

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution



HAIL THE
MERGER
OF MAOIST
PARTIES IN
INDIA

Another
May Day
Comes

(Joint May Day
Statement of
Maoist Parties and
Organisations)

CPI (Maoist) On Election Results

The Modi Verdict

A Close Look at the AAM Admi Party

Comrade Abhay's Interview

Snowden's Revelations

Prof. Saibhaba Arrested

Iraq

Tongpal Ambush



Communist Party of India (Maoist) Central Committee

May 1, 2014

Merger Declaration of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(M-L)Naxalbari **Hail the Merger of the Maoist Parties in India into a Single Party!**

On this occasion of the International day of the world proletariat, the glorious May Day, we the Maoists of India, with a great sense of responsibility and firm conviction, announce the merger of the CPI (Maoist) and CPI(M-L) Naxalbari into a single party, to be known as CPI(Maoist). Thus strengthening the vanguard of the Indian proletariat, which is a contingent of the world proletariat, we dedicate ourselves evermore firmly to the cause of the Indian revolution and the world proletarian revolution.

The Maoist movement took form through the great Naxalbari uprising of 1967. Inspired and led by comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, founder leaders of our party, thousands of leaders, cadres and masses laid down their invaluable lives to advance the revolutionary movement and build a strong party.

After the setback of early 1970s and the martyrdom of comrade Charu Mazumdar, the communist revolutionary forces were divided into many groups. The genuine revolutionaries while trying to build the movement in their respective areas made serious attempts to unify all revolutionaries into a single party. In the course of this process over the last four decades the two main streams represented by the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) and the MCCI merged into a single party, the CPI (Maoist), on 21st September 2004. This marked a qualitative leap in realizing a long drawn aspiration of the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses to build a single directing centre leading the new democratic revolutionary war in India to success and marching forward to establishing socialism and then communism. Similarly, the CPI (ML) Naxalbari made serious efforts to unify all genuine Maoist forces by fighting against the revisionism of erstwhile CRC, CPI (ML) led by the liquidationist K. Venu and Red Flag led by the opportunist KN Ramachandran. As a culmination of these processes the two parties the CPI (Maoist) and CPI (ML) Naxalbari have unified, thus our party, the CPI (Maoist), have been further strengthened. This unification has proved beyond doubt that, on the one hand, by mobilising oppressed masses in Protracted People's War against the ruling classes and imperialism and, on the other, by adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the revolutionary line of the party and waging persistent struggle against the revisionists and liquidationists, all the genuine Maoist forces can unite into a single party, however long a process it might be. Our party shall continue the task of unifying all the genuine revolutionary forces functioning in various ML groups.

The unified party takes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding ideology and deepens its understanding by upholding, defending and applying it creatively. Continuously summing up the lessons of its revolutionary practice and learning from the experiences of the revolutionary contingents

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PEOPLE'S MARCH
Voice of the Indian Revolution

Editorial

A New Beginning in Challenging Times

Under severe attack from the Indian state, including ban, arrest, and even murder of its editorial contributors, the People's March was forced to suspend publication for the past few years. But the voice of revolution cannot, must not, be silenced. With this issue, we begin publication of the e-People's March. We will continue in our mission of contributing a Maoist perspective on contemporary issues and events, taking the views and news of the Indian revolution to a wider audience. While this has been of great importance all along, today it is ever more vital.

The world is in turmoil. Imperialism remains in crisis. In country after country, the oppressed and exploited burst out in rebellion. They seek a way out, the road to liberation. Yet the Maoist message, the scientific resolution, is present only weakly. And it now has the additional task of battling against new hues of revisionism that have emerged from its camp. The strengthening of the Maoist media and its vigorous propagation is thus a pressing need.

In India, Brahmanical Hindu-fascists have come to power. The ruling classes, guided particularly by US imperialism, are preparing for an onslaught on the people in order to aggressively push through their sell out of the country. This means an even more brutal execution and widening of the War on the People initiated by the Congress-led UPA government. But that is not all. Now it will be aggressively, explicitly, pumped up with the venom of Brahmanist Indian jingoism. Anti-people, casteist, communal and expansionist in every pore, it seeks to legitimise this reactionary content and its fascist acts under the hype of 'development', preying on middle class illusions of attaining super power status. While the focus and weight of its attack will be on the Maoist movement, its scope encompasses all dissent and different ways of life.

The task of uniting all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in a widespread struggle against the Modi regime is thus posed. Its center must be the determined struggle to establish a new society free of imperialism and reaction, the protracted people's war led by the CPI (Maoist). This journal will strive to provide a vital conduit between this core and the wide array of forces that must unite. It will address the issues posed by the resistance, engage with opposing viewpoints in the spirit of seeking greater clarity and counter the ideological offensive of the rulers.

The repressive conditions that forced us to stop publication continue in full force. It is bound to intensify, given the fascistic dispensation of the new rulers. Therefore this journal will be published electronically, as a quarterly. We call upon our readers to join hands and assure a wide distribution of this e-People's March, reaches a wider audience. You can assist by posting links or by printing copies.

CPI (MAOIST) CC ON THE ELECTION RESULT

The victory of BJP in Narendra Modi's leadership indicates the intensification of exploitation, oppression and fascism in the country!

Build a widespread struggle to fight back the threat from Brahmanical Hindu-fascists by uniting all the revolutionary and democratic forces!

The so-called largest democratic process in the world, the elections for the sixteenth Loksabha, has been conducted in an unprecedented manner extending over nine phases. For this, 70 lakh election officials and millions of armed forces were deployed. Public funds amounting to tens of thousands of crores of rupees belonging to the people of the country were spent on this exercise. The Election Commission claimed that it was done in order to ensure a "free, fair and impartial" election. There was great anger among the masses against these farcical parliamentary elections. Our party CPI(Maoist) and the national liberation movements of Kashmir and a few forces from North East particularly in Manipur called for a boycott of these farcical elections. It is only to suppress the growing anger of the people against these elections that such a large number of armed forces were deployed during the elections all over the country, and in areas of people's struggles in particular. Elections were conducted like a war exercise under the supervision and control of the Indian armed forces.

The Election Commission in an unprecedented way have been carrying out many new kinds of maneuvers to entice the people of the country to vote and to increase the total poll percentage since the 15th Loksabha elections of 2009, which was continued in this year's elections too. Behind the scene, all kinds of help were extended by the imperialist agencies to carry out the process and by taking this help the corporate sector of the country directly entered the electoral fray to drum-up the importance of "right to vote". By using the corporate media, parliamentary parties as usual made false promises to the people. A sort of illusion was created about the significance of parliamentary elections and a tempo was created around it. People were pressurized to cast their vote in areas where the masses are more critical of the parliamentary system. It is claimed that the Election Commission has put enormous efforts to conduct the elections successfully and has significantly curbed money and muscle-power. Disproving such claims, all the parties presented scamsters, gangsters and criminals as candidates before the people. Not a single party raised and brought forth the basic problems faced by the vast masses of the people and the country. During election campaigns, competing parties and candidates concentrated more on attacking one another, thereby exposing and unmasking one another's anti-people character, reactionary and self-seeking activities, scams and corrupt practices. Black money, muscle-power, religion, caste, regionalism, liquor, drugs and other enticements or coercive measures were used extensively by all parties and candidates. For instance, more than 200 crores of cash and over 2 crore litres of liquor were seized by the police across the country during the elections which were meant to be distributed among the

electorate. As can be imagined, this is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Corporate media itself has revealed that more than 30,000 crore rupees were spent to advertise and promote Narendra Modi alone. Flouting the official limit to election expenditure of 70 lakhs per candidate with impunity, each candidate in the fray spent an average of 8 crore rupees during this election. The farcical nature of the so-called largest parliamentary elections of the world can be perceived from such revealing facts.

The Congress played a most reactionary and anti-people and treacherous role while being in power for the last ten years and aggressively implementing pro-imperialist and pro-ruling classes' policies in a big way. The Congress committed all kinds of crimes against the country and its people. As a result, its seats got reduced to less than fifty in an unprecedented manner in this election – the worst ever electoral defeat in its entire history. By using the people's pent-up anger against the Congress, BJP and NDA under the leadership of Modi emerged as the first ever non-Congress party to win a clear majority in the parliament with 282 seats and together with its NDA partners captured 334 seats out of 543.

Even before the announcement of the elections, a large number of additional paramilitary forces were deployed and the armed forces intensified cordon-and-search operations in all the revolutionary areas of 14 states, in areas of national liberation struggles in Kashmir and the North East and other regions where people's resistance movements are going on. The first countrywide week-long (26 December 2013 to 1 January 2014) suppression campaign was carried out in 9 states with 40 thousand additional paramilitary and state police forces. In the second suppression campaign that lasted from 19 March to 27 March 2014, more than a hundred thousand paramilitary troops and 6000 commandos, four Israeli spy aircrafts, a large number of mine-proof vehicles fitted with radars, etc., were used led by 70 Inspectors General (IG) in six states where the Maoist movement is active. These counter-revolutionary campaigns were aimed at suppressing the movement and create a white terror among the people to conduct their 'democratic' elections. In the areas of revolutionary and national liberation movements, tens of political activists, liberation fighters and common people were murdered by these forces. A large number of people and political activists were captured and tortured. They did not spare even women, children and the aged. Villages were attacked and their residents were collectively punished through merciless beating. Elections were conducted at gunpoint by unleashing widespread state-terror. The statewide bandh in Kashmir called in protest against the detention of Hurriyat Conference leaders who had given a poll boycott call, was successfully observed on 21 April. Kashmir Valley was rife with bandhs and protests against the atrocities and repression by the Indian army and other state forces on the one hand and with state repression accompanied by curfew on the other. Kashmiris fought pitched

battles against the gun-wielding army and paramilitary forces with stones by defying curfew and other prohibitory orders.

In spite of using coercion and threat to such a large extent and even after creating an atmosphere of terror, the polling percentage fell far short of the 90 percent target set by the Election Commission. Only 66% percent voters cast their vote as per official reports.

The actual voting percentage, how-

ever, would be much less if we take into account the percentage of rigged and false votes among them. Money-power, muscle-power, the state machinery and the armed forces were rampantly used for such electoral fraud involving all the major parliamentary parties. Even after deploying innumerable helicopters and aircrafts of Indian Air Force and Indian and foreign private companies to transport election officials and material, many election booths were shifted to police stations and paramilitary camps in areas where revolutionary and national liberation movements are strong with the pretext that conducting polling in those areas would be difficult. Large-scale

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“The Parliament is a Dictatorship of the Ruling Classes Subservient to Imperialism”

Abhay

Acceding to the request of some media persons for an interview, Comrade Abhay, Spokesperson of CPI (Maoist), had responded through written answers. This was released to the media on 24-03-2014. However, some within it, including an avowed ‘champion of editorial integrity’, chose to distort his words and convey the false impression that the CPI (Maoist) is pleading for talks. This is a stark example of how the corporate media willingly becomes a tool in the Indian state’s disinformation campaign. Below we publish, in full, the interview, which touches on a number of issues other than the matter of talks. -ed.

Q: The Election Commission has announced the schedule for the 16th Loksabha elections and doing all preparations on war footing to conduct these elections and every electoral party and alliance is completely engaged in deciding on whom to send into the ring. What is your party’s stand on various parties and alliances contesting in these elections? Do you welcome the NOTA option?

A: As five years have been completed since the 15th Loksabha has been formed, these elections are being conducted as a routine exercise to form the 16th Loksabha. The schedule for these elections is the longest in the parliamentary history of India. This is the first time that the general elections are being conducted in nine phases too. These general elections are also seeing the largest deployment of polling personnel and the largest deployment of state forces to conduct ‘free and fair’ elections.

In the history of the Indian Parliament the clashes between the various parties on various issues in the 15th Loksabha broke the previous records. Though ostensibly they clashed repeatedly on various issues, in fact, a large number of bills were passed in the least amount of time, without any discussion and without an opportunity for the people to ponder on them and with the collusion of the ruling and the opposition parties. The UPA never had a majority in the parliament and it did not even get the majority share of votes during previous elections. The bills passed in the 15th Loksabha would have a long lasting grave effect on the society, economy and polity of our country. The 16th Loksabha would be formed by continuing the legacy of the previous Loksabha. The previous policies would be implemented to serve the interests of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes subservient to them. Those who can hoodwink the people about this would be sitting in the next parliament on the excuse of getting the ‘mandate’ of the people. The UPA led by the Congress and the NDA led by the BJP, the Third Front and the newly formed AAP have entered the elections arena to capture power by gaining a majority in the 16th Loksabha.

