

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

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Class struggle sharpens -

The situation  
after Ramguda



Wander in the 'clouds' !



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## PO'WE(A)R' FRENZY

Abhinandan was a Prisoner Of War in Pakistan for two days after which he was handed over to India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan stated this to be a 'gesture of peace'.

Now we are in an atmosphere of war. After the incident in Pulwama, Indian government made an aerial bomb attack on Balakot of Pakistan 80 kms away from the LoC. As a counter Pakistan crossed the LoC and beat an Indian MIG plane that was chasing it while returning. The Commander of the plane Abhinandan was caught as a Prisoner Of War. All these incidents took place at a rapid pace. All through the BJP tried to utilize the situation in its vested interests. It instigated jingoism in the country. It held many anti-Pak demonstrations all over the country. Within a few hours after the Pulwama incident the Prime Minister stated they would retaliate and punish the culprits. The media too propagated war frenzy that was never seen before. But the media's role was critically observed by many people of the country.

The Pulwama incident is not a separate one. Many such incidents have been taking place for many years. The Indian ruling classes indulged in military actions in Kashmir and murdered thousands of people. It killed more than four hundred youth in fake encounters in the past two years. The Indian ruling classes have been suppressing the aspiration for 'Azad Kashmir'. When the BJP came to power in 2014 it only took up suppression of the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. It was not prepared for talks or consultancies. It wanted to close all the doors for talks and so put all those voicing the people's power and the Hurriyat Conference in house custody or in jail. The 'grand alliance' of 22 parties extended support to the government in this matter.

The people of Kashmir rose against these repressive measures. They threw stones on the police. The people are getting as angry as the government indulges in repression. Kashmir turned into a hub of repression since the BJP came to power. The people and the youth are rebelling in their own methods. They are fighting back the military attacks making enormous sacrifices. After the Pulwama incident the BJP provoked its ranks to attack the students and people of Kashmir not only in Jammu-Kashmir but all over the country. In Haryana a student Shahjahan was severely injured. He and other students escaped and took shelter in the Gurudwaras in Punjab. They reached Kashmir with great difficulty.

There is constant shelling on both sides of the LoC. The Indian ruling classes are trying to isolate Pakistan in the international sphere in the name of terrorism and are trying to impose war on it. These ruling classes have been following war policy since 1965. They made war on Pakistan in 1965 and created Bangladesh through another war on Pakistan in 1971. Through these wars they are trying to war hysteria and fake patriotism among the people of India and are attempting to win the elections and sustain their power. It is beyond doubt that starting from the Congress leader Indira Gandhi to Vajpayee and the present Narendra Modi the policies adopted are the same. While Indira Gandhi was praised to be a goddess who won the war with Bangladesh, Narendra Modi is being praised as a courageous person. Those parties might come to power. But it is a fact that wars have put the Indian people in great difficulties. We now witness war clouds looming over the Indian people in the Indo-Pak border. Apart from it India acts like a 'big brother' towards the South Asian countries and regarding China it behaves like an opponent. If war takes place it shall not be in the interests of the people of India. It is only to fulfill the interests of the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois, big landlord classes. So we have to demand the Indian ruling classes to stop provoking Pakistan. We must utilize the occasion of the unconditional release of the Prisoner Of War and resume peace on the border. The people along the border must be able to live in a better situation.

As the Lok Sabha elections near the BJP chose to instigate Hindu communalism through the issue of building of Ram temple, hatred towards Pakistan and fake development in order to win the elections. However it temporarily stepped back from the campaign of building Ram temple. One who questions in a rational way is branded pro-Pakistan.

The BJP faced utter defeat in the elections of five states last November and December. Especially the defeat in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh where the party had a strong hold was a shock to it. Congress won in a straight contest with the BJP in these states and is enhancing its prestige. With this development the BJP took up certain measures in the present budget to attract the farmers, traders and those of the higher castes. It announced six thousand rupees for each farmer holding less than two hectares of land. It provided ten percent reservation to the economically backward people of the higher castes. It reduced GST. Congress that won the election in these states with the loan waiving scheme for farmers now says 'Minimum Income Support' for the poor.

It is propagating to elect BJP to power for a stable centre and sustained development. Narendra Modi is already making rounds all over the country with this slogan. The opposition parties took up the slogan of 'Defeat Modi' and are trying to prepare a common manifesto. However the parties could not come to an understanding regarding contesting elections jointly all over the country. In Uttar Pradesh the SP and BSP together formed an alliance and put aside Congress. In Bengal and Kerala the left, Mamatha Banerjee and Congress could not unite. So they are planning to contest elections to the best of their strength in the respective states and think of unity after the elections to form a non-BJP government.

These elections too shall not take up the fundamental issues of the people. They only promise in their election manifestos. The country is in great trouble. The farmers are in distress. Unemployment is on the rise. 11 million jobs were lost in 2018 alone. The workers are in difficulties. Education and health have become un-accessible for the common people. Prices are constantly on the rise. The anti-people policies of the Modi government such as demonetization and GST affected the people. The domestic industries were severely affected with letting hundred percent FDI.

Modi himself was caught in the Raphael scam that involved crores of rupees. He waived off three and a half lakh crore rupees for the capitalists of the country. They were provided many facilities. While a few capitalists of the country accumulate their properties rapidly the people of India increasingly become poor. The Modi government severely affected the autonomy of many government organisations including the RBI.

The Hindu fascist forces are attacking secular forces and ordinary people. They are putting democratic forces of the country in jail branding them 'urban Naxalites'. The Supreme Court passed a judgment that the 24 lakh Adivasis without documents (patta) for their lands after 2005 December must leave their lands. This cruel measure is the result of the Modi government's target on the Dalits and the Adivasis. These fascist measures put the people of all classes and sections in severe apprehensions. Due to the attempts of the BJP to build a Hindu raj in the name of 'Naya Bharath' (New India) and its unprecedented service to the imperialists the people are severely affected in the economic, social and cultural spheres of the country.

Brahmanic Hindu fascists shall try their best to come to power in the form of NDA parties in the coming elections. The opposition parties with a common understanding that are part of the ruling classes shall try to bring down Modi and come to power with another name or in the leadership of the UPA. Whichever party comes to power it shall only open the doors of the country much wider for the loot of the imperialists. The imperialists too shall decide their best serving agents. In the present world scenario there are severe conflicts among the imperialists. These too will lead to splits among the ruling parties of the country and influence elections.

The present situation demands intensification of struggles of the peasantry, proletariat, adivasis and women. All sections of the people must come forth in struggles against casteist, religious, regional feelings. They must extend support to the Nationality Liberation struggles of the people of Kashmir and the North-Eastern states. They must especially fight against the Brahmanic Hindu fascist forces of the country. These struggles must integrate and work so as to facilitate the people's struggles. Only then the bourgeois parliamentary politics will become outdated and a political alternative shall come forth. The proletariat must lead this.

Whatever party comes to power in the fake Parliamentary elections the people shall only fall into more trouble. So the need is to –

Fight back the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois parties; Boycott elections; To make success the New Democratic Revolution in the country.

Long live New Democratic Revolution!

# **Boycott fake Parliament and Assembly elections!**

## **Establish People's Revolutionary Political Power!**

### **Accomplish New Democratic Revolution!**

#### **Political Commentator**

Dear Comrades!

The drama of elections to the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha and to that of the, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh Legislative Assemblies is once again coming forth in 2019 April-May. Parliamentary democracy of our country is sham. These deceptive elections are the expression of the competition between the imperialists and between the political parties (ruling classes) that represent the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlord classes. The main objective of these elections is to decide the ruling clique; the ruling clique to serve the interests of the imperialists and exploitive classes of the country and unleash cruel rule on the broad masses for another five years. That is why Marx and Engels stated clearly that Parliament is the veil of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. 'The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie' - *Marx and Engels in Communist Manifesto-Bourgeois and Proletarians – Paragraph 12, last line*).

Whichever Party is in power (NDA in the leadership of BJP, UPA in the leadership of the Congress, the alliance of revisionist parties, regional parties) it is competing to implement 'reforms' of globalization. The regional parties in power in various states too are contending to attract foreign capital and are providing subsidies to the imperialists. Serving imperialism and gaining their interests reached the zenith. FDI penetrated each and every sector of Indian economy. Under Modi's rule FDI was allowed to the extent of 100 percent. Imperialist economic orders fell in crisis and so they are trying for hegemony on the economic orders of the backward countries like India in a much more aggressive manner. In this process those who play a prominent role in opening the doors to the global corporations into the country's economy emerge as Prime Ministers, economic ministers, economists, corporate lawyers, bankers and officers. LPG policies and LIC policy being implemented through the Legislative Assemblies, central and the state governments, government armed forces, courts and media are inviting discontent and anger among the people. Genuine people's revolutionary power is blossoming in the leadership of the Maoist party as

an alternate to this rotten system. Those who can efficiently take up strategic offensives like 'Green Hunt' and 'SAMADHAN' to wipe out this budding genuine people's power win the elections.

The Modi government promised to provide two crore jobs every year. It intensified false propaganda that foreign investments increase the industries in the country, thus modernization and development take place and job opportunities increase in a large scale, that the growth rate of GDP in the country shall reach 8 percent and that unemployment will be abolished. But nothing happened. The vacancies in the various departments were not filled. The NSS report stated a rise in unemployment.

Modi government said that it would explore the 500 billion dollar black money in the foreign countries and put 15 lakh rupees in each bank account. Now it is silent in this matter. This is a big conspiracy. It did not take any action on the rich whose names were exposed in Wikileaks and Panama Papers. It took up demonetization in the name of curbing black money. In fact it stealthily changed the black money of the rich and corporate giants into white and helped them. It affected the ordinary people. As a result the growth rate of GDP came down by one percent. Fifteen lakh jobs were lost. Three lakh small and medium industries were closed. Thousands of crores of rupees were spent on printing new notes. Tax terrorism was unleashed through the GST in a large scale that increased severe economic burden. Small and medium professions and trades faced difficulty and were affected. Two crore people lost jobs due to demonetization, disintegration of public distribution system and reduction of funds to the employment scheme-Narega.

Provision of Minimum Support Price for the farmer's crops and 50 percent profit for cultivation was another promise of the Modi government that was not fulfilled. It protected Lalith Modi, Mohul Chowksy, Vijay Malya and Neerav Modi who stole thousands of crores of rupees of bank money and facilitated them to go out of the country. It provides tax subsidies amounting to lakhs of crores of rupees to the corporate companies in every budget (the amount reached 12 lakh crore rupees in 2015-16

and 2016-17). It waived one lakh 32 thousand crore rupees of loan of these companies to the public sector banks. It did not waive off a single paise to help the farmers committing suicides unable to bear the suffocation of the burden of loans.

With the rise in burden of loans the country is drowned in the mire of loans every year during Modi's rule. According to the 2018-19 budget of the central government the country is bearing a loan of 90 lakh crore rupees. This amounts to a loan of 75 thousand on every new born child.

In the name of welfare programs the Modi government only changed the names of the schemes of the UPA-2 rule and tried to keep the people in illusions through propaganda in the corporate media manipulating those to be its own schemes. It trampled all the promises it made for the welfare of the people and spent Rs.2500 to merely propagate these schemes. It is gradually decreasing the expenditure on social services like health, education, water supply and cleanliness, Manrega, food security, Anthyodaya and other such welfare schemes. It privatized education and health sectors.

The prices are going on increasing. They increased many times. Though the prices of crude oil decreased as a part of the competition between the imperialists the price of petrol, diesel and essential commodities were in record level in the country under Modi. The election promise to control prices became a fib.

Constitutional independent institutions were taken into hold. Modi said 'minimum government and maximum administration' and took all powers in his hands, in the hands of RSS and in his reliable agents. In addition to defense National security adviser Ajit Dobal deals with Home department and foreign affairs. The Modi-Shah-Bhaagavath clique centered power and corruption. It trampled the interests of the country and nominal democracy and established Brahmanic Hindu fascism. They saffronised higher educational institutions and research institutions and appointed Hindu traditionalists as scientists and technologists. Education is being saffronised. Judiciary, CBI, RBI, Election Commission and all such intervene in Constitutional independent systems and made many attempts to take them into control. During the period of demonetization the government made the decision which in fact the RBI was to make. In fact this was an individual decision of Modi in the guidance of the imperialists. Four judges of the Supreme Court came forth the people and had to state that 'democracy' was in danger.

Modi boasted that he 'shall not embezzle and shall not let embezzle' and that he would provide corruption free government. But he is sunk in several scams. The 58,000 crore Raphael war plane scam one of the biggest in the history of the country and other such scams that came to light are a few examples of the corrupt rule of Modi.

Poverty is on the rise in the country. Due to the policies of Modi there is an unprecedented increase in the difference between the rich and the poor and in the property of comprador bureaucratic capitalists and big landlords. Seventy-three percent of the country's property is in the hands of one percent rich and the rest of the 27 percent is in the hands of the rest 99 percent. The one percent rich rose their property to 21 lakh crore rupees by 2017 and the 50 percent poor were deprived of any property. Forty-nine crore people of the country are in a state of not being able to spend a minimum of Rs.20 per day. They cannot fulfill their minimum necessities and are living below the poverty line in hunger.

Though the ruling Hindu fascist clique seems to oppose the imperialist culture is implementing the imperialist culture and the traditional Hindu feudal culture in a blended way. It propagates in a big way that all Indians are Hindus.

This Hindu fascist clique took the cultural heredity of massacres like the one during the partition of the country in 1947, the massacre of the Sikhs in 1984, the 1987 Hashimpura massacre, the demolition of Babir Masjid in 1992, the 2002 Gujarat massacre, the 2013 riots that Brahmanic Hindu fascists created in Uttar Pradesh and is practicing Chanakya policy of the middle ages.

Brahmanic Hindu fascism spread its tentacles. In the leadership of Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhaagavat, the Hindu fascist clique is implementing emergency like situation in the form of Brahmanic Hindu fascism to polarize the society on the basis of religion with the objective to serve the interests of the imperialist financial capital. As a result the Sangh Parivar forces are indiscriminately indulging in violence all over the country. Attacks on the Dalits and Muslim minorities rose in an unprecedented manner in the name of beef. It has become a daily life problem to live as poor and as a religious minority.

It has become a crime to work for the poor under the rule of Modi. The unemployed are arrested for asking jobs, the farmers for remunerative prices, the students for free education, the women for equality, the Dalits for having questioned caste hegemony. People of all classes are

imprisoned in thousands in the prisons. The government is unleashing severe repression on student, youth, women, rights and social activists and is trampling law, justice and humanity.

