Kisan Andolan

A collection of articles published on the website of the Communist Ghadar Party of India
Publisher’s Note

It is 11 months since kisans from numerous regions have been protesting at the Delhi borders. Over five hundred kisan unions in the country have united around one set of immediate demands.

The first of their immediate demands is that the three central farm laws enacted in 2020 must be repealed. The second immediate demand of the Kisan Andolan is for legally guaranteed procurement of all agricultural products in all parts of the country at no less than the officially announced Minimum Support Price, which should be set at a remunerative level. The third immediate demand is that the proposed Electricity Amendment Bill, which will lead to a hike in electricity rates that kisans have to pay, be withdrawn.

Right from the time the kisans arrived at the Delhi borders, the central Government has been trying in various ways to discredit their struggle through all kinds of disinformation and outright lies and slanders spread through social media.

Communist Ghadar Party of India (CGPI) has been consistently defending the just struggle of the kisans for their right to secure livelihood, exposing the lies and slanders spread against them by those in power.

This publication is a compilation of articles and statements on the Kisan Andolan published in the website of CGPI (www.cgpi.org) since the kisans arrived at the Delhi borders on 26th November 2020.
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Successful Dilli Chalo Campaign – Lakhs of Peasants Enter Delhi

Hail the Militant Unity of the Peasants!

29 November 2020

27 November 2020 marks a day of victory for the lakhs of peasants of this country. They had set out on a protest march “Dilli Chalo” to unitedly force the central Government to revoke the three anti-peasant Acts and withdraw the proposed Electricity (Amendment) Bill 2020. Through their resolute resistance and determination, the peasants have forced the central Government to allow them to enter the National Capital to voice their demands.

The central Government had resorted to drastic measures – erecting steel blockades, digging trenches, using water cannons and teargas – to stop the advance of the peasants towards Delhi. But, the militant march of the lakhs of peasants converging in on the national capital could not be stalled. The peasants were so incensed over the injustice of the farm legislation that they defied all the police barriers and lathi charge at the Punjab-Haryana border and then at the Haryana-Delhi border. In the face of such united militant resolve, the Government was forced to concede their entry into Delhi.

Ever since the President promulgated the anti-peasant legislation as Ordinances in June this year, peasants all over the country had been voicing their opposition to the legislation and putting forward their demands in defence of their livelihood. Their demands were met with lies and platitudes from the Government. The peasants were told that they are being misled into thinking that these legislations are not good for

Kisans marching towards Punjab-Haryana border
them! Further, the Government has made them come all the way to Delhi from Punjab, more than once for “talks” that were just a pretence. After nearly five months of receiving this lying propaganda and false promises on the Minimum Support Price (MSP), the peasants decided on this course of united action to march into the capital.

This action has been led by the Samyukta Kisan Morcha. The All-India Kisan Sangarsh Coordinating Committee (AIKSCC), Rashtriya Kisan Mahasangh and several constituents of the Bharatiya Kisan Union had convened to establish the Morcha. This Front, which has the support of over 500 peasants’ organisations, made the decision at a meeting on 19th November to march on to Delhi. The call of ‘Dilli Chalo’ was given for 26th-27th November.

The Punjab peasants, representing over 30 farmers’ bodies, started towards Delhi through several routes – Lalru, Shambhu, Patiala-Pehowa, Patran-Khanauri, Moonak-Tohana, Ratia-Fatehabad, and Talwandi-Sirs. Hundreds of farmers from western Uttar Pradesh also began moving towards Delhi from Greater Noida to join the protest on 26th November. The Bharatiya Kisan Union had given the call to peasants from Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Baghpat and other areas, to come together for the ‘Dilli Chalo’ march. Hundreds of peasants from Uttarakhand had gathered in UP and were blocking a main highway. Along the way, thousands of people have supported the peasantry in this campaign.

The peasantry pressed forward to enter Delhi right through the day, on 26th-27th November. They braved water cannons in the cold and tear gas shelling, barricades of barbed wire, trucks and bulldozers and even shipping containers. Clashes broke out at multiple places between the protestors and the police. The tens of thousands of peasants kept advancing to clash with a sea of police personnel who tried keeping them at bay. Drones circled the air and plumes of smoke from tear gas shells could be seen from far.

On the morning of 27th November, the representatives of the Samyukta Kisan Morcha sent a letter to the Prime Minister making the following demands:

- Ensure that the farmers have a free and safe passage into Delhi without

Kisans facing water cannon at Shambhu border
creating a situation where any untoward incident is justified later on, as having been necessitated, which will cause a completely avoidable break away from the very peaceful manner that we have adopted so far;

- Allot us a space like Ramlila Maidan where we can gather and also hold talks with the Government.

- Call the all-India/regional platforms of the farmers for sincere discussions with senior ministers of your cabinet on our demands to repeal the 3 Farm Acts and the Electricity (Amendment) Bill 2020.

Finally, after two days of fierce clashes of the peasants with the police, the Government conceded to the peasants’ demands to be allowed entry into Delhi. However, it directed them to the Nirankari ground in Burari, located in an obscure part of North Delhi. Even now, when lakhs of peasants have walked miles through life threatening obstacles and more contingents of peasants are still marching towards Delhi, the Government is holding out on the talks with the protesting farmers’ organisations till 3rd December on the condition that they “behave themselves” at the Burari ground!

The peasants have come from various states of the country, cutting across all religions and political parties. They are united in their resolve to oppose the gross injustice that is being done to them as a result of these Bills. This is the main reason for their victory. Despite the many ways in which the bourgeoisie and its political parties have tried to divide them, the peasantry had forged one joint front towards one immediate common aim – to convince the Government to revoke the anti peasant Bills and guarantee Minimum Support Prices on all crops. They have refused to accept being pushed into an obscure corner of the city. Latest media reports indicate that they are resolutely continuing to press for their demand to be allowed to congregate in Ram Lila Maidan, to highlight their demands.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India salutes the unity in action and militant spirit of the peasants.
Lakhs of peasants from Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand have been camping in this harsh winter at the borders of the capital city of Delhi since 26th November. They are demanding their right to guaranteed procurement of their crops at Minimum Support Prices (MSPs). They are demanding the repeal of the three recently enacted laws which trample on this right so as to enable Indian and foreign capitalist companies to establish their domination over agricultural markets. They are demanding the withdrawal of the Electricity Amendment Bill which threatens to further increase their cost of production. These demands have the wholehearted support of peasant organisations in all parts of the country. The Central Government is adamantly refusing to concede these demands. In the face of this, peasant organisations have called for a Bharat bandh on December 8 in support of their agitation.

The peasants have reached the Delhi border in spite of the use of police powers by the Central Government to stop them. They have braved water cannons, tear gas shells and lathi charge. Their united and courageous struggle has compelled the authorities to hold talks with them. At the same time, the ruling party is spreading all kinds of lies to discredit the struggle of the peasants.

For thousands of years, the people of the Indian subcontinent have upheld the principle that the State is duty bound to ensure sukh (prosperity) and raksha (protection) to all members of society. Rulers have been judged by their performance in fulfilling this duty. Of particular importance has been the duty of the State to ensure secure livelihood to those who till the land to feed the population as well as provide soldiers for defence against external aggressors.

The principles of Indian political theory were trampled in the
mud by the British colonialists, who established a State which considered the enrichment of British capitalists as its duty. The present day rulers of India are continuing on this path, considering the enrichment of the Tatas, Birlas, Ambanis, Adanis and other capitalist monopoly houses as their duty. They refer to the peasants as “annadata” (providers of food). They like to repeat the slogan, “Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan”. However, when peasants demand their rights, they are treated as if they are enemies of the State, to be suppressed by brute force. They are prevented from even coming into the capital of their own country.

The struggle today is of those who uphold the raj dharma, which we have inherited from our past, that it is the duty of the State to ensure sukh and raksha for all. It is a struggle against the adharmis who are running the State to fulfill the greed of only the capitalist exploiters at the expense of the sukh and raksha of our people.

Those who cultivate the crops cannot continue to do so unless they receive a price that covers their cost of production and leaves a surplus adequate to take care of the consumption needs of their families. It is therefore the obligation of society and the right of peasants to receive a remunerative price for their products. It is the duty of the State to ensure that this right is fulfilled.

Peasants are facing an acute crisis due to the failure of the State to fulfill its duty. Every year, one section of peasants becomes poorer because of crop failure caused by low rainfall, drought, floods or pest attacks. Another section becomes poorer in spite of enjoying a bumper crop because their selling price has fallen below their cost of production. While peasants’ incomes decline, the debt they owe to banks and money lenders keep rising. The combination of falling incomes and rising indebtedness drives thousands of peasants to suicide every year.

Peasants all over the country have been demanding that the State must ensure that their crops are purchased at a price that is at least 50% above their full cost of production, as recommended by the Swaminathan Commission. That commission was appointed by the Manmohan Singh Government in 2004. But its
recommendations have not been implemented, either by that Government or by the present Modi Government.

The present Government keeps declaring that the Swaminathan Commission’s recommendation has been implemented just because MSPs are announced every season for wheat, rice, arhar, mustard, moong, masoor, groundnut and other food crops. However, these MSPs have not been calculated taking the full cost of production. Moreover, MSP has no meaning unless the Government organises to purchase the major part of all crops at the announced MSPs.

In the year 2019-20, the Food Corporation of India purchased 43% of rice and 36% of wheat produced in the country. The National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation, another central Government agency, purchased 18% of chana and arhar, only 9% of mustard, 7% of groundnut and less than 6% of moong produced in the country. In the case of many other crops such as ragi, maize and soyabean, there is no Government procurement at all.

The Government claims that the aim of the new laws is to eliminate the role of private middlemen in agricultural trade. The truth is that these laws will replace the small and medium-sized traditional middlemen, the artiyas and wholesale merchants, with giant middlemen in the form of Reliance Retail, Aditya Birla Retail, Tata’s Star India, Adani Wilmar, Big Bazaar, D-Mart, etc.

For many years now, Indian and foreign monopoly companies have been eyeing the massive Indian market for agricultural produce. They have demanded that the Government remove all existing barriers to achieving their domination over this lucrative market. It is to fulfill this demand that the three new laws have been enacted. Capitalists can now buy farm produce from anywhere in the country, at any price and without having to pay any market fees. They can enter into legal contracts with peasants in any region, thereby placing peasants at the mercy of the capitalist trading companies without any protection from the State. The essential commodities Act has been amended so that these trading monopolies can hoard as much as they want of agricultural produce. They can buy cheap and sell at a much higher price.

As long as the purchase of farm produce is in the hands of private traders, they will always buy at the lowest possible price. To ensure remunerative prices for farmers, it is essential for the central and state governments to become the principal purchasers of farm produce, not just wheat and rice but all other agricultural products.
The costs of production of different crops vary from one state to another. It is essential for the Central Government to encourage and assist every state Government to work out the optimal crops to be grown in each region. The Central Government must coordinate and integrate the state plans with the overall plan for the country. It must take responsibility for inter-state trade and transport.

The public procurement system must be linked to an enlarged public distribution system that would ensure the availability of all essential consumption goods at affordable prices for all. Workers’ and peasants’ organisations and people’s committees in the villages and towns must monitor the public system and ensure that there are no leakages caused by private profiteers and corrupt officials.

Expanding public procurement and public distribution of agricultural products is the only way that peasants can be guaranteed a remunerative price. Successive governments headed by the Congress and BJP have refused to move in this direction because it does not suit the interests of the capitalist monopoly houses. One Government after another has been repeating the lie that the solution to the problems of peasants lies expanding the space for private capitalist companies in agricultural trade and storage. This lie has been exposed by the fact that peasants’ misery has increased in Bihar and other states which did away with the APMC Act.

Prime Minister Modi claims that the peasants are being “misled” by the opposition parties and by the artiyas. He is thereby insulting the intelligence of the peasants of our country. Those who feed the country through their labour and sweat know very well what is good for them and what will lead to their further ruination.

The peasant organisations know very well that they must protect their struggle from being manipulated by parties which pretend to support them when they are in the opposition, only to advance their own narrow agenda of replacing the present party in power. When in power, such parties have always worked zealously for the interests of the capitalist monopolies. The peasants have publicly stated that they will not allow such political
parties to hijack their struggle or disrupt their unity.

