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Tsunami brings human disaster

Callous bourgeois governments stand responsible

Towards the end of the last year, on 26 December early morning, Indian time, the earth was rocked by a series of devastating events. A very strong earthquake of 9 Richter scale magnitude took place off Sumatra coast in Indonesia, and the resultant tsunami onslaught spread across the entire Indian Ocean in a few hours time onto different countries of south and southeast Asia including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Bangladesh, Myanmar or Burma, India, Maldives and Sri Lanka. The tsunami moved further westwards onto the coasts of east Africa particularly in Somalia, Kenya, Seychelles, Tanzania and other islands in the Indian Ocean and eastwards to reach even the west coast of South and North America two days later. With every passing day, the death toll figure soared higher and higher. As it stood on 31 December, it was more than 125,000, being the highest in Indonesia, followed by about 30,000 in Sri Lanka, more than 10,000 in India and about 150 in African countries. However, as even Jan Egeland, UN undersecretary in charge of emergency relief coordination admitted, it was not possible to fathom the cost of the poor societies and the nameless fishermen and fishing villages and so on that have just been wiped out. Thousands are still missing and millions are homeless and face a bleak future because of polluted drinking water, a lack of sanitation and no health services and added to these an almost indelible psychological trauma.

Obviously such a monstrous event have dug out a series of questions : Could such a natural calamity be predicted or not? Could the resulting devastation be averted

or not? Can man really act upon nature, in spite of all developments of science and technology and all fanfare of infotech boom? Side by side, right-minded people are also expressing their worries about how far the relief for and rehabilitation of the victims who have lost everything in this disaster will be conducted properly and efficiently.

It is now well known that earthquakes are caused by natural processes and those in oceans may give rise, by natural processes, to tsunamis, huge waves at great speed particularly in shallower parts of sea due to sudden and strong rocking of even deep ocean bottoms. Hence explaining the present quake-tsunami coupled event as

manifestation of God's anger, or nature's retribution or even nature's way of cleansing the earth of overpopulation is merely ridiculous. Reactions other than these include one that blames industrial society, built upon man's effort at conquering nature to his own benefit, striking at the balance between man and nature.

No civilized government can refuse funds vital for saving people's life

But does reality leave any scope for accepting this as a right approach? From available information, it has now been increasingly clear that much of this death and destruction could have

been prevented with a simple and inexpensive warning system. In fact, a tsunami warning system existed for the Pacific since 1965. There U.S. developed a more sophisticated and accurate tsunami early warning system in 1995, which is dominated by U.S. and Japanese imperialism. The system, called the Deep-ocean Assessment and Reporting of Tsunamis (DART), sends a signal to a special buoy at the surface that then sends the information to a satellite, which can broadcast the information all over the globe. All this happens in minutes. This information can be used to model the tsunami and warn the threatened regions. Scientists wanted to place two more tsunamis

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Coming Assembly Election in three states

Assembly elections are to be held in Bihar, Jharkhand and Haryana in phases, with the first phase due on February 3. This election comes at a time when the people of the whole country are groaning under evermounting ruthless capitalist exploitation. The above three states are no exceptions to this.

BIHAR

In Bihar, the people are in great distress. Most of the few industries that have remained in Bihar after Jharkhand was carved out of it are sick and on the verge of closing down. The Barauni and Kanti power stations are closed down, and so are most of the sugar mills. Bharat Wagon and IDPL are under lock-out. About 50% of the employees of the Bihar State Transport Corporation are forced to work at half pay for months together. 12 state government Boards and Nigams are

closed down. Only 3000 out of the total of 35,000 employees of the Boards and Nigams receive salaries regularly. Any protest movement by them is crushed by the RJD state government through applying the ESMA. In the rural areas, the peasants are in utter distress. Most of them are landless, without provision of work for a living. Steep hike in fertilizer prices, breakdown of irrigation system due to lack of electricity and exorbitant price of kerosene have added to their misery. If they rise up in protest movement, that is crushed mercilessly. In the Human Development Report, 2001 issued by the Planning Commission, Bihar has been marked as the most backward and poverty-stricken state. The whole state is under virtual mafia rule, and serious crimes are committed daily, hourly.

While such is the miserable condition of the people, the

bourgeois parliamentary parties, without showing any concern for them, have started forming opportunistic alliances resorting to foul manoeuvres and manipulations in order to win the election any how. Lalu Prasad Yadav, chief of the ruling RJD, is holding talks with Arjun Singh of Congress in which hard bargaining is on for seat sharing between the two sides. In order to pressurise the RJD, the Congress has unilaterally finalized a seat sharing deal with Shibu Soren's JMM in Jharkhand, without consulting the RJD. Having done so, the Congress is now holding the carrot of allotting some seats to the RJD in Jharkhand in exchange for a better deal from RJD in Bihar. The Janata Dal-U, although a constituent of the BJP-led NDA, tried for an opportunistic tie-up with the Congress and even with Ram Vilas Paswan's Lok Janashakti

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Patents (Amendment) Ordinance :

A Savage Attack on Science, Technology and Health

On 27th December 2004, as the whole country was still reeling with shock of the news of the killer tsunami that had hit the southern coast the previous day, the UPA Government took advantage of the situation and promulgated the Patents (Amendment) Ordinance 2004. This was followed by the amended Patent Rules 2005, issued on 31st December. The Third Amendment to the Patents Act, 1970 was to be tabled in the winter session of Parliament in 2004, but was craftily held back by the Government to bypass Parliament in a most undemocratic manner. The Government's explanation for the Ordinance was that the TRIPs (Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) agreement under the GATT, which the then Congress Government signed in 1994, required WTO members to make their domestic patent laws TRIPs-compliant by 1st January 2005, or else face retaliatory measures from other WTO members.

The main objective of the Ordinance was to introduce product patents for food, pharmaceuticals and chemicals, in place of the existing system of process patents under the Patents Act, 1970. A decade back, the then Congress Government, disdaining vehement opposition of the people, signed the Marrakesh Agreement of GATT, including the TRIPs Agreement to introduce product patents as per the Dunkel Proposals. A process patent gives the owner exclusive right only over the manufacturing process and hence anyone else could sell the product as long as he uses a different process of manufacture. But a product patent prevents others from manufacturing, selling, or importing a patented product, even if the product has been manufactured through different processes, without taking permission from and paying royalty to the patent holder.

