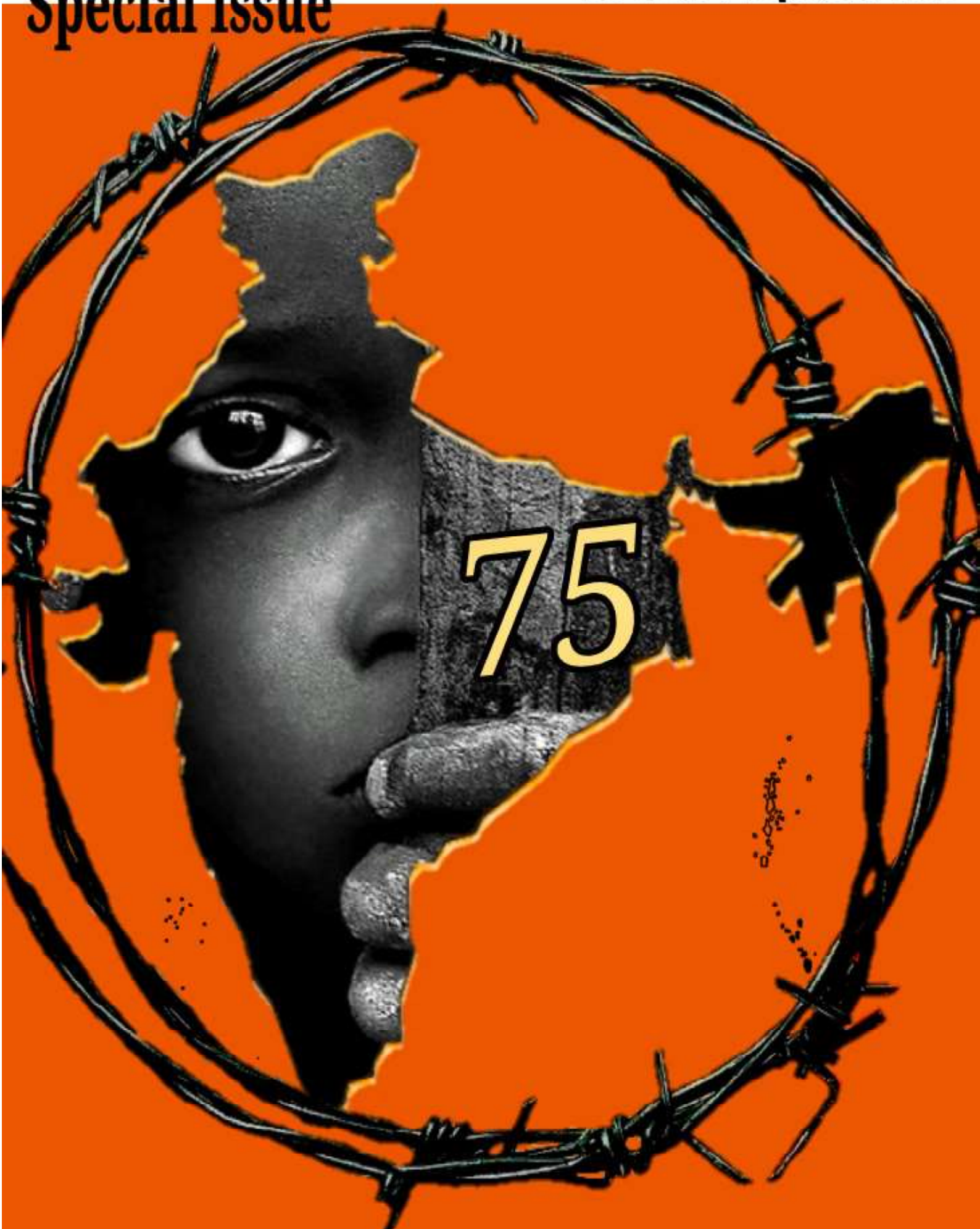


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

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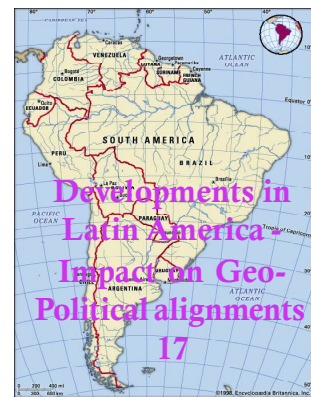
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## Independence is Fake – Fascism is the Trend

On contrary to the egregious violation of democracy and fundamental rights provided by the Indian Constitution, the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist BJP Narendra Modi's Central government celebrated 'Azadi Ka Amrut Mahotsav' on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2022 in a grand manner. The 'sweet celebrations of freedom' was the culmination of one year of celebrations. The occasion is a clear dud in the stark reality of declivitous conditions of toiling masses of the country. The poor became poorer and the rich richer under the rule of these classes in the past seven and a half decades. India continues to lurch under the tightening clutches of imperialist finance capital.

The British imperialists left India under pressure from the anti-British struggles of the people of the country. Power was transferred from the British to the comprador big bourgeois, big landlord classes of the country. India became a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. Since then, the central and the state governments representing these classes have been serving imperialism acting on its dictates. They have been implementing neo-colonial forms of exploitation in the country as like in the whole world. The central government initially brought forth the Five-Year Plan followed by many so-called reforms such as nationalisation of banks, the 20-point programme and land reform Acts. LPG policies introduced formally in 1991 facilitated the loot of natural resources and labor of the toiling people of the country and led to large scale poverty and unemployment. The policies are being implemented at the cost of livelihood of the indigenous and the entire oppressed people. The Indian state continues to be semi-colonial, semi-feudal and increasingly comprador and expansionist.

The ruling classes thoroughly implemented and are implementing the imperialist globalization policies. The central and the state governments entered into MoUs with various MNCs causing displacement, environmental pollution and destruction of life apart from the rising economic crisis. According to recent statistics, 80 crore people out of the total population of 138 crores in the country are living Below Poverty Line (BPL). While India happens to be the second largest food producing country in the world and stands first in the production of milk, pulses, rice, fish, vegetables and wheat, nearly 23 crores of people in the country are malnourished. This is more than 25 percent of those in the world.

The rate of urban unemployment rose in mid-2022. 80 lakh people of the agriculture sector lost employment. According to the World Inequality Report 2022, India is among the most unequal countries in the world. The top 10 percent and 1 percent rich of the country possess 57 percent and 22 percent of the total national income and the bottom 50 percent share further reduced to 13 percent. Regarding Environment Performance Index, the country is in the last place among the 180 countries according to World Economic Forum. In 2022 July exports from the country fell to a five-month low of 35.2 billion dollars and imports rose to 66 billion dollars. The fall in exports was in top items such as engineering goods, petroleum products, gems and jewelry, pharmaceuticals, readymade garments, cotton yarn and plastics. Trade deficit rose to a record high 31 billion dollars in 2022 July from 26.2 billion dollars of last month and three times more of last year. The value of Rupee fell to 80 per dollar in the end of July.

In fact, exports have been falling from 25 percent of the GDP in the fiscal year of 2014 to 21 percent in 2022. The actual situation is worse than what these statistics reveal. Demonetisation led to drastic deterioration of living conditions of the people. And now in July 2022 five percent GST was imposed on unbranded packaged food items such as wheat, rice, curd, lassi, puffed rice, mutton and fish. This leads to further fall in the purchasing capacity of the middle classes and absolutely deprives the poor of their essential commodities. On the other hand, the number of billionaires rose from 90 to 140 under the comprador rulers particularly during the period of lockdown due to the Corona pandemic. According to an estimate, their wealth is equal to that of 55 percent people of the country.

The ruling classes are resorting to unconstitutional methods to vindicate and validate its exploitive policies for the past decades through scores of Acts. Four Labor codes were made in the place of 44 labor laws that the working class of the country achieved through struggles and sacrifices. Three Agriculture laws were brought forth that put the agricultural sector of the country in the hands of the domestic and foreign corporate enterprises. These had to be withdrawn if not permanently, due to the year-long militant struggle of the peasantry. Anyhow, the peasantry continues to struggle against the broken promises.

National Education Policy was made corresponding to imperialist interests. Prestigious Universities that stand as icons of progressive ideas are being saffronized. National bourgeoisie is pressurized by the heavy inflow of imperialist finance capital to sell away their properties to the MNCs. History is distorted. Religious minorities especially Muslims are in severe insecurity. Their places of worship are seized by the Hindutva forces. CAA, NRC and NPR deprive the fundamental rights of the nationalities. Dalit, tribal people and women are increasingly harassed. They are thrown into the status of secondary citizens. Thus, Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism is aggressively going forth with its agenda of establishing 'Hindu state' in the country.

India is said to be the biggest democracy of the world and a government 'of the people, by the people and for the people'. 'Unity in diversity' of the country is hailed. Constitution of India provides right to live, religion, profession and other such fundamental rights to the citizens of the country. But the people of the country are deprived, harassed, jailed and killed by the state and state sponsored fascist forces for the only reason of exercising these fundamental rights which is a severe violation. Since the BJP came to power in 2014, Fascism is worsening the lives of the oppressed people, oppressed nationalities, sections and all kinds of professions with its pro-imperialist, pro-feudal, pro-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois economic policies.

Lynching is one of the forms that the Brahmanic Hindutva forces adopted to implement fascism. There are many incidents of mob lynching since the deed was named. The victims of mob lynching are the Dalit and minority people, mostly Muslims. They are mob lynched only because they live according to their customs and food habits. One more form is trolling. Trolls are appointed who are constantly in the social media attacking and castigating those who question the ideology and policies of BJP. While lynching applies physical power of Hindutva fascism, trolling applies ideological power to suppress voice of dissent and to gain total hegemony on the people of the country. The leaders of the main opposition party, other bourgeois parties and journalists, lawyers and those who question and expose Fascism are harassed in the name of money laundering. The Indian state is increasingly undemocratic, unconstitutional, anti-secular and anti-people in all dimensions of people's daily life.

In these conditions, the people of the country are rising in struggles. In a bid to suppress these struggles and sustain their exploitive rule, the ruling classes are unleashing unprecedented level of repressive measures with the help of the imperialists. Leaders and cadres of the revolutionary Party, Mass Organisations and organs of People's State Power are cruelly murdered in fake encounters. Women cadres and villagers are sexually assaulted in the utmost cruel manner. Revolutionary, democratic, progressive, secular, patriotic organisations and individuals are harassed, arrested and killed. Activists of National Liberation movements mainly in Kashmir are being killed daily.

The ruling classes of India gave unlimited powers to the police and the military. Jails resemble concentration camps. The recent judgments of the Supreme Court reveal increasing saffronisation of the judiciary and the dictatorial hold of the central government on it. Petitioners are being fined and foisted with cases. Fourth Estate further turned an instrument of exploitation. Media is embedded. India is in the 100<sup>th</sup> place in Electoral Democracy Index. It fell to 150<sup>th</sup> place out of the 180 countries in World Press Freedom Index.

In this economic and political scenario, Protracted People's War is going on under the leadership of the Maoist party with the objective to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India. The people are assured with the People's Army. Oppressed classes are attaining area wise state power. The process is advancing amidst intense repressive measures. All the oppressed classes, nationalities and sections of people are increasingly embracing this process and enhancing their fight against Fascist ruling classes. This shall bring a major change in the rotten system and take the country towards a New Democratic society.

# **Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism - The Ideological Basis of Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalism**

**Prem**

The question of Fascism in the hitherto existing Indian political system has dominated the impulse of the political consciousness of the nation. But differences exist in the theoretical understanding of Fascism and concrete praxis aimed towards negating it. The liberal understanding of fascism reflects the empiricist positivist philosophy of knowledge. The question of fascism that liberalism perceives is from the utilitarian principles of liberty and its realization however it negates the social relations that institutionalizes the concept of liberty. Historically, liberal regimes have in no way differed from the fascist regimes when it comes to the exploitation of the working classes. The only possible difference can be highlighted in terms where in the former lie formal legal rights for the working class and its organization, but in the latter, it is totally absent. Liberal understanding focuses only on the appearance of the phenomena and fails to go beyond the layers of the skin. Criticism of Fascism from the liberal philosophy in fact guarantees the realisation of political perceptions which both the ideal bourgeoisie political system and the fascist regime has something equivalent between them - the exploitation of the working class.

The Marxist understanding of society gives us radical approach to understand Fascism and its universality and particularity. Fascism as a socio-economic political system arises in the era of mass concentration

and combination of production system which in Marxist understanding is the stage of Imperialism. This stage (highest) of capitalism is radically different from the period of mercantile capitalism, which represented the stage of free trade. However, with the collapse of the era of free trade and rise of monopolistic system of production and exchange (monopolistic price-fixation), the golden liberal political system of rights to have a free choice became defunct. In the Indian context, fascism has generally been understood in cultural terms which aspires for establishing cultural hegemony, but there is a general veiling by the liberals of the socio-economic structures that Hindutva gives rise to. The article focuses on the core issues concerning fascism in the Indian context and its transformation as well as those factors leading to that transformation.

## **Genesis of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism**

The base for the rise of Brahmanical Hindutva is the socio-economic system (semi-feudal and semi-colonial system). The Brahmanical Hindutva fascism is different from petty bourgeois fascism and it is because that the Brahmanical Hindutva fascism represents feudal style of fascism through which caste system in the New form needs to be strengthened. The Hindutva stands for the centralisation of the Hindu religions, which is in fact diverse and varied in form and essence. This process of centralisation

requires material grounds and that is represented by the "direct and the indirect contradictions" of the Indian society. The social organisation is the personification of social and "economic relations". In order to understand the origin and rise of Hindutva Fascism it is pertinent to understand the material conditions that produced Hindutva Fascism.

Capitalism since its inception was always colonialism and search for colonies as its ultimate destination. Although India was a predominantly agrarian economy in the early eighteenth century, in the sense that the major portion of its gross domestic product and employment derived from agriculture, it was not as much an agrarian economy than most European economies of that period of history. Just few years before the battle of Plassey (1757 AD) during 1750, India's share in the manufacturing sector around the world was about 24.5 percent and China contribution ranged around 32.5 percent. The Colonial historiography glorifies England as the pinnacle of manufacturing sector, but that achievement was carried through colonial sword which had gross negative implications on the social, political and economic structures of India. The British colonialism can be broadly divided into three phases: The stage of Mercantile Capital (1757-1813), stage of Industrial Capital (1813 to early 20<sup>th</sup> century) and stage of Finance Capital.

### **The stage of Mercantile Capital**

This stage continued from 1757 to 1813. The exploitive methods adopted by the British colonialists in this stage were mainly related to unequal exchange and primitive capital accumulation. The corollary effects of such measures were the destruction of self-sufficient industry and the pauperisation of the peasantry. Artisans become deskilled and struggled to survive as a “contracted existence”. Such conditions had severe sociological consequences. Firstly, the feudal relations got firm support from the Colonial power and was cohabited precisely. These feudal relations played a dual role in the ideological realm and the economic realm. In the ideological realm, it constructed the reality of otherness on the paradigm of caste and religion. In the economic realm, it subjugated the peasantry and the artisans through forms of economic exploitation. In order to make the economic exploitation obscure, the ideological realm of religion in manufacturing the identity of otherness was suffice to perform that task. Hence, we see the rise of communal hatred between Hindu and Muslim started to raise its hydra head. The practice of untouchability by the feudal classes was a principal means to sustain its coercive hegemony over the society as a whole.