The peasants are not only demanding their right to secure livelihood but also asserting their right to have a say in decisions that affect their lives. They are asserting that those who cultivate the crops cannot be excluded from the process of making decisions on agricultural trade.

Right from the time the Government issued three ordinances on agricultural trade in June, it has faced united opposition by hundreds of peasant organisations all over the country. In spite of this, it pushed these laws through Parliament, without even a pretense of consulting peasant organisations. Now, when lakhs of peasants have come to the borders of Delhi from the surrounding states, the Central Government has been forced to agree to discuss with the representatives of the peasants. However, it is adamantly refusing to repeal these laws, despite the fact that over 500 peasant organisations have come together to demand this. It is trying various tricks to sow divisions amongst the peasants. It has proposed the setting up of an “expert committee” to look into the laws and suggest some minor amendments, provided the peasants withdraw their struggle. The peasant organisations have refused to fall for the traps being set by the Government.

The manner in which the Government ramrodded these laws through parliament, overruling the objections of crores of peasants, its use of force to suppress their opposition and its arrogant refusal to withdraw these laws reveals that the existing system of democracy is actually a dictatorship of an exploiting minority, headed by the monopoly houses. Elections in this system legitimize this dictatorship. Decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of a ruling clique committed to fulfill capitalist greed. The political process is designed to place executive and legislative power in the hands of parties committed to guarantee maximum profits for the monopoly capitalists.

The ruling capitalist class and its parties get away with the most monstrous crimes including the repeated unleashing of communal violence. Those who protest against injustice and demand their rights are branded as anti-national elements, as Khalistani separatists, Islamic terrorists or Maoists. Lies are spread to discredit the people’s just struggles and to justify the use of force to suppress them.

The fulfillment of the rights of workers and peasants, and of all democratic and human rights, requires a fundamental change in the political and economic system. We who toil and produce the food and all the wealth of the country must become the
rulers and decision-makers. With political power in our hands, we must reorient the economy to fulfill the people’s needs instead of fulfilling capitalist greed.

Violation and suppression of peasants’ rights for the sake of fulfilling capitalist greed is the height of adharma. It is against all principles which Indian people have held dear for thousands of years. It is our right and our duty to rebel against this adharma.

The brave soldiers, peasants and patriots who rose up in revolt against the hated Company Raj in 1857 declared: *Hum hai iske malik, Hindustan humara!* (India belongs to us, We are her master!) Today, when the present day rulers are attempting to consolidate a modern form of Company Raj, it is essential for us workers, peasants, women and youth to prepare to take political power in our hands.

We are already witnessing the trend of growing unity among the people against the ruling class. Workers have repeatedly come onto the streets to express their solidarity with the fighting peasants. The All-India Motor Transport Congress, the organisation of truckers, transporters and passenger vehicle operators, has called for a strike from 8th December if the Central Government does not repeal the three anti-peasant laws. Youth, students and women have come out in support of the peasants. So have thousands of Indians residing in various foreign countries.

The need of the hour is to build and further strengthen the unity of workers, peasants and all other toiling and oppressed people against the rule of the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses. We must be vigilant against all the nefarious attempts of the ruling class and its political parties to divide us.

Communist Ghadar Party of India stands shoulder to shoulder with the peasants in their struggle to force the Central Government to take back this blatant attack on their rights. We must wage this struggle with the aim of dislodging the capitalist class from power and establishing workers’ and peasants’ rule. This is the path to our victory in this *Dharam Yuddh*!

*Workers, Peasants, Women and Youth, We constitute India, We are her Master!*
On 7th December, senior BJP leader and Union Minister for Law and Justice, Ravi Shankar Prasad, criticised the Congress and other opposition parties which had declared their supporting to the Bharat Bandh called by peasant organisations on 8th December. He accused these parties of “double standards”.

Citing the Congress Party’s manifesto for the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, Ravi Shankar Prasad noted that it had promised to repeal the Agricultural Products Marketing Committee (APMC) Act. He pointed out that Nationalist Congress Party leader Sharad Pawar, the Union Agriculture Minister in the UPA Government headed by Manmohan Singh, had warned all state governments that the Centre will provide them financial assistance only if they implemented three specific reforms in their respective APMC Acts to liberalise agricultural trade.

It is indeed a fact that the agenda of agricultural trade liberalisation, which is being opposed by peasants all over the country, was actively pursued by the Congress-led UPA Government. That Government formulated the Model APMC Rules in 2007 to implement the Model APMC Amendment Act of 2003. It offered credit linked investment subsidy to state governments, provided they amend their laws to (i) permit private players to set up markets; (ii) permit private players to purchase crops directly from peasants; and

Kisan dharna at Bahadurgarh border of Delhi
(iii) strengthen the legal framework for contract farming.

Although agriculture is a state subject under the Constitution, the agenda of agricultural trade liberalisation has been pushed by successive governments at the centre by attaching conditions to central assistance. This approach has been backed by the World Bank, which has been actively promoting the liberalisation agenda for the past several decades. The APMC Act was repealed in Bihar in 2006 in the context of a policy-linked lending program of the World Bank.

Over the past 15 years, many regional political parties in charge of state governments have fallen in line with the agenda of liberalising agricultural marketing and storage, including the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu, Janata Dal (United) in Bihar and Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh.

The accusation of “double standards” levelled by Ravi Shankar Prasad against Congress Party and several other regional parties is valid. However, what he is hiding is that the same accusation applies to the BJP as well.

In support of the agenda of agricultural trade liberalisation, the Congress-led UPA Government claimed that getting rid of middlemen will benefit peasants. This was being opposed by BJP at that time. The late Arun Jaitley, who was the leader of BJP in the Rajya Sabha, stated in November 2012, “The problem is that small middlemen are removed and a super affluent middleman replaces them.”

Agricultural trade liberalisation is the agenda of the monopoly corporate houses. It is based on the fraudulent theory that permitting “free competition” in the market place will benefit both sellers and buyers of goods and services.

The idea of a market free from any state regulation belongs to the 19th century, when capitalism had not yet developed to its monopolistic stage. At that time, commodity markets were characterised by competition among large numbers of sellers and buyers, each of whom had such a tiny market share that he or she could not exert any influence on the prices of commodities. The nature of markets changed in the 20th century, with the rise of giant monopoly companies.
commanding the lion’s share of the market for most commodities.

The market for agricultural products in our country presently has more than 10 crore cultivators selling to less than 2 lakh traders. The recently enacted central laws will further skew the unequal relation between buyers and sellers in agricultural markets. A few giant corporations, including Reliance Retail, Aditya Birla Retail, Tata’s Star India, Adani Wilmar, Big Bazaar and D-Mart, will drive the majority of smaller traders out of business. Far from benefiting both sellers and buyers, it is only these monopoly companies who stand to benefit. They will be able to dictate the prices paid to peasants as well as hoard agricultural products and sell them at high retail prices.

In sum, the agenda of liberalisation of agricultural trade, involving reduction in State support, is for the benefit of monopoly capitalist corporations. It is against the interests of peasants. All political parties of the capitalist class pursue this agenda when they are in charge of Government. When they are out of power, they pretend to oppose this agenda in order to mobilise support and votes from among the rural population. Hence they are all guilty of double standards. They say one thing when in the opposition and do the opposite when in charge of executive power. It is no wonder that peasants do not trust any of these parties.
Peasants all over India are demanding that the farm laws recently passed by Parliament be repealed. Blocked by the police from entering Delhi, they are protesting at the borders of the capital. The protest sites are swelling as thousands more are joining every day. Peasants have come from Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. They are coming from Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and from other places hundreds of kilometres away. Delegations have arrived from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and other states. Workers’ unions and organisations of students, women and youth are all standing in solidarity with the Kisan Andolan in this struggle.

We workers and peasants make up the majority of the population. We create the wealth of the country and we feed and clothe the people. Yet those who claim to represent us in Parliament do not respect our wishes. The Government does not protect our rights.

Till today, leading Government spokesmen keep insulting the Kisan Andolan by declaring that we are being misled by opposition parties. Central ministers keep repeating the lie that anti-national elements and terrorists have hijacked our struggle. They invite us for talks but declare that the pro-corporate laws can only be amended but not repealed.

The Prime Minister has not considered it important to even talk to those of us who are protesting at the Delhi borders. After our protest has completed 20 days, he goes to Gujarat and claims that farmers there are happy with the new laws.
Government’s intent is not clean
(Sarkar ki niyat saaf nahi hai)

Spokesmen of the Central Government are trying to convince the people of our country that the intention behind the new laws is to double farm incomes. If that is their true intention, why did they not conduct any discussion with kisan organisations before enacting these laws?

Ever since they were first introduced as ordinances five months ago, there have been mass peasant protests against these three legislations. The Modi Government ramrodded the three laws through Parliament, against our will and in spite of our protests. This shows that the Government’s intention is not clean. Government spokesmen keep saying that they have our best interests at heart but their actions do not match their words.

Soon after taking charge in 2014, Prime Minister Modi declared that his Government was committed to deliver sab ka vikaas (development for all). His Government abolished the wealth tax and reduced the rate of corporate tax in the 2016-17 Budget, all for the benefit of the capitalist monopoly houses.

Announcing the Note Ban in November 2016, the Prime Minister claimed that its aim was to reduce inequality in income and wealth, and to fight against corruption. However, inequality in income and wealth has increased and corruption is as widespread as before.

According to a recent study published by Oxfam, the total wealth of 63 Indian billionaires rose to 25 lakh crores of rupees in 2018-19, higher than the total expenditure of the Government of India that year. The richest 1 percent of the population owned almost 75 percent of the total wealth of India at the end of 2019. The poorest 5 percent of the population is estimated to have become poorer by 4.7 percent between 2014 and 2019.

In the current year 2020, while workers and peasants have faced job losses, wage cuts and declining incomes following the lockdown, the super-rich have continued to expand their wealth. While total national income has fallen by 25 percent, the billionaires have increased their wealth by 35 percent. The wealth owned by Mukesh Ambani, chairman of the Reliance Group, has jumped from about Rs. 300,000 crore in March to more than Rs. 600,000 crore in September this year.

Narendra Modi is not the first prime minister whose deeds have not matched his words. Manmohan Singh promised capitalist reforms with a human face. However, the period 2004-14 witnessed the most rapid global expansion of the Tatas, Reliance, Birlas and other
monopoly corporate houses. It was also a period when Indian and foreign monopoly companies stepped up their penetration of agricultural markets, leading to a decline in farm incomes, rise in indebtedness and increase in suicides among peasants.

Ever since the liberalisation and privatisation program was initiated in 1991, successive prime ministers have claimed that only loss making public sector units will be privatised. This has turned out to be nothing but lying propaganda to deceive the people.

Several Government-owned companies were deliberately made to suffer losses, to justify their privatisation. Now even the most profitable companies are being offered for sale to private profiteers, including Coal India and Bharat Petroleum. Successive governments declared that Indian Railways will never be privatised. Now the most profitable routes are being handed over to private companies. Several public sector banks have been merged, as a prelude to privatisation.

**Capitalist Growth will not Raise Peasant Incomes**

Liberalisation and privatisation of agricultural trade is the agenda of the monopoly corporate houses. It is based on the fraudulent theory that permitting “free competition” in the market place will benefit both sellers and buyers of goods and services. It is based on the lie that accelerated growth of capitalism will lead to a doubling of agricultural incomes.

The idea of a market free from any state regulation belongs to the 19th century, when capitalism had not yet developed to its monopolistic stage. At that time, commodity markets were characterised by competition among large numbers of sellers and buyers, each of whom had such a tiny market share that he or she could not exert any influence on the prices of commodities. The nature of markets changed in the 20th century, with the rise of giant monopoly companies commanding the lion’s share of the market for most commodities.

The market for agricultural products in our country presently has more than 10 crore cultivators selling to less than 2 lakh traders. The recently enacted central laws will further skew the unequal relation between buyers and sellers in agricultural markets. A few giant corporations, including Walmart, Amazon, Reliance Retail, Aditya Birla Retail, Tata’s Star India, Adani Wilmar, Big Bazaar and D-Mart, will drive the majority of smaller traders out of business.

