

Janashakti

ORGAN OF CC OF CPI (M-L) - JANASHAKTI



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Editor-in-chief : K. Ramachandran

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P. Jaswantha Rao

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Editorial :

Long Live Mao Tse-Tung Thought!

The Marxist-Leninists, the working class and the oppressed nations and the people all over the world lost their great leader, Com. Mao. Tse-Tung, on the 9th September, 1976. He was 82 when he died. The world communist movement lost a great Marxist-Leninist teacher and guide. The working class, the oppressed nations and the people, who were in the thick of class struggles to free themselves from the yoke of the exploitative and oppressive systems, lost a most inspiring, consistent and powerful supporter of that cause. The countries of the Third World and the forces opposed to imperialism, hegemonism of the two super-powers and war lost a great leader who worked all through his life to build brick-by-brick the united struggle and front against these enemies of the world people. Com. Mao will be remembered and revered by the Indian proletariat and the world proletariat as the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times, and his name is already enshrined in the hearts of the entire oppressed humanity next only to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The historic victory of the great Chinese Revolution led by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Com. Mao-Tse-Tung changed the balance of forces in the world in favour of the world proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. China's liberation from the imperialist and feudal yoke served as beacon light for the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Com. Mao's thesis on "New Democracy" and the path of protracted people's war, i.e., the path of relying on the peasants, building base-areas in the countryside, persisting in the armed struggle, encircling the cities by the countryside, and finally capturing the cities, are regarded as the most scientific guidelines by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. His contribution in the sphere of Marxist philosophy -- "*On Contradiction*", "*On*

Practice", "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people", etc. -- his brilliant contribution in formulating the strategy and tactics of revolutionary war and his revolutionary line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat are great and valuable contributions to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism and they illuminate the path for the

world proletariat in their struggle to establish a classless society on earth.

Where Khrushchev, the father of modern revisionism, blurred the crucial distinction between real and formal independence, sanctified neo-colonialism, and advocated that world imperialism would gradually evolve in a progressive direction, forgetting what Lenin posed at the very outset of the era of imperialism -- that of building a proletarian movement, free from opportunism and the struggles for emancipation of the peoples of the colonial countries -- Com. Mao Tse-Tung fought with Khrushchev. When the CPSU, under the leadership of revisionist Khrushchev, broke with Marxism-Leninism to disagree that the State is an instrument of class rule -- the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, the working class and the peasantry in socialist countries, the national or comprador bourgeoisie in the Third World -- and ignored the fact that socialism means a change in the class holding state power and can only be achieved by revolutionary means, Com. Mao began a prolonged and historic fight against the CPSU with the document "*A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*". Not only the Third World, the entire anti-superpower front and the workers and other toiling people in the capitalist world found an international leadership in Com. Mao.

By integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism the concrete practice of the world revolution, Com. Mao scientifically analysed the international situation in different periods and drew conclusions. These conclusions have greatly helped the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the liberation of the oppressed nations all over the world. Com. Mao's theory of the

differentiation of the three worlds at a time when the two superpowers, the USSR and the USA, became locked in a cut-throat struggle for world hegemony and were preparing for a world war, provides the international proletariat and the oppressed nations with a powerful ideological weapon for forging unity and building the broadest united front against the hegemonic powers and their war policies and for advancing the world revolution.

The world communist movement, since Com. Mao's death seventeen years ago, has seen many changes. Soviet Union has disintegrated. CPSU has disappeared from the world scene. CPC has become revisionist. Peoples' Republic of China has ceased to be socialist.

Nothing untold by Com. Mao has happened. As far back as November 15, 1956, Com. Mao warned : *"I would like to say a few words about the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I think there are two 'swords'. One is Lenin and the other, Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been discarded by the Russians. As for the sword of Lenin, has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the Soviet Union ? In my view it has been abandoned to a considerable extent"*. He further said that : *"The question of Stalin concerns the entire international Communist movement and involves the communist parties of all countries"*.

At the time of the Cultural Revolution, Com.Mao warned that the danger of restoration of capitalism should not be viewed exclusively as an external danger. The peril, said Mao, was also to be looked for inside the Communist Party. He viewed the revolution as a continuous process, in which the reversal of the basic economic institutions has to be accompanied by a conscious long-term two line struggle. Only in this way can the vanguard of the masses fulfill it's task without itself being transformed into an elite, far removed from the rank and file. This is what Com. Mao did in his Cultural Revolution.

The centre of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, while concerned with the works of literature and art, was mainly on the political question of who will hold power in society. The Central

Committee of the CPC under the leadership and Com. Mao said *"Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite, it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority, who are taking the capitalist road to criticise and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist-economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system"* (August 8, 1936). This last great battle of Com. Mao was a revolution.

When the Chinese proletariat was about to seize power, Com.Chou En-Lai in his report at the All-China Youth Congress on May 7, 1949 said : *"In one revolutionary struggle, much blood has been shed, many reverses have been suffered and many people have fallen. We did not lose courage in the most difficult period and, as Chairman Mao said, we picked ourselves up, wiped off the blood, buried our fallen comrades and went into battle again. We should have such determination and courage. Today, we are on our way to nationwide victory and there is brightness all over the country, but we must not think that we are all-powerful and be oblivious to the lessons of the past. Chairman Mao says that today we have only taken the first step in a Long March of ten thousand li"*. Revolution is continuous. . .

The revisionism of Khrushchevs, Brezhnevs and Gorbachevs has reached its logical end. Yeltsin has abandoned even the mask of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. But for Tengs and others, the utility of the mask of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and socialism is not yet over. They are frantically trying to build a new international centre of revisionism.

Let us not allow this attempt by revisionism to have a new lease of life. Let us pool in our past experience in fighting this new attempt. For us, the communist revolutionaries, nothing unexpected has happened. In the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, we were on the side of the Bolsheviks. In the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky, we were on the side of Stalin. In the struggle between Mao and Khrushchev, we were on the side of Mao. We stated about three decades ago that Soviet Union had ceased to be socialist. We stated 25 years ago that the Soviet Union had become social imperialist. We saw the process of restoration of capitalism in China a decade ago.

Eternal glory to Com. Mao Tse-Tung !

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought !!

**ALL INDIA
CONVENTION AGAINST
COMMUNALISM &
AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

29th & 30th September, 1993-Lucknow (U.P.)

From the classics :

On strengthening the Party committee system

The party committee system is an important Party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs. It has recently been found that in some (of course not all) leading bodies it is the habitual practice for one individual to monopolize the conduct of affairs and decide important problems. Solutions to important problems are decided not by party committee meetings but by one individual, and membership in the Party committee has become nominal. Differences of opinion among committee members cannot be resolved and are left unresolved for a long time. Members of the Party committee maintain only formal, not real, unity among themselves. This situation must be changed. From now on, a sound system of Party committee meetings must be instituted in all leading bodies, from the bureaus of the Central Committee to the prefectural Party committees; from the Party committees of the fronts to the Party committees of brigades and military areas (sub-commissions of the Revolutionary Military Commission or leading groups); and the leading Party members' groups in government bodies, people's organizations, the news agency and the newspaper offices. All important problems (of course, not the unimportant, trivial problems, or problems whose solutions have already been decided after discussion at meetings and need only be carried out) must be submitted to the committee for discussion, and the committee members present should express their views fully and reach definite decisions which should then be carried out by the members concerned. The same procedure should be followed by party committees below the prefectural and brigade levels. In the higher leading bodies there should also be meetings of the leading cadres in the departments (for example, the propaganda department and the organizational department), commissions (for example, the labour, women's and youth commissions), schools (for example, Party schools) and offices (for example, the research offices). Of course, we must see to it that the meetings are not too long or too frequent and they must not get

bogged down in discussion of petty matters lest the work be hindered. On important problems which are complicated and on which opinions differ, there must, in addition, be personal consultations before the meeting to enable the members to think things over, lest decisions by the meeting become a mere formality or no decision can be reached. Party committee meetings must be divided into two categories, standing committee meetings and plenary sessions, and the two should not be confused. Furthermore, we must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the neglect of the other. In the army, the person in command has the right to make emergency decisions during battle and when circumstances require.

September 20, 1948.

This decision was drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.*

Chingkangshan Revisited

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds.
Again I come from afar
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.
Past scenes are transformed,
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,
Streams purl everywhere
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring.
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

**Mao Tse-Tung
May 1965 -**

From the classics :

Methods of work of Party Committees

1. The secretary of a Party committee must be good at being a "squad leader". A Party committee has ten to twenty members; it is like a squad in the army, and the secretary is like the "squad leader". It is indeed not easy to lead this squad well. Each bureau or sub-bureau of the Central Committee now leads a vast area and shoulders very heavy responsibilities. To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work. Even with correct general and specific policies, troubles may still arise if methods of work are neglected. To fulfil its task of exercising leadership, a Party committee must rely on its "squad members" and enable them to play their parts to the full. To be a good "squad leader", the secretary should study hard and investigate thoroughly. A secretary or deputy secretary will find it difficult to direct his "squad" well if he does not take care to do propaganda and organisation work among his own "squad members", is not good at handling his relations with committee members or does not study how to run meetings successfully. If the "squad members" do not march in step, they can never expect to lead tens of millions of people in fighting and construction. Of course, the relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and his men. Here we speak only by way of analogy.

2. Place problems on the table. This should be done not only by the "squad leader" but by the committee members too. Do not talk behind people's backs. Whenever problems arise, call a meeting, place the problems on the table for discussion, take some decisions and the problems will be solved. If problems exist and are not placed on the table, they will remain unsolved for a long time and even drag on for years. The "squad leader" and the committee members should show understanding in their

relations with each other. Nothing is more important than mutual understanding, support and friendship between the secretary and the committee members, between the Central Committee and its bureaus and between the bureaus and the area Party Committees. In the past this point received little attention, but since the Seventh Party Congress much progress has been greatly strengthened. We should continue to pay constant attention to this point in the future.

3. "Exchange information". This means that members of a Party committee should keep each other informed and exchange views on matters that have come to their attention. This is of great importance in achieving a common language. Some fail to do so and, like the people described by Lao Tzu, "do not visit each other all their lives, though the crowing of their cocks and barking of their dogs are within hearing of each other". The result is that they lack a common language. In the past some of our high-ranking cadres did not have a common language even on basic theoretical problems of Marxism-Leninism, because they had not studied enough. There is more of a common language in the Party today, but the problem has not yet been fully solved. For instance, in the land reform there is still some difference in the understanding of what is meant by "middle peasants" and "rich peasants".

4. Ask your subordinates about matters you don't understand or don't know, and do not lightly express your approval or disapproval. Some documents, after having been drafted, are withheld from circulation for a time because certain questions in them need to be clarified and it is necessary to consult the lower levels first. We should never pretend to know what we don't know, we should "not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below" and we should listen carefully to the views of the cadres at the lower levels. Be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you issue orders. In handling problems, this should be the practice of all bureaus of the Central Committee and Party committees of the fronts, except in military emergencies or when the facts of the matter are already clear. To do this will not lower one's prestige, but can

only raise it. Since our decisions incorporate the correct views of the cadres at the lower levels, the latter will naturally support them. What the cadres at the lower levels say may not be correct; we must analyse it. We must heed the correct views and act upon them. The reason why the leadership of the Central Committee is correct is chiefly that it synthesizes the material, reports and correct view coming from different localities. It would be difficult for the Central Committee to issue correct orders if the localities did not provide material and put forward opinions. Listen also to the mistaken views from below; it is wrong not to listen to them at all. Such views, however, are not to be acted upon but to be criticized.

5. Learn to "play the piano". In playing the piano all ten fingers are in motion; it won't do to move some fingers only and not others. But if all ten fingers press down at once, there is no melody. To produce good music, the ten fingers should move rhythmically and in co-ordination. A Party committee should keep a firm grasp on its central task and at the same time, around the central task, it should unfold the work in other fields. At present, we have to take care of many fields; we must look after the work in all the areas, armed units and departments, and not give all our attention to a few problems, to the exclusion of others. Wherever there is a problem, we must put our finger on it, and this is a method we must master. Some play the piano well and some badly, and there is a great difference in the melodies they produce. Members of Party committees must learn to "play the piano" well.