### **The stage of Industrial Capital**

The Indian history experienced paramount upheavals during this stage of economic situation. This stage lasted from 1813 to the beginning of the 20th century. In Europe this was the era of

enlightenment and reason, where every given authority was put in the light of rationality. It was the era of Revolution. The production system as it transformed gave birth to new contradictory classes, new methods of exploitation and new forms of struggle. The Indian history was in the grip of colonialism which seamlessly integrated an orientalist understanding of Indian society as motionless and no qualitative transformation in the social production system as well as in the social consciousness. The rise of public sphere was only possible with the development of print capitalism and India did not remain immune from its effect. Historically the rise of Hindu fundamentalism can be traced to this stage of colonialism. The British colonial power and the new landlord classes felt the unity of Hindu and Muslim as a potential threat to their source of profit and delved itself in the construction of antagonistic relationship between Hindu and Muslim. The colonial historiography classified the Indian history in terms of communal lines. The concepts like ancient, mediaeval and modern were perceived through the prism of religious logic. James Mill in his work ‘History of British India’ argues that ancient India as Hindu India, the mediaeval India as Islamic India and British India as Modern India. As the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappan civilization sites were not dug out from the surface of the earth, as thousands of years of Indian history was lying buried underneath the earth, study of Indian history was full of prejudice and communal. The Hindu revivalism movement was predominant in the British provinces because of the fact

that the leadership of Hindu revivalism derived from the upper caste and landlord classes and were privileged enough to utilise the public sphere constructed by the colonial regime. For Hindu revivalism historiography means to naturalise the power and hegemony of one particular group over the other. This creates an understanding that history remains an immutable space where time has no influence over it, something like transcendental subject exists as the moving force behind history.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in his novel ‘Ananda Math’ follows the orientalist logic that West is destined to scientific develop the east. However, he seeks a necessary union between the east which is composed of spirituality as its essence with the West which is driven by science and technological development. In this act of unionism between east and west, Bankim demonizes the Muslims and holds them as the sole reason for the subjugation of India. The cry of returning to ancient India which according to Hindu revivalism was termed as ‘golden age’ began to accelerate its noise. Hindu revivalism totally sidelined the exploitation of India through colonialism. At this point of time, India was made an integral part of world capitalism. As Franz Fanon says : “The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities”, India with its diversity of culture remained identical in economic reality. India became a de-industrialised nation at a lightning speed and market for British goods was expanded. As

Marx elucidates the impact of British colonialism on Indian economy: "It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindostan, and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons....British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindostan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry" (The British rule in India, 1853).

The once flourishing trading towns like Dhaka and Murshidabad became ghost towns and there began a distress reverse migration from towns to villages. Because of the destruction of indigenous handicraft sectors artisans lost their livelihood. This reverse migration increased the social and economic tensions brewing at that time. The new landlord classes colluded with the colonial powers and in collaboration with them devised the colonial policy of Divide and Rule in the Indian condition. From 1870 Hindu revivalism was at its peak. With the unbridled support of the Britishers United India Patriotic Association (UIPA) was formed on August 1888 by Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan and Raja Shiv Prasad Singh of Banaras. This political body was the coalition of "declining classes of landlords, Kings and other nobility, both Hindu and Muslim". The UIPA attributed to develop a sense of loyalty to the British crown and later on got divided into Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha.

### **The Stage of Finance Capital**

The expansion of colonial capital to Indian subcontinent did

not eradicate the pre-capitalist mode of production and production relations. However, it collaborated with the primordial relationship in the Indian context and even strengthened the feudal structures through the creation of zamindari system in the agricultural sector. The indigenous bourgeois class in colonial India collaborated with the feudal elements and the imperialist capital for the accumulation of profit. The outcome of such collaboration in the political realm was the formation of the Indian National Congress in the year 1885. The political programs initiated by the Indian National Congress (INC) was never antagonistic to the feudal and bourgeois elements of the Indian society. The formation of RSS in colonial India was through the adequate support and collaboration of the semi-feudal and the comprador bourgeois elements. There is no denying of the fact that capital has a "universalisation tendency", but it never achieves that goal through a uniform way. In the European context, we can directly see the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the feudal classes during the French Revolution of 1789. But the Indian context takes breath in its own particularity. Around the period of 1920 the INC successfully underwent quantitative and qualitative changes and transformed itself into a mass organization. The collaboration of the ruling classes had an imperative need to manipulate the masses from establishing and building radical mass movements both for the liberation struggle and peasants and working-class movements. On 1 May 1916, B.G. Tilak said in a speech about Home Rule at Belgaum: "It is an undisputed

fact that we should secure our own good under the rule of the English people themselves, under the supervision of the English nation, through their sympathy, through their anxious care and through those high sentiments they possess". This clearly exposes the intent of the Indian National Congress.

As India enters the era of Finance Capital, we see a structural transformation in the bourgeois class turning into comprador bourgeois. The fear of communist revolution was very much intact in the minds of the ruling classes. The method of Satyagraha and ahimsa to fight the colonial regime as initiated under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was in the interest of the feudal elements. The economic programs of the INC clearly reflect the petty bourgeois form of socialism and that can be identified through the Bombay plan (1944) and the Directive principles of State policy under part-IV of the Indian Constitution. This petty bourgeois socialism is a form of Fascism that has ruled the nation for longer duration of time since the transfer of power from the colonial ruling classes to the comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal lords. The petty bourgeois socialism took the Westminster system of parliamentary democracy from the colonial power. This parliamentary democracy became a representative of feudal and comprador bourgeoisie elements and all the anti-people policies bear the stamp of the majority of votes and most of the times unanimous support. The tragedy of progressive politics of the Indian society is that they vow to protect the very institutions which have directly indulged in

the oppression of the people. The Indian constitution is the mirror image of the Government of India Act 1935 which Nehru himself called 'chattel of slavery'.

There exists strong affinity between Fascist party of Mussolini and RSS, as Dr Balakrishna Shivram Moonje (one of the founder members of RSS) recognised RSS to have the potential to develop into a Fascist organization. "Our institutions, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh of Nagpur under Dr. Hedgewar is of this [reference to Balilta institution of Mussolini] kind, though quite independently conceived. I shall spend the rest of my life developing and extending this institution of Dr. Hedgewar throughout Maharashtra and other provinces".

The dominance of Hindutva fascism in Indian politics can be traced from the period of 1990s. The policy of liberalisation, privatization and globalization (famously known as LPG policies) facilitated the growth of Hindutva forces. Such structural changes brought by the State in the interest of the ruling classes prove that State is an instrument in the hands of the ruling classes. The magnitude of violence on the working class, peasantry, Dalits and minorities inflated since 1990s because the substance of such violence directly or indirectly revolves around the question of the agrarian crisis. Imperialism and Hindutva fascism collaboration can be clearly seen in the three farm laws which was a direct threat to Indian food sovereignty. The agrarian crisis has been not properly addressed by the mainstream left political parties, in fact the economic policies of

the mainstream left parties are guided by the logic of "accumulation through dispossession".

There are no serious programs of action by the mainstream left political parties to counter the trend of hinduization of the Indian politics. They have resorted totally to populist political methods. The mainstream Dalit organizations have focused their entire narrative on the cultural aspect of politics, such narrative creates a false consciousness of resistance towards the Hindutva forces.

The act of resistance to Hindutva violence has been perceived in the propaganda media as a threat to national unity and national integration. There is no doubt about the fact that such resistance in-itself derecognises the very idea of nation as formulated in the Hindutva discourse. In his book *We Our Nationhood Defined*, Savarkar notes that "A nation is formed by a majority living there-in ...They [Jew] being in minority were driven out from Germany". And further he raises the slogan of "Hinduisse all politics and militarise Hindudom". The nation composed on majoritarianism is nothing but Social Darwinism project which is a component of reactionary modernism. In such modernity (which Hindutva represents) the social experience is distorted and filled with terrorised spatial fixation, simultaneously reoccupied by the orientalist representation of cultural hegemony under the bedrock of neo-liberal and technocratic social formation.

### **The ontology of Hindutva violence**

The lynching of Aklaq and many others of the Muslim

community on the pretext of carrying beef represents the degradation of being as a Muslim and the intentional silence maintained by Narendra Modi consolidates the fact that such violence is mediated by the State. The creation of vigilant groups on the fascist model to create a sense of fear through their presence is to send a clear message of repression of dissent and opposition to the Hindu rashtra. The lynchings and Citizenship bills (NRC, CAA) deliver a message to minorities to breath a life of humiliation and passivity from the political sphere. The magnitude of anti-Muslim or anti-minority violence already states that such violence has symbolic significance and semiotic destiny. It became an essential technology for the establishment of Hindu-Rashtra. The Hindutva politics or the Indian fascism constructs oppressed collective which comprises workers, peasantry, Dalits, minorities, oppressed nationalities, tribal people and women. The violence on this oppressed collective is politically motivated as they aspire for political empowerment, job rights and equal rights to public spaces. The creation of the oppressed collective is historically grounded but it also provides critique of those very structure and conditions that lead to the formation of such collective inter-subjectivity.

### **Dalit Politics and Hindutva**

The rise of Dalit politics extravagantly revolved around the politics of interest and sought for communicative approach towards upliftment of the downtrodden Dalit community. The political



mechanism for the Dalits was intrinsically attached to modernity (in whatever form it was practiced in India) that arrived in India during the colonial period. However, it will be narrow minded application to reach to the conclusion that colonial apparatus totally ensured the Dalit emancipation from their antagonistic existence. Through the Wood Dispatch of 1854, it was formally made mandatory for all the government aided schools to enroll Dalits, but in reality, Dalits never were admitted in large numbers in the education institutions. This aspect was clearly addressed by Ambedkar himself: "Under these circumstances mass education as contemplated by the dispatch of 1854 was in practice available to all except the depressed classes. The lifting of the ban on the education for the depressed classes 1854 was only a nominal affair." In spite of this non-exclusion of the Dalits from the education institutions was not a total affair. There is no denying of the fact that for the first time Dalits after centuries of their denial to read and write, finally became a reality with English education system. Dalits mainly from the urban and that too from the military class had all the opportunity to enroll themselves in the education institutions. After becoming accustomed to the modern ideas, these new class within Dalit community started questioning the identity formed around the vicious system of caste. Hence, we see the dawn of Dalit politics and the struggle against caste system. The earlier Dalit politics remained a localised and segmented phenomena. There are many reasons for this but it was primarily because of the

socio-economic conditions (as the economy was local based). However, in the beginning, the Dalit movement never remained antithetical to the economic issues. The symbolic cultural turn of the Dalit politics in post-colonial India significantly integrated with the right-wing politics. Even Ambedkar himself was very much aware of the narrowness and parochial nature of the cultural aspect of the politics which carries no real intent of radical transformation of society as a whole. He advocated the abolishment of the Khoti system (a kind of landlordism mostly from the chit Pavan Brahmins) and even in his work 'State and Minorities' he came to a conclusion that nationalization of land remains crucial in the annihilation of caste. There remains a left-wing approach to politics in Ambedkar . But there remains a plethora of difference between Ambedkar and post-Ambedkar Dalit movement. The present Dalit politics negated the politics of interest in-itself and is hovering around politics of assertion. The significant number of Dalits demographically resides in rural areas and so, mere jargon of social justice has no real materialistic effect and did not provide any substantive justice. The aspirations of the middle-class Dalits and the rural laboring Dalits are two opposite camps. Economic empowerment is not the sole end of human emancipation but no emancipation is possible to a lifeless skeleton.

As Hindutva creates an understanding of us and them which bifurcates society on communal grounds which is exclusive in essence, ironically it also creates a sense of false inclusion and negative

externality of being a Dalit. Through this process, Hindutva succeeded in accommodating Dalits as foot soldiers for Hindutva. The neo-liberal economy of making mobile and fragile labor forces have also played in the hands of Hindutva. The Gujarat pogrom was basically wielded behind the economic crisis that had engulfed the state after a decade of neo-liberal experimentation in the State. The application of neoliberal policy of disinvestment in the public sector and privatization of the public sphere had negative impact on Dalits who were already in pathetic condition. With the closure of 50 textile mills and other small sectors, Dalits as a laboring class were easily displaced with the onset of automated machines and had affected the social configuration of the towns adjoining Ahmedabad city. Dalit laborers in the textile mills were predominantly unskilled laborers, as they lacked skills, they were tagged to be useless by the globalised economy. On the verge of starvation, Dalits in the Ahmedabad regions opted for works that were traditionally performed by the Muslim community. This rift between Dalits and Muslims went into the bags of Hindutva politics which assimilated the agony of Dalits as a Muslim creation. The failure of the main stream left political parties and mass organizations to counter such narrative also played in the interest of Hindutva obstructionist politics. This is just one set of examples built over the factors of neo-liberalism and Hindutva.

Let us understand some other examples. The rise of BJP in post 90s is attributed to two factors, one the neo-liberal

policies and the other the Congress party itself. Neo-liberalism was an answer to the declining Keynesian economics which emerged as a solution to the crisis of capitalism during the great depression period. The solution was that the state must be a welfare State in order to make efficiency of demand possible. However, the end of the golden period of capitalism in the 1970s also marked the end of Keynesian economics. The proponents of neo-liberalism - Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek proposed the idea of classical liberalism of invisible hand of market, and strongly stood for deregulation of Market. Neo-liberalism was first practiced in Chile in Latin America and the application of such policy required a fascist state.

1960 was a period of severe economic crisis in India. Agricultural and industrial production recorded negative growth. The people's revolt took a qualitative change in Naxalbari uprising and the question of land to the tillers became pivotal of Indian revolution. Today CPI (Maoist) is carrying the question of land to the tillers and other forms of emancipation to the highest level. Naxalbari politics provided an alternative domain of politics for the impoverished masses of the Indian society. Its methodology was speaking truth to power, politicising the masses for capturing the political power. The Congress party under the leadership of Indira Gandhi imposed the draconian emergency rule from 1975-77 to curb the growing dissent towards her regime. Prior to that Indira Gandhi under the dictates of US Imperialism introduced Green Revolution in late 1960s. This led to the rise of kulaks from the dominant caste especially in the

northern states. From this period RSS started propagating itself as pro Dalit or against untouchability in order to deceive the Dalits and forbidding them from joining the Naxalite politics. In Maharashtra the fascist BJP and Shiv Sena started given call of unity "Bhim Shakti and Shiv shakti" in order to cauldron Dalits in Hindutva camps. The violence on Dalits largely in post-colonial India is directly or indirectly linked to the land question. In Kilvenmani a village in Tamilnadu in 1968 forty-four women and children by the landlords for the crime that Dalit labourers held a strike for wage hikes. In late 1980s Dalits were massacred in Karamchedu, in Chundururu and followed the same trajectory. All these atrocities are embedded in neoliberal order and rise of Hindutva forces.

Congress party contributed significantly to the rise of Hindutva politics right from the Independence movement. The communal politics displayed by the Congress party under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi for electoral gains laid down fertile ground from which Hindutva politics made a rapid growth. In 1986, Rajiv Gandhi ordered the then UP chief minister to open the locks of Babri masjid for Hindus to worship and through the Shah Bano judgement, the government took away the maintenance right from the divorced Muslim women. This latter act was to please the orthodox Muslim cleric section. These two acts and the opening of Indian economy has left marks of pain and agony alive in the present generation.