Far from benefiting both sellers and buyers, liberalisation and privatisation of agricultural trade will only benefit these Indian and foreign monopoly companies. They will be able to dictate the prices paid to peasants as well as
hoard agricultural products and sell them at high retail prices.

**Capitalist Dictatorship in the Name of Democracy**

Our country is called the most populous democracy in the world. However, the toiling majority of people are excluded from the process of making decisions that affect our lives. Our voices are ignored. Those who persist in demanding their rights are branded as anti-national and locked up.

What exists is not rule by the people or for the people. Our interests are not represented in Parliament. We have no control over our elected representatives. The Parliament enacts laws which are completely against our interests.

The capitalist class, headed by about 150 monopoly houses, wields political power. They own and control the principal means of production and exchange. They are the real rulers of the country. They set the agenda for Government policy and legislation. They decide which party to bring to power to implement this agenda. The party in charge of the Government is the management team for the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses.

In the early decades after independence from British rule, Indian business houses did not have enough capital to invest in heavy industry and infrastructure. So they decided to use public funds to create a state sector, in line with the Tata-Birla plan, also called the Bombay Plan. They decided to restrict imports of foreign goods and foreign investments, so as to establish their own domination of the Indian market. They marketed this as being a project to create a socialistic pattern of society.

Having benefited from state sponsored capitalist development, the monopoly capitalists were faced with multiple crises in the 1980s, including a balance of payments crisis. Under pressure from the World Bank and IMF, they decided to open up all markets to foreign capital, grab public assets at cheap prices and expand their share of foreign markets. This program of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, pursued since 1991, is aimed at establishing the domination of the monopoly houses over all spheres, in collaboration and competition with foreign capitalists. An important component of this program has been to eliminate state protection for agriculture and open up the massive Indian agricultural market for domination and plunder by the biggest monopoly corporations of the world.

All political parties of the capitalist class have been pursuing this agenda of the monopoly capitalists when they are in charge of Government.
When they are out of power, they pretend to oppose this program in order to mobilise support and votes from among workers and peasants. They say one thing when in the opposition and do the opposite when in charge of executive power.

Our struggle for the repeal of the anti-kisan laws is at the same time a struggle against the existing dictatorship of the capitalist class. It is a struggle to assert our right to set the agenda for the country. It is a struggle for the empowerment of the toiling majority of people. We who produce the wealth of India must become her master. It is with this aim of establishing workers’ and peasants’ rule that we must escalate the struggle for our right to secure livelihood.

**Dharm Yudh**

Leaders of BJP pretend to be upholders of Indian values. They blame Congress Party for having embraced western values. However, liberalisation, privatisation and the ideas of “minimum Government” and “leaving everything to market forces” are all alien and antithetical to Indian values. They are in violation of the basic principles of *Raj Dharm*.

For thousands of years, the people of this subcontinent have upheld the principle that the State is duty bound to ensure *sukh* (prosperity) and *raksha* (protection) to all members of society. This was considered to be the *dharm* of the *raja*. A *raja* who does not protect but oppresses the *praja* was deemed to be guilty of *adharm*. It was considered the right as well as duty of the people to wage a *dharm yudh*, a war for justice, to put an end to such an unjust state of affairs.

We, the working people of this country, have risen up in struggle today against a State that is refusing to fulfil its duty. Our struggle is against the *adharm* of this State which is committed to guarantee maximum profits for a few billionaires at the expense of our *sukh* and *raksha*.

Let us further strengthen our unity and raise our level of consciousness and organisation! Let us be vigilant against the evil plots of those in power today, to break our unity, to discredit our struggle and unleash armed force to suppress us! Let us stay calm yet firm in our defence of workers’ and peasants’ rights, and of all human rights and democratic rights. The day is not far off when *dharm* will triumph over *adharm*. A new India will then be born where we, the people, will be the *maalik*, an India where *sukh* and *raksha* will be guaranteed for all.

*Mazdoor Kisan Ekta Zindabad!*

*Inquilab Zindabad!*
Government’s Proposals and the Kisan Morcha’s Response

18 December 2020

Blocked by the police from entering Delhi, lakhs of peasants are protesting at the borders of the capital. After having held their ground for 15 consecutive days, peasants finally received Government’s written response to their representatives. The Kisan Morcha has rejected the Government’s proposed amendments to the already enacted pro-corporate laws. All the constituent organisations have unanimously decided to further intensify their struggle, until these laws are repealed.

Below is an explanation of the so-called concessions offered by the Government and the reason why they have been rejected by the Kisan Morcha.

Minimum Support Prices

The Central Government is offering to give a written assurance that the existing system of Minimum Support Prices will not be disturbed. What the peasants want is not a continuation of the status quo. Their demand is further strengthening and expansion of public procurement to cover all crops and all regions.

The existing system of MSPs provides only a limited degree of support, to only a minority of those who till the land. It does not guarantee remunerative prices for all producers of food crops. Procurement by Government agencies at the announced MSP takes place only for wheat and rice. The bulk of agricultural

Protest in Nohar, Rajasthan
19 products are bought by private traders at less than the MSP.

Public procurement is less than 10 percent in the case of mustard, groundnut and moong dal. There is no public procurement at all in the case of maize, ragi, soyabean and many other products. Even wheat and rice are bought by the Food Corporation of India only in a few regions of the country.

As a result of the limited extent of public procurement, the majority of peasants end up selling their produce at extremely low prices. Many of them end up not even recovering their cost of production. An all-India survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India in 2018 found that the price received by peasants was less than their cost of production in the case of 70% of onion growers, 60% of tomato growers, 45% for brinjal and soyabean, and 30% of moong and paddy cultivators.

The Kisan Morcha is not satisfied with the Government’s assurance that the existing MSP system will continue, because this does not fulfil their demand for guaranteed remunerative prices for all farm produce.

**Fees to be levied in Private Markets**

The Central Government has offered to amend the Farmers’ Produce Trade and Commerce Act, to permit state governments to regulate private markets and levy market fees there. They claim that this will ensure a “level playing field” between private markets and the public APMC markets. This claim hides the reality that the main aim of this law is to expand the space for private markets and private procurement outside of the APMC markets.

Life experience in the case of many industrial and service sectors has shown that deliberate neglect and wrecking of public institutions is an integral part of the reform program of privatisation and liberalisation. Air India was deliberately burdened by the central State with high levels of debt and losses, so as to justify its privatisation. Government schools have been neglected and allowed to rot so as to promote the growth of private schools. APMC markets are bound to be wrecked so as to force peasants to sell their produce through private channels.

The Kisan Morcha is not satisfied with the proposal to
permitting market fees and state Government regulation of private markets because it is not going to prevent the replacement of APMC markets by private markets. It is not going to halt the drive of giant retail companies to establish their domination over agricultural trade.

Resolution of Disputes in Farming Contracts

The Farmers Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act is aimed at promoting the growth of contract farming. Giant sized retail companies such as those of the Ambanis, Tatas, Birlas and Adani groups, as well as foreign multinationals such as Walmart and Amazon, want to enter into legal contracts with peasants. Under such contracts, they supply the seeds and other inputs for specific agricultural products, and promise to purchase the final products from which these corporations expect to reap maximum profits.

The above-mentioned Act stipulates that in case there is a dispute between the contracting parties, they will have to approach the District Magistrate, whose decision will be binding. Now the Central Government is offering to introduce an amendment, to permit the kisan to approach the civil courts for settlement of disputes.

Past experience with contract farming shows that when the corporate trading companies no longer find it profitable to deal in a particular commodity, they find some excuse to violate the terms of the contract and not buy what has been produced. In such circumstances, it is common for the company to declare that the product does not meet the agreed quality standard. What will peasants do in such conditions? Approaching the District Magistrate is not going to get what is due to them. Permission to approach the courts is not of any use either.

Peasants cannot afford to keep attending court dates for several years. They cannot afford to spend lakhs of rupees in lawyer’s fees. They cannot hope to win a legal battle against the likes of Ambani, Tata, Birla and Adani. That is why the Kisan Morcha does not consider this so-called concession as any guarantee against exploitation and loot by capitalist corporations.
On 17th December, the Supreme Court of India proposed the setting up of a panel consisting of representatives of the Government and of the Kisan Andolan. The creation of such a mechanism would allegedly lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the Kisan Andolan and the Central Government. The Supreme Court has proposed that the implementation of the three laws be withheld temporarily and the protests be allowed to continue, provided they do not affect “citizens’ right of movement”. The Court was responding to certain petitions seeking removal of the peasants’ protests at the borders of Delhi. Petitions have also been submitted that a central law affecting agriculture, which is a state subject, violates the Constitution. The Court is yet to deal with those petitions.

The agitating peasants have responded by pointing out that such a panel should have been formed before the laws were framed. The Kisan Andolan has stated that any new panel could be considered only after all the three laws are repealed.

The protesting peasants and their organisations are convinced that these three laws have been brought in for the sole purpose of enriching the biggest monopoly corporate houses. While they will initially offer some temporary benefits, once the monopolies have captured the lion’s share of the market, they will squeeze the peasants and completely enslave them, like the East India Company did with our forefathers. The fact that the associations of the biggest monopoly capitalists such as the FICCI and ASSOCHAM have openly defended the Government for passing these laws and called on the Government to not relent, has only enhanced this conviction. Addressing FICCI members, former FICCI president and Vice-Chairman of Bharti Enterprises Rajan Bharti...
Mittal promised all help to the Government in its fight against the peasants with the assurance, “please don’t step back. The industry will back you up.”

The Supreme Court bench headed by Chief Justice S A Bobde, observed that the Government’s “negotiations have not worked apparently. It is bound to fail”. However, it did not ask the Government to explain the reasons why it remains adamant in not heeding the demand of the Kisan Andolan, which has the full support of workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals all over the country.

The Government remains unrelenting in the face of the protests and is unwilling to concede the demand of the peasants. It has invited the peasants’ leaders to ‘talks’, only to suggest minor amendments, clearly showing that it is not at all serious about paying any heed to the concerns of the peasants. On the contrary, the PM and other ministers of the central Government, aided by certain sections of the media, have been carrying on a campaign that the peasants are ‘misinformed’, that they are ‘misled’ by opposition parties, that these laws are actually in the interests of the peasants. At the same time, spokespersons of the Government and certain media houses are doing their utmost to vilify the peasants’ agitation, branding them as “extremists”, “khalistanis” and “anti-nationals”. They are trying to sow disunity among the peasants. But their attempts have failed. The peasants remain united and resolute in their demand that the laws should be repealed.

Noting that several rounds of talks led by central ministers have not led to any resolution of the conflict, the monopoly capitalists who head the ruling class decided that some other mechanism should be established, aimed at pacifying the peasants and making them give up their demand for repealing all three laws.

The proposals of the Supreme Court amount to nothing more than an attempt to enable the Government to buy time, while continuing its diabolical attempts to discredit the peasants, break their unity and wear down their resolve, by forcing them to endure the harsh winter conditions outdoors at the protest sites.

The executive as well as the judiciary are instruments for imposing the dictate of the capitalist monopoly houses, Indian and international. This is the truth which stands revealed by the proposal of the Supreme Court on the anti-peasant laws.
Our country and the whole world is witnessing the spectacle of an irreconcilable conflict between the Government of India and the vast majority of Indian people who belong to peasant and worker families. An unprecedented demonstration of mass protest has been going on at the borders of Delhi since November 26. The immediate demands of the protest include the repeal of the three laws passed by Parliament to assist monopoly capitalist corporations to dominate agriculture. Every day, jathas of peasants, workers, women and youth from different parts of the country are coming to join the protests. Those at the protest sites are determined not to leave until the Government concedes their demands. India has never ever seen such a situation in the past 73 years since independence.