6. "Grasp firmly." That is to say, the Party committee must not merely "grasp", but must "grasp firmly", its main tasks. One can get a grip on something only when it is grasped firmly, without the slightest slackening. Not to grasp firmly is not to grasp at all. Naturally, one cannot get a grip on something with an open hand. When the hand is clenched as if grasping something but is not clenched tightly, there is still no grip. Some of our comrades do grasp the main tasks, but their grasp is not firm and so they cannot make a success of their work. It will not do to have no grasp at all, nor will it do if the grasp is not firm.

7. "Have a head for figures." That is to say, we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity there can be no quality. To this day many of our comrades still do not understand that they must attend to the quantitative limits that determine the qualities of things. They have no "figures" in their heads and as a result cannot help making mistakes. For instance, in carrying out the land reform it is essential to have such figures as the percentages of landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants and poor peasants among the population and the amount of land owned by each group, because only on this basis can we formulate correct policies. Whom to call a rich peasant, whom a well-to-do middle peasant, and how much income derived from exploitation makes a person a rich peasant as distinct from a well-to-do middle peasant -- in all these cases too, the quantitative limits must be ascertained. In all mass movements we must make a basic investigation and analysis of the number of active supporters, opponents and neutrals and must not decide problems subjectively and without basis.

8. "Notice to Reassure the Public." Notice of meetings should be given beforehand; this is like issuing a "Notice to Reassure the Public", so that everybody will know what is going to be discussed and what problems are to be solved and can make timely preparations. In some places, meetings of cadres are called without first preparing reports and draft resolutions, and only when people have arrived for the meeting are makeshifts improvised; this is just like the saying, "Troops and horses have arrived, but food and fodder are not ready", and that is no good. Don't call a meeting in a hurry if the preparations are not completed.

9. "Fewer and better troops and simpler administration." Talks, speeches, articles and resolutions should all be concise and to the point. Meetings also should not go on too long.

10. Pay attention to uniting and working with comrades who differ with you. This should be borne in mind both in the localities and in the army. It also applies to relations with people

outside the Party. We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views. There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced against them but should be ready to work with them.

11. Guard against arrogance. For anyone in a leading position, this is a matter of principle and an important condition for maintaining unity. Even those who have made no serious mistakes and have achieved very great success in their work should not be arrogant. Celebration of the birthdays of Party leaders is forbidden. Naming places, streets and enterprises after Party leaders is likewise forbidden. We must keep to our style of plain living and put a stop to flattery and exaggerated praise.

12. Draw two lines of distinction. First, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Yen-an and Sian. Some do not understand that they must draw this line of distinction. For example, when they combat bureaucracy, they speak of Yen-an as though "nothing is right" there and fail to make a comparison and distinguish between the bureaucracy in Yen-an and the bureaucracy in Sian. This is fundamentally wrong. Secondly, within the revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between right and wrong, between achievements and shortcomings and to make clear which of the two is primary and which secondary. For instance, do the achievements amount to 30 percent or to 70 percent of the whole? It will not do either to understate or to overstate. We must have a fundamental evaluation of a person's work and establish whether his achievements amount to 30 percent and his mistakes to 70 percent, or vice versa. If his achievements amount to 70 percent of the whole, then his work should in the main be approved. It would be entirely wrong to describe work in which the achievements are primary as work in which the mistakes are primary. In our approach to problems we must not forget to draw these two lines of distinction, between revolution and counter-revolution and between achievements and shortcomings. We shall be able to handle things well if we bear

these two distinctions in mind; otherwise we shall confuse the nature of the problems. To draw these distinctions well, careful study and analysis are ofcourse necessary. Our attitude towards every person and every matter should be one of analysis and study.

The members of the Political Bureau and I personally feel that only by using the above methods can Party committees do their work well. In addition to conducting Party congresses well, it is most important for the Party committees at all levels to perform their work of leadership well. We must make efforts to study and perfect the methods of work so as to raise further the Party committees' level of leadership.

March 13, 1949.

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Strengthen the anti-Dunkel and anti-imperialist patriotic peasant movement

The All-India Peasant Convention against the Dunkel Draft Text was held on 17, 18 August, 1993 at Jalandhar, Punjab under the auspices of the Preparatory Committee consisting of nine revolutionary peasant organisations. The Convention, attended by thousand delegates and representatives of several fraternal organisations, resolved to build an Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Movement in the country linking it up with the Anti-Feudal struggle of the broad masses.

The Dunkel Draft Text (DDT) is a product of the Uruguay Round of GATT talks which began in 1986. The countries of the Third World have no right to suggest amendments and they have to either reject or accept it in toto. This is actually to bully the Third World countries into accepting it. India, being a member of the GATT and in the grip of imperialism will have to sign the DDT by the end of this year. The very character and subservience of the ruling classes to imperialism would force the country into being a signatory to the DDT. Therefore, it is on the shoulders of the people's of the Third World to fight the imposition of the notorious proposals of the Dunkel Draft.

The DDT is a new mechanism to intensify the imperialist plunder and control of Third World countries in the backdrop of a serious and worst-ever crisis imperialism is facing. Stagnation in production and recession seriously affect the imperialist countries and the monetary crisis that is being witnessed in the world capitalist system is a reflection of this deep and all-engulfing crisis in production. To bail themselves out of this situation, the imperialists are evolving new methods of transferring their crisis on to the Third World. The Structural Reforms, Structural Adjustment Programmes, Liberalisation etc. are part of this 'globalisation' scheme. The IMF, WB and the GATT are instruments to realise this objective. The globalisation

of trade, production, labour are dubious methods to recolonise the Third World countries.

The Dunkel Draft proposals go beyond the contours of trade and tariff and encompass agriculture and service which should now be made fully open to the multinational corporations without any restrictions whatsoever. Agriculture in the Third World countries is sought to be made further dependent on imperialism which would play havoc with the lives of the peasant masses and turn the country once again into an agricultural colony of imperialism. The claims by the imperialists and their cohorts that the Dunkel Prescriptions would usher in development and technical advancement in the Third World are nothing but a farce. They are out-and-out retrogressive and anti-development and are aimed at perpetuating further subjugation and underdevelopment.

The big-bourgeois, big-landlord ruling classes in India are 'Comprador' classes, serving the interests of imperialism. Proclamations to "independence, self-reliance, sovereignty" by these classes are a facade to cover the abject dependence of the country on imperialism since 1947. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that imperialist plunder and control has reached such a stage that no facade can conceal the mortgaged status of India anymore. The new economic, trade and industrial policies of the Narasimha Rao government are all fashioned by the imperialist financial agencies, WB-IMF tailored to turn the country into another 'banana' republic. These policies are a continuation of the policies pursued by Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, all of whom opened the gates of the country to imperialist loot and control. The present government's talk of continuing negotiations in GATT over the DDT is deceptive, because already many provisions of the DDT are being implemented as part of the IMF conditionalities. Therefore, it will be a mere formality for the the government to declare its approval of the DDT.

The fate of agriculture :

The real aim of the imperialists is to colonise agriculture

through this DDT, all in the name of so-called development and advancement. To promote their own interests, they are bent upon destroying the country's agriculture by introducing agribusiness on a wider scale. Production of food and other essential agricultural products would be cut drastically causing further starvation of the people. In addition to the existing undemocratic semi-feudal relations of production in agriculture, the DDT proposals go on to further strengthen direct imperialist penetration and control over the entire agrarian sector. The poor and landless peasants, the main tillers of the land, do not have any rights over the land in the present semi-feudal, semi-colonial system. MNCs are already demanding that the state should formally abandon the so-called land reform acts and legalise their unrestricted access to land. With the acceptance and implementation of the DDT, the tillers will be further alienated from the land and the concentration of land in the hands of the MNCs and big landlords will intensify, thus leading to further inequality and poverty in rural India. The landless and poor peasants would be deprived of their rights over the land and the middle peasants will be ruined further. It is also a fact that with the implementation of DDT, the peasants will have no right to use and preserve the seeds of their own choice. Production and market will come under the total control of the MNCs. Thus the peasants will be reduced to a slave-like-status and agriculture will, in essence, be colonised.

The comprador ruling classes, at the behest of imperialists, are foisting the so-called new agricultural policies over the backward semi-feudal forms of production. The DDT prescriptions will in reality strengthen the strangle-hold of imperialism and feudalism in the country.

The tasks before the peasants :

A successful completion of the New Democratic Revolution, which puts an end to the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial system, is the only solution to the present problems, including the deadly DDT.

The struggle to fight DDT and imperialism in general are

inseparable and a part of the New Democratic Revolution. The struggle in the present situation should aim at mobilising and uniting the broad masses of peasantry into a powerful patriotic movement. Here one should keep in mind that the advancement and success of the Anti-Dunkel and Anti- Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Movement depends on the intensification of the anti-feudal agrarian struggle, the key link of the New Democratic Revolutionary People's Movement in India.

For this, it needs the broadest unity of all revolutionary, democratic and patriotic peasant and agricultural labourers' organisations and fronts etc. including the democratic peasants' fronts of Dalits, Tribals, national self-determination movements at an all-India scale.

This convention calls upon the entire revolutionary, democratic, patriotic peasant and agricultural labourers' organisations to come forward for such a united front at the all-India level.

The peasant and agricultural labourers' organisations led by CPI, CPM etc. and reformists and some sections of the ruling classes, are also giving calls to build Anti-Dunkel Movements in the country. But it is clear from their programmes of action that they are not aimed at a thorough going struggle against imperialism and feudalism and the reactionary Indian State. So, there cannot be any possibility of building an Anti-Dunkel and Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Front with such organisations as such. But our front will be ready to work out joint actions with these organisations on the specific issues arising out of implementation of DDT such as cancellations of lease grants of land to MNCs for various activities, remunerative prices, cancellation of Bank loans, etc.

Demands of the struggle :

The Convention has finalised the following demands to build the Anti-Dunkel and Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Movement.

- 1) Reject the DDT in toto.
- 2) Withdraw all IMF-WB conditionalities aimed at implementing the DDT.

- 3) India must quit GATT, IMF and WB.
- 4) Stop payments of debt instalments and interests to IMF-WB and other imperialist financial institutions.
- 5) Declare industries, agricultural farms, R & D institutions, trading companies, service institutions and assets controlled by the imperialists, MNCs etc. as the properties of the Indian people.
- 6) Scrap all the unequal treaties and agreements with the imperialists.
- 7) Abandon anti-people, anti-national Vehicles of recolonisation like New Economic Policy, New Industrial Policy, New Trade Policy, New Education Policy, etc.
- 8) Abandon the New Agricultural Policy aimed at recolonising Indian agriculture.
- 9) Distribute land to the tiller.
- 10) Write off government and bank loans to the peasantry and the rural poor, excepting those of landlords and other exploiters.
- 11) Ensure the traditional rights of tribals over forests and land and recognise their right to self-rule and a way of life of their choice.
- 12) Scrap all land leases to MNCs and big businesses for aquaculture, salt production, plantations, etc.
- 13) Throw out MNC's Seed Corporation, Agro research institutions and agribusiness companies from India.
- 14) Declare the right of people over plant and animal life as complete and inalienable.
- 15) Right to land, right to seeds, right to cultivation must remain with the people and cannot be taken away.
- 16) Stop all moves to take away the rights to employment through lay-offs, lockouts, closures, retrenchments, exit policy and voluntary retirement policy etc. and reopen all closed industries.
- 17) Abandon the plan to withdraw the public distribution system.
- 18) Guarantee right to work.
- 19) Construct barrages, checkdams and small irrigation projects in place of big dams and water-shed schemes and place

them under the control and management of the people.

