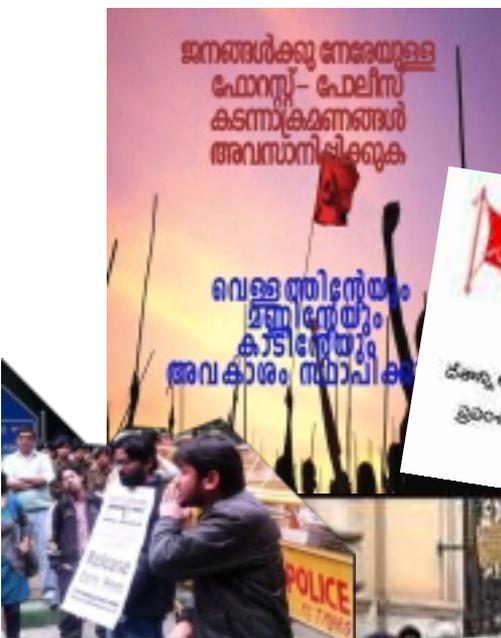


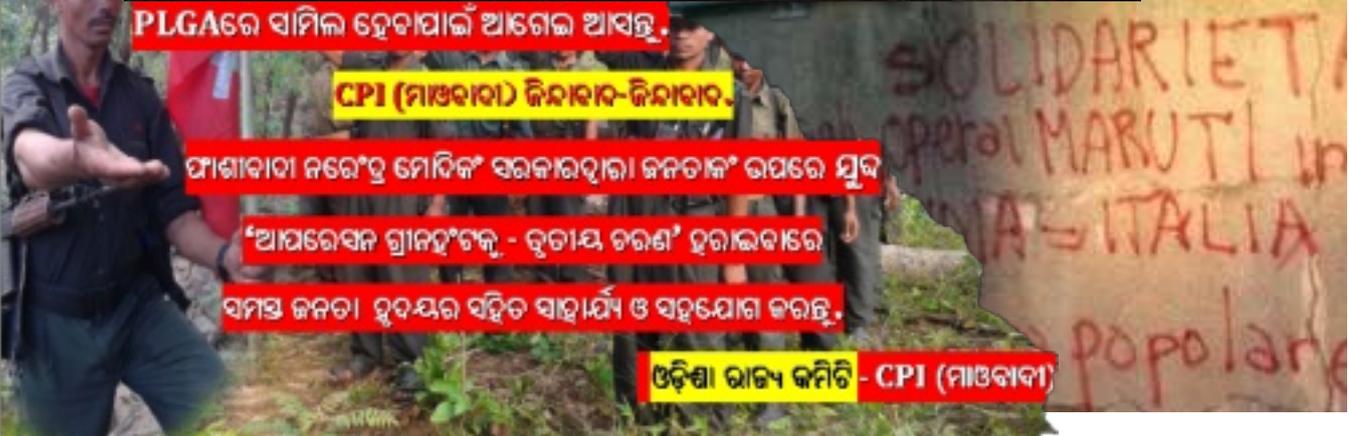
PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution

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PLGA గా వాణిజ్య దోచుకొని ఆగ్రహం వ్యక్తం చేస్తున్నారు.

CPI (మార్క్సిస్టు) ద్వారా-ద్వారా

ప్రజాసేవకు సంబంధించిన అన్ని విధాలా ప్రయత్నం చేస్తున్నాం.

'అభివృద్ధి గ్రామీణులకు - రూరల్ రిజన్లలో ప్రయోజనం

వ్యక్తం చేస్తాం. దేశంలోని అన్ని ప్రాంతాల్లోనూ ప్రయోజనం చేస్తాం.

ఆర్గనైజ్మెంట్ - CPI (మార్క్సిస్టు)

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Vol 13. January-March 2015

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editorial

Why settle for less, when we must have the whole world?

The massive victory of the Aam Admi Party (AAP) in the Delhi elections has brought a curious mix of readings and reactions. While observers note how its success was secured by a huge swell of support from the city's poor, AAP leaders insist on their 'all-class' appeal. If at all a class angle is admitted, they hasten to clarify that it is free from 'class struggle'. The 'common man' (aam admi) increasingly takes on the avatar of the savarna middle class in its leaders post-election discourse as they dream of positioning it as THE future all-India party of the centre. Its concerns are middle class. Its responses and solutions are middle class. Yet it is now tasked with administering a part of the Indian state, which definitely is not middle class. The wisdom of becoming realistic will in due course stifle the romanticism of that conveniently vague sense of justice belonging to its core, class, constituency and replace it with the hard headed logic of serving the powers that be; the poor be damned. Secrets coming out from squabbles among its leaders indicate that this won't be long in coming. This is not the first time this was seen. It certainly won't be the last either.

Even then, AAP's victory should be taken note of for several reasons. The drubbing given to the BJP has, in its severity, given a new breath to the opposition, both outside and inside that party. Among them, the internal one demands keen notice. We will be seeing the contention of Modi, now 'secular', with what is being cleverly posed as fringe elements of the fascist Parivar. Thus, with a lead butcher of minorities himself anointed the protector of 'secularism', the terms of discourse itself is being shifted dangerously closer to the Sangh's core theme of Brahmanic fascism. AAP's victory is notable in the total absence of any such awareness among the parliamentary parties, jubilant over the BJP's defeat and the victory of their version of 'secularism'. The AAP in fact lends itself to the furthering of the Parivar's overall designs when it gloats over its apparent success in smothering all dalit, minority, gender dialogues with a single voice, that of a 'citizenry'. The distance from here to the unifacial Hindu the Parivar seeks to impose is not very far.

The AAP is posed and seen by some as alternative politics. Not in the sense of being opposed to the existing parliamentary paradigm, but as a different way of working it out, and thus, as an alternate to revolutionary Maoist politics. It is, at times, characterised as an example of a new type of movement emerging all over the world that is not bent on overthrowing capitalism, but rather seeks to expand its space, to force it to be more inclusive and live up to its foundational promises of 'equality, fraternity and justice'. Conveniently forgotten in this idealisation is a minor fact of history — the struggle to realise equality and justice, even on the terms of the capitalist system, extends all the way back to its origins. Universal suffrage, that most hailed attribute of the parliamentary system, is itself a product of such struggle. The space of capitalism has been continuously widened. One may expect even more, even while that space is structured, increasingly, by an all pervasive fascisation of state and society, now legitimised as necessary to safeguard the 'freedoms' of capitalism. However, despite all those struggles, despite the partial gains achieved over centuries, we live in a world where the richest 1 per cent own 48 per cent of the world's wealth and 80 per cent have to do with just 5.5; not to speak of the indignity of living out lives under multiple relations of oppression and discrimination. Can we settle for less, when these horrors demand nothing less than a thoroughgoing revolution? Indeed, why settle for less?

Hail the S
Politio
in the Weste



Successful Completion of the Co-Military Campaign Western Ghats Tri-junction

Political Commentator

Overcoming innumerable obstacles and snatching initiative, PLGA fighters and urban action team combatants led by the Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee (WGSZC) of the CPI (Maoist) have opened up a new war-front in the State of Kerala, situated along the South Western coast of India. Their armed propaganda actions targetting the state, corporate and local exploiters, have broken the veil of lies and counter-propaganda of the reactionaries and revisionists and forcefully brought out the politics and rational of the people's war.

Some of these actions were done in broad day light through bold and rapid moves in urban centres, stunning the enemy and enthusing the people. The necessity of taking up arms and advancing the revolutionary war as the true means to seize and secure the rights of the adivasis and other masses over the 'Land, water and forests' has been widely propagated through these actions. This has attracted wide attention among the oppressed masses, particularly the youth. These actions were carried out as part of a Politico-Military Campaign (PMC) carried out over a three month period, from November 2014 till January 2015. The aim of the campaign was to prepare the masses for the revolutionary war, defeat the initiative and aggressiveness of the enemy armed forces and advance the revolutionary movement. In the course of this campaign fighters of the PLGA engaged a section of the Thunderbolts in a firefight and successfully retreated without loss or injury, while throwing the adversary into panicked flight. It is notable that the Thunderbolts are a highly trained and heavily armed force specifically raised by the government of Keralam to suppress the Maoist led armed struggle.

The successful completion of the PMC marks a qualitative turn in the expansion of the people's war led by the CPI (Maoist) in the country as well as an overcoming of the stagnation faced in the armed struggle initiated in the Western Ghats more than a decade ago in the Malnad region of

Karnataka. Facing heavy repression, the party lost 16 of its valiant leaders and fighters, including comrades Saketh Rajan and Rajamouli (Secretaries of Karnataka State Committee) during this period, while striving to sink firm roots and advance the new democratic revolution by rallying the masses. Meanwhile, efforts to initiate the armed struggle in Tamil Nadu and Keralam too failed to get off, suffering grievous losses of comrades who were martyred in enemy attacks. Reviewing these experiences the party decided to pool all its capacities in the three Southern States and formed the WGSZC. This committee resolved to concentrate its major force at the Tri-junction (TJ) of the three States in the Sahyadri mountain range (Western Ghats), while continuing work in Malnad. Accordingly, plans and preparations were made to deploy. The deployment from Malnad to the TJ which began in May 2012 was completed successfully in May 2013 after overcoming many hurdles and enemy encirclement and suppression campaigns. Another beloved comrade and heroic guerilla comrade Yellappa was lost in one attack by the enemy. After reaching the TJ, the inter-linking of all squad areas was further delayed due to inclement weather. It could be completed only by the end of 2013.

Soon after the PLGA squads reached the northern tip of TJ in Keralam in February 2013, their presence was exposed. The enemy launched a big military and propaganda offensive. They were aided in this dirty work by turncoats (aptly named 'exalites' by the late poet Kunjunnimash, in a play on the 'naxalite' tag given to Maoists) who have since long deserted the revolutionary movement. While the enemy spread 'terror' stories, the 'exalites' complemented them with pontifications on the "improbability of a Maoist led armed struggle in 'advanced' Keralam". Large scale combing and deployment of forces was done by the Kerala



government. Simultaneous combing by Kerala-Karnataka-Tamil Nadu forces was done in TJ area forests spanning the three States. These developments created some hurdles in carrying out the deployment plans and movement of the PLGA squads. However, it also brought about a new political atmosphere in Kerala. The Maoist movement, particularly the people's war, became a central topic of discussion, keenly followed by the revolutionary masses. Defeating the moves of the enemy and the anti-propaganda of the turncoats, the party and PLGA were able to counter the enemy offensive politically, successfully complete military tasks and sustain work in the Tri-junction. The PLGA squads went to the toiling masses, practically witnessed the pathetic living conditions of the adivasis, propagated revolutionary politics and necessity of armed struggle and studied the socio-economic condition to some extent. They were shocked to see the utter poverty and backwardness of the adivasi masses in Keralam, which the ruling

classes *The PLGA squads went to the toiling and their masses, practically witnessed the trumpeter media pathetic living conditions of the boast as the adivasis, propagated revolutionary most developed politics and necessity of armed State in the struggle and studied the socio-country in terms economic condition to some extent. of human They were shocked to see the utter development poverty and backwardness of the index. The adivasi masses in Keralam, which the assessment of ruling classes and their trumpeter the WGSZC media boast as the most developed was proved to State in the country in terms of be correct on human development index. The the objective assessment of the WGSZC was proved condition in TJ to be correct on the objective condition and the in TJ and the response from the response from toiling masses. Both are very the toiling conducive to build revolutionary masses. Both movement, wage armed struggle and are very build revolutionary army.*

Counter-revolutionary Militarisation in the Sahyadri

The Congress led United Democratic Front (UDF) government in Keralam accuses the Maoists of upsetting the 'peaceful atmosphere' by taking up arms. To set the record straight, successive governments in Keralam, led by the Congress or the CPM, have been willing accomplices with the Central government's in systematically building up the deployment of its counter-revolutionary forces over the years. This is on top of the existent army, naval, air force and CRPF camps. As a result, from north to south, more than a dozen paramilitary camps have been set up. The fact that they include camps for the Border Security Forces (BSF) and the Indo-Tibetan Border Force (ITBP), well exposes that the real target of these Central armed bodies is not some foreign intruder but the people of this country. The Indian state is extending its 'war on the people'. Following the Low Intensity Conflict strategy put out by the US, this is accompanied by measures aimed at 'pitting the people against the people'. Adivasi youth are recruited into the Homeguards and pressed to act as informants and guides within the forest for combing parties. Reformist measures have also been speeded up. Remote adivasi villages which have rarely seen government officials are now regularly visited by high ranking officers with promises of largesse. Roads are being built at express haste. Houses are repaired and rations granted. An agitation of the Adivasi Gotra Mahasabha, ignored for months by the government, was quickly settled. Much propaganda is being done on how issues faced by the adivasis can be tackled and resolved through 'peaceful agitation'. Meanwhile, the iron, fascist hand of the state hammers down heavily on all who oppose it. This ranges from the arrest of mass activists involved in organising a public meeting that had already been given legal sanction to the recent arrest of human rights activists busy in exposing the violation of rights by the state. Earlier the Kerala Police had brought out a poster filled with photos, declaring all of them absconders. This caused much outrage since it included many well known public figures active in mass organisations or human rights forums and had to be hastily withdrawn. It has now come out with another poster with photos of Maoist leaders and activists martyred long ago. These are not ham handed blunders. They are consciously put out to terrorise and subdue opposition, while simultaneously conditioning the masses into the fascicisation of society.



conducive to build revolutionary movement, wage armed struggle and build revolutionary army. The enemy's slanderous propaganda against the revolutionaries really helped them in a sense — the squads were

not strangers to the people when they went to their villages as the enemy had already informed them about the Maoists! Relying on the masses, the squads successfully established themselves in the designated areas, built up their networks, carried out reconnaissance and prepared for action against the enemy. The successful preparation and carrying out of the PMC was the outcome of this solid work, carried out in exhaustingly difficult terrain full of steep inclines and braving inhospitable conditions. During this period one more comrade, Sinoj, was martyred.