Our party's political assessment regarding these alliances and the parties is as follows.

The Congress that was in power continuously for ten years followed pro-imperialist, pro-comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and pro landlord policies and was responsible for the agonizing living conditions of the people, the disastrous economy of our country, the massacres of thousands of activists of various democratic and revolutionary movements and people and for persecution of religious minorities in the name of 'terrorists.' It won the dubious distinction of being the originator of the biggest and highest number of corruption scams in the parliamentary history of our country. As a result it won the severe hatred of the people. To escape this and hoodwink the people the Congress is bringing to the fore its main slogan of 'Bharat Nirman' pointing towards the 'development' it achieved in its ten-year rule and towards the anti-corruption, land acquisition, food security and Nirbhaya acts etc and the welfare schemes that it formulated. The Congress has been in power at the centre and in most of the states for the maximum number of years after 1947. By being in power for such a long period of time it was mainly responsible for the anti-people policies that were formulated and implemented in this period. The massacres of religious minorities, particularly the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 and the highest number of pogroms and persecutions of the religious minorities happened under Congress rule. Though Sangh Parivar was directly responsible for the destruction of Babri Masjid, it was the Congress that was behind the high drama from the centre. It was mainly responsible for suppressing the just national liberation struggles of the Kashmir and North East by massacring tens of thousand of youth through its military brute force. It implemented all these anti-people policies by taking the help of other parliamentary parties when in power and also by colluding with other ruling alliances when not in power. Who else would be mainly responsible than the Congress for the insufferable conditions of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois sections, oppressed nationalities, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women and the small and medium capitalists in our country? The people are not so gullible as to believe its 'Bharat Nirman', its so-called welfare schemes and its deceptive anti-corruption pose.

BJP's main attack is on the corrupt rule of the Congress. It is clear that it does not have any basically different policies than Congress on any of the main issues confronting the people and the country and has the same corrupt, treacherous and dictatorial policies in any sphere. With the directive of the RSS, BJP announced the Hindu bigot and mass murderer Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate. It is hiding its Hindu chauvinist agenda behind the 'Gujarat Vikas' model and is concentrating its entire machinery around Modi to capture power at the centre one more time. 'Gujarat Vikas' model means terrorizing the Muslim and Christian minorities, seizing their properties, chasing them away from their abodes or making them servile through massacres of Muslim religious minorities and subjecting them to innumerable atrocities along with atrocities on Christian religious minorities; making the entire state as the hub for the investments of MNCs, big bourgeoisie and opening doors to their endless exploitation and oppression. The Sangh Parivar and the BJP are aiming to establish this Hitlerite model in the guise of 'Vikas' in the entire country by coming to power in these elections. Congress came to power the previous two terms and won the severe wrath of the people. So the ruling classes and the US imperialists are openly supporting the candidature of Modi for the PM post as he would implement their agenda ruthlessly. Accordingly the corporate media is propagating Modi on a huge scale. Its attempt to win in the Delhi elections by bringing a religious divide through religious riots in Muzaffarnagar indicates only its fascist face. Rajnath Singh's statement a few days before the election dates were announced that he was apologizing to the Muslims 'if at any place any wrong was done to them' is nothing but a ploy to hide the massacre of Muslims carried on by Modi in Gujarat and gain their votes. But how would the Muslim and Christian religious minorities for-

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The Modi Verdict

ajith

Narendra Modi, the new Prime Minister, concluding his speech at the BJP legislature party meet, was all modesty. He attributed the victory to the service of several generations and specifically mentioned the Jan Sangh. But his wording was curious — “Jan Sangh was not known to the people, some thought of it as being a social, cultural organisation”. After all, it is well known that this precursor of the BJP was formed as a political party and functioned as one for several decades. It had even been in some governments. So was this one more of those notorious Modi foot-in-mouths? Not quite. Replace RSS for Jan Sangh and the logic of his odd choice of words become eminently explicit. He was registering the role of the RSS. Yet this couldn't be done openly because the claim of being a social, cultural organisation was and is the official stance of the RSS; even though its agenda has been political all along.

This treacherous posture of the Sangh Parivar is well captured by the Modi government in its pretence of all-inclusive development. True to the sneaky methods of Brahmanism its double speak is strident. The talk is of building a strong India. The deed is an all out opening up to imperialist capital, even in sensitive sectors. The promise is to ease the burden of living. The act is administrative steps that directly contribute to price rise. The claim is of standing above caste and creed, of promoting democracy. The fact is the sinister promotion of the Brahmanic Hindu fascist agenda, the suppression of all opposition.

Two themes have been persistent in analysis of the Modi victory. One of them is the success in creating a Hindu appeal that has risen above castes. The other is the message of rapid development that has cut across vote banks. Going beyond appearances will tell us something different. The first of these themes is based on the BJP's sweep in UP and Bihar, the heartland of the new caste based parties. But do these results really match the talk? Both in UP and Bihar, the BJP had succeeded not by posing a Hindu identity above caste but by going along with the new equations of caste vote banks. In UP nearly half and in Bihar nearly three fourths of its candidates were from the oppressed castes. It tried to, and succeeded, in outplaying the others in the caste game. Even then, most of its rivals have not seen any significant erosion in vote share. As for the creation of a Hindu identity, it was as usual entirely negative, premised and promoted as anti-Muslim. However, the Sangh Parivar's success in roping in activists and leaders in significant numbers from among the oppressed castes is ominous in its implications. This ties up with the development theme to which we will now turn.

That the ruling classes and their imperialist mentors were keen to avoid a weak central government was clear enough. They acted on this by backing Modi, known for his total subservience to comprador and imperialist corporate interests. The development theme was born. But that, the all-out media promotion, or the thousands of crores rupees spent, wouldn't have been enough for this result, far beyond their own expectations. There was a receptive social base out there. This is a section of the middle class who had managed to improve

their lot under conditions of globalisation. Crassly consumerist, ever greedy for more, satisfied with the glitz and hollow in substance, they are the audience and the cheerleaders of the 'India as a superpower' hype promoted by the ruling classes. Unashamedly aping comprador culture yet stuck in a middle class milieu with all its caste, communal values, they are also the contemporary feedstock of the Sangh Parivar. This section was the popular vehicle of the Modi propaganda, the sounding board and amplifier of its reactionary populism. The recruitment made from the oppressed castes we noted above was largely possible due to the emergence of this strata from among them.

Such social factors underlying the Lok Sabha verdict stand verified from other quarters also. The miserable showing of the CPM in West Bengal, matched by an unprecedented surge in BJP votes, is an example. Clothing the Sangh Parivar's communalism in rhetoric against Muslim immigration from Bangladesh has certainly played a role in this. But the ease with which the CPM's social base, both leaders and ranks, switched over to the BJP is equally significant. It was not coincidental that some of the vociferous supporters of globalisation in the CPM ranks figured among them. Rapid generation of wealth and comforts for the chosen few – that is their motto and cause. The commonness in policies and core cultural values seen among all ruling class parties, Left to Right, makes this switch easy.

This takes us beyond this social section, even beyond Modi and the Sangh Parivar, into the field of the ruling classes as a whole. For all the bad mouthing among its political representatives during elections, at this point it is united in its agenda of more of globalisation and liberalisation. The projection of Brahmanic Hinduism as ideological mainstay is also commonly accepted, though with differences on the ways and means utilised to push this. And all of this ties in with the quest to grow stronger as an expansionist power in South Asia and

a major player at the global level, even if under the imperialist aegis. Their grouse with the Congress was not about this. It was seen foundering in execution. In fact, one after the other of Modi's fast decisions as PM are simply the carrying out of UPA's policies. So long as Modi keeps on delivering, he will remain the icon of their India. Promising an open field for foreign capital, bending tax rules to aid them, preventing citizens from prosecuting their top guns, promoting privatisation – he is going full throttle.

The commonality of ruling classes interests seen in the election verdict is rather accurately mirrored in the profile of the new parliament. Its average assets works out to approximately Rs.15 crore per head. Voted in, they claim, by an electorate overwhelmingly subsisting on 20 rupees per day! That brings us to the the real result of this verdict, the one that's on its way: an all out attack on the people, of all social sections, in all possible ways. The first economic blow has been dealt through the railway fare hike. The communal character was seen in the silence, broken only after public outcry, on the murder of a young man in Pune solely for having the 'wrong' name and beard. The Hindu-Hindi agenda of the Sanghists who swear by the superiority of the Aryavarta presents itself in the ramrodding of Hindi as THE language. Its fascistic mode is seen in the persecution of critics, and the witchhunt of NGO's. This latter demands more explanation.

We have a government that is on its knees begging for foreign capital. Yet it is orchestrating an attack on NGO's, claiming that they are conduits of 'foreign interests', supposedly trying to block economic development. Noticeably, there is no argument against foreign funding as such! This could be outrightly dismissed as ridiculous, if not for its sinister undertow. It seeks to employ the 'anti-national' tag to brand and target all those who resist the so-called development projects of the ruling classes. In coming days we can expect

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A CLOSE LOOK AT THE AAM AADMI PARTY

kranti



Many have written off the Aam Admi Party after its dismal performance in the Lok Sabha elections and the in-fights that followed. This may well prove true, particularly if it gets drubbed in Delhi assembly polls. But, no matter what happens to this party, the trend it crystalised is here to stay for some time. It has a social base. Therefore, regardless of the future prospects of the AAP, an in depth examination of its foundations, motive and motion remains relevant. Though written well before the Lok Sabha elections, Kranti's comprehensive study of the AAP goes a long way in serving this purpose. -ed.

Since the emergence of BJP as a major political party in the early 1990s, parliamentary elections at the all-India level have mostly been a duel between Congress and BJP, the two major parties of the Indian ruling classes. Alliances led by these two parties have taken turns to form governments at the Centre for the last two decades. Both of them implemented neo-liberal policies economic policies benefiting foreign capitalists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the big landlords. In proportion to the intensified exploitation that has been sustained through direct and indirect forms of repression and coercion, people's frustration and anger against the ruling classes have also been growing. Discontentment among workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, small traders and industrialists, lower middle-class employees, students and other oppressed sections against government policies has been breaking out in militant forms in different parts of the country. Even in the regions where

the class struggle has not taken an openly militant form, frustration, disillusionment with and opposition to the established ruling-class parties running various governments starting from the village and municipal level government to the union government at the Centre have been on the rise. The political bankruptcy of the netas and their parties as well as the anti-people character of the organs of the state – parliament, bureaucracy, courts, police, and armed forces – is more and more exposed before the people. The existing system as a whole is being called into question. The choice between persisting with this exploitative system or of building an alternative to it has been firmly put on the agenda by people's struggles.

Facing the opposition of the toiling masses, the Indian ruling classes are making desperate attempts to extol the virtues of parliamentary democracy and to convince the toiling masses that a solution to their problems is possible within the existing economic and political set-up. A significant section is projecting BJP and Narendra Modi as the alternative to a discredited Congress. Modi has promised 'development' and 'good governance'. But the bitter experience of NDA government and BJP-ruled States make such promises hardly convincing. More and more people are looking beyond the farcical parliamentary democracy in search of genuine democracy and freedom. This is the political juncture where the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) presents itself as an alternative to both Congress and BJP. It promises change that will clean the corrupt system. It promises to control price rise, solve the basic problems of each and every section of the society and to give political power back to the people usurped from them

by the country's ruling elite. Originating in NGO activism and passing through an agitation for Jan Lokpal, the leaders of AAP have chosen the parliamentary path to bring about its declared 'revolution'.

Emergence of AAP

Coinciding with Mao Tse-tung's birth anniversary on 26 December 2013, more than 40,000 central paramilitary troops conducted a four-day long anti-Maoist operation in seven States of Eastern and Central India. As this operation was under-way in forests and hills far away from media spotlight, the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) government took oath in Delhi's Ramleela Maidan amidst grand fanfare on 28 December. While the Indian state's armed forces moved in to snuff out the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses of the country, a veritable 'revolution' was proclaimed to be taking place in the capital, Delhi. The corporate media was ecstatic. Thousands of articles and hundreds of thousands of TV hours were dedicated to the new leader and the new party, presumably the solution to all the problems besetting the system. The people of the country were given the message – corrupt politicians and public servants are at the root of the problems facing them. All it needs is a party of a few honest people to clean up the system by ensuring the enactment and strict enforcement of appropriate laws to clamp down on corruption. All it needs is for the people to assemble in local councils empowered to take local decisions. This was proclaimed to be capable of bring-

ing about nothing short of a "political revolution" – whereby this party of the common people (aam aadmi) would give back power to the people by taking it away from dishonest politicians and corrupt political parties who have usurped it. By using this newfound power, the people of the country would be able to usher in all-round prosperity.