- 20) Stop all commercial exploitation of forests, land and water leading to displacement of tribals and environmental degradation.
- 21) Scrap all the repressive and draconian laws like TADA etc. and withdraw all central and state armed forces from the areas of peasant movements; stop the fake encounter killings.
- 22) Withdraw all the police cases and release all political prisoners unconditionally.

We call upon the broad masses of the peasantry and the rural poor to unite and struggle against the government on the above demands and with the aim of building the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal peasant movement in general and anti-imperialist patriotic peasant movement in particular at the present juncture. We also call upon the rural masses to launch 'Non-cooperation' and 'Non-payment of taxes and bills' to the government as the only way left to them to advance and realise the above 22 demands, right from the beginning itself in appropriate and possible forms of struggle.

Formation of Patriotic Peasant Sangharsha Samiti :

To carry forward the task of uniting the broad masses of the peasantry, the Convention has resolved to form an action forum comprising of 9 revolutionary peasant organisations, which sponsored the All-India Peasant Convention. It also resolved to name this action forum as "DUNKEL AUR SAMRAJYAVAD VIRODHI DESABHAKTH KISAN SANGHARSH SAMITI" (Anti-Dunkel and Anti- Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Sangarsh Samiti.) The convention also elected 15 members' Central Action Committee and Com. Hardev Singh Sandhu as its Convenor. The Convention also gave a call to all other revolutionary, democratic, patriotic peasant and agricultural labourers' organisations, fora, and fronts to join this front. Hence, we herewith appeal to all other concerned organisations to come forward to build a wider peasant front to advance the peasant

struggle jointly. We also declare that, this front is not closed but it is open and one can discuss freely and openly with regard to the name of the front and also about the action programme.

Build patriotic peasant propaganda volunteers :

Organise patriotic peasant propaganda volunteers with men and women in a big way to carry forward the people's movement on the above demands all over the country. Hold conferences or special meetings at district levels and take necessary measures to organise village level propaganda volunteers along with carrying on other agitation tasks. Building up of these volunteers at grass roots level, should be taken as the primary task for the advancement of the peasant movement.

First phase of programme of action :

The Convention has resolved to build the Anti-Dunkel and Anti- Imperialist Patriotic Peasant Movement in a phased way. The first phase of action is to observe an "Anti-Dunkel and Anti-Imperialist Fortnight" from September 10 to September 25th, by conducting propaganda through public meetings, group meetings, rallies etc. all over the country. And on the last day i.e. 25th September, mass dharnas will be held in front of the offices of the District Collectorate all over the country. Hence we call upon the people to unite in a big way to make this a success.

The next phase of the agitation will be decided and declared immediately after completion of this phase of the programme.

18th August, 1993.

“Irrigating drought”

The districts of Rayalaseema, Coastal Andhra and Telangana are reeling under severe drought. Farmers are compelled to drive their cattle to slaughter-houses and migrate from the villages. An estimated 35 lakh people have migrated from Telangana alone, though the government has no reliable statistics in its possession in this regard. Today one has to cover miles in order to procure a pot of water, which is all a family has to be contented with.

22,860 villages are facing serious shortage of drinking water and are depleted of fodder. Cattle are sold at throw-away prices by the farmers. The milch cattle of Telangana and Rayalaseema have become feeding-stock for slaughter-houses and tanneries of Madras, Hyderabad and Bangalore. In Cuddapah, 509 villages are without drinking water. Out of 13,361 borewells in that district, 2,860 have gone dry. In Kurnool 254 villages are dry. In the towns of Atmakoor, Pattikonda and Aloor, people are buying water from Done. From Krishnagiri, of the same district, agricultural labourers are migrating to Karnataka on a large scale. In Chittoor district, 1,000 villages have little or no water. Half of Adilabad district is dry. In Nizamabad water is transported on bullockcarts. In Mahaboobnagar thousands of borewells have dried up. In Nalagonda, laying of borewells has become a redundant exercise as the ground water has depleted over wide areas. In Khammam, 25 out of 46 Mandals face drought. In Ranga Reddy, new wells yield no water at all. Even in coastal districts like West Godavari, towns with population exceeding one lakh face shortage of drinking water. In Krishna district seaside villages are without water. In the capital, Hyderabad, the major reservoirs Osmansagar and Himayatsagar have dried up and about 500 borewells dug in the beds meet the needs of the city, though inadequately. Borewells are dug beside the pipelines that carry water from Manjira reservoirs. Hyderabad Metropolitan Water Board takes utmost care to supply water to posh residential localities. Water is hauled in tankers hired by the government to supply water to posh areas, while the poor roam

about the roads in search of water.

Communicable diseases have spread like wild-fire owing to water shortage. The diseases lumped under the label "*Atisaram*" spare no district today. Not only the villages, but even major panchayats and towns are in the grip of these 'mysterious' diseases. The common communicable diseases of the rainy season made their appearance as a proof of the deteriorated standards of health and hygiene.

Drought is not restricted to Andhra Pradesh. The country and the entire Third World today faces drought and famine. Drought is distorted by the ruling classes in several ways, like "*drought is shortage of water for a year or two that usually vanishes with a good monsoon*", "*monsoon follows a six yearly cyclical pattern of peaks and troughs, the temporary shortfall in rain is purely accidental etc.*". The government exhibits satellite pictures of cloud cover once in an hour over television to mislead everyone. The news of monsoon is broadcast in terms of floods inundation, the number of deaths and the loss of property that results therefrom. Apart from revelling in such pervert appreciation of monsoon, the government agencies mensurate monsoon in microns and indulge in pseudo-scientific analysis of imaginary benefits of poor rainfalls to a certain *rabi* crop or the veritable boon of dry weather to one *kharif* crop in preference to good showers. The government and its hired economists reel out exaggerated figures of grain output to underplay drought.

Yet, it is not too difficult to understand the truth. The soil is degenerating into sand. Whether the ruling classes care to delcare Ananthapur as a desert or not, Telangana, Rayalseema, North Circars and Nellore are turning into Somalias and Ethiopias, with a difference.

This is not the result of shortfall in rain in a year or two. It will not vanish with a good monsoon. The situation deteriorates as time passes by. The hired experts of the ruling classes cannot conceal the desertification from our eyes -- a desertification that will not improve with television monsoons conjured up by the government, a desertification that is not restricted to a the state but engulfs the whole of sub-continent, a desertification to which

Africa holds the mirror.

Africa, the self-sufficient continent which enjoyed a dense forest cover, when subjected to the unbridled exploitation by American and European imperialists, turned into a vast expanse of parched earth and sand. Though the imperialists play up Ethiopia one day and Somalia another, as famine-stricken countries to serve their political ends, the whole of the African continent stands ruined by famine. People of many countries like Sudan, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Burkinofaso, Chad and Mauritania are perishing in famine. This continent not only shipped copper, tin, iron, diamonds, etc., but also cocoa, cotton, bananas, cocount, and meat to Europe and America for centuries. Its forests were destroyed for timber by the imperialists and their native agents. Its fertile soil was ruined by the cultivation of cotton to feed the European mills. Cocoa, coffee and palm plantations were raised upon the land that once fed the people. African ruling classes supplied raw materials to the imperilaist industries at throw-away prices. The famed forests of Africa turned into bushes and undergrowth. Rainfall has dwindled over the past two centuries. Sahara spreads at a pace of 25 km per year. The major irrigation projects of yesteryear lie in ruin. Depletion of livestock on a large scale have left the villages bereft of drought power to till the land. People die in hundreds from hunger. Yet in the midst of the devastating famine, Ethiopia continues to export bananas to Eurorpe. Even today, while African goat meat is a relished delicacy at Eurorpean tables, the African governments that beg the imperialists for gruel undertake massive telecommunication projects under the compulsion of the lending agencies. Amidst famine and death, the ruling classes carve the countries into feefdoms and run proxy wars at the behest of the super-powers. Young men are hired by the day to serve as mercenaries in armies raised to fight the civil wars. The European and American imperialists continue to run gruel camps as a "supreme act of charity and benevolence". The common destiny of every African turns out to be a long sojourn to such camps and death. The whiteman watches with interest as the African sifts the sands to

gather the grain that is scattered from aeroplanes. Western medical experts conduct enlightening studies on starvation. The exodus from famine and civil war is compiled by monitoring it cleverly through satellite and highly updated information. The ruling classes revel in pleasure in European capitals, while Africa languishes in bondage. Undaunted by these developments, the U.S. and Russia are upto new games in African business as usual.

Today, India is well on the way of transformation into a Mozambique or a Zaire. If we do not understand the phenomenon well we cannot extricate from the disinformation campaign spun by the imperialists and their lackeys.

Water is as important as land for production. The means of production are possessed by the class that rules. The policies of the government towards the means of production are determined by the interests of the class it represents. The oppressed cannot dream of enjoying the means of livelihood till they usurp the means of production. We have to wage a struggle for water as we struggle for land. Let there be no illusion about the necessity and imperative need for such struggles.

We may well begin with a short recall of the interesting features of ancient Indian irrigation, the changes brought about in irrigation by the British imperialists, the evolution of the present irrigation policies, the strategy behind such policies, the crisis that engulfed agriculture as a result thereof and the new tricks conjured up by the ruling classes.

There is no need to remind the reader that irrigation suffered a progressive decline since the British rule, and the decline gathered momentum in post-British times and like all phenomena of the world, drought is not static and it grows in extent and complexity as time passes.

Irrigation in ancient India :

Asian agriculture, which is monsoon-dependent, is unique in its own way. In India, irrigation was developed over thousands of years. It is naive to believe that irrigation is an imperialist gift or a British invention. Many irrigation works executed by the British in the 19th century were only renovations of the irrigation facilities

already in existence. Europeans were novices in irrigation. The geography and the metrological conditions of Europe precluded the development of irrigation as it was brought into existence in India. Adoption of the run-of-the-mill European approach resulted in grievous errors in understanding Indian irrigation.

Invention and use of iron in India facilitated the spread of agriculture to regions far and wide. The cyclical rainfalls during monsoons created the need to store water and run the water through canals. Over two thousand years, Indians constructed tanks, dug wells and diversionary canals. They built check dams across mountain streams and dug canals from the reservoirs thus created. Weirs or such dams were of temporary use and were removed when opportune. Eastern ghats and the Chotanagpur areas were renowned for such structures. Diversionary canals were utilised to create eerie tanks at high altitudes which irrigate the low-lands. Tanks were dug as well. The diversionary canals from Ganga, Brahamaputra and Indus flowed with water when the rivers were in spate. Certain ancient diversionary canals in Bengal turned into permanent rivers. The Yamuna canal system built during the regime of Firozeshah Tughlaq ran hundreds of kilometers in length. In Bengal, floods were combatted not only by raising the height of river bunds but also by effecting breaches at points carefully chosen. Near the rivers, *kutch*a wells were dug, which served the purpose for a few years and yielded water at a depth of few feet and needed no lining. In places far removed from rivers, wells of permanent nature were constructed. The lands with poor rainfall supported meagre population. And at such places, *pucca* wells were the source of irrigation. Rotation of crops and extension of agriculture to new areas were also in vogue and were practised with as much caution and deliberation.

Dr. Francis Buchanan, who toured the districts of South India, Bengal and the northern provinces between 1800-1820, on statistical enquiry, described several ancient-irrigation works order in good to that day, in his "*Journey from Madras*". Extracts from his notes were also published in Montgomery Martini's "*History of Eastern India*". In his work we find mention

of a huge reservoir in Condaturu that irrigated lands of thirty-two villages, the large old reservoir of Kanchipuram, the Kaveri dams and canal system at Srirangapatnam, the old reservoir of Kaveripura near Coimbatore, a dam on Bhavani river canal from streams in the low valleys and reservoir in high lands of Malabar, large reservoirs, mile and upwards in length and canals several miles in length in Patna district, canals and tanks of Gorakhpur etc.