### **Conclusion**

Hindutva fascism with all its mechanism to manufacture truth is directed towards the

logic of deviation from the perceptible economic and social inequalities. The onslaught on the revolutionary forces and democratic organizations by the BJP led Hindutva regime is to signal that the people's rights and aspirations are getting murdered each and every day. The economy of India dilapidated at a rocketing speed. Gazing the propaganda in mass media repeatedly, the truth gets hidden from our vision. Even after 75 years of independence, India remains the world leader not in progress of science for human enrichment, but in child mortality. That makes the future of children of India a graveyard. India's commitment to overcome hunger related death or problems is totally dismal. In the world hunger index India ranks 110 out of 118 countries. In fact, some underdeveloped countries are far better than the world largest democratic nation. The people are discontented and exploitation doubled in the last 7-8 years. BJP fascist government policies like CAA and NRC alienated the Muslim community. The BJP government as a puppet to comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist forces abolished wealth and inheritance taxes. In the Financial year 2021-22 alone, there was a loss of about 1.53 lakh crore rupees in the form of tax concession to the corporates and on the other side it has imposed GST as a fascist tax on essential commodities consumed by the common masses for their social reproduction. CPI (Maoist) is revolting against the oppressive objective conditions and the exploitative given reality. BJP government has started the fascist program of 'Samadhan'-Prahara to eradicate Maoist forces

# Peoples War in the Fascist regime

Vijay

At present fascism is a dominant political view in India. Fascism can be divided into macro and micro levels. The fascism at macro level is a political form and a political power gaining agenda basing on racism, caste, religious conservatism and genocide and fascism at micro level is nothing but an individual to small groups' and identities which play a dominant role at their occupied field which are supportive and beneficial to the macro-level fascism for establishment of fascist politics. Basically the Maoist communists are facing the issue of fascism at macro and micro level in India.

To overcome the issue of fascism at macro and micro levels one is to form two pronged struggle against it. The two pronged struggle is when fascism dominates in the political space then the peoples war is to resist the fascism which is in a nature of strategical defence of armed struggle and another form of resistance is an Anti fascist peace struggle. In particular the strategical defence is a resistance movement against the social contradictions of a particular stage. And in general anti fascist peace struggle is to be a united front of international forces to overcome and to annihilate fascist political power.

The Communist International gave a call to the masses to combat fascism especially "The Fifth Congress of the Communist International, held in 1924, called for the:

1. Formation of armed defence detachment against armed fascism.
2. Disarming of the fascists...

3. Fascist demonstrations to be answered by counter demonstrations of workers with armed protection.

4. Terrorist fascist actions (destructions of trade union offices, printing works, etc.; attempts on workers and workers' leaders, etc.) to be answered by general strikes, the use of working-class mass terror by reprisals against fascists, their leaders, their printing works and other undertakings.

5. Stopping railway transport when the fascists organize marches, meetings and demonstrations...

6. Driving the fascists out of the factories; sabotage; passive resistance; strikes in factories where fascists are employed or are used to supervise and split the workers."

Class struggle can be divided into two forms one is strategical class struggle (principal contradiction) and another one is tactical class struggle (non principal contradiction), strategical class struggle consists of direct conflict classes and tactical class struggle consists of indirect conflict classes. In general class struggle should expand and extend to the level of unity between the strategy and tactics of class struggle to fight against fascism. Comrade Mao very clearly analyzed that "In studying the particularity of contradiction, unless we examine these two facets - the principal and the non principal contradictions in a process, and the principal and the non principal aspects of a contradiction that is, unless we examine the distinctive character of these two facets of

contradiction, we shall get bogged down in abstractions, be unable to understand contradiction concretely and consequently be unable to find the correct method of resolving it...Moreover, it is these concrete features of a contradiction and the changes in the principal and non principal aspects of a contradiction in the course of its development that manifest the force of the new superseding the old. The study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and non-principal contradictions and of the principal and the non principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies both in political and in military affairs. All Communists must give it attention..." Finally, our view should change according to the change of contradiction position, the Maoist communists are trying their best to fight fascism at macro and micro levels in India based on changing position of contradictions which reflects through strategy and tactics. And today fascism should be annihilated through defensive armed resistance and international solidarity peace movement against fascist anarchy.



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## *Hindutva Fascism...*

in India so that imperialism and comprador bourgeoisie can accumulate the profit at a faster rate and suppress the people socially, economically and politically.



# Worsening Democratic space In the Country Time to Rise to the Occasion

The release of eleven convicts in the Bilkis Bano case of the 2002 Gujarat massacre raised a large hue and cry in the country. Yes. This is unimaginably heinous. There was a large scale protest from various quarters of the society. It made the patriots and well-wishers of the country question the present state of affairs.

Bilkis Bano was sexually assaulted more than 20 times by these 11 people. These 11 also killed her three year old daughter hitting her head to a hard material and that too in front of her eyes. Seven more members of her family were brutally murdered. Several such incidents happened during the notorious riots in which above one thousand Muslim people were killed. Many human, civil rights organisations and individuals and patriots went to Gujarat and brought out the facts. The stories were heart-breaking. The photos and the incidents of the time shook the civilized society.

Narendra Modi and Amit Shah who were the Chief Minister and Home Minister of Gujarat during the massacre became the Prime Minister and the Central Home Minister of the country in 2014. They were elected the second time in 2019 after which there is a severe rise in Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism in the country. The case of Bilkis Bano is one in the series of decisions covering up their responsibility of the gruesome deeds in the massacre. Petition was filed in the Supreme Court against the decision and the court is to yet give judgment on it.

Utilising the state machinery, the fascist clique is

trying to continue their exploitive rule by unleashing intensive repression in the country. The recent judgments of the Supreme Court are a clear example. The case of murder of Ehsan Jafri, an ex-MP during the Gujarat massacre was quashed. Moreover, Teesta Seetalwad who helped the family members to fight the case was arrested on the day of the judgment. Two IPS officers Srikumar and Bhatt were arrested and re-arrested from jail respectively the same day on the allegation that they manipulated the evidences of the Gujarat riots. Himanshu Kumar, a Gandhian filed a case on the massacre of tribal people in Chhattisgarh against the armed forces. The court found them not guilty and in turn sued Himanshu with either a fine of Rs. 5 lakh or imprisonment. Juhi Chawla, a movie actor was sued with fine since she petitioned against the introduction of 5G technology in the country. She was alleged to have opposed the decision of the government. And now a Sangh Parivar man Uday Umesh Lalit took over as the Chief Justice of India on 27<sup>th</sup> August 2022. Obviously he was selected by the saffron clique so as to facilitate the implementation of their decisions.

Today the Modi-Shah clique is going to any extent to aggressively go forth with the Hindutva agenda of the Rashtrveeya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) to transform India into a 'Hindu state'. The situation turned from bad to worse and is heading towards the worst. Let us see what more is happening in our country.

A nine year old Dalit boy student was beaten to death by

a teacher in Rajasthan for drinking water from the pot meant for him. A video relating to the incident that showed a Hindutva person saying that murder is a normal thing and that he himself had killed five persons went viral. A Shivalinga suddenly surfaces in the Gyanvapi mosque in Uttar Pradesh. A school principal in Kanpur of the same state is mistaken for making the students read the prayer of four religions of the country. The school teachers question why it has become a point of discussion when it was going on since 2003 and with the understanding that the students must develop religious harmony. In another similar incident, a play performed in a school on 15<sup>th</sup> August was shot partially and the concerned teacher was falsely found fault for insulting Hindu religion. She requested that the whole play be seen and be discussed in which she says, she was propagating secular ideas.

Spokesperson of BJP Nupur Sharma was suspended with the protest for making insulting comments on Prophet Mohammad. A tailor was allegedly killed for tweeting in support of her. Anyhow, Nupur was provided high security by the BJP government. In a similar incident a BJP MLA Raja Singh of Hyderabad of Telangana made insulting comments on Prophet Mohammad that led to protest from the Muslim people and others. The city was tense for a few days. The country is witnessing these kinds of incidents almost daily.

Constitutional, democratic rules and provisions are being violated and turned in favour of the imperialists. Few important

changes such as demonetisation in the first term of BJP was followed by GST and a number of bills, Acts and policies in its second term. Since demonetisation was introduced followed by digital currency and other such changes in the economic sector, the middle classes became poor and the poor poorer. More than half of the population is Below the Poverty Line. Purchasing power of the people is further being deteriorated due to the pro-imperialist policies of the central and the state governments.

Acts like CAA were made in early 2020 that was countered by not only the nationalities and minorities but all the democratic minded people of the country. National Educational Policy (NEP) was brought in 2020 July. The NEP lays the intellectual foundation to implement Hindutva agenda. According to the policy the state is not committed to provide education to children of 6-14 year age group as a right under the Right To Education 2009. The textbooks are going to have lessons about minorities and women as per the Hindutva ideology.

A little before the policy, the total 44 labour laws that the workers achieved through struggles were crushed into 4 codes. The four codes deprive the workers of several benefits they had earlier. Later in September that year the three Farmers' laws were proposed that the government had to withdraw owing to one full year of militant struggle of the farmers of the country. Anyhow, the government did not keep its promise to the farmers and they continue to agitate. The three laws shall allow corporatisation of agriculture thus devastating

the basic economy of the country. The growth of the country that the government speaks of is not of the people but the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and their imperialist masters.

The major scheme in 2022 was the Agnipath that invited violent opposition from the youth of the country. Anyhow the three forces of the Indian Army are going ahead with recruitment. The recent Parliament session proposed Electricity bill and many such others. Each and every of the bills was opposed by the concerned and also the people at large. New Forest Conservation regulations were made by the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change. These regulations made without consulting the opposition parties go against all the existing Laws and Regulations concerning the indigenous people of the country. There was a hike of five percent in GST on essential commodities in August that will lead to further decrease of living standards of the people. Inflation and unemployment are already on the rise.

Starting from the main opposition party Congress, anyone who questions BJP is harassed through the government departments. Of late, the Enforcement Directorate (ED) has become an instrument of harassment in the hands of BJP. Congress leaders, ruling party MLAs of the non-BJP ruled states, journalists and lawyers are frequently attacked by the ED. Cases are filed and the individuals are enquired for hours and days by the department. After the Congress, it was the turn of Chief Minister of Jharkhand Hemant Soren. The

central government alleges that he misutilised his post and benefited out of it and so he is to be disqualified for the post. The Governor of the state played a role in the affair on behalf of BJP. Someone is going to be next in the list. This trend is opposed by democratic and progressive people. They question why only the opposition leaders are being attacked and whether the BJP leaders are all 'clean'.

It is not surprising that few persons of Hindutva organisations came out with a 'Hindutva Constitution'. The BJP had been hinting on this for quite some time. It seems to have already implementing this so called constitution when we see few things such as ban on YouTube channels such as Loktantr. Loktantr had been opposing the policies of the RSS and BJP. It investigated and brought out the truth that a comprador bureaucratic bourgeois Gautam Adani had large go-downs. This was after he came out with a statement that he does not own any go-downs in the country. Mohammad Zubair was arrested for making a tweet that added a clipping from an old Hindi movie. He was alleged to have insulted Hindu religion.

And now, this important financial backer of the BJP who now came to be the third richest man of the world and first in Asia, Gautam Adani is making attempts to buy major stakes in NDTV. NDTV is known for its vehemently critical attitude towards the BJP government. NDTV was neither consulted nor informed of the development before being informed to the media.

Another important development is the advertisement of the

# The Russia-Ukraine war – A General crisis of Capitalism

Kumar

Warfare has always been the Politico-Socio and economic reflection of class contradiction. As Clausewitz rightly opined that war is the continuation of politics, but imperialist war is the enforcement of politics and economics. With the transformation in the social formation of society, wars and conflicts too had transformed its content and formation. With the arrival of the bourgeois epoch, two fundamental changes had occurred that has totally transformed the calculus of power. First, was the exploitation of the resources in the colonies and accumulation of absolute surplus value from that colonial capital fix. Second was the total destruction of the home-markets and insulating it with foreign products. These two inseparable factors have caused the modern war to be global or world wars in nature. The war between Ukraine and Russia is nothing but redivision of the world and the internal imperialist antagonistic contradiction among the imperialist monopoly capital.

The World capitalist system is in crisis of overproduction and over

accumulation. 50 percent of the world's wealth is accumulated by 1 percent of the population. The modern capitalist world had become far more unequal than from the time of its origin. Imperialism is precisely based on the export of surplus capital to different regions of the world. However, the main difference between classical Leninist basis of imperialism and present imperialism is that, in the former, export of surplus capital was limited to colonial and semi-colonial countries, while in the latter, it is exported even to developed industrialized nations. Inter-imperialist wars are nothing but a new means to invest the surplus capital which remains impossible to invest profitably in normal sectors of economy accumulation of a growing surplus of capital which can no longer be profitably invested in normal sectors of economy. This not only suffices the export of capital but makes itself to engage in the production of armaments and develops 'industrial-military complex'. These processes achieve average rate of profit through monopolization of economy. Imperialism strives

through such industrial-military complex as it stimulates production in heavy industries and accumulate the profit. The advantages of the realization of monopolistic capital in the area of armaments are obvious. It does not reduce the scope of capital already invested in the rest of industry. On the contrary, it markedly stimulated the production of heavy industry and accumulation of raw materials. If seen globally, all the G-20 nations have increased their defense budget when compared to common budget. This facilitated proliferation of US Imperialism and inter-imperialist rivalries. In search of cheap labor power, the US Imperialism invested its capital in China for manufacturing of industrial and technological goods. This process of outsourcing of manufacturing helped capitalism to overcome the crisis of profit fall but at the cost of American workers who lost employment in a large scale. This is how at present global capitalism tends to achieve relative surplus value by creating global supply chain of cheap labor.

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## *Time to Rise...*

government on All India Radio and other government media to hoist saffron flag along with the tricolour flag. The government issued a notification on 24<sup>th</sup> August making mandatory to all the public and private fertiliser companies to print a brand named 'Pradhan Manthri Bharatiya Jan uravak Pariyojana' for fertilisers with its usual type of slogan - 'One nation-One fertiliser'. Another earlier scheme was renamed as

'Pradhan Manthri Bharatiya Jan aushadhi Pariyojana'. both the names in shortcut become PMBJP and this will be a good advertisement for the BJP more than the products. We have to wait and see what all the government is going to impose on the people and how far it is going to go in implementing these saffron politics.

In this background the Prime Minister gives a message on the so called Independence

Day that the country is advancing speedily and stands in the first place in the developing countries in terms of economy. He says that the people of the country are prospering. But, the people of the country are well aware of the reality and are increasingly stepping into struggles against the fascist rule. Struggles alone can take the country forward towards an exploitation-free society. ◆

With the collapse of Soviet Union and restoration of capitalism in China, US Imperialism could establish hegemony over the world market with the help of proxy war over Iraq, Syria, Libya and several other middle East and African nations in the name of democracy. But the real intention behind those wars were establishing control over petroleum and other natural resources. With the passage of time when China ventured itself in the middle East regions, the West, especially the US started to feel the pressure of growing influence of China and Russia.