To make the Patents Act 1970 TRIPs-compliant, the erstwhile BJP-led NDA government carried out two important amendments - extension of term of patent protection from 7 to 20 years and grant of exclusive marketing rights to patent applicants or "Mail Box" candidates even before approval of the patents and thus gave them a monopoly over the products ahead of completion of formalities.

Loopholes for MNCs to Exploit - 'TRIPs-plus measures'

The Ordinance merely states, in general terms, that a patent applicant has to show that there is novelty and an inventive step involved in the new product. But both the Indian Pharmaceutical Alliance (IPA) and the Indian Drug Manufacturers Association (IDMA) have warned time and again that MNCs are resorting to a strategy of 'evergreening' of patents. That is to say, MNCs are filing patent applications for new forms of older patented drugs and for new uses of older drugs, thereby trying to block the entry of generic drugs into the market. This essentially means that off-patent drugs used for even common ailments, which are in the generic category, will get patented and monopolised, thereby leading to a rise in their prices too. By not defining patentability precisely, the Ordinance allows such 'evergreening'.

Similarly, through a change in the procedure for filing opposition against a patent application whereby the opposing party is not made a party to the proceedings, the Ordinance, in the name of curtailment of delay in disposing of objection petitions, ensures that patents are granted as a matter of course and denial is a rare exception. This will be to the advantage of the drug MNCs.

The Union Commerce Minister Kamal Nath, in his statement on the Ordinance, has made much of the fact that the pre-existing provisions for Compulsory Licensing and for Government take-over of patents in the case of national emergency have been left untouched, and that these provide sufficient safeguards to protect public interest and public health. Compulsory Licensing is resorted to when a patent holder does not manufacture a patented product locally in a stipulated time, meeting "reasonable requirements of the public", making it available to the public at a "reasonably affordable price". The Government then has the power to authorise any other company to manufacture the product on payment of an unspecified royalty to the patent holder. But this vague, so-called safeguard of public interest is nullified on two counts - one, the procedure for Compulsory Licensing continues to be cumbersome and

time-consuming, whereas the Government is keen that the process of grant of patent must proceed at a swift pace with minimum obstacles; and two, the royalty to be paid to the patent holder has no fixed ceiling. MNCs can charge any royalty they like, which domestic companies will recover from consumers by raising prices. This means that Compulsory Licensing is de facto a very difficult option and a meaningless one so far as the common people are concerned.

These loopholes in the Ordinance and proposed new legislation on data protection, etc. in the offing as per hints given by the concerned minister, are not warranted by the TRIPs Agreement but are "TRIPs plus features" essentially to prolong the monopoly of the patent holders even after expiry of patent and prevent the government from breaking a patent in public interest.

Long-term Consequence of the New Patent Regime : Retardation of Science and Technology

The most devastating long-term outcome of the Amendment Ordinance and the product patent regime that it will bring about, is the retardation of the growth of science itself. The Scientific Revolution took place in the era of ascendant capitalism, hand in hand with the revolutionising of productive forces through the growth of technology and the Industrial Revolution. Modern science classified perceptual knowledge, and built conceptual knowledge by searching for the laws governing natural phenomena with the aim of purposeful utilisation of such laws. In this period, national barriers did not confine the growth of scientific knowledge. In capitalism, material production and the intellectual product used in the process of material production assume social character, but the means of production and the profit from production remain under individual ownership, giving rise to an irreconcilable contradiction which can disappear only with the abolition of capitalism. But despite this historical limitation of capitalism, the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions in its ascendant phase led to rapid and wide spread of knowledge of science and

technology. The wide spread of scientific knowledge in turn led to its further growth through fresh hypotheses, experimentation and verification - through a collective process in an expanding scientific community. Similarly, technology grew through a process of observation, experimentation and adaptation. One of the ethics of science, in contrast to the narrow base and secrecy of feudal knowledge, was openness and sharing of knowledge. Even in the early and mid-twentieth century, though capitalism had already reached its moribund imperialist stage, this ethics was displayed in the actions of many scientists like Marie Curie, Jagdish Chandra Bose, Alexander Fleming and Jonas Salk bequeathing their inventions and discoveries to mankind, without asking for any material reward for themselves.

But the same capitalist system, which in its rising phase had given birth to modern science, turned against science in its moribund phase. In order to reap maximum profit in chronically crisis-ridden economy, the bourgeoisie began stressing only the technological aspects of science while neglecting theoretical or basic science. As giant monopoly companies began to dominate the production process, they also began to control the process of technological innovation, using scientists and engineers as their salaried employees. Multinational corporations converted scientific and technological knowledge itself into a form of private property, though the character of its production remained social. Thus, monopoly capitalism brought about the system of patenting inventions and discoveries. The patent owner has not been the individual scientist or inventor, but the company itself, while the actual inventors have been mere wage-earners. The patent-holding company's monopoly acts as a fetter on technological development, because the patent-holding company has a monopoly on the product and any process to manufacture it. Further, such patenting is a disincentive even for research in theoretical sciences in the same area, given the broad scope of patents and the huge royalties involved in merely accessing

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Tsunami exposes inhuman capitalism bare

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meters in the Indian Ocean, including one near Indonesia, but the plan had not been funded. The tsunameters cost about Rs 10 crores each, meaning that 20 crores of rupees would have sufficed for an early warning system in the Indian Ocean.

Attitude of the Indian capitalist government was fittingly comparable with that of the US government! India has already emerged as the strongest economic power of the region, as well aspirant of establishing its hegemony as a superpower in this part of the globe. Even then the Indian government ruled out investing in an international tsunami-warning system, on the grounds that India was not a Pacific country and the Indian ocean never had a history of tsunami. So it was not worth spending so much money on it. But the grounds proved to be half-truth, either a mark of ignorance or a sheer criminal callousness for a country. Firstly, of eight tsunamis generated around the Pacific Rim in the last four years three were in Indonesia and one, the Java tsunami of June 1994, killed at least 300 people and destroyed hundreds of homes. Second, it was in June 2004 that the UN Inter governmental Oceanographic Commission had concluded that the 'Indian Ocean has a significant threat from both local and distant tsunamis' on account of particularly the Indonesian to Andaman belt being highly earthquake-prone and should have a warning network. But no action was agreed upon. Third, there are reports in India of coastal inundation by very strong tides in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that have never been seriously verified. Now that thousands are dead and millions affected by a tsunami, the Indian government cries hoarse for an elaborate warning system, this time as a benevolent saviour of its neighbours and thereupon, as a 'leader' of them.