The pre-British agriculture, though deceptively simple, had the elements like preserving the fertility of the soil, retaining moisture, suitability of crop to the soil etc. inherent in it. The British imperialists in contrast lacked a scientific approach towards irrigation and agriculture. To begin with, the British ruined the irrigation systems in the villages. The local people lost control over the tanks and the canals. The provision made by the village community for repair and maintenance of such irrigation structures as Dasabandham, Kodimarammathu etc. became extinct. The British control over irrigation replaced the popular initiative and local incentives. With an eye on revenue the British introduced the right to sell the land. Land turned into a commodity. The producer had no social obligation but to pay the revenue. And irrigation belonged to the government that collected the water tariff. The British, devoted as they were to revenue and the market, systematically neglected the small irrigation works hitherto in existence. The imperialists with motives of profit paid exclusive attention to major irrigation works on Krishna, Godavari, Cauveri. Where canals were not constructed, the government encouraged digging of private wells. Common property sources like tanks and canals fell into disrepair. People lost the initiative to construct new facilities. People's right to develop a suitable irrigation system was abolished by the British. The British usurped the control over water.

In the name of irrigation, the British undertook a series of disastrous experiments. Military engineers, who had little knowledge about irrigation, were brought into the field. They reduced irrigation to certain feats in civil engineering like dams

and canals. Among the dams that were built after 1820 the only case of success in British irrigation construction was Kaveri anicut (1838) and the reason was not far to seek as the anicut was only a renovation and reconstruction of the ancient structure. Sir Arthur Cotton paid handsome tributes to the engineering skills of the artisans of Andhra and Tamil Nadu who imparted their knowledge in constructing irrigation works to that military engineer, a novice in the field. But Sir Arthur Cotton failed to fathom the intricacies of ancient canal system so well understood by the Indians. The chaos that resulted from an incompetent handling of Yamuna canal system and similar works laid bare the ignorance of the British engineers. Historians cite the misery brought upon the peasantry on account of such misdeeds in the name of irrigation as one of the reasons that drove the people into rebellion in 1857. Till 1875, the British could understand but a few of ancient irrigation works, the extension of canals in U.P. to well-irrigated areas and the construction of canals in Orissa yielded no beneficial results but instead ruined the soil. The old practice of selective breaches to river bunds in Bengal was abolished by the use of force.

The advantages of irrigation through breaches and the mitigation of floods were lost at a go. As a result, famine and floods ravaged the soil. In addition, the raised river bunds and the railway embankments and roads led to wide-spread stagnation of flood water that unleashed malaria. Water hyacinth overran Bengal and could never be weeded since then. In southern India, all the British works were executed in Delta areas and no irrigation project was undertaken in high-lands. The much published anicuts and canals increased the salinity of the soil, made the soil waterlogged, and sea water entered the mouths of rivers on a large scale resulting in depletion of soil fertility.

Though pioneers like Arthur Cotton acknowledged the insight Indians had in irrigation, the very irrigation system was wrecked through execution of major irrigation projects on a widescale. The feudal sections and the comprador, aided and abetted the British efforts and derived benefits from such projects. Old

landlords, new feudal lords, old and new merchant classes amassed wealth. The comprador and the feudal classes lacked the will and desire to improve irrigation. To make the best of the British imperialist agricultural policy was their sole objective. There is little qualitative change in the state of affairs even today.

That was the irrigation policy of the British. To make things worse, widespread destruction of forests for shipbuilding, for railway works and roads and for mining was undertaken on a large scale. The feudal elements and the rich merchants turned into contractors to help the 'masters' and to make an 'honest penny' in the endeavour.

After transfer of power to native ruling classes i.e. feudal-comprador-bureaucratic classes, the policies mentioned above were continued at a quicker pace.

India brimmed with activities of imperialists of the American camp. The legacy of famine and droughts drove the ruling classes into the arms of the American imperialists. PL-480 strengthened the much cherished bond between the imperialists and their lackeys. Along with the wheat came the American advice about agriculture and irrigation. The PL-480 funds gave the Americans not only the leverage to manoeuvre the policies of the government but the subsequent phases of PL-480 laid the material ground work for American agricultural business. The Indian ruling classes, frightened out of their wits by the victory of the Communist Party of China, with the spectre of such influence looming large over India, with Telangana, Tebhaga, and Punnapravayalar in arms, embraced the 'green revolution' with the earnest hope of eradicating the 'red menace'. Thousands of crores of rupees were borrowed from international lending agencies to implement the green revolution strategy. Major irrigation works were begun all over the country. Agricultural research and training institutions were opened all over. Thus was created a market favourable for the imperialist agriproduct companies to pursue their business in a short span of time. Hence Indian agriculture became the basis for other industrial activities of foreign capital in India.

The World Bank acted as a major catalyst in the

transformation of agriculture. The irrigation projects that gathered dust in British time "saw the light of the day". American, British, German, French experts trooped in to lend advice. River projects were chosen with an eye on quick and easy returns on the foreign capital that was lent. This was the much touted locational advantage. Meanwhile the ruling classes lost no time in impressing upon the people the 'million virtues' of these irrigation projects. No fact was left untwisted and no figure was left untampered in this campaign of lies.

Engineering bureaucrats of the irrigation department shown bright in borrowed plumes. They made quick money in collusion with the contractors. Continuous negotiations between engineering bureaucracy, the foreign experts and lending agencies were cloaked in secrecy. People were kept in the dark about the planning and execution of projects. Matters were decided in Washington and decisions were routed through New Delhi. Thus were hatched the great irrigation conspiracies by the imperialists and their native lackeys.

After four decades of intense irrigation activity and driven by the motive of profit and plunder, the irrigation system of India naturally presents a picture of ruin and decay amidst hundreds of structures named dams, canals and reservoirs scattered all over the country. The number of such dams increased from 1554 (1979) to 2240 (1990). The outstanding debt on such projects is quoted as 10,500 crore rupees, albeit a questionable figure. The power generation from hydel Projects increased from 1000 MW (1950) to 13,856 MW (1982) and the government is never tired of claiming that the irrigation potential under such projects increased from 9.7 million hectares to 30.5 million hectares, though little remains to be said of the potential realised.

Now we may ask the questions : why do millions suffer from hunger?; why have drought and famine become the permanent features of every state in a country with so many irrigation projects and so much of created irrigation potential?; when there is water to irrigate the land why is there no water to quench the thirst of the people ?

To understand the conspiracy perpetrated in the name of

irrigation, we may briefly recount a few details about the pros and the cons of the major irrigation-oriented policies of the ruling classes in terms of projected and actual expenditures on projects, the "achievements", the hydel potential created, the environmental degradation, the loss of soil fertility, wastage of water, life-span of projects and the losers and the beneficiaries of such projects.

Projected estimations of costs and actual costs :

The costs of projects are deliberately underquoted by engineering bureaucracy and feudal political leadership before the projects gain in popularity. But the costs escalate progressively and the final cost-benefit estimations make it a redundant exercise. The foreign lending agencies always remain the final arbiters in deciding the quantum to be spent. For instance, the Sriramsagar Project that was begun in 1964 was estimated to cost 4.010 crores at its inception. Even phase-I of the project has not been completed after incurring an expenditure of 1027 crores.

The cost escalation in the case of Siddeshwar was 622.57% and Rihand Project was 217.05%.

Table 1			
The estimates at inception : revised estimates some projects in A.P.			
Name of the project	Year of commencement	Initial Estimate	Revised estimate
Sr. Ramsagar	1964	Rs.4010 laks	Rs. 102700 laks
Nagarjunasagar	1955	Rs. 9112 laks	Rs. 77800 laks
Jurala	1980	2975 laks	13042 laks
Srisailam left canal	1983	35300 laks	48000 laks

Delay in the completion of projects :

Many of the projects that are launched with much fanfare and publicity are never completed in reasonable time. In the case of many, the completion of the dam had to be regarded as an 'achievement' leave alone the canal system. Major portions of the canals were not lined. Branch canals were not dug. In general, the pace of the work depended upon the importance attached to the project by the foreign lending agencies, and the

Table 2				
Estimates at inception : revised estimated some projects of india				
Name of the project	Initial estimate (Crore Rs)	Revised estimate (Crore Rs)	Cost escalation	Cost escalation in percentage
Tungabhadra	46.92	79.51	32.59	69.46 %
Bhakra	79.42	176.30	96.88	121.98 %
Rana Pratapsagar	9.44	23.54	14.10	149.36 %
Ravishankar Sagar	15.34	40.00	24.66	160.76 %
Gandhi Sagar	34.48	98.46	63.98	185.56 %
Tana	27.50	91.40	63.90	232.36 %
Rihand	16.25	51.52	35.27	217.05 %
Kamtakheri	20.67	143.20	122.53	592.79 %
Siddeshwar	2.57	18.57	16.00	622.52 %
According to a study estimate revised at a rate of 253.78 %				

interaction between the landord sections, irrigation bureaucracy and foreign principals.

Table 3				
Delay in completion of some projects (Canal system not included)				
Name	Year of commencement	Targeted year of completion	Year of actual completion	Delay (in percentage)
Bhakra	1948	1956	1963	62.5%
Jalaput	1946	1953	1962	128.5%
Siddeshwar	1958	1962	1974	300.0%
Malampuda	1949	1952	1966	466.0%

Table 4			
Major irrigation-achieved projects			
Name	Declared Irrigation potential (Thousand hectares)	Achieved irrigation potential (Thousand hectares)	Percentage of achievement
Ravishankar Sagar	150	20	13%
Tawa	332	87	26.20%
Malaprabha	206	89	43.20%

Kuttiyyadi	31	14	45.16%
Dimbhe	108	10	9.26%
Paihan	125	5	4%
Ukai	386	20.43	5.29%
Dantwada	44	Nil	N.A.
Kamtakheri	85.20	2.10	2.40%
Mazalgaon	141.40	22.60	15.96%

Canals are not taken into consideration in the computation of delays. It is clear that none of the major projects of AP are completed yet.

Achievements under the major projects :

No major project in India has achieved even 50% of the objectives that the ruling classes trumpeted about. In AP, this dismal performance is true of long term as well as short term goals.

Achieved irrigation potential by the end of 7th five year plan			
Name of the project	Initially declared ayacut (Thousand hectares)	Finally decided ayacut (Thousand hectares)	Achieved irrigation potential (Thousand acres)
Nagarjuna Sagar	80.00	54.090	27.790
Srirama Sagar	123.00	47.961	29.221
Somasila	44.24	13.215	1.620
Vamsadhara-1	80.00	8.345	6.489
Srisaillam R-1 Canal	15.00	Nil	N.A.
Tungabhadra Highlevel Canal (2nd stage)	5.45	3.658	2.331
Telugu Ganga	35.00	Nil	N.A.
Medium scale projects	102.31	46.488	21.787
Total	484.90	174.629	89.238

The ruling classes' propoganda is patent falsehood and their achievements are illusory. In the whole affair, people were reduced to mere spectators. Water utilisation under the projects never exceeded 35 to 40%. Many of the canal systems fell into

Table 6		
Irrigation potential achieved in the 1990-91 annual plan period		
Name	Proposed irrigation (hectares)	Achieved irrigation (hectares)
Srisamasagar	10,000	1,499
Nagarjuna Sagar	5,000	368
Telugu Ganga	434	Nil
Somasila	5,000	2,098
Vamsadhara	4,206	Nil
Tungabhadra Highlevel Canal-2	1,500	368
Jurala	3,000	Nil
Pulivandula Canal	1,000	Nil
Medium scale projects	9,850	1,018

disrepair while the network has not yet been completed.

The propaganda about the hydel capacities of major projects must be taken with a pinch of salt. Many were built exclusively for power generation, eg. Machkund, Srisailam.

Table 7			
Some Hydel projects in the country			
Lower Sileru	400.0 M.W.	Koyna	880.0 M.W.
Upper Sileru	120.0 M.W.	Idukki	390.0 M.W.
Machkund	114.7 M.W.	Rihand	300.0 M.W.
Sharavati	891.0 M.W.	R1-Bhakra	600.0 M.W.
Kumda	535.0 M.W.	Dehar	66.0 M.W.