The present Ukraine regime was established with the support of US Imperialism to establish control over the Baltic sea and the natural resources over the region. US Imperialism started to face competition with the growing demand of oil and natural gas from Venezuela and Russia. To counter this rival competition, US imposed sanctions on Venezuela and in Ukraine it imposed neo-fascist regime to counter the growing influence of Russia in the European region. The involvement of the US and NATO itself gives a clear picture of how badly this war is needed to overcome the present crisis of capitalism. America and NATO are supplying strategic, logistics and weaponry support to Ukraine in order to prolong the war. The sanctions imposed on Russia has affected the supply chain which led to inflation in almost all the countries. There seems to be a division in the imperialist camp in the Russia-Ukraine war.

The ongoing war has created high inflation of essential commodities and this is one of the forms of

devaluation of commodities. It is because there remains difficulty in the transformation from C-M (commodity-money). To overcome this scenario of effective demand, the role of credit or finance became crucial. Devaluation is transformed into inflation and it carries centralization and socialization effect. The socialization effect on the working classes will have imminent effects and because of it, unemployment shall rise and wage rate will further decrease. The private firms facing dilemmas of devaluation of their firms are bailed out through central banks. Hence the global capitalist system is undergoing a crisis of overproduction as well as high mounting debt crisis. In order to stimulate the domestic demand, the US government itself has planned to spend around 3 trillion American dollars under the neo-Keynesian program of 'Building a Better America'. The crisis in the metamorphosis of commodities into money threw the capitalists into bankruptcy and in order to bailout the bankrupt capitalists and stimulate production, global debt soared to 303 trillion dollars.

The general contradiction in capitalist mode of production makes the crisis an inherent feature of capitalist economy. The production for maximization of profit and reducing the ratio of variable capital in comparison to the constant capital, establishes chaotic production which leads to overproduction of commodities and thereby causing periodic crisis. Whenever such crisis of realization arises because of the falling rate of profit, the capitalist class formulates a plan for reducing the production costs and outset the rival capital.

This is only possible with the improvement of the productive forces and through intensified exploitation of labor in order to achieve high labor productivity in comparison to its competitors. With the labor becoming highly mobile, its direct opposite i.e., capital is also comparably equally mobile and universal. The form of labor persisting at present stage of Capitalism i.e. Imperialism is displaced and disguised reserve labor army. The construction of such historically determined conditions gives rise to higher concentration and centralization of capital. As a result, to counter the tendency of the rate of profit to fall in lieu of higher organic composition of capital, monopoly capitalism (which is nothing but imperialism) establishes a global-supply chain and intensifies exploitation of it through export of capital and economic sanctions on rival capital.

After the end of World War II, capitalism entered a very brief period of relative stability. During this period, number of welfare schemes were formulated. This period is also referred to as 'golden period of capitalism'. However, such relative stability was possible because of a number of proxy wars were initiated in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. Such was possible with the establishment of institutions like NATO (North Atlantic treaty Organization) to curb the influence of communism and other political rivalry to western power hegemony (Western capital hegemony) over global politics and economy.

With the emergence of anti-colonial movement and liberation struggle, there arose

a number of independent new nation states in Africa, Asia and in Latin America. However, fundamentally most of these new nation states continue to be victims of neo-colonialism and of unequal exchange rates in the highly monopolized market. Natural resources especially oil became a commodity of universal equivalent of dominance and power (as coal was prior to World War I). The control over oil reserves through military intervention or economic sanctions became the new ways of establishing hegemony over the global politics. For a very broad period of 50 years the Western powers under the control of the US (with the help of finance capital) controlled the exchange rate and supply of oil and gas. Through this it was possible to create a unipolar world. However, with the 2008 banking crisis, the US economy and the European economy started to enter into crisis. This crisis has led to economic recession giving birth to several austerity measures. In such conditions the state borrowing from the big banking houses increased with double rate compared to the GNP of the nation. With the help of such measures, the west was able to maintain its dominance in West Asia and Afghanistan. Direct dominance seemingly was costing them higher maintenance rate which was diluting their treasury tremendously. It has successfully established puppet regimes in West Asia and making these regions in the value chain suppliers of cheap labor and commodity equivalent to gold that is oil. As Global Capital is facing crisis which has augmented with the onset of Covid and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, the crisis has three-

dimensional aspects: Crisis of food, crisis of energy and crisis of production. All these three-dimensional crises are interlinked to the general crisis of overproduction.

### **Globalization of war-Turning the present war into Third World War**

Production distribution and exchange in capitalist economy is driven by the logic of capital, that strives for the accumulation of profit. The blockade of the Ukrainian wheat in the Baltic sea by Russia has done sufficient help to wheat exporting countries by increasing its relative value. UN is crying about the danger of food crisis prevailing over the African and Asian countries. But this food crisis is not solely generated by the Ukraine-Russia war. The real reasons behind the food crisis are the neo-liberal and neo-colonial policies. The Russian oligarchy capitalists have founded the weakening of western capitalism as opportunity to spread its influence over the globe. The weakening stance of West is clearly seen in the increase in the number of alliances formed by the West in the past one year. Even its influence on non-western organizations like BRICS and OPEC has slightly waned. In this scenario, the war is not going to end soon. There might be a period of brief truce because of the dilapidated conditions of West to finance Ukraine, and until it gets hold on the West Asian oil reserves. For this sole purpose, the President of the US Joe Biden went to Saudi Arab and formed an organization named I2U2 (comprising India, Israel, United States of America and United Arab Emirates). This clearly depicts that the danger of war is looming over West Asia,

and that would lead to a strategical shift in the present war. Even the US Central Command (CENTCOM) is closely reviewing the conditions and might launch attack on Tehran if the latter pursues nuclear weapons, or if Israel launches an attack on Tehran. The recent development in Taiwan is an integral part of the inter-imperialist crisis. With the collapse of Soviet Union and the integration of China into the world capitalist system, China was considered to be one of the most favored countries in terms of trade. American Companies started outsourcing manufacturing sectors to China to exploit the cheap labor power in China. However, such outsourcing of manufacturing sectors had hit the US economy badly. The production of value declined, mass unemployment upsurged and American economy began to become more financialized. The financialization of the economy led to the outbreak of 2008 Global crisis and American economy started to face 'strategic decline'. Pressure began to mount upon China thereafter from America and in order to reduce the trade deficit, economic sanctions were imposed on China. In this scenario America in the proximity of the crisis perceived Taiwan as a strategic alliance in order to counter the economic rise of China. The US intention in Taiwan is not solely geo-political in nature, but has economic interests too. Taiwan is the largest producer of semiconductor technology which is an essential element in modern technological equipment and American establishment is focusing on creating deficit in the supply of semiconductor



## Developments in Latin America - Impact on Geo-Political alignments

The developments in the Latin American countries indicate an impact on the ongoing geo-political alignments in the world. One important development in the recent past is the failure of the Ninth summit of the Americas organised by the US indicating its descending hold. On the other hand China has an ascending hold on the region. The people especially of Columbia and Ecuador have been making struggles for the past few years on demands to improve their living standards such as lowering of taxes. The election of Gustavo Petro, an ex-commander of a guerrilla unit M-19 as the President of Columbia expresses the wish of the people of the region for a democratic change in their governments without any imperialist intervention.

The Monroe doctrine adopted by the US that was originally made for its total control over the Western hemisphere, focussed on Latin American countries by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since then the US had been frequently intervening in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean. Since the 1930s it tried to formulate its Latin American foreign policy in



consultation with the respective country and the organisation of American states. Anyhow after World War II, it became aggressive with the countries of the continent. But now, things are taking a different shape.

The President of the US, Joe Biden formally inaugurated the summit of the Americas on 9<sup>th</sup> June 2022 in Los Angeles. The theme of the summit was 'building a sustainable, resilient and equitable future'. US did not invite Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua. The Presidents of Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala did not attend the meeting. The President of Mexico, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador said he did not go to the summit because 'all the countries of America are not invited'. Pedro Infante of the ruling United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV) said about the summit, 'it is everyone or it is not of the Americas'. The failure of the summit is particularly important with the given fact that China is increasingly investing in the region that the US once considered to be its backyard.

Columbia is an important source for the US in producing coca. It is one of the two largest coca producers and distributors in the world. Nearly one and a half lakh farmers live on its production. Most of the political leaders of the country are involved in the trade of the drug cocaine produced out of coca.

Gustavo Petro defeated a millionaire business-man. Francia Marquez, a social activist is the Vice-President elect. Gustavo says he is 'fighting for democracy and peace, not Socialism'. He won the Presidential election in the

background of people's struggles. One intense struggle was in 2019 over tax hike on essential goods and services. Forty-five agitators were killed by the armed forces and 1649 were arrested. In June demonstrations were held in memory of two massacres – one in 1928 where banana workers were massacred on 8<sup>th</sup> June and another in 1929 where a law student was assassinated on 9<sup>th</sup> June. Universities also witnessed protest demonstrations. In this background, Gustavo Petro announced reforms such as rise of taxes on the rich, that he would fight hunger, provide more health care and education and put a stop to oil exploration. It is interesting to note that in spite of any number of promises only 48 percent of the people took part in elections.

Chile was the largest producer of Lithium and now in the second place after Australia

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### **Russia-Ukraine War...**

technology supply to China. The military assistance to Taiwan from America is to escalate the adverse conditions. US imperialism has a history of launching wars on various sovereign Independent countries and no doubt history will be repeated if it favors the imperialist interest. Also, because the industrial-military complex system is profiteering because of the present war and has the general will to enlarge the scope and scale of the war. This war is the reflection of the contradiction between multi-polar monopoly capitalism and unipolar Monopoly capitalism.

since the government of Chile increased royalty rates on the miners. Then the miners started to invest in Argentina. Lithium is a key raw material in the production of lithium ion batteries and can even replace gasoline. Majority of the people rejected a new Constitution proposed by the President Gabriel Boric. Boric claims that the new Constitution is to help fight poverty.

Ecuador is an important source of gasoline, oil and mining. Brazil has the biggest rain forest Amazon full of several kinds of organisms, plants and ores. Given all these resources USA squeezed Latin America to the maximum extent by 1960s.

People of Ecuador are fighting for a change in the regime. Unable to deal with the demonstrations the President of Ecuador, Lasso declared emergency. He deployed more than 20,000 members of the armed forces and 27,000 policemen in the city of Quito to protect it from the seizure by the people. There are incidents of firing and demonstrators were killed after being hit by a tear gas canister. People answered militantly to the incident and several policemen were injured in their retaliation. 18 vehicles of the armed forces were burnt. One bank agency owned by the President was burnt. There were clashes between the police and students in the capital city of Quito. The protest is going on uncompromising with the only demand that Lasso must step down. People are demanding freezing of gasoline costs at lower price, to stop further oil and mining and to extend deadlines for small farmers to pay off debts. The front of the defense of people's struggles demands the release of all

political prisoners arrested during the demonstrations. People blocked roads in about 16 provinces all over the country. Revolutionary organisations of the region are in solidarity with the struggle of the Ecuadorian people.

Coming to Cuba, the small country is known for its innovations in health care. Cuba sent a team of 30 doctors to other countries during the Corona pandemic. With the given resistance of history of the country to US, Cuba is presently on the list of 'state sponsors of terrorism' of the US along with North Korea, Iran and Syria.

One more Latin American country Venezuela that has a history of resisting the US is assessed to be growing in economy for the past 7 years in spite of 600 unilateral economic blockades by the US. Nicholas Maduro, the successor of Hugo Chavez who ruled the country for four decades sustains his government in spite of attempts of the US to topple him.

Zaire Bolsanaro the President of the biggest country of the region Brazil, that is politically also important openly stated his leaning to China as soon as he came to power in 2018. Successive governments of the country have been helping the US imperialists to loot the world's greatest forest Amazon. Amazon, known to be the absorbent of Carbon dioxide released on the earth suffered from hundreds of wild fires supported and even organised by Bolsanaro. Farmers of the country are holding demonstrations demanding solution to problems in agriculture. Above one and a half crore people in the country are in extreme poverty. Four crores

are in the unorganised sector and 1 crore are unemployed. Bolsanaro is unleashing brutal repression on the struggling people. There was firing on the demonstrations leading to death of a few. Some of the leaders were arrested. Its role in the international politics is yet to be made clear.

In Peru, the general strike in March was followed by the indefinite strike of heavy cargo carriers' union that started on 27<sup>th</sup> June. There were road blockades in many places such as Junin, Sullana, Tarapoto and Cajamarca, Pataz, La Libertad, Tacna, Ica, Ayacucho and Puno. The government declared a state of emergency in the national road network for 30 days. Peru Rail had to suspend its services in long routes. The demands of the strike were – lower price of fuels; cancel high tolls; cheap gas for people; lay more tracks and highways for people's products; subsidies on tickets and freight. The indigenous communities of Huancuire are resisting the mining activity. They are up against the President of the country Pedro Castillo Terrones who displaced them to hand over the land to Las Bambas mining company in the Challcobamba pit. They demand talks with all the communities concerned before which they demand lifting of emergency.

These on-going happenings all over the continent suggest that in the background of rising Chinese investments in the region, the US is trying to implement its old policy. However, the ongoing people's struggles might lead to a considerable change in the position of Latin America in the world political set-up.



# The Sri Lankan Crisis – A Statecraft of Imperialism and Neo-liberalism

Subhash

The Sri Lankan turmoil predates the present crisis. During the twentieth century Sri Lanka was prone to colonial exploitation of primitive accumulation by the Dutch and British colonialism. The economy of Sri Lanka was primarily agricultural products that was in demand in European industries. The country was subjected to deindustrialization to a grave extreme and the ruling classes composed of bourgeoisie and landlords went into a tacit agreement for accumulation of profit. After Sri Lanka got formal independence in 1948 from colonialism, it entered into the phase of neo-colonialism. After 1948, Sri Lankan political system represented feudalistic and imperialist tendencies, where ethnic and religious categories are profoundly used for political mobilization. The present movement against the government over the economic crisis has the potentiality to build a strong broad-based peasant-working class and democratic movement which alone can counter the fascist onslaught.

The post-colonial economy system of Sri Lanka was mainly based on few export-oriented crops like tea, coffee and rubber and service sectors primarily tourism. The path to self-industrialization and land reforms remained out of the State economic policy. Though land reforms were made, those were limited in essence. During the golden period of Capitalism from late 1940s to 1970, Sri Lankan economy was better because its raw materials were had huge demand in European markets. The onset of crisis of capitalism in 1970s had severe

repercussions on Sri Lankan society. From about the mid-1960s onwards, the rate of profit fell in the major economies of world capitalism. These led to the initiation of measures like flows of capital to countries having potential reserve labor army.

The IMF enforced Green Revolution in the agricultural sector made Sri Lankan agriculture open to imperialist exploitation and the small and medium farmers became debt ridden. To overcome the crisis the government in 1977 removed price controls and other forms of regulations and thereby opening the economy to Foreign Direct Investment. In early 1960 Sri Lanka found itself in a severe crisis when it was unable to finance the imports of manufacturing goods with the exports of agricultural primary products because neo-colonialism is based on unequal exchange. As a result, the government was forced to take enforced loans and by 1990 Sri Lanka's foreign debt to IMF and World bank tripled and its currency underwent devaluation. The present crisis in Sri Lanka has its roots in neo-liberal and neo-colonial economic policies which the mainstream economy failed to understand. In the scenario of national debt there were few changes from the year 2000. In the early 1990s the loans that Sri Lanka borrowed were of high interest and carried in its ambit shorter duration for repayment. Its financial borrowing increased from 2.5 percentage in the year 2005 to 52 percentage in the year 2005. And most of these borrowings were used for financing the repayment of loans itself or financing the military to wage war on ethnic Tamil minority which ultimately led to genocide of Tamil people in Sri Lanka and hardly for real productive use.