The area selected by the WGSZC as its main

zone of work was, historically, mostly inhabited by fifty odd adivasi tribes engaged in agriculture and herding. Many of them like Paniyar, Adiyer, Kattunayakkas, Kurichyar, Todar, Kotha, Irular, Kurumbas, Sholigar, Jenu Kurubas, Betta Kurubas, and many others are living there for centuries. Being original inhabitants of the forests they enjoyed free use of its land and resources. Many of them were either hunter-gatherer or practised shifting cultivation. Some were pastoral. The feudal kings/British colonialists/non-tribal people from plains invaded this territory, grabbed the land of the adivasis, overturned their tribal way of life and brought them under their rule. In Wayanad (Keralam), taking its name from 'Vayal nadu' (land of paddy fields), they were expelled from their habitats by British colonialism in the process of establishing plantations. A large section among them were forced into bonded labour in the plantations along with dalits brought from other parts of the southern peninsula. Under colonial forest rules and regulations the adivasis were denied rights in the forests. Similarly, in Attappady (Keralam), the indigenous Kurumbar, Mudugar and Irular were reduced to wage labourers, some working for the ganja mafia, due to alienation of lands and restrictions enforced by the forest department. In Nilgiri Tamil Nadu), the Todar, Kotha, Irular, Kurumbar were the original inhabitants. British colonialists occupied there lands in 19th century to set up military establishments,

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Protecting the Sahyadri

Ever since colonial times, the resources of the Sahyadri mountain range and its dense forests have been targets of plunder. This has caused huge ecological devastation. Its northern end is almost denuded of tree cover. Recently this region has also become a major centre of 'environmental controversy'. This involves the issue of two government committee recommendations, namely the Madhav Gadgil and Kasturi Rangan committee reports. Among them, the former gained support from a large section of environmental groups and people keen to protect the Western Ghats from the depredations of various lobbies. It also became the cause for an unprecedented unity among all the reactionary forces in Keralam, from Catholic church to the revisionist CPM. The UPA 2, then in power, was not very happy with the Gadgil report seen to be in full favour of 'conservation'. So it conveniently used the ruckus kicked up against it to appoint another committee. This committee, headed by Kasturi Rangan, dutifully produced another report reversing most of the Gadgil committee recommendations. Smelling blood, the human predators of Sahyadri – timber dealers, quarry owners, tourist resort operators, big estates and others – became even more aggressive. Relying on the networks of the Church and parliamentary parties they whipped up mass frenzy, already coked up through a wholesale

Kabani is not just a river ...

karian

Kabani is one of the main tributaries of the Kaveri, which has sources in both Karnataka and Kerala. Originating from the high-elevated grasslands of Brahmagiri and Talakkaveri, it flows East through the Deccan plateau and cascades down the Hoganakal falls to flow on over the plains of Salem, Erode and Karur in Tamil Nadu. It then enters the deltas of Thanjavur before joining the Bay of Bengal.

The Kabani gives water to the tribes in the mountains, peasants in the plains and dwellers in the cities and towns, irrigates tens of thousands of hectares of crops of various types and supports thousands of square kilometers of multifarious forests teeming with wildlife. It connects several tribal peoples and nationalities, such as the Malayali, Kannada, Tamil, Kodava and Tulu. The banks of Kabani have been witness to several historical tribal revolts, peasant upsurges and anti-colonial wars. The valiant Pazhassi Rajah and his Kurichya tribal commander Thalakkal Chandu and the Mysore Lion Tipu Sultan waged their wars against British colonialists here. The historical Kuruma, Kurichya revolts against the colonialists and their lackeys took place along its banks. Kabani is not just a river, the life line of so many species; it is the life blood of history itself.

During the historical armed upsurge of Naxalbari, the waters of Kabani once again turned red. Intellectuals and revolutionary youths responded to the call of Naxalbari's spring thunder. The banks of Kabani reverberated with the slogans of Naxalbari. Thirunelli in Wayanad District (Kerala) was the epicenter of the struggle. Comrade Varghese, fondly known as the peruman (elder/leader) of adivasis led this historic movement. The sufferings of toiling adivasis - the Adiyas and Paniyas - and that of the migrant peasants fuelled it. Revolutionary intellectuals in the cities dreamed of the PLA marching down along the banks of Kabani to liberate the country. A radical film maker P.A. Bakkar, later made a film titled "When

campaign of lies on the content of the Gadgil report, and pushed them into the streets. Implementation of the Kasturi Rangan committee recommendations were also put on hold. During this entire course of events the Sangh Parivar and its various tentacles like the BJP were vociferous in demanding implementation of the Gadgil report itself. The calculation was that the whole issue could be used to promote communalisation since the Catholic Church was a prominent adversary. It's almost a year now that the Parivar has full control of the Central apparatus through the Modi government. By extension, the Gadgil report should have been immediately resuscitated, if not implemented. But what has come out is a 'High Level Committee of Ministry of Environment and Forests and Climate Change' and its recommendations which are directed at cancelling or diluting existing environmental protection measures under the plea of removing impediments to 'development'. The Modi government had already made it clear on a number of occasions that it considers environmental protection concerns as one of such major obstacles. An indication of its resolve in this matter is seen in the 10 battalions deployed in the Raohat hill range region of Chhattisgarh, specifically tasked with the suppression of all opposition to the expansion of mining. One can well imagine the fate of the Gadgil report. The moral of the whole story is well put in these slogans of the WGSZC — "Neither Gadgil nor any other government report can save the Western Ghats." "United people's struggle to establish people's power is the only solution." "Unite and fight for rights over the forest, land, and waters." With the PLGA and the CPI (Maoist) leading it, through the expansion of the people's war, the masses now have the opportunity to ensure the protection of the Sahyadri.

Kabani Turned Red”- dealing with the lives of the revolutionaries of those days.

The flow of the Kabani never stopped though the revolutionary movement faced a set-back. Eventhough re-organising against left-adventurism



ended-up in right opportunism, the social condition of lakhs of adivasis and peasants remained the same, if not worse. The land question of adivasis and the landless and poor peasants, the agrarian crisis of the middle peasants, rocked the banks of Kabani repeatedly. Starvation deaths of adivasis and

suicides of peasants continued. Adivasis and peasants were forcibly pushed out of their habitats in the name of national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, reserve forests and other infrastructural and developmental projects. More are on the verge of displacement. The plight of adivasi women in the treacherous ginger fields of Kodagu, the cries of those forced to become domestic helps in urban households, the sobbing of the unwedded mothers and their hungry children... the tears of the toiling masses mixed with and flowed on with the waters of the Kabani.

Spontaneous militant struggles of adivasis and peasantry broke out up in the 1990s. The land question of adivasis resulted in militant struggles like Panavally and Ambukuthi, and finally culminated in the Muthanga land struggle, where hundreds of armed reserve police unleashed a reign of terror. Com. Jogi was martyred in police firing and several adivasis were brutally beaten-up and tortured. An 'adivasi-hunt' was launched all over Wayanad. They were pulled of buses, hounded, arrested and tortured. Their lifelong

earned assets were put on fire. Even suckling babies and older women were not spared. The banks of the Noolpuzha, one of the main tributaries of Kabani bore witness to these police atrocities.

Severe price crash of coffee, ginger and pepper resulted in a serious agrarian crisis which pushed the small and medium peasants into the debt traps of private finance companies (popularly branded as ‘blade’ companies for their ruthless style of operation and exorbitant rates of interest) and co-operative societies. Reformist organisations like Farmer’s Relief Forum tried to organise these peasants. A revolutionary mass organisation, Porattam, led militant struggle against the money-lenders. The LDF, and later UDF, governments tried to stem this unrest with suppression and a few lollipops of debt relief. Coupled with a pickup in agrarian crop prices, this exerted a negative influence on struggles for some time. But the basic issues remained and the yearning of the masses continued. The movement of armed squads of CPI (Maoist), doing organisational work in the forest areas of Western Ghats, at the tri-junction of the three States of Keralam, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (KKTN), has now catalysed a new stirring up.

When the squads were noticed and hit the headlines of the mainstream media, the Kerala State immediately carried out massive deployment of special commando forces (Thunderbolt, Scorpio) and launched a combing operation throughout the forest areas adjacent to the Kabani, its rivulets and tributaries. At the same time their counter parts in

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Adivasi peasants blockading the AP-Chhattisgarh highway

The truth of a people's war and the lies of the rulers

A massive operation termed as a 'mega-campaign for area-domination', involving the para-military, special commando troops and State forces from Chhattisgarh, Andhra, Telangana and Odhisha, was carried out in Sukuma, Bijapur and Dantewada districts of Chhattisgarh (falling in the Dandakaranya war zone) starting from November 2014. It was launched as part of the 3rd Phase of Operation Green Hunt, the Indian state's war on the people. Replete with all the fare of the OGH – loot, burning down of houses, torture of adivasi and non-advasi peasants, illegal arrests, fake encounters and fake surrenders – this encirclement and suppression campaign had the added viciousness of targeting the peasantry right at the time of the harvests. This caused great disruption in the lives of the adivasi peasants of Kunta, Jagerkunta and Kisataram. Yet, other than this havoc and destruction imposed on the masses, the campaign was a mega-failure. The Indian state's troops failed to locate and engage with the PLGA. Meanwhile, the PLGA not only succeeded in evading the enemy, it kept a constant track of their movement, probing for weak points, with the support of the masses. And the result came in the form of the Kasalbad attack of December 1st on the CRPF. 14 enemy troops were wiped out and 15 injured. The PLGA fighters seized a number of automatic weapons, including grenade launchers.

This daring action, carried out not far from a very large force, was a big blow to the morale of the Indian state's troops. In a desperate attempt to cover up their abject failure, the Central and State governments' initially put out a story of Maoists using villagers as 'human shields' which prevented the CRPF from firing at will, thus forcing it to suffer losses. Home Minister Rajnath Singh accused the Maoists of being cowards. All of this was dutifully reported by the media. But the truth was out soon. CRPF survivors revealed how they had let down their guard since the area was supposed to be 'cleared', how they were encircled and attacked, and how the PLGA combatants came close and made sure that each one of their bullets counted. There was not a word about any 'human shield'. In fact a few days later reports came of villagers being caught and beaten up by the CRPF who accused them of aiding the Maoists. So much for the honesty of the Indian rulers and the concern of their troops for the people!

The lies of the government are very much part of the Low Intensity Counter-revolutionary strategy it follows. Reports about surrenders of Maoist cadres and PLGA combatants, regularly put out by the reactionary state and duly echoed by the media, is another leg of this strategy. In many instances these have been staged managed. Persons who had backed out of the revolutionary movement years before are picked up and forced to act out a 'surrender script' under threat of arrest and imprisonment. This is part of the psychological war component of the Indian state's 'war on the people'. As pointed out by Gudsa Usendi, spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist) Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, it has an ugly monetary side too — the loot of public money through embezzlement of the 'head price' of the 'surrendered. Most probably as a fall out of the disgust this has generated, some sections of the media have started to expose 'fake surrenders'. Thus the Indian Express reports, "Between June 1 and November 28, a total of 377 alleged Maoists are reported to have surrendered in the Maoist-dominated Bastar division, 155 in November alone. A scrutiny of police records and meetings with these "surrendered" Maoists show that at least 270 of the 377 are actually ordinary villagers or routine criminals not eligible to be termed "surrendered Maoists". The police is hoisting cases on hundreds of villagers without their knowledge, declaring them 'absconders' and then threatening them with arrest unless they carry out tasks imposed on them. This formed the context for a massive protest by the masses in end February, lasting for days and including blockading of an important highway.



Political Notes

Brahmanism: vicious and opportunist

Nearly a year has passed since the BJP came to power under Modi. Almost every day we have seen leaders and members of the various outfits of the RSS spewing venom, instigating or carrying out attacks on religious minorities, dalits and adivasis. The latest in this is the move to implement a countrywide ban on beef eating. It is claimed that there is nothing religious about this, though the government prevented a discussion on this topic in the Rajya Sabha since “it is a sensitive issue for a large part of the population.” The ban already exists in a few States under Sangh Parivar rule. The latest addition is Maharashtra. The real motive was seen in the forcible shut down of abattoirs run by Muslims and the seizure of cattle owned by them by the fascist storm troopers of the Sangh.

The Modi government tries to hide its real intentions by citing provisions in the Constitution that call for protection of cattle wealth. But what really has happened to this wealth, the various indigenous breeds of cattle suited to conditions and agricultural practices of different eco-niches in the sub-continent? They have been mostly annihilated, not by beef-eaters but by emissaries of the state who went around forcibly castrating their bulls and impregnating cows with “superior sperm” of foreign breeds. This was an important part of the so-called White Revolution, the imperialist inspired and funded hybridisation of India’s cattle. Milk production has shot up. It came about at the expense of cattle owners who must input ever increasing doses of manufactured feeds and medicines at higher and higher costs, to maintain foreign sourced hybrid cattle. Meanwhile, indigenous breeds have been reduced to a rarity, mostly seen in agricultural varisities. Apparently, they were not worthy of Brahmanic protection since its imperialist masters deemed it so.

