



**AN
APPEAL
TO THE PEOPLE**

**fight for
the restoration
of civil liberties
in andhra !**

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**

C.P.I. (M-L)

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Fight for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in Andhra

The recent Assembly elections (1983) have seen the defeat of the Congress and the Telugu Desam has come to power in Andhra Pradesh.

We take this opportunity to remind the people of our country, and all the political parties, who claim to be fighting for democracy, about the barbarous fascist repression that the people of Andhra, in certain areas, have been suffering under the Congress rule for the last 14 long years. We remind the people of our country that there are no civil liberties worth the name for us, the communist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh.

Barbarous Repression

The Tribal areas of Khammam and Varangal District have been living under the Disturbed Areas Act, for the last 14 years. Certain parts of Karimnagar district (Old Siricilla and Jagtyala taluqs) have been living under Disturbed Areas Act from 1979.

Everybody knows what this Disturbed Areas Act is. It gives full powers to the Police, to arrest any one, to beat or torture any one, to ban public meetings, to shoot and kill anyone.

Under this Act, Special Police camps are set up in Khammam, Varangal and Karimnagar districts and the worst kind of barbarous police raj rules these areas.

With the support of the Congress govt. the police have resorted to 144 Section to ban public meetings, arrests, false cases, shootings and killings, beatings and tortures in Police lock-ups, destruction of people's properties and even raping of women.

This has been the lot of the Andhra people in tribal areas of Khammam, Varangal, East and West Godavari districts, Nallagonda and Karimnagar districts. Let us remember that some of these barbarous methods of repression take place in other districts also even though there is no Disturbed Areas Act.

Even today, there are dozens of criminal cases against hundreds of persons-- Agricultural labourers, girijans, peasants, workers and students.

Even today, there are still 30 in jails, some convicted and some as under-trials.

Even today, there are many arrest warrants still pending against the communist revolutionaries. About 300 of the leaders and activists of our own Party are forced to work in secret in AP. Half of our own Provincial Committee leadership and whole leadership of our District Committees in Karimnagar, Varangal, Khammam and East

Godavari district is forced to work in secret. Half of our district leadership in Srikakulam district is forced to work in enforced secrecy.

The barbarous nature of the repression of the Congress govt. can be understood by the fact that even today two women comrades of our Party are still kept in jail on false charges.

Comrade Chandramma, was arrested in Srikakulam in 1975, tortured by the Police, murder cases have been foisted on her and sentenced for life. She has been languishing in the jail for the last 7 years. Recently her health has been completely shattered and frequently falling unconscious. Last year we made representation to the govt. for her release at least on parole for health reasons. Venkataram, the then Chief Minister declared on the floor of the Assembly that comrade Chandramma would be released on parole. But to this day even this open promise of the Chief Minister had not yet been fulfilled. The govt. is acting with a vengeance against her, simply because she happens to be the wife of comrade Paila Vasudev Rao, the Secretary of our Provincial Committee in Andhra and a member of Central Committee.

Look at another case. Comrade Nirmala, a member of our Provincial Committee in AP had been arrested in 1982 May, falsely charged with cases of murder to conspiracy. She happens to be the wife of comrade Chandra Pulla Reddy, the General Secretary of our Party.

Similarly many women activists are forced to work in secret with arrest

warrants still pending against them. The atrocities of the Congress govt. and the police during the period of Emergency in 1975-76 was brought to the knowledge of the Public, in the Special enquiry by a Special Judge, Bhargava Commission, in 1979, particularly the illegal killings in the name of false encounters. To the shame of the Congress govt. these illegal killings, in the name of false encounters have been enacted by the Congress govt. in Andhra even after 1980, in Karimnagar, Nallagonda and Varangal districts and in these encounters many persons have been wilfully killed by the Police.

This barbarous repression in Andhra Pradesh has been going on for the last 14 years. Even in the recent Assembly elections in Andhra, the Congress ministry has continued it, particularly in Karimnagar and Varangal districts. In these areas, some of our public meetings have not been permitted and where held, there are some incidents where the people attending these meetings have been lathi-charged. Our election offices have been raided. Even those who were wall-postering were arrested and lathi-charged. Our voters have been physically prevented from voting. Dozens of activists have been arrested and false cases foisted. The police threatened the people to shoot if they vote for our Party.

This is the 'democracy' under which our Party has to participate in the elections.