The miserly and criminal callousness of both the US, the India and other governments of the region only leads us to a question: Can governments that refuse funds necessary for adopting simple, relatively inexpensive measures that can save people's life and livelihood, claim themselves as civilized ones by any measure? This is particularly telling when people find that such governments spend huge sums in their military budgets, in maintaining lavish, luxurious life of their rich,

their politicians and bureaucrats and refuse to fund measures vital for people's life. It turns out to be shocking when it is known that a meagre sum of 20 crores of rupees was enough to construct a system that could have prevented thousands of needless deaths, only a minuscule fraction of the 6000 crores of rupees U.S.A. spends every day to fund the Pentagon war machine.

No amount of technology, of course, could have prevented the powerful undersea earthquake or the resulting mega-tsunami that struck 27 countries. But humanity has progressed to the point where a combination of technology and social organization is capable of vastly mitigating such a disaster. Through education, training and preparation, early warning, rapid mass mobilization for evacuation and full-scale social coordination to deal with the aftermath, tens of thousands of lives, at the least, could have been saved. Only governments with the interests and welfare of the masses as their primary concern could have made the preparations and taken the actions to do what was necessary.

Cuba is cited as an example in this regard as internationally acknowledged leader in dealing with natural disasters. A poor country by western standards and put to further plight with the U.S. blockade yet in September 2004, the socialist Cuba endured Ivan, the fifth-largest hurricane ever to hit the Caribbean, with sustained winds of 124 miles per hour. Cuba evacuated almost 2 million people — more than 15 percent of the total population. No one was killed. On the other hand the U.S. spent \$13 billion for the Florida hurricane to have, however, higher casualties than Cuba. Community mobilization, solidarity, clear political commitment to safeguard human life and a population that is 'disaster-aware' and educated in the necessary actions to be taken in the event of a disaster, were behind the Cuban success.

**Headless, heartless
bureaucratic callousness took
toll of thousands of lives**

Due to the absence of a tsunami-warning system in the Indian ocean the governments of affected countries had no real warning. Even whatever warning they had, was not properly attended to. Within minutes of the massive 9.0 magnitude earthquake off the coast of Indonesia, U.S. scientists working

with National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) at Honolulu Centre of it, suspected that a deadly wave was spreading through the Indian Ocean. They said to have e-mailed Indonesian officials, which apparently went unheeded.

In India too, the bureaucracy reigns supreme; different institutes may detect quake or cyclone or such other calamities with the infrastructure they have; only the Indian Meteorological Department issues the warning. And that IMD said to have received the warning of tsunami. But instead of sending it to the concerned Minister, it sent the message to the former minister, now out of office, much to his amusement. Government departments like the IMD, the Department of Ocean Development and the Survey of India as also the Navy itself, varied widely among themselves on even fixing the time at which the tsunami had hit the Indian coast. Such sorry records of accountability and efficiency of government departments or the Navy have prompted responsible Indian scientists to raise question about how far even a highly equipped and efficient warning or monitoring system will be used properly and for the benefit of people. Even the military which is pampered with the exorbitant budget allotment consuming a lion's share of taxpayer's money, stood as helpless onlooker and victim to see the Car Nicobar base being washed away.

American scientists of NOAA, immediately warned the U.S. Naval Station at Diego Garcia, which suffered very little damage from the tsunami. On the other hand, reportedly one of the scientists said: "We tried to do what we could... We don't have contacts in our address book for anybody in that part of the world." So they did not call anyone in the governments in the area. In this day of instant communications, controlled in a large part by the U.S., it is possible to communicate within minutes to every part of the globe. It is beyond belief that even though the NOAA had several hours notice before the first waves hit shore, its officials could not find any method to directly and immediately contact civilian authorities in the area. "It is telling that the NOAA was able to get the warning to the US Navy base in the area, but wouldn't pick up the phone and call the civil authorities in the region to warn them. They made sure that a US military base was notified and did almost nothing to

issue a warning to the civilian inhabitants who were in the direct path of the wave — a warning that might have saved thousands of lives. This is criminal negligence." Such was the reaction of the International Action Center, Washington itself. Even a few minutes warning would have given the affected people a chance to seek higher ground and save their life at the least.

**Unplanned encroachment
played havoc from ecological
imbalance it had created**

These Asian countries around the Indian Ocean have their particular problems too. In absence of any properly planned programme from the bourgeois governments of these countries increasing population of the coastal belts have spread their habitation in a way that have caused ecological imbalance. But more important and criminal is the same process of disturbing ecological balance through the spurt of tourism. Many of these countries, are projected as heaven for tourism to the rich of the western countries. To allure tourists more, the tourism industry made facilities of luxury, comfort and enjoyment almost right into the sea felling down trees and clearing mangrove forests that have proved to be deterrent to even the present devastating tsunami in parts of Sri Lanka.

The attitude becomes evident from a report "One of the four officials in charge of monitoring earthquakes confirmed that the [Meteorological] department was aware of what had happened minutes after the quake... they were discussing the likelihood of a tsunami, but did not issue a warning out of concern for tourism and the department's own interests." "Business would be instantaneously affected." (The Nation, Bangkok, December 31)

People of the affected countries have already passed through the ordeal of quake-tsunami event. They now await a fresh calamity. "The biggest threat to survivors is from the spread of infection through contamination of drinking water and putrefying bodies left by the receding waters," as remarked a senior U.N. health official. "Within a few days, we fear, there is going to be outbreaks of disease," Medical experts warn that malaria, cholera and dengue fever are expected to pose serious health threats to survivors in the area.

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Assembly Election in three states

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Party (LJP) ! But having failed in that, the JD-U has again turned round to reach a seat sharing agreement with the BJP !. But the strangest thing is that both the combinations, RJD-Congress and JD-U-BJP, are wooing a corrupt, opportunist and criminal outfit like Paswan's LJP! For those who may be unaware of it, the antecedents of Paswan are as follows. He was a minister in the earlier BJP-led government at the Centre. Came the general election last year, and the LJP fought that election as a partner of the RJD-Congress combine against the BJP-led NDA! After the election, Paswan became a minister in the UPA government. Paswan has now regrouped his party with notorious musclemen with the coming election in view, and, dreaming about capturing power in Bihar, is talking about countering Lanu Prasad Yadav. While the BJP-JD-U combination has kept the doors still open for a possible tie-up with the LJP, the Congress too has hinted at a possible alliance with Paswan to pressurise the RJD into offering a better bargain, and Lalu Prasad Yadav has offered Paswan's son-in-law RJD ticket from any constituency of his choice in order to split and pressurize the LJP ! The CPI(M) and the CPI are playing second fiddle to the RJD and acting as advisors to Lalu Prasad, trying for seat adjustments with such heinous, opportunist manipulators !