The media, particularly those in Western imperialist countries, have been continuously bombarding their audience with visuals and stories of brutal acts committed by functionaries of the ISIS. They are, no doubt, given more than enough material by this movement which is intent on inhuman treatment of civilians and prisoners. But despite this hideous practice, despite the worst forms of obscurantism, thousands of youth, men and women, are travelling from imperialist countries to join the ISIS. So much so that staunching this flow has become a major task for these countries. Their rulers are even more concerned because, in their outlook, a good number of these youths being well educated are not supposed to be attracted to the likes of the ISIS. But, isn't it the case that their education precisely, their awareness of injustice, depravities and brutalities within imperialist countries and in those they oppress, has lead them to justify and support the ISIS as a deserved retribution?

Greece: Syriza Betrays

After coming to power with a platform promising to end austerity policies, the Syriza government in Greece has tamely settled down to executing them. Led by Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, it has agreed to continue austerity policies that have already proven to be highly oppressive. On the issue of minimum wages, it climbed down from the promise to raise the level immediately. What is now touted is collective bargaining with a view to raising minimum wages over time. The promised public sector wage system too is put on hold. Most importantly, it has accepted that any changes would be agreed with 'partners', the hated IMF, EU, ECB combine, till recently branded as the 'troika'. In a letter sent to Greece's creditors the Syriza has clarified that ongoing or completed privatisations will not be reversed, and that its 'humanitarian' initiatives meant to ease austerity-caused hardships won't upset fiscal targets imposed on Greece. The Syriza may still be able to implement some of its relief agenda, like free electricity and food for the poor, provided it collects sufficient funds through tax mop ups. That's about all it can manage from government, other than some new terminology. However, as admitted by one of its leading members, "Renaming the troika as 'institutions', the bailout as an 'agreement' and creditors as 'partners' ... does not change the previous situation."

Greece is one of the worst affected countries in Europe, hit hard by the global crisis. In addition, its people have been forced to undergo inhuman austerity measures imposed by the European Union's Central Bank and the IMF as a condition for financial support. Termed as a 'bailout', this is more like squeezing the people dry to pay up the country's creditors, while its ruling class continues to live in style. Moreover, these conditions give great advantage to major European powers like Germany and force Greece into a subservient position. Over the past few years, the masses had repeatedly taken to the streets all over the country in protests against devastations caused by the crisis and austerity measures. This set the context for the growth of Syriza, initially a coalition of left-wing reformist organisations, working within the parliamentary frame. From 3.3 per cent in 2004, its vote share has risen to 36.3 in the 2015 election; an indication of growing mass anger against the powers and their desperate quest for an alternative. Syriza rode to power on this wave. And in its victory it confirmed that the resolution sought by the Greek masses to their misery can never come from within the existing system. The people cannot negotiate their liberation with their exploiters. They must overthrow them. That is the minimum condition.

It is reported that Athens was rocked by violent protests as soon as the Tsipras government's surrender to the 'troika' became known. The coming days will show more of this. Hopefully, the bitter lessons of Syriza's betrayal may lead to a rethinking, a consistent exposure and rejection, of positions that abandoned Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its vanguard party concept in a misguided venture of 'getting immersed in the struggling masses'. Either a polarisation in this direction, or widespread demoralisation opening the way for a strengthening of extreme right-wing chauvinism — the choice is stark.

International Solidarity Actions

Following up the conclusions of the September 2014 International meeting held in Italy on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the formation of CPI (Maoist), the International Committee to Support People's War in India (ICSPWI) called for Days of Action on January 29, 30 and 31, 2015 against Operation Green Hunt, against Modi's fascist regime, in defence of conditions and lives of political prisoners, and in support to the People's War in India. January 29 was targeted against Indian companies and economic business Indian bourgeoisie/imperialism. January 30 for protests at embassies and consulates of India. January 31 for meetings in support to the People's War in India. The International Days of Action were marked by vigorous initiatives in a number of countries.



The ICSPWI has noted, "among of the initiatives, we point out the importance of the actions took place in Sweden, where a small demonstration at the embassy has highlighted the need to struggle to free Saibaba, Hem, and other intellectuals...persecuted by the Government of India; the actions in Italy, that reached the workers in the North and South of the country, steel factories, yards, sectors of the logistics workers, to explain the role of Indian MNCs, from Mittal to Tata, etc., those who exploit Indian workers, who sponsor and take benefits from the Operation Green Hunt, the deportation of adivasis. These MNCs are tied to imperialism and on behalf of it are common enemies of workers in Italy and Europe as well as masses in arms in India. In the same way, the initiative in France is also important, where the campaign has seen the début of a newly created organisation, the



Clockwise from top: Italy, Germany, France, 2014 September International Meeting hall, poster from Italy



Clockwise from top: Austria, poster from France, posters from Spain, France, England, Canada, Brazil.

Internationalist Red Collective, who joined committees and associations from different cities in France, that re-launched internationalism and strongly announced the will to carry forward a protracted campaign of support."

It observes, "the battle in support of People's War in India and that against the operation Green Hunt and the suppression of human rights in India are complementary battles. It is right and necessary that in the struggle against the operation Green Hunt to have a front that goes far beyond the forces that support the people's war, within and out of ICSPWI. This is the meaning of our unconditional support to a campaign for an International Delegation to India leading in the heart of the Palaces of the power of the Indian government the exposure and claim to STOP the Operation Green Hunt, STOP all forms of repression and violation of human rights in India."

Cooking Growth with False Figures

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Manufacturing is down. Tax revenues have grown at just half the projected rate. Non-performing assets (NPA) of banks keep piling up. Fresh investments are meagre despite freeing corporates from environmental and labour right safeguards. Yet, so reports the government, India's GDP growth rate has surpassed that of China braving all these dismal indicators. If the Mid-Year Review had given a figure of 5.5 per cent, it has now been revised to 7.4. Statistical jugglery couldn't come worse than this!

Modi has gone all out to woo foreign capital with his flagship program of 'Make in India'. He and his colleagues believe that they can capitalise on the slowdown in the Chinese economy and the rise of labour costs to attract foreign capital with the promise of cheaper labour and cut back of regulations. This optimism is not shared by the RBI Governor, Raghuram Rajan. He cautions that there may not be much of an external market since the global economy still hasn't recovered from crisis. The solution in the short run, proposed by a number of others too, is a massive injection of government funds into infrastructure building.

The 12th Plan targeted approximately 60 lakh crore rupees investment in infrastructure. Most of this was to be through Public-Private Participation, i.e. joint investment of the government and private firms on terms favourable for the latter. The Mid-Year Review admits that this has been "less than successful". That's a rather mild way of putting it. Infrastructural credit growth dipped from 35 % in 2010-12 to less than 15 in 2013-14. Most big infrastructure companies are heavily indebted. And that is true of most other corporates too. The Review admitted that over-indebtedness in India's corporate sector is amongst the highest in the world. The debt to equity ratio is 70%. This puts great stress on the banking system, further limiting its capacity to push credit. Around 10-20 per cent of the lending of public sector banks is reported as NPA or restructured

loans — Rs. 2.7 lakh crore NPA and Rs. 3.6 lakh crore restructured advances. The Jan Dhan program of the Modi government, opening zero balance accounts for all households, has saddled them with another heavy burden. The forced savings imposed on people through compulsory depositing of cooking gas subsidy may offset this to some extent. But, the outflow of funds driven by the promised overdraft facility and the costs of maintaining crores of dead accounts will still remain as dead weights. Moreover, most of these funds will go to unproductive expenses, a trend inevitably strengthened by the reality of economic hardship, no matter what growth figures say. Data already shows a significant increase in the share of non-business activities in debts taken by households in both the rural and urban areas.

The Modi government may take refuge in cooked up growth figures. And the Congress may preen that their UPA was after all not that inefficient. Yet, what emerges from all these details is the pathetic fact that the high growth which was being trumpeted was overwhelmingly realised through heavy indebtedness, Indian and foreign. It is now desperately searching for a new 'fix'. To push this junkie economy, massive capital investment must come, either from the government or from foreign investors. Though the Public Sector has a cumulative cash reserve of nearly 2 lakh crore rupees, they are pressed by lower profits. Unless a conscious decision is made to bear losses in investments that won't yield profits in the short run, the managers of these funds won't be willing to take the step. Besides, even if they do so to the degree

sought by the government, it wouldn't make much of a difference. Under UPA-2, PSU investments from their own funds went up from Rs

193,737 crore in 2012-13 to Rs 257,641 crore in 2013-14, as a result of what the previous finance

minister describes as a 'diktat'. Yet that didn't reverse gloomy growth figures. Moreover, if this is ultimately adopted as a way out, it would then be an admission that the public investment driven economic policies of the Nehru-Indira period were not that bad! That model, by the way, was also dependent on imperialist technology and capital. Its crisis had prepared the grounds for the wholesale sell out from the 1990s onwards under the banners of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. The advocacy of public investment by World Bank-IMF products like Arvind Subramanian, presently Chief Economic Advisor to Modi, would thus complete the circle, leaving the lesson that nothing has really changed.

In fact they have only got worse. The economy stays afloat with the pumping in of crores of imperialist speculative capital. India is one of its favoured destinations. A hyped up growth that has really not raised the standard of living of the masses, has, on the other hand, really strengthened and added to the parasites preying on them. Coupled with the cutting down of the public distribution system and assistance to agriculture, small industry and handicrafts, this gave tremendous opportunities to these bloodsuckers to intensify their exploitation. The steep rise in the cost of living was a consequence of this. Ruling class ideologues and governments cynically dismiss this real reason and attribute inflation to the growing demand of the masses, taken as an index of their growing prosperity! The cruelty of this excuse is starkly revealed in the fact that inequality in earnings has doubled in India over the last two

India's richest 10 per cent holds 370 times the share of wealth that it's poorest hold. They have been getting steadily richer since 2000, and now hold nearly three-quarters of total wealth. India's 1 per centers – its super-rich – have been getting richer even faster. In the early 2000s, India's top 1 per cent held a lower of share of India's total wealth than the world's top 1 per cent held of its total wealth. That changed just before and after the global recession – though the world's super-rich are recovering - and India's top 1% holds close to half of the country's total wealth. Indian billionaires are expected to double to 136 by 2024 from 68 in 2014. This will catapult India to number four by 2024 from number seven globally in terms of number of billionaires with only the U.S., China and Russia ahead. Ultra high net worth individuals (UHNWI), categorised as those with a net worth above ₹1800 million, are expected to more than double to 3,371 during the reference period from 1,652 in 2014. The number of Indian UHNWIs grew 166 per cent in the past decade.

decades, making it the worst performer on this count of all emerging economies. Reports say that

The Turn to Public Investment

The budget presented by the Modi government envisages huge investments in basic infrastructure, most of it from public funds. A good chunk of this comes from cutting down expenditure in health, education and similar sectors. The Centre claims that actual expenditure won't really be reduced since the States can make up with the extra funds transferred to them. But this 'extra' actually comes to only 3 to 4 per cent more than what they were already getting. After setting off for inflation, this leaves hardly anything to add to existing outlays and effectively means a fall in real expenditure. Another source of funds targeted by the government comes from a widening of service taxes. While Modi and Co. choke off funds to the social sector and squeeze people through increased indirect taxes, they lavish favours on the comprador monopolies. Most of this is repeats UPA policies. However, this budget does stand out — in its sanctioning of a new phase of public investment led economic activity.

Though reviled in recent decades as a detestable dead weight on the economy, the public sector and government in infrastructure had their origins in the needs of the big private sector monopolies. It was first proposed in the Bombay Plan of 1948 authored by a committee that included Jamshedji Tata. The private compradors simply didn't have the capital necessary for building up infrastructure. While successive governments built up the public sector and infrastructure, based on and sustained by imperialist capital and technology, the private sector thrived on cheap facilities and raw materials. Within two decades the limits of this model that failed to address the people's needs became apparent. This set the context for a major re-jigging of the economy and heightened contention among its different factions. The faction tilted to the erstwhile Soviet social imperialist bloc gained headway. In keeping with international trends and following the direction given by Moscow, it nationalised many imperialist and Indian monopoly concerns, including the banking sector. This was vehemently opposed by the US bloc but nationalisation was not completely against its interests. For example, government control over banks was used to push credit in the rural sector on a massive scale in order to service the needs of the fertiliser-pesticide-hybrid seed package promoted by the US imperialists through the so-called Green Revolution. This round of dependent growth soon enough turned stagnant, necessitating another heavy dose of imperialist capital. This came in the form of the 'globalisation, privatisation, liberalisation' (GPL) package. Passing through a transitional stage in the mid-1980s it was formally launched in the early 1990s. The 'public' was damned and the 'private' was acclaimed. In the realm of ruling class politics, the parliamentary Left more or less made the public defence of the public sector its sole 'socialist' credential, while slyly carrying out GPL, while in Central government by proxy and in States it ruled. All the others made the blatant sale to imperialists and local comprador monopolies of public assets and the country's natural resources — factories, telecommunication networks, energy sources, even rivers — their main task. When its impulse started weakening, they came up with 'Public-Private Partnership'. This too has run its course. The ruling classes, advised by imperialist agencies, are now back to singing the virtues of public investment.