The indiscriminate seizure of the lands of the Adivasis, farmers and Dalits and handing them to the corporate organisations and bureaucratically displacing them from their villages, towns, traditional lands and homes intensified in a severe manner.

In the name of eliminating the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our Party against the loot of natural resources it unjustly intensified 'war on people'. It is violating the Constitution, laws and the directives of the court and created white terror with fake encounters and scores of massacres in the strategic 'Operation Green Hunt' and later the 'SAMADHAN'. Nearly 420 revolutionaries and 360 people (215 are women) were murdered. Many villages and hundreds of houses were burnt, repressive laws like the 'UAPA' were foisted and thousands were jailed. More than hundred adivasi women were raped and many of them were murdered. Thousands of people were cruelly tortured.

Workers, farmers, urban middle class, domestic bourgeois class were severely affected due to demonetization and GST. Women, Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities of various religious social sections and various nationalities were severely affected in the attacks of the state and Brahmanic Hindu religious chauvinists.

Thus the Modi government exploited and suppressed the worker, peasant, middle class and other such oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities and served the interests of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord classes. All the oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities took up many agitations against this. There were various levels of countrywide struggles of workers, farmers, student-youth, democrats, revolutionary intellectuals, patriots, secular persons, women, Dalits, Adivasis and there were struggles in Kashmir and the North-East. The struggles took militant form in many places and many times. Especially the heroic resistance of the Kashmir nationality against the Indian Army, Para-military and Special police forces with the slogan of 'Azadi' (freedom) brought forth a new model. All these are taking the shape of a broad people's movement against Brahmanic Hindu fascism implemented by the Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhaagavat clique.

Congress is another main parliamentary party. The Congress party is in the forefront in playing a prominent role in slaving imperialism and in persisting the semi-colonial, semi-feudal exploitive system of the country and exploiting the 90 percent oppressed people of India.

The history of the Congress party is fascist attacks on worker, peasant, middle class and other such oppressed classes; on women, religious minorities, especially the Muslims, Christians, Dalits, Adivasis and other sections; on the nationalities in Kashmir, Asom, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, the Bodo and the Gorkha people of the North-East, suppressing human rights and nominal democracy and imprisonment of activists of democratic rights and social activists, cruel repression on the revolutionary movement and the CPI (Maoist).

Coming to the rest of the parties there are parties like National Congress Party (NCP), Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajvadi Party, the Akalidal in Punjab, Sivasena in Maharashtra, Biju Janatha Dal in Odisha, Telugudesam and YSR Congress in Andhra Pradesh, TRS in Telangana, DMK, AIDMK in Tamilnadu, Janata Dal in the form of various parties and groups in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Odisha and Karnataka, Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, National Conference and People's Democratic Party in Kashmir, Aam Admi party in Delhi, Asom Gana Parishat in Asom, Mizo National Front in Mizoram and Janatha Congress in Chhattisgarh. All these parties only slave imperialism and represent comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord classes. Most of them cash the aspirations of the nationalities of the respective states and the aspirations of the Dalit and Bahujana people for liberation. Meanwhile revisionist parties like the CPI and CPI(M) are diverting the struggles of the oppressed people and sections from the path of revolution. When CPI(M) was in power in states like West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura it suppressed people's movements and when in opposition it is opportunistic and poses to be politically on the side of the people. It is nothing lesser to the main parliamentary parties in suppressing the revolutionary movement in the leadership of our Party. All these parties are serving the interests of imperialism and the exploitive class and playing a reactionary role. So we have to concretely expose the real class nature of these parties in the respective places.

1. There is no fundamental change in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social, economic system that propped injustice, exploitation, oppression and suppression and in the nature of its state in the 67

year old history of the fake parliamentary elections in the country. The just and fundamental problems of the oppressed people are not solved. If we look into the history, in fact, whatever the problems of the people might be they were solved only through people's struggles, class struggles and protracted people's war and not through parliamentary forums.

2. The Parliament and Assemblies are nothing but grand chatter clubs. They are the centres of dog fight with accusations and counter accusations. They are a big burden for the people paying crores of rupees of taxes. They cannot implement the policies that improve the living standards of the people. They always represent the exploitive classes and are in their control.

3. These too go for elections like the Parliamentary institutions and other government institutions and are not irrespective of the class character of the class society in a country like India. They serve not the interests of the broad oppressed people but imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord classes. It is a lie to say that they represent the people.

4. All the electoral parties are absolutely against the genuine democracy and self-reliance of the people and the sovereignty of the country. Elections only help a ruling class clique to come to power defeating another ruling class clique. The false parliamentary system cannot provide an alternative to the people.

5. How can democracy exist in a system where votes can be bought with money, liquor and religious and casteist sentiments? Criminals, bandits and infamous corrupt political leaders, communal fascist parties, puppets of imperialism (all the parties), heroes of scams, the murderers who slaughtered three thousand Sikhs, leaders like Narendra Modi and Amit Shah responsible for the murder of more than two thousand Muslims and human genocide win the elections. So it is ridiculous to say this is democracy.

6. The heavily rich and those who have the support of the rich have the chance to contest elections. Even in the main political parties only those who can bribe the High Command obtain the tickets. The vast people only have the opportunity to vote for either of these rich crocodiles or the ruling class representatives. Elections shall be the special right of the rich and the poor will not have any role in it.

7. The Congress, BJP, revisionist (CPI, CPM) parties and the regional parties have to bear the main responsibility for the pathetic conditions of

workers, peasants, middle class people, the oppressed nationalities, women, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, small and medium domestic capitalists. The strong parties and those in power contesting the elections decide the results of elections through rigging. They unleash violence and threaten voters and supporters of opponent candidates. They even kill their opponents. The parties that contest in the areas of the revolutionary movement where the call for election boycott is implemented in an active manner collude with the election officers and police and indulge in rigging.

8. In the semi-colonial, semi-feudal India Constitution is mainly formed in the interests of the ruling classes. The exploitive ruling class parties utilize the same Constitution and mercilessly violate the aspirations of the oppressed people and their primary rights. They destroy the environment. The minimum rights mentioned in the Constitution in the interest of the people are not implemented. Constitution bears the ideology of Brahmanic Hindu hegemony. So it is discriminative towards the religious minorities, oppressed castes, women and Adivasis. Though the right to separate and self-determination is a democratic right of the nationalities the Indian Constitution never recognized it. So the country is a prison of nationalities. The central and the state governments are mercilessly suppressing democratic, human rights, revolutionary movements and nationality liberation struggles.

**The only way for solving the people's problems is struggle and not elections. The path of people's liberation is to bring down the comprador bureaucratic capitalist, big landlord classes and their imperialist masters, establish countrywide people's revolutionary state power and advance the Protracted People's War until final victory.**

**Boycott of elections is a democratic right of the people. Genuine elections take place only in the New Democratic society where they can elect the genuine people's servants – the representatives that depower imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, big landlord classes; that represent the broad oppressed people; that work as an instrument to serve their interests; that lets them choose personally and totally their selfless, efficient representatives to lead them.**

# Revolutionary Alternate Program

We give here a brief picture of the fundamental program of the Revolutionary United Front government, i.e., the New Democratic State in various sectors, that is established on the basis of alliance of four democratic classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities in the leadership of CPI (Maoist), the vanguard of the proletariat to bring about a total change in India.

## **Necessity of a new state machinery-Constitution**

Firstly it is necessary to form a new state machinery and new Constitution for the new social order and its development. The present state machinery-Constitution are working as the main instrument in unleashing neo-colonial exploitation and oppression on the broad masses of the country and lead to the process of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. In addition to this it is also the main instrument to constantly sustain the contradictions among the classes and social sections of the Indian society. For example there are caste based semi-feudal relations in agriculture, hegemony of bureaucratic comprador big capital in industries, contradictions between the centre and the states, deceptive federation of republics, oppression of nationalities, casteist oppression-discrimination, religious oppression-discrimination, patriarchal attitudes towards women, exploitation and oppression of children and many such problems.

It is necessary to correctly solve these contradictions and problems in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and establish New Democratic authority for successful transformation into a Socialist society. For this purpose it is necessary to adopt new state machinery and new Constitution-Laws. This shall include an electoral system to elect New Democratic government. The new state machinery shall be formed on the basis of new electoral system and new Constitution.

The New Democratic state machinery-Constitution shall be a democratic state machinery-Constitution of workers, peasants, urban middle class, domestic capitalists, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the leadership of the proletariat. This shall represent the interests of these four classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities and shall be the main instrument of their development and higher transformation. In order to achieve this, firstly the relations of production that are the basis of the present exploitation and

oppression must be disbanded and those relations of production that shall work as basis of New Democratic state must be established. This shall also abolish the politics and institutions that are based on the earlier relations of production that served and represented the exploitive classes. It shall eradicate social oppression and discrimination. It shall take up continuous revolution in the cultural sector. It shall control the remnants of exploitive classes and the forces that represent the depowered exploitive classes and unleashes New Democratic dictatorship on them, on the imperialist agents, counter-revolutionaries and traitors of the country to educate and transform them. It makes efforts to enhance conscious and active participation of the people in economic, political, social, military, cultural, environmental and other such programs and all affairs of the state for the overall development of the people and the country and to preserve the independence and sovereignty of the country. It shall work in a planned manner in the government and among the people to do away with the differences among the various oppressed classes, social sections and nationalities in various sectors and to take forth the society towards a new higher direction-Socialism. It works legally to control bureaucracy, corruption, partiality, discrimination and other such anti-people, counter-development trends in the power machinery in the Party, government, Army and other sectors. It encourages the people and Mass organisations such as Trade Unions, Democratic political parties and cultural organisations and provides democratic rights to them.

## **Agrarian sector**

The New Democratic state eradicates exploitive relations of production in agriculture. It ends dependence of agriculture on imperialism and Multi-National Companies and develops agriculture in a realistic manner. Presently 30 percent of cultivable land in the country is in the hands of 5 percent landlords. Sixty-five percent of the farmers are landless and poor and possess less than one hectare. New Democratic state seizes all the land from the landlords and religious organisations. It distributes the surplus land to landless, poor and agriculture farmers on the basis of 'land to the tiller'. It waives government, cooperative and private loans of the landless, poor farmers. It controls the lending business institutions that exploit the peasantry. It encourages cooperative agriculture. People's labor

and capital shall be the main basis for this cooperation. The vital aspect is labor. It encourages cooperative councils of consumers and lenders. It takes over all the land in the hands of capitalist farmers, big agricultural farms, agriculture farms of corporate sectors, farm houses, plantations and other such things and pays attention to collective agriculture.

It not only constructs heavy projects in the river valleys for irrigation and generation of electricity but also gives importance to small projects like check dams and small irrigation projects according to the size of the land. It thus takes care of environment and sees that the people are not displaced. In case of an inevitable situation to build a heavy project it takes the approval of the local people and does it without disturbing environment.

The New Democratic state liberates the farmers from ups and downs and the burden of loans. It shall dissociate from the World Trade Organisation. It rejects each and every policy that stands against the farmer. It obstructs the exploitive penetration of Multi-National Companies in agriculture. It bans impotent, hybrid seeds and such agricultural inputs that turn the land into waste. It utilizes domestic seeds and fertilisers in view of the soil and environment and encourages research into them. It provides subsidy on the necessary goods to cooperative councils and small farmers in agriculture. It provides remunerative prices for crops. It firstly makes the country self-sufficient in food and nutrition, guarantees food distribution for cheap rates by giving subsidies. It increases expenditure in government schemes on agriculture and pays importance to it. It will thus take up the principle of 'agriculture as basis and industry in the leadership' and follows the policies of 'walking on two legs'.

### **Industrial sector**

The New Democratic state totally liberates the industries and trades from imperialist control and that of comprador bureaucratic capitalists. It reconstructs the same basing on self-reliance. It seizes all the industrial, bank capital, the capital of share business, the land, buildings and plantations of the imperialists, comprador big capitalists and the unlimited property of the top officials and their money in the banks. It nationalizes all the factories, banks, insurance companies, other financial organisations, research-development departments and other such of the big capitalists and foreign capitalists. It totally eradicates the capital of comprador bureaucratic capitalists and foreign capitalists. It waives the loans through the ruling

classes from the imperialist financial institutions and countries. It also disbands the agreements with imperialist institutions like IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organisation that makes our industries dependent. It rejects imperialist sponsored liberalization, privatization and globalization. It strengthens government capital and imposes ceiling on capital accumulation in the urban and rural sectors.

Since it bases on agriculture industries will be established and developed. It encourages labor dependent industries. It removes the present imbalances between the rural and urban areas. It reduces the increasing pressure of population in the towns by developing the rural areas in a proper manner and developing industries and businesses in these areas. It gradually ends the situation that leads to migration from the rural areas to the urban areas for work and trade.

Now there are mere 7 percent in the organized sector. The New Democratic state gives importance to provide employment in the industries but not profit. It ends contract worker system. It implements six hour work. It guarantees equal wages for equal work of men and women. It totally eradicates child labor system. It provides social security and secured working conditions for workers. It recognizes the right to work as a fundamental right. It goes forth towards the eradication of unemployment. It disbands Special Economic Zones.

The new government shall protect small and medium industries. It limits and controls the domestic capitalist industries and businesses. It totally encourages cooperative movement for the multipronged development of industries, trade and commerce, cottage industries and handicrafts.

### **Right to self-determination of nationalities – formation of voluntary federation**

The New Democratic state shall not try to make any nationality a part of the Indian federation by force like it is being done now. The present Indian expansionist government is suppressing Kashmir with a force of five lakh of the Indian Army. It in fact transformed Manipur, Nagaland, Asom and the whole North-Eastern area into a military state. The new state realizes the right to separate and self-determination of all the nationalities. It provides equal status to all and unites the country depending on equality. Except for aspects like nationality, defense, foreign affairs and currency the nationality in the Indian federation shall enjoy self-reliance in economic, political and cultural affairs. Thus this state establishes a voluntary federation of federal

republics basing on democracy, mutual acceptance and cooperation. It provides equal status to the languages of all the nationalities. It helps for the development of languages without script. It shall not impose any language on the nationalities in the name of national language of link language. It makes efforts for the overall development of various nationalities. It solves the various problems between the nationalities with harmony.