The contrast is instructive. While the country's rulers are intensifying efforts to destroy the Maoist party and the people's war led by it, they are simultaneously welcoming among their midst an upstart party and a political rival that has declaredly vowed to snatch political power from their hands to give it to the masses. The ruling classes are unleashing white terror on the revolutionary masses and their movement while extending red carpet to an entity which promises a 'revolutionary' alternative. Beyond mystifications and illusions, this in essence defines the battle-line which divides the two con-

The transformation of an NGO to a parliamentary party through a political agitation is noteworthy on several counts. It reflects a common ideological basis and commonality of class interests between NGOs and parliamentary parties. It also indicates the changes in the organisational form of ruling class politics. This is a new and higher form of NGO activism whereby rather than claiming itself to be apolitical, it directly enters the arena of political mobilisation and parliamentary politics in the name of initiating political and social change. An NGO passes on from the stage of being an instrument of influencing and implementing imperialist-dictated government policies, to one where it aspires to run the government. This is in accordance with the way US imperialism powers has been utilising NGOs and other so-called civil society organisations. It instigates 'protests' in countries where it faces unfavourable governments, such as in Iran and recently in Ukraine. The US and the European powers have supported protests by the so-called civil society oppositional organisations demanding "regime change" to divert and defeat the democratic aspirations of the masses.

tending forces engaged in an irreconcilable class struggle – those who consider the Indian parliament as capable of bringing fundamental pro-people change, and those who have concluded that this is impossible. The whole socio-economic system, of which par-

liament is a part, must be overthrown. No wonder, the Indian state is anxious to crush the organs of new political power and the new state sprouting in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand in order to re-establish the writ of parliamentary 'democracy'. The fear of this emerging political power as a revolutionary alternative to the old semi-feudal semi-colonial political power is visible not only from the military attacks the ruling classes have launched, but also in its compulsion to adopt the rhetoric of 'revolutionary' change to divert the toiling masses of the country from taking the revolutionary road.

The ruling classes of the country do not seem to be alarmed by AAP's revolutionary phraseology, even when it openly declares in its manifesto the intent of "uproot[ing] the present political parties and politicians", or when it threatens to replace the existing "representative democracy" with "participatory" or "direct democracy". Indeed, far from opposing AAP the Congress party supported it from outside and catapulted it to power in Delhi. It even asked its party workers to learn a trick or two from AAP. With parliamentary elections approaching, AAP went on an overdrive to woo the electorate with a plethora of promises in the expectation of repeating its performance in Delhi at the all-India level. In the process, AAP has raised hopes among a section of the people and has even managed to attract quite a few public figures representing the so-called civil society.

Nonetheless, the history of all parliamentary parties in India – whether they call themselves leftist, rightist or centrist, no matter the flag of whichever class, caste, community, region or nationality they bear, and irrespective of the politics they swear by – is one of betrayal. They have betrayed the vast majority of the toiling people and acted against their interests. Each and every one of the parties that entered the parliamentary arena in India ended up defending the existing reactionary political system based on exploitative production relations and serving as the props of imperialism,

feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie. They have spread parliamentary illusions, deluded the masses about the nature of the Indian state and stood in opposition to the masses who seek to overthrow this dictatorship to establish people's democratic dictatorship – the genuine democracy of the vast masses. Viewed from this perspective, and keeping the historical experience of parliamentarism in India and other countries in consideration, we need to examine whether the political outlook and practice of AAP and its predecessor organisations are an exception. The task is made easier by the fact that by now AAP has not only been in existence for over a year but has also run a government for nearly two months. We can assess what it says of itself and the world with the proof of its actual practice.

What does the emergence of AAP signify in a context when India's ruling-class politics shows signs of an increasing fascistization of the state and suppression of peoples' democratic aspirations? Whom does AAP represent and whose interest does it seek to serve? Where does this new party stand in the ongoing class struggle led by the Maoists? Is a friend or an enemy of the revolutionary movement - these are some questions that the class-conscious struggling masses of the country must place on the table.

AAP's NGO Lineage: Parivartan and PCRFB

On 2 October 2012 Arvind Kejriwal and his associates announced their decision to form a political party on 26 November. The choice of these dates are quite symbolic – 2 October is Gandhi's birth anniversary, while 26 November is the day the Indian constitution was adopted. AAP claimed that the "anti-corruption movement" exposed the anti-people position of all the parliamentary parties which cannot be expected "to work for a corruption-free India". The "movement" tried all means for the enactment of Jan Lokpal Bill, it said, including three in-

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Another May Day Comes ...

Joint May Day Statement of Maoist Parties and Organisations

IMPERIALISM HAS NO FUTURE!

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO COMMUNISM!

PROLETARIANS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS WATCHDOGS!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

Another May Day comes, in a world where the misery and deprivation suffered by billions of people is immensely aggravated by the prolonging crisis of the imperialist system. Millions have been thrown out of jobs. Social security is cut down. Growing price rise further depresses living standards. Medical treatment and education become atrociously expensive. Meanwhile the perpetrators of this merciless system workout even more vicious anti-people measures, all the while obnoxiously flaunting their swelling wealth and boasting of billionaire lists.

Another May Day, where immigrant workers are forced to labour as slaves, where the trafficking of women and children continue to increase in staggering proportions, where women continue to suffer the brutality of rape and murder no matter whether its 'backward' Afghanistan or 'advanced' USA, where minorities are isolated and suppressed, where the youth are hounded and persecuted, where the demand for something as minimal as fair wages and living conditions is cut down with bullets and imprisonment.

Another May Day, in the midst of environmental devastations caused by the blind pursuit of profit, in the midst of the rapidly widening chasm of inequality within each society and between imperialist and oppressed countries.

Oppression and exploitation generates resistance. And this resistance grows. This world is witness to the growing wave of class struggles and popular rebellions in country after country. This is a world of turmoil. A wide range of forces are being propelled into struggle against the system. The grooming of the streets is no doubt insufficient for a radical break, for the building of a new society. But it opens up tremendous opportunities for connecting with a whole new generation and winning them over to the revolutionary mis

Bloc Rouge - France . Committee for Building a Maoist Communist Party, Galicia -Spanish state . Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan . Communist Party of India (Maoist) . Democracy and Class Struggle - Wales, British State .Great Unrest WSRP - Wales British State . Long March Towards Communism - Spain . Maoist Communist Group - USA . Maoist Communist Mouvement Tunisia . Maoist Communist Party-France . Maoist Communist Party-Italy . Maoist Revolutionary League (MRL) Sri Lanka . Marxists Leninists Maoists Morocco . Revolutionary Communist Party, Canada (PCR-RCP Canada) . Revolutionary Praxis - United Kingdom . Sheisau Sorelh - Occitany, French State . Serve the People - Communist League of Norway . Servir Le Peuple - Occitany, French State . Workers Voice - Malaysia

sion of communism. It paves the way to revolution. This is principal. It must be firmly grasped.

Just a decade or so ago, the existence of the proletariat itself was questioned. Class struggle was declared redundant and considered to be replaced by movements of 'multitudes'. Today the world is marked by repeated occasions of militant workers struggles, not just in countries like India or China, but even more so in the citadels of imperialism. There is every reason for this. For all the tall talk of the technical wonders of the 21st century, whether in the killing fields of the garment industry in Bangladesh, the slave labour camps of Qatar, the labour barracks in China, or the sweatshops of imperialist countries, the conditions in which the vast majority of proletarians labour are as atrocious as those of the 18th century. Meanwhile, explicitly oppressive methods of control and ever increasing workloads in the modern centres of wage slavery increasingly suffocate the proletarians.

At a different dimension, the ravages of globalisation have deeply marked the oppressed countries. Privatisation and liberalisation have wiped whole sectors of employment and small business. Working conditions, already bad, have become unbearable. This was aggravated by the global crisis. In inverse proportion to the worsening of living conditions of the vast majority, corruption and profit taking by the rulers have reached astronomic peaks. While the miseries of the people multiply, the rulers obstinately pursue grandiose projects eying the fat cuts they will get.

All of this underlies the repeated outbursts of rebellion seen in the world. Business cannot go on as usual. In a certain sense this is true of the impe

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Comrade S. A. Rawoof

Comrade Sheik Abdul Rawoof (Viswam), who was Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI till he retired in 2006, passed away on the 9th of February, at the age of 89. He was suffering from age related diseases. Before laying his body to rest on the 11th evening at his home village of Kuttagulla (Kadiri Taluq, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh) it was kept for public viewing for two days. Thousands of people came from far flung areas to see their dear comrade one last time.

Comrade Rawoof, popularly known as 'SAR', leaves behind inspiring memories of a life wholly dedicated to the cause of the people, to revolution. While a student he was attracted to the Communist Party of India. When the rebellion within the CPI led to the formation of the CPI (Marxist) he immediately joined it. Soon enough he realised that this was nothing more than a disguised version of that old revisionism. Then the great peals of Naxalbari thundered in the Indian sky. Rawoof immediately rallied with the new revolutionary polarisation. He linked up with the comrades in Srikakulam who were already carrying out armed struggle guided by comrade Charu Majumdar and became a member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Following the directive of the party he left his occupation as a lawyer and became a professional revolutionary. He remained that till the very last years of his life; until he was forced to live under continuous medical supervision.

His communist qualities, capacity to integrate with the people, simple living, willingness for hardship and absolute faith in the party and the people have forever endeared him.

Indian State Preys on Revolutionary Intellectuals

In the early days of May, when the election tamasha was on, the Indian state carried out a heinous crime they had been preparing for long. Professor Sai Baba, Joint Secretary of the RDF, was arrested by the Maharashtra police on the 9th of May. For some months now the police had been busy cooking up evidence and framing charges. They had raided his residence, siezed his PC hard disk and questioned him for a full day. The arrest of Sai Baba is one of a series of attacks against the RDF which has been a rallying center in the resistance to the War on The People launched by the previous UPA government under the banner of Operation Greenhunt. Raj Kishore, its elderly and ailing leader, has been implicated in multiple cases. Another leader Gandhi Prasadam was murdered. The organisation is banned in AP. While carrying out the most brutal attacks in the regions of the people's war, the government is keen to suppress all public voices and open resistance. Its intentions were made explicit in the views expressed in the Supreme Court - 'Maoist intellectuals in the urban centers are more dangerous'; meaning they must be suppressed on a priority basis!

This arrest has led to widespread protest, both within and outside the country. A large number of democratic, progressive personages and organisations condemned the arrest as a suppression of basic democratic rights. It is notable that the framing of Saibaba and his arrest took place under the UPA governemnt. Modi's regime will evidently pursue this counter-revolutionary policy even more vigorously. The struggle to secure the release of revolutionary intelluctuals and activists and put an end to the ban and suppression of open mass organisations must be strengthened.

Edward Snowden's Revelations on US Electronic Surveillance

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The top-secret National Security Agency (NSA) documents released by Edward Snowden have disclosed that the US surveillance mechanism is far more extensive and pernicious than has been acknowledged till date by the American rulers. They show that the NSA runs surveillance programs that has the capability of intercepting nearly any electronic communication originating anywhere in the world. As Snowden has noted, the US intelligence agencies are “intent on making every conversation and every form of behaviour in the world known to them.” Edward Snowden’s daring and defiant act has had the effect of showing one more time that capitalism in its highest, moribund stage stands in opposition to even the most basic bourgeois democratic values of liberty, equality and freedom that were once championed by an ascendant capitalist class fighting to throw off the fetters of feudalism. “Finance capital does not want liberty, it wants domination”, commented the Austrian Marxist Hilferding (1877-1941) nearly a century ago. This is even more aptly applicable in the present times.