That doesn't mean that privatisation has been abandoned. It is still pursued, as seen in disinvestment of public sector shares and the move to cut down government owned coal mining concerns. But, expectations of the private sector driving the economy have been shelved for the present. There will be those, especially the parliamentary Left, who will be acclaiming this as proof of the public sector's inherent strength. The fact of the matter is that, public or private, big capital in India is bureaucrat capital — a capital nurtured by imperialism and serving the interests of imperialism and feudalism. The class representing this capital, the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie, is incapable of building a sustainable economy. The promotion of public investment has nothing to do with the real interests of the public, the people. Just as it did in the early decades, this investment will be ultimately guided by imperialist interests, and will only serve to ease its penetration and the fattening of the compradors.

the consumption of the top 20 per cent of households grew at almost 3 per cent per year in the 2000s as compared to 2 per cent in the 1990s, while the growth in consumption of the bottom 20 per cent of households remained unchanged at 1 per cent per year. Even the IMF managing director Christine Lagarde had to point out that "...the net worth of the billionaire community (in India) increased 12-fold in 15 years, enough to eliminate absolute poverty in this country twice over."

Whatever may be the reasoning, high inflation at a time of slow down in foreign investments caused by the global crisis, finally upset the grand plans of the Indian ruling classes. Year after year, the gap between their projections and results widened. Revenue kept falling and deficit management had to go beyond cutting subsidies to pruning planned investments. Interest rates were steadily raised to control inflation which in turn hurt investment and also added to the all round debt burden. Now the central index in this whole exercise, in fact a permanent driver since the 1990s, is the fiscal deficit; lowering it and keeping it under control. While this has its importance, it is certainly not the key index of an economy. The reason for its being considered so here is the diktat of imperialism and its agencies. So-called fiscal discipline of Third world countries is a central criterion followed by imperialist governments, its agencies, credit rating firms and, most important of all, by financial speculators in deciding their preferences for flowing in capital. Among them, the last category, imperialist speculative capital, is at present of utmost importance because it accounts for the bulk of foreign capital coming into India. If the fiscal deficit shoots up, the stability of the rupee will become suspect. The speculators will quickly pull out their investments and the economy will go for a toss. Therefore, the government, RBI and all concerned bodies are bound to keep cutting the fiscal deficit and restrict it within the 'agreed' limit no matter what it takes. And that 'what' can be pretty taxing. Currently, it means that, despite the stressed conditions of the banking system, the NDA is forced to nearly halve the amount (from Rs. 11000 crore to Rs. 6990 crore) budgeted by its predecessor, the UPA, for re-capitalising public

sector banks. Eventhough an influential section of imperialist economists now advocate a pro-active role for public investment as a means of driving the economy, there is a tight limit to the extent the government can splurge risking a widening of fiscal deficit. It must dutifully maintain course along the path of dependence to regular 'fixes' of foreign capital.

There is yet another choke hold, the interest rate. Though all the ruling class pundits are silent about this, the high GDP indexed growth of the first decade of the century was heavily conditioned by easy credit at low interest rates supported by buoyant international financial markets. This in turn was made possible through reckless speculation breaking all barriers. Once the run was over, the world was thrown into a financial crisis. Despite every evidence of criminal fraud by major transnational financial firms, the imperialist governments poured in crores to bail them out. Interest rates were pushed down to extremely low levels, even zero, in order to revive the economy. This led to a blossoming of the 'carry trade' where loans, at zero or near zero interest rates, are taken in dollars or euros or yens and invested in countries like India in order to syphon off profits from the difference in interest rates. In the initial years of the crisis, India managed to maintain some growth. The volume of finance capital flowing in increased, particularly the part generated

According to the leading bank employees association, AIBEA, total loans and advances (NPA) of the public sector banks (PSB) in September 2013 were a startling Rs. 2.36 lakh crore. This was after they fudged their accounts to reclassify Rs. 3.25 lakh crore bad loans as good ones. PSBs wrote off Rs. 34,409 crore of bad debts in the financial year 2013-14, compared to Rs. 27,231 crore in the previous fiscal year. This write-off accounted for 34 per cent of NPAs of these banks. The RBI Governor stated that the total written off debt comes to Rs. 1,61, 018 crore, or 1.27 per cent of GDP. The banks are empowered with drastic legal measures, such as the SAREASI Act, whereby they can seize assets to redeem unpaid loans. Thousands of ordinary people have been dispossessed and even driven to suicide by banks using the SAREASI. But, when it comes to corporate loans, only Rs. 30,390 crore has been recovered; just above one tenth of officially admitted NPA.

by the carry trade. While the Indian economy is now in a downturn, foreign institutional investment, that is investment in shares and bonds, has overall increased. This has everything to do with the carry

trade, ultimately dependent on low interest rates in imperialist countries. The moment there is any indication of interest rates rising there, this money starts to flow out quite rapidly. This was seen a year back when rumours were floating about an impending raise in US interest rates. Though that scare wore off, the threat is still real. The bottom line is that, for the present, interest rates

Foreign Institutional Investor's (FII) pumped in Rs. 10,800 crore into the India debt market even as they pulled out Rs. 966 crore from the equities market. Indian government securities and corporate bonds were in huge demand. The demand was so large that foreign investors ended up nearly exhausting their investment limits. FII investment in the Indian debt market came even as they pulled out Rs. 12,000 crore from emerging market bonds. Yields here are attractive as compared with global yields. For the entire year FIIs invested Rs. 25,200 crore in the Indian market, RS. 15,600 crore in debt and 960 crore in equities. India allowed FII investment of up to Rs. 4,86,000 crore of which Rs. 1,80,000 is in government debt and the remaining in corporate debt. Currently less than 60 per cent of the investment limit in the corporate debt market is used by foreign investors.

cannot be reduced much for fear of driving away the carry trade so crucial to the stability of the Indian financial system. The real gain, of course, is for the imperialist speculators. Reports indicate that they are getting a very high return on Indian debt, especially government bonds. For all the claims made about the benefits of getting foreign capital, its real logic of making a quick killing can be seen from the fact that even in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), that is supposed to actually build assets, 35 per cent of it went into the services and real estate sectors all the way from 2000 till 2014.

Is it the case that India is really short of capital? Well, let's keep aside the upper crust – comprador capitalists and feudal landlords – for the time being and consider this: three gold loan companies in Kerala alone have more precious metal in their vaults than the gold reserves of some of the richest nations like Australia or Sweden. If we add up all the gold pledged with the whole banking, co-operative credit sector, all of it all over the country, then the gold stock with households itself would be far, far above that of several wealthy countries. Gold is one of the biggest import outgoings, nearly all of it unproductive. This is a creation of the inhuman social system existing here. People are forced to add to it bit by bit with any surplus obtained, since that is the security they can count on and the assured means for marrying off girls. Now, if we include the gold in the vaults of various religious centres, the ill-gotten assets of the ruling classes and their political agents, and those of imperialists, it is abundantly clear that what we really face is not a lack of capital. The imperialist finance capital 'fix' so desperately sought by our rulers comes from their nature as comprador. Their growth 'highs' are fleeting and, worse, exercises to demand bigger doses that will only draw the country and its people into more abject dependence.

PM

The Modi government is going to get a whopping surprise income of nearly Rs. 7,20,000 crore from the advantage given by the fall in crude oil prices. This is apart from the amount it is reaping by raising excise duties on petrol and diesel while input prices fall. Crude prices have fallen 42 per cent. But, the fall in petrol price is only 15 per cent. Moreover, it has not been passed on to the people who continue to suffer from atrocious bus, train, transportation charges. Hence, inflation of food items and other essentials remains high, even while official statistics declare that the rate of inflation is falling.

Much of the falsehood in the 'Gujarat Model' story has come out by now. The occasion of the recent 'Vibrant Gujarat' summit has brought out some more. Of the Rs. 39.6 lakh crore investments for which Memorandum of Understanding were signed during the six summits held from 2003 till 2013, only Rs. 4 lakh crore, less than 10 per cent has actually come in.



The Concentration of Capital in the Present World

Lenin's celebrated work 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' had enumerated its characteristics and established the role of finance capital in the emergence and sustenance of monopoly capitalism. Pointing to the enormous concentration of wealth and control of the world's economy by these monopolies he wrote, "The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry—such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of that concept." "Some three to five of the biggest banks in each of the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the "personal link-up" between industrial and bank capital, and have concentrated in their hands the control of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and income of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which throws a close network of dependence relationships over all the economic and political institutions of present-day bourgeois society without exception—such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly." Barely a year away from the centenary of this pathbreaking work, an innovative scientific analysis of the networks connecting the world's largest corporations has strikingly confirmed its conclusions.

The study was carried out by a group of complex systems theorists at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich. It combined the mathematics used to model natural systems with comprehensive corporate data to map ownership among the world's transnational corporations (TNCs). From Orbis 2007, a database listing 370 lakh companies and investors worldwide, they pulled out all 43,060 TNCs and the share ownerships linking them. Then they constructed a model of which companies controlled others through shareholding networks, coupled with each company's operating revenues, to map the structure of economic power. This revealed a core of 1318 companies with interlocking ownerships. Each of the 1318 had ties to two or more other companies, and on an average they were connected to 20. Although they represented only 20 per cent of global operating revenues, the 1318 collectively own, through their shares, the majority of the world's large blue chip and manufacturing firms – the "real" economy – representing a further 60 per cent of global revenues.

When the team further untangled the web of ownership, it found much of it tracked back to a super-entity of 147 even more tightly knit companies. All of their ownership was held by other members of this super-entity. They controlled 40 per cent of the total wealth in the network. In effect, less than 1 per cent of the companies were able to control 40 per cent of the entire network. Most were financial institutions. The top 20 included Barclays Bank, JPMorgan Chase & Co, and The Goldman Sachs Group.

(based on <https://publicintelligence.net/global-network-of-corporate-control/>. The study report is available at http://arxiv.org/PS_cache/arxiv/pdf/1107/1107.5728v2.pdf)

Modi's Foreign Policy

Indian Expansionism's Big Power Dreams

ajith

Nearly a year into its rule, the Modi regime is yet to deliver anything substantial on the so-called 'economic growth' front — other than several policy decisions that further open up the country to imperialist plunder. Despite the windfall gain made through the steep fall in crude oil prices, the Central government's finances are still in a bad shape. With their hype on fast-tracking the economy punctured, Modi's spin-doctors are now trumpeting his foreign policy. The claim is that he has masterfully catapulted India into a prominent position on the world arena through his international moves. Obama's visit as the chief guest at the Republic Day parade took this to a frenzy. Forceful, dynamic, strategic — the flow of adjectives are torrential. On closer observation, they stand in inverse proportion to actual results.

Modi has indeed taken India into an even closer engagement with the US and its allies Japan and Australia, both of whom are pivotal in the US strategic plan to contain China. Closer ties with Vietnam and Fiji are promoted as a counter-play to China's penetration in South Asia. But where it really matters for Indian expansionism, in South Asia, it is steadily being pressed by the growing weight of China. Though the Indian rulers once again succeeded in blocking China's entry, it couldn't prevent this issue from becoming a major topic in the November 2014 SAARC summit. Moreover, support for China's membership has gained more adherents. Other than Pakistan, now Sri Lanka and the Maldives argued for it, with Nepal tacitly acceding. China holds out the promise of huge investments, which means fat commissions and they see no reason to forsake it. This was ultimately reflected in the wording of the declaration issued by the SAARC summit of November 2014 which instructed its concerned body to "...to engage the SAARC Observers into productive, demand-driven and objective project based cooperation in priority areas as identified by the Member States." India's opposition is increasingly getting isolated as petty obstructionism. Meanwhile, Indian expansionist plans for its greater and quicker economic penetration of South Asia through a Trade Pact continued to be blocked by Pakistan.

Several other developments also underline the limits of Modi's initiatives in South Asia. Maldives has for some time now been moving closer to China. The cancellation of a major airport project given to an Indian firm and its replacement by a Chinese infrastructure concern was a landmark of sorts in this trend. It has now been further strengthened by the Maldivian government's decision to endorse the 21st century

The Modi government is in an overdrive to satisfy the political, military and economic demands of the US in the expectation of being granted the status of a world power, of getting total support for Indian expansionist interests (particularly in South Asia and at the expense of Pakistan). His home and foreign policies serve this aim. Some gestures may be expected from the US, but it will be far less than what is being dreamt off. Moreover, rather than creating more manoeuvring room for the Indian ruling classes, they are being drawn into tighter and tighter dependent relations with the US. This has horrendous consequences for the country. Already, the poverty of the people is being utilised to entice our youth to slave in military camps of US occupation troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and build their defence infrastructure. Such undeclared service in US military moves will soon become open participation, making our people cannon fodder for imperialist aggression. Modi had changed drug licensing policies to suit ENC pharmaceutical companies before he went off to meet Obama last year. Now he has bowed down to the demands of US nuclear plant manufacturers to absolve them of all liability in case some accident happens in any power plant built with their technology. More and more of such slavish steps can be expected as the poisonous buds of Modi's policies bloom.

Maritime Silk Route (MSR) promoted by Chinese expansionism. The MSR visualises development of a sea route from China's Fujian province to the Mediterranean Sea via South Asia and East Africa. It complements the land based Silk Route proposed through Central Asia, linking China to Europe. The Maldivian endorsement of the MSR involves the building of a deep sea port on its northernmost Atoll, which will eventually open up space for Chinese naval activity. Ironically, the Maldivian President Abdulla Yammeen too has announced a 'look East' shift in foreign policy, a shift to closer ties with China. His reasoning was that economic cooperation with China does not challenge Maldives' "Islamic" identity unlike ties with "Western colonial powers". It is obvious that the real entity he had in mind was India, which had tried to prop up a new power centre in the form of the presidency of Mohamed Nashed, not part of the traditional ruling elite. The Brahmanic Hindutva Sangh Parivar banners of the Modi regime are certainly not going to ease the path of Indian expansionism over there.