#### **Eradication of oppression and discrimination by caste**

The New Democratic state starts the process of eradicating the caste order rooted in the caste based feudal foundation of the society by destroying the political power of the landlords, by distributing their land on the basis of land to the tiller and with the new power in the leadership of landless, poor farmers (large sections of them happen to be Dalits, Adivasis and from other oppressed castes). It works towards eliminating the Brahmanic ideology, caste discrimination and inequalities, totally eradicating untouchability, the whole caste order completely by adopting special forms of organisation and struggle and developing scientific socialist perspective. It will be harsh towards those who practice caste discrimination. Until then it provides special facilities along with reservations in order to uplift Dalits and other socially oppressed castes.

#### **Equal right to women**

The new state advances towards eradicating all kinds of discrimination towards women. It fights to eliminate male domination and patriarchy. It guarantees equal right to land and property. It abolishes anti-woman social evils like self-immolation of wife, child marriages, dowry and gender discrimination. It punishes those that indulge in them. It bans consumerism, obscene literature that portrays women as commodity, obscene advertisements, beauty contests and each and every such imperialist-capitalist evils. It rehabilitates women trapped in prostitution. It provides social security to them. It liberates women from the prison like house-work and guarantees their partnership in social production and other activities. It encourages special policies to speedily eliminate oppression and discrimination of women. It confirms special facilities for them including reservations.

#### **Autonomy to Adivasis**

This state recognizes the collective ownership of the Adivasis-the indigenous on Jal-Jungle-Zameen. It encourages those communities to utilize them in the interests of the people. It guarantees various self-reliant powers for the total development

of all the Adivasi communities and implements the relevant special policies.

#### **Formation of secular state**

Though they say that the Indian Constitution is secular the Indian state is filled with Brahmanic, nationalist frenzy ideology of 'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan'. The New Democratic state opposes imposing of religion to the state and all kinds of religious fundamentalism. It eradicates atrocities on religious minorities and religion based social inequalities. It implements special policies for the social and economic development of religious minorities. It eradicates the intervention of state in religious affairs. In addition to this it also obstructs the utilization of religion for political objectives. It guarantees individual freedom to follow or not follow religion.

#### **Building New Democratic culture**

Indian society has been one based on caste divided Brahmanic caste and social variations, discrimination, customs and superstitions for thousands of years. Brahmanism is the cultural back bone of feudalism. The new state advances towards the total eradication of frenzy casteism, discrimination of socially high and low by virtue of birth, untouchability and discrimination. It eradicates discrimination towards the Adivasis. It eliminates oppression-discrimination that is imposed on the religious minorities under the influence of Brahmanic Hindu communal ideology. It encourages scientific and rational perspective in the society. It establishes New Democratic, progressive culture in the place of the withering feudal, colonial, imperialist culture. It advances in the direction of achieving Socialist-Communist culture in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

#### **Centre-state relations**

This new state establishes people's political power in all levels according to the people's democratic constitution through the revolutionary people's councils and the people's government organs based on it. It develops the representative assemblies not as chatter clubs or blind follower but as proper executive power centres. It eradicates all the colonial frameworks, laws and influences going on in Indian politics, rule and culture.

This state guarantees freedom of expression (freedom of speech, freedom of writing, freedom of press) and right to meet, right to form organisation, right to strike, right to demonstrate and other such democratic rights. It guarantees

people's participation and people's control power in taking up administrative works daily through state power and obstructs each and every attempt to reduce this power.

It eradicates all the unequal relations between the centre and the states that exist presently and rebuilds them into healthy relations. It solves any problem arising between the centre and the states in practice keeping in view the fundamental program of the federation in a democratic and mutually cooperative manner. Except for defense, foreign affairs and currency it provides self-reliance in economic, political and cultural affairs. The present hegemonic relations between the centre and the states shall not exist. It goes forth towards eradicating the regional inequalities through special efforts for the development of backward areas. It solves problems like distribution of river water and border disputes with common approval.

#### **Welfare state**

It guarantees the right to employment, education and medicine as fundamental rights. It works in a planned manner towards eliminating unemployment. It eradicates the education system that was adopted with the objective to serve bureaucratic big capital and imperialism. It develops democratic and scientific education system that is available to worker, peasant and other toiling people in the interests of the country, that keeps in view the peculiarities and that linked with production. This state implements pension for unemployed and social insurance. It guarantees the improvement of living standard of the people.

It provides the necessary economic and social security and healthy social-culture atmosphere to the physically handicapped, mentally handicapped, old, orphans and others suffering with deficiency of organs. It adopts a people's medical policy that guarantees the best healthy and free medical services to all the people, especially the workers, farmers and other toiling people. The health sector of the whole country shall be in the control of the people's government. It makes the doctors inevitable to go to the hospital.

It eradicates private firms that work for profit in providing drinking water, electricity, transport, communication and other people interest sectors. It brings all the sectors within the jurisdiction of the government. It works to gradually lessen the difference between mental and physical labor. It eradicates all the heavy taxes. It disbands the present tax system and brings forth simple and progressive tax policy.

#### **People's judicial policy**

This state adopts a pro-people, progressive and democratic perspective and implements judicial policy. The judiciary will be so as to reform everyone and guarantees rational justice. In this direction it changes the present judicial policy that involves heavy expenditure and adopts a judicial policy that is accessible to all the people.

#### **Environment-Displacement**

In their hunt for super profits the capitalists of the world, especially of the US and other imperialist countries destroyed environment to such an extent that the survival of earth fell in crisis. The New Democratic state together with other like-minded countries of the world pressurizes the imperialist countries to reduce pollution and to bear the necessary expenditure. It discourages big river valley projects, cutting of forests and other projects that destroy environment. If necessary it bans them.

Six crore people have been displaced until now for the sake of various projects in Indian since 1947. Most of them are Adivasis. The new state does not take up any development projects in any place disturbing the environment without the opinion of the people. If the people would be displaced due to any project that is taken up in the interest of the people, it first guarantees total rehabilitation and employment of them and only then starts the project.

#### **Sovereign country with fraternal relations all over the world**

The new state abolishes all the unequal, anti-national agreements of the present reactionary, anti-people government with the imperialist countries that affect the sovereignty of the country. This state arms the people for the defense of the country. It enhances the role of the people in protecting the country.

The state establishes fraternal relations with neighboring countries contrary to the expansionist greed of the present rulers. It makes best efforts to solve the border problems, the problem of water and other problems in a peaceful and just manner. This state will never exert any expansionist behavior with the neighboring countries.

The New Democratic state implements the below-mentioned five principles regarding relations with countries of various social orders – 1. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Mutual non-aggression; 3. Non-interference in each other internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; and 5. Peaceful co-existence.



## THE ELECTORAL DEBACLE IN FIVE STATES A SET BACK TO 'VIJAY YATRA' OF THE BJP

The BJP government did not address the distress of agriculture. Their assurance to provide two crore jobs per annum has not been fulfilled. Moreover two crore people were pulled out of their jobs and unemployment doubled. In its recent survey the NSS stated an increase of unemployment in the country. Prices, inflation, poverty, hunger deaths and deaths out of ill-health are continuing as usual

Elections were held to the Legislative Assemblies of five states in 2018 November and December and results were announced on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December. People rejected BJP in all the five. While in three states Congress came to power, in Telangana TRS was re-elected and in Mizoram the Mizo National Front defeated Congress.

The anti-people policies BJP followed since it came to power in the centre in the 2014 general elections created havoc in the country. Farmers are increasingly committing suicides due to the agrarian crisis in the rural areas. The BJP government did not address the distress of agriculture. Their assurance to provide two crore jobs per annum has not been fulfilled. Moreover two crore people were pulled out of their jobs and unemployment doubled. In its recent survey the NSS stated an increase of unemployment in the country. The CMIE analysed that the working-age population was 46.1 per cent in 2016-17 and fell to 43.5 per cent in 2017-18 and further to 42.7 per cent in the first three months of 2018-19. Prices, inflation, poverty, hunger deaths and deaths out of ill-health are continuing as usual. In this situation Modi decided demonetization in a unilateral way that finished the last rupee of the people. It affected the entire economic system and the production sector. The living standards of the people fell down abruptly. GST added to this and the people suffered irrevocable blow. Handicrafts, petty trades, small and medium industries were shut, all ways of livelihood was

lost and means of life was closed. The people were already in a state where they cannot buy the minimum necessities. This affected the lives of the people in a negative manner. While all these were irrecoverable losses in the economic sphere, on the other hand there were severe blows to social and political aspects linked to life.

Muslim minorities, Dalits, Adivasis and Women are facing the danger of survival and self-respect due to the policies of Brahmanic Hindu fascist BJP that poses fake patriotism. They target the forces of movement fighting to solve the fundamental problems of the people and the people for having chosen the path of struggle. They turned the areas into war fronts and are making constant attacks under the name of various operations. They are killing in the name of fake encounters. They are making ill propaganda with their control on the media and mechanism. They are trying to build Hindutwa state in the name of 'new India'. The people are vexed with the divide and rule politics of the BJP that is instigating caste, religious and nationality sentiments. Now the Raphale war plane scam of the BJP government is creating ripples in the country.

The results of the elections of five Assemblies shocked the BJP greatly. The Hindutwa forces continue to hegemonise the country in the political and social spheres in the name of 'liberating India from Congress'. They say Adityanadh would follow Modi. After their victory in 2014 they have been trying in several ways to establish their long term objective of Hindutwa raj for the past four and a half years.

The BJP could not gain expected results in any of the state. The Sangh Parivar is apprehensive whether they can sustain their power in the centre in the coming general elections if this state of affairs continues.

The BJP followed the same anti-people policies in the three states as it did in the centre. The people of these states too are vexed. In Madhya Pradesh the farmers are facing acute problem. The government assured bonus through 'sabala yojana' (strength scheme), 'bhavantar

pathakam' (ideas scheme). They brought forth 'e-nayee' (national agriculture market) and said they would hike crop loans to small farmers up to forty thousand rupees. On one hand they are announcing farmer friendly schemes and on the other they fired on farmers demonstrating in thousands in Mandsaur demanding remunerative prices and to waive off loans. Six farmers died in the firing. The people became increasingly angry when the Chief Minister Sivaraj Singh Chouhan supported the responsible policemen. The police manhandled the farmers in Teekamgarh too. With this the Bundelkhand peasantry rose. The 'Vyapam scam' of Madhya Pradesh is the biggest in the country. The government lost prestige with the extent of corruption in this scam. More than forty people who provided evidence in this case were murdered during trial.

In addition to the anti-farmer, anti-people policies the cruelty, atrocity and mob lynching of the ill Hindutwa forces exploited, harassed the people for the past four and a half years.

During the five year rule of Vasundhara Raje in Rajasthan people witnessed suicides of farmers, unemployment, corruption, misappropriation, high prices and other such severe problems. The anarchic, hegemonic policies of Vasundhara Raje led to severe opposition and internal scuffles in BJP. Senior leaders of the party Manavendra Singh, Ghanshyam Tiwari, Jhat leader Hanuman Beniwal and others left BJP. The rise in the attacks of Hindutwa forces increased opposition among the people towards BJP rule. The corrupt rulers enjoyed the funds for schemes like 'Rajasri', 'Bhamasahu' and schemes like 'Annapurna' for farmers. Agrarian crisis, unemployment problem, corruption, Dalits, attacks on the Muslims, sanctions on media, supporting Lalith Modi, the agitation of Jhats and various kinds of crimes increased in the state.

In Chhattisgarh the fifteen year rule of Raman Singh rule looted the very valuable and abundant natural resources for the comprador capitalists of the country and imperialist Multi-National Companies. This led to opposition to the BJP government. The government deployed central and state forces in favor of the corporate forces and took up cruel, repressive attacks and massacres in the name of encounters and atrocities on women. There is absolute opposition in the Adivasi areas. The peasantry and youth of rural areas are migrating in search of minimum employment. There is rise in dissent in the people of all classes (worker, peasant, student and

women) and all sections. Since the BJP came to power there is a rise in attacks of Hindutwa. It is taking up revengeful campaigns like proselytization, banned beef that the adivasis like to eat, insulted their culture and indulged in other such communal actions. This too

led to opposition towards BJP. Salwa judum, Operation Green Hunt and now fascist, destructive campaigns like SAMADHAN are taken up in a bid to wipe out the Communist party of India (Maoist) and the struggle of the adivasi people. The people in the country and abroad protested the policies of Ramansingh government. People of BJP ruled states are irritated with the ruling policies of the centre and the state and so defeated BJP.

The Congress Party gained enough anger of the people of the country with its pro-imperialist policies, exploitation and oppression during its rule. In Mizoram too due to its anti-people policies for the past ten years it faced utter defeat. Though it is a small state and population is less the state is full of thick forests, high mountains and abundant natural resources. Various tribes are fighting for many decades for autonomy. The Congress party failed in providing basic facilities to the people in the past ten years of its rule. It



did not fulfill the aspirations of the nationality. The people and Christian organisations are strongly requesting total ban on liquor but the government does not bother. It did not solve the serious problem of migrants. Poverty rose during the Congress rule. There are serious corruption charges on the Congress leadership in Mizoram. So the people voted against Congress. The Chief Minister lost in two places.

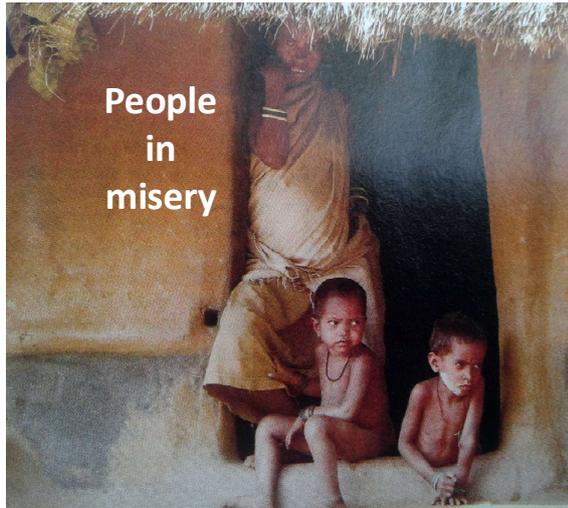
In Telangana the TRS government did not implement any of the promises it gave to the people of the basic classes in the past four and a half years. It did not implement the double bedroom houses and three acres of land for the Dalits that it promised. On the occasion of the Telangana movement and later TRS did not implement any of the promises. It did not provide jobs for students and youth of Telangana. It did not solve the problems of workers, peasants, students, employees, women and all social sections. It implemented repression on those who took up struggle demanding solution to their problems. It lifted the dharna chowk, violated freedom of expression and meeting. Speaking of implementing Maoist agenda it unleashed fascist repression going to the extent of killing the Maoists. Though there is opposition among the people towards the TRS government they thought of giving one more chance and thus KCR became the Chief Minister once more. KCR was criticized for family rule, the TRS government was corrupt and followed anti-people policies. There were attacks on the Dalits and Adivasis, atrocities on women, the farmers committed suicides and unemployment rose. The people shall take up many more people's movements in the coming days. The revolutionary and democratic forces provided leadership to these movements in a much stronger manner and facilitated a strong alternative in Telangana.