The Rajapaksa government brought up a policy to develop infrastructure with the help of foreign loans and this led to informalization of labor force because of the increase in construction and real estate business. In the initial years of this period there was some short-lived GDP growth, as GDP growth increased from 3.5 percent to 9.1 percent in 2012. Such development of infrastructure failed to create real employment and further the supply chain network was fastened to its extreme. As result foreign debt piled up and its ratio to national GDP went up from 69 percent in 2012 to 100 percent in 2020. In 2019 there were severe tax cuts or tax



concessions were given to the imperialist and the corporate enterprises and this led to a decline in government revenue expenditure. In this dried-up fiscal deficit, government started to withdraw welfare measures which were earned after long hard struggle by the Sri Lankan working classes.

The onset of COVID pandemic hurt the Sri Lankan economy the most because tourism, one of the important components of economy that contributes nearly 12 percent to GDP came to a halt. Similarly, garment sector suffered because of shut down of international supply chains. The decision to ban the import of chemical fertilizers totally decimated the agricultural sector which provides livelihood to nearly 60 percent of people directly or indirectly. Because of this export got decimated as there was no output of agricultural products which further declined the foreign exchange reserves. In order to overcome food scarcity, the Rajapaksa government started importing rice which is one of the staple foods of the Sri Lankan people. This import of rice directly led to increase in the price of rice. Unemployment and low wage ratio prevailed. The purchasing power of the common masses declined. The ongoing Imperialist war between Russia and Ukraine has inflated the prices of energy products pushing Sri Lanka almost into a mediaeval era. Sri

Lanka has a long tradition of autocratic rule in its political history. Since 2005, politics in Sri Lanka is dominated by one family: the Rajapaksas. The Easter bombings in 2019 and the elections fought were formulated on chauvinistic nationalism and SLPP (Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna) accused the then Prime Minister Wickremesinghe in the Presidential election of 2019 of breach of national security. The SLPP won the Presidential election and Gotabaya Rajapaksa (who had no political experience but served the army for 20 years and earned high esteem in the officials of the army) became the President. After becoming the President, he brought the fascist 20<sup>th</sup> amendment Act of the Sri Lankan constitution which made the Executive President more arbitrary and less accountable for his actions. The principle of checks and balance was negated with such amendment. In the aftermath Gotabaya Rajapaksa's government took decision for a tax-cut which reduced the government revenue by 30 percent. This affected the poor and the working-class sections the most. The shortage of fuel hit the poor and the working-class sections the most. Small farmers are unable to do farming because of the lack of fuel for irrigation purpose, small fishing industry (where women employment is higher than in other sectors) had been totally shut down. This

condition of the Sri Lankan economy made it more dependent on foreign loans which can bring short term relief, but will not be able to bring Sri Lanka completely out of the crisis.

The Sri Lankan crisis is not an isolated and a temporary crisis. It is a crisis generated by imperialism and neo-liberal policies. Imperialist USA and Social imperialist China are holding Sri Lanka as a strategic nodal point to have control over Indian Ocean (which remains one of the important supply channels between South East Asia and Europe) and South East Asian markets. The people of Sri Lanka revolted against Gotabaya Rajapaksa and he was forced to resign and flee from the country. But with Wickremesinghe being installed as the President who lost the people's mandate, we can see that Sri Lanka is heading towards de-facto junta. There is no doubt that Wickremesinghe is the puppet President of the Rajapaksa's family. The onslaught on the protesters simply depicts the image that the present regime is not going to tolerate any protest against the regime. The people of Sri Lanka have to transform the struggle into a broad-based mass struggle against neo-liberalism and Imperialism and thereby form people's democratic socialist economic system. Instead of changing the government the remedy is to change the system that breeds crisis.

***Down with Imperialism!  
Establish Socialism-Communism!***

## 'Agnipath' – Fascist Nazisation of Indian society

The Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist Central government of the Bharatiya Janata Party under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the most dangerous 'Agnipath' scheme on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2022. According to the central government the scheme concerns recruitment into the Indian Armed forces. Whereas in fact, the scheme has a wider objective of fascising the Indian society. The adoption and implementation of the scheme brought forth several issues of social concern, especially of the unemployed youth.

After floating news about the scheme for a while, the government announced the scheme with much ado that led to multifold commotion. The Defence Minister held a press meet together with the Chiefs of the Indian Army, Air Force and Navy. The announcement of the scheme was widely published and broadcasted in the media. As per the scheme, 46,000 youth of 10<sup>th</sup> class qualification will be recruited in the first 90 days and trained for four years out of which 6 months is training and the rest in the field. 25 percent of them will be retained in the forces and the rest i.e., thirty thousand of every batch will be sent away with an Undergraduate degree in Defence studies. An amount of Rs.11.71 lakh rupees will be given per head without any kind of benefits. Half of this amount called 'Seva Nidhi' that is tax free will be accumulated through a cut in the wages of 'Agniveers', the name given to the trainees and an equal share from the interest.

There have been various kinds of statements about what happens with the rest 75 percent of Agniveers. One central minister said that they shall be taken into various industries and that the scheme shall make a trained army to protect the industries. BJP ruled state governments announced that they would give preference to these 75 percent in recruitment into the police forces. As the protests were going on, the government started to announce benefits out of the scheme. It said that the Agniveers will be given 12<sup>th</sup> class certificate after the four years and that they can apply for graduation. The Indian armed forces already produced more than 55 crores of veterans through retirement who are in search of jobs. The 10 percent posts reserved for ex-servicemen in central government departments were not filled in the past 8 years. So, the 75 percent Agniveers are most likely absorbed as private security guards for the corporate enterprises. It is almost undoubted that the political parties shall use them in all sorts of their ill activities. In all probability the Indian Army will be totally saffronized by 2037.

The youth of the country to which Agnipath was addressed reacted intensely to it. Bihar, Punjab and Rajasthan the states of major recruitment into the armed forces witnessed the maximum protest including Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and others. On the second day of the announcement of the scheme there was large scale arson in Secunderabad, the twin city of capital Hyderabad of Telangana.

It was followed by much severe happenings in the rest of the states. Youth came on to the streets in large numbers and demanded the withdrawal of the scheme. They burnt trains, took out rallies and expressed protest in many forms.

The main opposition Congress party held all India bandh in protest to the scheme demanding its withdrawal. Punjab Assembly made a resolution opposing Agnipath saying that it is neither in the interest of national security nor the youth of the country. It urged the central government to withdraw the scheme immediately. Veterans of the armed forces criticized the government in their own angle. They expressed concern about the decrease of 'quality' of the forces. Job in the armed force is one of the most important sources for the large contingent of unemployed youth in the country.

In a bid to apply white terror on the people struggling for their fundamental rights, the government brought forth a number of anti-people reactionary forces such as the



Special Police Officers (SPO) initially in Kashmir and later in Chhattisgarh, the infamous Greyhounds established in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, C-60 Commandos of Maharashtra and Special Operations Group of Odisha. Intellectuals and social activists filed a petition in the Supreme Court against SPOs in Chhattisgarh after which the court passed a judgment against it. However, the state government continued the force with another name 'AGNI' for some time and presently as the District Reserve Guard (DRG). All these forces achieved enough name for their utmost brutal, vicious deeds against the people, the revolutionaries and any activist working for the people. These forces are meant to bring a sense of fear among the ordinary masses and suppress those working for their emancipation from exploitation and oppression.

And now, the 'Agniveers' are going to be a force blended with all characteristics that saffron fascist terror needs. One can imagine what kind of mentality the Agniveers trained in the highest force of the country for four years would attain. They shall become a danger to the Indian society with their violent behavior. Then how would the society cope up with the thousands of Agniveers coming out every year and entering into several sectors of the society including education. The Agnipath scheme is also in total correspondence with the National Education Policy made by the BJP government in 2020. Thousands of soldiers will become students every year thus helping to induce saffron fascism into daily curriculum.

The scheme helps for training in Rashtriya Swayam

Sevak Sangh (RSS) ideology and to the agenda of making India a 'Hindu state'. RSS was established with military orientation. As per information in records, the first-generation leader of RSS, Moonje visited Mussolini of Italy in the 1930s. He visited the fascist academy of physical education where training was given to fascist armed forces. This was equivalent to 'Brown Shirts' of Hitler in Germany. Moonje returned to India and established the Bhonsala Military School in Nasik in 1937 where Hindutva forces were imparted training. The school was run by the Central Hindu society. It is interesting to know that Vidya Bharati run by the RSS is the biggest non-government educational organisation in the country. It started military schools decades ago. The students of this school are being taken into the Indian armed forces. Of late it is going to start 100 military schools all over the country. Thus, the scheme through its militarisation shall help to re-shape the Indian society as per the Hindutva ideology.

Another issue to be discussed is the way the government brought forth this scheme. Neither the main and any opposition parties nor the Parliamentary Committee on Defence were consulted. As discontent is mounting among the people with the rising problems of daily life due to economic crisis, it brought the scheme in the utmost conspiratorial manner to suppress and the struggles of workers, peasants, Dalit, tribal and nationality people, and especially, to eliminate the class struggle and people's war in India. The BJP government is working in the most

unconstitutional, undemocratic manner in bringing many Acts and regulations.

The Agnipath scheme forces the unemployed to become army men. The process of recruiting local tribal youth into the central and state armed forces had already started, mainly in the states of revolutionary movement. Tribal youth are recruited into police forces in Chhattisgarh and used as a shield for the para-Military forces during patrols into the interior areas.

The BJP government that is working with RSS ideology wants the country to become 'One Nation-One everything'. A wide-spread army with the character of 'one nation-one military' is going to be formed through Agnipath that shall help the BJP to transform the country in a uniformly fascist manner. The Agnipath scheme is an instrument to suppress all the oppressed classes, nationalities and sections of the country and continue the rule of exploitation and oppression.

Imperialist contention is taking the form of armed conflicts. Tensions are brewing between the two super powers, i.e., the US and China and every country is forced to side with one or the other imperialist country. At this juncture, the Indian government is acting cleverly and diplomatically. Its policy reveals that it is going to be active in international politics. And now the Agnipath scheme. This scheme bears relevance to the present political condition in the international and domestic planes.

The Agnipath scheme is nothing but fascist nazisation of India.



# Interview with Comrade Sanjeev of JanaNatyaMandali

*It is Fifty years of JanaNatyaMandali, the Cultural Organisation of the 1970s and 80s that tremendously inspired the people of joint Andhra Pradesh. JNM released 'History of Fifty Years of JanaNatyaMandali' in Telugu. It was the cultural wing of the then CPI (ML)(People's War) that emerged into the CPI (Maoist) after merging with the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI). JNM as it is popularly known became the most liked organisation of the oppressed people and sections of the state. The songs of JNM gained extremely wide popularity not only in the state but all over the country. Although it is not active since around 2014, it remains forever in the annals of history of the Revolutionary movement in India. Comrade Sanjeev joined JNM a short time after its formation in 1972. He now serves the ongoing People's War as a member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC). On the occasion of completion of 50 years of JNM this is an interview with Comrade Sanjeev by 'People's March'.*

**Red Salutes Comrade Sanjeev!**

**Red Salutes!**

**Comrade Sanjeev, firstly tell us the background of how you joined JanaNatyaMandali**

Yes. Firstly I pay revolutionary homage to all the artists of JNM who stuck to revolution amidst heavy repression, served the revolutionary cultural sphere and became martyrs. They remind me of the song, 'We shall sing in death/Red Salutes to Revolution..'. I convey my revolutionary greetings to all the people of the two Telugu states

who cooperated for the performances of JNM in stage arrangements such as lighting and financial help.

I belong to a village on the outskirts of the present city of Hyderabad. There was a prayer board in our village. My brother was the president of the board. I used to go there and sing songs. Some of our village used to sing rhymes. Father of martyr in Ramaguda encounter Comrade Prabhakar heckled our hippy hair style through his songs. I gradually understood that songs are not mere songs and that they represent the truth of life.

I saw a performance of Art Lovers in Macha Bollaram and Turkapalli adjacent to our village. They performed plays. B. Narsinga Rao initiated Art Lovers with the inspiration of Naxalbari and Srikakulam armed struggles. The organisation performed among the people. They spoke of the society and the problems of the people and that attracted me. I started to understand the conflicts between the oppressor and the oppressed castes in my village. A Tamilian called Nandu always sang these songs. I got in touch with Art Lovers and Gaddar who was working in it. I started learning those songs. Few other youths also accompanied me. We wanted to go along with the organisation to perform. But they did not take us since we were small. But we used to go with them to nearby places.

I was not good at studies. My brother told me to go to school and my teacher told me to learn well for which both of them bet me. The beatings made me absolutely lose interest in studies. I developed interest in the songs. I managed to complete SSC. It was 1974. Since I did not go to school, my uncle



took me along with him as a casual worker. By the time JanaNatyaMandali was formed in the guidance of the Party with few members of Art Lovers. I went to do work, sang in the prayer board and JNM songs. In 1975, police attacked Bhupal, Sandhya and others of JNM while they were performing in Gujjanagundla village of Guntur district. Two of our village went along with them. They returned and told me that this is a Naxalite party and that we shall not go. Few days after the incident, Indira Gandhi government imposed emergency in the country.

Emergency was lifted in 1977. Political propaganda and the activities of Mass Organisations gained momentum. During this period, martyr Comrade IV Sambasiva Rao and one more person came and met us in Nandu's house. They explained party politics to us and said that the songs came in the background of these politics. They told that art is an instrument to change the society and about the need to take up political practice.

I began taking part more in the activities of JNM. We were sent to Guntur district for propaganda. From there we went to RSU conference in Warangal. I gave chorus in the meeting. The songs were 'Voli volila ranga voli...' and 'Lal salaam lal salaam...'. The JNM team from Visakhapatnam performed 'Bhumi Bhagotam' (the story of land). The story was about village hierarchy that makes the poor peasants work and seize their land. All the laborers unite and rebel against it. The speeches and the cultural activities of the meeting inspired us greatly. Later we went to Khammam.

One day, Gaddar called us and asked us to work full time. We said we need time to decide. I was struggling in my mind. Should I work full time for revolution or lead normal life and participate partially? My brother told me to decide one among the two. Finally I leant towards revolution by 1980. I became a full time member in JanaNatyaMandali.

**JNM was formed with the inspiration of Naxalbari revolutionary politics. What kind of role did it play in propagating the politics?**

JNM propagated the line of the Party through art forms in the heredity of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) and Prajanatyamandali. JNM wrote 'podam pade jatara Srikakula yataro/idi em jataramma pedolla jataramma...' (let us go to the festival, the Srikakulam festival/ what festival is it, it is the festival of the poor). Elimination of class enemies was the line of the party at that time. According to the Party line JNM wrote 'they are chopping the heads of the rich and making pots...'. Party later realised this was sectarian and that New Democratic Revolution must be accomplished with Agrarian Revolution as the axle in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. Then JNM wrote explaining this line. It took the politics of New Democratic Revolution into the masses widely. When the exploitive classes propagated that Naxalites were thieves, JNM propagated that they were true patriots. It sang 'vochindochindamma Naxalbari/maa oorikochinadamma Naxalbari...' (Naxalbari came/ Naxalbari came to my village) and propagated that Naxalbari is not merely the name of a village

but it is a struggle, the path of Indian Revolution.