This is the truth in Andhra Pradesh. In areas of Karimnagar, Khammam, Varangal districts, it is the Disturbed Areas Act and Police raj that is in existence.

No public meeting is allowed for communist revolutionaries in Telengana without the permission of the Police.

Dozens of persons are still languishing in jails either as convicted prisoners or as under-trials.

Hundreds of arrest warrants are still pending against the communist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh.

This is the crux of the problem--the restoration of civil liberties. Even the little concessions that the Janata govt. gave in certain states, under the people's pressure, in releasing certain categories of communist revolutionaries in 1978 were not extended to Andhra because of the Congress govt. in power there and this situation has been continuing still and during the recent Andhra Assembly elections.

The root of the trouble

Why this situation continues in AP for the last 14 years? Who is responsible for this?

The Congress govt. says that we - the communist revolutionaries--follow the path of individual terrorism, that we follow the path of annihilation of individuals. This is a blatant lie of the Congress govt.

The root cause is that our Party--the CPI(ML)--and other communist revolutionaries are irreconcilably opposed to the political and economic policies of the govt. which only benefitted the imperialists, the big capitalists and big land-

lords in our country. These economic and political policies of the Congress govt. have made our country abjectively dependent on the imperialist powers, particularly USA and the Soviet Union. These policies have only brought greater miseries to our people.

Our Party is irreconcilably opposed to these economic and political policies of the Congress govt.

Our Party firmly and openly declares that this abject dependence of our country on imperialism should end. We openly declare the exploitation of imperialism, the exploitation of big capitalists and big landlords should be ended, if really the people are to be freed from all exploitation.

We openly declare that only a thorough and complete Agrarian Revolution can end the exploitation of imperialism and the exploitation of big capitalists and big landlords.

We openly declare that this Constitution, framed in the interests of imperialism, big capitalists and big landlords should go lock, stock and barrel.

We openly declare that the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution are never allowed to be enjoyed by the common people of India. They are only a decoration for the Constitution; the moment the people begin to exercise these rights, the govt. suppresses the people ruthlessly.

We openly declare that the present Constitution should be replaced by People's Democracy based on the workers, peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie

led by the working class.

The Congress govt. and all those parties dependent on imperialism, the big capitalists and big landlords are opposed to the message of Agrarian revolution and People's Democracy and hence its barbarous repression against our Party which is a growing force in Andhra.

Not only that. Along with the propagation of the message of Agrarian Revolution and People's Democracy, we have been organising the workers, the peasants, the students in their mass organisations and fighting for their immediate demands and thus making the people realise, through their own experience the necessity of basic changes in the present system through an Agrarian Revolution.

The Congress govt. and the ruling classes--the big capitalists and the big landlords--are opposed to the growing people's struggles and they have been trying to suppress these people's struggles through barbarous repression. The NSA and ESMA, the Disturbed Areas Act are products of this policy of repression resorted to by the Congress govt. and all those who want to maintain the present system of exploitation.

Whether in Naxalbari, or Midnapore or Mushahari or in Srikakulam district of Andhra, the people came forward to fight for their immediate demands for land and

against the suppression and oppression of landlords. The govts. of the day, particularly the Congress govts. sought to suppress the just people's struggles and the people have been forced to fight for basic changes in the society through an Agrarian Revolution.

So it is the policy of the Congress govt. to ruthlessly suppress the just struggles of the people on their immediate issues that is at the root of the causes for the trouble in Andhra. This can be seen from the experience of Godavari valley and Karimnagar districts.

What happened in Godavari valley area

The tribal areas of Khammam, Varangal, West and East Godavari districts, lying on both the sides of Godavari river in Andhra, are called the Godavari Valley area. They are inhabited by lakhs of girijans. Along with the girijans, many common people, who have migrated from the plains to the tribal areas are also living here.

The people living here are the most economically backward, living in uninhabitable small huts. They get very low wages for their work in the forest coups and plantation work. They have small plots of land which do not sustain them even for three months. They are ground down by usury in kind (nagu), illegal extractions of the village patels and Patwaris, the forest officials and the police.

Govt. exploitation

In these areas, during the days of Nizam Nawab and British colonial rule, the govt. had demarcated some land from

the forest and given for cultivation to the girijans. The girijans are prohibited from extending their land for cultivation.