Separate Telangana movement is still holding certain ideas among the people of Telangana. During the movement the people developed discontent and disbelief towards the Congress and TDP. Especially we see that there is severe dissent among the people towards TDP and Chandrababu that led the united Andhra struggle against the separate Telangana movement. The formation of great alliance of the Congress party with TDP, the propaganda of Chandrababu for elections in Telangana in the last days helped the TRS to use the Telangana



sentiment. KCR assessed the situation and decided early elections before the opposition of the people towards the Telangana government takes an organized form and before the opposition parties unite. He made the necessary preparations and gained success. The farmers voted for TRS hoping the completion of a few pending water projects and the construction of heavy projects like Kaleswaram. Especially the people of all sections have been provided with immediate economic interests with attractive schemes and thus TRS gained majority. Prime Minister Modi and Governor Narsimhulu supported him. He made agreements with the centre. Even as a temporary government he could gain absolute control on the election commission, government machinery and also made the police mechanism favorable for him. The state election commissioner Rajith Kumar himself agreed that there were shortcomings in the voter's list. The Central Election Commission suspended the Vikarabad Collector for opening the strong room without permission. TRS utilized the government machinery, large amount of money and liquor. The great alliance in the leadership of the Congress party was engaged in adjustment of seats until the last day and was unable to go among the people and ask for votes. This too helped TRS.

BJP was shocked with the results and so is seriously trying to divert the attention of the people from its earlier mistakes. It decreased the slab rate from 28 to 18 per cent on many goods in the 31<sup>st</sup> meeting of GST council. It made more amendments in its 32<sup>nd</sup> meeting. It agrees that the decision to bring GST is wrong in an indirect manner. In the ending days of winter session of the Lok Sabha in a rush it brought the 'Citizenship



People  
in  
misery

amendment bill' providing ten percent reservation for the poor in the upper castes. Both these bills only support Brahmanism. In its budget meeting (vote on account) there were proposals to provide six thousand rupees to farmers holding less than two hectares to be paid in three instalments. This is estimated to cover around 120 million households and cost Rs.75,000 crore in a period of one year. Out of them twelve crore farmers accumulated six thousand rupees each in the banks, subsidies were announced to three crore middle class employees and pension for unorganized workers. Other such attractive schemes were announced to keep the people in illusions in view of elections.

Congress and other 22 opposition parties (except TRS, YSRCP and BJD) formed into anti-BJP united alliance in a meeting in Brigade grounds in

Kolkata. Both the sides are trying in several ways to come to power by deceiving the people and diverting them from the fundamental problems.

Elections are being held for Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies of the states. However the Parliamentary elections did not gain the validity that they are being conducted in a democratic manner. There are many misappropriations in conducting elections. Neither the Central Election Commission (CEC) nor the political parties are responsible. None of the rules specified in the people's representative act is implemented in a total manner. So one cannot expect that the people have the right and chance to elect their representatives in an impartial manner and independently. So these elections are not real elections with people's opinion. There are many misappropriations in conducting elections. The promises of the political parties and the assurances, using large amounts of money and liquor are to surrender the people. They are instigating caste, religion and regional hatred among the people. The ruling and the opposition parties are taking up warning, rigging, booth capturing, booth management and other such undemocratic, anti-judicial policies. They are indiscriminately utilizing their power, government machinery and people's money and are trying to threaten the opponents and to keep the people in illusions with the only objective to win the elections. These elections are not 'for the people, of the people and by the people'. So, true people's representatives will not be elected. For the past 68 years the exploitive ruling classes are ruling the country one after the other.

That is the reason for the first time in the history of the country the CPI (ML) formed in 1969 in the leadership of Charu Mazumdar after the Naxalbari struggle in 1967 gave a call to boycott elections. Since then CPI (Maoist) has been stating that the parliamentary system is integral to the exploitive system; that it did not solve the fundamental problems of the people; and that New Democratic Revolution is the only way. This truth was proved in the past years. The people actively boycotted elections in the leadership of the revolutionary party in the five states, especially in the guerilla base areas, guerilla zones and the areas of the movement in Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Madhya Pradesh. The people's participation in the boycott of elections shows that the people want and know the alternative for this Parliamentary, rotten system.



## *'Yellow vests' movement blooms in France*

*Arun*

Yellow vest is shining bright all over France including the streets of Paris. The weekly demonstrations of the fluorescent yellow vest attired people are posing a challenge to the President of France Emmanuel Macron.

Since last November there were demonstrations on the streets every Saturday. This movement that has been going on for the past five months is revealing in its strength and it is clear that it will continue for a long time.

All those participating in this movement wear fluorescent yellow vests and so the movement got the name. This is also called 'Gilets Jaunes'. The yellow vest now became a symbol of the people's movement and integrity.

The Macron government announced increase of petrol and diesel prices last October. It named it 'carbon tax' and said it would come into effect on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2019. The government says that the tax is necessary to implement the Paris accord meant for the protection of environment and that the consumers will use as much lesser fuel as the rise in tax. Earlier the government asked the people to reduce consumption of petrol and encouraged diesel. This led to an increase of pollution in the country. Imposing carbon tax on the people to solve this is only to cover up the situation. The government is trying to overcome the intensifying economic crisis by taking up many policies imposing heavy taxes on the people. But all these are not meant merely to protect

environment. It is impossible to ban cars running on petrol and diesel by 2040 as the French government expects. People shall protest in a big way against these policies. It is not possible to implement Paris accord without the involvement of the people.

The yellow vest movement started in the social media and all of a sudden entered the streets of the country. The government did not expect that it would spread so swiftly. When this movement gained momentum the President of France was in the meeting of the G-20 countries. The demonstrators declared November 17<sup>th</sup> as a protest day. They blocked the roads and appealed the people for support. The people turned out in unexpected numbers. Nearly three lakh 80 thousand people participated in the demonstrations on two Saturdays in November. They blocked the roads in 2400 places. On the second time on November 24<sup>th</sup> the junction places in the towns turned to be the centres of the protest movement all over the country. Gilet Jaunes took up protest in Lyon, Lille, Toulouse, Montpellier, Marseilles and other places. Five thousand people entered Champs Elysees a few feet away from the residential Elysee palace for one whole day. This incident recalled the revolt of the students and workers in 1968 May-June 50 years back against De Gaul government. Here the conflict between the demonstrators and the French police turned into a major scuffle. Demonstrators built barricades in the streets and

*While economic crisis is suffocating Europe the European ruling classes are supporting right fascist forces in order to divert the discontent among the people. They are diverting the countries towards militarization. They are instigating racial chauvinism against the migrants coming to Europe suffering from poverty due to the destruction caused by imperialist war.*



pelted stones on the police. The police attacked the demonstrators with smoke bombs, water pipes and tear gas shells. Six hundred were injured in the police attack. Macron government deployed thousands of soldiers to suppress the people's revolt against fuel prices in an island under French control in Madagascar in the Indian Ocean miles away from the main land of France. It banned strikes and demonstrators all over the country in vain.

After the first week of agitations the Prime Minister of the country Edward Philippe burst out on the demonstrators. He said they were not bothered to reduce the prices whatever. The interior minister Christophe Castaner spoke harsh on them. This only intensified the movement. They are angry with the imposition of carbon tax on ordinary people while the rich are given many subsidies in taxes.

The movement was started by ordinary people. All the parties, organisations and Trade Unions extended support. As the movement was gaining momentum fascist parties in France the National Front, Debout la France leaders Marine Le Pen and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan expressed support. The French Communist Party described this movement as 'great political resonance'. La France Insoumise (LFI meaning France Unbowed) party leader Jean-Luc Melenchon said that this was 'a popular movement of self-organisation'. People

ranging from fascists to the left and the right parties are participating in this movement. Forty-one percent of the members of Macron's party La Republique en Marche too are part of the movement.

Countrywide Trade Unions came forth in support of the movement and are active participants. The PGT Trade Union of the left initially opposed the movement but soon after announced total support. The unions are strong among the workers of dockyards, refineries, chemical industries, transport and in the construction sector and thus the working class is a major part of this movement. People of various sectors like handicrafts, house-workers, the nurses and the unemployed are part of this Gilet Jaunes movement.

While on one hand the Macron government is providing heavy subsidies in taxes to the corporate classes of the country on the other it is putting heavy burden on the proletariat. It increased taxes on the people. It cut salaries and pensions. It removed public sector employees and is encouraging private sector that gives meager salaries to the workers. It is diverting the resources of the country towards militarization. This year July 13<sup>th</sup> Macron brought forth Military Planning Act for six years in 2019-25. According to it by 2025 the military expenditure of France must rise to two percent of the country's GDP. This expenditure will

increase from 2,420 crore Euros (nearly 3 lakh crore rupees) in 2018 to 30,000 crore Euros (nearly 24 lakh crore rupees) in 2025. Germany too is speeding ahead with militarization. Both Macron and Germany Chancellor Merkel speak of militarization and emphasise that there is a need for 'European Army'. They say that this is the only way in the present international developments.

Earlier to World War II too there were similar developments. People were badly affected with the crisis out of great depression. Unemployment and poverty were widespread. This led to a spate of people's agitations. The ruling classes indulged in severe repression to suppress them. Fascism came to power in Germany in the leadership of Hitler and Mussolini in Italy. The ruling classes of other countries too took up fascist measures. The ruling classes are making severe attempts to put the burden of financial and economic crisis whirling all over the world. The carbon tax of Macron government in France is a part of this. Macron imposes the burden in the name of protection of environment. He uses the cover of Paris accord. But the people of France are struggling against the policies of the ruling classes. Workers and people are in struggle all over Europe. The protest movement in France is spreading all over Europe. The workers of refineries in Belgium took up blockade in solidarity to the people's struggle in France. There were protest demonstrations in Belgium and Serbia too against the rise in taxes.

Thousands of workers of the go-downs of Amazon Company all over Europe took up united movement on November 23<sup>rd</sup>. Thousands of workers took up strike in protest to the work burden on the proletariat in Germany, Spain, Poland, Britain and other countries. On November 8<sup>th</sup> the drivers of the underground Railway in London made a 24 hour strike. This brought the Railway network used by around 8 lakh passengers every day to a standstill. Six thousand conductors were removed from jobs in two private Railways of Britain. They attempted to continue the services with the drivers and so the workers took up 24 hour strike on each Saturday from November 3<sup>rd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> against the decision. The employees of Ryan Airways of Europe took up simultaneous strike in countries like Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and Germany in September. The public sector workers of Greece took up strike against the cuts by the government. The workers of Bucharest metros are on strike for better wages.

The present struggle in France is the most extensive among all the struggles.

While economic crisis is suffocating Europe the European ruling classes are supporting right fascist forces in order to divert the discontent among the people. They are diverting the countries towards militarization. They are instigating racial chauvinism against the migrants coming to Europe suffering from poverty due to the destruction caused by imperialist war.

As a part of the NATO alliance France took part together with the US in the aggrasional wars on Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria. It was also a part in suppressing the revolts in the Arab countries. These put the country in difficulty. With the present protectionist policies and trade wars of the Trump government with the slogan of 'America Number One' all the European countries are in a turbulent situation. The financial and economic crisis of the US that started in 2008 severely affected Europe. Greece, Italy, Spain and other such countries were burdened with loans. At present the Brexit agreement is still not clinched. But the negative results out of the agreement started showing severe negative results on the working and the middle classes of France as a part of that on the European countries. Contradictions continue among the ruling classes as to the policy to be adopted towards the people migrating to the European countries en masse. The government of France took up austerity measures in order to overcome the financial and economic crisis. Facilities like pensions were stopped and led to agitations. Transport drivers took up agitations for several months. Now the Yellow vest movement came forth. People of many classes are participating in this movement. People active in the ruling class politics too are participating in this movement. This militant movement is going on for more than 15 weeks. The movement did not come to a stop with the few subsidies that the Macron government granted. This movement in the present economic and political crisis of Europe, especially in France might give way to new changes in the politics of France.

The Gilets Jaunes struggle must not be influenced by the fascist right forces and must base on the workers, democrats and people of various classes. It must take up fight against the repressive policy of the ruling classes. Only then they can achieve their rights and build a genuine people's movement against the fascist, reactionary, imperialist exploitive ruling classes.



## Fast-growing Indian economy and the fast-expanding poverty

Takshak

Modi has spent four and a half years in trumpeting the fast growing Indian economy and the 'demographic dividend' of the youth in the country. In this period, the rich compradors became richer while the people became more pauperised. Rather than focusing on creating new opportunities for capital formation, he uses his 'baniya tricks' to further exploit the people. The Indian economy has been very badly shaken by the quixotic decision taken by him. He is operating on the principle that the people are for the market's necessities, and not on the principle that the market is for meeting the people's necessities. No matter how much noise Modi and his clique make about the slogan of 'development', it is not unrelated to the market. The Indian ruling classes have propped up the regime of Brahmanical Hindu-fascism under the leadership of Narendra Modi with the main aim of increasing the profit of the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and to speed-up the business cycle of the market.

Under Modi, politics itself has become a commodity in this market-oriented system. That is why, all the rules that govern a commodity apply to politics as well. The contract for managing election campaigns has already been outsourced by parliamentary parties to foreign and domestic private corporations. It will not be surprising if tomorrow they are given the contract of running the government or for making legislations. Needs produced the market, and now the market is producing needs. If the purchasing power of the people increases, there is an expansion of the market. Modi has forced the Indian people to change their attitude towards spending and attracted them more and more towards the market. Jan-Dhan policy, Digitalisation and the consumerist frenzy have been spread to the villages as well. Due to this, the attitude of saving for the hard times has got weakened and the culture of spending all the money one had at one's disposal or spending beyond

one's means has been promoted and established. 'Overdraft tendency-trend' is not confined to the banks alone, but is seen as a trend towards spending beyond one's means; it is reflected in the practice of taking excessive risk on all issues. This leads to the possibility of bankruptcy at any time. This market frenzy has made the gap between the rich and the poor look like the gap between the earth and the sky.