JHARKHAND

The state of Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar in November, 2000 and its government was formed without a mandate being taken from the people through election. It was proclaimed that the new state would usher in a heaven for the tribal people. But during the last 4 years' rule by the BJP-led combination, a handful of rich have become richer through making use of the government machinery and bureaucracy in their favour at the cost of the people. A few among the tribals in the higher echelons of the BJP and the government have also amassed wealth at will. The dream of well-fare of the common tribals and other downtrodden people has been shattered. The people are starving. They are in dire need of food, drinking water, medicines and all amenities of life. Prices of essential goods have sky-rocketed. Closure of factories, lock-outs, lay-

offs and retrenchment have pauperised vast sections of the people. Due to lack of irrigational facilities, huge areas of land remain barren causing utter distress to the peasantry. There is great resentment against the BJP-led government. The parliamentary parties are indifferent, callous and apathetic to the problems of the people. Now, on the eve of the Assembly polls, they are all busy working out poll alliances and seat adjustments and preparing to woo the voters with false promises. The BJP has made several attempts to whip up communal frenzy in the state, sometimes playing the Hindu card and sometimes raising the bogey of the "Domicile" issue to create rifts among the people, to create vote-banks. On the other hand, the JMM, Congress and the RJD are trying to cash on the strong feeling against the BJP. Two poll alliances have been struck, one between the BJP and the Janata Dal-U and the other between the Congress and the JMM of the notorious Sibusoren facing multiple criminal charges ! It is this Sibusoren who is getting support from the bourgeois media, and the Congress has made the alliance with JMM keeping Sibusoren to the fore, holding him up as the next chief minister ! And the CPI(M) and CPI are appeasing them in the hope of a few seats, on the lame excuse of resisting communalism !

HARYANA

In Haryana, the present INLD government headed by Om Prakash Chautala has been following the footsteps of the earlier Congress and HVP-BJP ministries (headed by Bhajan Lal and Bansilal respectively) by running the government in the interest of the capitalist class, implementing the globalization-liberalization-privatization policies. This has resulted in mass discontent. The Chautala ministry increased fees and charges for education and allowed various private educational institutions to grow, abolished free medical card/slip for outdoor patients and increased all medical charges in district hospitals and effected steep hike in bus fares and electricity tariffs. Thousands of government employees have been sacked. The Chautala government intended to pass a legislation for implementation of contract farming system in agriculture, but due to the opposition of the peasantry and the people, it did not bring up the matter

in the state legislature. With the Assembly election approaching, all the bourgeois parliamentary parties, unconcerned about the people's plight, have busied themselves in devising ways and means to do well at the hustings anyhow. Till the eve of the Lok Sabha poll last year, INLD was a constituent of the NDA and the BJP supported the INLD government in Haryana from outside. But the alliance between them broke down on the issue of seat sharing for the Lok Sabha poll. Now the BJP is going it alone and trying to cash on the anti-INLD sentiment of the people in the coming polls in a bid to dislodge the Chautala government. And Chautala has now discovered that the BJP is a party of the capitalists and an enemy of the people just like the Congress! Having won most of the Lok Sabha seats from this state in last year's election, the Congress is eager to return to power in the state, riding on the people's discontent against the Chautala government. While the BJP is playing the Hindu card to improve its election prospects, the Congress is making use of regionalism, casteism and provincialism (on the SYL issue) for the same purpose. Chautala is trying to have an alliance with the BSP.

OUR ANALYSES PROVED CORRECT

Against this backdrop of mounting distress of the people under capitalist onslaughts and the murky atmosphere of unprincipled poll alliances, manoeuvres and manipulations by the bourgeois parliamentary parties in the three states, the CPI(M) and CPI who call themselves leftists but have left the path of mass movement, are busy in hobnobbing with and appeasing the Congress and its associates like the RJD in Bihar and the JMM in Jharkhand in the hope of a few seats being allotted to them, while the people suffer.

That the sufferings of the people are continually on the rise, the handful of rich are getting richer and more and more people are getting pauperised — are no new or unexpected phenomena. During the 57 years after the independence, we have been repeatedly stressing that these are the inevitable outcomes of capitalist class rule. Our Central Committee, in its pre-general election analysis last year, once again pointed out that the election was being held at a time when the people were groaning under the ruinous globalization-liberalization policies initiated in the interest of

monopoly capital by the Congress central government in 1991 and vigorously pursued by the BJP subsequently when it came into power at the Centre; that the anti-people economic policies would be continued irrespective of whether the BJP-led or the Congress-led combination came into power through the election; that the parties like the CPI(M) and CPI going by the name of leftists were striking an opportunistic alliance with the Congress to anyhow make gains in the election, trying to justify their unprincipled move by raising the slogan of fighting BJP's communalism by uniting the 'secular' forces, but neither the Congress was secular, nor could BJP's communalism be effectively fought by just inflicting an election-defeat on it; only mass movements and countrywide painstaking ideological struggle could provide an effective deterrent to the evil of communalism. In its statement on the results of last year's general election, our Central Committee noted that the deep-seated, accumulated resentment of the people against the BJP misrule was strongly expressed through the election dislodging the BJP from power, but in the absence of a left and democratic alternative before the people due to the forsaking of the path of mass movements by the CPI(M) and CPI, the Congress, another faithful defender of the capitalist class, reaped the dividend by replacing the BJP in power, thus fulfilling the design of the ruling class to foist a two-party system upon the country; that the CPI(M) and CPI, by extending support to the Congress, had become instrumental in working out the evil design.

Developments during the subsequent months have proved the above analyses of our party correct in every respect. The ruling class has been able to stabilize the political situation in its favour by installing the Congress-led UPA ministry headed by Manmohan Singh with the support of the "leftists" like the CPI(M) and CPI. The Congress, now being in power again, is serving the interest of the ruling capitalist class just as it used to do earlier. Through the 2004-05 Central budget and other policy measures, the UPA government is going full steam ahead with the anti-people economic "reforms" that were being pursued by the erstwhile BJP-led NDA government. Manmohan Singh's call for reforms with a "human face" is a

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Relief work lets loose scrambling for spheres of influence

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In addition, there is a serious problem of rehabilitating the still-surviving victims. On one hand, the shock of the event has overwhelmed them in such a way that there is a pathetic rising trend of suicide and mental derangement. Over and above that, the huge number of orphans poses another painful situation. To add insult to injury, the UNICEF Director, himself has warned the world that there is a racket active in child-trafficking and particularly girl-trafficking, picking up these orphans even in the name of adopting them.