This has been done decades back. But in the mean time, the population in the villages has grown twice or three times, but the people are not allowed to extend their land for cultivation, in the name of preservation of forest wealth. But the very same govt. has allowed the various contractors to carry on illegal felling in connivance with the forest officials themselves. This has become so oppressive for the people that they are forced to struggle for more land for cultivation.

This is the root cause for land-hunger among the girijans living the tribal areas. With no other occupation, with no industries, the girijans are left with no other option except to fight for more land for cultivation or perish.

Here the pertinent question is--is it correct for the govt. to stick to the land laws of the Nizam Nawab and British imperialism and try to suppress the people if they try for more land? Who is responsible for this situation if not the Congress govt.?

To add to this, the govt. has been continuously increasing land revenue and various kinds of cesses. With their small patches of land and entirely dependent on the vagaries of rain, the people have to pay ever-increasing land revenue and cesses. Even the paltry concessions that the Congress govts. now and then give in the way of reduction in land revenue have never reached

the girijans. The Patels and Patwaris never inform the peasants about these concessions.

Not only that. Majority of the peasants do not possess any land revenue books indicating the extent of land under his cultivation and the amount of land revenue he has to pay. The Patels collect any amount from the ignorant peasants.

If the peasants agitate against this system, who is responsible for this, if not the Congress govt.?

The govt. has now appointed some girijan youth as Patwaris in some villages and using them to commit violence against the girijans. Now the govt. is taking tamarind trees which have been under the enjoyment of the girijans for a very long time. It is now imposing taxes on them. The govt. is now extending the demarcating line and converting the girijan lands into forest areas. It is now converting girijan lands into plantation. In some places the govt. is converting the girijan lands into gardens and depriving them of their cultivated lands and converting them into agricultural labourers. While crying loud about Girijan Welfare, the govt. is even preventing Podu cultivation in the forest of East and West Godavari and Srikakulam, which has been in vogue for long time.

Exploitation by the Forest officials

The forest officials are the uncrowned monarchs over the lives of the girijans inhabiting these areas.

The girijans have been living in the

forest for centuries. They are born here. They work here and they die here.

It is the girijans who work in the forest coups for petty wages. It is they who cut the wood; it is they who load and unload the lorries. It is they who work in the mines. It is they who work in the plantations. It is they who construct the roads.

But the girijans, the poorest among our people, are prohibited to use the forest produce for their personal use. For instance, the girijans cannot get any wood or grass to build their huts. They cannot get wood even for their agricultural implements. They cannot get any wood to protect their fields from wild animals. They are not allowed to graze their sheep and goats in the forest. The girijans are forced to work freely in the plantations and the money sanctioned for this by the govt. gets into the private pockets of the officials.

For all these things, the girijans are forced to pay illegal money to the forest officials and this money goes into the private pockets of the officials.

This is nothing but forcible extractions of money by the forest officials from the peasants.

Who is democratic--Is it the officials who forcibly collect illegal money from the peasants or the peasants who have begun to assert their rights and refuse to pay this illegal money?

Exploitation by the Contractors

These private contractors, the Birla Mill, the govt. paper mills, the contractors -- all deceive the girijans with low wages. They deceive the girijans in weighing and measuring. They deceive the workers in accounting, and in many ways in connivance with forest officials and stubbornly for higher wages for every kind of work in the forest in every season.

Who are democratic--the contractors and the Birla Paper Mill and the govt paper mills who deceive the workers with low wages with false accounts or the girijans who are fighting for better wages?

Exploitation by the landlords

These landlords, who have migrated from the plains to the forest areas exploit the girijans in various ways.

Long ago, they purchased the lands from the girijans even at the rate of Rs.50/- or 100/- per acre. Some times, they give loans to the poor peasants at exorbitant rates of interest and have snatched the lands of the girijans in lieu of these loans. Sometimes, they have used goondaism to forcibly occupy the lands of the helpless girijans.

Thus the landlords have converted the peasant girijans into wage earners and farm servants and exploit them in the most inhuman way with low wages, vetti, usury in kind etc. They are in connivance with the forest officials and the police to keep the girijans suppressed.

Because of the intensive agitation and struggles of the girijans the Congress govt. has passed a new Act saying that the girijan lands must belong to the girijans. But the revenue officials utilise this act to rouse girijans against the poor and middle peasants from the plains. But they never utilise this act to touch the lands of the landlords, which should naturally belong to the girijans.