The facts about the cost-benefit advantage of hydel projects disprove the claims of the ruling classes. Studies done by Linney and Harrison revealed that the enormous costs in terms of energy involved in the construction of such projects put the gains to shade. *"Large amount of fuel is spent while building a dam. The work includes laying of roads at high altitudes and for long distances. For two to six years, heavy equipment like cranes need to be moved. If concrete is used, mixing alone burns a good amount of fuel. When the life-span of the reservoir is reckoned with, the expenditure of energy always exceeds the quantum produced."* Studies conducted on the New Melones dam in California cast doubts on the cost-benefit advantages.

Such claims are all the more irrelevant in the Indian context where endless delays, incompetent management, huge amortisations' burdens add to the loss. The shortened life-span of reservoirs, the inefficient management of turbines and the frequent breakdowns of turbines further add to this burden. And the government experts are not too astute in their calculations either. Paranjpe's study (1988) proves that transmission losses are not included, peak efficiency periods misquoted etc. in the cost-benefit calculations of the Tehri Project.

Environmental degradation :

Reduction of irrigation through feats of civil engineering spelled have the ruin of environment. Between 1951-1976, 0.5 million hectares of forests were submerged under water in the name of major projects. This is one-tenth of the land brought under plough.

Table 8	
Land Submerged	
Name	Land inundated (Thousand hectares)
Srisaillam	61.20
Pang	62.87
Gandhi Sagar	68.00
Hirakud	75.00
Almatti	79.02
Sriram Sagar	55.97
Nagarjuna Sagar	28.48
Tungabhadra	35.88
Total land submerged under 62 projects is 2,028 thousand hectares.	

The major projects are invariably located in hilly terrains covered with forests. As these 'modern temples' proliferate in remote forest areas, vast tracts of forest are rapidly cleared to facilitate civil works or are submerged under the reservoirs. The fauna have perished with the forests. The ecological system developed over millions of years cannot be valued in terms of dollars. The loss is in terms of the role of forests in the

preservation of soil fertility and ground water. The intricate relation between the small and larger forms of life in the forests can never be made good. But then, the ruling classes never had qualms about such an environmental disaster. In a blatant display of cynicism, even the timber of the trees that are fell around the side was reckoned by the planners as profit accruing from the project. The loss of forests under the Narmada Project is sought to be compensated by the planting of eucalyptus in Kutch area. So much for environment!

In the areas covered by major irrigation schemes, problems of drainage, waterlogging and alkalinity took a heavy toll of soil fertility. In Andhra Pradesh, under Nagarjunasagar, Sriram Sagar and Tungabhadra, 2,38,000 hectares of soil were found degraded thus. The anicut under these projects does not exceed 14,81,000 hectares.

In 182 villages, rise in alkalinity ruined the soil. Under major projects all over the country, 60 lakh hectares of land are degraded by waterlogging, 25 lakhs by alkalinity and 45 lakhs by salinity. The total irrigated area does not exceed 400 lakh hectares. The Comptroller and Auditor General's Report (1981) mentions about decrease under 300 crore in the Tawa Project. Since 1965, under the Chambal Project, problems of drainage and water logging have put 1% of lands out of cultivation every year. According to an estimate, waterlogging, salinity, and alkalinity have degraded 17.93% of land all over the country.

Wastage of water in the name of major projects :

Water seepage on a large scale poses a major problem all along the canal system. The Central Water and Power Commission reported in 1967 that 71% of water is lost on the way from the reservoir to the field. The Irrigation Commission estimated this to be around 62% in the case of projects in Northern India.

Seepage can be arrested by lining the canals with cement, but the catch is that the funds are to be released by the World Bank. The sanctioned funds must find the way to the fields. Many are familiar with the scandals that followed such lining works.

Soil degraded by water-logging and salinity				
Name	Water logging (hectares)	Salinity (hectares)	Estimated irrigation (hectares)	Percentage of soil degraded
Nagarjuna Sagar	52,000	23,000	6,90,600	11.50%
Gandhi Sagar	70,000	64,838	2,73,000	49.39%
Tungabhadra	41,000	81,000	3,62,000	33.70%
Sriram Sagar	2,000	Nil	1,03,000	19.42%
Vani Vilas Sagar	276	Nil	9,200	3.00%

Water loss through canals			
Name	Estimated loss cusec / Million sq. feet	Actual loss cusec / Million sq. feet	Increase in loss
NagarjunaSagar R1-Canal	8	16.7	100%
NagarjunaSagar Canal	8	21.2	165%
Mahanadi Canal	8	39.7	396%
Chambal R1-canal	8	15	87.5%
Mula R1-Canal	8	24.5	206%

Siltation and shortened life-span of projects :

Many major reservoirs have been silted at a fast pace. Nagarjuna Sagar reservoir is silted at 7 times the estimated rate. One of the youngest projects in the state, Sriram Sagar reservoir's capacity shrank.

According to a survey by the Government in Mahanandi, Ramaganga Chambal project areas, the forest coverage, which ideally should occupy 60% of drainage area of the reservoirs upstream, shrank by 0.6% to 0.8%. Such deforestation led to siltation of reservoirs. According to a study, 22 reservoirs under major projects are gathering silt at a rate of 400% above the estimated rate.

The life-span of Bhakra reservoir shortened from 88 to 47 years and that of Hirakud reservoir from 110 to 35 years. The silt that fills is harder than baked brick and the reservoir bed is

Siltation : estimated / real			
Name	Annual siltation estimate (square acres)	Actual siltation rate (square acres)	Percentage
Tungabhadra	9,796	41,058	419.13%
Bhakra	23,000	33,745	146.72%
Ukai	7,448	27,758	292.00%
Maithon	684	5,910	874.27%
Nizam Sagar	530	8,725	1,648.25%

unsuitable for cultivation in any conceivable way.

It is needless to add that such largescale deforestation is also the result of centuries of development under the rule of the exploiting classes and their imperialist masters.

Water is stored in such silted reservoirs at heights far exceeding the danger level exposing the dam to the risks of bursting. Under similar circumstances, the Machu dam collapsed in August, 1979 and inundated the Morvi town in a flas flood killing hundreds of inhabitants.

It is common practice to let the flood water accumulate to dangerous levels in these silted reservoirs and to open the crest gates in the eleventh hour creating artificial floods in the area of downstream. Such a pratice has led to loss of several lives in downstream areas of Krishnaya Sagar a few years ago.

The longevity of many dams is called into question when the faulty construction and use of inferior construction material is taken into consideration. In Andhra such lapses of greivous nature were noted in the case of Kadem and Somasila dams. Reports of damage to the dams on account of inferior quality material came from over 13 projects in the country eg. Hirakud, Dantiwada, Nanaksagar, Khadakwasla.

To whom the benefits accrue :

The feudal classes come into the possession of information regarding the projects before anyone can dream of them. The projects are proposed at their initiative. The famous ruling class leaders of the state, K. Brahmananda Reddy, J. Vengal Rao, Vijayabhaskara Reddy, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, etc. are quite popular

among the landlord sections for their skill in negotiating with the Delhi administration and foreign lending agencies. Such negotiations and manoeuvres were conducted in stages from Hyderabad to Delhi and from there on to Washington. The engineering bureaucracy lends necessary technical help in presenting the case for the 'favourable' consideration of the lending agencies.

It is not surprising to find that the landlords and the bureaucrats come to possess large tracts of land in the ayacut of these projects. Land is purchased at throw-away prices from small farmers, decades ahead of the commencement of project work. Modifications are effected in the projects and the canal system to ensure irrigation to the lands thus acquired. Levelling and shaping of the land is often found to be completed only in the case of such large landholdings. In the midreaches and the tailends of the canals, no levelling is done at all. Thus the lands possessed by the landlords are ensured good irrigation, while the small and middle class farmers stand at their mercy. The quantum of water to be released in every season is decided by the local landlords and the irrigation bureaucracy. The landlords, in a show of strength, always utilise the largest proportion of water in the canals and always raise crops whose water requirements are high. The small and medium farmers, whose lands are invariably arrayed at the midreaches and the tailends, cannot find adequate water even for a single crop. Iqbal Ali who studied the land holding pattern in Sri Ramasagar Ayacut observes: *"Under the ayacut, the landlords possess 64% of the land. The average size of the land holding at the head reach of the canal is large. Landlords even acquire extra peices of land through reverse lease agreements. The profits that accrue to the landlords through land lease exceed those begotten by cultivation. The farmers at the tailends of the canal are unable to take out a livelihood by farming and are compelled to seek non-farm employment"*.

A study by Water and Power Consultancy Services in Mahnandi ayacut revealed that average rice output from a landholding at the headreach of the canal is 1.54 tonnes.

whereas at the tailends it is 0.22 tonnes. It lends clud to the size of the land holding along the canal system.

Serious irregularities in the distribution of water are noted by Suryavamshi and Pandhi (1982) in upper Ganga Canal areas where the World Bank in "*Sprit of justice*" harped upon Warabandhi arrangements. In the headreaches water availability is found to be 119% the required amounts and at the tailends it is 68%.

The Planning Commission's studies (1965) in Triveni, Sharada and Ganga ayacuts revealed that the average size of land holdings is larger in ayacut areas than in nonirrigated areas, and people from other areas are wont to purchase land under project ayacuts. The studies in Bhakra ayacut by Velde and Rodinger, in Kosi ayacut by Prasad, and in Sarada ayacut by Thormer amply reveal the hold of the landlords over the land and the water.

Hydel power from large projects enriched the comprador capitalists and the water irrigated the lands of the landlords. The imperialists reaped the benefits of natural resources and more profitable utilisation of cheap labour. Wholesale trade and transport flourished. The landlords of Krishna, Godavari ayacuts rose to become civil and arrack contractors and producers of Madras Masala films.

Who faced ruin from major projects :

In tribal areas the tribals lost their land and forests and were turned into labourers on those very projects which spelt doom for their lives. Many villages found their graves under water. The Government evicted people by force brandishing an act enacted by the British in 1894. The poor and the middle class *rayots* either received no compensation at all or a paltry sum at their best. And livelihood in the form of land could never be recompensed with currency notes. Adding to the misery, the peasants were ensnared by the lawyers and litigents with promises of quick compensations that they always had to share with such touts. Many farmers had to migrate to unknown destinations in search of livelihood, and many were driven to destitution or suicide.

A survey conduted by 'Lokayan' in Srisailam project area

revealed that in 117 villages about 27,871 families were displaced. The Government used the police to drive out the inhabitants and demolished the houses in the villages. Not a drop of water irrigates the land under this project commenced in 1961. Govt. estimates state that the returns on the investments on this project amount to Rs. 8 paise per 100 rupees. In Kurnool and Mahboobnagar districts, over 1.5 lakh people are affected by the inundation. And the majority of the people thus affected are the dalits like tappers, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, weavers and shepherds who lost their traditional sources of livelihood and subsequently had to depend on daily wages for wherewithal. Even the fishermen are unable to fish in the deep waters of the reservoirs and are ekeing out a living as wage labourers. In the affected village 90% of the *tari* lands (irrigated lands) were lost. Livestock dwindled as large areas of pastrure land were submerged. The debt burden in the effect villages increased from Rs. 4,810 per head to Rs. 12,462. While 62% of the families were indebted prior to eviction, at present 91% families are indebted. Dalits who cultivated *poromboke* lands lost 90% of their lands and they never gained any compensation, since they could not claim the land as per the law. The lawyers who dealt with cases of compensation were known to have charged 50% of the amount towards their fees.

The treatment meted out to the displaced people under Rihand project at Renughat in M.P. proves that there is no love lost between the Govt. representing the ruling classes and the people. When 50,000 people in 108 effected villages agitated in favour of just compensation, they were summarily dealt with by opening the crest gates at short notice forcing them to flee from the villages. The people thus displaced are repeatedly driven out from every new area of settlement, many of whom have faced eviction over five times. Since 1960, these victims of development have been leading a nomadic existence.