People have come together to organise numerous langars on the basis of their own resources where men and women jointly cook the food and feed everyone. No questions are asked about anyone’s religion, caste or language. People from nearby villages come daily to donate food grains and vegetables from their fields. Doctors and nurses from all across the country have established free medical camps. Students have set up libraries distributing literature. They are also organising classes for children missing school.
While many of the protesters are spending the nights in their trolleys, those who do not have any shelter of their own do not have to worry. In the face of bitter cold and rain, the organisers have erected shelters for all who wish to stay. They are providing blankets to the needy. They have established makeshift toilets and arranged for hot water supply. They are working day and night to ensure cleanliness.

The organisers of the Kisan Andolan are maintaining a high degree of discipline and high level of social responsibility at the protest sites. They have ensured that no agent provocateurs are able to disrupt the peace. Those who have come to express their support are warmly welcomed. An atmosphere of freedom and friendship prevails. Everyone freely expresses his or her opinion, with no fear or pressure of any kind. Anyone who wishes to express views in front of thousands of people can submit his or her name and wait for the turn to speak.

Women and girls feel completely safe at the protest sites. It presents a stark contrast to the terrible insecurity that women and girls face in the rest of the country.

The struggles of workers and peasants in defence of their rights and against pro-capitalist laws have converged into one mighty force. With the Delhi borders as the epicentre, the struggle is spreading to cities and rural districts in all the states of the country. The slogan “Long live Worker-Peasant Unity!” is reverberating throughout the country. Indians living abroad in the US, Canada, Britain, Australia and other countries are organising protest actions in support of the struggle raging in India. They are supporting this struggle in various ways.

The Kisan Andolan is demanding the repeal of the pro-capitalist laws and the enactment of a new law that will guarantee public procurement of all their crops at Minimum Support Prices of at least 50 percent above the cost of production. The fact that the Central Government is refusing to accept these demands is leading to further spread of anger among the people. Thousands more are deciding every day to leave their homes and join the protest camps at the Delhi borders.

After eight rounds of talks, the Central Government continues to arrogantly declare that none of the three laws will be repealed. It is trying to demoralise us workers and peasants. It is hoping that the biting cold and pouring rain will force us to give up our struggle. The agencies of the state are trying their time tested method of trying to divide the Kisan Andolan.
In the face of these attempts, the peasant organisations have resolutely safeguarded their unity and continued the struggle. The martyrdom of over seventy peasants in the course of this struggle has further steeled the resolve of the people. They have declared in one voice: “Till the laws are repealed, the struggle will continue!”

We, the working people, perform our duty by toiling hard to produce the material needs of society. The existing State is not performing its duty of guaranteeing a secure livelihood for those who work. On the contrary, it is committed to fulfil monopoly capitalist greed, at the expense of our livelihood. Laws are enacted to satisfy the greed of a few super-rich families and their foreign collaborators. We are fighting to end this Adharmi State. We are fighting for Dham, that is, to establish a State that would ensure prosperity and protection for all.

Shaheed Bhagat Singh said

“Our struggle will continue as long as a handful of men, be they foreign or native, or both in collaboration with each other, continue to exploit the labour and resources of our people. Nothing shall deter us from this path”.

During the freedom struggle, our patriots and revolutionary martyrs fought to establish worker-peasant rule in place of the colonial rule of the British bourgeoisie. They rejected the idea of adopting the political institutions and laws established by the British. They firmly believed that the entire system has to be uprooted; and the foundation for a new system has to be laid. Based on this belief, they rejected the path advocated by the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, the path of begging the British rulers to create some positions for a few Indians within the colonial state.

After the end of the Second World War, the British rulers were faced with the prospect of a revolution in India. To prevent this, they struck a deal with the traitorous Indian bourgeoisie and transferred political power into its hands in 1947. The aim and aspiration of the workers and peasants for an end to the exploitative system was betrayed.

For the past 73 years, it is the traitorous bourgeois class which has been setting the agenda, in collaboration and competition with foreign capitalists. We workers and peasants, who constitute the vast majority of the population, have had no say in deciding the course of development of our society.

The economy is not orientated to fulfil our needs. Instead, it is orientated to fulfil the insatiable greed of about 150 capitalist monopoly houses, who head the bourgeois class. In addition to what they own as their private
property, the monopoly capitalists also collectively control the state-owned enterprises. They used public funds to create the public sector when they needed it to expand their private empires; now they are pursuing the privatisation of these public assets to reap maximum profits.

The Indian bourgeoisie has preserved and further refined the political system left behind by the British, an imitation of the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy. The vast majority of people are excluded from political power in this system. Their only role is to cast a vote once in five years, to choose among candidates selected mostly by parties of the bourgeoisie. Once elected, the “people’s representatives” are not at all accountable to those who elected them. Decision-making power is concentrated in the Parliament, and within the Parliament it is concentrated in the hands of a Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister.

The bourgeois class in power is relying on the BJP at this time to implement the anti-people agenda of liberalisation and privatisation. Once BJP is discredited, they will use some other party to continue on the same course. Elections in the existing system serve only to legitimise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Whichever party forms the Government implements the agenda which has already been set by the monopoly houses. We must therefore wage our struggle with the aim of not just dislodging BJP but with the aim of dislodging the bourgeoisie from power.

The development of capitalism has already converted crores of people into wage workers, with no means of production of their own. Now, Indian and foreign monopoly companies are greedily eyeing the produce and land of the peasantry. They want to bring the production, trade and storage of agricultural products under their control, so as to reap maximum profits from this huge market.

We, the people of India, need to settle scores with those who have usurped power and are looting all of us. We workers and peasants must organise to ensure that the bourgeoisie headed by the capitalist monopolies are deprived of the power to exploit and plunder our land and labour. We need to lay the foundation for a new system of society – that is, for the Navnirman of our society.
The jhalak of the new India can be seen at the Delhi borders. What is happening at the protest sites is an example of how people can govern themselves, far better than how the capitalist class and its politicians are governing the country today.

Bourgeois economists and other ideologues of imperialism promote the thinking that people must fend for themselves in the capitalist market. They present private profit maximisation, cut-throat competition and extremely selfish behaviour as being “human nature”. Workers and peasants are displaying a superior nature. They are exhibiting the spirit of selfless service, based on cooperation, to fulfil the needs of all.

Workers and peasants are showing that they are fit to rule the country. On the other hand, the bourgeois class has shown itself unfit to rule. The forward motion of Indian society is demanding that the bourgeois class be dislodged from power, and workers’ and peasants’ rule is established in its place.

We workers and peasants must organise to take over the principal means of production and exchange from the hands of the bourgeoisie. We must bring them under social ownership and control, that is, under our collective control.

We need to establish a new State of workers’ and peasants’ rule in place of the existing state of bourgeois rule. We need to replace the present system of democracy with a modern system in which the toiling majority of people exercise political power. We must be able to enact laws that forbid the exploitation and plunder of our resources by any private interest, Indian or foreign. Only then will prosperity and protection be guaranteed for all.

Workers’ and peasants’ organisations have announced their decision to escalate the struggle all over the country in the coming weeks, and to organise a tractor march through the streets of Delhi on 26th January, Republic Day. The Communist Ghadar Party calls upon people all over the country to work vigorously for the success of the struggle.

We, the toiling majority of people, are fighting a Dharm Yudh. It is a struggle against the existing Adharmi Republic which guarantees prosperity only for a tiny minority. It is a struggle to establish a Republic that upholds Dharm and guarantees prosperity and protection for all members of society.

Repeal the three anti-peasant laws!

Long live worker peasant unity!

Onward with the struggle to establish worker-peasant rule!

Inquilab Zindabad!
For the first time in the history of independent India, this year’s Republic Day is expected to witness not only the official parade but also a mass protest march against recently enacted farm laws. The unofficial parade is expected to take the form of a tractor march on the streets of Delhi, with participation of lakhs of women and men from numerous states of the Indian Union.

What began as a protest by peasant unions has grown into a popular revolt of broad masses of people. Workers, peasants, women and youth are revolted by the fact that the Republic of India is acting as the agency of monopoly capitalist corporations, Indian and foreign. Far from serving the public interest, this Republic is a tool of self-serving private interests of a super-rich minority.

Seventy one years after the proclamation of the Indian Republic, workers and peasants are asserting their claims on the fruits of their toil. They are demanding their rightful share of the material wealth they create. The State is refusing to fulfil their rights. It is fulfilling only the exorbitant claims of monopoly capitalists. Parliament has passed four anti-worker Labour Codes and three anti-peasant Farm Laws to fulfil the illegitimate “right” of monopoly capitalist corporations to pocket maximum profits from all possible spheres.

Workers and peasants are angry that they have no say in the enacting of laws which have a major impact on their lives. The preamble to the Constitution proclaims that we, the people, have constituted ourselves into a democratic republic. It gives the impression that we, the people, are the decision-makers. Life experience, however, keeps exposing the fact that we, the toiling majority of people, are completely excluded from the process of decision-making in this so-called democratic republic.
Until 15th August, 1947, sovereignty over the territory of India, the power to decide the fate of the crores of people who live here, resided in the British King or Queen in Parliament. Under the India Independence Act passed by the British Parliament and signed by King George VI, sovereignty over the post-partition India was transferred into the hands of a Constituent Assembly. Executive power was delegated by the British rulers to an interim Congress Party Government headed by Nehru. The Constitution adopted and proclaimed in January 1950 vested sovereignty in the hands of the President in Parliament, who is bound to follow the advice of the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister.

For the past 71 years, we, the people of India, have been at the receiving end of the official propaganda that the existing State represents all classes of people in our country. We have been fed with one false promise after another. We were promised a socialistic pattern of society. We were promised the elimination of poverty. After “garibi hatao” came “growth with equity” and “capitalist reforms with a human face”. The latest of the false promises is “sab ka saath, sab ka vikaas”. All these sweet words have been negated by the reality that the existing State is an organ of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, headed by the monopoly capitalists.

Ours is a class divided society. At one pole is the class of owners of capital, headed by the monopoly houses, who are closely connected to the monopoly capitalists of the world. At the other pole are the exploited majority, headed by the proletariat, the most numerous class which owns nothing except its own labour power. In such a class divided society, the State must necessarily be the organ of rule by one or the other class in contention. The Indian Republic is an organ of rule by the bourgeoisie.

The Indian bourgeoisie has perpetuated the system of rule which the British bourgeoisie created, to enslave and plunder India. When the Second World War came to an end in 1945, the British bourgeoisie was faced with the prospect of a revolution by the workers, peasants and soldiers of India. To prevent this, they struck a deal with the Indian bourgeoisie and transferred political power into its hands in 1947. The Indian bourgeoisie decided to retain the laws and system of rule inherited from the British bourgeoisie. The aim and aspiration of the workers and peasants for an end to the exploitative and oppressive system was betrayed.

One of the results of that historic betrayal is that the Republic of India is based on a political theory which is completely alien to this subcontinent. It is based on centuries-old English political theory, premised on the “divine right of kings”. In Britain, the
highest decision-making power is vested in the king-in-parliament, while in post-colonial India it is vested in the president-in-parliament. Unrestricted right to decide public policy and initiate legislation is enjoyed by the party in charge of executive power, which acts as the management team for the ruling bourgeois class. The debates in parliament and interventions by the judiciary create the impression that there are “checks and balances” against arbitrary decisions and actions of the executive. This is an illusion created to hide the fact that an exploiting minority enjoys unrestricted power in this system.

Once a party of the bourgeoisie captures the majority of Lok Sabha seats as the BJP has done at present, it is able to impose the dictate of the monopoly capitalists without even the drama of parliamentary debate. The Cabinet issues Ordinances as and when it pleases. These Ordinances subsequently become Acts of Parliament. The judiciary intervenes in the interest of maintaining capitalist rule in the name of “public order”.

The enactment of the recent anti-worker and anti-peasant laws by the parliament in the midst of the corona virus crisis and prolonged economic lockdown exposes the fact that there is really no check on the executive. The majority of people have no means of counteracting anti-people actions of the Government.

The “rule of law” which is practised in our country was imported from Britain to serve the exploitation and plunder of our land and labour. It defends the “right” of capitalists to accumulate private property through the exploitation of human labour and robbery of peasants and other small commodity producers in the market.