Now who is democratic--Is it the landlords in illegal and forcible occupation of the lands of the girijans, or the girijans who are fighting for the reoccupation of these lands? Is it the landlords and money-lenders who fleece the girijans or the girijans who are fighting against these abnormal rates of interest which are far above the rates of interest fixed by the govt. itself? Is it the landlords who refuse to implement the Minimum Wages Act accepted by the govt. or the girijans who are fighting for increased wages?

Exploitation, suppression and oppression by the Patels and Patwaris

Each Patel and Patwari in the girijan areas is given the jurisdiction of 10-20 hamlets.

These Patels and Patwaris do not give any record books showing the extent of the land under the cultivation of each peasant and the amount of revenue he has to pay. They collect land revenue according to their whimses and fancies. Even when the peasant pays his land revenue, no receipt is given and there are incidents when the peasant is forced to pay the same tax a second time.

There are incidents to show where the peasant, who was paying about Rs.100 as land revenue, on agitation, got his land revenue reduced to even Rs.30/- by the Patwari himself. Such illegal collection of land revenue is quite common in the tribal areas.

These Patils and Patwaris take bribes from the peasants in the name of settling disputes between peasants, even between brothers, between father and son, or between wife and husband.

During the harvest season, the peasants have to give a part of their produce to these patels and Patwaris to satisfy them. They could collect these illegal extractions in connivance with the police.

Thus one could see the govt., the forest officials, the contractors, the landlords, the Patels and Patwaris are the elements who fleece the girijans through various illegal methods of suppression and oppression.

The struggle of the girijans is in essence a struggle for land, for cultivation, for higher wages for all types of work in the forests for free use of forest produce for their individual use, against vetti by the landlords and the forest officials, against usury, against illegal extractions by the forest officials, the Patels and Patwaris and for the return of the lands under the illegal occupation of landlords.

The barbarous repression of the Congress govt.

In 1968-69, when the girijans through their mass organisations led by

our Party, began to agitate for more land for cultivation, for higher wages, against the illegal extractions by the forest officials and the Patels and Patwaris and against goondaism of the landlords--all these elements could not tolerate the innocent girijans standing up on their own legs for their basic rights. It is these elements who conspired with the Congress govt. about false stories of 'Naxalite violence' and the Congress govt. began mounting repression on the people.

The govt. began setting up Special police camps, throughout Varangal, Karimnagar and Khammam forest areas and began arresting hundreds of activists and sent them to jail with false cases. But they could not stop the growth of the movement. Then the govt. declared Disturbed Areas Act, which gave full powers to the Police to do what they liked to suppress the movements.

With the imposition of the Disturbed Areas Act, the Police began raiding the villages with 10-20 armed police men harassing and threatening them, arresting and torturing the kith and kin of our Party activists and collecting large sums of bribes from the villagers under the threat of repression.

Even then the govt. failed to stem the tide of the girijan movement. The struggle for land, for higher wages, against illegal extractions still further intensified and the movement spread to new areas.

Along with the growth of the girijan movement, the govt. repression also intensified. Number of Police camps increased

and at the height of repression more than 100 Special police camps were set up. The number of armed Police mainly manned by all kinds of Para-military forces increased to 20-50, sometimes to hundred. In addition to the number of police camps, inside the forest area, thousands of para-military forces were concentrated in all the main centres surrounding the forest area and raids on the villages, beating of the villagers increased. With the declaration of Emergency in 1975, till 1977 when the Emergency was withdrawn, the height of barbarity of the Congress govt. and its police knew no bounds.

Intensive combing operations, with hundreds of police at a time, surrounding the small villages with hundreds of police, forcibly gathering the whole village population in one place and mercilessly beating them all--men, women and children--young and old--became common feature. Dozens of villagers were taken to the police camps, specially beaten and tortured and were not given either food or water, for days together. From each village hundreds of rupees as bribes were taken by the police officials.

Our activists and even ordinary peasants from the villages and fields were siezed and out-rightly killed by the police in the name of encounters.

During the last 14 years of the girijan struggle, thousands of peasants have been sent to jails, thousands more have been beaten, hundreds of our activists have been tortured and many persons tortured by the police are permanently disabled, lakhs of rupees, goats and sheep and chicken have

been collected forcibly by the police officials from the peasants. Many women had been molested by the Police.