If Maldives is a new headache for the Indian rulers, Sri Lanka under its former President Mahinda Rajapaksa had become increasingly explicit in servicing of Chinese expansionist interests. The repeated port calls of Chinese submarines in Sri Lanka ignoring Delhi's opposition was big news in the Indian media, accompanied by reports of how the Modi government made its 'strong displeasure' known to Rajapaksa. But there was nothing to show that this mattered to Colombo. The Modi regime will surely be hoping that the new presidency of Maithripala Sirisena will be of help in once again securing its domination. Reports, which are now coming out in the media, indicate that his defection from the Rajapaksa camp and success in stitching up a winning alliance was no sudden development. It was the product of months long secret consultations among various forces, with the Indian spy agency RAW playing a leading role. The pay off is already seen in the statements made by the new Sri Lankan rulers on 'correcting the imbalance' in foreign relations and the express visit made to Delhi by their new foreign minister. But Sri

Lanka's growing relations with China, even at the expense India, was not just some purely Rajapaksa affair. It is rooted in the interests of the Sri Lankan ruling classes. Despite the change of regime they will continue to try to benefit by manoeuvring between Indian and Chinese expansionism. At the most there may be some move away by the Maithripala government from Rajapaksa's overt tilt to China in order to manoeuvre all the better. China has invested nearly Rs 30,000 crore in that country since 2009 compared to India's Rs 180 crores.

Meanwhile, Pakistan has strengthened ties with Russia which delivered advanced weapons to it disregarding the objections of the Indian ruling classes. The recent summit meeting between Putin and Modi has repeated the usual verbiage on the 'strategic partnership' between Russia and India. After the usual condemnations of 'terrorism' their joint statement goes on to state, "The leaders expressed hope that all safe havens and sanctuaries for terrorists will be wiped out without delay and terrorism would be completely eradicated from the common region within a decade." What stands out here is the change in wording compared to last year's statement. There the targeting of Pakistan was rather obvious — "... terrorist acts ... may have international linkages extending across and beyond the borders. States that provide aid, abetment and shelter for such terrorist activities are themselves as guilty as the actual perpetrators of terrorism." Though India still remains a major market for Russian weaponry and both are members of the BRICS, Moscow is evidently readjusting its relations in South Asia in view of the growing dependence of the Indian rulers on Washington. In the short term there won't be a total re-framing — India has its geopolitical value for Russian imperialism, not the least as a foil to China. But

The continuity in the orientation of India's foreign policy, no matter who rules, is striking. It emerges from the expansionist ambitions of what is essentially a comprador state. Significant shifts in its foreign policy orientation, seen over the six and odd decades of its existence, are well contained within this continuity.

Pakistan's immediate gain, and the consequent weakening of Indian expansionism's clout, is obvious.

For all the aggressive hard sell of going from

The Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO); originally known as the Middle East Treaty Organisation (METO) was formed in 1955 by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom through the Baghdad Pact. Although the United States could not initially participate, it played a key role in its formation. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, or Manila Pact, signed in September 1954 in Manila, Philippines. Though stated as an organisation meant to ensure the security of Southeast Asia, were the only Southeast Asia countries that actually participated in it. Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and the United States were its members. SEATO got Vietnam and Cambodia under its protection and this was used as one of the main justifications for the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Though the CENTO formally lasted till 1979 and the SEATO till 1977, both of them had ceased to be of any importance much earlier.

'Look East' to 'Act East' in its pursuit of Indian expansionist interests the Modi regime still remains more or less where the UPA left off. Modi's foreign policy is characterised by some (and criticised by others like the CPM-CPI revisionists) as a total break from the one followed till now. Deepening ties with Zionist Israel, practically abandoning the Indian state's long standing support to the Palestinian cause, is an often cited example. Its silence during last year's genocide in Gaza surely gave ample evidence. But a meaningful look at India's foreign policy, including its

present specificities and nuances, demands a wide angled take. The striking shift in stance on Palestine is not a purely Modi or BJP impulse. Diplomatic ties with Israel were inaugurated in the early 1990s by the Congress led by Narasimha Rao. They were maintained and nurtured over subsequent decades by Central governments formed or supported by parties from the whole spectrum of parliamentary forces, all the way from the rightist BJP to the so-called leftist CPM. The continuity in the orientation of India's foreign policy, no matter who rules, is striking. It emerges from the expansionist ambitions of what is essentially a comprador state. Significant shifts in its foreign policy orientation, seen over the six and odd decades of its existence, are well contained within this continuity.

Two periods can be distinguished. The first was that of so-called non-alignment inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister. Apparently indicating an independent bearing in foreign affairs it was actually a euphemism for the manoeuvring of the Indian ruling classes in the world arena. Two factors made this possible. The more important of them was the replacement of overt colonialism with indirect rule and domination through neo-colonialism. The other was the growing contention between the imperialist blocs led by the US and Russia, which emerged as a super power after the restoration of capitalism in the 1950s. The first of these made non-alignment a possible option since the legitimacy of neo-colonialism depended on allowing room for some amount of independent posturing by oppressed countries. Neo-colonialism after all was itself mainly an imperialist response to the tide of national liberation struggles. It was meant to diffuse them by seeming to accede independence. The second factor, imperialist contention, created space for manoeuvring.

But possibility and space didn't automatically translate into 'non-alignment'. It was born from the need of the new rulers of the ex-colonies to actualise and utilise the space of formal independence granted by their neo-colonial existence. Because, even after transferring power to their trusted agents, the colonial powers tried their best to retain as much direct control as possible in

the erstwhile colonies. The US was championing 'de-colonisation' with the intent of co-opting

The first Bandung Conference was a meeting of Asian and African states, which took place on April 18–24, 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. Twenty-five countries participated. It was organised by Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India. China played an important role in the conference and strengthened its relations with other Asian nations. The conference's stated aims were to promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation and to oppose colonialism or neocolonialism by any nation. The conference was an important step toward the Non-Aligned Movement. The US and other Western imperialist powers were hostile to the conference, seen as a pro-communist event. The CIA even tried to assassinate the Chinese Premier Chou En Lai enroute to the conference.

2nd world war period, any opposition to the erstwhile colonial powers and the US quickly acquired a nationalist, progressive political hue. The world situation marked by a rising tide of national liberation struggles aided this. The NAM came to be regarded as the champion of national independence opposed to Western imperialism. But a closer look would show that this was hardly the case. The NAM was not really driven by anti-imperialism. It was a continuation of the anti-colonialism of compradors, already seen in political movements led by them in the colonial period; for example, the one led by the Indian National Congress. In the long run, NAM-style opposition aided imperialist powers since the definition of imperialism was being restricted to colonialism at a

nationalist sentiments in the colonies to serve its aim of edging back the traditional powers and gaining a dominant position. But it too favoured tight control. Military groupings like the CENTO and SEATO were formed for this. Though the containment of the socialist camp and communist movements in oppressed countries were made out to be the reason, the real aim was to lock-in countries that had now gained formal political independence.

The 'non-alignment movement' (NAM) could emerge only by resisting this. In the turbulent post-

time when neo-colonialism was already replacing it in the real world. Thus, even while there were occasions of sharp contradiction and even conflict (the Goan war) with specific imperialist powers, ties of dependence to Western imperialism and service to it could be well contained in the non-aligned stance of the Indian state.

India, Egypt and Yugoslavia were prominent initiators of the NAM. Among them, India had ties with multiple Western imperialist powers and a fairly sizeable economy they were keen on exploiting. Egypt enjoyed strategic geopolitical importance. Yugoslavia had political value in the contention with the socialist camp. The US backed Yugoslavia against the socialist Soviet Union. In Egypt it stepped in against British and French imperialist aggression when Nasser, the then president of that country, nationalised the Suez Canal. India, under Nehru, allowed it to stage spying sorties over China. Within the Western imperialist camp the NAM thus gave rise to opposing responses. Most saw it as a tool of the socialist camp. Yet there were others too who perceived in it a useful countervail against developments in the Afro-Asian Bandung conference of 1955 where neo-colonial countries joined up with socialist

countries and revolutionary China gained prominence. This dimension of the NAM was gradually unravelled with the emergence of a new imperialist bloc, through the rise of Soviet social imperialism. When the relation between the two blocs went from collusion to contention in the early 1970s, the NAM bloomed as an institutional framework eminently suited to neo-colonialism.

Growing contention between the

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of states who claim not to be formally aligned with any imperialist power. As of 2012, the movement has 120 members and 17 observer countries. At present Iran is its Chair till its next summit slated for this year in Venezuela. The organisation was founded in Belgrade (presently capital of Serbia) in 1961, and was mainly initiated by Indonesia, India, Egypt, Burma, Ghana and Yugoslavia. It sought to project their foreign policy stances as a 'middle course' between the US and Soviet imperialist blocs during the Cold War.

two blocs, led by the US and the Soviet Union, posed the pressing need before the comprador states to ally with one or the other. They could do this and still retain some manoeuvrability by being part of the NAM. On their part, the super powers could utilise its venues through their proxies and employ the 'independence' rhetoric to accuse each other of domination while continuing to pursue their imperialist agendas and poach on the other's camp. The social imperialist bloc initially enjoyed a bit of an advantage since it was unencumbered by any colonial past. But increasing instances of its aggressive moves, such as the occupation of Afghanistan, soon whittled this down. By the end of the 1970s, military pacts like CENTO and SEATO with an explicit colonial pedigree were winded up while the NAM remained and grew. But now its conferences increasingly, and openly, became another venue of super power contention.

The uniquely neo-colonial characteristic of the non-alignment policy was best demonstrated by Indian expansionism itself when it signed the Soviet social imperialist proposed Defence Treaty of 1972 even while it remained a staunch proponent of the NAM. Despite threats of the US, it could attack and dismember Pakistan by manoeuvring and utilising the national liberation cause of Bangladesh. It seized and forcibly incorporated Sikkim. It gained nuclear weapon capacity. All of these moves strengthened and consolidated Indian expansionism's domination in South Asia. But none of this was given by its strength as an independent power. They became possible within the larger framework of super power contention, under social imperialist protection guaranteed by the Treaty of 1972.

Once non-alignment is located within the broader international frame of imperialist relations, the logic of the shift in foreign policy initiated by the Indian National Congress's Narasimha Rao government in the early 1990s becomes apparent. This was necessitated by the new international situation. The collapse of social imperialism in the early 1990s and the recasting of neo-colonial legitimacy under the aggressive push of globalisation had made non-alignment redundant. Indian expansionist interests could no longer rely on social imperialism. It needed to toady to US

imperialism. In hindsight, the grounds for this had already been laid down by Indira Gandhi in the beginning of the 1980s. Growing political and economic problems weakening Soviet social imperialism had begun to limit its capacity. The Indian ruling classes had to turn to the IMF. Since then, dependence on the US bloc kept on deepening. Though all the appropriate non-aligned gestures and rituals were followed, the tilt to the US in international relations became more and more explicit. Under Rajiv Gandhi, Indian military facilities were offered to refuel US war planes bombing Iraq. It fell to Narasimha Rao to give the crucial push. Quite significantly, this was accompanied by the turn to globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, abandoning earlier economic policies that gave preference to the public sector and a greater role for the government.

To secure their comprador and expansionist interests the Indian ruling classes had to abandon the policies and structures built up under Nehru, both in the domestic and international realms. Such recasting however posed the threat of tearing off their guise of independence. This was further amplified by the turn in political discourse brought about by imperialist globalisation. For the several decades following the transfer of power in 1947, exposure of imperialism and its control, the role of the IMF and World Bank as neo-colonial institutions and similar issues had been restricted to Maoist forces. It had almost disappeared even from the propaganda of the parliamentary left like the CPM and CPI. This would change with the global shift to globalisation and the fall of the social imperialist bloc leading to the near total domination of the US. Imperialist dependence and its institutional control became live topics even in parliamentary discourse, with ramifications going well beyond it.

Being forced to increasingly expose their subservience to imperialism, each act of the ruling classes was simultaneously acknowledging the correctness of Maoist analysis on the sham nature of India's independence. The attempt to distract public opinion through an aggressive promotion of Brahmanic Hinduism and its chauvinism was useful to the extent of deepening communal polarisation. But it too failed in the matter of salvaging the

independence banners of the ruling classes. In fact, the opportunities obtained by the Sangh Parivar to rule, whether the 13 day spell in 1996 or the full term of the 2nd NDA government, only showed it up as even more subservient to US interests. Since all the parliamentary parties were either in Central

or State governments, and all were pushing the imperialist agenda of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, none within the ruling class spectrum could step in as saviour. Independence, self-reliance and the whole package of terminology earlier employed to cover up the reality of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal existence had to be redefined. The global recasting of neo-colonial legitimacy came in handy.

In the second half of the last century marked by liberation struggles and the shift to neo-colonialism, Third world country rulers were remarked for their so-called independence. In these times of globalisation it is 'growth', measured in GDP, that counts. GDP growth is now the mark of a country's standing. Self-reliance, even of a spurious variety funded

by foreign aid, is no longer touted as an achievement. Bigger and bigger volumes of foreign capital are no longer seen as detrimental, as a sign of increasing imperialist control. On the contrary, success in economic policy is measured by being able to attract greater shares of foreign capital.