The concept underlying this rule of law consists of three elements, called peace, order and good Government. Once the capitalist system of exploitation and plunder is accepted, then maintaining peace means to suppress any resistance or revolt among the exploited and oppressed people. Maintaining order means to ensure obedience to the class and caste hierarchies in society. Good Government means that after elections, the ruling and opposition would dutifully exchange places, while always remaining loyal to the capitalist class.

The capitalist class, by its very nature, says one thing while doing the opposite. All the politicians of this class are trained in this two-timing activity. There is thus a glaring gap between the words and deeds of the Indian Republic. It calls itself a democracy which represents the entire people while life experience shows that rights and freedom are enjoyed only by the bourgeoisie. For the toiling majority of people it is a brutal dictatorship.
Tens of thousands of toiling people have been braving the cold and rains at the borders of the capital city for the past two months, demanding their right to secure livelihood. The State has tried every foul trick to disrupt the protest by defaming the protesters as terrorists and anti-national elements. The National Investigative Agency has sent notices to numerous individuals alleging that they are aiding and abetting terrorism.

The tens of thousands of women and youth who participated in the protests against the Citizenship Amendment Bill were also treated as a threat to the Republic. They continue to be arrested under the UAPA. Anyone who is fighting for people’s rights is seen as a potential threat and thrown into jail, branded as an anti-national element of one kind or another. In many parts of the country, such as Kashmir and the north-eastern states, armed forces enjoy the right to even kill people on the streets on mere suspicion and organise encounter killings.

The bourgeoisie rules through the ballot and the bullet. The parliamentary process is used to keep people diverted and divided. The police and other armed forces are used to crush any united resistance to bourgeois rule.

The agenda of the bourgeoisie gets implemented through one or another of its trusted parties. When the anger of people rises, we are told to wait until the next round of elections. However, a change of party at the helm does not lead to any change in the bourgeois class character of the Republic.

For the past 73 years, it is the traitorous bourgeois class which has been setting the agenda, in collaboration and competition with foreign capitalists. The economic system has been oriented to fulfil the insatiable greed of capitalist monopoly houses. We workers and peasants, who constitute the vast majority of the population, have had no say in deciding the course of development. We are denied our legitimate share of the fruits of our toil. We are deprived of our rights, including even the right to protest.

The vast majority of people are excluded from political power in this system. Our only role is to cast a vote once in five years, to choose among candidates selected mostly by parties of the
bourgeoisie. Once elected, the “people’s representatives” are not at all accountable to those who elected them. Decision-making power is concentrated in the Parliament, and within the Parliament it is concentrated in the hands of a Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister.

The tractor march on Republic Day, for which active preparations are going on, is an expression of the determination of kisans to oppose the monopoly capitalist takeover of Indian agriculture and to fight for state guaranteed minimum support prices for all crops. It is an expression of the firm opposition of masses of working people to the present system in which Parliament can make laws aimed at robbing us and trampling our rights in the mud. We, the people, are asserting our right to have a say in decisions that affect us.

We, the hardworking people of India, must organise to deprive the bourgeois class of the power to exploit and plunder our land and labour. We need to replace the existing Republic, which is based on an alien and out-dated political theory, by a new Republic, based on the best of Indian political theory. Sovereignty must be vested in the people and the State must be committed to ensure prosperity and protection for all.

According to Indian political theory, it is the people who create a system of political institutions, whose Dharm is to ensure prosperity and protection for all. The struggle being waged by workers, peasants and other oppressed masses of people at this time is for the realisation of this principle of Raj Dharm in modern conditions. It is a struggle to establish a workers’ and peasants’ Republic that would be duty bound to guarantee prosperity and protection for all.

It is we workers, peasants, women and youth, belonging to different nations, nationalities and tribal peoples, who constitute India. India belongs to all of us. It is in our interest to bring about those changes in the system which will lead to our empowerment and ensure that prosperity and protection are guaranteed for all. Let us organise to usher in the new India, with full confidence that Dharm will certainly triumph over Adharm!
Lakhs of women and men participated in the tractor parades and other forms of mass demonstrations organised by kisan unions in Delhi and all state capitals in the country on Republic Day. People welcomed the parades, threw flowers in the air and expressed their wholehearted support to the struggle of the kisans. However, the mainstream news media controlled by capitalist corporations have only been highlighting images of violent clashes between protesters and the police which occurred in a few places in Delhi. Such visual images are being accompanied by vicious propaganda against the kisan andolan.

A legitimate struggle for the rights of crores of workers and peasants involved in agricultural production is being portrayed as a threat to law and order and to national unity and territorial integrity of India. The few violent incidents that took place are being used to justify the unleashing of state terror against the protesters at the Delhi borders. Arrest warrants have been issued against activists of the kisan andolan. Anyone who owns a tractor is being harassed in Uttar Pradesh and some other parts of the country. Leading representatives of the struggle are facing the threat of being charged with Sedition or under UAPA. Police and BJP workers have come to the protest sites at the Delhi border to create anarchy and spread terror so as to make people go back to their villages.

Tractor rally
It is not any section of the kisans but those in power who are to blame for the anarchy and violence that took place on 26th January. All available facts show that the violence was pre-planned and organised by the Home Ministry and the central intelligence agencies.

Eyewitness accounts confirm that the tractor parade was deliberately misguided by the Delhi Police into deviating from the approved route. The approved routes were blocked by barricades. The police guided several tractors to go along roads leading into the city.

The Central Government has not only the Delhi Police at its command, but also numerous para-military forces as well as the regular army. Thousands of protesters and many tractors could not have reached the Red Fort and ITO areas without the complicity of the Home Ministry.

Organising factions within mass movements so as to split and weaken them, and organising provocations to justify unleashing repression, are part of the time tested tactics of the ruling class. The central intelligence agencies organise to infiltrate the mass movement and incite some angry participants to engage in isolated acts of adventurism. This then provides ammunition for the State to portray the entire struggle as a threat to law and order, thereby justifying the unleashing of state terrorism to crush the people.

For the past two months when tens of thousands of protesters have been camping at the Delhi borders, the Central Government has tried various methods to divide, slander and discredit the struggle. These did not achieve the desired outcome. Sympathy and support for the struggle grew among the people all over the country. So the rulers decided to organise a diabolical plot on Republic Day, so as to turn public opinion against the kisan andolan.

Kisan organisations in all states of the Indian Union held peaceful protest demonstrations and tractor rallies on 26th January in front of Governor’s residences and district headquarters. Crores of people participated in these demonstrations and rallies. This fact is being conveniently ignored by the pro-Government media. The incidents in Delhi are being used to discredit the entire struggle.

The Central Government is adamant in its refusal to consider repealing the three
It continues to claim they are for the benefit of the kisans. The majority of kisans have understood that these laws are in fact for the benefit of monopoly capitalist corporations and will have disastrous consequences for the kisans. They are refusing to compromise on their demand that these laws must be repealed and a new law enacted, which guarantees procurement of all crops at remunerative prices.

The kisans are demanding security of livelihood as a matter of right. They are being asked to fend for themselves. They are being asked to believe that monopoly capitalist domination of agricultural production and trade will make them prosperous.

Justice is on the side of the kisans who are demanding their rights. Security of livelihood is a right that belongs to all kisans, by virtue of being the producers of food for the whole population.

The Central Government is resorting to lying propaganda, arbitrary arrests, harassment and terrorising of masses of protesters all over the country. While hundreds of protesters left the Delhi border for their villages soon after the events of 26th, many are now returning to defend the movement and its leaders from state terrorism.

The situation calls on all organisers of kisans to unite as one and defeat all attempts to incite infighting among them. It calls on all progressive and democratic forces to come to the defence of the kisan andolan and its just demands.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India condemns the diabolical plot of the ruling class, of unleashing anarchy and violence on Republic Day for the sole purpose of discrediting, dividing and suppressing the kisan andolan.

Onward with the struggle for the rights of kisans!

Mazdoor Kisan Ekta Zindabad!
Harassment of Peasants and Workers in the Name of Maintaining Law and Order!

4 February 2021

Following the events of 26th January, those who are actively leading and participating in the two-month long movement of the peasants demanding their right to livelihood are being subject to harassment, without let up, by the Delhi, Haryana and UP Police, and by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). The Union Home Ministry temporarily suspended internet services in Singhu, Ghazipur, Tikri borders and their adjoining areas from 11 pm of 29th January to 11 pm of 31st January to ‘maintain public safety and averting public emergency’ amid the ongoing farmers’ protest. The Yogi Adityanath administration had also cut off power and water supply to hundreds of farmers at the Ghazipur border, who have been camping out on the roads. Subsequently, water supply has been cut off at all the sites.

The Delhi Police has arrested 122 people and named 44 peasant leaders in a FIR filed in connection with the peasants’ tractor parade in the city on Republic Day. They have been charged with attempt to murder, rioting and criminal conspiracy. “Lookout notices” have been issued with respect to those named in the FIR – to prevent them from trying to flee. This is how the state criminalises any protest in the country. People who are fighting for justice are alleged to have been part of “anti-national” conspiracies. Nothing is proved. In fact, all signs are pointing to the hand of the Indian state behind the violence that erupted on 26th January.

More than a 100 peasants who were at the protest sites till 26th January are missing. Their families have no clue of their location or if they are dead or alive. The police are refusing to provide any information as to which police station they were taken to.

According to a senior police official, the “investigation” of those named in the FIR will come within the ambit of the Special Cell’s probe under the Harassment of Peasants and Workers in the Name of Maintaining Law and Order!
UAPA and sections of the IPC relating to sedition for their role in the larger conspiracy. This is a clear threat to the peasants and workers who are in struggle.

The Government is also taking measures to deter the ruling party in the state from extending any support to the peasants. The Delhi Police, which comes directly under the Home Ministry, and the central security/investigation agencies are reported to have raided some villages in Punjab in the name of searching for individuals accused of “indulging in violence.” However, the state Government has not been informed prior to these searches nor has the Punjab Police been taken along during operations in the state. The CBI chose to take men from the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) instead of the local police. This is a high-handed violation of the rules that a raiding or visiting police team has to inform the local police station of the area concerned and take their personnel along.

The Central Bureau of Investigation conducted surprise checks at 20 Food Corporation of India (FCI) godowns in Punjab and Haryana. It claimed that the move is part of preventive vigilance to check corruption at locations where public dealings take place. The action started jointly with vigilance teams of the FCI in the two states. This comes at a time when every household in every village in the state is participating in the struggle.

Not only are the Delhi, Haryana and UP Police harassing the peasants at the borders, the ruling party is actively organising groups of so-called locals to throw stones and attack the peasants and their families at the border. These aggressors are being given full cover by the police. Anyone who defends himself from the attack by picking up a lathi or unsheathes his sword is thrashed and then detained by the police. Media reporters are being picked up for photos of “locals” attacking peasants in front of the police. Two reporters were picked up on 30th January from Singhu border, and detained. While one of them was released at 5 am the next morning, the other reporter has been arrested under several sections of the IPC.

Sedition charges are being filed against those who report anything contrary to the official report. This began with the filing of sedition charges by the UP and MP Police against six senior officials for their role in the larger conspiracy.
journalists and editors for their reporting on the farmers’ tractor parade and the ensuing violence here on Republic Day

Even prior to 26th January, the Delhi and Haryana police had begun threatening workers and peasants with action if they joined the protests. The National Investigation Agency (NIA) summoned at least 40 people, directly or indirectly associated with the ongoing farmers’ agitation, to appear for questioning in connection with a case filed against the banned Sikhs for Justice (SFJ). The SFJ was outlawed by the Indian Government under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) in July 2020. There is no evidence of any link between the SFJ and the on-going protests.

This is another tool of the State. Whenever it wants to suppress a struggle, it raises the spectre of the involvement of some organisation or individuals who are alleged to be “extremists” or “separatists” to threaten and browbeat those who are actively supporting the struggle of the peasants.

The latest reports show that even as thousands of peasants are making their way to the protest sites, the State is doing everything in its power to deter them. Deep trenches have been dug at the borders with Delhi. 14 layers of barricades have been established and spikes have been implanted on the roads to ensure that the peasants do not push aside the barriers with their tractors. Most condemnable is the state’s action in depriving the sites of water, even for the use of toilets and cooking. Electricity and internet have been cut off. The full might of the state is being unleashed to harass people who are active in the on-going struggle of the peasantry and deter those who want to support the struggle.