The Govt. has displayed blatant cynicism in doling out compensation to the people effected by the projects. For instance, the people under Kang dam in Himachal Pradesh were offered land in the desert of Rajasthan. The affected people are

not mere displaced persons but people pauperised with debt and ruined in famines.

Table 12		
Displaced persons & affected villages		
Name	Villages	Displaced people
Kamtha Kheri	7	889
Rihand	108	55,000
Mazalgaon	65	65,296
Ukai	170	80,0000
Gandhi Sagar	228	51,514
Hirakud	249	18,000
Dimbhe	69	18,000
Warna	37	29,300
Gohira	130	31,000
Under 42 projects 13,25,273 people were displaced.		

How A.P. fared after three decades of major project irrigation :

Between 1950 and 1985, Rs. 1747 crores were spent on major irrigation projects in A.P. Over three decades of this development widened the disparities in irrigation between the various regions of the state.

Regional inequalities :

While 8.1% of the cultivated land of Adilabad district is irrigated, it is 82.7% in Krishna District, it is 12.9% in Ananthapur, and 81.7% in W. Godavari Dist. In Coastal Andhra, in Krishna Dist. 3,39,000 acres of land are irrigated, in Srikakulam the irrigated land is 1,88,000 acres. In Telangana 1,49,000 acres is irrigated in Karimnagar, while only 79,000 acres is irrigated in Mahboob Nagar District. Cuddapah dist. in Rayalaseema has 96,000 acres of irrigated land and Adilabad and Telangana have 49,000 acres of irrigated land.

Even in the well-irrigated districts of Krishna, Guntur and Nellore, the western parts and coastal areas are backward. In irrigated taluks of coastal Andhra, the landlords and the wholesale traders made the best of canal irrigated agriculture, while the middle class and the poor peasantry are either ruined

in the high stake gamble of commodity agriculture or are leading a precarious existence. The disparities between the poor and the rich widened as in no other region in the state. Irrigation strengthened the hands of the feudal classes in the region. Every year thousands of people are migrating from the irrigated districts to Bombay, Hyderabad and other cities to earn their livelihood as manual labourers. In this land of plenty, weavers are driven to suicide to escape starvation. People's misery multiplied with irrigation in the hands of the ruling classes.

	% of irrigated land	Average rainfall / m.m.
Ananthapur	9.4 %	544
Adilabad	10.3 %	1,051
Mahaboobnagar	11.4 %	705
Ranga Reddy	9.6 %	810
Medak	10.7 %	886
Kurnool	15.9 %	622
Chittoor	20.9 %	826
Warangal	19.90 %	990
Nalagonda	20.8%	702
Cuddapah	26.1 %	697

Royalaseema :

In Royalaseema with a population of 9.62 millions, area of 21.18 million hectares, only 56.3% of the land is cultivable, out of which only 19% of the land is irrigated (Andhra 56%, Telangana 22%) K.C. Canal system irrigates parts of two districts -- Kurnool and Cuddapah. Except Kurnool district, irrigation by canal is practically negligible. Of the 57 taluks conceded drought hit by the Govt., 38 taluks belong to Royalaseema alone. 73% of the total population declared drought-affected lives in Royalaseema.

Telangana :

Telangana is surrounded by two major rivers and plagued by drought and famine. The reservoirs of the Nizamsagar, the oldest major project (1936) in the region, is completely silted. The reservoir the Sriram Sagar, the youngest project, is also getting

filled with silt at an alarming rate. The life span of the project may not exceed another decade. The irrigation in M. Nagar district adjoining the river Krishna, does not exceed 19.47% even after the completion of Jurala Project. Nalgonda, Warangal and Medak, though they lie in the drainage area of Krishna and Godavari, have poor facilities. Adilabad, criss-crossed by rivers and streams, is a drought-hit district.

All the projects are for the low-lying regions. The dry lands of Andhra lie at an altitude of 700 to 1600 feet above mean sea level, eg. Cheryal Ghanpur, Husnabad, Sircilla taluq, Ranga Reddy, Nizamabad, Medak districts.

The promise and the reality : A. P.

As in the rest of India, irrigation in A.P. never approached anywhere near the declared targets (see table 6 and 8). People were misled by promises. Work never progressed beyond a stage desired profitable by the landlords. Erroneous planning, dependence on World Bank doles, the endless delay in the release of credit tranches, explain some of the reasons for the delay in the completion of projects. They explain the relation between the feudal classes and the imperialists and their *modus vivendi*.

Achievement under Tawa project			
Crop	Average yield before irrigation project (quintals)	Average yield under irrigation project (quintals)	
		1977-78	1978-79
Rice	4.00	2.98	3.88
Jowar	2.82	3.64	2.72
Wheat	3.14	3.30	3.06
Pulses	2.43	1.96	2.08
Maize	4.81	4.07	4.01

None of the major projects on Godavari cater to the needs of these areas. Sriram Sagar, Alban, Polavaram Projects irrigate only the low-lying areas.

Acreage of irrigated land in the northern coastal district has begun shrinking over the past two decades.

Table 15		
Irrigated land		
Name	1970-71	1985-86
Srikakulam	2,44,100 hectares	1,88,000 hectares
Visakhapatnam	1,79,200 hectares	86,000 hectares
Vizayanagaram	--	21,000 hectares

Tank irrigation in ruins :

While the major irrigation fared so well what is the state of another important source of irrigation i. e. the tanks in the state? Ruling classes have continued with the British policy of willful negligence of tank irrigation. The present Govt. holds an opinion no different from that of Sir Thomas Munro who held that no new tanks were needed to be dug in the provinces.

Tanks have never figured in the grandiose irrigation schemes of the ruling classes, whose plans are inspired by imperialist blue-prints.

Table 16				
Tank irrigation				
Total irrigation in the 5 year period ending with	Andhra Pradesh	Rayalseema	Telangana	Coastal Andhra
1962/63	7,374	1,047	2,019	3,427
1967/68	7,606	1,043	2,090	4,474
1972/73	7,498	1,187	1,739	4,572
1976/77	8,338	1,243	2,409	4,813
Irrigation under tanks in the 5 year period ending with	Andhra Pradesh	Rayalseema	Telangana	Coastal Andhra
1962/63	2,519	469	1,259	1,329
1967/68	2,478	441	1,239	1,401
1972/73	2,271	362	761	1,186
1976/77	1,901	350	1,052	1,172
Percentage of tank irrigation in total irrigation				
	1958-59		1976-77	
Coastal Andhra	30.7		23.3	
Telangana	65.2		50.0	
Rayalseema	44.5		24.23	

A perusal of crop and season report of A.P. reveals the decline in tank irrigation.

According to agricultural statistics, tank irrigation in Rayalaseema shrank from 44.5% to 24.8% in the period 1958 to 1977 and in Telangana from 65.2% to 50% eg. in Kurnool dist. the area under tank irrigation declined from 51,000 acres to 27,000 acres during that period. This is a major blow to the irrigation in these regions of the state. The state of tank irrigation after 1977 is worse than that revealed by figures as anyone acquainted with tanks can vouch safe for.

A paltry sum of Rs. 20 per acre, that is allotted at present for the tank, meets neither expenses of maintenance nor renovation, leave alone the cost of constructing new tanks. And this is a

Loss due to floods all over India			
Year	Loss of crop by acreage (lakh hectares)	Loss of crop by 1982 prices (million rupees)	Loss of crop by 1952 prices (million rupees)
1953	9.3	540	520
1954	26.5	580	590
1955	54.0	1,190	1,540
1956	21.0	510	510
1957	4.5	240	220
1958	14.9	510	460
1959	15.4	790	680
1960	26.5	670	550
1961	18.3	320	760
1962	35.6	930	750
1963	19.7	380	300
1964	24.7	670	450
1965	2.5	60	30
1966	16.1	650	340
1967	33.0	13.70	620
1968	26.9	20.30	950
1969	43.4	33.30	14.90
1970	48.5	2,870	1,210
1971	62.4	6,320	2,630
1972	24.4	1,580	630

1973	76.0	5,690	1,790
1974	33.0	4,710	1,400
1975	38.5	4,890	1,190
1976	76.8	1,200	2,390
1977	82.5	14,550	2,820
1978	100.5	5,870	3,420
1979	20.0	8,300	1,400
1980	--	--	1,950
1981	--	--	480
Total	1,025.2	93,390	31,370

'quantum leap' in allocation from Rs. 1.50 and Rs. 3.50 of the 1960s and 1970s.

Projects and floods :

A popular misconception that has gained currency since the British times is that major projects mitigate floods. This idea has the merit of simplicity, but it does not stand to scrutiny. Facts speak for themselves.

Usurption of tank lands by the gentry :

The feudal classes adopted a destructive policy towards the tanks. The tanks were thrown into disrepair, the bunds were breached to settle scores, small farmers were deprived of water and as the tanks went dry, claims were laid upon the tank-beds and occupied by force. In addition, the fall of irrigation under tanks enabled the land lords to easily acquire the land of the poor peasants.

World Bank sponsored credit for wells -- A continuation of the colonial policy :

While tanks were ruined thus, a blue-print for the areas untouched by the canal irrigation was prepared by World Bank experts and their native cronies. The British introduced Takkavi loan schemes with the specific objective of reducing public maintenance and the provision of tank irrigation in scarcity areas. The direct offspring of this scheme would be seen in the establishment of agricultural cooperative credit institutions for long term finance on the line favoured by the imperialist policy-makers.

Such long term credit institutions were controlled and their

activities coordinated by ARDC, and later NABARD. This irrigation-oriented credit focussed on the promotion of private ownership and exploitation of irrigation. These irrigation-oriented loans included loans for dugwells, repairs of wells, inwell bores, bore wells, oil engines, electric motors, sheds to house them, pipe lines to carry water, etc.

The native clones of the World Bank successfully sold the illusion to the peasants that the route to prosperity was laid through private ownership of water resources. While the official debt mounted owing to major irrigation schemes, spread of well irrigation drove peasants into the arms of banks and usurers. NABARD, the apex body behind this drive towards well irrigation, is for all purposes an Indian subsidiary of the World Bank.

The ruling classes, in collusion with the imperialists, promoted

District	1963-64 (hectares)	1978-79 (hectares)
Srikalulam	13,614	32,921
Vishakapatnam	18,955	37,063
East Godavari	1,752	18,415
West Godavari	9,301	21,252
Krishna	10,539	17,652
Guntur	7,085	11,056
Prakasham	--	24,968
Nellore	23,770	28,446
Kurnool	8,972	9,795
Ananthapur	54,227	51,959
Cuddapah	22,952	48,951
Chittoor	62,238	1,05,960
Ranga Reddy / Hybd	15,829	21,548
Nizamabad	13,343	47,712
Medak	20,656	41,680
Mahaboobnagar	27,597	55,763
Nalagonda	34,533	57,955
Warangal	31,159	1,03,644
Khammam	3,092	16,173
Karimnagar	65,939	1,51,924
Adilabad	3,207	15,197

reckless proliferation of wells fitted with power driven pumps. The bureaucracy published reports of inflated groundwater estimates to justify the expansion of activities. The ground water resources were put at twice the verified estimates to 4.25 million hectare meters.

The irrigation under wells was 60 lakh hectares in 1950-51 while it expanded to 164 lakh hectares by 1979.

The well irrigation programme targeted the drylands of A. P. A good amount of surplus produce of peasants in these areas was spent on the improvement of well irrigation alone. The increase in agricultural production was effected through enhancing the debt burden of the peasantry. Thus in drought hit areas of A.P. usury by bank and non-bank institutions sapped the wealth of the land and the people. New varieties of debt were invented under the pretext of ground water development and exploitation.