This was a way out for the Indian ruling classes who were faced with a challenge to their legitimacy thrown up by the turn of international developments. To this they have added a 'local flavour' — the projection of Indian expansionism as an aspiring 'super-power'. Growing bigger GDPwise with all that it entailed - more foreign capital, even closer dependence to the US - was legitimised as inevitable and necessary steps along the road to super-power status. In the early 1990s, when this was being initiated, there could hardly be any talk of status. The Indian rulers were barely pulling on by hocking the country's gold reserves. But the liberalisation induced GDP growth that clearly emerged in the 2000s, with its visible index given by a flood of modern consumer goods and their imitations (the 'invisible' part was a stupendous widening of income disparities), soon created space for this. Speculations on the Indian economy surpassing the US by the middle of this century and the entry allowed to its rulers in some imperialist clubs were woven into the hyperbole of India emerging as a super-power. Indian foreign policy was recast to suit the new situation. Toadying to the US now became its mainstay. This was legitimised as necessary for the projection of India's self-avowed status and to counter China. These were the drivers of Narasimha Rao's 'Look East' policy which sought to build strategic ties with countries in South East Asia. It was also a correction from the pro-Russian 'non-alignment' period which had limited its engagement with these countries, since they were mainly tied to the US camp.

We had earlier noted that Indian foreign policy is determined by the expansionist ambitions of what is essentially a comprador state. This gives it its continuity. The United Front governments that followed Narasimha Rao proved this without fail. His 'Look East' policy was continued and now embellished with what came to be known as the 'Gujral Doctrine'. Named after the late IK Gujral, foreign minister and then prime minister, it addressed relations with countries in the immediate vicinity, those in South Asia (Pakistan excluded). The first of this set of five principles declares that "...with the neighbours like Nepal, Bangladesh,

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is an organisation of eight countries — Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. Its first summit was held in Dhaka on 8 December 1985. Several countries, including Australia, China, the United States, Japan, Russia and the European Union, have observer status. The SAARC initiated the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) with the aim of its leading subsequently towards a Customs Union, Common Market and Economic Union. The SAFTA Agreement entered into force on 1 January 2006, and the Trade Liberalisation Programme commenced from 1 July 2006. Though imports and exports among SAARC countries have expanded considerably it is still quite low by international standards. Moreover, India's huge trade surpluses with all the others has widened, generating resistance to further opening up of trade.

Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka, India does not ask for reciprocity but gives all that it can in good faith and trust.” It would be instructive to note the resounding echo of these words in Modi's grandiloquent promises of Indian munificence at his Delhi Durbar where all the Heads of State of South Asia were called in to witness his coronation and later repeated at the Kathmandu SAARC Summit. It is even more educative that almost all ruling class political commentators avoided any recollection of such past promises in their haste to establish Modi's stance as a totally new beginning. They have reason for that. The essential logic of Gujral's Doctrine, explained by none other than its author himself in his autobiography, was that “... since we had to face two hostile neighbours in the north and the west, we had to be at ‘total peace’ with all other immediate neighbours in order to contain Pakistan’s and China’s influence in the region.” (italics added) The expansionist thrust of good-neighbourliness couldn't have been put more starkly — the reasoning is not even that of preventing any direct threat to India. It is that of securing what is arrogantly considered their backyard by the Indian ruling classes, by blocking others. Quite understandably, among India's neighbours, there were no takers for Gujral's 'good faith and trust.'

Indian expansionism's growing appetite makes it ever more ambitious. Pranab Mukherjee in his earlier avatar as foreign minister had modestly outlined this as one of “expanding circles”, starting with South Asia and then moving on to the immediate regions. Other ruling class strategists have termed it as “concentric circles”. The assumption is that securing domination in South Asia and becoming a significant force in surrounding regions will secure a place for them, along with the big imperialist powers, at the global level. Over the years this thinking was given military and economic muscle. The Indian joint command post at Andaman and Nicobar has been built up into a formidable outpost with 15 ships, two naval, four air force and naval air bases and an army brigade. India operates an air base in Tajikistan. Along the northern border, two new army divisions have been deployed and moves are on to raise a mountain strike corp specifically directed against

China. The Indian state is a major player in training and supplying the Afghan puppet army built up by the US and its allies. It has established an extensive network of government and quasi-government offices throughout Afghanistan that multiply the operational capacities of its covert agencies. India is also a major supplier of weaponry to Vietnam and Myanmar. Through state owned and private corporations it has built up a widespread network in Africa, often competing with Chinese expansionism. It is also actively promoting its presence in South America.

There is thus a whole array of strategical and tactical moves with domination over South Asia at the core. The move to the East is an attempt at outflanking China as a counter to its thrusts into South Asia, as well as a step taken to secure this 'core interest' by projecting itself in the surrounding region. This working out of Indian foreign policy has its specific internal expansionist logic. It wouldn't do to ignore this or its continuity from Nehru to Modi and put it merely as a matter of 'India getting trapped in US plans' or 'BJP abandoning India's independent foreign policy' as done by the CPM-CPI leaders. Yet, it must also be understood that it has become possible precisely due to the realignment that has taken place in the geopolitics of both these regions, South and South East Asia. This realignment emerged with the collapse of social imperialism and the growth of China's economic and military power. Over the past two decades it has driven up the strategic value of these regions for US imperialism and, consequently, the utility of boosting Indian expansionism. Shaped and promoted over these years, US strategy is now formalised in Obama's 'Pivot to the Asia-Pacific' also described as 'Rebalance to Asia'. It demands Indian expansionism to move in step.

While the policy of Looking East and moves to actualise it has been standard fare of Indian foreign policy for the past few decades, it couldn't quite get there due to various political compulsions faced by successive governments. Now that the BJP has a clear majority making coalition politics inconsequential and Modi has the backing of almost all sections of the ruling classes, Indian expansionism is going all out to make up for the

lost time. Yet, even the slogan popularised by Modi to signify his energetic push, the claim to be 'Acting East' rather than merely 'Looking East', is miserably devoid of all originality. He merely parrots Hillary Clinton. While functioning as Obama's Secretary of State during his first term a few years back she had instructed the Indian rulers "not just to look East but engage East and act East as well.". There could be nothing more demonstrative than this of how the Modi peg fits the US groove. Or, for that matter, of how the Brahmanic fascist RSS's 'Hindu Rashtravad' (Hindu nationalism) slavishly serves imperialism.

The Strategic Vision Statement released during Obama's visit repeats what was said in 2014. Here, the geographical definition of Indo-US 'strategic vision' – from Africa to East Asia – is of particular interest. It corresponds to the 'expanding circles' strategy of Indian expansionism and marks the position US imperialism has allotted to it. The immediate thrust of their moves is made explicit by pointedly referring to the South China Sea disputes of China and other littoral countries and insisting on "ensuring freedom of navigation and over flight". China's strategic moves, its Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road, are met with a point to point counter vision — 'regional economic integration' linking South, Southeast, and Central Asia and the US's New Silk Road and India-Pacific Economic Corridor. India's role is also outlined in relation to the existing imperialist alliance forged by the US with Japan.

The broad plan of the US envisages building up close political and military co-operation, if not an alliance, of Japan, Australia and India under US tutelage. Several structures are already in place, built up with active participation of previous Indian governments. They include regular joint naval exercises involving forces from these countries and bilateral, multi-lateral consultations. Pushed on by the US, Modi now wants to make these ties tighter, particularly in the field of defence. Opening up India to a bigger and deeper penetration of Japanese monopoly capital is a high priority. In view of rising tensions between Japan and China, the Indian compradors calculate that a major chunk of Japanese investment can be turned to India. As

such, climbing wages in China increasingly make it less attractive to imperialist transnational corporations. This is an important factor underlying Modi's 'Make in India' project. He is quite blatant in promising a skilled, low cost labour force, with the emphasis on the latter. Moves initiated during the previous UPA government to eliminate whatever legal protection workers have against their exploiters are being pursued at the Central level. All the RSS manned BJP State governments are already in an over-drive to implement this. The Rajasthan government has already done this. What we see here is the nexus between Modi's 'Act East' foreign policy and his economic policies. They share common origins, in the class character of the ruling classes.

Almost all of Modi's foreign visits and hosting of foreign leaders fall within the broad alliance parameters set by the US. The elevation of Indo-Japanese relations to the level of sale and collaboration in manufacture of a four-engine amphibious aircraft, the ShinMaywa US-2, is significant. Closer integration of India into the US led strategic tie up in the Asia-Pacific is of course amplified. Apart from that, by initiating the first ever foreign sale of Japanese armaments and its collaboration in weapon development in another country after the 2nd World War, it signifies a major step forward in the militarisation of Japanese imperialism. Restrictions on military build up by Tokyo was enforced through the Japanese Constitution after the 2nd World War. That Constitution was prepared under US aegis. However, since the past few decades, reversing this restriction has been a top item in the US agenda for the Asia-Pacific. The US would want Japan (and Australia) to take up a far bigger share of military tasks. The Japanese ruling class is not averse to this. As it is, under the innocuous banner of a Self Defence Force, it has already built up formidable land, sea and air power. The industrial capacities of the country allow it to boost this up quite rapidly, even attaining nuclear weapon capabilities. What stands as a formidable hurdle to any such move is the strong opposition of the Japanese people to militarisation. The Japanese ruling class consciously utilises its growing contradictions with

China to whip up jingoism and thus create public opinion that can weaken and undermine this opposition. Modi has willingly made India a chip in this dirty game.

We have seen that domination over South Asia lies at the core of Indian expansionism's foreign policy. Within this, Pakistan, or rather, putting it down, has remained its prime agenda since 1947. Its nuclear weapon capacity makes it a force the Indian rulers simply cannot ignore. Moreover, it enjoys a unique and long-standing relation with China that goes all the way back to its foundation in 1947. So too is the US-Pak relation. No matter how much the US is keen on pampering Indian expansionist interests it will not let go of Pakistan. It has great geopolitical importance in its scheme. The intensification of the resistance in Afghanistan that is inevitably going to follow the US camp's withdrawal adds to this. Therefore, the US authorities will publicly scold Pakistani rulers, insist on its taking steps against this or that organisation declared to be 'terrorist', but support and supplies will continue. The Indian ruling classes have continuously tried to reverse this. Other than being comforted with some more harsh words directed against Pakistani rulers they have not made any notable headway. That remains, despite Modi's much touted 'personal chemistry' with Obama. His spin-doctors have paraded the naming of several organisations held to be 'terrorist' (such as the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad) in the Joint Statement issued during Obama's visit as a major advance in this regard. But this was mere window dressing; these organisations have been named for long by the UN and the US in their ban lists. All along, with bans and lists in place, the CIA has also been utilising the services of their cadre for its operations. This was exposed in the Hayden case. Despite all the covert and overt co-operation between the two countries, the Indian agencies have not been given access to interrogate him.

US relations with Pakistan thus remain a major irritant for the Indian ruling classes. It is even more so for the Brahminic fascist RSS. For this organisation that controls the Modi government, hatred of Muslims, and by extension Pakistan-bashing, is the central pin, the very organising

principle, of its communal chauvinism, of its projected 'Hindu Rashtra'. The RSS has a longstanding orientation of ingratiating the US and getting India integrated in its orbit. For many decades, during the 'non-aligned' or pro-Russian imperialist period, this was out of sync with the overall orientation of the Indian ruling classes. The re-orientation in Indian foreign policy brought about by world developments reversed this. It allowed the narrowing down of differences among different sections of the ruling classes. A shift to a pro-US stance emerged as the consensus. Yet, it is only now, with the Modi government, that the RSS is getting an unhampered opportunity to push its agenda. But, the terms are set by the US which has its own concerns. As we saw, this includes its support to the Pakistani state just as much as it pampers and bolsters Indian expansionism. If the RSS agenda of integrating India in the US orbit as a means to boost its expansionist plans is to advance, the Modi government must bow to the imperatives of US interests. The restraints this imposes on the RSS's core anti-Muslim, anti-Pakistan, Brahmanic communal drivers will surely introduce many wobbles in Modi's foreign and home policies.

A preview was seen in the reactions to Obama's parting speech. Conveniently forgetting the huge promotion of Islamophobia by the US and the murderous persecution of coloured people under his rule, he took it upon himself to lecture to the audience on India's constitutional guarantee of the right to propagate any religion. Evidently, he was brandishing the 'human rights' lathi often used by the US to threaten other states and secure its interests. The rash of Brahmanic Hindu fascists attacks on religious minorities, including forcible reconversion, seen over the past few months after Modi came to power gives the US many opportunities to do this. Obama's comments were an arrogant interference in India's internal affairs and it should have been protested. If the Congress or some other party were in power the whole pack of Sangh Parivarists would be opportunistically howling for blood. But nothing of that sort was seen. Instead, its official organ, the 'Organiser', delivered a classic example of the Sangh Parivar's slavish comprador logic: "US understanding of India's religious ethos

is definitely not in line with the way we as Indians think of multi-religious society, but the way it thinks will form a centre-piece for those that are looking to invest in India on a long term basis." The message was clear — in the so-called Hindu nation they strive to establish, all 'Rashtravadis' (nationalists) had better learn to cosy up to 'the way those looking to invest think'; otherwise the dollars will not come. Well before this writing came out, the BJP's top leadership was already acting out its instructions by using every opportunity to declare their support to secularism. Yet not all are agreed. Some other top members of the Sangh Parivar have come out against Obama's comments, though not as stridently as they would have if they were not in power. This contradiction is also being utilised in the tugs within the Sangh Parivar and among various sections in the broader Brahmanic Hindu fascist camp. Brahmanism will stoop to any lows to curry favours with those it sees as superior. It is capable of opportunist convolutions and stretching out to contain such contradictions. Even then, some of these hitches could still turn out to be game-upsetting ones.