Individuals, non-government organizations and governments of different countries all over the world have jumped upon the issue. 'Suddenly, countries are falling over each other to proclaim their generosity'. (Times of India, January 5, 2005) The USA government that once reacted strongly at the UN suggestion that 'leading economies have been stingy in providing aids' (Times of India, January 2, 2005), have boosted the aid ten-fold from \$35 million to \$350 million, though the amount is a meagre percent of what the Bush government has spent on war against the Iraqi people. Similarly the Indian government, too, has shed apart its reluctance towards a tsunami warning system and has also come out with extensive relief plans. China, too, does not want to fall back. Celebrities from all over the world, the racing car champion to Mumbai film stars or tennis aces, everybody seems to have rose to his or her feet. While it is natural that any human, worth its name, must be all on its toes to rush to the victims for their relief and rehabilitation, a question that remains is where were these big benevolent donors sleeping when a mere fraction was needed for the preventive warning system. Rather, the Indian government intends to utilize this issue to extend its big-brotherly hegemony over the weaker, vanquished neighbours. The "quicker relief and rehabilitation" could give USA "a toehold" in an area where it has lost its face to a large extent. That this race of theirs for benevolence is really a race for their expending and maintaining respective spheres of influence and markets in this part of globe, is also evident from the mutual strife between different countries. For instance, the USA is arm-twisting India to infiltrate into its islands of the Andamans, hitherto restricted to

foreign nationalities; it is also reported that the USA is deploying its troops as aid-givers in several of the affected countries that is causing worries in those countries. India once spits venom and reaffirms its decision to go without foreign help and then poses pondering over a reconsideration of the American proposal. Conflicts and concurrences are, however, mere two faces of the same purpose and goal. Above everything, we must not forget that, be it with hurricane in Honduras and Nicaragua in 1998 or Mozambique flood in 2000, or, say, Iran earthquake in 2003 or the latest, war-ravaged Iraq, "promises on aid are meant to be broken" (Times of India January 5, 2005).

The record of the bourgeois government of India in the present case does not help erase the skepticism. It utterly failed in protecting its people from the disaster. Now that it has the task to save the victims from further troubles and plight, it betrays equal lack of its intent and efficiency. It has not yet deployed the armed forces on a war footing in order to tackle such a national emergency and in defence of the people; it has not yet been able to complete a total survey of damage and destruction, there is hardly any organized and systematic effort to utilize the man and machine power for the purpose even necessary equipments shovels, earth-movers, crowbars and carriages for removal of dead bodies are wanting; naturally it has created a dangerous environment threatening to cause and spread epidemics to add to the unbearably heavy toll already reached; medical help is found wanting in most places or lacking in basic medical supplies. The governments, Union or of affected southern states, have left the responsibility rather with the voluntary efforts of people; in reality such efforts which are pouring without hesitation can only supplement government efforts, not supplant them. Both Central and state governments are found wanting in those efforts to deliver as well as facilitate relief work.

Indian people, particularly those of the affected states as also people of the affected countries need thus to fight not just the fury of nature or its aftermath, as apprehended. They should equally remain aware of this danger of capitalism-imperialism that presses down upon them through their own governments, as well as from outside, with a cloak of benevolent saviour concealing their

real purpose of riding upon them with heavier burden of exploitation. At the same time, they must realize that they have the silver lining from the democratic-minded anti-imperialist forces of different corners of the world that are expressing their fraternity and solidarity with the victims in their fight for survival. Thus, people of USA are coming up to mercilessly criticize their government. They have clearly indicated "Although economic and political policies cannot control the weather, they can determine how a nation is impacted by natural disasters. We must hold the U.S. government accountable for their role in tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of deaths. We must demand that it stop spending \$1.5 billion each day for war and occupation and instead provide health care for the victims of this tragedy, build an early warning system, and rebuild the homes and infrastructure destroyed by the tsunami." The IAC also held a demonstration at New York on January 5 last, demanding cancellation of debts of the tsunami-affected countries. Even from Europe afar, organizations like the Workers' Party of Belgium have given vent to the same warm feelings for the people of affected countries, adding further that the "aid must be extended in the form of gifts, without any conditions. Because the vultures that are the Western monopolies already see an opportunity for realizing new profits through the reconstruction paid for by their own governments."

Our party, SUCI, stands in full sympathy and fraternity with the quake and tsunami affected people of India and other countries. The party has engaged itself right from the day of disaster in a comprehensive effort. In the affected states we have sent fact finding teams to make on-the-spot assessment of the situation and task. On their basis, we have released our efforts in one and every state of India wherever we could organize them for collecting and distributing relief material from people to the victims. At the same time we demand of both the Union and state governments, that they seriously take the situation as a national calamity and accordingly take all serious and effective measures on a war-footing for rescue and relief works, provide adequate compensation to the families of the dead and to the injured, compensation for all loss of properties suffered, take steps to

prevent likely breakouts of diseases, restore to all affected persons their means of livelihood and take steps to rehabilitate the thousands who have lost their homes, particularly including the orphans. In the last case, governments cannot shrug off their responsibility by issuing a call to individuals to adopt the orphans, as that would neither fit with the magnitude of the problem, nor adoption will always guarantee a secured future for the orphans. All this make, what may be called, short term measures. Side by side with these the governments must take up long term measures. They include installation and effective running of detecting, preventive and protective measures and systems for earthquake and tsunami or similar natural hazards, free of bureaucratic interference and petty party interests and driven with pro-people attitude. Constraints of funding must not be any plea for delaying or abandoning adequate steps for these. There should also be a planned and organized effort to ensure that habitation or human-related other activities should be closely and strictly monitored for particularly the extremely vulnerable parts of the coastal belt, taking at the same time due cognizance of the question of livelihood and life of the sections of people concerned. The Army must be made to work for the affected people at large and not just those around their bases or installations only. And above everything the government must accept the responsibility with a really pro-people angularity and not just for a posture or for any ulterior motive to project itself inside or outside the country. We should also add a few words for the parliamentary political parties, specially those who clamour leftist jargons. At this critical hour of the nation, the whole of the population should bear the responsibility to stand by the victims. To ascertain and accomplish the tasks, both long- and short-term there should be threadbare scientific exchanges and elaborations of views and opinions outside as well as inside the parliamentary forums. Unfortunately, the seasoned parliamentarians seem to be more interested in fighting out petty party or personal issues than to engage themselves sincerely in such activities, people may expect from them. The impact of this devastating event is sure to last long; no amount of regret will be enough if we lose time at the right moment.