### Four years of Modi rule devastates the economy and the people

India has become the sixth largest economy in the world with a net worth of 2.439 trillion dollars. In 'Ease of Doing Business' index, India has jumped from 130<sup>th</sup> place to the 77<sup>th</sup> place, Mukesh Ambani becoming the fifteenth richest (with 3 lakhs crores) person in the world, the number of billionaires in the country going up to 831, toll plazas on the highways using hi-tech machines to cut coupons, installation of CCTV cameras from crossroads to temples, malls selling everything under a single roof from

vegetables to computers, the IT network, police using GPS and drones for conducting surveillance – in all these India's 'progress' can be witnessed. At the same time, 79 percent of India's population are forced to live in poverty (21.2 percent of the population lives on 1.90 dollars a day, while the rest 58% on 3.10 dollars a day. In contrast, it is to be noted that Mukesh Ambani earns 300 crore rupees a day). Farmer's suicide has gone up three times, the rate of unemployment has gone up to 7.3 percent, 65 crore people are deprived of the basic necessities, high-level pollution of water, air and the entire ecology in general, 1 percent people of the country owning 73 percent of its wealth, inflation 4.6 percent, the fiscal deficit 3.5 percent and current accounts deficit 2.5 percent, the rate of GDP declining by 2 percent, continuous devaluation of the rupee and it reaching 74 rupees per dollar, mounting losses of the public sector banks,

bankruptcy or destruction of small and medium-scale industrial plants, foreign debt reaching the level of 513 billion dollars – all these show the second picture of India.

It is a deception to present the massive growth in the wealth of a handful of comprador capitalists as the rapid growth of the Indian economy; the reality is that the condition of the economy has gone from bad to worse. There is large-scale disaffection and unrest among the people due to this. The share of agriculture in GDP has come down from 17.32 percent to 14.4 percent, even though 47 percent of the population is still dependent on it. The share of the industrial sector which employs 22 percent of the population has 31.5 percent. The service sector's share in the country's GDP is 54.1 percent even though it gives employment to 31 percent of the population. The rate of growth in the industrial sector has come down from 8.2 percent to 4.4 percent in the last four years, while that of agriculture has 0.2, 0.6, 6.3, and 3.4 in the consecutive years. Average income of agriculture families is 8931Rs. The current account deficit has grown from 1.5 percent to 2.5 percent. It has been claimed that the number of borrowers has gone up by 50 percent, but the amount of government revenue has not grown. In September 2017 it was 92,150 crore rupees which became 86,703 crore rupees by January 2018. According to a report by SBI E-corp, there is a possibility that there will be a shortfall by 90,000 crore rupees in collection of indirect taxes during 2018-19, whereas though the target of GDP for this period is 7.44 lakh crore rupees, it will not go beyond 6.78 lakh crore rupees. In the present budget, the picture is rendered even murkier than usual by the largest gross domestic product (GDP) growth of 7.2 percent for 2018-19. Based on the revised figures for 2016-17 and 2017-18 issued by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), it appears that GDP growth for 2018-19 would be closer to 6 percent! If the 7.2 growth is to be achieved, the annual rate of growth in the industrial sector has to be around 10-11 percent and that of agricultural sector around 4 percent. As per the ASER report of 2017, 59 percent of the youth in India has never worked on a computer and 64 percent has never used the internet. So the trumpet of Modi's 'demographic dividend' does not make any sense.

### **Modinomics is the higher form of Manmohanomics**

Modi-Jaitley had two paths open before them: (1) to expand the economy by increasing government investment with the aid of domestic investment, (2) to expand the economy by reducing the current account deficit and increasing foreign

investment. It is not possible to take the first path suddenly. In fact, both the paths ultimately lead to serving the interests of finance capital. Nevertheless, the first path requires such a rapid domestic capital formation, about which we can only hear in announcements and declarations but has not materialised on ground. Therefore, Modi and Jaitley had to follow the path opened by Manmohan Singh. The rate of liberalisation was not enough for the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, so they removed Manmohan Singh and installed Modi in his place. As per their expectations, Modi has opened up the remaining sectors of the economy too for 100 percent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). But after the coming of the Trump regime, the protectionist policies have destroyed this game. The Planning Commission which used to prepare the five-year plans, has been replaced by the 'NITI Ayog', which has delayed policy-making and brought uncertainty and instability in the economy. Among the four established economists working for the government who have been supporters of liberalisation, Modi has already removed three of them – Raghuram Rajan, Arvind Subramanyam and Arvind Pangharia – while Urjit Patel, resigned to keep up his professional dignity and maintain the institutional autonomy of the central bank. Even when these four were with the government, Modi seeks to take control of the central bank in order to put it to use in the general election. S. Gurumurthy (RSS ideologue and convener of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch), S.K. Marate were appointed to board by Modi to clinch several battling issues in favour of BJP government. Modi needs such persons who are trained in RSS's 'shakhas' who can keep the balance between Brahmanical hypocrisy and maximum capitalist exploitation, who can seize the people's purchasing power and transfer it to the compradors to further centralise capital in their hands, and who can make such policies that the people start perceiving this extra exploitation itself as 'development'.

There has been such disorganisation in the economy that even after the existence of the finance ministry and the government economic advisors, Modi has formed a Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council in September 2017. This includes Niti Ayog chairman Vivek Debroy, Surjit Bhalla, Rathin Roy, Asim Goyal and Ratan Wattal. What is to be particularly noted is that this Council did not include the Chief Economic Advisor Arvind Subramanyam.

Domestic trade and business suffered due to the uncertainty prevailing in government policy-making. There is no guarantee what new policy or

announcement Modi is going to make tomorrow. Due to this, there is an atmosphere of confusion and fear among the owners of small and medium-sized enterprises and many of them have gone out of business. But the capitalists close to Modi and the big comprador capitalists have profited enormously from this. Demonetisation, GST, E-way bill, various kinds of registration, etc., many people belonging to the petty and middle bourgeois classes have become bankrupt. Since it is not possible for companies without GST registration to give jobs to the workers, artisans coming from the small towns and suburbs have lost their livelihood. On the one hand, 20 lakh enterprises have been said to be still out of GST registration, but they have been forced to register for inter-state business transaction. Due to this, the complexity in conducting business outside one's state has become more acute and the assurance of 'One Nation, One Tax' too has proved to be a hoax. In the name of controlling tax evasion, the taxation system has been made so complex that it has become a big difficulty to complete the formalities. To control the damage caused by growing disorganisation in the economy, taxes have been repeatedly reduced. Due to the sudden withdrawal of the 'Duty Drawback' scheme, 20 percent exporters have stopped the delivery of their consignments. There has been a loss of between 50 to 70 percent due to this. There has been a reduction in bank loans by 50 percent. The number of new projects has gone down by 21 percent to become 637. In Modi's 'fast-developing' economy investment is declining, agricultural growth rate is declining, there is reduction in taking bank loans, under-utilisation of the capacity of industrial plants, electricity production by power plants is running below capacity and employment opportunities are shrinking.

The five crises created by Modi & co. in the country in this way are: (1) more than a half of the population are living in poverty, (2) agrarian crisis, (3) decline in manufactured products, (4) the trade deficit became the highest after 1950 (the trade deficit of India with China is equivalent to China's annual defence budget of about 60 billion dollars. (5) the crisis of unemployment created by the above-mentioned crises. These have led to two further problems of government revenue collection and growing NPA of the public sector banks.

The 'development' mantra of controlling foreign investment, exports and the fiscal deficit was uttered by Manmohan Singh as well as Narendra Modi (this was the mantra given by the World Bank in the 1980s). When the signs of failure were apparent, additional surplus value was sucked out

from the masses through Demonetisation, GST, digitalisation of welfare programmes and Jan-Dhan which left the masses pauperised.

#### **India's development on the crutches of foreign investment:**

The direction of the policies for economic development is dependent on the crutches of foreign investment. And these crutches are dependent on the credit rate of the US Federal Reserve, the policies of the European Banks, on the state of the fiscal deficit, on the level of mechanisation (robotics and other advanced technology that replaces human labour), on liberalisation and corruption, etc. The biggest source of foreign investment that is entering India is coming from Mauritius. Known as a tax-haven, it is working as a machine to convert Black Money generated in India into White Money in the form of foreign investment. This means that with the growth of corruption, the amount of foreign investment will also grow proportionately; that is why the comprador capitalism's engine of growth is nothing but corruption. In this way, the Indian economy is so badly entangled in the net cast by imperialism that it is not only impossible to restore it, no matter how much hopping and skipping the likes of Modi does – such tricks will only tighten the net that is suffocating the economy. The credit reserve ratio (CRR) of the US banks has been increased regularly by the US Federal Reserve. The US central bank Federal Reserve has increased the rates from 0.25 and has given signs of increasing it four more times. As a result, there is a flight of capital from the developing countries. In spite of his dramatics at the Madison Square, Modi has been unable to bring in foreign investment. The European Central Bank (ECB) did not increase the CRR but has decided to discontinue the buying of bonds which was a part of the bail-out package. China has also increased the rates and Japan too is conducting meetings for this purpose. All these developments have affected the rate of foreign investment in India. From April to October 2018, investors have withdrawn a total of more than one lakh crore rupees from the share market (shares and credit). In this period there has been a decline of foreign investment by 40 to 59 percent. Investment in P-Notes (participatory notes in the Indian capital market - FPI) has got reduced to 1.28 lakh crore rupees. Protectionist policies made the situation even more difficult.

India is falling behind in foreign investment in spite of all the efforts made by Modi & co. He could manage only \$239 billion during the last 5 years. The US and China are way ahead in this field. The top 100 companies of India have their presence in

49 countries. Instead of producing a commodity at home, they are considering it more profitable to serve as agents of foreign corporations. They feel safer in limiting themselves to the production of machine parts by joining the value-chain of foreign brands (commodities) and their owners. They are giving priority to act as compradors not only in manufacturing but also in the capital market. It becomes clear if we examine the recent Rafale deal, which have been repeatedly modified, that the capability of the Indian companies has been visible not in the production of commodities but in acting as compradors.

Demand for commodities in the market continues to be weak. As a result, production capacity is not being fully utilised in the manufacturing sector. In such a condition, no one will come forward to invest in new manufacturing plants. Most of the foreign investment coming to India falls under the category of 'Greenfield Investment', which means that it is not meant for establishing new factories

or projects. In fact, most of the investment comes under the category of 'Brownfield Investment' which means that they are meant for upgrading the already existing enterprises. Current accounts are showing that whereas FDI in the third quarter of 2016-17 was 9.7 billion dollars, it came down to 4.3 billion dollars in the third quarter of 2017-18. Foreign investment in India was strong when wages were still low. Now highly-skilled labour is becoming relatively more expensive in India as well. In any case, due to the use of robotics in manufacture, demand for human labour has come down significantly. All the capital-intensive factories are being shifted from developing countries back to the US and Europe, which is also a reason for the drying up of foreign investment. According to a new survey by the World Economic Forum titled 'The Future of Jobs 2018', 58 percent of the production work will be done by direct human labour by 2022 while as much as 42 percent of it will be done by machines and robot.

The engine of the economy of any country can only be its domestic capital, while foreign investment

plays a supplementary role. How much capital is being formed in India from its indigenous sources? India has a foreign debt that amounts to 68.70 percent of the country's GDP. The real growth of an economy can be understood from the index of the 'Gross Fixed Capital Formation' (GFCF) (this index was introduced in 2011 which is measured separately from the GDP index). While it was 35.6 percent in 2011-12, it became 28.5 percent in 2017-18. This clearly shows that domestic capital formation has declined under Modi rule. This is not a sign of development but of a setback. Though these were under Manmohanomics, Modi government has failed to overcome the hurdles of basic infrastructure, energy production and recovery of bank loans. In order to cover up its failure in domestic capital formation, Modi is now going to sacrifice the 'Maharatna' and 'Navaratna'

companies. Exchange Traded Fund 'Bharat-22' has been introduced and through this, plans have been made to generate 1 lakh crore rupees by privatising public sector enterprises. But they are not touching the 3,000 crore tonnes of gold hoarded in the temples.



Chaos reigns in every sector while the share market is having a field day. The share market is having an upswing not due to Modi's foreign trips, nor is it an index of development. The small savings of the people was 25.2 percent of the country's GDP in 2010, which has come down to 18.6 percent in 2017. This is due to the reduction of interest on small savings. Domestic investors – particularly the small-scale investors – have turned to mutual funds as a result of demonetisation, GST, RERA, etc. as a result of this. According to Association of Mutual Funds in India (AMFI), domestic investors have bought shares worth 28 billion dollars. This is almost equal to the amount of foreign investment. The mutual fund assets were 10 lakh crore rupees in May 2014, which became 19.97 lakh crore rupees by 2017. This investment is coming mostly from small towns and the suburbs. It has nothing to do with Modi's foreign trips. Now looking at the growth in the mutual funds, Modi government has immediately set up 'payment banks' for the benefit of the compradors. Following this, Jio-Bank was established with Ambani's share

of 70 percent and SBI's share of 30 percent. Eleven other 'IT sharks' too have jumped into the sea of payment banks, which will seize upon the capital generated from the sources of mutual funds.

### **Outdated policy of export-oriented development:**

At a time when exports needed renewed strength, demonetisation and GST were imposed, resulting in the lowest exports in the last 15 years. In the period between April and October 2018, exports grew by 13.27 and reached 191 billion dollars. In the same period, imports grew by 16.37 percent and reached 302.47 billion dollars. In the same way, foreign trade deficit grew to 111.46 billion dollars in the first seven months of 2018, which was 91.28 billion dollars the previous year. Foreign debt has reached 513.40 billion dollars, marking an increase of 41.6 billion dollars or 8.8 percent.

The model of export-oriented development was implemented in the US, Japan and the European countries till the 1970s. Thereafter, China too grew by depending on this model in the 1980s. But this model has become outdated by now. The economy cannot be sustained merely on the basis of export alone. The economists close to the establishment still consider exports and foreign investment as the engine of development. From China to the US and many European countries are themselves giving more emphasis on the domestic market. And despite India taking a blow on its face, it is still depending on the concept of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) introduced in the 1980s. The import duty on 19 items including air conditioners, fridges, shoes, washing machines, etc. and on 328 cloth-made products it has been increased from 10 percent to 20 percent. In spite of this, Indian industrial sector will neither be able to compete in the international market nor will it be able to reduce the foreign trade deficit. While the current account deficit in 2016-17 was 1.5 percent, it jumped to 2.5 percent by 2017-18. It is probable that this will further increase to 3 percent or more during 2018-19 (as per the estimates of Japanese firm Nomure). The ongoing trade war and the rise in crude oil prices have increased this problem. Protectionist policies have made this problem even more acute. In the period of crisis, the trade wars among the imperialists take a visible form, during which it is considered safer to protect the home market and develop it. In the trade of developing countries where imperialist capital plays the main role, the main basis of capital formation in these countries (agriculture, basic infrastructure, energy, skill development) has not developed and is in the clutches of imperialist capital, and it is the need of the imperialists to

increase exports by depending on increased imports. Even if import grows in this way, it does not help countries like India to develop their economic basis but takes the form of profit that gets accumulated as imperialist capital. In such a scenario, even if there is export-oriented development, this will only be for the compradors.