Another factor to be considered is that of Sino-US relations and its swings. To get into this we must first assess the BRICS, where India and China are partners. These countries, along with Brazil and South Africa, are still part of the Third world. Yet, they have sizeable big and relatively diversified economies that takes them far ahead of other oppressed nations. The BRICS expresses a confluence of the common interest of these countries to bargain with the imperialist powers, particularly US imperialism, and of Russian imperialism in boosting its capacity to contend with other imperialists. Following the collapse of Soviet social imperialism the US became the all-powerful sole super-power. It tried to use this situation to establish what has been described as a 'unipolar world'. This was especially seen in its actions after the attacks on the World Trade Centre, in its 'war on terrorism'. Rather than building up a coalition under its leadership as was the earlier practice, the war on Iraq was prepared and declared on its own. It was arrogantly stated that it would not wait for others, even its allies. The near total dominance of the US

forced the other imperialist powers to tag along, despite their differences and concern at being bypassed in taking such decisions. These acts of the US exposed the UN as an ineffective body. This again was a matter of concern for them and the reactionary rulers who had often found it a useful tool. Therefore, the other imperialist powers as well as major Third World countries like China and India were opposed to US 'unipolar' designs. Developments in the world itself gave them opportunities to realise this. No matter what the US rulers thought, the world was in fact always 'multi polar' since contention between imperialist countries and contradiction between oppressed peoples and imperialism is a permanent feature of this system. The multi polar reality of the imperialist system was soon brought out forcefully through the stiff armed resistance the US had to face in Iraq and Afghanistan. Getting caught up in these wars of aggression started weakening the US. Other imperialist powers, especially Russia, utilised this situation to regain positions and push back the US. A number of new international organisations came up as an expression of the new condition. They include strategic groupings such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). The deadlock in WTO trade and services pacts has added space, leading to the formation of trade organisations like Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Having been forced to back off from its unilateral aggressiveness the US too has joined this business of building up new multilateral institutions. The BRICS has to be situated within this world context. It of course has its own particularity.

For the Indian ruling classes, BRICS serves to retain and create more room for manoeuvring and gaining from inter-imperialist contentions to the extent possible. In this sense it is similar to the NAM. The NAM was an expression of the emergence and evolution of international relations following the break up of the old colonial order in the post 2nd World War period and its replacement by neo-colonial ties with oppressed nations. Under imperialist globalisation these ties, and the international system of states, have further evolved, providing room for an institution like the BRICS.

On the one hand it is overwhelmingly Third world, Russia being the exception. On the other, its Third world concerns are distinctly different from those of other oppressed countries. For instance, in forums like the WTO, the BRICS have shown that they are perfectly willing to subscribe to harmful imperialist policies where it suits them too in their exploitation of other Third world countries.

The BRICS is thus not simply the coincidental materialisation of an acronym coined by somebody. It is a product of contemporary international relations. All of its Third world participants have a common stake in securing and expanding the position and space they have arrived at. Yet, among them, China is in a different league. It has a decisive, determining position, if anything because of its economic clout. In the present world, without China, such an institution cannot persist. For the Indian ruling classes, that is something unpalatable but unavoidable too. The BRICS thus becomes another space for its contention with China. Here Modi and his team think that they can play a clever game — use the US connection to contain China and use BRICS to get better deals from the US. Therefore, foreign minister Swaraj flew off to Beijing as soon as the Obama visit was over. The Indian ruling classes are adept at this game. They played it with some benefit during the period of contention between the US and the erstwhile Soviet camps. But what are its prospects in the present world?

The US rulers have for several years promised to do all they can to see India into the UN Security Council. They regularly acknowledge it as an important player at the global level. This puffs up Indian expansionism. Membership in the extended G-8 grouping, the G-20, was celebrated by the Indian ruling classes as an acknowledgement of their 'arrival'. There is some truth in this. However, as we just saw, though India is in a different position in comparison to most other Third world countries, it is nowhere near China, economically and militarily. This gives that country a political weight far beyond that of the Indian state. It places it in a category superior to that of India in US foreign relations. The US is keen on bolstering Indian expansionism precisely because it needs it to

keep China in check. For the US, the main determinant in the Asia-Pacific is its relations with China, not India. Therefore, the parameters of its relations with India are determined by this overarching concern. In effect, this means that the Indian state is secondary in the US ordering of priorities. Evidently that offends the Indian rulers with their quite inflated view of where they have 'arrived' in world relations. But there is nothing they can do about it. Though India has great strategic geopolitical value for US imperialism, it is not of the same degree as it was for Soviet social imperialism in the past. Then India was a crucial element for social imperialism in contending with the US camp and threatening socialist China. Today India is only a supplementary element, strategic but not the key factor, in the US game plan for the Asia-Pacific, where it has several time-tested allies and lackeys.

So what does this imply for Modi's foreign policy? The Modi government is in an overdrive to satisfy the political, military and economic demands of the US in the expectation of being granted the status of a world power, of getting total support for Indian expansionist interests (particularly in South Asia and at the expense of Pakistan). His home and foreign policies serve this aim. Some gestures may be expected from the US, but it will be far less than what is being dreamt off. Moreover, rather than creating more manoeuvring room for the Indian ruling classes, they are being drawn into tighter and tighter dependent relations with the US. This has horrendous consequences for the country. Already, the poverty of the people is being utilised to entice our youth to slave in military camps of US occupation troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and build their defence infrastructure. Such undeclared service in US military moves will soon become open participation, making our people cannon fodder for imperialist aggression. Modi had changed drug licensing policies to suit MNCs before he went off to meet Obama last year. Now he has bowed down to the demands of US nuclear plant manufacturers to absolve them of all liability in case of accidents in any power plant built with their technology. More can be expected as the poisonous buds of Modi's policies bloom. 

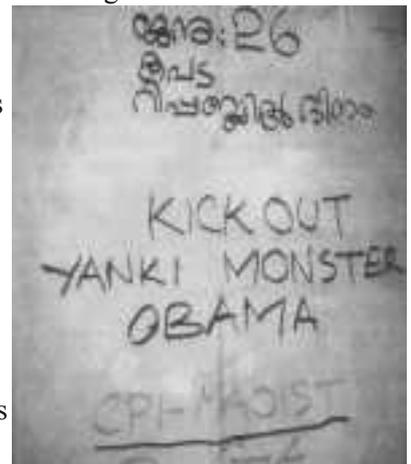
plantations and summer residences. The tribal communities became labourers in their own land. Nagarahole (Karnataka) was the land of Jenu Kurubas and Betta Kurubas for centuries. By the end of 19th century the British colonialists brought this area under their ownership forcibly evicting the indigenous communities for timber logging.

The colonialists enforced many restrictions on the movement of adivasis and banned them from shifting cultivation, collection of forest produce and hunting for their livelihood. After the British, the Indian rulers followed the same policy. A large part of adivasi land has been alienated from them. Acts were adopted to restore these lands, but they remain unimplemented. Due to the encroachment of their traditional lands, oppression and exploitation by the non-tribal exploiters, and eviction from their traditional habitat by the state authorities in the name of various projects, National parks, Wildlife Sanctuaries, Reserve Forests and other Protected Areas (PA), the adivasis in all three States are living in miserable conditions. The tribal people not only lost the land and the sources of their livelihood but also their rights, their dignity and their way of life. Today they work as wage labourers in the estates and in lands owned by non-tribals. More than 80 per cent adivasis are landless labourers, 35 per cent are poor peasants having less than two acres. The share of income from cultivation is less than 20 per cent of the total income. More than 70 per cent comes from wage labour and nearly 10 per cent from minor forest produce collection.

Even in a State like Keralam, comparatively enjoying better health facilities, death of new born among adivasis is a distressingly regular affair. On an average 40 to 50 adivasis, mainly women, are murdered in Attapadi alone every year. Their young are forced to work in far off places as household helps. The women are often made a target of sexual depredation. In the Kodagu region, adivasis and dalit landless continue to labour under bondage to feudal landlords. Though an Act has been recently adopted to grant land rights to forest dwellers, its implementation is nominal.

Apart from adivasis, dalits are the other major community working in large numbers as labourers. Their condition is not better than that of

adivasis. The whole TJ area has a large rural proletariat, agricultural workers and plantation workers. Plantation workers mainly work in big and medium plantations owned by comprador bureaucrat capitalists or the government. Globalization policies has seriously affected both sections. In plantations, job security was badly affected.



Casualisation — the tendency of engaging workers on temporary, badali and contract terms is increasing drastically. Work load has also increased manifold while real wages have decreased. Their housing and other basic amenities remain the same as it was several decades earlier. Agricultural workers, mainly engaged in the small and medium holdings owned by rich and medium peasants, are becoming more and more unemployed or underemployed. The real wage rate is also going down due to continuous inflation.

The peasantry consists of three types in the whole area - the landless and poor peasants, middle peasants and rich peasants. More and more poor and middle peasants are falling into debt trap; thousands have already committed suicide. The Sahyadri, particularly in Keralam, was also host to large scale in-migration of peasants. This has changed the demography of the whole TJ area. The adivasis were reduced to a minority. Over 80 per cent of the migrant peasants are poor and middle peasants. They worked hard to transform the hills and forest into fertile land in an unfamiliar territory and hard living condition. Today, their population is over a million. They are mainly engaged in cultivation of commercial crops such as coffee, tea, cardamom, rubber, pepper, banana, fruits and vegetables etc.. They are often forced into distress sale of products since their economic conditions prevent them from holding on for better prices. They are squeezed dry by atrocious terms imposed by private and public creditors. Moreover, the prices of these commodities keep swinging wildly since they are ultimately governed by global

markets. A series of free trade treaties signed by the Indian government in the past few decades have made matters worse. As a result of all such factors, all sections of the people living in this region – adivasis, dalits, plantation workers, agricultural workers and peasants – face heavy exploitation and oppression at the hands of the state machinery and various exploiters. Thus, there is every reason for the masses to be joyful over the successful deployment and activities of the PLGA in their surroundings.

The Sahyadri range, all the way from its northern end in Gujarat and Maharashtra till its southern tip in Keralam, has been the site of many a popular struggle, both armed and unarmed. In particular, one area of operation of the PLGA in Keralam at present, North Wayanad, has the proud history of fierce resistance to British colonialism during the late 18th and early 19th century. The Kurichya adivasis were major participants in these struggles. Coming closer to the present period, Wayanad was one of the main areas of revolutionary struggles in Keralam inspired by the armed peasant rebellion of Naxalbari. It is also the only district where revolutionary activities have surged ahead again and again overcoming either setbacks due to repression or deviations. Here special mention must be made of comrade Verghese, martyred in 1970, who played a leading role in organising the adivasi bonded peasants against feudal exploitation and went on to lead them in the armed struggle for the seizure of political power. His memory continues to inspire the oppressed masses throughout Keralam.

Keralam has a long history of communist activity and valiant armed struggles led by the communists. When the CPI leadership deviated into revisionism, rank and file comrades in different parts of the State started seeking a way forward. They were attracted to the fierce ideological struggle being waged against Khrushchev revisionism under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. The peals of spring thunder from Naxalbari thus resounded in favourable conditions, and hundreds rallied to the path of protracted people's war. Ever since then Maoist led revolutionary activities has been a regular feature of the political scene. A

number of heroic armed actions were carried out successfully. Many militant mass struggles were organised. At different periods, youth and students came forward in large numbers to join the revolutionary movement and serve the people. Yet all these efforts did not lead to building a sustained and developing Maoist movement. All throughout these decades, the revolutionary movement was repeatedly derailed by wrong tendencies and rightist deviations.

This was ruptured with in the early 1990s. On the one hand, a section of comrades rebelled against the revisionist line of K. Venu, rejected the theses that conditions in Keralam are not conducive for people's war and went forward. This initiative would be one of the components forming the Maoist Unity Centre, CPI (M-L), along with comrades in Maharashtra, and then later, the CPI (M-L) NAXALBARI, uniting with revolutionaries led by the late comrade SA Rawoof. A group of comrades, who had formed a new centre, rebelling against CPI(M-L) Jana Shakthi rightist leadership, later merged with this. Meanwhile, sections who were disgusted with the right opportunism of the various M-L parties present in Keralam rebelled and joined the CPI (M-L) People's War in the early 1990s, which later merged with the Maoist Communist Centre, India in 2004 to form the CPI (Maoist). They too set out to rubbish the revisionist theses of Keralam's exclusivity. Both of these initiatives had been working independently towards initiating armed struggle. Now, following the merger of the CPI (Maoist) and the CPI (M-L) NAXALBARI, they have become one. This has played an important role in the successful opening of a new front of the people's war in Keralam. For the people of Keralam, this is a decisive step towards realising the revolutionary road long blockaded by revisionism. For the Maoist movement in India as a whole, it is the promise of firmly repudiating opportunist theses that deny the validity of the new democratic revolution and the people's war in regions that are relatively advanced. As such, it is already a rebuttal, in deeds, of the Indian state's claim to have isolated and restricted the revolutionary movement to Central and Eastern India. [PM](#)

from page 8

Karnataka and Tamil Nadu responded quickly by engaging the Anti-Naxal Force (ANF) and Special Task Force (STF - formed by Tamil Nadu to hunt down Veerappan). They started combing on their side of Kabani and the adjoining forest areas. This joint combing operation, 'Operation Brahmagiri', was aimed at destroying the new Maoist movement in the KKTN tri-junction in its budding stage itself. Hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent and several battalions of forces, including special commando forces, have been mobilised. Arms and ammunition in the police stations in the area were shifted to more secure places. In areas situated on and around the banks of Kabani, security of police stations was strengthened and commando forces deployed for their protection. The appearance of police stations have changed — bunkers, high-beam lights, fortification with sand bags and closed circuit cameras are now the norm. Media reports on the squads have been more sensational than factual. When this became a regular affair, police supplied more masala by specifying dates like February 18 (Com. Varghese martyr day), and then July 28 (Com. CM martyr day) as the dates for possible police station raids. The Northern Inspector General of Police declared a 15 days plan to eliminate the 'Maoist threat'. It was extended for a period of two months and further repeated. As of now it stands converted into a two year plan.