Snowden is only one among the most well-known of a growing number of skilled IT experts and amateur internet-users who are concerned about the suppression of freedom and democratic rights by the governments and corporations that have monopoly control over the internet. For years, they have been working to develop digital communication tools and technologies to sidestep internet surveillance and control. They skilfully use inter-imperialist contradictions and limited bourgeois freedom offered by liberal European countries to subvert the efforts of imperialist governments and their security agencies. Though small in number, unorganised and often working anonymously, they are an influential section voicing opposition to the threat posed to the common internet users by governments and their agents. Though lacking in a consistent and comprehensive anti-imperialist outlook, they have helped people like Bradley Manning, Julius Assange and Snowden in taking the risky step of confronting their governments. Their network has assisted Snowden in making the disclosures through the media and the internet. By creating public opinion in his defence they helped in his escape from the US dragnet

and in finding shelter in Russia. It is possible that Snowden may become a tool in the hands of the Russia-China bloc in its attempt to undercut the US-led camp by making use of Snowden's disclosures. Giving him a safe haven has already created diplomatic tension between Russia and the US. Russia no doubt has used the opportunity of sheltering Snowden to make things difficult for the US. However, this does not take away the significance of the revelations Snowden has made.

Such exceptional acts of individual courage, however, have brought little change to the ways and means of US imperialism. If anything, these disclosures have made American imperialism even more brazen and arrogant. Nevertheless, such acts help in the further unmasking of US imperialism before the people and add to the anti-imperialist consciousness of the broad masses, and at times trigger militant mass movements like the worldwide Anti-Vietnam War campaign of the 1960s and 70s. They help

There is hardly a country in the world which is free from US electronic surveillance. One of NSA's internal documents released by Snowden shows that in the month of March 2013 alone, it collected electronic communications from Iran amounting to 14 billion, followed by Pakistan (13.5 billion), Jordan (12.7 billion), Egypt (7.6 billion) and India (6.3 billion). It has been reported that the NSA gathered about 15 million telephone data and 10 million internet data from Germany every day. The volume increases to 60 million on busy days, making it half a billion collections in a month from a single country alone. The mammoth scale of this surveillance operation can be gauged by the fact that NSA's data-mining program 'Boundless Informant' catalogued and classified 3 billion communications from the US and 97 billion worldwide in the month of March 2013.

in shattering the illusions of a section of liberal and petty-bourgeois intellectuals across the world about US government's claims of defending liberty, freedom and democracy by fighting wars on foreign lands. Bradley Manning and Edward Snowden belong to the democratic and anti-imperialist section within the American society. Though

very weak and disorganised at present, this anti-imperialist opposition of the American people would gain greater significance in the future as the crisis of US monopoly capital becomes even more acute. Their growth will further strengthen the ranks of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle involving the hundreds of millions of people across the world who continue to be the targets of the US's wars, who are already well aware of what imperialist surveillance is capable of doing.

The people of Iraq, Afghanistan, north-western Pakistan and Yemen face a much more sinister form of mass surveillance in the form of Predator drones that keep an eye on them from the sky. They live under constant shadow of death. Every so often these drones wipe out the lives of unsuspecting people at the push of a button in some command centre located in the US, half way across the world. Ironically, the mass surveillance conducted by NSA on internet and telephone users may appear to them as a much milder act of US imperialism! The victims know from their bitter experience that imperialism is incompatible with democracy and freedom, that they cannot coexist. The people of these countries, therefore, have been putting up death-defying struggles against imperialism to win their liberation.

The methods imperialism deploys in its own country and in foreign lands for maintaining its dominance can be different, ranging from open war and covert operations to secret surveillance. Nevertheless, they constitute different but essential aspects of a single entity. The history of imperialism's development over the last one and a half century demonstrates that gathering of information on a mass scale is an indispensable attribute and inevitable outcome of the dominance of finance capital. It is the

concentration and centralisation of finance capital and the overwhelming control of monopolies that prepare the conditions for mass surveillance.

Development of US Surveillance

The evolution of US's surveillance system has paralleled the stages of development of US imperialism. NSA's earliest predecessor MI 8 was formed in 1917 to decipher coded written and telecommunication messages, during a period when the US started to assert its imperialist ambitions by competing with Great Britain, France and Germany. While MI 8 continued in various avatars till 1930, another organisation called Signal Intelligence Service (SIS) was formed for carrying out surveillance of a larger volume of communications. This, incidentally, was the peak of the Great Depression which afflicted the US economy at an unprecedented scale, followed by higher levels of concentration and centralisation of capital. SIS was renamed Signal Security Agency (SSA) in 1945, and apart from other tasks of surveillance, it intercepted every telegraph cable that entered or left the US.

In the 1950s, the US government felt the need for a nodal, powerful, highly secretive agency to meet its new demands, particularly keeping in view the rapidly advancing communist movements and the successful national-liberation struggles throughout the world. It was no longer possible for imperialism to dominate and rule the colonies as before due to this mass upsurge. This was the period when the old form of direct colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism – the indirect and more deceitful form adopted by imperialism. The US, which emerged as the predominant imperialist power overtaking Britain after World War II, was also concerned about the growing socialist aspirations among its own citizens. Led by the US politician Joseph McCarthy, US government conducted witch-hunts and persecuted American citizens suspected of communism in the early 1950s. This notorious assault on civil liberties came to be known as McCarthyism. It is in this context that NSA was established in 1952 with a secret presidential order, unknown even to the US Congress at the time. It had the specific aim of carrying out worldwide electronic surveillance.

NSA came into existence in 1952, but it was not made public until 1975, earning it the nickname 'No Such Agency'. It was set up exclusively for foreign surveillance operations – but also to keep an eye on 'dissident' US citizens – anti-war protestors, suspected communists. After the existence of NSA was revealed, objections were raised about the all-pervasiveness of US intelligence agencies. The growing concern about the unbridled and unaccountable secretive activities of these agencies led in 1978 to the passing of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), and a FISA court was also established. It stipulated that collection of surveillance data and electronic communication of citizens within US was illegal without a prior permission of the FISA court. In reality, this was nothing but a rubber stamp, since it approved almost all requests made by intelligence agencies. Secret NSA documents released by Snowden have shown that the American telephone company Verizon provided millions of call data of its customers to the NSA in compliance with the order of the FISA court. The court itself is a highly secretive and arbitrary institution. In the Verizon case, only the US government was allowed to be represented and not the company, making a mockery of justice.

Thomas Tamm, an employee of the Justice Department in the US government during George Bush's tenure, revealed that just months after the attack on the Twin Towers, the Bush government authorised secret surveillance of US citizens and others within US through a 'Terrorist Surveillance Program' without the mandatory FISA approval. After this disclosure led to protests, the US government had to declare that it has withdrawn this provision of warrantless surveillance since 2007.

In the year 2008 the collapse of the housing bubble in the US triggered a global crisis of imperialism. Imperialism in crisis had to opt for more drastic and desperate measures. After 9/11, this was the next occasion when the US government led by Barack Obama intensified worldwide economic and

military aggression, which includes the launching of proxy wars in Libya, Syria, North Africa and West Asia in collusion with NATO. This intensified the existing inter-imperialist rivalry. As a corollary to these developments, US surveillance system has been further expanded since 2008, giving more powers to NSA and other agencies to tap mass data, making these agencies even more powerful than they were during Bush's regime. One example of this is that the US Congress removed much of the legal scruples in conducting secret mass surveillance inside and outside the US by passing the FISA Amendment Act, 2008. The amendment did away with the mandatory prior court approval. This Amendment Act was renewed in December 2012, ensuring that the practice would continue. Incidentally, this was one of the factors that led to Edward Snowden's decision to make public disclosures.

To come out of the crisis, the US will continue to dominate its European rivals and the Russia-China economic bloc to consolidate its sphere of influence and even to expand it. Similarly, as the crisis is inevitably leading to further concentration and centralisation of finance capital due to a series of bankruptcies, mergers, acquisitions and 'bail-outs', the larger monopolies including the internet and telephone companies are aiming to dominate the world market more completely. These developments can only result in more intense and pervasive methods of surveillance and espionage, with the difference that the disclosures and the ensuing public protests would now make such sur-

Apart from England, NSA coordinates with spy agencies of US allies like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Like the US and UK, Germany too has been said to be collecting cellular and internet data related to the people of its country. For instance, it receives user data from the German subsidiary of Apple, the US smart-phone monopoly. China too is not far behind in the race. The largest Chinese monopoly Huawei with worldwide operations was forced to declare its withdrawal from the US after it was revealed that the equipment it sold in the US were planted with secret embedded programs which could automatically retrieve data in personal computers and mobile devices of consumers, and send them automatically to China without the user coming to know about it.

veillance even more clandestine and secretive.

In such circumstances, the expectation that

a mass medium like the internet dominated by monopolistic corporations can be a place of freedom, individual liberty and privacy is only an illusion. It is true that much of the commonly used internet tools and services such as browsers, emails and social networking come free of cost and are used freely by a significant proportion of people in every country. But this does not in the least mean that this makes the internet free, i.e., in the sense of being a world of freedom and liberty. On the contrary, 'internet freedom' today costs the users their real freedom. This will continue to be so as long as the internet and telephone networks remain in the clutches of the monopolistic companies and the imperialist states that are concrete expressions of monopoly bourgeois political power. As long as imperialism remains what it is, there is no doubt that it will continue and intensify the search and surveillance of people keeping pace with modern technological advances, even though the scale of mass surveillance carried out by specific imperialist countries may increase or decrease as per their growth and decline until imperialism is finally consigned to its grave by the people.

Control of the internet by US monopolies

The foundation of US's mass 'online' surveillance machine has its roots in US monopoly capitalism. Most of the major US internet companies have developed from small firms into monopolies. Today's multi-billion dollar US corporations like Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, etc. were all started by computer programmers as mere hobbies. But after these ventures became successful and attracted massive investment of finance capital, they acquired the character of monopolies by dominating the market, buying out competitors, and involving in all the practices against 'free competition' characteristic of monopolies.

By controlling the private data of millions of internet users, these companies have largely divided the virtual space of the internet amongst themselves. This division of the virtual world by monopolistic corporations is a reflection of the division of the real world by monopolies, the characteristic feature of capitalism in the era of imperialism. If Google and Yahoo have a monopolistic control over the bulk of world's email traffic, Facebook has monopolised social networking and Twitter is the last word in micro-blogging. Google became the owner of the world's largest digital video collection by acquiring YouTube. It holds the largest collection of e-books through Google Books. All major US internet companies have charted a similar path. On the way to becoming gigantic monopolies with revenue worth billions of dollars, these mammoth companies have crushed competition by buying up competitors or forcing them to go bankrupt. They have stifled innovation and creativity.

The internet companies indicted by Snowden's disclosures are the new monopolies of the world. Though new in form, they are of the same essence as the old monopolies. They are the products of finance capital, the foundation of imperialism. So they too cannot escape the character that stamps the old form of monopolies, the essence that differentiates them from companies and capital under free competition – capitalism that for the sake of its own interest stands in support of bourgeois democratic values of freedom, liberty, individuality, inviolability of privacy and private property. These are characters of capitalism during its first stage – the stage of its growth. Engels outlines its characteristics at this stage, "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality before the law of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings" (Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*). In the monopoly stage, capital becomes reactionary. It turns against freedom and liberty in its quest for domination, not only throttling freedom of individuals but undermining the sovereignty and independence of foreign countries and peoples. The reign of the monopolies becomes "a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable" than under

capitalist free competition. "We see here the monopolists throttling those which do not submit to them, to their yoke, to their dictation", (Lenin, *Imperialism*, p.26).

When competition transforms into monopoly, socialization of production proceeds immensely. This is in contrast to the time of old capitalism, when freely competing "manufacturers, scattered and out of touch with one another" produced "for an unknown market" (Lenin, *Imperialism*, p.24). Though socialization of production is expanded under free competition as well, individual capitalists have very limited and imperfect information and knowledge about raw material, labour and the market. Information of and knowledge about the conditions of production and consumption are crucial for taking socialization of production to a higher level. Monopolization achieves this because the monopoly entrepreneur is better informed due to the organization of production by a single monopoly, cartel, syndicate or conglomerate spanning the whole industry, economy, or even the whole world.