However, the peasants and all toilers who are standing in support of this movement are not deterred at all. They have not quit their protest sites. Maha Panchayats are being held across the states of UP, Rajasthan and Haryana to declare unanimous support to the movement. The Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) has declared that the unity of all the peasant unions and organisations will not be broken. As of 2nd February, they have formed a panel to provide legal aid to anyone who has been arrested or has gone missing. A number of lawyers have already reached out to the SKM offering free legal aid.

In the weeks prior to the planned tractor march on Republic Day, the Delhi police had picked up many workers who were supporting the peasants in different ways – through supplying essential items, through lending their tractors for conveying people and goods, etc.
The budget speech of the Finance Minister on 1st February was, as always, an exercise in disinformation. This stems from the very nature of a State and Government committed to fulfil capitalist greed while pretending to be concerned about fulfilling people’s needs. It has become a general practice to highlight some figures in the Finance Minister’s speech so as to create a false impression that this or that burning problem agitating the people is being addressed. It serves to hide the reality that the budget is actually a tool of the ruling capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses, to address their narrow interests.

The budget for 2021-22 was delivered at a time when a disinformation campaign had been unleashed to malign the kisan andolan. State terror was being unleashed against those protesting at Delhi’s borders. The political situation was such that the budget speech had to say something about the problems of agriculture, and about public procurement in particular.

The Finance Minister stated that expenditure on wheat procurement by Government agencies had almost doubled, from Rs. 33,870 crore in 2013-14 to Rs. 62,800 crore in 2019-20. She claimed that 35,57,000 kisans had benefited from this operation in 2019-20. She cited figures on rice procurement to show that the amount spent had more than doubled since the BJP
took charge in 2014, and that 1,24,000 kisans had benefited in 2019-20.

An important fact that has been highlighted by the kisan unions is that a significant share of wheat and paddy being procured by Government agencies at APMC mandis is *not being bought from kisans*. They are being bought from private traders, who have bought them from kisans at a price much lower than MSP. Hence the claim that all the money paid by Government agencies are benefiting the kisans is not true.

Procurement by Government agencies takes place only in a few states. The bulk of public procurement is in Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh. There are reasonably well functioning APMC mandis in these regions. However, there are many regions of the country where there is very little or no public procurement. In Bihar there are no APMC mandis at all. In such places, private traders purchase from kisans at prices that are much less than the MSP. Many traders buy in such regions and sell the same at MSP in Punjab or Haryana.

The source is not known for the number of farmers who the Finance Minister claims have benefited from public procurement of wheat and paddy. Even according to these figures, however reliable or unreliable they may be, less than 15% of the 10 crore cultivators in our country are benefiting from the present public procurement system.

Government spokesmen keep repeating that their intention is not to destroy or disturb the existing system of public procurement at MSP. This itself is a form of disinformation, as it creates the impression that the kisan andolan is demanding continuation of the status quo and opposing any kind of change.

What kisans are demanding is *not* the continuation of status quo. They are demanding major strengthening and expansion of public procurement and public distribution, to cover all regions of the country. They want guaranteed procurement at MSP not just for wheat and rice but for dal, oilseeds and all other agricultural produce.

Kisan unions have contested the claim made in the budget speech that MSP has been at least 1.5 times the cost of production in recent years. They have pointed out that the Government is not
calculating the cost of production as recommended by the Swaminathan Commission. They have reiterated that announcing MSP does not benefit kisans unless their crops are actually procured at that price. This is happening only in the case of wheat and paddy growers, and that too only in some parts of the country.

Extending public procurement at state guaranteed remunerative prices to all crops and all regions is in fact the real solution to the problems created by the present system. It is the best way to solve the problem of over-emphasis on rice and wheat, the lack of diversification and its negative impact on soil fertility, depletion of the ground water table and lack of adequate availability and affordability of dal and other essential nutrients to poor working people.

Several unions in Punjab and Haryana have pointed out that kisans will be very willing to diversify into other crops, provided they are assured of public procurement at MSP.

Strengthening and expanding public procurement is not in the interests of the Indian and global monopoly capitalist corporations which are eager to penetrate and dominate agricultural markets. That is why successive governments in New Delhi have refused to accept the demands of the kisans. No matter whether it is Congress Party or BJP in charge, the Central Government remains committed to the program of liberalisation and privatisation. It is committed to promote the expansion of private procurement of agricultural products by monopoly capitalist corporations, Indian and foreign.
The 23rd of March this year marks the 90th anniversary of the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. The British rulers hanged those three young men on this day in 1931 because they fought uncompromisingly for the complete overthrow of the colonial system. They were branded as dangerous terrorists and condemned to death.

The British Raj condemned hundreds of patriotic and revolutionary Indians to life imprisonment or death by hanging. This includes the heroes of 1857, members of Hindustan Ghadar Party and numerous others who had dedicated their lives to the cause of liberating the people of India from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Today, lakhs of workers, peasants, women and youth are out on protest. They are opposing the attacks on their livelihood and rights. They are opposing caste based discrimination and the oppression of women. They are opposing, religious persecution and the oppression of different nationalities within India. They are striving to establish an India free from exploitation, for which our martyrs sacrificed their lives.

The independent and allegedly democratic Indian Republic is treating people in exactly the same barbaric way as the colonial British Raj. Those who demand their rights and protest against injustice are branded as anti-national forces. They are charged with Sedition, thrown into jail and refused bail.

The incidents that took place on Republic Day are being used as the excuse to unleash widespread repression against participants of the Kisan Andolan. Large scale arrests and registration of false cases, huge deployment of security forces at the borders, erection of barbed wire fences and blocking of internet connectivity are among the repressive measures that have been taken. Lakhs of rupees have been announced as reward for
those who help the police to implement the arrest orders. State terrorism is being accompanied by vicious propaganda on TV and social media against those who participated in the tractor rally, portraying them as criminals and terrorists.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India believes that the arrest of participants of the Kisan Andolan is completely unjustified. It is the Central Government which has to answer for the incidents of 26th January. Eyewitness reports and other available facts have shown that it is the Central Government which is to blame and not the protestors.

The demands of the Kisan Andolan, for repeal of pro-capitalist laws and legal guarantee of procurement of all crops at remunerative prices, are entirely just. The Central Government is denying kisans their right to secure livelihood. It is treating their legitimate economic and political demands as a law and order problem.

The situation calls on all organisations of kisans and workers to raise their voices in unison. We must demand the immediate release of all participants of the Kisan Andolan who have been arrested. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of all charges and arrest warrants against participants of the Kisan Andolan in any part of the country. We must demand that the Central Government must repeal the three farm laws and guarantee remunerative prices for all crops.

**Comrades and friends,**

To commemorate the martyrdom of Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his comrades means something if and only if we adhere to the path they cleaved. This is the path of uncompromising opposition to the exploitation and plunder of the land and labour of India. They fought with the aim of completely uprooting the colonial state and establishing a new state, an India that would be free from all forms of exploitation of persons and oppression of nations and peoples.

We must remember the following words of our revolutionary martyrs:

India gained political independence in 1947 but the path to liberation from class exploitation, caste discrimination and all forms of oppression has been blocked. For the past 73 years and more, the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly corporate houses, has been ruling through their trusted political parties.

Indian capitalists have collaborated with foreign capitalists to continue exploiting the labour and resources of independent India. They have maintained and further developed the system of exploitation and plunder left behind by the British. They have preserved the same political system designed to keep
the toiling majority of people out of power. They have preserved the same legal system designed to brand all opposition to exploitation and oppression as a crime.

The capitalist class has groomed political parties such as the Congress and BJP, which take turns in implementing its anti-people agenda. The exploiting minority rules through deception, diversion, communal division and brutal repression of workers, peasants and other oppressed people.

The BJP blames previous Congress-led governments for all the problems, including unemployment, poverty and the declining incomes of kisans. It also blames “Islamic fundamentalists”, Khalistanis and communists for blocking India’s development. It brands all those who fight for their rights as being anti-national. It is unleashing one attack after another on the rights of workers and peasants so as to further enrich Indian and foreign capitalists.

The Congress Party is blaming the BJP and its method of governance for all the problems. It claims that “Hindutva fascism” is the biggest danger we face. It is hiding its own track record of implementing the monopoly capitalist agenda for many decades. It wants people to forget its track record of unleashing state terrorism and organising communal massacres in the name of fighting against “Sikh fundamentalism”.

The source of our problems does not lie in the people and their different beliefs. The source of our problems lies in the rule of an exploiting minority which uses these differences and incites communal conflicts so as to maintain its rule.

The struggle is not between Hindus and Muslims, or between Sikhs and Communists. The real struggle is between the exploiters and the exploited. It is between the capitalist class on one side and the workers, peasants and all the oppressed on the other side. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists as well as non-believers are all part of one struggle of the workers, peasants, women and youth against the oppressive rule of the capitalist class.

The capitalist class, headed by the Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas, Adanis and other monopoly houses, wields supreme decision-making power today. The monopoly houses use this power to keep expanding their wealth and to compete with other monopoly capitalists of the world. They use elections to install a party of their choice in charge of executive power.

Both BJP and Congress Party represent the same class interest. They play complementary roles in the divide and rule strategy of the capitalist class.

Those who claim that the problems of workers and peasants can be addressed by voting BJP
out of power and establishing a Government headed by the Congress Party or some coalition of regional parties are deceiving the people. History is proof that replacing one party of the capitalist class by another through elections does not lead to any change in the nature of political power or the orientation of the economy. The agenda continues to be set by the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses.

Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his comrades rejected the political system established by the British rulers. They based their actions on the conclusion that Indian society cannot be liberated through the institutions and laws established by the British. They recognised the need for a thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation. They fought with the aim of establishing an entirely new state and system, which will ensure prosperity and protection for all.

Those who place their faith in the existing parliamentary democracy and create illusions about finding solutions within this system are not following the path of our revolutionary martyrs. They may sing the praises of Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his comrades on 23rd March every year. They may place garlands on the pictures of these martyrs. But they are insulting their memory by submitting to the system of capitalist democracy.

The real solution lies in putting an end to the rule of the capitalist class and establishing workers’ and peasants’ rule in its place. A clean and complete break must be made with the existing political and economic system. We must lay the foundation of a new state and system in which we, the workers, peasants, women and youth, make the laws and decide Government policies. We need a new Indian Union that respects the national rights of each constituent and the human rights and democratic rights of all members of society. We need to reorient the economic system towards providing secure livelihood and prosperity for all, instead of being oriented to maximise the profits of monopoly capitalists.

On the occasion of Martyr’s Day 2021, the Communist Ghadar Party of India salutes the workers, peasants, women and youth who are fighting courageously in defence of their rights. Let us take up the unfinished task of putting an end to capitalist rule and establishing workers’ and peasants’ rule in our country.

Let us build the new India for which our martyrs fought and laid down their lives!

Workers, peasants, women and youth, We constitute India! We are her master!

Inquilab Zindabad!
Six Months of Continuous Kisan Protest at the Delhi Borders

23 May 2021

The 26th of May 2021, marks the completion of six months of the mass protests at the Delhi borders. The united front of kisan unions has decided to observe it as a Black Day. The Samyukta Kisan Morcha has called on people to wear black badges as a mark of protest against the Government’s refusal to heed the voice of the kisans. Workers’ unions have extended their support to the kisans. It is an occasion to sum up the experience of the past six months, and draw appropriate lessons.

The developments over the past six months have revealed that workers and peasants, who make up the majority of the population, have no say in laws that threaten their livelihood and violate their rights. Decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of a ruling clique committed to fulfil monopoly capitalist greed. The parliament enacts laws aimed at fulfilling the greed of the Tatas, Ambanis, Adanis, Birlas and other capitalist monopoly houses, at the expense of our livelihood and rights. In sum, the existing system of parliamentary democracy is in fact a dictatorship of the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses.

In repeated rounds of discussion, Government spokesmen have refused to repeal the new laws, despite the fact that over 500 kisan organisations have come together to demand this. Why has the Central Government been so adamant? It is because giant monopoly companies, Indian and foreign, are dead opposed to any backtracking on this issue.