JNM believed in the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It exposed the neo-revisionist politics and propagated that armed struggle is the only way of liberation for the people in thousands of villages and towns. It thus helped for advancing the revolutionary movement. It understood that 'people are the makers of history' through the experiences of revolutions in Russia and China. It explained the importance of people's army that there is nothing for the people without it and sang 'podamuro janasenalo kalisi...' (let us join the people's army). It propagated the theory and the political-military path of the party in the guidance of the party. It instilled confidence among the people that revolution is the only path to solve their problems and to better their lives and that revolutionary party is leading them.

**Tell us about the birth and the process of development of JNM and about the martyred artists**

JanaNatyaMandali formed as a team with few members of Art Lovers in 1972 July. JNM took birth as a need and an organisation of revolutionary propaganda in the revolutionary conditions of the times. It was formed in Hyderabad and subsequently developed teams all over the state.

Initially JNM only sang songs. The Visakhapatnam team performed 'kolatam' (dance with sticks in hand). Artists joined JNM and gradually it adopted various art forms. It blended politics and propagated them among the people. 'Beedala



patlu' (the plight of the poor) was one play that JNM performed in the initial stage. The process of development of JNM can be divided into four stages – the period from its formation up to 1985, from 1985 up to 1990, the period of relaxation in 1990 and since then up to 2004. JNM wrote about the living conditions of the people during the times, the solutions and the economic and political conditions. It extended great support to people's struggles through its art forms. Thus it gradually developed and strengthened the revolutionary cultural sphere. It stood as a historic experience in its contribution. We wrote in detail in the 'History of Fifty Years of JanaNatyaMandali'.

As the cultural wing of the party, JNM studied the folk art forms and blended the lives and problems of almost the entire oppressed classes and sections. It thus explained the importance of revolution. It adopted the dress of 'Golla' people (shepherds). It adopted their art form 'Oggukatha' and performed it on peasant question and other questions. It strongly attracted all the classes whom the party needs to unite. It also performed on the stage during Ganesh Navaratri (a Hindu festival worshipping God Ganesh), 'bonala' festival (of Telangana), at marriages, deaths and jathara (festival) of goddesses. People accustomed to see plays of rhymes, record dances (dancing with film songs) and folk art forms were surprised to see JNM teams in the initial period. Especially they did not understand how women performed together with men. JNM faced all the problems of agitation and propaganda of revolutionary politics that the

Mass Organisations faced in the initial period. After the Mass Organisations gained strength and revolutionary politics attained wide sympathy, JNM performances were arranged on various occasions.

The activities that started in a small manner in Hyderabad gradually extended to rural areas all over the state. JNM performances nakedly exposed the cruelty in landlords and feudalism and rural people went in large numbers to see the performances. Landlords deployed goondas to stop the performances. People themselves chased them away. Thus JNM became part of Agrarian Revolution. During the spate of Karimnagar-Adilabad struggles in 1978-79, JNM units in the districts performed daily in a village covering the surrounding villages. After 1980 JNM teams were formed all over the state. The songs of JNM always moved on the lips of the people. The ruling classes were shook with the revolutionary propaganda. Dora, the SP of Warangal at that time realised the impact of these programs and unleashed repression on the activities. As a part of it he formed counter teams. In spite of all these JNM marched ahead.

JNM faced repression in this process. Starting with the attack in Gujjanagundla earlier to emergency, almost all the JNM teams of the state experienced repression. Comrade Dappu Ramesh who was returning from a JNM performance was caught by the police in Khammam and tortured in a police station. They threw him into a train in deadly condition. Once JNM was performing in an area in Rayalaseema region of AP. The team received a letter from the audience that said, 'one word

against NTR (the then Chief Minister of the state who was a popular cine star) and you are bombed'. But JNM did not step back. It sang thus – 'Rayalaseema is asking for water Ramanna/Rayalaseema that asked for water is dripping in tears Ramanna/cinema Bhimanna'. People suffering from lack of crops owing to deficiency of water hailed the song. The bombers became silent.

Once when the Visakhapatnam team was performing in the outskirts of the city, CPI goondas chased them. The Guntur district team continued its activities alertly amidst enemy attacks. MCPJ goondas attacked JNM activists in Elakaturti village of Warangal district. Once I went to Warangal district for field study. As I was walking in the fields in the night I fell into a ditch. I broke my hand and lost consciousness. I was kept in a hut in the village until a tractor arrived to take me to hospital. The family gave me soup and shelter in that difficult time. The then Warangal DSP personally came to the hospital and kidnapped me. The notorious police officer DT Nayak known as the enemy of the people destroyed the hut of the family that provided shelter to me.

Comrade Kumari went to East Division of AOB to train JNM team after JNM became armed. There she acquired Cerebral Malaria and later died in a hospital in the city. Comrade Vidya and Comrade Divakar, members of the central team of JNM were martyred in fake encounters in Warangal and Nalgonda districts. Comrade Bhaskar of South Telangana who wrote creative songs became a martyr in a boat accident. The in-charge of JNM Warangal district

team Comrade Dharmanna became a martyr in the fake encounter along with Comrade Vidya. Comrade Vijaya of AOB became a martyr while she was taking part in propagating about the incident of atrocity on women of Vakapalli by Greyhounds forces. One JNM activist became a martyr in Srikakulam. Comrade Dappu Ramesh suffering from prolonged illness such as BP and Diabetes was martyred on 18<sup>th</sup> March 2022 since his health deteriorated with harassment of NIA. All these deaths are the murders of the state.

As the movement developed, the efforts of JNM also rose amidst state repression. The open activities that went on extensively since emergency was lifted were put to stop when NTR government unleashed intense repression on the party and its affiliated organisations in 1985. JNM also could not take up open activities like the other organisations. This was undeclared ban. Those of us who worked in JNM cannot stay in the state secretly. We performed all through the state. We will be recognised wherever we go. So we had to go underground. The Congress party made various promises to defeat Telugudesam party and come to power. There was a period of relaxation and a meeting was held on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1990 in Nizam College grounds in Hyderabad.

Gaddar first came out openly. By the time we were with armed squads in Bastar. We made a long journey and attended these activities. Comrade Ramesh, Comrade Kumari and Comrade Divakar came from South coastal districts. Other comrades working in JNM also came. We thus formed into a

team and started performing. The police fired upon a public meeting in Narmetta in Warangal district in October and the relaxation ended. Subsequently, we once again went underground. We studied the people's art forms. We started recording Hindi songs since 1986. In 1987 we made audio and video records. After some time as per the decision of the party, members of our central JNM team took up responsibilities in various guerrilla zones along with that of JNM.

Meanwhile many artists, writers of JNM became martyrs in every district and every division of the Guerrilla Zones in the state campaigns of repression. Radical Youth League (RYL) and Ryot Coolie Sangham (RCS) activists provided security for JNM performances. The experience of JanaNatyaMandali in 1995-2000 remains great in the efforts of revolutionary cultural movement.

On contrary to the history of JNM and these experiences, Gaddar and Vangapandu Prasada Rao who gained wide popularity could not stay among the people until the end. They engaged in serving the ruling classes.

**Tell us about the efforts of JanaNatyaMandali in Revolutionary Cultural movement and in revolutionising people's arts in the Telugu states**

JNM made tremendous efforts in revolutionary cultural sphere. Party understood the importance of cultural sphere and not only formed JNM but gave close guidance to it since the beginning. JNM adopted art forms as an instrument of revolutionary propaganda. It reflected each and every aspect of the society and revolution in its art forms. It represented the people's problems and the path

of solution. JNM showed such an impact that the cultural performances of various democratic organisations, Dalit and women's organisations adopted its style. All the ruling class parties including the BJP and the bourgeois parties that diverted the people to gain votes started utilising JNM tunes. In a bid to counter revolution, the police too prepared songs in the tunes of JNM songs and performed plays.

JNM mainly wrote songs in the tunes of folk songs of the toilers who created them. It met the people's artists and studied their art forms. It took the 'Oggukatha' form of Telangana and prepared 'Naxalbari biddalu' Oggukatha about martyrs of Girayipalli. In this form three artists perform. The main story teller is supported by two on the sides with 'Dhillembhallem' (one kind of drum) and give chorus. They put on 'gongadi' (a thick black bed sheet especially used by shepherds). First we took the form as it is. But carrying the drums to the places of performances and putting on the heavy bed sheet while performing was difficult. So we used Dolak in the place of these drums. When this Oggukatha was performed in the South coastal districts we used 'Dappu'. There we called it 'Dappu katha'.

We adopted an art form of North Andhra Pradesh and prepared 'Sikkolu Yuddham' about the Srikakulam struggle. We called it 'Kanjari katha' (kanjari is a small Dappu with bells all round). JNM met artists who perform magic on the roads. It studied their art. It observed their manoeuvres with snakes. It adopted the form and prepared a revolutionary art form 'Garadi' (magic). It prepared 'the story of elections'. It performed the form

initially in the dialect of North Andhra and Ongole districts. It gained wide popularity among the people.

JNM adopted 'Bhangra', the dance form of Punjab and prepared a dance 'Aayare May Day' explaining the people's problems. The folk form is performed only by men. JNM adopted it as a form in which both men and women perform. It adopted 'ballet' of Russia and prepared 'Ragaljenda' (Red Flag) opposing the murder of Gond tribal people in police firing. The first song of the ballad 'Jumbaku jumbaku jumbaku bala...' gained such a wide popularity that at that time ordinary schools and colleges performed the song in their anniversaries and dance competitions.

It is a fact that the style of JNM was the reason the Television channels later took up programs of folk songs and dances. After the formation of central JNM team, each of us concentrated on one art form. Comrade Ramesh concentrated on Dappu very much. He wrote a book on it with the lectures he took in JNM workshops. Comrade Divakar studied theatre. He rehearsed the whole day like Chandrababu Naidu, ex-CM of AP during shooting of 'schemes of Chandrababu'. Comrade Daya who learnt to play Dolak in prayer boards played it creatively according to JNM song and developed into a great instrumentalist.

Comrade Balayya was a 'Khavali' artist. JNM took the Muslim form of song in which two groups perform as a conversation and prepared a song on the fundamental problems of workers and peasants. Comrade Balayya sang this song in an inspiring and enthusiastic manner. He became

a martyr two years ago out of old age and ill health.

JNM took the tune of a film song and wrote on fake saint Saibaba. It wrote on Ayyappa. It wrote on Yagnam and on Karseva in Ayodhya in which it exposed the anarchic activities of the Hindutva mobs of the country. It wrote exposing the imperialist vicious culture that utilises culture for marketing goods and enhance the capitalist market.

JNM studied African song and literature. It learnt from great artists like Paul Robson. It deeply studied the lives of the people. So, it could write 'Jagore...jagore jago jago...' (wake up....), 'Raktamto naduputunu rickshawnoo/na raktame na rickshawku petrol...' (I drive the rickshaw with my blood/my blood is the oil for my rickshaw...), 'Yantraloda coolie jeetagada/maralu thippe mandipoyinoda...' (Mechanic, wage labourer/you are burnt working with machines...) and other such songs that touched the hearts of the toilers. On the whole JNM enhanced the consciousness of armed struggle among the people.

JNM had a big role in the cultural performances during the movement for separate state of Telangana. The style of JNM contributed to the propaganda and inspiration of the movement.

**JanaNatyaMandali made an impact mainly with its 'song'. What is the specialty in it that attracted the people so much?**

In his foreword to JNM's first book of songs, B. Narsingarao who wrote on the tasks of cultural sphere with the pen name of Varghees said, 'JNM entered the mine of people's art. It extracted diamonds from the mine and sharpened those'. JNM applied Mao's teaching 'from the

people to the people' in revolutionary cultural sphere. It introduced people's problems in people's art forms and took those among the people with a path of solving them. That is the strength of JNM songs. One more thing is that all the JNM artists are people's artists. They identified with revolution as much as they did with art forms. This is the specialty of JanaNatyaMandali.

**How did JanaNatyaMandali help in building other Revolutionary, Democratic organisations?**

JanaNatyaMandali took birth after Revolutionary Writer's Association (RWA). It worked as the voice and cultural wing of the party. It helped organisations such as Radical Student's Union (RSU), Radical Youth League and Ryot Coolie Sangham formed in the guidance of the party. JNM identified with these organisations. It learnt the problems of the classes and sections through the practice of those organisations and blended them in art forms. We wrote this in detail in the history of JNM. The songs of the time reveal this aspect.

JNM performed together with the cultural organisations of other ML groups mainly with Arunodaya. JNM was an inspiration for the new kind of performance in the 'Dhoom dhaam' (name given to cultural performances) along with the make up to mobilise the people in the movement for separate Telangana. On the whole, it worked with the various revolutionary cultural organisations working to develop New Democratic culture as a part of New Democratic Revolution. However, it had to make more efforts for united practice.

It performed together with the revolutionary cultural organisations all over the country. In the process it exchanged experiences. JNM was a founder organisation in All India Revolutionary Cultural League (AILRC) formed in the guidance of the party. Revolutionary cultural organisations were formed in Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra, mainly in the present Mumbai city. In the southern states, JNM songs were translated. Martyr Comrade Vilas Ghogre of Maharashtra wrote and sang in Marathi and Hindi. Aavhan Natya Manch was formed and worked basing on him as writer. In Delhi, an organisation Nishant mainly concentrated and performed playlets and street plays. In Bihar, JNM performed together with Comrade Rambali Yadav and with Comrade Raj Kishore who became a martyr this year. It learnt from all these organisations.

**Tell us about the efforts of JNM in the expansion of revolutionary movement and its impact on the ongoing cultural efforts in Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand**

Party strengthened in the state and entered the forest area with the guerrilla zone perspective by 1980. It entered Manyam area of Visakha-East Godavari districts and crossed river Godavari and Pranahita and entered Ahiri area of Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra. On the other hand, the armed squads took JNM song into Bastar area of the then Madhya Pradesh in the initial days. The squads needed to explain the need to form an organisation to the people. So they translated the song 'Randiro Coolanna/Sangham pedadamu

sangathendo chooddamu..' (dear laborer come/let us form organisation and let us settle scores) into the local Kuvvi and Koya tribal languages. Few other songs were also translated.

JNM helped the Central Organisers who extended their work among the workers and peasants in the plain areas of other states. JNM performed for the workers of Bhilai Steel Plant in the present state of Chhattisgarh. There were a large number of Telugu speaking people in Bhilai. During the period of repression in AP in 1985 when NTR government imposed ban on 'song, speech and dance', members of RWA and JNM together made an all India tour. The team went from Madhya Pradesh to Chandrapur in Maharashtra to attend the Conference of Mazdoor Shetkari Sangathan where they were arrested. They were foisted with cases and released after 45 days.

The tour later continued with its songs and speeches in Kolkata and Bihar without even knowing anyone. Thus JNM contributed to consolidating those who came into contact with its propaganda and consequently to the formation of Mass Organisations and people's struggles. In 1990-91 also the state created hurdles to JNM's all India tour.