### **Modi's game with oil:**

The import of crude oil has increased by 3 percent, while the import bill has gone up by 20 percent. The import bill for crude oil has increased by 26 billion dollar and reached 118 billion dollars in the present financial year. Foreign currency reserves have declined from 420 billion dollars to 368.03 dollars. Crude oil deposits have been discovered in Mumbai offshore, Krishna-Godavari basin and other places. These discoveries were made by public sector companies, but the leases for them were handed over to the Ambanis at a mere pittance which did not give any priority to start their production. But the people have been sucked dry through the increase of oil prices. In 2014 crude oil price per barrel was 107 dollars which has come down to 85 dollars by now. Crude oil prices in the recent past had declined to around 54 percent but the people were not allowed to benefit from it. But whenever there is a rise in the crude oil prices, the price of diesel and petrol are immediately increased. The central government earns 665 crore rupees daily from excise duty on petroleum products. State governments earn 456 crore rupees from them in the form of VAT (Value-Added Tax). The daily net profit of the petroleum companies is around 120 crore rupees. The government has increased taxes 12 times and earned 13 lakh crore rupees in the last four years.

### **"Na Khaunga Na Khane Dunga" (Neither will I embezzle, nor will I allow embezzlement):**

From the parapet of Lal Quila, Modi had announced that he will neither embezzle nor allow embezzlement during his government's rule. But his real face is coming open in the last four years. He has opened up all the avenues for corruption. Institutional corruption has peaked under Modi rule. NPA of the banks, LOUs, LOCs and foreign agreements are the means through which comprador capitalists, politicians, bureaucrats and agents together have embezzled millions and billions of rupees under Modi rule. This loot is being continued by giving it a legal cover. The example of Adani will suffice to make this clear. Adani was given the contract to set up electrical transmission lines in the northern part of Maharashtra. But Adani gave the contract to its surrogate company PMC. PMC

further sub-contracted the project to another Adani company EIF based in Dubai. EIF bought equipment worth 65 million dollars from South Korea and China through 26 orders and sold it to PMC at 260 million dollars. It gave Adani a 400 percent profit. 860 percent profit was earned in another purchase from Chinese companies. The total value of assembling reached 1,500 crore rupees. EIF is controlled by EIH Company – a Mauritius-based company owned by the Adani brothers.

The Rafale scam worth 58,000 crore rupees in purchase of fighter jets, in which instead of the earlier decision to buy 126 jets, the decision was suddenly taken to buy 36 jets. The price of each jet was hiked from 526 crore rupees to 1671 rupees. Anil Ambani set up a company overnight called Reliance Defence and it was given the contract to work in a joint venture with Dassault Company of France to produce Rafael jets. In this way, Ambani earned a direct profit of 22,000 thousand crores without doing anything. Quatrochi had embezzled 8 to 10 crore rupees in the Bofors deal. Modi's Rafael deal is the biggest defence scam till date. It is worth noting that Anil Ambani has a debt of 1.25 lakh crore from various banks which it has not been able to return and is therefore at the top of the list of defaulters.

NPA was 2.6 trillion in March 2014 which grew to 10 trillion in Jan 2019. This is after the waiving of 4.58 trillion as 'bad debts' (waiving of bad debts means that the government will collect it from the people to make up the loss). Now to give legality to these scams and to recover the loss due to bad debts, the government is bringing the FRDI (Finance Regulation and Deposit Insurance) bill. All this is to hand over the wealth of the country and its people to the big capitalists.

In 2014 the total NPA of all public sector banks was 4.10 percent, which has grown in Modi rule and became 10.21 in September 2017. This also includes Modi's dream project called Mudra Bank. The NPA of this bank has gone up to 14,358 crore rupees. Indian banks issued Letters of Understanding and Letters of Credit worth 1.95 lakh crore rupees to foreign banks as guarantee. This big amount is unlikely to be recovered. The largest amounts of LOUs were issued in 2017. Banks are incurring a loss of 217 crore rupees per day and 9 crore rupees every hour under Modi rule. The growth of bank deposits has declined after demonetisation and reached the lowest level after 1963. 23,000 cases of bank fraud involving over 1 lakh crore rupees have been registered during Modi regime.

In 2018, 27 government and 22 private banks have written off loans worth 3, 67,765 crore rupees.

The public sector banks have earned a profit of 9.20 lakh crore rupees in the last ten years and the 6.67 lakh crore rupees have been written off as bad debts during the same period. It is obvious that this amount had to be made good from their profit. That is why the profit has been only of 2.63 lakh crore rupees. Colluding with comprador big capitalists, the government has defrauded the banks and since this money too is not enough, it is asking the RBI to grant it 3.60 crore rupees to rescue the banks from bankruptcy.

Finance Minister Arun Jaitley has advised the state governments not to waive the farmers' loans. On the other hand, on 24 October he declared the plan to recapitalise the banks with 2.11 lakh crore rupees, out of which 1.35 lakh crore rupees will be collected through Recapitalisation Bonds and 76,000 crore rupees through budgetary allocations. The government had to take control of another defaulter company called Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services (ILFS) because it had a loan of 91,000 crore rupees and started to default.

Apart from Vijay Mallya, Mehul Chauksi and Neerav Modi scams, there have been other scams too. Punjab National Bank was involved in a scam of 11,346 crore rupees. Those who deliberately default on their loans has a debt of 15,490 crore rupees. The proprietor of Rotomac was involved in a bank scam of 5,000 crore rupees. In the last three years, 18,000 rich persons left the country. It is not known how many of them are involved in scams. According to a preliminary estimate, they have embezzled nearly 22,000 crore rupees from the banks. The main methods of Modi's corruption are LOUs, NPAs and foreign agreements.

Now it is clear that demonetisation and GST were steps to wreck the economy. Of the 500 and 1000 rupee notes worth 15.41 lakh crore rupees, 99.30 percent have been deposited into the bank after demonetisation. 3 lakh small businesses have gone bust, due to which two crore workers have lost their jobs. Dark clouds have gathered above the service sector, the infrastructure sector has almost been halted, and the losses incurred by small and middle peasants can never be recovered. Modi who promised to double farmers' income by 2022 has imposed 12 to 18 percent GST on agricultural implements which were tax-free earlier. Business is facing a recession due to demonetisation and GST. In any modern business the period of payment of taxes is between three to six months. But GST has to be deposited every month, which is creating the problem of reduced working capital. The businesses of the transporters, particularly of the small transporters, have stagnated due to E-Way bill. But

this has helped Mukesh Ambani to rise to the 15th position in the list of the world's richest persons with a net worth of 41.9 billion dollars. There has been an increase of 25 percent to the richness of the moneybags. People had to queue before the banks for three months to change their notes, due to which more than a hundred persons lost their lives. There has been a loss of 2.15 lakh crore rupees in printing and distributing new notes, changing old notes and other related activities. The comprador capitalists themselves are saying that if steps like demonetisation, GST and RERA were not introduced, the economy could have grown by over 10 percent annually. The country had to suffer a loss of 12 lakh crore rupees as a result of demonetisation.



### **The promised 'good days' ('Acche Din') of Modi**

The reality of Modi's 'Acche Din' ('good days') and 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' is as follows: India occupies 175<sup>th</sup> position out of 223 countries in the list of infant mortality rate. According to the world hunger index, India is at the 103<sup>rd</sup> position out of 119 countries. In education India comes at 145<sup>th</sup> position out of 197 countries. On health India occupies 185<sup>th</sup> position out of 195 countries. In the World Happiness Index India is at 122<sup>nd</sup> position out of 155 countries. In human development index, it is in 131<sup>st</sup> position out of 189 countries. Likewise, on the question of freedom of the press, India occupies 138<sup>th</sup> position out of 180 countries. India is home to the largest number of children with malnutrition. 30 crore people are forced to live in hunger. 35 crore people are still illiterate. Showing the level of inequality in the country, the remuneration of the top corporate bosses are 1,200 times more than the workers' wage. The government's budget should allocate 16.6 percent as per the 'Special Component Plan' for the Scheduled Castes. But Modi has been reducing this amount continuously since 2014. Today if we look at the period 2018-19, the backlog of funds has reached 2, 75,772 crore rupees. This amount which was meant for the development of Dalits has been stopped by Modi. There has been a 61 percent increase in the number of rape and a 133 percent increase in cases of child abuse. Be it the attack of the Adivasi people by the mercenary armed forces of the state, state violence through the slapping of cases under Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), atrocities against Dalits and

the democrats, attack on people's culture and food habits, attack on religious minorities – in one word, Modi government is waging a war on the people of the country. The state of pollution is such that 18 lakh Indians died due to it in 2015. India has 13 of the 20 most polluted cities in the world. In Delhi alone, the lungs

of 44 lakh children have been damaged permanently due to pollution. If there is not even 'Breath in India', then how can there be 'Make in India'?

### **From the viewpoint of the proletariat**

If we look at the present crisis in the Indian economy from the point of view of the proletariat, we will find that it is not merely an economic crisis but is in fact a crisis of comprador capitalism, i.e., of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. As a result of the crisis in the worldwide imperialist system, the world economy is swinging between the policies of liberalisation on the one hand and protectionist policies on the other. India too is gripped by this crisis. The real cause of the crisis in Indian economy is its comprador state-power controlled by imperialism. This state power prevents the forward movement of the Indian economy; its vast labour power has been held hostage by comprador big capitalists, big landlords, and Imperialist political and economic chains. Comprador capitalists in countries like India have only that much freedom with which they can decide how much share they can take and from whom. Apart from serving the imperialist finance capital, there is no independent economy of the compradors. Neglect of agriculture, lack of basic infrastructure, preparing and exporting talented persons in the interest of the imperialists, suppression of vast talents due to the red-tapism and Brahmanical attitude – these are some of the shackles binding the Indian economy.

The economic essence of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist rule of Modi is to speed up the pace of crisis-ridden finance capital. If this comprador big capitalists, big landlords rule continues, the economy will not develop to its full potential and whatever surplus value is produced will only go to enhance the personal wealth of the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The country's future will not change until these billions of ill-gotten dollars and tonnes of gold are seized and put in the present fist of the vast toiling people.



## **Class struggle sharpens People opposing the state vehemently - Becoming self-reliant The situation after Ramguda**

**Bhuvana Chandra**

The CPI (Maoist) lost 31 beloved comrades in the Ramguda incident in the cut off area in Malkanagiri district of Odisha in the Andhra-Odisha Border Special Guerilla Zone on October 24<sup>th</sup>, 2016. This is an unprecedented incident in the history of the Party. Two SZCMs, two DvCMs, 11 ACMs, 7 PMs and nine members of mass organisations and militia died in this incident. They died heroically fighting the encirclement of government mercenary armed gangs and became martyrs.

They also placed the truth before the people that the government took up this attack in a bid to eliminate the Party and PLGA, to stop the advancing the Agrarian Revolution and to facilitate the domestic and international corporate organisations to take up bauxite mining and gain profits. The people of this area came forth and cooperated with the fact finding mission. The support and cooperation of the middle class intellectuals to the adivasi peasantry provided them great solace and courage. Even after such a



This incident is a severe loss to the entire Party and especially to the AOB Guerilla zone. The revolutionary, democratic organisations, individuals and oppressed people were severely disturbed at this loss. They expressed anguish but their social responsibility made them support the adivasi peasantry and their just movement in Ramguda area. They visited the site of encounter in phases, took up fact finding and exposed the facts. They said that in this incident the government armed forces started firing unilaterally, caught nine unarmed militia members and a few PLGA members in an injured, immobile state and killed them in the utmost cruel manner.

massacre the adivasi peasantry is confident enough in opposing the government bureaucratic offensive. They are courageous, firm, demonstrated initiative in bringing the facts and also instilled great confidence in the advancement of the movement among the intellectuals.

The government has been propagating that the AOB movement has been wiped out trying to create confusion among the Party, PLGA and Mass Organisations, to disturb their enormous confidence in the advancement of the movement and encouraged surrenders. But this incident did not create disappointment, despair or vacillation among the ranks of the Party, PLGA and mass

organisations. They started to much more sharpen the fulfillment of their task to take forward the ideals of the martyrs. The cadres of the Party and the PLGA started meeting the families of the martyrs from the next day of the incident, shared their grief and lent courage to them. They called upon the people to rededicate themselves to the movement for achieving the just political rights and to fulfill the ideals of the martyrs. The local Party, people's organisations and the militia set themselves to fulfill the task in spite of their mounting grief. With the beginning of the third phase of Operation Green Hunt military offensive in an intense manner, the Party started to prepare the people in a much stronger manner to intensify the Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla War. It intensified efforts to organize the people towards the direction of the formation of guerilla base with the objective of achieving state power.

In this process class struggle gained momentum and people's consciousness gradually enhanced. After the Ramguda incident they boycotted the local panchayat, samithi and district council elections in 2017 January and expressed their severe resentment towards the exploitive ruling classes of the country and their fake parliamentary democracy. The people of 18 panchayats boycotted elections. The people also identified the informers that cooperated and informed the police at the time of Ramguda incident in a short time and punished them in the leadership of the Party and PLGA. They almost cleared the local police informer network within six months.

With this blow to the important informer mechanism of the enemy there was a temporary lull in the police attacks. However the intelligence network of the police department started preparations to take up another major offensive to eliminate the rest of the leadership of the Party and the PLGA. The people utilized this little time, took up the tasks the Party formulated and got into practice. They celebrated the martyrs' day on July 28<sup>th</sup> in 2017 in a grand manner than ever. They built martyr's memorials in many villages. In villages like Guruseti, Darlabeda and Thotaguda they built small buildings in the memory of the martyrs. The people of many villages participated in the construction works. They also bore the cost collectively. They conducted the martyr's memorial meeting in Guruseti village in a grand manner. They took

care that the police do not know about the meeting. They took up secret methods of functioning. They voluntarily switched off the mobile phones. The militia put vigil on a few centres under the coverage of mobile network and on the enemy agents. They sent word to the surrounding villages only one day before the meeting. Nearly ten thousand people attended the meeting from the villages in Andhra and Odisha. They brought with them clothes, cooking utensils and money and gave them to the families of the martyrs in solidarity. Two hundred militia members were engaged in the probable paths of police patrols and provided protection for the meeting. In this meeting the people decided to utilize the buildings in the memory of the martyrs for school, library and storage. They also pledged to protect them from enemy attacks. This meeting was part of achieving the ideals of the martyrs and against the enemy. It was held with a great political will sharpened class consciousness of the people.

