party organisers to some towns adjacent to DK, we could not achieve the desired results due to various reasons. There is not much progress in those towns where we are still working today. We had concretely discussed and decided to work among the masses in the large villages several times in the past in the plenums, conferences and committee meetings in 1993, 95, 96, 97 and 2000. However, we could not achieve the desired results due to lack of clarity in our understanding, lack of concreteness in our plan drawn up for implementation, and due to shortcomings in our practice.

When seen from the strategic perspective, it becomes clear that wherever our party commences work, it should not only select the rural areas and concentrate on the peasantry as the main force but, from the very beginning and in the course of the development of the movement, should make concerted effort to work among the workers, semi-proletariat, students, teachers and other employees, traders, unemployed youth etc., more and more in the villages, surrounding rural areas in the plains and particularly in the working class in the towns. This becomes a necessary precondition if we take into account the principal general characteristics of the revolutionary war in India. Moreover, priorities and the forms of struggle, forms of organisation in the respective fronts should be based on the concrete social, economic and political conditions of the respective regions and changes occurring in them. If we do not work with this understanding from the beginning, or do not overcome the obstacles coming up during our practice, the peasant movement will develop in isolation and face immense hardships.

Although we had a clear objective of transforming DK into base