Walmart and Amazon, Reliance Retail, Aditya Birla Retail, Tata’s Star India, Adani Wilmar, Big Bazaar and D-Mart have all been actively pursuing the agenda of agricultural trade liberalisation for many years now. They are eager to gain control of the massive Indian market for agricultural produce. They are eager to subordinate
agricultural production and trade to their greed for maximum profits.

For 10 years, the Manmohan Singh Government tried to persuade state governments to implement this agenda, with limited success. Now the majority Government headed by BJP has succeeded in getting a central law enacted, which is binding on all state governments. The monopoly capitalists consider this to be a historic victory which must not be given up at any cost.

Throughout the past six months, the BJP has been carrying on the propaganda that the three laws are actually for the benefit of kisans. They have been repeating that kisans are being misled by the opposition parties, and that their movement has been infiltrated by terrorists. Congress Party has been blaming BJP for acting in the interests of corporate houses, as if it has only now discovered that liberalisation and privatisation are against the interests of peasants. Both of them are trying to deceive the kisans.

When the agenda of agricultural trade liberalisation was being pursued by the UPA Government headed by Manmohan Singh, the BJP was criticising it as being anti-kisan. Now these two parties have changed places. From this it is clear that supreme power is actually wielded by the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses. The party in charge of the Central Government is the central management team of the ruling class. The management team can be changed through the electoral process. Parties change places but what remains unchanged is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

A key question that confronts the kisan andolan is the identification of the main enemy, the main target of the struggle. It is essential to recognise that the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly houses, is the main and common enemy of workers, peasants and all the oppressed. Hence the path forward for the peasants
is to build and strengthen a firm political alliance with the working class, against the monopoly houses and their anti-people agenda.

The main danger facing the struggle of the peasants at his time comes from those parties who are promoting the line that BJP is the main enemy. To identify BJP as the main enemy implies that the path forward is to tail behind the bourgeois parliamentary opposition. It means to once again be deceived and betrayed by the false hope that replacing BJP by Congress Party or some anti-BJP coalition will advance the interests of the peasants.

Both Congress Party and BJP have been trained by the ruling class in keeping the people divided and diverted from their real enemy. We cannot forget how the Congress Party led the campaign in the 1980s to paint the struggles of kisans as “Sikh separatism” and justify unleashing state terrorism in Punjab.

One of the most important lessons of historical experience is that the capitalist path of economic development cannot ensure secure livelihood to those who till the land. Capitalist growth, led and dominated by the monopoly houses, is bound to drive the majority of kisans ever deeper into crisis.

There is only one solution. Central and state governments must take responsibility to create a public procurement system covering all food and non-food crops. They must ensure that peasants are provided with agricultural inputs at affordable rates and all farm output is bought at stable and remunerative prices. They must connect the public procurement system to a public distribution system geared to ensure the availability of all essential consumption goods at affordable prices for all. Workers’ and peasants’ organisations and people’s committees must monitor the public procurement and public distribution systems. They must ensure that there are no leakages caused by private profiteers and corrupt officials.

The only political force that can carry out these measures is an alliance of the workers and peasants. Such a force has to take political power in its hands. Only then can the monopoly capitalist companies and all other private profiteers be driven out of the sphere of agricultural trade. Only then can all working people be guaranteed secure livelihood and steady progress in their living standards.
One year after the promulgation of the anti-kisan ordinances:

Rule by Decree — Preferred Method of the Ruling Class to Push its Anti-People Agenda

11 June 2021

On 5th June 2020, the President of India promulgated the two ordinances passed by the Union Cabinet two days earlier – ‘The Farming Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Ordinance 2020’ and ‘The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Ordinance 2020’. The Union Cabinet had also approved an amendment to the Essential Commodities Act (ECA) on 3rd June.

The Ordinances drew immediate opposition from kisans in Punjab, Haryana and other states of the country. Kisans were opposed to the ordinances because they realised that the ordinances were against their interests and clearly in the interests of the big monopolies. They would pave the way for unbridled domination of agriculture trade by capitalist monopolies. Kisans came out in tens of thousands on the streets and on the rail tracks. They demanded that the Government withdraw the ordinances.

Despite this massive opposition, the Union Government introduced the Bills for legislation in the Parliament as soon as the Monsoon session began in September 2020. The Ordinances became law with the President’s assent on 20th September 2020.

The kisans of our country intensified their opposition and consolidated their ranks. Nearly 500 peasant organisations came
together under one platform demanding the repeal of the three anti kisan laws. They demanded that the Government pass a law and establish mechanisms to ensure that kisans are guaranteed Minimum Support Price for all agricultural produce. They marched to the borders of the capital on November 26, 2020.

One year after the promulgation of the Ordinances, kisans are still camped at the borders of Delhi, at Singhu, Tikri, Bahadurgarh, Ghazipur and Shahjahanpur. They have been through rain, bitterly cold winter days and the blazing hot summer of North India. Hundreds of lives have been lost, but they are committed to continuing the struggle till the laws are repealed by the Government and they are guaranteed by law, a remunerative Minimum Support Price (MSP) for all agricultural produce. On its part, the Government has refused to consider repeal of the farm laws. It has rejected the demand for a legally guaranteed MSP for all agricultural produce.

It is totally condemnable that the Government used the Ordinance route for imposing laws that would affect lakhs of peasants and their livelihood. The ruling class was well aware these laws would face massive opposition from the peasants because they are an outright attack on their livelihood. The monopoly capitalists and their

Government took advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic and the lockdowns imposed on the people to push through these anti kisan ordinances. They thought that once the ordinances were passed, the kisans of our country would have no choice but to accept them. They have been proven wrong.

The Constitution provides for the passing of Ordinances by the Government. Article 123 specifically provides the space for any Government to promulgate an ordinance if neither House of Parliament is in session and “circumstances exist, which render it necessary for him to take immediate action”.

Ordinances enable the ruling class to push through their anti-people agenda using the extra-

In recent years, ordinances have been passed with respect to land acquisition, foreign investments in insurance and such critical matters on which maximum discussion should take place. The Electricity Regulatory Commissions Ordinance was promulgated in 1998, for rationalising electricity tariffs (meaning hiking tariffs) when the Government found it difficult to pass the concerned Bill in the legislature. All these Ordinances have been in the interest of the richest capitalists.
Decision making power is vested in a very small coterie, the cabinet of the ruling party, which does not even need to consult the elected legislators or the people who will be affected by the decision. This is how the will of the monopoly capitalist class is imposed on the whole of society in this parliamentary democracy.

Ordinances have been passed by governments since the 1950s. In recent years, ordinances have been passed with respect to land acquisition, foreign investments in insurance and such critical matters on which maximum discussion should take place. The Electricity Regulatory Commissions Ordinance was promulgated in 1998, for rationalising electricity tariffs (meaning hiking tariffs) when the Government found it difficult to pass the concerned Bill in the legislature. All these Ordinances have been in the interest of the richest capitalists.

This is what happened with the passing of the Farm Bills.

This shows that decision making power does not vest in the people, Decision making power is vested in a very small coterie, the cabinet of the ruling party, which does not even need to consult the elected legislators or the people who will be affected by the decision. This is how the will of the monopoly capitalist class is imposed on the whole of society in this parliamentary democracy.

Through periodic elections, the bourgeoisie puts in place a Government that will ensure that its rapacious greed and global ambitions are fulfilled. Every time an ordinance is promulgated, the opposition cries foul and complains of overturning democracy. However, without exception, every party has used this Constitutional provision to promulgate ordinances in the interest of the ruling class.

As the struggle of workers, peasants, and road masses of people for their rights mounts, successive governments at the center are increasingly resorting to rule by decree. Parliamentary democracy is increasingly being exposed what it is — the brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the masses of people.
On 1st June 2021, the Ministry of Agriculture published a consultation paper called The India Digital Ecosystem of Agriculture (IDEA), laying out a proposed framework for ‘AgriStack’. Agristack is planned to be a compilation of digital databases focussing on India’s farmers and the agricultural sector.

A master database of farmers is under preparation. As the database is developed, it will include farmers’ personal details, profile of land held (maps defining the dimensions and location of land parcels, farm size, land titles, local climatic and geographical conditions), production details (crops grown, production history, input history, quality of output, machinery in possession) and financial details (input costs, average return, credit history).

On 13th April 2021, the Department of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare, entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with a US multinational, Microsoft Corporation. By this MoU, the Government was allowing Microsoft’s local partner CropData to compile and control a master database of farmers. It was mandated to start a pilot project in 100 villages of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh. With this data, Microsoft committed to create a ‘Unified Farmer Service Interface’ through its cloud computing services. Simply put, this is the application of Information Technology (IT) to provide agriculture related information and other services to the cultivators. Towards this, the Government is allowing Microsoft access to all information on peasants.

Thereafter, the ministry signed four other MoUs on 1st June – with Star Agribazaar, Patanjali Organic Research Institute, Amazon Internet Services Database on Farmers : Paving the Way for Intensifying Stranglehold of Capitalist Monopolies over Agriculture

1 August 2021
and Esri India, for different operations under AgriStack. Star Agribazaar is an online trading platform for agricultural commodities; Amazon Internet Services is an Indian subsidiary of Amazon Web Services providing custom software solutions; Patanjali specialises in biological products for agriculture applications and in techniques for organic farming; ESRI specialises in GIS mapping.

In all the MoUs, there are provisions under which the agriculture ministry will enter into a data sharing agreement with these Indian and foreign companies.

The question that is posed is: what will be the impact of these steps taken by the Ministry on the peasants? First issue is that the Government has not even bothered to discuss with peasant organisations, the aims, scope and impact of such a database. Secondly, there is a definite link between Agristack and the recent farm laws.

The farm laws aim to set up an agricultural system based on digitised records and transaction. (Sections 4(2) and 7 of the Farmers’ Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act 2020. Agristack, when implemented, will make peasants extremely vulnerable to predatory moves by the capitalist monopolies, Indian and foreign, that are gearing up to penetrate Indian Agriculture.

Knowing everything on the peasant, about him, his assets and his operations will enable these monopolies to take advantage of the peasant’s vulnerabilities and get him more easily into debt and eventually take over his land. The data giants and e-commerce companies will hold and control data on production, logistics, who needs what, when they need it, who should produce it, who should move it and when it should be moved. For instance, Contract Farming can be planned accurately with this data, Marketing of agri-inputs and procurement of produce can be planned to micro-level. Which farmer is in debt, how much, payment history – with all this data, the companies will be able to decide which farmers are to be targeted.

An under-Secretary in MoA made it clear that, “...if a farmer
wishes to sell off his land, then it would be far easier because their land records would be sorted out on their new unique farmer ID.” The development of an active land market has been a demand of the ruling class for a long time. This initiative is a major step in that direction. It will pave the way for Indian and foreign capitalist monopolies to establish their domination over peasants. They will not only be able to monopolise agricultural trade, and dictate, through contract farming, what peasants produce. They will be able to use the digitised information on peasants available through Agristack to take over their lands.

It is clear that Agristack is an initiative of Indian and foreign capitalist monopolies. Its aim is to make all information on farmers available to these corporations who are waiting to penetrate and take over land and other resources of peasants. The US multinational Microsoft and the Government of India claim that this digitisation and farmer interface is for ‘smart and well-organised agriculture’. The main issue is that this too, like the farm laws, are intended for the benefit of the corporate monopolies and not the peasants.

This move of the Government is in line with the orientation of the Indian economy, which is to enable the monopoly capitalists to maximise their profits by intensifying the exploitation of workers and peasants.

The orientation of the Indian economy needs to be changed from fulfilling monopoly capitalist greed to fulfilling human needs. For this the working class needs to take power into its own hands in alliance with the toiling peasantry. Worker peasant rule is needed to establish social control over all aspects of social production. Such a state will need to provide itself with a comprehensive data set of land, soil, agro-climatic factors like rainfall, etc. It will have an overall plan for agriculture in the country that is driven by the aim of fulfilling the growing needs of society and ensuring security of livelihood of the peasants.