Coming to its relations with the revolutionary cultural organisations in Dandakaranya and Jharkhand working now, by the time these organisations started to function and the two parties merged and the cultural organisations exchanged their experiences, open activities of JNM came to a stop. Party held all India Cultural workshop in 2002 so as to summarise the experiences of the cultural organisations of various states

and to advance the revolutionary cultural movement. In the workshop, party placed the all India Cultural perspective before the delegates. The performances of JNM at the time of talks with the AP state government and the meeting held on the occasion of emergence of the new party in 2004 were the last ones. JNM continued as armed squads in the guerrilla zones. Representatives went to Jharkhand together with the representatives of Chetana Natya Manch working in Dandakaranya. These organisations exchanged their experiences. The heredity of JNM continued in this manner. The experience and efforts of JanaNatyaMandali in performance and writing songs shall be always useful to the democratic and revolutionary cultural organisations.

**What is it that JNM could not achieve?**

Party mentioned in the cultural perspective adopted in 1995 that JNM should have been developed into a Mass Organisation at least by 1980. JNM made revolutionary propaganda and gained wide contacts. It inspired youth into revolution. It enthused crores of people. It attracted thousands of artists. But it failed in organising them subsequently into the Mass Organisations and develop organisationally. By the time it realised the need, fascist repression was unleashed. It could not continue the efforts. Similarly it should have been clearer about the efforts to be made in cultural sphere during times of repression. Although there was a little effort in 1990s, JNM could not widely utilise playlets, plays and street plays. It did not concentrate much on

developing the woman artists in JNM in a creative and efficient manner. Although there were a few songs, songs on women's problems were very few.

**What is the need of an organisation like JNM in the present conditions? What is your message to people's cultural organisations and artists?**

Any clique of the ruling classes sides with imperialism, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes and exploits and oppresses the people and at the same time unleashes ban and repression on poets, artists, revolutionary art and writings. Owing to the fascist repression and social oppression by the ruling classes, today it is not possible to run an organisation like JNM to propagate the politics of revolutionary armed struggle. However, various organisations are coming forth to propagate revolution according to the changing conditions. Similarly JNM also propagated in its own style in armed manner. The need of the times is to take up organisation and propaganda in various ways to expose the exploitive ruling classes.

Speaking about artists, many worked for the movement for separate Telangana. Few of them later surrendered to the

exploitive government. They entered cinemas and YouTube. Most of them were neglected. People and the democratic, revolutionary cultural movement must extend support to such artists and the folk artists who are the inheritors of folk art forms for generations. All of them must unite to fight for democratic and revolutionary Telangana.

Viewing politically, today in both the Telugu speaking states and mainly in Telangana, Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism is trying to gain strength. Almost all oppressed classes and oppressed sections including democrats, well-wishers of the people, patriots and such others of the country are deprived of the minimum right to speak. Pro-people intellectuals are foisted with the Bhima Koregaon conspiracy case and jailed. It is depriving minimum facilities to those suffering with ill health as per the jail rules and is murdering them. It is brutally suppressing the people fighting for their livelihood and fundamental rights. It is unleashing Hindutva agenda in the name of 'new India' to transform the country into a 'Hindu state'.

It is encouraging imperialist vicious culture. It is

trying to introduce feudal, saffron culture in various ways. The chief of RSS Mohan Bhagavat said that now people are cooperating with them and that they shall mould the country according to their wish. This reveals how aggressive the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces are going to be.

In such conditions, it is the task of revolutionary cultural organisations, artists and the entire revolutionary and democratic organisations of the country to build a broad cultural movement against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism. Cultural organisations must make wide propaganda through new and creative art forms against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism. Democratic cultural organisations must make efforts to develop democratic culture against the culture that helps the exploitive rule of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic, big landlord classes. Revolutionary cultural organisations must concentrate on developing New Democratic culture.

I hope intellectuals, artists and writers who think of the people and the country shall make efforts in this direction.

Red Salutes!



**Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution**

**Mao Tse-tung**



## Let us Celebrate the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Party from 2022 September 21<sup>st</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> with Revolutionary Enthusiasm and Firm Will!

*We give here an abridged version of the  
Message of the CC, CPI (Maoist) on its 18th Anniversary*

**Dear Comrades and  
People!**

It is 18 years for our Party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) by 21<sup>st</sup> September 2022. On the occasion, the Central Committee of the party calls upon the entire ranks of the party, revolutionary people's organs and revolutionary people to celebrate the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in the rural and urban areas all over the country with revolutionary enthusiasm and firm will. It calls upon to enhance mass base in all corners of the country, strengthen the party and to advance People's War in India and to defeat the counter-revolutionary strategic 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive.

One hundred and twenty-four comrades have become martyrs in the past one year courageously encountering the 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar attacks unleashed by the enemy in a bid to eliminate our party and the revolutionary movement, that is making determined efforts to achieve the great objectives of Revolution. Thirty of them are woman warriors. The martyrs include member of the CC and Polit Bureau Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal, CCM and Secretary to MMC SZC, Comrade Milind Teltumbde, member of DKSZC Secretariat Comrade Uppuganti Krishnakumari, member of BISAC Secretariat Comrade Sandeep Yadav, 13 members of ZC/DVC/DC, 30 AC/PPC and 27 activists of people's organs. In addition to them, we lost several leaders, activists of revolutionary, progressive, democratic Mass Organisations, intellectuals,

sympathisers and friends of revolution. On the occasion of the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of our Party, the CC pays humble revolutionary homage to all the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of people including the beloved founder leaders of our Party Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee.

The martyrdom of several leadership comrades such as the leader of Peru Communist Party Comrade Gonzalo, the spokesperson of NPA of Philippines Comrade Ka Oris and founder leader of Galicia Maoist Communist Party Comrade Martin Naya is a severe loss to the International Communist movement.

The CC expresses deep condolences for all the heroic fighters injured in the process of their brave counter to the enemy offensive and strongly believes that they would recover soon. During this time, veteran comrade of our party, member of Polit Bureau, Secretary to the ERB, Comrade Kishanda, members of the CC Comrades Sheeladi, Kanchanda, Krishnamurthy and Vijay Kumar Arya were arrested. Hundreds of comrades, revolutionary peasant activists are undergoing punishment in jail. The CC conveys revolutionary greetings to all the comrades who are holding aloft the Red banner of Revolution in prison.

The CC adopted tasks on the occasion of its 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary and made efforts to fulfil them. Let us look into the results briefly.

There was relative improvement in the team work of the committees but we need to develop unity of thought of the committees. We made efforts to unite all the ranks of the Party, PLGA and Revolutionary people's organs and to transform them into a strong, organised force. There is yet a lot to do to mould the Party. During this period, party took up a campaign to consolidate the party organisation. Efforts are going on to strengthen the three revolutionary magic weapons to the best of the capacity to achieve the central task. Individual study, study camps and training classes are going on to educate cadres on the Reviews of the respective Plenums and the documents released last year.

PLGA forces made guerrilla war to daringly fight back the fierce Prahar offensive of the enemy in the leadership of our party. They relatively enhanced people's efforts so as to help overcome the temporary setback and advance the revolutionary movement. They had an active role in mobilising and organising the people in anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggles and build militant people's struggles. They stood in support to building and rebuilding various revolutionary Mass Organisations and organs of Revolutionary people's state power. They took up TCOC and guerrilla actions in few areas in the leadership of Party Committees, Military

Commissions and Commands and gained certain victories.

The rising people's movements prove the assessment of the CC that there would be a 'spate of people's movement' correct. Party made constant efforts amidst fascist repression of the enemy to build agitation and propaganda of the oppressed classes and oppressed sections, to build the various Mass Organisations and to develop them through adopting plans in the respective areas. People are mobilising in thousands of numbers all over the country and in the revolutionary areas against corporatisation-militarisation and displacement.

Militant struggles took place for prolonged periods in the areas of revolutionary movement. The movement in solidarity to the struggle that started in Silinger last year and expanded all over Chhattisgarh and also in the country and in the world stands as a model of work in the United Front. Tribal people of Telangana are fighting for preserving their podu lands for a long time. Struggles took place in almost all the areas of revolutionary movement. In the process of people's struggles it made efforts to propagate the politics of seizure of political power through armed struggle among the people. Party extended support to several struggles of various oppressed

classes and sections of the country and also made efforts to participate in and lead them.

Organs of revolutionary people's state power are working at the village, area and district levels in places of intensive guerrilla war in the leadership of the party and are placing the alternate model of development in the embryonic stage.

Although there is little relaxation in the economic depression that is going on since 2008 in the international plane, imperialist financial and economic crisis is going on intensifying. Imperialists are implementing globalisation policies in order to overcome the crisis and to divide and exploit the world as per their balance of forces. There is an unprecedented rise in the differences between the rich and the poor. The backward Asian, African and Latin American countries became absolutely dependent countries.

Ukraine war intensified the crises. The world is going further into the mire of food crisis. Unemployment is on the rise. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people intensified further. People's struggles are mounting against imperialists and comprador ruling classes in the backward countries. The US played an important role in intensifying the war in Ukraine. Cold war started

once again between the imperialists with the Russian war of aggression on Ukraine. There is an atmosphere of war all over the world with the US trying to reorganise basing on alliances such as NATO, QUAD and AUKUS and Russia and China contending in every sector.

Due to the globalisation policies taken up by Hindutva fascist Modi government, the country is tumbling deep into the mire of loans. We see that the Modi government opened up a 'loan burdened India' and 'dependent India' while reciting about 'Atmanirbhar (self-reliant) India'.

Suppression of democratic rights has become an ordinary feature in the country. In addition to our party, the Revolutionary Mass Organisations, oppressed classes, people's communities, oppressed nationalities and parliamentary opposition parties are also targeted.

The oppressed classes, sections and nationalities shall continue to make class struggle as long as exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination continue. In order to withstand the enemy offensive, we must develop class struggles and people's struggles. Let us step forth firmly with this understanding and self-confidence!



**LONG LIVE  
PROLETARIAN  
INTERNATIONALISM!**

## ICSPWI calls for Fight for Release of Political prisoners

Rights of political prisoners and their release are to be widely focused in the international campaign and Action week from 13<sup>th</sup> September to the 19<sup>th</sup> called upon by the International Committee to Support People's War in India (ICSPWI). September 13<sup>th</sup> is the death anniversary of Comrade Jatin Das, a colleague of martyr Comrade Bhagat Singh in India. ICSPWI gave the call to take up a special campaign for the release and rights of political prisoners. Revolutionary movement in Philippines, Peru, Turkey and other such countries is facing arrests and prolonged imprisonment. The action week contributes to focus the problems of the political prisoners inside the jail and in regard to the judicial process.

The Action week demands to release political prisoners unconditionally, to provide the status of political prisoners, to protect the rights of woman prisoners and put a stop to atrocities on them, to stop drone attacks on the areas of revolutionary movement and such others.

In Mexico, Dr. Ernesto Sernas Garcia, a Professor at the Benito Juarez Autonomous University of Oaxaca (UABJO), a defender of people's rights was disappeared on 10<sup>th</sup> May 2018. He was fighting for 23 militants



jailed in high security prisons foisted under acts of terrorism and arms. His disappearance is an example to say that the repressive state does not tolerate any fight for prisoners. And so, the demand to inform the whereabouts or what the state did to him is an important aspect in the fight for the rights of political prisoners.

In Chile, a Mapuche political prisoner Victor Llanquileo Pilquiman started a liquid hunger strike demanding transfer to CET. He feels that this would be a measure for freedom. Issuing a statement on the occasion, Comrade Victor said that prison is not a limitation to continue contributing to struggle. He also demands the transfer of all prisoners to CET, to stop repression and withdrawal of the armed forces from the territory of the indigenous people.

In India the state continues to be utmost undemocratic, unconstitutional and fascist towards the political prisoners. Members of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) veteran Comrade Kishanda (Prashant Bose), Comrade Sheela Marandi, Comrade Vijaya Kumar Arya apart from those arrested long back are behind the bars. A large number of senior cadres of the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees are behind the bars since a long time.

Professor Dr. GN Saibaba's family is constantly moving the court to grant bail and now to provide the minimum facilities for his daily chores. The court is adamant even after large resentment to the death, rather the murder of Father Stan

Swamy who was rejected a simple straw to drink water which he needed due to Parkinson's disease. Saibaba had to start indefinite strike demanding the removal of CC camera in his solitary cell that deprives him of minimum privacy. Friends of revolution in several countries across Europe express their solidarity to Saibaba and are pressurizing the government to act according to rules. The government's adamant attitude was revealed in the death of Pandu Naroti, another lifer in the same case as Saibaba on 26<sup>th</sup> August of Swine flu.

A meeting was held in Boston in the US in solidarity to Bhima Koregaon political prisoners (BK 16). Political prisoners in the Bhima Koregaon case are repeatedly being denied bail except for Sudha Bharadwaj and Varavara Rao. Sudha is out on bail for the past few months and VV had been given medical bail in August. Anyhow, he was imposed that he should not leave Mumbai city, that he should not talk with anyone about the case and so on. He applied for shift to Hyderabad city for cataract operation to which the Supreme Court said he could appeal to NIA. Gowtam Navlakha, Anand Teltumbde and others were denied bail several times.

Meanwhile the Supreme Court directed the police to file the First Information Report (FIR) in the Bhima-Koregaon case. The 16 persons arrested in the case and now 15 after the death of Father Stan Swamy have been in jail for the past two to three years even without a FIR filed on them. In fact, Arsenal company of the US had revealed



## Farmers take up protest rallies

Farmers of Lakhimpur Kheri in Uttar Pradesh held a 72 hour dharna starting from 18<sup>th</sup> August in the leadership of Samyukta Kisan Morcha in protest to the injustice to victims of the Lakhimpur Kheri massacre. Even after 10 months of the massacre that took place when a car rode over 8 farmers killing them instantly, minister Ajay Mishra Teni related to the incident continues in the Central cabinet. The protest demonstration to the massacre witnessed four more deaths including a journalist. The Morcha had been fighting it legally apart from extending help to the families of the victims of the farmers' families. Nearly two and a half lakh farmers from Punjab, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand attended the dharna at Rajapur and Galli Mandi.

The Samyukta Kisan Morcha once again held a 'Protest against betrayal' by the central government on 31<sup>st</sup> July. The farmers wanted to tell the world that the government did not keep its promise to the farmers after they withdrew their agitation. The dharna brought forth once again the issues of Minimum Support Price (MSP), supply of electricity and other related issues. It also protested the arrests of farmer leaders such as Ashish Mittal in Allahabad, lathi-charge on farmers protesting Adani's high-voltage wire in Bengal and repression on tribal farmers in Chhattisgarh. Many organisations of the farmers came together in the protest. The protest reiterated that the farmers of the country shall continue the agitation until their final victory.

## World terrorist US kills Ayman al-Zawahiri of Al Qaeda

The US made a precision attack on a house in Kabul, the capital city of Afghanistan and killed Ayman al-Zawahiri the leader of Al Qaeda. It might be remembered that Osama Bin Laden was assassinated by the US Armed forces in 2011 in Abbottabad of Pakistan. The attack shows once again that the US is keen on eliminating the organisations and individuals causing harm to its hegemony.