False reports on ground water reservoirs : Making hay

In the perennially drought hit districts of Ananthapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Prakasam, Ranga Reddy, M.Nagar, Nalagonda and Kurnool the average rainfall is below 70 cms. The reasons were elaborated above. The average temperature in summer exceeds 45⁰ C. While 22-24 inches of water percolates into the soil, 90 to 120 inches of water evaporates from the earth. As a result the soil is depleted of even minimal necessary moisture required to raise coarse cereals and pulses.

The estimates of ground water resources by Dr. K.L. Rao, which included the canal areas, were put at 1.91 million acre meters in A.P. The Irrigation Commission revised the estimates to 2.11 million hectare meters. These figures were disregarded by the ruling classes who were intent upon any programme favoured by the imperialists that yielded lucre irrespective of the consequences. The Govt. encouraged digging of open wells, borewells, inwell bores, etc, as also the installation of electric power driven pumps, throwing the scientific norms to the winds. The Govt. did not attempt to resurvey the regions and revise the estimates. The life of a borewell is around twenty years. But in the absence of repletion, the wells went dry in a decade. Till 1988, 2,673 borewells laid by the Irrigation Corporation of A.P. had dried up.

The wells cannot be recharged but by storage water on a

Table 19		
Ground water reserves in drought hit districts		
	Annual rate of exploitation reserves (hectare meters)	Annual exploitation rate
Nalagonda	1.40.001	42,529
Mahaboobnagar	1.56.448	43,851
Ranga Reddy	59.519	16,474
Kurnool	1.56.295	10,558
Ananthapur	1.26.320	33,831
Cuddapah	97.638	29,198
Chittoor	1.31.513	61,009
Prakasham	1.72.870	15,827

large scale on the surface of the earth in tanks, ponds and reservoirs. All these sources of surface water were deliberately ruined by the ruling classes. Ruthless exploitation of ground water by the ruling classes and the imperialists in the pursuit of quick profit landed the agriculture of A.P. in a grand crisis.

Not only did the wells dry up, but the mantle of earth lost the moisture at an alarming rate depriving the grass and the trees of nutritive support. The pastures shrank and trees of all kinds perished on a large scale adding to the loss of tree cover. We have seen how forests were damaged by irrigation projects and a host of other activities of the ruling classes. It does not require a great stretch of imagination to understand the principal reason behind the degradation of the environment. The imperialists and their native running dogs brought the conditions to such a pass.

The allocation for major projects to servicing old debts :

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, there are 10 unfinished major projects and 5 new projects. The new projects are yet to be approved by the World Bank. In addition, there are 19 medium scale projects which are incomplete despite the huge expenditure incurred on them. None of the new medium scale projects have gained the approval of the World Bank.

Let us pursue a few details of allocation for major and medium projects in A.P. (see table 20)

Thus, the taxes paid by the people find their ways into coffers of the World Bank and insurance companies etc. and the projects stand mortgaged.

Table 20		
Expenditure on major irrigation projects : Ammortisation (1992-93)		
Name	Expenditure (Rupees thousands)	Ammortisation (Rupees thousands)
Nagarjunasagar	8,06,972	6,58,292
Godavari Delta	70,986	17,594
Godavari Barrage	1,44,063	1,44,063
KC Canal	27,873	10,782
Tungabhadra (HLC)	43,171	14,427
Tungabhadra (LLC)	1,14,377	38,702
Nizamsagar	41,016	23,580
Sriramsagar	7,61,729	6,99,054
Vamsadhara	63,669	54,261
Sengur	1,27,325	1,27,325
Telugu Ganga	5,41,660	5,41,660
Jurala	1,77,722	1,77,722

What are the new major projects?

1. The lining of Kakatiya canal for about 54 kms., Sriramsagar 1st stage, Srisailam Right canal are the three major works approved by the World Bank and the credit was granted under approval No. 1665/2662
2. Renovation of World Bank projects of Tandava, Rajoliband, Pennar, Mossi, KC. Canal, Nizamsagar etc. under national irrigation maintenance scheme. This renovation was approved by the W.B. in 1986-87 with 68.72 crore rupees given towards credit.
3. Drainage works under cyclone reconstruction sanctioned by the World Bank with a credit of 285.77 crores. All the projects are sponsored by the World Bank.

EEC sponsored projects and Netherlands' credit :

The EEC spent 28.95 crores on minor irrigation in the year 1991-92, while the Govt. spent 27.09 crores. Thus, the Govt's minor irrigation also remains sponsored at large by the imperialists and everyone knows that these works never touch minor irrigation at all in practical terms.

The A.P. Govt. received a credit of 12.6 crores in 1992-93 to

Table 21	
A.P Minor irrigation (1992-93)	
E.E.C credit	Rs. 3,25,00,00
Netherland credit	Rs. 3,00,000
Total expenditure	Rs. 2,49,70,02,49,000
E.E.C. loans to some minor irrigation works in some districts of A.P.	
Srikakulam :	Rs. 5 lakhs
Damodarasagaram tank	
Peddagadda resevoir	
Katragadda resevoir	
Rangasagaram tank, etc.	Rs. 22 lakhs
Mahaboobnagar :	
Irannalla tank	
Mallareddypally tank	
Itikyala Lingamma	Rs. 88 lakhs
Cuddapah :	
Bokkinath checkdam	
Vankabanugutta checkdam	
Gangireddypalli checkdam	Rs. 10 lakhs
Chakarrirevu tank	
Ranga Reddy :	
Pattimadi tank	
Charchapalli tank	Rs. 75 lakhs
Nizamabad :	
Kalazipeta tank	
Chalakuru Pedda Cheruni	
Komati tank	

improve drinking water facilities for lift irrigation and recently the Govt. gained approval for an official credit of 255 crores from the Govt. of Netherlands to be spent on new lift irrigation schemes.

In this way all the resources of water, from large reservoirs to small banks are mortgaged to the imperialists. Though work never progresses at the sites, approvals are effected on paper in the name of the projects and, as shown above, a large part of the sanctioned amount is spent on servicing the old debts.

World Bank's attitude -- A change of heart?

When the W.B. withheld the credit for the Narmada project, the ruling classes of Gujarat were in a quandry. In A.P., their brethren face a similar situation. World Bank officials were lukewarm to certain proposals from the Govt. of A.P. The Central Govt. deferred to the wishes of the W.B. and stalled the approval for Telugu Ganga, Srisaïlam Right canal, Jurala, Yeluru Reservoir, Vamshadras, Chalamalavagu (Adilabad), Buggavanka (Cuddapah), Maddiler (Ananthapur), Jajayathi (Viz) which were under construction. Several new projects were consigned to the dust-bin. The feudal bureaucratic combine realised that the overlords throw a spanner in the works.

The World Bank cites several pretexts to put off these schemes like the river water disputes in the case of Telugu Ganga, the environmental objection for Jurala etc. There are no disputes between the ruling classes that do not lend themselves to the arbitration in the courts of imperialists. As for environmental objection, the imperialists' love for nature is too well known. In essence the priority of lending is decided by factors far different from trivalities peddled for the consumption of the gullible. And the World Bank suffers no change of heart whatsoever.

When the Govt. realised that the W.B.'s interest in several schemes cannot be revived in the near future to make the best of the situation, the Govt. declared the year 1993-94 as the Year for Minor Irrigation. Hundred crore were earmarked for minor irrigation in addition to the previous allocation and G.O. 143 were issued elaborating the schemes identified for expenditure. In the drought areas and areas without canal irrigation repairs of tanks, feeders, canals, check dams, percolation dams were identified as works of priority.

Why this new found love for minor irrigation?

Part of the reason is a temporary change in lending priorities of the World Bank. In addition, new elements are introduced into the irrigation policy by the ruling classes with the help of western credit and advice, to enable extension of new agricultural policy to new areas and to cover new products.

The facts speak for themselves :

All the new schemes are sanctioned by EEC, Swiss and Dutch Government. New schemes to modernise minor irrigation are taken up with western credit. The Govt. unilaterally banned new wells in villages under the babel of dark areas. Orchards, mulberry plantations, oil seeds cultivation etc, are promoted with NABARD credit on priority basis in drought areas in preference to food crops. New irrigation techniques eg. sprinklers etc, taught by the Israeli Pandits to the benefit of irrigation experts from new desert areas of the Third World are being adopted. This is a part of the effort by the landlords to make the best of the available water and reap profits from agribusiness, the new money spinner.

The programmes of DRDA etc, for the 1990's reveal an effort to steer agriculture even in drought conditions towards the new goal of agri-business, abandoning food supply to the mercies of multinational food companies.

The ruling classes have turned the country into a semi-desert through an irrigation policy favoured by the imperialists. Forty years of growth in agriculture led to a state where the products either find their way to the tables of urban consumers of easy circumstances or exported to foreign countries, while the rural poor continue to perish under hunger.

All the resources in the rural areas were harnessed to increase the output. Come what may drought or famine, the ruling classes are intent upon utilising every source of water to sustain and promote agribusiness. The farms that cater to the agriproduct companies and those exporting their products shall be irrigated on priority. The rest of the country shall be left to die a slow death in famines.

Today the small and middle peasants are compelled to sell their products at throw-away prices. Cattle are driven to slaughter houses. Cultivable lands are lying fallow. Available resources of water are never utilised. The land in the stranglehold of the feudal classes stands ruined. The feudal classes and their allies serve the imperialists as their social basis to facilitate and augment the plunder. The relations of production

in this parading preclude development of sources of production. Here, irrigation and drought are not technical problems. They are not problems of altitudes, dams and canals and drought is not a problem of cloud cover, moisture and precipitation and winds etc.

Irrigation and drought are inseparably linked to the mode of development imposed by the imperialists and the ruling classes by force. The power of these exploitative machinery has to be shattered and their control over production must be annulled to gain possession of land and water. The unity of the broad masses on the basis of the New Democratic Revolution with agrarian revolution as the axis alone can free the earth and the water from the fetters imposed by the semi-colonial semi-feudal mode of production. Every patriot must rally around the flag of NDR and join the war of national liberation.

We demand :

- * All the main rivers of the country must be linked.
- * After a careful and detailed survey checkdams must be built on small brooks and rivulets.
- * Tanks must be repaired.
- * New tanks must be dug.
- * Tanks must be filled by feeder cannals from impounded reservoirs.
- * Ground water must be recharged by storing water on the surface.
- * Trees of suitable species must be planted.
- * Rayalaseema tanks must be filled with the feeder canals from Telugu Ganga.
- * In the Krishna Ayacut ground water must be utilised for the second crop.
- * The flood water of Godavari must be diverted to Krishna Reservoir and from thereon via Telugu Ganga, Jurala, Srisaillam Left Canal, Reservoirs of Telangana, Rayalaseema, must be replenished.
- * The twin cities must be provided with Godavari water.
- * All the major projects inimical to the interests of the people must be cancelled.

- * The debts incurred in the name of major projects must not be repaid.
- * The new irrigation schemes in tune with new agricultural policy must be scrapped.
- * The lands of landlords under every label, temple lands, shotriam lands, Banjarlands must be handed over to the people without any compensation to the enemies of the people.
- * All the debts incurred by the rural and urban poor must be cancelled.
- * In the planning, execution and maintenance of irrigation work the feudal comprador. bureaucratic classes shall have no say.
- * Control over irrigation schemes must vest with the people.
- * Build a broad-based people's movement on these demands. Weaken the links in the chains of exploitation. Leave no room for manoeuvre to the enemy classes.
- * **Raise high the banner of agrarian revolution.**

(Theme paper discussed at the Andhra Pradesh Ryotu Cooli Sangham Convention on "Dunkel & drought" held at Nalagonda on June 7th & 8th, 1993)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS FROM CPI (M-L) - JANASHAKTI

Chenkoti	<i>Monthly</i>	Malayalam
Hiraval Dasta	<i>Monthly</i>	Punjabi
Janayug	<i>Forthnightly</i>	Bengali
Lok Yudh	<i>Monthly</i>	Marathi
Muktikami	<i>Bi-monthly</i>	Oriya
Vimochana	<i>Forthnightly</i>	Telugu

Make success the all-India convention against imperialism and communalism!