In this background the people intensified Agrarian Revolutionary class struggle in the leadership of the Party. They not only seized land from the tribal and non-tribal hierarchs in almost all the villages in the struggle for 'land to the tiller' in the area of the movement but also gave a blow to their hegemony. Land was distributed to the agricultural labor and poor peasants and people's power strengthened in the form of Agricultural Labor Organisations. People were widely mobilized in women, youth, cultural organisations and militia. As a part of advancing Agrarian Revolutionary struggle the Agricultural labor organisations took up a program of leveling of land in many villages and distributed land to landless peasants. They rectified certain misappropriations in the earlier land distribution. Five to ten families of each of these villages formed into a labor cooperative team. Many such teams took up sowing, cutting and harvesting the crop in proper time. In this cooperative method the lands of those who have agricultural implements and those who do not too were cultivated. All the people together worked for many hours in a day, cultivated all the lands and sowed crops in proper time. There was more production than earlier. The landless were employed. Since the landless gained just share in the crop they did not migrate in search of work. They did not starve. Earlier families that possessed more lands could not cultivate all their land due to lack of enough working hands and enough

agricultural implements. In this cooperative method they could cultivate the whole land. This increased their production too. They are satisfied and are heartily coming forward to continue this method. In this process the total land of nearly twenty villages was turned into collective agriculture farms. The people are making collective labor in these lands and are distributing the crop equally to each family on the basis of population. All these are tribal villages and the inequalities in class and land are relatively less. They are experienced in effectively carrying out cooperative agriculture. On the whole due to class struggle in this area the people developed a collective and cooperative perspective and mutual help. Another good thing is that they voluntarily controlled the ganja cultivation that was going on for a long time. Now ganja cultivation is relatively less. They sowed vegetables and fruits and became less dependent on the market. In few villages they decreased hill slope cultivation and increased their income by putting up cashew plantations on the hills.

In this way the people are solving the problems of land and power and are collectively establishing education, healthcare, drinking and irrigation water, transport and other such things in the model of 'development with self-reliance'. Regarding health the Party is mobilized the local youth, imparted them primary training as doctors and allotted certain money from the people's welfare fund to procure medicines for each village. People collected fifty to hundred rupees per family and contributed to it. Schools were established in eight villages. Local youth were appointed teachers with a salary of Rs.2000. In the summer of 2017 and 2018 the people including children and the old of many villages worked hard for two months and laid a road of fifty to sixty kilometers. They built cement tanks near water sources and arranged pipes. They also constructed check dams for irrigation. These revolutionary reforms not only fulfilled the necessities of the people but also instilled confidence among the people that they can solve their fundamental problems only through gaining state power against the exploitive ruling classes.

One year after the Ramguda incident the AP Greyhounds forces made a planned attack on Gonabeda village with correct information from the informers targeting the leadership. Hundreds of people mobilized, put the leadership and the cadres amidst them and protected them. On their

way back the police arrested two militia members without the notice of anyone. As soon as the people came to know of it they went to the IRB camp near Kunthuripodar village and demanded their release. They entered into a scuffle with the police and stopped their supplies. The IRB policemen told the people that they had nothing to do with the arrest and that the Andhra police arrested them. Then the people stopped their retaliation temporarily. Once again when the AP Greyhounds police entered the area in the night time very secretly on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018 the people knew of it and tried to inform the Party immediately. The police stopped them but they tried in many forms to send information all through the night. Lastly, as the people were about to reach our camp the police too reached the place. Our PLGA saw the policemen and started firing. After firing from both sides our forces safely retreated into the forest. The people understood this and brought food and water for the PLGA forces in teams. On this occasion also the police arrested militia members. But this time nearly three thousand people gathered to resist the police. In spite of the firing from the police they attacked them with stones and got them released. In 2018 October the Greyhounds police forces attacked the squad. Divisional Committee Member Comrade Meena was injured and fell unable to move. The police killed her in the utmost cruel manner. When the police tried to arrest the militia members the people strongly resisted. They did not care the police firing and injured 11 Greyhounds policemen. All these incidents show that the people are working in a responsible and militant manner with a strong will that there should not be another loss like in Ramguda.

The state thought that the movement came to a close with the Ramguda incident. But it is advancing stronger and wider than earlier and so the state intensified the offensive. As a part of the 'SAMADHAN' offensive that the central and the state governments took up since 2018 May, the armed forces of the government are concentrating on the cut off area. They are enhancing carpet security to encircle the area. In this intensifying fierce reactionary offensive the Party is formulating proper tactics and making political and practical efforts to implement them in order to preserve and advance the revolutionary movement.



*(contd from p.36)*

and capturing the cities. He stated that the immediate goal was the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship (of the four classes) as the first step towards transition to socialism. The final goal was communism.

IN THE REALM OF TACTICS he rejected parliamentarism and called for the boycott of elections. He fought against economism, legalism and reformism in methods of work and organisation.

ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS he pin-pointed the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism, as the main enemies of the world people; he exposed the modern revisionists of the Soviet Union; he declared India as a multi-national country and supported the right of nationalities to self-determination including secession.

AND MOST IMPORTANT, IN THE REALM OF IDEOLOGY, he uncompromisingly fought against revisionism and all forms of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement and strongly upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as Marxism of the present day.

### **Towards a New Party**

Though later, some tactical errors and a massive offensive by the enemy led to a temporary setback, Naxalbari made an indelible impact on the revolutionary movement in the country. The politics and ideology behind the Naxalbari uprising spread throughout the country. The 'Naxalbari Peasant's Aid Committee' (or 'Naxalbari Krishak Sangram Sahayak Samiti') held a conference which decided to form the 'All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries of the CPI (M)' (AICCCR). On November 12-13, 1967 Communist Revolutionaries from all over the country met and established the '**All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries of the CPI (M)**' (AICCCR). A provisional committee was formed to consolidate all revolutionaries and to gradually form a revolutionary party.

The AICCCR undertook the task of propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; uniting all Communist Revolutionaries on this basis; waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism; developing and coordinating the revolutionary struggles, especially peasant struggles of the Naxalbari type; and preparing a revolutionary programme and tactical line. In May 1968, at its

second meeting held on the eve of the first anniversary of the Naxalbari uprising, the coordination committee was re-named as the '**All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries**' (AICCCR) with Sushital Roy Chowdhary as its convenor.

Earlier, the communist revolutionaries decided to bring out a political magazine to propagate the revolutionary line. The first issue of '**Liberation**' was brought out on November 11, 1967 with Suniti Kumar Ghosh as its editor. '**Deshabrati**' was brought out in Bengali. At its peak the circulation of 'Liberation' touched 2,500 and that of 'Deshabrati' 40,000.

Meanwhile Naxalbari-type struggles spread like wild-fire throughout 1968, and the struggle in Srikakulam was growing into a major uprising. Under these conditions the AICCCR in its 1969 February 8<sup>th</sup> meeting adopted the resolution to form a Party. **At the plenary session meeting of the AICCCR held in the same year from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April, the final decision was taken. On the birth centenary of Lenin the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded.** A Coordination Committee was formed to draft the Party Constitution and prepare for the Party Congress. The Party's formation was announced by Kanu Sanyal at a mammoth May Day rally held at the Calcutta maidan.

In the process of formation of the Party the Dakshin Desh group and the APCCCR (Andhra Pradesh Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries) did not join. The Dakshin Desh group felt that it was hasty to form the Party at that juncture and it also had differences with the method of formation of the Party, while the APCCCR had differences with the political line of CPI (ML). The Dakshin Desh Group went on to form the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). The APCCCR continued with its right deviations, later splitting into two factions - the T.Nagireddy-D.V.Rao faction of the UCCCR (ML), and the C.P.Reddy faction which later merged with the revisionist Satyanarayan Singh faction of the CPI (ML) in 1975 only to split again into a number of factions.

By mid-1969 the government had moved in the Para-military forces into all the struggle areas and a man-hunt was launched for the leaders of the CPI (ML). The movement went fully underground. In April 1970 the government raided the office and printing press of 'Liberation' and 'Deshabrati' which too continued from the

underground. The government began its campaign of liquidating the Communist Revolutionaries.

**On May 15-16 in 1970 the Eighth Congress [in continuation of the 7th Congress held by the CPI (M)] of the CPI (ML) was held under conditions of utmost secrecy.** The Congress was held on the first floor of a building in the Railway colony in Garden Reach, Calcutta. On the ground floor were over fifty volunteers who had gathered to celebrate a mock wedding. Some were family members of the delegates. The blaring loudspeaker helped drown the noise of the heated debates taking place above.

The Congress was attended by about 35 delegates from all over the country. It elected a 21 member Central Committee representing comrades from West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, U.P, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Kashmir and Kerala with Com. Charu Mazumdar as the General Secretary. The ten-member Politburo comprised Charu Mazumdar, Sushital Roy Chowdhary, Saroj Datta, Souren Bose (all West Bengal), Satyanarayan Singh (Bihar), Shiv Kumar Mishra (UP), Shroff (Kashmir), Appu (Tamilnadu). The two seats allocated for A.P. were never filled.

### **Martyrdom of CM**

Earlier to the martyrdom of Comrade CM, two Central Committee members, Saroj Datta and Appu just 'disappeared'. Till today it is not known what happened, but it is quite clear that they have been arrested, tortured, then killed and their bodies disposed off by the police. Sushital Roy Choudhary died of a heart attack. In AP and Punjab the bulk of the leadership were killed. Charu Mazumdar, the ailing leader of the movement still evaded arrest. By 1972 he was the most wanted man for the Indian government.

On July 16, 1972 after the brutal torture of a courier, Charu Mazumdar was arrested from a shelter in Calcutta. At the time of his arrest he was seriously sick with cardiac asthma. During his ten days in police custody no one was allowed to see him - not even his lawyer, family members or a doctor. The Lal bazar lock-up had achieved a reputation throughout the country of the most horrifying and cruel tortures. At 4.00 A.M. on July 28, 1972 Charu Mazumdar died in police lock-up. Even the dead body was not given to the family. A police convoy, with the immediate family members carried the body to the crematorium.... The whole area was cordoned off and not even the nearest relatives were allowed in. Charu Mazumdar's body

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was consigned to the flames. And with his martyrdom the first glorious chapter of the incipient revolutionary movement in India came to a close.

### **Movement Recedes**

With the martyrdom of CM the young Maoist movement was thrown into disarray. With much of the leadership, at all levels killed or in jail, and with a fascist terror reigning, the links between the revolutionaries broke. It was left to local organisers to recoup the forces. Most of these lacked experience, were being hounded by the police and in many places, the mass base was shattered by police attacks. Yet pockets of resistance continued particularly in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

The pockets of Maoist resistance that continued in this period were particularly in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh led by the AP State Committee of the CPI (ML), later to become the CPI (ML) (People's war). In West Bengal it was the Second CC with a strong base in Nadia and 24 Parganas districts and the MCC in the Sunderbans; and in Bihar three groups continued their resistance - in Bhojpur it was led by the CPI (ML) faction of Jawahar (later to become the Liberation group), in Jehanabad by what came to be later known as CPI (ML) Party Unity and in South Bihar's Hazaribagh and Giridh areas by the MCC.

### **Three Trends Emerge**

In this period of setback three distinct trends developed within the CPI (ML). The first was a continuation of the left line of 'annihilation of class enemies' which was represented by some pro-Lin Piao groups like the Second CC and the Mahadev Mukherjee group, also the CPI (ML) led by Jawahar in Bihar and CPI (ML) led by Kannamani in Tamilnadu. The second trend comprised of those who swung to the right, by criticising the entire tactical line of the CPI (ML) and once again sought participation in elections. This was particularly led by the CPI (ML) faction led by Satyanarayan Singh. Others like Kanu Sanyal, Ashim Chatterjee, Souren Bose swung even further to the right finally veering towards the CPI (M). The third trend was particularly represented by the COC (Central Organising Committee) which upheld the essence of the CPI (ML) line but sought to rectify the left errors. The COC comprised the CPI (ML) state units from Punjab, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar - the Punjab unit later merged the Unity

Organisation to form the CPI (ML) Party Unity and the Andhra Pradesh unit developed into CPI (ML) (People's war).

### **Formation of CPI (ML) (PW)**

The CPI (ML)(People's war) was formed on Lenin's birth anniversary on April 22, 1980. The formation was part of a process to reorganise a centre for the all-India revolution after it went out of existence in 1972. As mentioned earlier, a similar attempt was made in 1974 when the COC (Central Organising Committee) was formed. This could not really get off the ground, though strenuous efforts were put in. This was dissolved in May 1977. So in fact the AP State Committee had to function without a Central Committee from July 72 to January 1974 and again from May 1977 to April 1980.

**The 1980 centre was formed on the basis of two basic documents; the first was the self-critical review and the second was the tactical line.** The self-critical review was basically the same as that presented to the COC in 1975 with a few changes. The tactical line basically upheld the legacy of Naxalbari while rectifying the 'left' errors of that period. Both had been enriched by the practice of the preceding eight years.

After the COC became defunct in 1977 the AP PC (State Committee) did not again make attempts to unite with other revolutionary groups. Instead, it concentrated upon building extensive mass movements in AP based on the self-critical review. As a result, it was able to not only build powerful statewide movements among students, youth, and in the literary and cultural fronts, but also developed the peasant movements in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts of the Telangana region. These got recognition as powerful anti-feudal struggles not only in AP, but throughout the country. This success added to the credibility of the self-critical review. Hence, by the late 1970s other M-L groups like the Unity Organisation (UO) and the Tamil Nadu state committee of CPI (ML) came forward to unite with the AP PC. Unfortunately, due to differences on the question of formation of a CC, at that juncture the UO group did not join and the new CC was formed by the unification of the AP and Tamilnadu State Committees of the CPI (ML). The small Maharashtra group, then functioning in Bombay, also joined, having accepted the basic documents.