Life saving drugs will go beyond common people's reach

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scientific knowledge 'owned' by giant corporations. Therefore, product patenting throttles science itself. In this third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism, knowledge, discoveries and inventions are also being sold in the market as commodised means of production, generating huge profits for MNCs. MNCs thus profit from the sale of goods as well as sale of knowledge commodified through product patents. The product patent system was initially confined to the imperialist nations through their national laws. But following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the imperialist countries and their MNCs successfully introduced a universal system of protection of "intellectual property rights" (IPR) through TRIPS at the conclusion of the Uruguay round of GATT. Members of WTO were required to amend their national patent laws and introduce a product patent system. The aspirant national bourgeoisie of relatively less developed countries like India accepted this change with the expectation of global market access.

Public Health Consequences of the New Patent Regime

Under the present process patent regime, relatively low-cost and locally manufactured generic drugs are available for patients suffering from a wide range of ailments, many of them chronic and life-threatening, like diabetes, asthma, hypertension, coronary diseases, schizophrenia, depression, cancer, HIV/AIDS, arthritis, spondylitis and respiratory/urinary tract infections. These relatively cheap generic drugs will no longer be available in the market once product patents are granted to companies with pending patent applications for drugs for these ailments. The practice of 'reverse engineering' - preparing the same product through a different process, which was used throughout the process patent era, is no longer legal. Legalising product patents will also imply that the fruits of scientific innovation will be denied to people at large, as new and better drugs that replace older ones with harmful side effects will become inaccessible due to their high prices. Many such drugs are currently being reverse engineered and sold cheaply by local manufacturers.

Union Commerce Minister

Kamal Nath has offered spurious arguments to say that fears of a price rise are unfounded. "In fact a feature of patent protection is that it spurs research, so that constantly alternatives keep appearing in the market - and often the alternatives are better ones. Thus price control is inherently built in" But in fact, the experience worldwide is the opposite. In the United States, the Food and Drug Administration has begun to acknowledge that patenting has not worked as an incentive for production of new drugs. In India too, the Indian Pharmaceutical Alliance (IPA) notes that most of the over 4000 applications for pharmaceutical patents in the 'mailbox' are for pre-1995 drugs, seeking patent protection for drugs which are already being marketed by domestic companies. This shows that the Commerce Minister's assurance that 97 percent of all drugs manufactured in India are off-patent, including all life-saving drugs and drugs for common ailments, and so prices will remain unaffected, is completely misleading. This is confirmed by the Indian Drug Manufacturers' Association as well. The accumulated effect of all these will further afflict the public health system already in complete doldrums and in perilous proximity to total collapse.

Closures and Job Losses in the Pharmaceutical Industry

Already in the process of globalisation and liberalisation, closure and downsizing have become common with the giant pharmaceutical PSUs like IDPL, Hindustan Antibiotics, etc. Ancillary small industries have been either shut down or are running a skeletal production. Small manufacturers, unable to face competitive challenges from MNCs and giant Indian corporates, have folded up. More will follow suit shortly. Advent of new technology will trigger further retrenchment and future employment prospects of shop floor workers and frontline sales people will increasingly become grim.

Indian Bourgeoisie's Response to WTO and TRIPS

The main question is: why has the Government resorted to such an Ordinance which is against science, health of the people and even against the interests of a section of the Indian bourgeoisie itself? Why is the

Ordinance not just TRIPS-compliant, but full of 'TRIPS-plus' features that will go in favour of MNCs? This question rightly puzzles many common people who are used to thinking that even a government of the national bourgeoisie is at least minimally committed to protecting the interests of its citizens, and definitely the interests of all domestic capitalists.

In fact, our Party's earlier analyses of imperialist globalisation is confirmed once again by the Patents (Amendment) Ordinance. We had said long back that after the collapse of the socialist camp which had hitherto acted as an alternative market for the developing countries, the Indian bourgeoisie, which, as an inalienable part of moribund world capitalism is pursuing hegemonistic designs and aspiring to emerge as a domineering force in South and South-East Asia, is bound to go for integration of the Indian economy with the global market economy. In its attempt to find an easy and wide entry into the foreign markets which are already in the grip of the highly developed capitalist-imperialist countries and their powerful MNCs, the Indian bourgeoisie is obliged to enter into collaboration with them and in return to open entry into the Indian market for those MNCs. This is why it signed the GATT, agreeing with the Dunkel proposals without paying any heed to the countrywide people's protest movement against the same. As revealed by this latest Ordinance, the Government has taken a position that concessions to MNCs are unavoidable in the aggregate interest of Indian capitalism and its imperialistic urges, in return for promised concessions by the imperialists in other sectors. It must be remembered that in the Uruguay Round of GATT too, the Indian Government had initially opposed 'Intellectual Property Rights' (IPR) being brought under the purview of GATT, but later on had done a volte-face hoping to gain concessions for textiles and agriculture in exchange for giving concessions on IPRs. Once again, the Government has taken the same position as revealed by Minister Kamal Nath's statement on the Ordinance. The Minister has argued that India's conformity with the international IPR system is essential in order to ensure that developed nations adhere to their commitments to phase out the Multi-Fibre Agreement by 2005 as

promised under the Marrakesh Agreement of GATT ten years ago meaning thereby the Indian bourgeoisie must open up its pharmaceutical market in order to gain access to the global textile market.

Indian Bourgeoisie Shows Dual Character

Indian companies are not passively accepting the fate of being out-competed by MNCs on patent applications. They are trying a number of alternative strategies simultaneously, clearly showing the typical dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie that had been explained by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long back. On basis of this analysis, our Party has shown that on the one hand, in order to satisfy their imperialistic urge for a share of the global market, the Indian bourgeoisie is fiercely competing with MNCs. On the other hand, in the absence of the alternative market that had been provided by the erstwhile socialist camp, and increasingly constrained by the aggressive strategies of MNCs backed by imperialist nations led by the US, it is entering into collaboration with MNCs as junior partner.