September 29, 30 at Lucknow, U.P.

The State of Uttar Pradesh, the largest populated in the country, charts a distinct place in the country's polity. It has the glory of people's unity and struggle against colonialism and feudalism and gory story of communal violence. The united strength of the people of Ayodhya once forced the colonial armed forces to flee. From the peasant resurgence against the princely feudal states such as Mewar, to the workers and peasants' resistance to colonialism in Kanpur, Pratapgarh, Awadh etc. would remain as glorious chapters in the annals of the state and the country. Hundreds of revolutionaries martyred in the struggle for freedom and independence will live as symbols of sacrifice and dedication. "*Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mein hai*" reminds us of that revolutionary martyr, Ramprasad Bismil, executed to death by the British imperialists in the Kakori conspiracy case along with Asfaquallah. Asfaquallah and Bismil could not be "divided" even on the gallows and they represented a solid unity in the cause of the revolutionary overthrow of colonial rule. Yet on the other side, the colonial masters, in order to rule, successfully injected the communal venom with the aid of the native agent classes. Communalism in India is closely linked with the colonial policy of divide and rule. After the first War of Independence in 1857, the British deliberately fomented communalism and the following official passages speak for themselves. "We have maintained our power in India by playing off one part against the other and we must continue to do so. Do all you can, therefore to prevent all having a common feeling". This was the British Secretary of State, Wood, to Lord Elgin in 1862. "We should so plan our educational text books that the differences between community and community are further strengthened", writes Hamilton to Lord

Curzon in 1888. These profoundly grave and sinister statements would suffice to prove the conscious nurturing and cultivation of communalism in order to perpetuate their colonial plunder and domination. The Minto- Morley reforms of 1909 and the Montague Chelmsford reforms were measures to legitimise communal divide and with inciting Partition they ensured the communal cauldron burning.

In the 1920's, when the famous armed uprising of the Muslim peasantry in the Malabar, known as the Moplah Rebellion, created panic among the exploiting landlords and money-lenders, who were Hindus, and the colonialists, the Mahatma and his Congress not only betrayed the uprising but condemned it as communal. The Hindu communalist opinion found vent through the Mahatma and the holy convergence of the interests of the colonial masters and the native exploiting classes were clearly discernible. In the same period the Mahatma stated "I do not for one moment suggest that we want to end the British connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect then it is our bounden duty to destroy it. Therefore, this creed is elastic enough to take in both shades of opinion". A profound expression aimed at keeping a check on the rising tide of anti-colonial people's struggle, lest it reach the logical culmination of total independence. True to this, the 'connection' was continued, maintained and extended, and complete independence from imperialism was forsaken. Independent India could not be a reality and the 'connection' got further cemented, while the communal cauldron kept alive engulfing innocent lives again and again in semi-colonial and semi-feudal India.

This cementing of the 'connection' and the incitement to communal conflagration went with remarkable speed under the aegis of Indira Gandhi in the beginning of the 80's. The staggering massive loan of 5 billion dollars from IMF and the acceptance of the blatantly subverse conditions pushed the country further into the quagmire of crisis and into the octopus grip of imperialism. Alongside, repressive laws as NSA, ESA,

etc., were brought in to play to ward off struggles of the people, in a disastrous situation of increasing sickness in industry, increasing impoverishment, growing agrarian imbalances and rising unemployment. Nothing better than unleashing communalism, both to distract the people from these basic issues, and to divert the mobilisation of people on these issues on the one hand, and to sustain the power equations on the other, was the alternative that Indira Congress resorted to. Thus, the democratic aspirations of the people of Punjab were diverted and the 'Punjab problem' was converted into a communal problem. It is in this period that Indira Gandhi very deliberately cultivated Hindu Fundamentalism. From patronising the arch Hindu fundamentalist outfit VHP, to unleashing terror on the Sikh minorities. The decade saw the gradual rise of Hindu communalism as patented by both the Congress(I) and the BJP. The aftermath of the assassination of Indira Gandhi saw the organised massacre of five thousand Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi promised to usher in 'Ramarajya' in 1986. Crucial to the sustenance in power was the Hindu vote and in the competition, the BJP, VHP, RSS combine took to aggressive stances as the Champions of the majority community. Babri Masjid was raked up into a controversy and what followed from 1986 is too well-known. Ayodhya occupied the centrestage with Babri Masjid made into a disputed structure. The shilanyas programme sponsored by VHP and allowed by Rajiv, left behind a out of communal flare up in the country. L.K. Advani, with a view to usurp the Hindu vote in the 1989 elections, undertook the Ratha Yathra, again leaving behind a trail of blood in a fresh round of communal violence. The aggressive Hindu communalist drive was made open with pledges to construct the Ram Temple at the site of the Masjid. Posters depicting Ram as the 'National Hero' by the Sangh Parivar appeared throughout the country and the BJP election manifesto went on to characterise the construction of Ram Mandir as "vindication of our cultural heritage and national self-respect". In tandem with this, one of the chief organs of the State, the judiciary proclaims that Ram, like Krishna and Shiva, is a Constitutional entity, a reality of our

national culture. So much for the secular character of the Constitution!

Thus the holy convergence of interests of the Congress(I), the Sangh Parivar and the State eventually led to the demolition of Babri Masjid and the consequent communal violence throughout the length and breadth of the country is, perhaps, the worst ever inflicted upon the people. Who were the victims of this organised carnage? The common and the poor people, particularly those belonging to the Muslim community. What happened in the city of Bombay in the December, January communal carnage is too familiar to be elaborated. Thousands killed, lakhs fled the city. Shops, houses, shanties belonging to minorities were brought down and the Shiv Sainiks had a field day. The 'national hero' and the Constitutional entity did run rough shod over the country and its people. Every time communal violence is whipped up, the armed wing of the State has invariably stood against the minorities. Meerut, Bhagalpur, etc. stand as live testimonies to this. The repressive apparatus gets strengthened further. As a legacy of the colonial state, the Indian state is not only undemocratic but communal too with a distinct Hindu communal bias. The Indian State has used this weapon of communalism to subvert the democratic struggles of the people. In Bombay, the mill-workers, faced with the danger of coltures and the workers uprooted from mills, were gearing up for a united struggle. But, the Dec-Jan riots over took this, causing a dangerous divide in the working class. Placards are foisted on the factory gates that minority workers need not report on duty. The divisive character of the communal venom can be seen from the above. It breaks the workers and their democratic struggles on basic issues. This is precisely what the ruling classes and state desire. Communalism disarms the working class while it strengthens the armoury of the ruling classes.

At the same time, it will be wrong to think that Hindu communalism is aimed only against the minorities. It is aimed against the vast majority of the SCs, STs, OBCs or the Dalits. Since Hindu religion is inconceivable without the oppressive

hierarchical caste system, the Dalits too are targets of the enslaving Brahminal ideology. They are sought to be integrated into and made cogs in the wheel of Hindu communalism. Therefore, the struggle against communalism or Hindu Fundamentalism is inconceivable without the Dalits who constitute 80% of the population. They cannot be cannon fodder or succours to the aggressive Hindu communal drive. They are the movite force alongwith the working class in the fight against communalism which is bound up with the fight for caste annihilation. Every time a bout of communal violence takes place, it is the women who are the worst sufferers. From rape to other forms of physical violence, they are made special targets of communal frenzy. Surat stands as a glaring and horrofic testimony to this fact.

It is therefore necessary to understand that communalism, in particular Hindu communalism, is not a phenomenon independent of the ruling classes and the State. It is reared, fomented, cultivated and used against the people -- against the working class, peasantry, dalits, minorities, tribals and women by the State and ruling classes as and when needed. The Congress (I), BJP, Shiv Sena are the main carriers of the communal virus though all the ruling class parties are responsible for the growth of communalism in the country. The role of the revisionists in this cannot be underplayed, for their very conception of communalism is bereft of working class ideology and politics.

While the structure of Babri Masjid was being pulled down by the aggressive Sangh Parivar with the tacit approval of the Congress (I) and the State, P.V.Narasimha Rao was further consolidating the connection with imperialism. The imperialist financial sharks -- IMF-WB's -- dictates to restructure the economy through the so-called reforms in industry, trade, foreign investments, taxation, agriculture, etc. were forced upon the country only to compound and intensify the basic problems confronting the people. P.V. Narashimha Rao proved once again that India Independent is not a reality, but India sold out is a reality today. And now, the Dunkel Draft proposals await and India, being a member of the GATT, will have to express its

position. Can the rulers who have always been at the service of imperialism and acted as compradors oppose the Dunkel Draft proposals which are an attempt to recolonise India and other third world countries? The rulers will not answer this in the affirmative, because many of the proposals are already put to play as part of the IMF-WB conditionalities.

The question before the people, in particular the working class and the other oppressed classes, is, should this situation which is eating into our vitals continue? Should we allow imperialist masters to loot our country's wealth and control and country's economic, political, cultural reins? Should we allow the multinational corporations such as the Cargill to seize control of salt, seeds, cows, neem, plant life, etc.? Should we mutely watch the imperialists bully our country into meek submission to their dictates? OR build up stiff resistance to these as true patriots? Should we allow the virus of communalism to affect our lives, break our unity as workers, as toilers, as students, as middle classes? Can we be mute spectators to the machinations of the State and the ruling classes pitting worker against worker, inciting communal violence? Should we resist the aggressive Hindu fundamentalist drive trampling under its boot the minorities, the dalits? OR stand up in unity and fight?

In putting up stiff resistance to the imperialist incursion and stranglehold and fighting for true independence is the future of our life and the fate of the country. And in doing so, we have to disarm the ruling classes and the State of their weapon -- communalism. The need at this juncture is to build a patriotic, democratic and secular movement.

Towards forging such a movement an All India Convention against Imperialism and Communalism is being organised on September 29, 30 at Lucknow, under the auspices of a preparatory committee comprising of fifteen people's organisations. We call upon the people to make this convention a success.

**Preparatory Committee
All India Convention against
Imperialism and Communalism**

Report from W. Bengal :

Scrap Mitra Commission recommendations

The Commission headed by Ashoke Mitra, the ex-Finance Minister of West Bengal, has placed its findings and recommendations before the West Bengal State government on the present state of education and the policy to be followed. This fire-brand ex-Finance Minister has proved that all his shouts and clamourings against the IMF-WB-GATT conditionalities are fake. He is of the same ilk as Narasimha Rao and Jyoti Basu.

The recommendations of the Mitra Commission clearly show that the hands of IMF-WB are long enough to tighten their grip on policies of the so-called 'left' government of West Bengal. The Commission has recommended enhancement of fees in all educational institutions, the ratio of the fee hike being 10% to 275 %. In the rural schools, an annual increase of Rs. 250 towards development fees has been recommended. The Commission has also recommended an increase of passing marks to 50% in the examinations. If these recommendations are carried out at the Secondary and Higher Secondary levels, two-thirds of the students appearing for these examinations will fail. The Commission has said nothing about the neglect on the part of the government to ensure reservations for the SC and ST students in educational institutions.

The so-called 'left' students' organisations like SFI, AISF and a small student organisation led by the IPF are so busy in supporting the 'left' front that they are blind to such anti-people recommendations, rather, in some places they are supporting it.

But the revolutionary students' organisations like the PDSF, RSF, RSA and ISA are opposing the Mitra Commission. On August 12, they organised a rally and a convention against the Mitra Commission, which was attended by nearly 1000 students. A resolution opposing the Mitra Commission was adopted during the convention. The students also demanded the immediate withdrawal of ban on the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Students' Front as also the unconditional release of seven peasant revolutionaries of Bihar, who have been sentenced to death. The convention is only the beginning as is evident from the response it has received. Soon the students of West Bengal will rise up against the anti-people education policy of the State.