This provides the objective ground to the monopoly capitalist to obtain more complete information about its spheres of activities, including raw material, market, the prevailing prices and the consumers. Concentration and centralization of information/ intelligence in the hands of the monopolist is an inescapable outcome of the concentration and centralization of capital at a higher level. Obtaining information about the market and the customers by analysing mass data is a precondition for monopoly practices, it is constitutive of monopoly capitalism, no matter if it is in violation of customer 'privacy' or 'freedom of choice'. This process can be observed in the development of the US internet monopolies. Nearly all the big internet companies monitor private user data and people's 'internet behaviour' for generating 'customized' advertisements and for individualised marketing of commodities. Knowing about the tastes and choices of billions of internet and telephone users require the storage

and analysis of mammoth amounts of customer-generated electronic data for prolonged periods, forging of highly specialised technologies for user data analysis, and trained IT experts to run such operations. The same database, expertise and mechanism in the hands of US monopolies are used by the US government to spy on its citizens and the people of the world. Given the commonality of objectives and interests, the agreement between the state and the corporations to work together in running mass surveillance programs comes quite ‘naturally’.

Snowden has revealed that nine of these US monopolies including Microsoft, Apple, Google, Facebook and Yahoo – the who’s who of the cyber world – have been providing ‘backdoor’ access to their networks to the NSA to collect information about the billions of people who use their services. Microsoft Corporation, among the world’s largest IT companies, was the first to join NSA’s ‘Prism’ mass surveillance program in September 2007. Yahoo joined it in March 2008, Google and Facebook in January and June 2009, YouTube in September 2010, Skype in February 2011, Apple in October 2012, and so on. Snowden has also disclosed with documentary proof that the US telephone major, Verizon Communications, allowed the NSA to examine and analyse the communication data of millions of its users. Prior to the Snowden revelations, AT&T, one of the world’s largest telephone companies based in the US, allowed NSA to intercept the telecommunication data flowing through its network.

The internet and telecommunication companies have become among the most profit-making companies during the last two decades. These giant corporations depend on the US state to not only protect the home-market, but also for expanding their worldwide operations, for buying up competitors and exporting their capital beyond the national frontiers. The US government facilitates their entry into international markets by using its economic, political and military clout, by forcing other countries to tear

down tariff-barriers and trade ‘protectionism’, and ensures their smooth operation in these off-shore markets. These corporations are the chief beneficiaries of the ‘reconstruction’ of countries ravaged by America’s wars. The US government is a crucial buyer of these corporation’s goods and services, contributing a significant portion to their revenue. As a result, none of these companies are interested in putting up genuine resistance to the government’s illegitimate espionage efforts. No surprise that these corporations fund the Democrats and Republicans alike, and both follow similar domestic and foreign policies that serve the interests of the US monopoly bourgeoisie and their political representative. Thus, the US government and the internet/telephone companies are all together in promoting mass surveillance and behave in similar manner, since doing so serves their common economic interests. Such collaboration has also been given a le-

At least nine major US internet and telecom companies including Microsoft, Apple, Google, Facebook and Yahoo allow NSA the access to their database and communication network for undertaking mass surveillance. These companies are said to be partners in NSA’s mammoth surveillance program called ‘Prism’. Started in September 2007 by initially involving Microsoft, this mechanism over the years incorporated other big companies. It allows NSA or the private companies contracted by it to directly access the servers of the major internet and telecommunication companies and to retrieve the desired information without following any legal procedure. With this method, NSA has been accessing the communication between the email users of Google and Yahoo, the world’s largest email service providers, by clandestinely tapping into the fibre-optic cables connecting their servers. In this way NSA has been secretly retrieving stored as well as real-time communication data of millions of internet and telephone users across the globe.

gal foundation by a series of laws enacted by the US Congress which make it mandatory for the companies to pass on information. The recent law adopted by the US, notably to control government access, hardly makes any significant change in this. Ironically, monopoly internet companies like Microsoft are themselves complaining about this. They suffered big losses in their customer base due to the Snowden disclosures (Facebook alone saw 2.5 million closing their accounts). They are therefore keen to redeem their ‘integrity’ by posing as the saviours of net privacy!

Monopolisation of the internet and telecommunication leaves the people with hardly any choice, because availing the services of any of the corporations that have monopolised the market, make them equally susceptible to supervision, scrutiny and surveillance. The collaboration of the private corporations and the government intelligence organizations have ensured that no communication made through telephone or internet networks can be kept entirely hidden or absolutely 'private', notwithstanding their utterance of pious odes to privacy and individual freedom. To expect otherwise in the age of imperialism is mere illusion.

The much-celebrated freedom of instant communication and creative expression provided by the internet has never been free after all. As is now known, NSA has been monitoring the people who used Microsoft products to access the internet ever since the launch of Windows 95 way back in 1995, the first version of Microsoft's most profitable product, and which played an important role in popularizing the internet. This shows that internet, after it became a medium of mass communication from being an exclusive medium of communication within the US defence establishment where it was born, has always remained subject to mass surveillance.

Electronic surveillance in India

One of Snowden's disclosures is the revelation that India is among the countries most closely monitored by the NSA's mass surveillance program. This is not surprising, given the economic and geo-strategic importance of the country for US imperialism. Unlike the European governments under similar intelligence scanner, the Indian government has not even made any token protest against this flagrant violation of sovereignty as well as the undermining of international laws involved in the process. It demonstrates the servility of the Indian rulers to US imperialism and presents another proof of the country's lack of genuine independence.

To complement its dictatorial rule by use of force and violence against dissidents, the Indian ruling classes have been making efforts to set up a National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC). It has already made National Investigation Agency

(NIA) functional which has extensive powers to arrest and interrogate anyone anywhere in the country. Along similar lines and for similar purposes, the National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID) and the Central Monitoring System (CMS) have been established in 2011. This is an ambitious project to create a database of India's residents that will provide the intelligence agencies 21 categories of data at the click of a mouse. The proposed NCTC is to supervise this NATGRID as well as the other intelligence gathering mechanism – the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS). The massive 'Aadhar' program aimed at the collection of telemetric data of the entire Indian population is one more step in the direction of mass surveillance. Equipment and programming for the wholesale collection of communication data has been put in place. All these steps taken by the Indian state are as per the guidelines of the 'National Surveillance Policy' and a replication of the surveillance systems already put in place in the US. Under this policy, the Indian security agencies do not need to procure any judicial or executive permission to collect data from government and private electronic networks.

In fact, the US government and its various security agencies are guiding India in this. India's NIA, RAW and other central intelligence agencies are closely connected with the worldwide surveillance and espionage network of NSA, FBI, GCHQ, Mossad and others, and work as their extensions in India. The opening of a FBI office in Delhi in 2011 shows a further development of this process. This has become much more pronounced after the launch of global 'War on Terror' campaign by the US. Following this, Indian government started its own version of 'War on Terror', in which intelligence agencies play a crucial role. Reflecting the subservience of India's ruling classes to various imperialist powers, in the sphere of intelligence gathering too Indian security agencies work as appendages to the strategic interests of imperialism. Indian intelligence personnel get trained in US and other imperialist countries. They are provided with latest technolo-

gies and equipment developed in these countries. In this way, Indian security agencies play their role as custodians of the economic and political interests of imperialism in South Asia region. Similarly, these agencies are active in India's neighbouring countries and are important medium of carrying out the expansionist policies of the Indian ruling classes. They interfere in the internal political matters of these countries, dictate terms to them wherever possible, facilitate the financial interests of Indian comprador capital, and in other ways seek to further India's expansionist foreign policy in the region.

Apart from the central intelligence agencies, different State governments have their own powerful organizations that work in coordination with the former, particularly in the sphere of electronic surveillance and intelligence sharing. These agencies are most developed and active in the States where militant people's movements – be it revolutionary movements, national-liberation struggles or other democratic struggles – are going on and have a strong social base. These agencies are specialised in playing a complimentary role to the police and armed forces in crushing such movements, and are increasingly using electronic surveillance methods for this purpose. These apart, the Indian army and various other armed paramilitary wings of the Indian state have their own intelligence units that operate in the regions of their deployment.

Thus, the Indian rulers enthusiastically support and collaborate with the imperialist surveillance apparatus and run their own surveillance system in the country, making a farce of constitutional protection, civil liberties and democratic rights. As a part of this, security agencies of the Indian government have been placing a large number of requests to US internet companies every year to provide information and private data of Indian internet users. Quite recently, government agencies tried to clandestinely monitor the email accounts of hundreds of Muslims in Kerala whom it suspected of being involved in 'terrorist activities'. In the name of 'national security' and its own 'War on Terror' against the Muslims, the Indian government forced Canadian telephone company Blackberry to submit the secret codes through which it encrypted the communications of its customers, by threatening it with closure. Enacting the so-called Right to Information Act with fanfare, ostensibly allowing the people the right to collect information about government functioning on the one hand, while clandestinely collecting information about the people themselves in a completely lawless manner on the other, makes this fraudulent 'right' even more farcical and ridiculous.

These developments are signs of the increasing fascisation of the Indian state and the growth of neo-fascism worldwide. Some has termed this phenomenon as the rise of the 'Security State' – and after the Snowden revelations – as that of the 'Surveillance State'. Fascist rule of the Indian ruling classes in all its nakedness has so far been most starkly visible to the people in certain regions of the subcontinent, such as Kashmir, the North East, Maoist struggle areas, Punjab and Tamil Eelam in the 1980s, as well as in its persecution of Muslims, Dalits and Adivasis. History teaches us that let alone genuine struggles by the oppressed, the growing fascist repression of the Indian state would target even the opposition parliamentary parties! The notorious Emergency remains as a reminder. With the RSS now in command of the state through the Modi regime fascisation is bound to get intensified at all levels. This has its obverse side too. The motion of the joint dictatorship of the feudal class and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie in India towards more decadence, reaction and desperation would shatter the facade of the 'world's largest democracy' to a growing number of people in India, including the internet-using urban and rural middle classes/petty bourgeoisie, so proud of the 'freedoms of Indian democracy'.



Iraq: A Tangled Web Of Conflicts

Just two months back the media was full of Syria. Then it was Ukraine. And now it's the turn of Iraq. Though different in origins and nature all of them are inter-related. They have their immediate impulses in the contention between various imperialist powers and the resistance to oppression.

The US occupation of Iraq had stirred up a cauldron of sectarian strife. Its toppling of the Saddam regime opened space for the Shia compradors to come to power. Yet, when it came to pacifying the resistance, the US had to rely on Sunni tribal chieftains while putting down Shia militancy. Somehow showing a semblance of 'return to normalcy' it beat a hasty retreat. But the evil outcome of its deals soon came forth. The raging civil war in Iraq, with the Sunni Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) pitted against the Shia dominated puppet government of Nur Maliki, is a continuation of this. ISIS is an offshoot of the al-Qaeda. It emerged strong through the Syrian civil war, with Saudi Arabian backing. That war was another of the US's diabolic interventions, seeking to replace the Assad regime with a more pliant one. Assad hung on with Russian support. Interestingly, recent reports say that the ISIS raised its war fund substantially by selling oil it now controls in Syria to the Syrian government! To make this tangle even more complicated we see Iran, predominantly Shia, jumping into the Iraqi civil war, supporting the Maliki government. It has even declared willingness to collaborate with the US to fight against the ISIS. In Syria both are on opposing sides! But Iran's involvement, or any deal with it, is unpalatable to the Saudi regime, at present the most important pillar of US domination in the Arab world.

As the US desperately tries to control the situation in Iraq, without getting drawn back in, Russia is silent for the moment, apparently. An intensification of conflict in Iraq is to its benefit. That would keep

the US heavily engaged. One fallout of the Iraq development can be seen in the sudden reversal of the Ukrainian regime's declaration of an all-out offensive against the Russian rebels in its Eastern border regions. Evidently, it did not get the support offered earlier by Western imperialist powers, mainly the US. The ISIS advance has upset many plans. No matter the immediate outcome, it is going to be an important component on the international scene, impacting far beyond West Asia.

There are several contradictions and layers in these conflicts — Syria, Ukraine and Iraq. Unlike the people's upsurges seen in numerous countries, they are directly related to the contention — global and regional — between imperialist powers and reactionary comprador regimes. Yet it would be simplistic and wrong to reduce them to mere manifestations of such contentions. That would leave out the underlying internal contradictions, which provide the material ground. They need not be explicitly expressed in class terms. Yet all of them are rooted in oppressive and exploitative relations sustained by the imperialist system. Recognising this is extremely important, as a vantage point for revolutionary intervention.