Finally, apart from thousands of our martyrs in other states, after the Naxalbari struggle, apart from hundreds of martyrs in Srikakulam district, in Godavari valley alone more than hundred of our Party activists and leaders of our Party, including our State leaders - Comrade P. Ramanarasayya, our State Committee Secretary, Rama Chandrayya (Ex-MLC) and Bathula Venkateswara Rao--our State Committee leaders and many of our district leaders were arrested, tortured and killed in the name of false encounters.

People's achievements

In the face of this barbarous police repression by the Congress govt. the girijans through their mass organizations under the leadership of our Party--the CPI(ML)--have achieved notable gains in this struggle.

--The girijans have occupied about 3 lakhs of acres of banjar land from the unreserved and reserved forest areas and are enjoying the produce from them.

--The girijans through strike struggles have been able to increase their wages for all types of forest work every year in all the seasons.

For instance, in 1968-69, the people were given only 4 pies per bundle of hundred tandu leaves. Today they are getting 12 pies per 100 tandu leaves, while the govt. rate is only 7 pies for the same bundle.

Similarly the girijans have been able to increase their wages for cutting wood, bamboo, loading and unloading 3-4 times what it was in 1968-69.

--Wherever the girijan associations are active, the illegal extractions from the forest officials and Patels and Patwaris have almost disappeared or very much reduced.

--Similarly Nagu is very much reduced.

The demands of the girijans are:-

--This is the crux of the problem. The problem in Godavari Valley is the problem of land for the girijans for cultivation, the problem of occupational rights for the girijans who are in occupation and enjoying the produce from these lands for so many years.

--The girijans want a revenue record book notifying the extent of the land under his occupation and the land revenue to be paid by him.

--The girijans demand all land revenue and cesses on dry and wet lands below five acres should be completely abolished. It should be applied to the girijans and poor peasants from the plains but now settled in the forest area.

--The wage rates of the girijans for wood and bamboo cutting, collection of tandu leaves, plantation works, loading and unloading, should be fixed anew taking the present cost of living into consideration and they should increase at least by 1/3 every year.

--All illegal extractions by the forest officials, the Patels and Patwaris should be completely prohibited.

--Each girijan or a poor peasant living in the forest should be entitled to get the necessary material to build his hut and agricultural implements free of cost.

--Private usury should be abolished and co-operatives should give enough loans to the girijans to carry on their agricultural operations.

---The govt. should set up govt. shops in the Centre village to supply foodgrains, cloth, utensils at reduced prices.

--Every village should have a primary school and an hospital to serve the needs of at least 10-20 villages.

These have been the minimum demands of the girijans. The Congress govt. has stubbornly refused to concede these demands. On the other hand, the Congress govt. has tried to ruthlessly suppress the peasants and their mass organisations and our Party --the CPI(ML)--

To cover up this ruthless repression, the Congress govt. has let loose a false propaganda about 'Naxalite violence'. When the struggle began to spread, the govt. has answered it with more police camps, with Disturbed Areas Act and finally with Emergency Rule and barbarous police raj.

It is against this barbarous police repression that the girijans took to the path of resistance and the squads for self-defence are manned mainly by the girijan people.

But the purpose of these squads is not for individual terrorism. They are entirely for self-defence, for mobilising the people for their immediate demands to defend the gains of the movement, to spread the message of Agrarian Revolution and mobilise the people for Agrarian Revolution.

What does the govt. expect the girijans to do when there is no right to form their own mass organisation, when they are not allowed the right of agitation and struggle for democratic demands, when thousands of people are arrested, beaten and tortured, when their women are molested, when their properties are looted and their youth is simply taken from their houses and shot dead in the name of false encounters?

In this situation, there is no other way for the girijans except take to the path of people's resistance. Our Party--the CPI(ML)--in its love for the poorest, in its selfless service to the poorest, has led and is still leading this resistance struggle of the girijans. Our Party is proud in leading this struggle.

It is true that our Party did commit certain 'left' mistakes in the beginning of this resistance struggle. But learning from our mistakes, we corrected them and the struggle has been going on the mass line.

Those, who object to this mass resistance struggle as unconstitutional, have to ask themselves this simple question--forcible occupation of the lands of the girijans by the landlords Constitutional. Is it Constitutional for the

forest officials, Patwaris and Patels to take bribes from the girijans? Is it constitutional for the police to arrest, lathi-charge, and torture thousands of girijans? Is it Constitutional for the Police to simply take people from their houses and kill them in the name of encounters? Is it constitutional to torture and kill hundreds of our activists of our Party and mass organisations?