The US came out with a statement that their intelligence agency CIA had been on Zawahiri's track and found out that he was staying in the city. There was drone survey on his house where he was seen mostly in the balcony. US armed forces fired two of its secret weapons, the Hellfire R9X missiles said to be 'Ginsu' on him through a drone without harming the rest of the members of his family and the house. The missile is said to have razor sharp blades that tear the target without causing damage to the surroundings. The attack is a violation of the 2020 Doha Agreement indicating that the US never implements any of the accords it agrees to.

### **Political prisoners...**

that the so-called evidences that the police showed in this case have been 'planted' through a spyware in their computers.

Indian jails are over-filled with prisoners, mostly ordinary villagers of Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. A considerable number of them constitute women and juveniles. There are also a large number of political prisoners among them. Arrests are on the rise in all the areas of

struggle and guerilla zones and the numbers in jails are continuously on the rise. The central and the state governments neither follow the jail manuals nor the demands of the people and democrats in the country and all over the world.

Earlier to the Action Week the ICSPWI also gave a call to observe Martyrs' Week from 28<sup>th</sup> July to 3<sup>rd</sup> August that the CPI (Maoist) observes every year. This year was the 50<sup>th</sup> day of the martyrdom of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the 40<sup>th</sup> day of the

martyrdom of Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee. Martyrs' week was observed during which the Revolutionary Mass Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees held rallies, meetings, published booklets on the martyrs. The families of the martyrs were invited to the meetings and they spoke of their kith and kin.





### News from Bihar-Jharkhand

A Maoist cadre Matlu Turi was killed by the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) in village Parasi under Khaira police station in Jamui district of Bihar. The police seized an INSAS rifle and many rounds of bullets and other material from the spot.

There was an encounter in Bokaro district of Jharkhand on 24<sup>th</sup> June. The police were on patrol to Dak Sadam forest of Lugu hill in Mahuatand police station limits when the encounter took place.

The Central Home Minister stated in the last week of August that apart from the already set up 40 new police camps in areas of the Maoist movement, 15 more shall be set up this year, in a meeting of the states of central India. In this background, people of Giridih, Hazaribagh districts continue their struggle against the new police camps. The police instead of stopping the police camps are foisting cases against the people struggling for their demands.

### News from Dandakaranya

People of Dandakaranya continue to struggle against setting up new camps as a part of carpet security. On the other hand, there are few incidents in which the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) is making armed attacks on the new camps. One such attack was made on Hiroli village down the Bailadilla hill from where lakhs of tonnes of iron ore is exported to Japan and China every year. Two constables of the Chhattisgarh Armed Force (CAF) and also two woman laborers working at the

construction of the camp were injured.

Meanwhile the demonstrations against new police camps that started in around 15 places continue amidst intense state repression. Demonstrators were attacked in Burgil of Bijapur district of West Bastar and in Gompad of Sukma district of South Bastar. In Burgil police went to the place of demonstration suddenly in the night and removed the tents that were pitched to sit. People of the surrounding villages moved in large numbers two days later in protest to the incident. They went to the district headquarters in Bijapur where they had scuffles with the police while holding protest rally.

In Gompad known for the brutal incident of 2016 in which Madkam Idime was picked up from her house while pounding rice and killed after being sexually assaulted, people going to the demonstration were fired upon by the armed forces. Here too the people from the surrounding villages came together to protest the incident. Agitation continues in Gompad.

The police went on patrol in large numbers to Vechapal near Bhairamgarh of Bijapur district to disturb the demonstration. They tried to stop the people going to Vechapal in spite of which the demonstration was a success.

More than five members of the Party and PLGA were killed in various encounters in Darbha division of Dandakaranya. The areas of Katte Kalyan and Malinger of the division are nearly filled with police camps. The police are making sudden information based attacks.

People immediately go to the police station and demand them in case any villager is arrested or killed. They non-compromisingly fight with the armed forces and get the arrested back home. In case of encounter, mainly the women are in the forefront to go to even far off states to get the dead body of their kin.

The police are resorting to various kinds of repressive measures and special campaigns in a bid to weaken the ongoing People's War. After the 'lone varatu' (come home) campaign in which they arrested and claimed them to have surrendered, they took up a program that went by the name 'new morning'. There was an incident where the police beat village women for boycotting their Civic Action Program. The police attacked a village in Pamed area and arrested few of the villagers. They were taken away and few policemen stayed back to distribute goods to the people. Then the people were angry and demanded the police of the awkward deed. They told them that they are not prepared to take the goods since their kith and kin were arrested. The women of the village abused the police who in turn lathi-charged them.

Coming to economic struggles, the people of South Bastar held a big rally and meeting putting forth their demand for remunerative prices for forest produce. They called the traders who buy the produce from them and demanded them the rate they fixed for the produce. The rates were fixed.

## News from Odisha

Three CRPF men including two assistant Sub-Inspectors, and a constable were killed and few were critically injured in an ambush by PLGA at Bhainsadani in Nuapada district of Odisha on June 20<sup>th</sup>. The police were part of a road opening party. The place of the ambush Patadhara is a remote forest area adjacent to Chhattisgarh.

## News from MMC

Three cadres of the CPI (Maoist) including a member of Divisional Committee and a woman guerrilla were killed in an encounter in Bahela police station area of Balaghat district of Madhya Pradesh in the jurisdiction of Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh Special Zonal Committee of the CPI (Maoist). The Special Operations Group (SOG) of the Madhya Pradesh Police Hawk Force went on patrol to Kharadi hill area where the encounter took place. The killed Maoist cadres were identified as Nagesh (Raju Tulavi) of Batejhari of Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra, Manoj and Rame. The police seized one AK-47 rifle, one 303 rifle, one revolver and one 315 single shot rifle, combat pouches, kits, wireless set and other military material along with literature.

## News from Western Ghats

G. Iyyappan said to be a member of CPI (Maoist) was arrested by the NIA on 24<sup>th</sup> June in Virudhunagar district of Tamilnadu. The NIA alleges he was involved in training the cadres of the party in arms and others on the occasion of its formation day in 2016 in Nilambur forest of Malappuram.

## News from AOB

Sixty villagers of Kondrum, Jumudam, Taggupadu, Rasrayi, Nanabari, Jadiguda, Boridipanas, Bangarikonda, Kondulapadu, Boyitililanka, Pittalaborra villages of Injari panchayat of Pedabayalu mandal of Alluri Seetaramaraju district (earlier Visakhapatnam district) were arrested along with Vantala Ramakrishna. The police alleged he is the Secretary of Pedabayalu Area Committee and that with the arrest the Maoists have been totally eliminated from the area.

This apart, the police claim that 500 villagers have surrendered to them in the cut off area. The area as known by all is cut off from the main land due to the Balimela reservoir.

## International Day of the Indigenous observed – Militarisation of the tribal areas protested

The International Day of the Indigenous was observed all over the country by the Revolutionary Mass Organisations, Democratic, Tribal organisations. People of the areas of revolutionary movement struggling against setting up of police camps brought forth the severe danger to the indigenous people of the country out of the increasing militarisation. People held meetings and rallies on the occasion at the places of demonstrations against the camps in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and other places.

## News from Telangana

### Singareni workers continue to struggle

Coal is one of the important sources of income for

the central and the state governments. Of late there have been scandals on allotment of coal blocks. But on the other hand, the plight of the workers of coal mines is neglected. This is a report of the struggle of Singareni workers of Telangana who continue to struggle relentlessly to fulfil their demands.

Workers of Singareni took up demonstrations, Signature campaign and protest activities. They held protest demonstrations with black badges. They demand the management to bear the income tax on mainly economic benefits, to enhance the age limit of inheritors to 40 years and to allot the four coal blocks that the government called for tender in Singareni. Workers are opposing the handing over of works such as roof bolting in underground mines to private enterprises thus leading to reduction of number of workers. They say it might lead to total removal of workers in future. Workers warned to take up indefinite strike if the policy is not annulled.

There are 43,672 workers in the 24 underground and 20 overground mines in Telangana. Singareni is spread in Komuram Bheem, Mancherial, Khammam, Peddapalli, Jayashankar Bhoopalapalli and Bhadrachalam districts. The workers lack proper health care with the vulnerability of occupational hazards. They are forced to spend large amounts for treatment in corporate hospitals. The Singareni management pays around Rs.80 crores per annum to the corporate hospitals for treating employees and their family members. It pays bills amounting to Rs. 25 to 30 crores

for non-cash treatment through CPRMS cards for retired workers. Doctors of Singareni refer the workers to above 100 hospitals in Hyderabad, Vijayawada and Guntur. In spite of all this, the Singareni workers are not treated well in these hospitals. The workers demand good treatment of ailments.

Workers of Singareni are opposing the attempts of the BJP government to nullify Singareni. They are against privatization of coal blocks. The workers of Kasipet mine of Mandamarri protested the visiting leaders during Singareni yatra. They demanded them to 'go back'. They told them clearly not to come to the mines until they state a clear policy on privatization of coal blocks and annulling income tax. They demanded the representatives from the management who had to return.

Quarry workers of Singareni held a struggle march in 'RG-2' area and demanded appointment of only permanent workers in coal production in all mines and departments as per the 2003 agreement. They also demanded decrease of work burden on the workers, to start new underground mines, to annul privatization of mines, to pay IT reimbursement on allowances like in coal India, two plots of land to every worker under housing scheme and that the management must give Rs. 25 lakhs of non-interest loan. They also demanded fulfilment of clerical and Para-medical posts.

### **Forest and police officers beat tribal women of Koyapochagudem**

People of Koyapochagudem of Makulapet



panchayat of Dandepalli mandal of Manchirial district of the state laid huts temporarily in the podu lands owing to rains. The forest and police officers attacked the people and beat them indiscriminately. They beat women, dragged and abused them. People retaliated throwing chilli powder and sticks on the police.

### **RTC workers demand permission for Unions**

Workers of Road Transport Corporation took up agitation in front of depot gates wearing black badges demanding permission for unions. They protested the rising harassments. They demanded solution of pending problems, payment of retirement money and measures to pay wages during the 'All people's strike'.

### **Tribal people oppose new police camp in Poosuguppa**

People of Poosuguppa and the surrounding villages on the border of Telangana and Chhattisgarh are holding indefinite demonstration in Rampuram, a village of Cherla mandal of Telangana near it in protest to the proposed police camp since 2021 September. In spite of the protest a camp was set up in 2022 summer. Police were deployed in large numbers around the village. The administration is not allowing the media to meet the struggling people, controlling information about their struggle to reach the people of the state. But the people continue their struggle. They are also opposing the camps being set up in the surrounding

area on the borders of the two states. They held the International Day of the Indigenous on August 9<sup>th</sup>.

### **People making struggle for Medigadda Chinna Kaleswaram project**

People of Telangana are protesting the negligence of the government in not preserving the Chinna Kaleswaram project near Medigadda that helps farmers of four mandals. All the pumps and machines have drowned in the recent floods in Medigadda and Sundilla. Foundation stone was laid to the Medigadda Chinna Kaleswaram lift irrigation project in 2008 in joint Andhra Pradesh. The project taken up for drinking water and irrigation now falls under the state of Telangana. People resent the state government for not starting the project and warned it to go to any extent to fulfil their demand. The budget allotted to the project went wasted with the loss of the machines of the project.

### **Basara IIIT students achieve demands**

Eight thousand students of the IIIT information educational institution of Basara of Nirmal district boycotted classes for 8 days demanding solution of long



pending problems. They demanded fulfilment of vacant posts in the IIIT, to solve the problems of lecturers, to take up teaching based on information and communication technology,

## People of Ramannagudem struggle for right to land

The people of Ramannagudem of Aswaraopet mandal of Bhadradri district of Telangana took up a militant struggle to solve their long pending demand regarding 500 acres of land in survey numbers 30, 36 and 39. They have been in struggle for the past eight years for certificates to the lands that they are cultivating. But the government did not listen to their demands. Moreover, it started plantations in their land. People were vexed. They planned to make a march to Pragati Bhavan, the residence of the Chief Minister K. Chandrashekhara Rao. The leaders of the electoral parties and officers asked the people to withdraw their struggle and that they will solve their problems. But the people saw ahead with their decision.

On the night of the day encircled the houses of the windows, doors and forcibly house and put them under arrested the Sarpanch who was forced by the police and so, old daughter along with her. Anyhow the rest of the men and all the women some even carrying infant children, started in a rally. The arrested were subsequently released late in the morning and they joined the rally. As the rally was proceeding, the police made brutal indiscriminate lathi-charge on the people. Women and men were forcibly lifted and put in the police vans and shifted to nearby police stations. The struggle was led by the Sarpanch who in fact belongs to the ruling TRS party.



before the march, police village. They broke the dragged the men out of the their custody. They also a mother of an infant child. She she could not take her 3 year

Although the people withdrew their struggle with the promise given by the officers, they now demand the resignation of the MLA. 160 families resigned to TRS along with the Sarpanch in protest to the atrocious attitude of the state towards their struggle.

### Basara IIIT...

to provide laptops and uniforms, to restructure PUC block and hostels, to provide fundamental facilities such as beds in hostels, for electricity and internet, to solve problems in food and water and to fill PET posts. Students withdrew their agitation after the Education Minister met the

students on behalf of the state government and promised the students to solve all of their demands.

### Martyrs' Day...

security provided by PLGA including the people's militia and the people. The success of

the meeting amidst carpet security and attempts of the armed forces to thwart it reveals the revolutionary aspirations of the people and their understanding that sacrifices are needed to make revolution a success.

## Released - Life Histories of CC Comrades of CPI (Maoist) in Hindi

# Martyr's Day observed on the Border of Telangana and Chhattisgarh



Twelve thousand people of Telangana and South Bastar of Chhattisgarh (Dandakaranya) came together to observe martyr's day in Komat village of Bijapur on the border of the two states. The meeting was held on 3<sup>rd</sup> August as a culmination of martyr's week called upon by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The venue of the meeting was at a column built in memory of member of the CC of the Party, Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal (Ramakrishna) at the place where he was bid farewell after his martyrdom out of ill health on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2021.

The occasion started off with a rally of the cadres of the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees of both the states.

It went on for a distance of two kilometers. After the rally, all of them gathered before the memorial column and followed the protocol. The daughter of a martyred leader comrade of Dandakaranya hoisted the Red Flag. The memorial column was inaugurated by a member of the Telangana State Committee of the Party. Later silence was maintained in memory of martyrs and revolutionary homage paid. Cultural activists of Chetana Natya Manch headed

the rally and sang songs in memory of martyrs in between the speeches.

The entire venue of the meeting including the stage was filled with red banners and posters of the photos of the martyrs and quotes of great Marxist teachers in Telugu, Koya and Hindi. Booklets on life histories of the martyrs in Telugu and Koya languages were distributed to the people and the families of the martyrs.

The main aspect of the meeting was the introduction and speeches of family members of martyred comrades. The participation of the people of the nearby RPCs in the construction of the column during the cultivating season shows their respect towards the martyrs. PLGA cadres also participated in the construction. The construction work was helped by technicians who did it with dedication.

A day earlier to the meeting police went on patrol and destroyed the column in Marodpaka in spite of which the people and the cadres continued with the arrangements of the meeting. The Revolutionary Mass Organisations held meetings at village and RPC level during the week and also propagated about the meeting on 3<sup>rd</sup> August. People attended the meeting from far-away places for which they started from their villages and reached the venue the earlier day in incessant rains and overflowing streams. The meeting was successfully held with the

*contd. in page 37...*