The civil war in Iraq has taken its toll for India in the form of citizens trapped there or kidnapped. This reveals the Indian presence in strife-torn regions of the world. Much of the manual work of the US military camps in these places is done by low-paid workers from India and other countries. Such recruitment is done with the knowledge of the Indian government, only interested in the dollars they sent home. Modi has said that he will do everything possible to bring back Indian citizens. He may do that. But what needs to be fundamentally addressed is the basic reasons that drive Indians to desperately seek employment in danger zones, despite knowing the risks involved.

...from page 10. "The Modi Verdict"

- more of this Sangh Parivar variation of the repressive moves initiated by the UPA government.

The boosting of Indian jingoism, and the positioning of itself as the legitimate guardian and executor of its interests will be one of the distinguishing features of the Brahmanic Hindu fascism contained in the Modi regime. His insistence that the name anti-Naxalite be replaced by 'anti-Maoist' in the designation of the nodal government wing charged with the planning and co-ordination of counter-revolutionary moves directed against the people's war led by the CPI(Maoist) well indicates this. The attempt is to deny any 'national' moorings to the revolutionary movement and paint it as a 'foreign' import, that too from the arch rival China. More than ever before, the necessity to launch a counter-offensive against the deceitful banner of Indian nationalism, exposing its imperialist servility, expansionism, internal national oppression and reactionary Brahmanic core, is acutely demanded by the new dispensation in Delhi. So too is the need to challenge, from multiple angles (the interest of the people and sustainability of environment included) the whole paradigm of development pushed by the Indian state. In both of these aspects, the ideological war

... a counter-offensive against the deceitful banner of Indian nationalism, exposing its imperialist servility, expansionism, internal national oppression and reactionary Brahmanic core, is acutely demanded by the new dispensation in Delhi. So too is the need to challenge, from multiple angles, the whole paradigm of development pushed by the Indian state.

will be greatly strengthened by drawing on the valuable products of the people's war raging in the Central and Eastern regions of India - the new people's power, its new economy serving the people, the new culture which has allowed the flourishing of the ethnic (national) while enriching it with the internationalist values of the proletariat.

The coming days will be extremely challenging for the Maoist movement,

which will have to bear the brunt of the Modi regime's attack. But, through its inherent divisiveness and explicit anti-democratic nature, the regime itself will create a new, and vast, opportunity for the Maoists to unite with a very broad section of forces. It has already shaken up the complacency of a large section of intellectuals comfortable with 'Indian democracy'. Concerned enquiry into what made this electoral verdict possible and what it portends for the future is called into agenda. This allows for a better audience for Maoist views and an active engagement with diverse trends.

If the 'democratic awakening' of the broad middle classes only came in the wake of the Emergency, Indira's fascist rule, Modi's Brahmanic Hindu fascist regime arrives within a heightened consciousness. More importantly, it comes amidst a broad awakening among all most all sections of the exploited and oppressed. It is confronted by a wide array of struggles from day one, the people's war at its van. Opportunities and openings for broad resistance will also be provided by contradictions among the ruling classes and their imperialist mentors. For all the wealth and influence provided by the ruling classes to secure a massive majority and end the uncertainties of coalition governments, the Sangh Parivar couldn't make a dent in many States, particularly those with entrenched nationality based parties.

Though they have been greatly reduced in numbers, the vote shares of regional players like the BSP and SP too remain without much loss. Internationally, the growing contention between the US and Russia, the instability in West Asia and the fallout of US downscaling in Afghanistan is going to create a very complicated situation. Contradictions of ideology and the demands of realpolitik determined by geopolitical compulsions will create more tangles. For example there is the essential pro-US orientation of the Sangh Parivar and the uneasy reality of limits to US leaning on Pakistan. The artificial aura created around Modi, the honeymoon period, is not going to last long – even for the ruling classes. •

from page 13. “A Close look...’ definite hunger strikes in two years without success. So, the founders of AAP decided that “begging will not work” and that “It is time to uproot these parties and change the whole system” – ironically, by forming a new parliamentary party and entering the electoral fray against these parties.

The “movement” refers to the anti-corruption agitation spearheaded by Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal from April 2011 demanding the passage of an anti-corruption legislation called Jan Lokpal which they had drafted. They demanded a statutory body called Lokpal similar to the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) or the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), which would have the power to probe into complaints of corruption and financial malpractices by public servants and government functionaries from their lowest level up to the prime minister. The proponents of the bill claimed that such a powerful body – independent of political influence and pressure unlike the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) – is the only way to effectively check rampant corruption. They argued that the fear of being probed and punished by this institution alone would stop the swindling of government exchequer and the fleecing of the citizens by corrupt politicians and bureaucrats.

The idea of drafting bills by the members of ‘civil society’ and then lobbying with the government of the day for adopting it for legislation through the parliament is not new. NGOs in India have been doing this for some years, including the enactment of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (now rechristened MNREGA), Right to Information (RTI) Act, Forest Rights Act (FRA) etc. These laws came up during the last ten years of Congress-led UPA rule. It has encouraged such efforts by social activists and has in fact constituted a National Advisory Council (NAC) to facilitate such collaboration between the government and NGOs. This body has seen well known members, associated mostly with NGOs

but also with social movements, academia, media, and so on. This was billed as a suitable means for bringing about “inclusive growth” and “globalisation with a human face” – catchwords of the UPA government.

As a prominent NGO activist of Delhi, Arvind Kejriwal has been a close participant of this process. Trained to be a technocrat at the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), he chose civil service as his career after a short stint at the Tata Steel. While serving as an Indian Revenue Service officer posted in the Income Tax Department of Delhi, Kejriwal was associated with an NGO called Sampurn Parivartan (‘Complete Change’) in the late 1990s. His work with this NGO was directed towards fighting corruption in the IT department and ‘reforms’ in the electricity department in East Delhi. From 2000 he worked with other NGO activists to prepare the draft of RTI Act and campaigned for it till it was passed in 2005. But in August 2002 he parted ways with Sampurn Parivartan and established his own NGO called Parivartan (‘change’). It worked for reforms in the Public Distribution System (PDS), against corruption in Delhi Jal Board and its privatisation, development work in slums, etc. In 2006, he resigned from his job and another NGO called Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF), with Manish Sisodiya, Prashant Bhushan, Kiran Bedi and others as its trustees.

The two NGOs that Kejriwal established, particularly PCRF, have been promoting the idea of Swaraj or “participatory democrac founded y”, whereby on the one hand it seeks to bring the people closer to the government by making them participate in decision-making, and on the other it aims at making the government more “accountable” to the people. The organisational form PCRF proposed was the area sabha (council) – a body constituted by all the eligible voters of an area. Through this body, every locality is supposed to take decisions collectively and to make government functionaries, including politicians and bureaucrats, work as per the decisions made in these bodies. It is proposed as a mecha-

nism to bring about a revolutionary change to the way the present system works. This is termed as 'participatory democracy' in contrast to the 'representative democracy' now existing, where the voters have only the right to elect a representative once in five years. This was the 'parivartan' (change) Arvind Kejriwal has envisioned through Swaraj, signified by the very name of his NGO.

The second term of the UPA government in office starting from mid-2009 was marked by several instances of embezzlement of public funds by the politician-bureaucrat nexus involving lakhs of crores of rupees, overtaking all such cases in the past. The exposure of the fraudulent 2G spectrum sales leading to a loss of 1.7 lakh crores to the government and the subsequent imprisonment of the

Central minister for Telecom attracted wide indignation. The issue of illegal coal mining in Karnataka by the Reddy brothers in Bellary district of Karnataka under the patronage of the State's then chief minister Yeddiurappa and the investigation by Karnataka's Lokayukta Hegde which exposed this swindling, leading to the CM's resignation and the arrest of Bellary brothers, brought out the unprecedented scale and magnitude of these frauds. News of other such swindles emerged from all over the country including Krishna-Godavari basin allocation for gas extraction, Commonwealth Games, Adarsh Housing Society, Augusta Westland etc. – a never-ending list of scams.

The oft-used term corruption as deployed by AAP and others of its ilk is in itself a clever way of defending the existing political system. The term corruption signifies a state of contamination, which presupposes a prior state of purity, from which this corruption or degeneration has begun. When corruption is used with regard to the present system or its bureaucracy, to signify that the system or the bureaucracy is corrupt, it simultaneously indicates that it has corrupted from a pure or ideal state. It stealthily hides the fact that "a corrupt bureaucracy" is a misnomer; because what a corrupt bureaucracy does is precisely what it is supposed to do (not talking of this or that bureaucrat, who may be honest or dishonest, corrupt or non-corrupt, etc. as individuals) – to facilitate the exploitation and repression of the oppressed by the oppressor class. There can be no good, honest or pro-people bureaucracy. Along with the state and the standing army, the existence of bureaucracy itself points to the existence of the irreconcilable class contradictions between the vast majority of the oppressed who are deprived of the means of production and the minority of oppressors who control all the means of production available in the society.

In the wake of this 'scam deluge', NGOs and voluntary groups took up the work of drafting an anti-corruption bill and started campaigning for a Lokpal at the all-India level. Arvind Kejriwal and his associates came up with their own version of the bill called 'Jan Lokpal', drafted by a group led by Santosh Hegde, the former Karnataka Lokayukta. India Against Corruption (IAC), initially financed by Kejriwal's NGO PCRFB, was formed for running a campaign for the passage of the bill in the parliament. It was visualised along the line of what were considered to be successful NGO-led campaigns introducing NREGA, RTI act, and so on. Apart from Prashant Bhushan, Kiran Bedi and others who were already associated with PCRFB, Kejriwal roped in Anna Hazare, Santosh Hegde, Shanti Bhushan, Swami Ag-

nivesh and other public figures to lead an agitation for the bill.

Anna Hazare, a former Indian Army driver turned social reformer, ran his own NGO called Swaraj Hind Trust in his village Ralegan Siddhi in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. Close to the Hindutva-fascist Sangh Parivar, he promotes reactionary Hindu brahminical practices in the village including the caste system and Untouchability while ostensibly encouraging inter-caste harmony. Making the village temple his abode, Hazare reigns like a feudal lord, issuing authoritarian diktats that few can challenge. His word is the writ in the village, particularly for the oppressed. Physical punishment including beating and social boycott is prac-

ticed in the name of prohibition of alcohol and other so-called social evils. Thoroughly seeped in feudal values and practices, Anna Hazare also works closely with big businesses in carrying out various corporate-sponsored “community development” activities in the village through his NGO. No doubt, strong elements of ideological commonality brought Arvind Kejriwal and Anna Hazare together in their anti-corruption agitation.

The Politics of the Jan Lokpal agitation

The stage was thus set for the much-publicised hunger strikes of Anna Hazare, Arvind Kejriwal and IAC against the Congress-led UPA government, which took the field first at Delhi’s Jantar Mantar in April 2011 and again in September 2011 at Ramleela Maidan. A nondescript agitation at the beginning, the arrest and jail of Anna Hazare made it to the media headlines. NGOs, corporate houses and their media, and RSS-affiliate Hindutva-fascist organisations worked for making this agitation a success not only in Delhi, but also in different urban centers of the country. In Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal, both feudalism and imperialism found their trusted lieutenants. Whereas BJP and RSS found a means in IAC’s anti-corruption agitation to corner the Congress-led UPA government (since BJP was no less mired in allegations of corruption than Congress to lead an effective frontal assault against it), imperialism and the Indian compradors found in it a means of demanding ‘good governance’ and ‘clean politics’. Funds largely came from big companies, while most of the ‘volunteering’ and organising was done from behind by RSS organisations.

A section of the urban petty bourgeoisie – intellectuals, corporate employees, small traders, small industrialists etc. – found their grievances being voiced, and extended their support. The anti-corruption agitation stirred up some enthusiasm among the urban masses too, given their frustration and hatred against parliamentary system and because Kejriwal and his NGOs have had some

influence in a few pockets of Delhi where they have been carrying out work for several years. But it had little influence among the rural people, particularly the peasantry and landless labourers constituting the vast majority of the country’s population. It was an agitation without the participation of the downtrodden and oppressed toiling masses. It was a televised spectacle where the oppressed masses were supposed to play the role of spectators. In its political essence, the Anna Hazare/Arvind Kejriwal-led anti-corruption agitation turned out to be a reactionary right-wing mobilisation primarily of the urban petty bourgeoisie for promulgating a reactionary legislation couched in the rhetoric of the “common man”.