The Indian pharmaceutical companies are visibly uncomfortable at the increasing number of MNCs filing applications for patent rights. Hence they are trying for some alternative strategies to minimise the scale of MNC invasion to protect their business interest. A careful observation will also reveal that their opposition to the Ordinance has been half-hearted and limited only to the extent of protecting their narrow business interests and their assessment as to whether the profit prospect would be improved or impaired. For example, because of their lobbying, the Ordinance has incorporated some changes in the Patents (Third Amendment) Bill, 2003 prepared by the previous NDA Government. The main change is that patent rights for 'mailbox' applications will be available only with prospective effect i.e. after scrutiny and grant of patent, and not with retrospective effect from the date of application. This will protect domestic companies from patent infringement lawsuits by MNC 'mailbox' applicants, and will give a little more time for domestic companies to sell their products. The

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No fundamental opposition from Congress, BJP, CPI(M)

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domestic companies are also lobbying hard to retain the right to sell the generic equivalent of the "mail box application" drugs by paying nominal royalty to the applicants. All these underline their concern for their profit through suitable modifications of the Ordinance and not any genuine concern for the people.

Congress-BJP Join Hands

The NDA had completely backed the UPA Government's draft Patents (Third Amendment) Bill, with former Commerce Minister Arun Jaitley of the BJP merely vaguely asking for safeguards for consumers and domestic industry. The first two Amendments to the Patent Act had been wholly supported by the Congress when it was in the Opposition, and the NDA is doing likewise now when it is in the Opposition. As stated earlier, the Amendment Ordinance is almost the same as the Amendment Bill tabled by the NDA in Parliament in December 2003. In short, there is no difference at all between the BJP-led NDA Government and the Congress-led UPA Government on amending the Patent Act in conformity with TRIPS and even going beyond TRIPS. This is unsurprising, as both parties are bourgeois parties, which formulate laws and policies in the aggregate interest of the Indian bourgeoisie, which has no interest in the development of science or the health of its people. These parties uphold the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capital which in order to gain access to the global market is opening up the domestic market to the MNCs and at the same time trying to protect its domination over the domestic market through some legal provisions.

Treachurous Role of the CPI(M)-CPI

But the most dubious has been the role of the CPI(M)-CPI, calling themselves 'Left' and pretending to be so pronounced in their opposition to the anti-people policies of the UPA Government which is fully backed by them. "The UPA Government will take all steps to ensure availability of life saving drugs at reasonable prices", declared the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) of the UPA Government having due endorsement by the CPI(M), CPI. Knowing fully well that the draft Third Amendment Bill

(now an Ordinance) was destined to make a mockery of the above declaration, the CPI(M), CPI, instead of demanding its withdrawal lock, stock and barrel, mooted a proposal for sending the draft to a joint select Committee of Parliament for discussion. But after a meeting with the concerned Minister, they set aside that proposal and instead agreed to place their detailed suggestions in a letter to the government. They were well aware that in order to meet the deadline of the GATT agreement, the government would try to anyhow get the enactment effected by the end of December, 2004. Yet instead of creating any pressure on the government, they just allowed the enactment to have a safe passage by limiting their responsibility to mere letter-writing, which, in the absence of any programme of mobilised mass protest against such a sinister move is just mock opposition. The bourgeois class and bourgeois press are also playing along in this charade of "left opposition" to portray the CPI(M)-CPI as the main opponents to the amendment of the Patent law so as to hoodwink the people.

Though the letter has not been made public, some idea as to its content might perhaps be had from a recent note published in the People's Democracy, the CPI(M)'s central organ, in its issue of November 21, 2004. In that note, the CPI(M), CPI advised the government that the proposed changes in the Patent law need to be examined "so as not to compromise the interests of India's pharmaceutical industry and its ability to service the health-care needs of the country"... "domestic laws, while being TRIPS compliant, need to make full use of the 'flexibilities' available in the TRIPS agreement"... "it is also necessary to press for a review of the TRIPS agreement itself - something that is mandated in the original agreement, but which has not been followed up"... "the principal concern should be that the amended law protects the country's interest adequately". The position of the CPI(M), CPI, therefore, is not of opposing the Amendment for its anti-people character but of protecting a vaguely defined "country's interest" which in a class-divided society cannot be supra-class, rather it means safeguarding the business interest of the Indian pharmaceutical industry, owned either by the bourgeois state or the national monopoly capital,

that the CPI(M)-CPI consider, has the "ability to service the health needs of the country". Clearly, they want, while being a member of the WTO, the Indian government to demand a review of TRIPS, as mandated in the TRIPS Agreement and not concede more than what TRIPS requires. So, the CPI(M), CPI do not have any fundamental opposition to the Patent Law nor are they opposed to the Indian government joining the WTO. Like the Congress and the BJP, these pseudo-lefts are virtually defending the class-interest and class-need of the ruling bourgeoisie under Marxist vocabulary. So, shunning the path of struggle, they are now collaborating with the class and hence making futile utterances by depending on illusory "flexibilities" of TRIPS. The CPI(M)-led pseudo-left's treacherous role in providing safe passage to Patent Law Amendment Ordinance once again proves that all their verbiage against liberalisation-globalisation-privatisation are only meant for public consumption and brightening election prospects. Once again, the CPI(M)-CPI have proved themselves to be a compromising

social-democratic force between labour and capital, as pointed out by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh when he began his struggle for the formation of SUCI in the Forties.

People Must Rise in Protest

But the people cannot remain passive and permit such a pernicious move to fetter the development of science and technology that threatens human civilisation itself and hand over people's health to profit-greedy MNCs and monopoly capital. We call upon the people to come forward, close their ranks and build up a massive conscious organised democratic movement in demand of scrapping the Patents Law, abandoning all WTO and TRIPS provisions and finally pulling the country out of the WTO. The SUCI, which has been consistently opposing Dunkel Proposals, the concept of product patents, the GATT Agreement, the WTO provisions as being prescriptions of decadent global imperialism-capitalism headed by US imperialism to perpetrate its exploitative class-rule, fervently appeals to the people to build up this just struggle.

Admission in medical colleges

Victory of AIDS0, West Bengal

Student movement held by the AIDS0 in West Bengal has again achieved a remarkable victory by compelling the most arrogant and anti-people CPI(M) Front government of the state to concede to their just demand. The CPI(M) Front government has been forced to admit the Joint Entrance Examination (JEE) passed students in medical courses canceling the admission of the NRI quota students admitted with capitation fee of lakhs of rupees. The CPI (M) Front government of the state had sold out medical courses seats to the NRI quota students at a hefty price of Rs.9 lakh 24 thousand per seat depriving the meritorious students who passed the stiff JEE, but the joint movement of the students and guardians under the leadership of AIDS0 has foiled this heinous attempt of the government and the government is now made to return those seats to the deserving students.