Look at the demands of the girijans. The right to organisation, the right to struggle for higher wages, for land for cultivation, against bribes by all kinds of bureaucrats, return of lands from the illegal occupation of the landlords--are they not all democratic demands, allowed even by the present constitution, demands which could be implemented without any reference to the Central govt?

It is a shame to our 'civilised' society that even after 35 years of 'independence' under the Congress rule, that that the girijans, who sweat and toil to give the society crores of wealth in the form of timber, bamboo, who sweat and toil to give us coal, iron worth in crores are notable to have two meals a day, no proper hut, no clothing, no schools or hospitals, who continue to remain the most destitute in our society. The moment they begin to agitate for better living conditions, they are suppressed under Disturbed Areas Act, NSA and ESMA in the name of maintaining democracy.

The so-called integrated tribal development schemes and the girijan corporations on which crores of money is being spent, have not even touched the

fringe of the girijan problem. The whole money is being eaten away by the bureaucracy, the contractors, the middle men and the self-seekers. They never reach the girijan people. The truth is that the Congress govt. uses them only to create its 'dalals' among the girijans. They have become show-pieces on the borders of the forest areas.

If one looks deeper into the present situation in Godavari Valley area, one could easily see what is urgently needed is a political approach and a political solution to solve the urgent needs of the people. It cannot be solved by the Disturbed Areas Act, or NSA or ESMA. The path of repression is bound to lead to greater resistance from the girijans.

What is required by the new Telugu Desam govt. in Andhra is a political solution different from the path of repression pursued by the Congress govt.

The Root of the Trouble in Karimnagar District

The same story of Godavari Valley has repeated itself in Karimnagar district.

In Karimnagar district, the landlords are a law by themselves. They control the village panchayats, the Samithis the District Parishad. They are linked with all the ruling classes either in power or in opposition. They are linked with official bureaucracy too. The landlords themselves are the Patels and Patwaris or have their own men in these key posts in the villages.

With the support of the ruling class parties, the landlords in this area are having their own private goonda gangs armed with licensed or unlicensed arms and with the help of these goondas they still implement all types of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, suppression and oppression over the overwhelming majority of the people in the villages.

With the help of the bureaucracy, with the help of the Police, with the help of the ruling class party, the Congress in power, the landlords in this area, are in general resorting to the following methods of suppression and oppression.

--Most of the landlords are maintaining private armed goonda gangs with which they threaten people and all dissidence in their villages is suppressed. All those who refuse to submit to the dictates of the landlords are severely beaten, their properties destroyed, their women molested or simply driven out of the villages and their lands are illegally occupied by the landlords themselves.

--These landlords force the agricultural labourers, the poor peasants and the economically backward communities--the harijans, the washermen, the Kummari, the carpenters etc. to do vetti for the landlord in various ways especially their agricultural operations.

The vetti on the shepherd has become unbearable to them. On every festival day, the shepherds are to give their sheep free of cost to the landlord, the Patels and Patwaris. These shepherds are

to keep their sheep in the fields of these landlords for manure without remuneration, and they could not go to any other field without first doing that service to the landlords. If the shepherds do not obey this, they cannot graze their sheep in the fields. They are simply driven out of the village.

--The landlords simply do not care for the implementation of the Minimum Wages Act. Whenever the agricultural labourers or farm servants raise the demand for higher wages either for the agricultural labourers or farm servants, the landlord goondas are used to suppress them. The police are ready to support the landlords.

--The landlords forcibly occupy all village commune lands, banzar lands or porombokes or fertile tank beds and they do not allow the landless to occupy these lands. If they try to occupy such lands goonda repression is their answer.

--The landlords use Nagu and usurious rates of interest. They give small loans to the peasants, multiply it and ultimately occupy the lands of the poor peasants in lieu of their loans. If the peasants resist this, the landlords' goondas are always ready to suppress the peasants.

--When there are petty quarrels among the peasants, both sides are asked to keep deposit money, sometimes running into hundreds of rupees and even when these quarrels are resolved, this deposit money is swallowed by the landlords. In this way, and in many other ways, the village money is swallowed by the landlords.

The landlords utilise all co-operative loans, brought in the name of the peasants, but actually enjoyed by the landlords themselves. When the time of return of these loans to the society comes, sometimes it is the peasants who have to bear the burden of paying back.