For all its sound and fury, the Ramleela grounds agitation ended tamely in a compromise between its leaders and the government. A government-appointed committee was formed. This outcome was later termed as failure by Kejriwal and his associates. The leaders got divided on the question of the future course to be taken. On the one side was Kejriwal and others like Manoj Sisodia, Prashant Bhushan, Yogendra Yadav etc. who wanted to enter parliamentary politics to “change the system from within”. On the other were Anna Hazare, Kiran Bedi, Santosh Hegde and the like who wanted to stay away from “the muck of politics” and to remain “apolitical”. The opposition of the camp led by Anna Hazare and Kiran Bedi to the suggestion of entering parliamentary politics is not difficult to ascertain. Their sympathies lie more with the BJP and the Sangh brigade and they could foresee that the new political party proposed by Kejriwal and company was destined to harm the electoral prospects of BJP. The Kejriwal camp, on the other hand, was facing a dead-end in their anti-corruption agitation. Forming a political party was seen as a way out of the impasse and to encash the support its anti-corruption movement had received. The famed Team Anna thus split in 2012, a little more than a year after launching their so-called crusade. The stage was cleared for the formation of AAP.

Since the introduction of neo-liberal policies, NGOs have been nurtured and promoted by US imperialism and other imperialist countries – as instruments of protecting their respective interests. While one set of NGOs claim to be apolitical or politically neutral, others lead protests and people's movements; some even organising agitations for 'good governance' and toppling governments. This phenomenon is not peculiar to India. It can be seen throughout the backward countries of Asia, Africa and South America. They play an important role on behalf of the imperialists and their domestic compradors in diverting people's discontent against the ruling classes to peaceful, constitutional and harmless paths. They see to it that the most oppressed of the society do not raise the battle-cry of overthrowing the present exploitative set-up in order to reorganise society on just lines. For this, they divide the oppressed masses and address their problems in an isolated way, so that they do not forge class unity to fight the present system in its totality.

This applies to Parivartan, PCRf and IAC as well – three different forms of Kejriwal-led NGO activism. They all use 'fashionable, radical terminology...in the subtlest of ways'; they deploy a new vocabulary – "empowerment", "accountability", "transparency", "participatory democracy", "direct democracy", "social justice", "human rights", etc. to attract the masses. These NGOs have raised issues close to the daily lives of the people of Delhi – speaking up against privatisation of water, for example – to win the confidence and trust of the people. But the main area of work by Kejriwal and his NGOs was in introducing imperialist-dictated reforms. A central part of this work was that of establishing "corruption-free governance" – an issue high on the agenda of World Bank, WTO, and other imperialist organisations for the oppressed countries. For this, Parivartan and PCRf received funds routed through Ford Foundation and Ramon Magsaysay Award Trust, and others. It is worth mentioning here that PCRf was started with

the prize-money received with the Magsaysay Award by Arvind Kejriwal in 2006, and PCRf in turn established India Against Corruption in 2010. An eclectic mix of rhetoric borrowed from the Gandhian Gram Swaraj and the 'socialist' politics of Lohia and Jayprakash Narayan was put together to give these organisations an ideological aura.

Be it Parivartan, PCRf or IAC, every one of them tries "to diffuse the struggle against imperialist globalisation, strives to seek alternatives within the status quo i.e., within the world capitalist system, rejects class struggle and opposes revolutionary violence, and acts as a safety valve for venting the wrath of the masses through peaceful channels". Let us recall that the JP movement too played this role when the sparks Naxalbari threatened to flare-up into a countrywide conflagration. Different regional parties which have their roots in people's movements have also played the same role of diverting struggles from developing into higher stages and militant forms. Though largely confined within the country's capital, Kejriwal's NGOs have broadly conformed to this rule.

AAP's Rhetoric

The fight against corruption and advocacy for a tough anti-corruption law in the form of Jan Lokpal has been the central electoral plank of AAP and its leaders. It creates the illusion among the toiling people that it would be possible to get rid of the parasites preying on them simply by filing complaints directly with the Lokayukt. AAP promises that the enactment of Jan Lokpal will result in the conviction of the guilty, confiscation of their property and dismissal from their post within two years. Along with passing the Jan Lokpal bill, AAP has also pledged to enact the Right to Recall Act to give the people the option of recalling elected representatives who are found to be corrupt and incompetent.

The ruling classes do not oppose the demand for tough laws, because they can ensure that such laws are applied selective-

ly. Besides, it pays to punish a few to save the class as a whole. There is no dearth of tough laws in India, including those aimed at checking corruption in the government and the bureaucracy. Indeed, the Lokayukt appointed as per the Lokpal Act will utilise the existing anti-corruption laws to probe and punish public servants. Thus, the Congress and the BJP came together in December 2013 to pass the Lokpal Bill which was lying in cold storage for decades. Moreover, rather than attacking the sinews of the parasitic state institutions that feed on the society and the hard-earned product of people's labour, AAP's measures of "anti-corruption" and "direct democracy" will end up adding to the elephantine bureaucracy. It will increase the authoritarian power of the state to be used against the masses.

During the Delhi assembly elections AAP raised the slogan – "No hollow claims, no false promises; the politics of truth, the pledge of Swaraj". It says that running a good government in the service of the people is impossible with the existing political structure. The structure therefore has to be changed. AAP proposes to establish what it calls 'Swaraj' – the direct rule of the people. Once this Swaraj is established through the Swaraj Act to be passed by a victorious AAP, "The victims of the system will themselves take decisions and government officials will implement them". The organisational form of Swaraj is to be Gram Sabhas (Village Councils) for rural areas and Mohalla Sabhas (Locality Councils) for urban areas. These Sabhas will have the right to decide on local issues and a share of government funds will be directly given for spending on public purposes in their localities. Government-run schools and hospitals would be brought under Gram Sabhas and Mohalla sabhas to make them answerable to the local people who could take action against errant public servants like doctors and teachers. Government schemes will be implemented through the Sabhas. In this way AAP wishes to ensure participatory democracy and to 'restore political power' in the hands

of the common masses. This, it claims, would not only effectively put a check on corruption, price rise and other problems besetting the people, but will establish real independence and real democracy.

AAP's "Swaraj" borrows from the organisational forms and provisions invented by the working class in the course of their struggle against their oppressors, be it the right to elect and right to recall elected representatives, or the ending of the privileges and perks of elected representatives. These measures inaugurated by the first worker's power, the Paris Commune of 1871, were intended to begin the dissolution of a "special body" of individuals as rulers, privileged bureaucrats and people, of the state that "stands above society". They were the means of smashing the existing system. By making these revolutionary provisions mere appendages to the existing system, AAP turns them into their opposites, i.e., reactionary and fascistic provisions aimed at strengthening the present political dispensation. The AAP's Sabhas will not replace the present political structure, but will be within the "larger framework" of the Indian constitution. In fact, decisions on 'bigger issues' will be taken by the State and Central governments. Central laws will take precedence in any dispute. The Central government will continue to take decisions affecting the whole country and on issues such as "national security" while Gram and Mohalla Sabhas will only be involved in local administration.

This exposes the hollowness of the claim that the so-called Swaraj will be an alternative to the existing political set-up. In reality, the Gram Sabhas and Mohalla Sabhas AAP wants to constitute as organs of local self-government are to be supplementary and subordinate to the present political system of parliamentary democracy. Why else will the "decision on bigger issues" be taken by the State and Central governments? How can these Sabhas be different from already existing institutions of local self-government such as Panchayats, District and

Block councils, which replicate, perpetuate and in fact help to consolidate the dictatorship of the feudal forces and the comprador bourgeoisie? All institutional reforms, since the introduction of the parliamentary system, have consolidated class domination. They were instruments for assuaging the masses and thus sustaining class rule.

The leaders of AAP call their party the instrument of this change. They say that AAP is not a mere addition to the long list of parliamentary parties clamouring for power. It is here to change the politics of this country and the system. It says that the time has come “to uproot these parties and change the whole system” and to change “the relation between the masses and the government”. Noting that “The government and public are on opposite sides”, it believes that the government and the ‘public’ should work together for the common benefit of all. “It is the belief of AAP that if all the people of the country think together, the solution to every problem can be found”.

Thus, rather than telling the “common people” the reasons why the government and the people are “on opposite sides”, it demands “thinking together”, “working together”, “running the government together” by “everyone”. It thus wishes away the irreconcilable class contradictions between the exploiting and the exploited classes. But, for the latter, it is impossible to find a common ground for thinking and working together, as AAP wishfully hopes. Within the existing political system that draws its sustenance from the exploitative economic base, any such class collaboration as proposed by AAP will only help the ruling classes to consolidate and strengthen themselves against the “common people” whom AAP claims to represent. This is a deceptive reactionary politics of class collaboration, a seemingly non-class politics that tries to sell the toiling masses the lie that the present political system can be utilised for the benefit of everyone, including the oppressed. It is aimed at blunting the political consciousness of

the toilers and their class struggle. It slyly tries to hide the teaching of Marxism that the state is a special organisation of force and violence for the suppression of one class by another. It covers up the lesson learnt from bitter experience by the international working class movement that, in a state controlled by the exploiting classes, no matter which political party runs the government, it cannot but serve their class interests at the expense of the vast majority of the toilers. The AAP’s absolute opposition to the violence of the oppressed in all conditions while remaining mum on state violence and repression under the garb of Gandhian non-violence indicates its desire to preclude any possibility of militant people’s struggles, including the armed resistance and revolutionary struggle of the exploited classes.

The views of AAP, as reflected in its program for “political revolution” thus ends up as a reactionary attempt to reinforce India’s parliamentary democracy, this political edifice masking the semi-colonial, semi-feudal production relations. By aiming to clean, consolidate and perfect the political form of the exploitative economic base through constitutional and legislative reforms like Jan Lokpal and Swaraj, and by promoting the illusion that it is possible to reform the system, it becomes another tool in the hands of imperialism and domestic ruling classes. With its ‘non-class’ politics of targeting individual persons for corruption, it seeks to protect the rotten system from a politically conscious and organised mass of people. By concentrating all its attention on the trees, it wants the masses to miss the woods. When it addresses the youth with the call, “The youth of this nation must participate in this political revolution. They must be prepared for sacrifice. We will have to achieve India which our martyred revolutionaries dreamed of”, it in reality calls upon them to sacrifice themselves for protecting the exploitative feudal-comprador system, and thereby to stand against the masses who are in fact desirous of a revolutionary change.

More of the Same as Policy

Though beginning its electoral campaign from Delhi, AAP has maintained from its inception that its aim is to become the country's ruling party. AAP says that the Indian state is a colonial edifice created to serve the British colonial rulers, and that it continues to serve a small section of the Indian elite. Kejriwal even charges that parliamentary legislation is often influenced by foreign players. However, the ties of dependence (semi-colonial relations) that keep India subservient to various imperialist powers is nowhere acknowledged. It is silent about the depredations of imperialist wars, exploitation, domination and control all over the world. Its 2014 Lok Sabha elections manifesto has nothing against the neo-liberal imperialist agenda of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. Moreover, the AAP is happy with the pro-imperialist foreign policy of the Indian ruling classes and their servility to US imperialism in particular. Its manifesto endorses this by talking about "... India's meaningful engagement with the US..."

Likewise, AAP does not oppose the exploitation and plunder carried out by India's comprador big bourgeoisie in collusion with imperialism, even though it fights against certain comprador moneybags such as the Ambanis in an isolated manner. This is much like the way NGOs take up isolated issues without ever questioning the basis of the present economic and political structure rooted in production relations. AAP considers private property, private accumulation and privatisation as sacrosanct and unquestionable. Just that it favours 'honest' and 'fair' companies as opposed to the corrupt ones. In its view, "As of today, a combination of corruption, crony capitalism, bad gover-

nance and lack of investment in the productive economy have impacted the growth and development of the Indian economy." (2014 Manifesto) It wishes to replace this with 'free and fair' capitalist competition.

AAP's inconsistency and opportunism in economic policy can be observed in its stand against privatisation of water whereas it has no opposition to privatisation of other "basic necessities" like electricity, education and health. Its 2014 Manifesto bluntly endorsed privatisation, "... government should not be in the business of running business." Quite appropriately, a leading representative of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie has termed AAP as "the most successful start-up by an IITian", and the party is 'honestly' mobilising funds from what it considers to be honest and clean capitalists for its poll expenses.