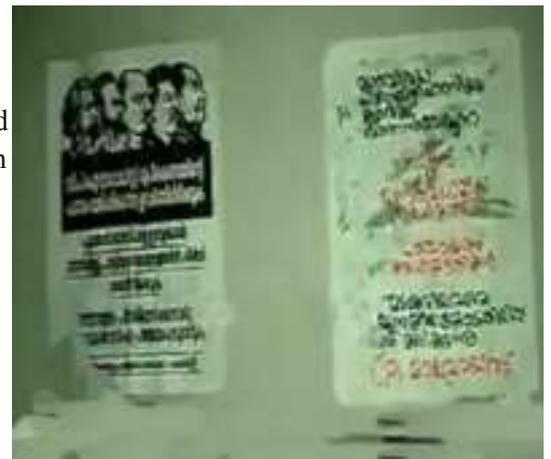
A section of petite-bourgeois intellectuals, especially ex-naxalites (appropriately termed 'exalites' by the late poet Kunjunnimash) questioned the re-emergence of Maoist activities in Keralam. They claimed that the relevance of Maoist movement in Keralam was over by the period of mid 1980s. They reminisced over their involvement in building the movement in those days and claimed that they had later abandoned it after 'realising' that a revolutionary movement is an impossibility in an "advanced democratic society like Keralam which would frown at the Marxist concept of proletarian dictatorship". Another section, representing capitalist production theorists, declared that Maoism and armed struggle are not relevant in Keralam since it is 'advanced' unlike backward areas like Chhattisgarh or Bihar where classical type of feudalism remains. This section also attacks

Kabani Is No Longer ...

Maoists as 'anarchists'.

A growing influence of new-left ideas in the early 1980s among some leading intellectuals and activists associated with the erstwhile CRC, CPI (M-L) in Keralam and the Janakeeya Samskarika Vedi (People's Cultural Forum) related to it, later merged with postmodernist trends in the 1990s. They became the front runners of NGOs and the movements of the marginalised. Meanwhile, the main ideologue of that time, K. Venu, then the Secretary of CRC CPI (ML), launched a disguised attack on Marxism with a so-called new concept of proletarian democracy, and soon went on to openly reject Marxism altogether. All of this dominated the intellectual sphere of Keralam over the years. Its leading lights have vehemently opposed the Maoists. Naturally, the re-birth of an armed Maoist movement has provoked them and their hard-core started a counter campaign which is used by the state against the revolutionary movement. That of course is not the whole picture. A section of intellectuals have been critical, of both the state and the revolutionary movement. Another section, after initial scepticism, later extended support.

The squad moving along the Wayanad-Kodugu area is named after the Kabani due to its historical significance in tribal and peasant struggles and the early phase of Maoist movement. The high elevation mountain ranges of Banasura, Brahmagiri, and Vattappana hill tracts and the evergreen forest cover and rocky hillocks makes for tough movement but it gives enough space for maneuvering. Even while the six months long rainy season makes everyday life of the squad difficult, it helps to mould the guerrillas to be strong enough to face any difficulty.



Posters of the PMC

When the Kabani squad went to the adivasi, peasant and the plantation workers, their initial doubts were soon overcome. People were excited after seeing the women comrades of Kabani squad in their olive green outfit and with their long rifles. After coming close, their main query was about the life inside the forest, particularly in the rainy season, in an area full of blood thirsty leeches, locally known as “attas”, and elephants. Through interacting with the people in different areas, the question of landlessness, lack of valid pattas, right over the forest, the under development in that area, marginalisation, contradiction with forest department, the price crash of agriculture produces and the displacement caused by one sided conservation policies have been identified as the main issues faced by them. Through the activities of the squad, people's awareness on these issues has also developed. 'Kattu Thee' (Prairie fire), the guerrilla bulletin of the squad, has become very popular in this area. It is distributed and read clandestinely. It covers the burning problems of the people in simple language. Kattu Thee has created its own space in revolutionary propaganda.

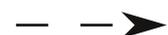
News of the visit of squads in different villages was repeatedly flashed in the media. The armed propaganda action against an illegal granite quarry in Kozhikode District and destruction of its machinery, coming in the midst of the hot debate over the Gadgil-Kasturirangan Reports and the subsequent polarisation, brought in a new dimension on the issue of protection of Western Ghats which has become a burning issue all along the high range areas of Keralam. Com. Mandakini, the spokesperson of CPI (Maoist) Border Area Committee, which is leading the Kabani squad, owned responsibility for the action against the giant granite quarry. She gave a call to reject Kasturirangan Report and expose the limitations of Gadgil Report. She went on to point out that the protection of Western Ghats can be materialised and the problems of the toiling masses can be resolved only through the development of class struggle and the establishment of their political power through Revolutionary People's Committees. This action and subsequent statement thoroughly exposed the pragmatic and opportunistic anti-people approach of

CPI (M) in this issue.

The state is not a silent spectator. Its armed forces conduct combing with huge formations, including simultaneous combing in different places combining special commando forces, armed reserve forces, forest department and civil police. It is trying to secretly build up a vast network of informers. Home guards are recruited from the tribes who have good grip over the forest tracts for building auxiliary forces with the idea of building another Salwa Judum. Several reforms are also adopted in order to attract people to their side.

The state is trying its best to eliminate the PLGA squads moving in the KKTN tri-junction. But through their consistent work among the people the squads are becoming more and more popular. In the Kabani area, in paddy fields, tea gardens, coffee plantations, bitter-gourd gardens, banana plantations, in tea-shops and bus shelters, discussions mainly center on the Maoists and their activities. Though people are under the fold of different organisations and parties even at the grass root level, a polarisation is steadily emerging. The Kabani squad has initiated action to check the informer network of the police. It went to the house of one the police personal working in the Quick Response Team (QRT) who took initiative for recruiting adivasis into the informer network, warned him and burned his vehicle as a punitive action. It has carried out a number of actions as part of the recently conducted Politico-Military Campaign.

Once armed struggle starts, everything will be decided mainly through its development. The key question is who is going to take and maintain the political and military initiative. Along with the Bhavani and Nadukani, the other two squads in the Western Ghats tri-junction, the Kabani squad is striving to win over the oppressed masses and to consolidate them into people's militia and mass organisations. It is trying to build basic party structures and carryout recruitment to the PLGA. The pressing task is to take the movement into the next higher level in order to advance towards putting an end to the sufferings of the adivasis, landless and poor peasants, other peasant sections, plantation workers and other toiling masses, dalits,



ordinance, called the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance promulgated in 1942 to assist in suppressing the “Quit India Movement”, part of the struggle against British colonialism. The AFSPA has been operative for years together in large parts of the Northeast region of India and in Jammu Kashmir. The AFSPA empowers security forces to arrest and enter property without warrant, to shoot to kill, even in circumstances where they are not at imminent risk. It’s a license to kill and rape when they want. It has facilitated grave human rights abuses, including extra-judicial execution, “disappearance”, rape and torture. Declaring an area a “disturbed area” and granting the military extensive powers is in practice imposing an undeclared emergency regime. The AFSPA has allowed members of the armed forces to perpetrate abuses with impunity. They have been shielded by clauses in the AFSPA that prohibit prosecutions from being initiated without permission from the Central government. Such permission is rarely granted. If the AFSPA allows the most heinous suppression to be legitimised by the constitutional standards of the Indian state, all of this and worse is being done as part of ‘Operation Green Hunt’ in the battle zones of the people’s war led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in Central and Eastern India, without any pretence of legality and even in open violation of judicial sanctions. Here the victims are mainly the adivasis and dalits at the bottommost layers of society. In a span of ten years nearly two thousand have been killed and countless more brutally tortured, and jailed. This brutal multi-pronged countrywide offensive on people’s various resistances, particularly targeting the Maoist movement, has been raging unabated, since its launch in mid-2009 by the UPA-2 government till date. Preparations for its Third Phase are going on at a rapid pace under the fascist NDA Government. The peoples of Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Jammu Kashmir have been for long victims of the Indian state’s counter insurgency operations. Thousands have been killed by the heartless Indian armed forces. In Manipur alone, according to rough estimates, eight thousand nine hundred and eighty three beloved people have been killed, under the AFSPA. The sixteen lakh indigenous population in Manipur live under the jackboots of one lakh Indian armed forces killers equipped with sophisticated weapons. This is the real face of Indian ‘democracy’. This is the reality of the Indian Republic. It is a prison house of nations. It is a sweat-house for imperialism and its comprador lackeys. It is a torture chamber for the oppressed and exploited. We appeal to the people, to the oppressed nationalities and the exploited, all over India,

Let us all unite to overthrow the Indian state and destroy this monstrosity!

Let us support each other in our struggles!

Let us advance along the path of protracted people’s war guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Let us fan the flames of new democratic revolution and thus serve the cause of the world socialist revolution!

Maoist Communist Party Manipur

Communist Party of India (Maoist)

January 26, 2015

women and minorities, by destroying the existing state and building a new one which will establish the right of adivasis and people over Jal, Jameen, Jungle (water, land and forest), distribute land to the tiller, take over big plantations and hand them over to worker-peasant collectives, and put an end to the social oppression of dalits, women and minorities.

This task is not an easy one. But as rain droplets from the trees drip down to make streams, rivulets, and tributaries to form a big river like Kabani, which in turn sustains the life of all the species on its banks, the combined efforts of all the exploited masses along with Kabani and the other squads can surely achieve this goal.

Now Kabani is no longer a mere river. Like the Son, Mehan, Godavari, Indravati, Tungabhadra, Bhavani and so many others, it flows, throbbing with the liberation aspirations of the oppressed masses.

Unite in struggle against the Indian state!

Joint Statement of Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Maoist Communist Party Manipur.

Under the signboard of globalisation, structural adjustment and open market economy world imperialism has announced its global agenda to further intensify the domination, exploitation and oppression of the people. The current global crisis of world imperialism has further sharpened its attacks, bringing about the inevitability of even more misery, horror, devastation and war, on a world scale. The proletariat and the oppressed people of the world continue to resist this agenda by raising revolutionary struggles, against imperialism and the subservient reactionary ruling classes of different countries, generating a new wave of people struggles all over the world, particularly in the oppressed countries. As Mao had formulated, the oppressed countries constitute the storm centres of world revolution and revolution is the main trend in the world today. The region of South Asia continues to provide a concentrated expression of this truth. South Asia, with more than 1/5th of the world population, is a simmering volcano, as recognised by the imperialists themselves. All the major contradictions in the region are intensifying and call for revolutionary solutions. In India, national liberation movements are continuing in Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland and Manipur. The protracted people's war continues to rage in Central and Eastern India and is now opening up a new front in the South West. Various people's struggles against imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes are also surging forward. India forcibly maintains the oppressed nationalities under its hegemony. Not only does the Indian army of occupation crush their just demands with utmost brutality, they have been pitting one section of the people against the other to drown their just struggles in oceans of blood. This is to be seen in Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Kashmir and Central and Eastern India. Naga regiments are deployed in the latter against the people's war and Indian Army is deployed in Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya to suppress the national liberation movements. The Indian state is more and more functioning as the regional gendarme of US imperialism and thus fulfilling its expansionist ambitions, suppressing people's movements in the sub-continent. Indian rulers have been even more crudely intervening in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. The recent visits of the Indian Prime Minister to various countries in Asia and hobnobbing with US and other imperialists are new steps to preserve and consolidate its political and economic hegemony in South Asia region, contending with China. Barack Obama, the US President, comes as chief guest for the Indian expansionists' show off parade of the 26th to promote this and tighten US control. The Indian expansionist state backed by world imperialism, particularly US imperialism, constitutes the common enemy of the peoples of South Asia. The Modi regime of the BJP is transforming the state into a fascist apparatus to crush all types of democratic movements in India, surpassing all its predecessors. It is attacking worker's rights and going all out to deepen imperialist penetration of the economy. It is imposing Brahmanic fascist values in all spheres of society. The main thrust of this offensive is a new phase of the 'war on people' (Operation Green Hunt) aimed at destroying the ongoing protracted people's war and intensification of suppression of various national movements. This means more fake encounters (of both revolutionaries and common people), more loot, destruction, mayhem, tortures and atrocities on people, more attacks, political and physical, on any kind of opposition, more trampling of civil rights, and more severe repression in various forms on political prisoners incarcerated in prisons all over the country. State violence in India is institutionalised through constitutional immunity to the police, the paramilitary and the army. The most notorious form of this is the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958). The AFSPA has its roots in British colonial legislation dating back to the mid-19th century. More directly, it was based on a British colonial

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