### **Continuing the Legacy of Naxalbari**

**A full quarter century after the holding of the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress - the founding Congress - of the CPI (ML), the All India Special Conference of the Party was held in November 1995.** Though it was a Conference, it had the stature of a Congress as it adopted the four basic documents of the party : (i) the Party Programme and Constitution, (ii) Strategy and Tactics, (iii) Political Resolution and (iv) The Political and Organisational Review.

These four draft documents had been thoroughly discussed throughout the party and passed (with amendments, if necessary) at the various Regional and State Conferences before being presented before the All India Conference for adoption. These State Conferences had also reviewed the work in their own respective states and had taken decisions on rectification and development of the movements in the states of Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Also the units of West Bengal and Haryana set out tasks for building the revolutionary movements in their states. Besides the four major documents, a special resolution adopting the Self-Critical Review of 1980 was passed. Also in a detailed discussion, delegates expressed their opinion on another document: "The Indian Revolutionary War-Guerrilla Zones" and authorised the CC to finalise it.

The Conference was attended by 41 delegates (including three women delegates) from AP, North Telangana, Dandakaranya, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Haryana and a few other regions and a fraternal delegate from the COC CPI (ML) Party Unity. The Conference was held deep in the forests, guarded by armed guerrillas and went on for about 20 days. After detailed discussions the draft documents were adopted with some amendments. The Conference also approved the financial report.

**This Conference was the true successor to the 1970 founding Congress of the CPI (ML) as it upheld the spirit of Naxalbari and reaffirmed the basic political positions taken at the Eighth Congress.** The Programme and Constitution passed in 1970 was updated and refined at this Conference, the Tactical Line (now called Strategy and Tactics) adopted in 1980 was further refined with the experience of the past fifteen years which was summed up in the Political and Organisational Review. The Political Resolution analysed the present national and international conditions taking cognizance of the important political and

economic changes that have occurred in the last decade.

This Conference gave a new hope to the revolutionaries of the country; a hope that the three magic weapons needed for the success of the Indian revolution - an all India Party, a Peoples' Army and a Revolutionary United Front - would soon become a reality.

### **Unity between PW and PU**

Both the CPI (ML) [PW] and the CPI (ML) [PU] gave utmost importance to the question of unity from the very beginning. Both emphasized for the unity of genuine CR organisation, irrespective of whether they were part of CPI (ML) or not.

During the '70s the PW considered unity among the genuine ML parties an urgent task as explained in *Our Tactical Line*:

*"Since building a strong, united party is the largest issue we are facing, it is the principal task of our party to unite the true ML parties, groups and individuals under one umbrella" (Our Tactical Line).*

In order to implement this task, a criterion was drawn up in 1980 that divided the ML forces into those who participated in elections and those who boycotted them.

In accordance with the above categorization, unity talks were held between the APSC of the CPI (ML) and the CPI (ML) (PU) in 1979-80. They came to a common understanding on the evaluation of the process of unity between the APSC, TNSC and PU, when differences arose with PU, both APSC and TNSC went ahead to form the PW in April 1980. Later the PU party also merged with Com. Sharma's COC group of Punjab. After this development some effort was continued by the Liberation group but it was not fruitful due to the wrong politics of Liberation.

The PW and MCC met for the first time in 1981 and since then, cordial relations existed between the two parties. Gradually both opined there was a basis for unity, and coms. KS and KC initiated unity talks. So naturally both the parties gave first priority to continue the talks. After the failure of the unity talks between the PW and PU there was no regular relation between the two. Later, at the end of the 80s', when the PU took a firm stand on the question of China, regular contacts were resumed. It was only in 1991, that the PW again decided to meet and exchange views

with the PU on various ideological and political issues. PU proposed for tripartite unity talks. But PW and MCC opined that it was not possible to consider PU's proposal at that juncture because the unity talks between PW and MCC were already going on since long and there were some serious political differences between PU and MCC. Thus merger talks continued between PW and MCC only. However, these merger talks failed in 1995. After this, in the course of exchange of opinions on the domestic and international situation between the delegations of PW and PU, both the parties opined that there was a common understanding between them on many political aspects and hence unity talks resumed in 1996.

Accordingly discussions were held between the two parties. The PW insisted that as a pre-requisite for unity both parties must make a thoroughgoing evaluation of the past and prepare the PORs. The PW completed this at its Special Conference in 1995, while the PU adopted its POR at its Special Conference in 1997. And after achieving unity on all the basic documents, they merged on 11 August 1998 on a principled ideological-political-organisational basis thereby completing the unity process by forming a single centre - the unified CPI(ML)[PW] and a Central Committee (Provisional). Preparations for the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress also began in this process.

Of all the mergers since the disintegration of the Party in 1972, the merger between these two parties is the most significant in the Indian revolution. This merger has enthused the revolutionary camp both within and outside our country. With this unity, the process of unity of most of the genuine revolutionaries who have been continuing in the revolutionary legacy of the CPI (ML) are now unified in our Party.

Most of the factions of the original CPI (ML) either degenerated into revisionist parties or went out of existence. Struggle in the concrete conditions of India; building a secret Party with an underground structure with PRs forming its core; enriching the political line of the CPI(ML) adopted by the first Congress through their respective experiences in advancing the People's war in India, and most important of all, building a powerful revolutionary movement in AP, DK and Bihar amidst the suppression campaigns unleashed by the enemy forces. Thousands of our Party cadres and people had laid down their lives facing the enemy boldly.

However, it was recognized by the new Party that the process of unification of the genuine CRs was not complete since a major force, the MCC,

remained outside the CPI(ML) stream. Hence, we must strive to hold talks with the MCC. At the same time, Party have to hold talks with the various organisations in the Marxist-Leninist camp on ideological and political matters while carrying on united activity against the common enemy. Keeping in view our standpoint vis-à-vis the various revolutionary organisations, we decided to expose the weaknesses in their political line as part of the political discussions with them.

It was decided that in the course of advancing our revolutionary movement, while stressing to unite with the still existing genuine revolutionary organisations and individuals, Party should also try to rally under our Party banner all those forces in the various right opportunist ML organisations who still retain some revolutionary zeal.

### **9<sup>th</sup> Congress — Its historical significance in enriching the Party's political-military line**

The 9<sup>th</sup> Congress saw the emergence of an ideologically and politically mature party — a party of a new type - that had steeled itself in decades of intense class struggle. The party had acquired an All India character with its organisation in over a dozen states, a people's guerrilla army and mass organizations.

The Congress saw the further consolidation and enrichment of the party line. While adhering firmly to the party's basic line that was formulated in the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress in 1970, the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress made the necessary changes and enriched several concepts basing on the developed understanding on MLM and the rich experiences acquired in advancing the People's War over the years and taking into account the political developments of the preceding three decades. It firmly fought both the "Right" and "Left" deviations that were seen in the forging of the three instruments of revolution - the Party, Army and the UF - and in the formulation of tactics. It achieved a higher level of understanding regarding the concepts of People's Army, Guerrilla Zones, Base Areas and the Revolutionary United Front.

The 9<sup>th</sup> Congress thus rectified the shortcomings in the understanding of AISC of PW of 1995 and the Central Conference of PU of 1997 regarding the above concepts, emphasized the conscious role of the Party leadership in forging the three instruments of revolution and thereby created the ground for achieving a fresh breakthrough in the ongoing People's War in the country.

The Congress correctly analysed the world situation, the all-round crisis of imperialism, the sharpening of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world and the focus of these contradictions by correctly assessing the principal contradiction. Based on the analysis of the political situation the Congress identified the new tasks to be taken up at the present historic juncture.

The Congress addressed the ideological-political questions confronting the International Communist Movement today such as: the question of the formation of a new International, the guiding ideology of the proletariat, the General Crisis of Capitalism and its impact on the world, the question of the principal contradiction, the danger of war, the understanding on the nature of the present Era, the significance of national liberation struggles and the need to unify the two streams of the World Socialist Revolution, the danger of revisionism in the International Communist Movement, and so on. The Congress thus enriched the party's understanding on the above questions concerning the contemporary world situation and the ICM and adopted clear-cut proletarian standpoints.

The historic significance of the Congress lies in the circumstance that it was held in the background of the merger of the major revolutionary forces belonging to the CPI (ML) tradition. After the merger of the CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)(PU) in August 1998, and the merger of some breakaway groups and elements from other CPI(ML) organisations into our party, we can say that in spite of some genuine revolutionary groups and elements of CPI (ML) stream the unification of the genuine revolutionary forces originating from the CPI(ML) formed in April 1969 has been, to a large extent, completed.

The Congress firmly resolved to intensify the People's War and extend it to other parts of the country. It called upon the entire party to exert its utmost to establish liberated areas and chalked out concrete plans to achieve the same. It expressed its determination to achieve coordination with the ongoing national liberation movements in the country. It also decided to continue with the task of unification of the Communist Revolutionaries in all earnestness. It also identified the need to politically intervene in the issues of major political importance at the state and central levels and to build powerful mass movements with the perspective of forging a revolutionary united front. It called on the party to cleanse itself of the various non-proletarian

trends by undergoing a thoroughgoing rectification campaign and thereby proletarianise the party and make it fit enough to carry out the immense tasks before the party.

### **Period from 2001 to 2004 (towards Unified Party-the CPI (Maoist))**

The clashes between CPI (ML)(PW) and MCC created revulsion amongst the ranks of the Maoists not only in India, but also abroad. There were strong appeals from the International Communist Movement to stop the clashes and unite to fight the common enemy. In this background the MCC declared a unilateral ceasefire in January 2000. In March 2000 CPI (ML) party answered positively to this and instructed all its units to stop clashes immediately.

In March 2001 the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of PW took place. In the Congress POR we correctly mentioned that *"we should hold talks with MCC and strive to maintain fraternal relations"*. However, party placed the blame for the clashes and the tense situation in Bihar-Jharkhand on the MCC and did not make any self-criticism for the mistakes on behalf of the PW. Party stated that the clashes were due to the antagonistic attitude adopted by the MCC and its attacks against the erstwhile PU for over a decade.

But soon after this Congress the MCC sent a letter of congratulations to the CC of the PW on the decisions of the Congress. Though attempts were made in the 1998-2000 period to hold bilateral talks, none materialized. Just prior to the Congress, though comrades from both sides came to the contact it did not materialize due to the crisis in the MCC. Finally, after a long gap, the two delegations of both the CCs met in August 2001.

This was a historic meeting that set the terms to stop the clashes forever. A resolution was passed to call the period of strained relations as a 'Black Chapter' in the Indian revolution and both pledged to see that they never recur. Both parties took responsibility for it and placed their self-criticism

before the public. This approach was welcomed by the entire masses of India, particularly of the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, the rank-and-file of both parties and the International Communist Movement.

An year later the two CCs sat together in July 2002 to listen to each other's latest political positions and plan for merger talks. Finally in a meeting in Feb.2003 the two high power delegations met and clinched most of the political, ideological, organisational and military issues and opined it was a historic meeting and a milestone in the merger process. The next meeting was fixed for Sept 2003. In this meeting we finalised the MLM document and prepared the draft outlines for the Strategy and Tactics Programme, and Political Resolution. The two delegations once again met in Jan-Feb.2004 and finalized most of the above documents. It was decided in this meeting to conclude unity in Sept 2004. The historical merger took place in Sept 2004 and a new, great CPI (Maoist) party emerged on the soil of our beloved country on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September.

The task is enormous, the path is tortuous, but there are no short cuts. The path is not straight, it is full of turns and twists and at each important juncture the Party will have to take bold decisions as it has done in the past in 1972, in 1979, in 1985, 1991 and in 2001. At each one of those important turns in the movement, at each of those critical junctures the Party was able to formulate correct policies and thereby cross the hurdles and obstructions created by the enemy and advance forward. And at each turn of events there has been sharp inner party contradictions, constant struggle against opportunism, liberalism and other non-proletarian tendencies - and through these struggles the Party too has become more steeled and more Bolshevized. Today, while commemorating the 50 years of the formation of CPI(ML) under leadership of Com. Charu Mazumdar, while remembering the thousands of heroic martyrs who have laid down their lives for revolution - it is important to remember Mao's three 'Magic Weapons' and learn to wield them effectively.



*".....We are a contingent of this great army of the international proletariat....."*

Last line of Point 39 of the Programme of the CPI (ML) adopted at the Party Congress held in 1970 May

## Hail the 50th Anniversary of the formation of CPI (ML)!

*Five decades ago, on April 22, 1969, the birth centenary of the great Lenin, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was born. After forty years of revisionist domination of the Indian communist movement this historic break changed the entire course of India's political development. Never again has Indian polity been the same. It brought the path of armed struggle on to the agenda, extracting Indian politics from the stagnant, putrefied filth of the Indian parliament, and giving it a nascent freshness. It injected a new life into a dispirited, disillusioned country, dispelling the pessimism of two decades of fake independence. It inspired an entire generation of youth to a new world, built on justice, equality, truth and freedom. The party, built on the foundation of the great Naxalbari uprising and cemented together with the ideological struggle against revisionism, chartered a new path for India's future.*

Throughout 1964 and 1965 Charu Mazumdar (popularly known as CM) did a detailed study of the Chinese revolution and Mao's thought. In 1965 the first few of his 'Historic Eight Documents' appeared which called on the CPM party leadership to clarify its position on the role of the peasant movement, the preparations for armed struggle, the question of the parliamentary path, the need for an underground Party and its assessment of the Soviet Union. The CPM was silent but its answer came in the form of its alliance with a section of the Congress to form the government in West Bengal in March 1967. The last of CM's 'Eight Documents' appeared in April 1967, on the eve of the Naxalbari uprising, entitled "It is only by fighting modern revisionism that the peasant struggle will have to be taken forward."

ON THE QUESTION OF PROGRAMME he attacked the revisionist concepts of the CPI and CPM which saw India as basically a capitalist country with 'feudal remnants'. He clearly analysed India as a semi-feudal country. It also attacked the revisionist theory that the ruling bourgeoisie in

India is basically national in character and that India achieved genuine independence in 1947. Com. CM clearly stated that the ruling bourgeoisie is comprador, Indian independence fake, and that India is a semi-colony. He outlined the stage of revolution as New Democratic, the enemies of revolution as imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism, while the friends of revolution being the workers, peasants, middle-classes and national bourgeoisie - with peasants as the main force and working class as the leading force.

ON THE QUESTION OF STRATEGY he opposed the path of 'peaceful transition' put forward by the CPI and CPM, and upheld the path of protracted people's war. He clearly stated that the path to liberation lay in guerrilla warfare, building a people's army, creating liberated base areas in the countryside and gradually encircling

(contd in p.30)