Thus one could see that the people of Karimnagar are fighting for their most elementary rights and for getting rid of the most barbarous feudal and semi-feudal methods of repression of the landlords in this district.

When the CPI(ML) and mass organisations appeared in Karimnagar district, they have to fight for their right to exist in the villages.

Government Repression

It was in 1979, when the peasants started their Ryot-Coolie organisation in his village, Bhagvanta Rao, the notorious landlord (who died recently) gathered his goondas and attacked our office in Vemulavada and tried to kill our Party activists, but the people mobilised themselves and successfully resisted this goonda attack.

In another village, nearby, another landlord, Tella Dora, forcibly kept the wife of his washerman as his keep in his own house, and when the washerman protested, the landlord got this washerman severely beaten and left in an unconscious state outside the village. The people of his own village and the surrounding villages were enraged at this, caught hold of the landlord, paraded him

in the surrounding villages and finally handed him to the Police at Vemulavada for action. But the police instead of taking any action against the landlord, arrested the people and put up false cases against them.

With this, the peasants in the villages of Sirisilla taluq were enraged and spontaneously began building their Ryot-Coolie Sanghams under the Red Flag and began to agitate and struggle for their basic and immediate demands. All their pent-up anger against the atrocities of the landlords burst forth and began fighting against them.

In some villages, it was the struggle against vetti to the landlords. In some it was for higher wages. In some it was for banzar lands. In some it was for reoccupation of the lands under the illegal possession of the landlords. In some it was for the repayment of the bribes the landlords have forcibly collected from the people.

When the peasants struggle began to spread from one village to another, the landlords collected lakhs of rupees, negotiated with the Congress ministry led by Chenna Reddy and got the govt. clamp Disturbed Areas Act both in Sirisilla and Jagtyala taluq.

With this, hundreds of Special Armed Police has been sent to the district to suppress the movement. Many Special Police camps have been set up in key villages for this purpose.

At first, the police gave all their help to the landlords and their goondas

to suppress the movement. With the help of the Police, the landlord goondas began attacking the village activists. They were taken to the landlords' houses, beaten and tortured; their limbs were broken, legs and hands were broken, their properties were destroyed. Their women were molested and large sums of bribes were taken from the peasants to escape themselves from the inhuman torture. Police never did anything to stop this inhuman beating and torture. On the other hand, the police helped the landlords by arresting hundreds of peasants and sent them to jails by foisting false cases. The whole attempt was to terrorise the peasants to submission.

But the peasants refused to submit. They have continued their struggle for democratic reforms in the villages and the movement began to spread to new villages.

With the further growth of the movement, the police has resorted to all the barbarous methods of repression-- 144 Section, arrests, mass beatings, destruction of property of the masses, raping and molesting of women, torturing of the peasant activists and finally shooting and killing.

Along with this inhuman repression, the Police and landlords have organised ordinary dacoits to commit thefts in the villages and these thefts are being carried out under the supervision and support of the police. With the pretext of these thefts, the Police arrest the peasants and the activists of the Ryot-Coolie and other mass organisations. The people of the villages are forced to defend themselves from these thefts.

Such incidents are taking place in many villages. Everybody knows about these organised thefts, with the direct support of the Police taking place in such towns like Jagtyala and Karimnagar.

Let us remember that this inhuman repression of the Congress govt. continued even during the recent Assembly elections.

But this inhuman repression of the Congress govt. has not succeeded. The movement has spread from issue to issue and from one area to another area.

The struggle of the peasants against the landlords is a justified struggle. It is a struggle against the feudal and semi-feudal repression of the landlords. Their struggle in essence is a struggle for democratic rights, accepted by the present constitution itself and which can be implemented by the State govts. themselves, but the Congress ministry has refused to implement them.

The struggle in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar is a people's struggle for their democratic demands. It could be understood from the fact that our Party has won the Assembly seat of Ellendu in Khammam district both in 1978 and 1983. We have also won the Samithi in this area.

It is now for the govt. of Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh to decide which way they want to go in these areas.

Is it to continue the present Disturbed Areas Act, the Special Police camps and continue the policy of the Congress govt. to suppress the people's

movement both in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar district?

OR

Does this govt. of Telugu Desam end the policy of repression of the earlier Congress govt. and adopt a political approach to solve the problem and find a political solution to this long standing problem?

Certain accusations refuted

Whenever we raise the question of restoration of civil liberties in Andhra Pradesh, to cover up its own inhuman repression on the people, the Congress govt. always accuses us with the charge of individual terrorism and that we practice the path of 'annihilation of class enemies'.