Advocates come out in support of kisan andolan in Meerut, UP
On August 15, the 74th anniversary of India’s independence from colonial rule, kisan organisations organised rallies all over the country. Through these rallies, they expressed their resolve to step up the struggle for the repeal of the three anti Kisan laws and a legal guarantee for MSP for all agricultural produce. Lakhs of people participated enthusiastically in these programs.

In Haryana, the Bharatiya Kisan Union (Chaduni) held a mega “Tiranga yatra” on August 15. Kisans took out dozens of motor cycle and tractor rallies in several districts. In Uttar Pradesh, the BKU (Tikait) organised many tractor rallies.

In Punjab, hundreds of meetings and rallies were organised in different villages on the occasion.

BKU (Ekta) Siddhupur President Shri Jagjit Singh Dallewal addressed a mega kisan rally at Khatkar Kalan. Paying tribute to Shaheed e Azam Bhagat Singh, he explained how the struggle being waged by kisans at the border today is not just about withdrawal of the three anti kisan laws. It is at the same time a struggle against a ruinous course that will result in the enslavement of the people. He pointed out the importance of the struggle to defend the economic backbone of our people, the importance of ensuring education and health care, and the struggle to defend our cultural heritage from degenerate imperialist culture.

The Kisan Mazdoor Sangharsh Committee organized a motorcycle rally from the Attari-Wagha border to Beas, in which thousands of youth enthusiastically participated. They spiritedly sang songs and raised slogans highlighting their demands. An effigy of the corrupt Government was burnt at the Golden Gate on the occasion. Huge rallies were also held at the district headquarters of the Kisan
Mazdoor Sangharsh Committee, including Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and Fazilka.

Sarwan Singh Pandher, general secretary, Kisan Mazdoor Sangharsh Committee, said that “Ghadari Babas and other martyrs had dreamed of an independent India, but it did not come true. Even today the black laws of the British are imposed on the people of the country. The loot of the working class of the country is still going on. A huge convoy of thousands of motorbikes marched on the roads to tell the Government that we are not satisfied with incomplete independence”.

Addressing kisans on the occasion, Gurbachan Singh Chabba said “the ruling Government of the country was celebrating the 75th Independence Day on August 15, but it was incomplete independence. After 1947, the working class of the country and the peasantry were still struggling for complete independence”. Denouncing the anti-kisan and anti-people stand of the central Government, he said that “while the country’s hard working peasants have been struggling on the roads of Delhi for eight consecutive months, where nearly 600 people have been martyred, the Union Government is adamant on giving the country’s public and economic resources to corporate houses”.

On August 15, Bhartiya Kisan Union (Ekta Ugrahan) celebrated the Kisan-Mazdoor Mukti-Sangharsh Diwas in hundreds of villages and cities across Punjab and at a mega rally at Pakoda Chowk at the Delhi border. Shri Joginder Singh Ugrahan, President of the BKU (Ekta Ugrahan) addressed the mega rally at Pakoda Chowk. Tens of thousands of people participated in these meetings.

The speakers at these meetings spoke in depth, of the fact that the Congress leaders of 1947 had betrayed the aspirations of our people, for genuine national liberation aimed at completely throwing out the British and bringing workers and peasants to power. This was the path advocated by Bhagat Singh and his comrades. But the Congress rulers merely replaced the British colonialists. Kisan leaders and activists elaborated at the meetings on how the entire fabric of the colonial order remained intact — the loot of our natural resources by the imperialist powers, the exploitation of workers by the
Meeting on 15 August in Pakoda chowk
corporate houses, unemployment, the state policy of divide and rule and of organizing communal violence and caste discrimination, the brutal suppression of all forms of dissent etc. That is why we are witnessing this kind of state repression and violation of our rights, they explained.

Opposing the anti-kisan laws, speakers highlighted the pathetic condition of the kisans. They gave numerous examples of how privatisation was ruining the lives of people in spheres of education, health, electricity, transport and employment. They vividly described how farmers were enslaved by the enforcement of paying interest on bank loans. They condemned the oppression and discrimination of women. Speakers condemned the loot of the people’s wealth to fill the coffers of the big corporate houses. They denounced the super-exploitation of workers and violation of their rights through the Labour Code Amendments, the pension scheme amendments, etc. They demanded nationalisation of trade, land reforms and land distribution to the landless peasants, cheaper bank loans for agricultural inputs, jobs for the unemployed, unemployment allowance. They condemned caste and communal violence, the violence on women and the crushing of democratic protests.

Protest actions were held in toll plazas and solar plants, to challenge the Government’s policies in favour of the biggest corporate houses. At Adani Cello Dagru (Moga), Adani Solar Power Plant Sardargarh (Bathinda) and Toll Plaza Kalajhar (Sangrur), thousands of women and youth assembled. Contract workers, teachers, pensioners, unemployed youth, Anganwadi workers, Asha workers, MNREGA workers, electricity workers, water supply workers and other oppressed sections also joined the protest meetings in support of the kisan andolan.
Kisans protesting against the Government’s anti-kisan laws were brutally attacked by the police at the Bastara toll plaza near Karnal, Haryana on August 28. The police carried out a lathi charge on the farmers marching towards Karnal, to protest at a state Government meeting being addressed by the Chief Minister of Haryana.

Scores of kisans were injured in the lathi charge. The police not only beat up the kisans but also chased them into the adjoining fields, in an attempt to terrorise them. Tractors and other vehicles of the kisans were also damaged in the police attack. Hundreds of kisans were detained by the police.

The kisans bravely fought back. They forced the closure of the toll plazas at Karnal, Panipat and Ambala. Large parts of National Highway-44 were also blocked. The blockade was lifted only after the kisans detained by the police were released.

Kisans also blocked roads at Titram Mor in Kaithal and Cheeka. In Jhajjar, kisans blocked the Delhi-Rohtak highway at Jakhoda bypass near Tikri border in protest against the police lathi-charge.

On August 30, thousands of kisans gathered at a mahapanchayat at Gharaunda grain market in Karnal. The mahapanchayat had been called against the police lathi-charge on kisans in Karnal on August 28. At the mahapanchayat, kisan andolan leaders denounced the
Kisan andolan leaders demanded stern action against the Karnal sub-divisional magistrate, in particular, who has gone on record ordering the police to “smash the heads” of the kisans.

For the past more than nine months kisans have been protesting at the borders of Delhi, demanding that the three anti-kisan laws should be revoked and that kisans should be assured a legally guaranteed remunerative minimum support price for all agricultural produce. Throughout Punjab, Haryana, UP and other states, kisans are up in arms against the Government and are organizing militant protest actions. These protest actions have the support and active participation of all the people of the neighbouring areas. Faced with this anger of the kisans and the growing unity of the people, the state is resorting to brute force to terrorise them into submission.

Communist Ghadar Party of India condemns the brutal police attack on the protesting kisans in Karnal. The struggle of the kisans against the anti-kisan laws and in defence of their livelihood and rights is completely just. The kisans have every right to demonstrate their opposition to laws that put their livelihood at stake. There is no justification for the state to criminalise their protest.
Official Data Reveal the Miserable Conditions of Kisans

Agriculture, long considered the backbone of Indian society, is no longer yielding enough income for those engaged in it.

The Situation Assessment Survey (SAS), published by the National Statistical Office on 10 September 2021, is the most comprehensive official survey on economic conditions of peasants in the country. It was conducted in 2019 and collected data for the 12-month period July 2018 to June 2019. It confirms the severity of the agrarian crisis and the miserable conditions of kisan families.

An agricultural household has been defined as a household which had at least one member who was self-employed in cultivating crops, rearing livestock or producing other specified agricultural products, worth more than ₹4,000 during the year.

The average monthly income earned by agricultural households during July 2018-June 2019 was Rs. 10,200, of which Rs. 3800 was from cultivation and Rs. 4060 from wage income. Given that this was the average, it means that at least half the kisan

The SAS estimates that there were 17.2 crore households in rural India in 2018-19, of which 9.3 crore were agricultural households, or families of kisans. Of the remaining 7.9 crore households, 4.3 crore were dependent on casual wage labour. About 2.2 crore households had at least one member with a salaried job.

Children of kisans who committed suicide
households earned less than Rs. 10,000 per month.

A comparison of the SAS of 2018-19 with the previous SAS of 2012-13 shows that kisan households are becoming more and more dependent on wage income. In 2012/13, 48 percent of the average income of agricultural households came from cultivating one’s own or leased in land, while 32 percent was wage income. In 2018/19, the share of cultivation had fallen to 37% while the share of wage income had risen to 40%.

Agriculture, long considered the backbone of society in the Indian subcontinent, is no longer yielding enough income for those engaged in it.

For the majority of kisans who possess 10 acres or less, income from cultivation is not enough for maintaining the family. One or more family members have to find a salaried job or at least daily wage work. For a minority of large land holders, most income continues to come from cultivation; but even for them, net income from farming has been on a declining trend in recent years.

While successive governments in New Delhi and in the states have been implementing various measures to improve the “ease of doing business” for capitalist companies, the economic activity of kisans has become extremely risky. They have no alternative except to unite in struggle to change the unbearable conditions.
On October 3, eight people including four kisans were killed in Lakhimpur Kheri, Uttar Pradesh, when a convoy of the Deputy Chief Minister of the state deliberately rammed into kisans protesting against his visit to the area. Many suffered grievous injuries. Members of the convoy opened fire on the peacefully protesting kisans, injuring many more. The son of the BJP MP of the area, who is also a Union Minister, who was leading the convoy brazenly declared that kisans should know who they were dealing with – he was boasting about his criminal record which is well known in the state.

On the same day, the Haryana Chief Minister Manoharlal Khattar incited members of his party to gather a few hundred people, pick up lathis and attack the kisans protesting in various districts of the state. He further declared that they should not worry about spending a few days in jail, if necessary – they would be considered “heroes”.

The Communist Ghadar Party condemns the brutal killing of the kisans in Lakhimpur Kheri. We condemn the brazen calls of the Haryana and Uttar Pradesh governments to unleash anarchy and violence in order to drown the kisan andolan in blood.

Kisans have been peacefully protesting for over a year in support of their just demand that the Central Government repeal the three anti kisan laws. The struggle of the kisans has been winning increasing support amongst workers and all other sections of the people, all over the country. In the face of the adamant attitude of the central Government which has refused to concede their demands, the Samyukta Kisan Morcha, the united organisation of over 500 kisan union all over the country, has given the call for organizing protests whenever Ministers, MP’s and MLA’s of the Haryana and UP state governments organize public meetings. The response of the kisans to this
call has been overwhelming. In these conditions, the central Government and respective state governments are deliberately provoking violent incidents, to besmirch the kisan andolan.

Thus on August 28, the Haryana Police unleashed brutal violence against kisans protesting the visit of the Haryana Chief Minister to Karnal. The Government official in charge of the Chief Minister’s visit was heard calling upon the police to break the heads of the kisans.

What happened in Lakhimpur Kheri is not new. The Indian state has followed the policy of unleashing violence on kisans and then blaming kisans for the violence.

Ten months ago, when the kisans had announced that they would come to Delhi on November 26 to protest against the anti kisan laws, the Central Government and the Haryana Government unleashed massive violence against kisans at the Punjab-Haryana border. The police dug up the highways, barricaded the roads, and unleashed water cannon and tear gas against the kisans. The governments behaved with the kisans as if they were waging a war with an enemy country. However they failed to stop the kisans from marching to Delhi borders.

Again, on January 26, the central Government deliberately planned to unleash anarchy and violence to discredit and divide the kisan andolan. Towards this nefarious end, it first gave permission to kisans to organize a kisan rally in Delhi. It then deliberately changed the routes of the rally at the last moment, as a result of which some kisans reached the Red Fort. It organized clashes at various points in the route. It then carried out sustained propaganda how the kisans were anti national. The aim was to discredit the kisan andolan, in the eyes of the broad masses of people of the country.

The united, militant struggle of the kisans of our country is winning increasing support from all sections of the people. In order to weaken this support, and to smash the struggle of the kisans, the Indian state is unleashing anarchy and violence. It is very clear that it is the rulers who are responsible for this organised and provocative violence against the kisans.
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