However much might it be illegal and unjust the government did not do it by any means whimsically or indiscreetly; on the contrary, it had planfully and

cunningly proceeded in its path of making business with medical education out of veritable greed for money and according to its anti-people class policy since 2001 when it declared its policy of exorbitantly enhancing fees and charges in all branches and levels of education, including medical education, in the state and effected the hike in 2002. Apart from hiking the fees for medical students by even 40 to 50 times it announced that 15% of seats in every medical colleges would be kept reserved for those who would pay 18 lakh rupees per seat. Then and there students sprang up in protest under the leadership of AIDS0 and started continuous movement. The government reserved 150 seats out of 200 in two new medical colleges viz. Midnapur Medical College and SSKM Medical College, Calcutta to NRI students willing to pay Rs.9 lakh 24 thousand for each seat. In August 2004 defying all protests the government most despotically admitted 99 NRI students from outside the JEE merit list even

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Victory of AIDS, West Bengal Coming Assembly Elections

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though till then the matter was subjudice in the High Court. The undaunted medical students and JEE qualifiers continued their movement in the face of repeated onslaught of the police, SFI roughs and Co-ordination Committee (of state government employees unions controlled by the CPM) hoodlums. In September '04 the High Court at Calcutta pronounced its judgement cancelling such unjust and illegal admission. The government preferred appeal to the Supreme Court. However, the government was defeated in Supreme Court also. It ordered the government on 29th October '04 to fill up all the seats of 'NRI quota' with JEE qualifiers keeping only 30 seats vacant. But the government refused to obey the order and movement in higher pitch for compelling the government to implement the SC order continued. Lastly on SC stricture the government was compelled to admit the 69 JEE qualifiers.

As a part of the programme of liberalization-privatization-globalization the ruling class of the country is trying for long to commercialize education and capitation fee system has already made deep inroad in private educational set-up. But due to strong social opposition against capitation fee it could not make any head way into government

educational institutions. It is the CPI(M) Front government of West Bengal which under its Left cloak tried do this mischief through backdoor in the field of education in the interest of the rich and in detriment to that of the middle-class and poor students.

It is true, the final victory of the deprived students came from the SC verdict but it is the strenuous and protracted struggle of the students and guardians for long three years side by side with the legal battle which created the social ambience and urge for such a verdict from the supreme legal authority. What has been exposed from this mischievous move of the CPI(M) Front government is that the CPI(M) is now nakedly trying to beat the known bourgeois parties like the Congress, BJP etc in the rat race for commercialization of education conducive to the ruling class's avowed object of liberalization-privatization-globalization. This party and its student wing SFI always chanting Marxist slogans vociferously speak against privatization and commercialization of education posing themselves pro-people but what they actually do is evident from this act of treachery and hypocrisy unbound under their left vocabulary which most trusted parties of the bourgeoisie, the Congress and the BJP, couldn't do though tried their best.

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hoax to befool and lull the people and the association of leftists like the CPI(M) and CPI with his government helps him to perpetrate this hoax. The occasional "leftist" noises made by them against this or that government measure are meant to confuse the people and keep their leftist image, their capital in election politics, intact but do not harm the government in any way as they are firmly committed to support it. So the UPA government is free to pursue its anti-people policies. It is taking the anti-people measures with the endorsement of the CPI(M) and CPI. The capitalists are assured that there is nothing to worry about these "leftists." The BJP, instead of being wiped out, is consolidating and regrouping its forces on the basis of strident Hindutva. So, the CPI(M)/CPI's assertion that the danger of BJP's communalism would be averted by installation of the new government has been proved to be wrong.

THE TASK OF THE PEOPLE

So, what is the way out? It is only through mass movements that the people can resist the growing capitalist onslaughts on their life and living. It is only through democratic

movement coupled with country-wide ideological-cultural struggle that the evil of communalism can be combated. The burning necessity is for a left and democratic alternative in the country, not as an appendage of bourgeois class rule but as the instrument of people's struggle.

The peoples of Bihar, Jharkhand and Haryana should understand clearly that in order to live like men, they must fight, organize themselves in democratic mass movements. In this election, they must search out the force of mass movement, support and strengthen it. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties are all wedded to the exploitative capitalist system and cannot take them ahead. Nor can the CPI(M) or the CPI be relied upon. The people must not be taken in by fanfare, propaganda or false promises, nor should they be lured by money, or be cowed down by threats. They should resolutely strive to strengthen the line of mass movement by supporting the candidates of the SUCI which alone holds aloft the banner of mass movement. Where there is no SUCI candidate, the people should put up and support such candidates as are honest, tested and tried and can be trusted to work for strengthening democratic movements. There is no other way.



Tsunami Relief Camps by SUCI in Cuddalore in Tamilnadu (above) and in Karunagpalli in Quilon of Kerala.



List of SUCI candidates

BIHAR

Constituency	Candidate
1. Paru	Comrade Rampriit Rai
2. Kanti	Comrade Lakhichandra
3. Sankra	Comrade Ashok Paswan
4. Muzaffarpur Town	Comrade Md. Idris
5. Sahebganj	Comrade Yadablab Patel
6. Minapur	Comrade Dinesh Prasad Yadav
7. Lalganj	Comrade Rajendra Sharma
8. Navinagar	Comrade Ramadhin Singh
9. Belhar	(To be announced)
10. Tarapur	Comrade Bharat Mandal
11. Haveli Kharagpur	(To be announced)
12. Jamalpur	(To be announced)
13. Kurtha	Comrade Birendra Ranjan

JHARKHAND

1. Bgharagora	Comrade Sarala Mahato
2. Ghatshila	Comrade Putu Singh
3. Chandankeyari	Comrade Mahindrarajwar
4. Saraikela	Comrade Rajkumar Sardar

HARYANA

1. Rohtak	Comrade Kanta Sharma
2. Salhaws	Comrade Kartar Singh
3. Rewari	Comrade Ramesh Chander
4. Jatusana	Comrade Ishwar Singh
5. Ateli	Comrade Balbir Singh
6. Pundri	Comrade Baby Ram
7. Bhiwani	Comrade Raj Kumar
8. Rai	Comrade Devender Singh

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