We refute this charge. It is true that in the wake of the Naxalbari struggle in 1968, some elements in the Party did take to the path of individual terrorism and the path of annihilation.

It is equally true to say that, with experience, the overwhelming majority of the communist revolutionaries and their organisations have condemned this path of annihilation and that they have abandoned this path and are pursuing the path of mass line.

It is also equally true to say that our Party from 1970 had condemned this individual terrorism as a tactical struggle and had been following the path of mass line. Our Party right from 1978, had abandoned the boycott of elections and since then we are participating in

all elections to propagate its political line among the people, inspite of the Disturbed Areas Act in Andhra.

It is always the ruling classes and their parties in power that start violence against the people when they fight for democratic rights. It is the people that are forced to resist this inhuman repression of the ruling classes, take up arms, overthrow the existing regimes and systems based on ruthless violence on the people and establish new societies.

This is the historic truth in all countries and in all ages. India is no exception to this historic truth.

OUR POLITICAL AIMS

Our Political line is too clear for any one to misunderstand. We want the exploitation of our country by all imperialisms, particularly the exploitation and domination of our country by the two Super powers to be ended. We want the exploitation of our country by the big capitalists and the big landlords to be ended completely.

We want the unity of India, Socialist China, Pakistan and Bangla Desh and all other countries of South Asia to defeat the war schemes of the two Super powers--USA and the Soviet Union--and preserve the peace of Asia and the world. We firmly believe that only Agrarian Revolution can end the exploitation of imperialism, the exploitation of big capitalists and big landlords and replace the present Constitution with a People's Democratic government

based on the support of the workers, peasants, middle classes and the National bourgeoisie led by the workers.

Whatever be the difficulties, whatever be the sacrifices, our Party will continue its struggle for Agrarian Revolution in our country.

The truth behind all the false accusations against us lies the fact that the Congress govt. does not want to make any basic changes in the present system of exploitation. The Congress govt. is opposed to Agrarian Revolution to change the present system and therefore opposed to the people's struggle in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar district for democratic demands. Hence the barbarous police repression in these areas.

It is this inhuman repression of the Congress govt. that has led to the resistance of the masses in these areas. Wherever there is repression, there is bound to be resistance. This is an historical truth.

If the govt. of Telugu Desam in Andhra continues to look at the problem in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar district as a mere law and order problem, it is bound to fail in solving it. If it tries to base itself on the false reports of the Police, it is bound to fail.

What is urgently needed is a political approach and political solution to resolve the problem in these two areas. We remind the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Sri N.T. Rama Rao that during the recent Assembly elections, he has repeatedly stated that Naxalites are his friends, brothers,

self-lessly serving the people. It is for him to act upto these election promises.

Restore full civil liberties in
Andhra Pradesh

As a first step to find a political solution to the situation in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar District, the present Andhra govt. should take the following steps to restore the full civil liberties in Andhra:

--Withdraw the Disturbed Areas Act still in operation in Khammam, Warangal Karimnagar and Srikakulam districts.

--Withdraw the Special Police camps set up by the govt. in various districts.

--Withdraw all pending cases against the communist revolutionaries and the activists of other mass organisations.

--Withdraw all arrest warrants still pending against all communist revolutionaries.

--Release all communist revolutionaries from jails, both convicted or under-trials.

--Prosecute those police officers responsible for inhuman torture on the people and wanton killings.

Only such a step will restore full civil liberties in Andhra and lay the basis for a political solution to the situation in Andhra, particularly in Godavari Valley and Karimnagar district.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

We appeal to the whole people of our country, to all the patriots and democrats in our country, to all the mass organisations, to all the political parties in opposition, both national and regional, who declare themselves to be against the authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi and her govt. to come forward in support of the above demands and help in the restoration of civil liberties in Andhra.

The restoration of civil liberties in Andhra should be the demand of the whole democratic movement in our country.

With revolutionary greetings,

Central Committee,
Communist Party of India
(Marxist-Leninist).

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For copies :

1. K. BALAGOPAL.
Gen. Secretary
APCLC
6-8-190
RAAGANNA DARWAZA
HANAMKONDA-506 001.
2. G. NARENDRANATH
LAKSHMI NILAYAM
PLOT No : 81
JUBILEE HILLS
HYDERABAD-500 034.