Much like its stances on imperialism and Indian comprador capitalist class, AAP avoids challenging feudalism and the

The attempt by AAP to mask the class character of the state – the difference between those who stand above society and masses – is reflected in its ridiculous statement that "We are aam aadmi, and we will remain aam aadmi" even when elected. Its opposition to "VIP culture" of the politicians and bureaucrats – the most visible representatives of the ruling-classes – addresses only the symptoms and not the cause. AAP, rather than questioning the basis of this so-called VIP culture, merely wants to remove its visible signs. Its stated reason for refusing the perks that come with government office – security, cars with red lights, palatial residences, fat salaries and other economic benefits – is that it wants to have security and housing on par with the common masses, not with those of the rulers. But, no matter what the AAP desires, economic and social differences will not go away with such populist measures. Nor will they change the fact that by entering parliamentary politics, they have elected to stand above society as rulers and be part of the ruling classes.

landlord class that economically exploit and political dominate the rural poor. It has no programme for the redistribution of the means of production controlled by the feudal forces – most importantly land – to the landless and the poor peasantry. No change in the domination and oppression by the upper-caste big landholders in rural India is possible without changing

the production relations, most importantly land ownership. But this is unthinkable for 'revolutionary' AAP. The endorsement of Khap Panchayats (patriarchal caste councils) as necessary cultural organisations exposes the party's attempt to find a foothold in North India's countryside by depending on the social base of the landed rural elite.

While AAP purportedly aims for the "creation of a just and equal society free from prejudice and oppression", it thinks that the discrimination against Dalits would end if the "whole society" – including the perpetrators of caste discrimination and caste violence – "honour and love all brethren and march forward together". This is how Gandhi tried to address the caste question: seeking to end Untouchability without attacking the caste system which is at its roots. Like Gandhi who upheld the varna system and preached caste harmony based on 'love' of the dominant castes towards Dalits and other oppressed castes, AAP too talks of a "change of heart" of the oppressor 'upper' castes rather than fighting for the annihilation of caste.

AAP stands squarely with the ruling classes oppressive stances on the liberation struggle of the Kashmiri people. Its 2014 Manifesto declares, "We believe Kashmir is an integral part of India, and there would be zero-tolerance towards cross-border terrorism." When AAP leader Prashant Bhushan suggested that the people of Kashmir should have the right to decide whether they want the presence of Indian Army in their land or not, Arvind Kejriwal criticised him and insisted on clarifying that this was not the AAP's position. Thus, for Kejriwal, the opinion of the people does not matter when it comes to questions of national unity, integrity and security. AAP places the interests of the Indian state, and thereby the interests of the Indian ruling classes, over and above the democratic aspirations of the peoples.

Finally, there is no indication of AAP's interest to establish relations with the neighbouring countries on the basis of equality,

mutual respect and non-aggression. The Indian state, whichever the party in government, has persisted with expansionist policies towards its South Asian neighbours. It sees China as an obstacle in this matter. AAP do not make any commitment to change this established policy. Instead it speaks of "Reducing political hostility in our immediate neighbourhood through confidence building measures..." and "...enhancing the capacity to deter border incursions by China..", in the same breath!

AAP in Government

AAP's electoral success in Delhi assembly elections took many by surprise. In a State where political power has been shared by Congress and BJP since its inception the emergence of a new political force is a significant event. This is also because all the other parties that have tried their electoral fortune in the capital city – BSP, JD(U), CPI and CPI(M) – have failed repeatedly. Unlike other metropolitan cities of the country, there is no strong influence of one particular nationality or community in Delhi, the upper strata of which could lead and mobilize the rest of the community to successfully challenge the two all-India ruling-class parties in the battle of the ballots. Congress has been in the government for fifteen years since 1999 with Sheila Dikshit as the chief minister. It had depended mainly on the voters of the unauthorised, non-regularised and illegal slums of Delhi where one-third of its population lives. Most of them are industrial workers, wage labourers, low-income white-collar employees, petty traders, hawkers, street vendors, auto drivers, rickshaw pullers and other manual labourers, sanitation workers, students and the unemployed. Dalits, Muslims and migrant workers settled in Delhi have traditionally voted for Congress, while BJP has its social base among the traders and industrialists, the section of petty-bourgeoisie belonging to the upper castes and the Sikhs. Congress's broader electoral base has been giving it dividends repeatedly in the last three as-

sembly elections and kept BJP out of power.

Over these fifteen years, however, Delhi has undergone considerable change. The largest constituents of its population – manual workers in the organised and unorganised sectors, particularly those of the latter – have been gradually pushed out of the city to its neighbouring States due to the closure or shifting out of a large number of factories, demolition of slums for urbanisation and real-estate development. This process has been particularly severe in the last five years. They included the drive against workers due to Supreme Court's order to close down Delhi's polluting industries and clearing of large slum clusters like Yamuna Pushta (one of the largest in the country) for 'beautification' due to the Commonwealth Games and for the Delhi Metro. To this was added the failure of the Congress government to fulfil its election promise of regularising thousands of unauthorised slums and lower middle-class colonies and the contractualisation of work at all levels. Delhi's industrial sector has been on the decline, whereas the so-called service sector that employs blue-collar workers is on the rise, thereby relatively increasing the proportion of petty-bourgeois classes in Delhi's two crore population in the last decade. The Sheila Dikshit government's privatisation of services including electricity distribution and water, allowing FDI in retail, along with uncontrolled price rise and naked plunder of the exchequer through fraud and favouritism earned it the hatred of the people. No less important was the persecution of Muslims by the Delhi Police at the behest of the Congress governments at the State and the Centre, including the infamous Batla House fake encounter, which made Muslims to look for alternatives to Congress. Incidents of violence against women in the city - including the gang-rape and gruesome murder of a paramedic student in December 2012 - and the government's attempts to shy away from responsibility had earned it the wrath of the majority of the voters.

With Congress out of favour with the electorate, BJP had expected to easily sail to

power, even though it was hardly an alternative for the large majority of the city's population who did not constitute its core social base. BJP hoped to come back to power by fanning anti-Muslim sentiments and projecting Narendra Modi as the authoritarian leader capable of solving the country's problems. This BJP started doing in earnest on a big scale, even before the Delhi assembly elections. Amit Shah, Modi's henchmen, guided the mobilisation of Hindu Jats to attack the Muslims in the villages of Muzafarnagar and Shamoli districts of UP. The aim was to build up a communal polarisation not only in UP or in neighbouring States like Delhi that have a sizable Jat population, but possibly in the entire north India. That the Hindutva brigade has succeeded in reaping the first bitter harvest of its macabre UP experiment is confirmed by the Delhi election results, where BJP won in almost all the Jat-dominated constituencies of Delhi rural, and emerged as the largest party with 32 seats largely because of this factor.

The fact that BJP did not sweep the Delhi elections like in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh which also went to poll simultaneously, was primarily due to the presence of AAP. Its success at the very first attempt in parliamentary elections, however, was no accident but reflects the peculiarities of Delhi on the one hand and the activities of AAP and Arvind Kejriwal. Kejriwal and his NGOs have been active in Delhi for more than a decade, a period in which it had to jostle with Sheila Dikshit-led Congress government demanding reforms. Kejriwal took up basic issues connected to the people's lives and livelihood in the thickly populated unauthorised colonies and slums of the East Delhi district that are mostly resided by workers and the urban poor. Raising the issue of bureaucratic harassment and exploitation of people in government offices also helped Kejriwal earn some goodwill. The successful campaign against the decision of the Delhi government to privatise Delhi Jal Board was one of its high points. Though avoiding the structural roots of the problems afflict-

Kejriwal's standing as an NGO activist largely came as recognition of his involvement in the RTI Act campaign. He was given the Magsaysay award for this. Ramon Magsaysay, the namesake of the Magsaysay award, was the notorious former president of the Philippines who massacred thousands of Communists to crush the Filipino revolution waged by Hukbalahap (Huk) guerillas in the 1950s. Touted as the "noble prize of Asia", it is closely related to the United States of America's (US) South East and South Asia foreign policy, as a part of which it promotes individuals who work in the region for 'reforms' in conformity with its economic interests. Recognition for Kejriwal's NGOs came from US imperialism also in the form of funds provided by the Ford Foundation. A section of India's comprador big capitalists displayed their appreciation by providing generous donations to Parivartan and PCRF.

ing the people and channelling the frustration of the masses against the system into safe passages like any NGO does, in the absence of a radical alternative, these reformist activities made Kejriwal a familiar face in these working class and middle class localities. The anti-corruption agitation of Anna Hazare in 2011 where Kejriwal played a key role made him a household name in Delhi.

AAP was launched by banking on this new-found support among the middle classes, petty traders, employees, workers, auto drivers and other popular classes of Delhi. AAP continued to raise issues selectively such as withdrawal of inflated electricity bills, for which Kejriwal went for a hunger strike. AAP came up with a series of high-profile exposures against Congress and BJP leaders as well as selectively targeted businessmen like Robert Vadra and Mukesh Ambani. With Delhi assembly elections in mind, it levelled charges of corruption against Nitin Gadkari, Salman Khurshid, Sheila Dixit and others. All were highly publicised events, the media lapping up every exposure by AAP against the high and mighty, and beaming it across the country. With these exposures and with the helping hand of the corporate media, AAP tried to impress upon the voters of Delhi that the vision, politics and purpose of this new party is unlike any other; that it alone represented the cause and concerns of the "common people"; that it alone had the solution for the problems of the people. Its careful selection of candidates conformed to India's electoral arithmetic of caste-class-religion based parliamentary politics in which a wide spectrum of social groups were represented, including Dalits, Muslims and upper castes. It avoided the stark Hin-

du symbolism of 'Bharat Mata' and slogans like 'Vande Mataram' used during the Anna Hazare agitation, but deployed it more subtly nonetheless to attract this constituency. It called the Delhi elections a dharmyudh, a fight between satya and asatya, for instance, while trying to reach out to the Muslim community by terming Batla House encounter a fake one. While it indicated its preference for economic criteria for reservation over the criteria of caste to assuage the upper-caste voters, it promised permanent government posts to the Dalit sanitation workers.

Thus, a carefully prepared election manifesto which pledged something or the other to every class, community or section of Delhi's people – most of which related to reforms and benefits that could have an immediate, even if temporary and superficial, impact on their daily lives – helped it garner support. The rants against AAP by hardened politicians from Congress and BJP such as calling Kejriwal a madman or a right-wing Maoist have helped its cause. Even if temporarily, the people would have sympathies for a party which has consciously built up the image of an underdog taking on the established political parties and a number of powerful figures in India's political and financial world. Those who were fed-up with the Congress but did not consider BJP as an alternative – and for whom parliamentary elections have not yet become entirely irrelevant in the absence of a revolutionary alternative at hand – decided to vote out Congress and bring in AAP.

AAP's politics of opportunism became more apparent when the time came for translating its promises into reality. The pledge that support to form government will

not be taken from either Congress or BJP was set aside after enacting a so-called public consultation. The claims of abjuring VIP security, bungalows, perks, government vehicles, to remain at par with the “common people” were forgotten. The public audience of the CM and ministers of the Delhi government to hear complaints from the public in person were quickly shelved. The much-publicised free water-supply to the residents of Delhi reached a mere 24 lakh households, which is less than half the actual requirement. The dramatic cut in the electricity rates, announced by AAP days after forming the government, were reversed. Dissidence, defection and finally the expulsion of an MLA from the party have indicated its internal instability and lack of ideological, political and organisational cohesiveness. Allegations have been made of concealment of the details of funds it receives from abroad as well as other sources of its income that connect it to big business interests. Outcry over racial abuse and violence against women by AAP’s law minister and inaction in the instance of the rape of a foreign tourist forced the Chief Minister to undertake a hastily arranged sit-in protest against the Union government demanding action against a few policemen to defend his own government. Despite using the Batla House encounter as a vote-puller, Kejriwal refused to conduct an enquiry to find the truth with the lame excuse that the case has been closed. Such reversals have started to cause consternation and doubt even among AAP’s enthusiastic supporters.

Yet the proclivity of AAP and Kejriwal to be in the news with a series of sensational announcements hasn’t dampened. As if to mitigate the danger of reality catching up with rhetoric, the AAP government ordered filing of FIR against Mukesh Ambani and petroleum minister Veerappa Moily, ordered probe against Sheila Dikshit for corruption, and demanded fresh examination into the massacre of Sikhs in 1984. These are in addition to carrying out its election promises of conducting audit of electricity distribution companies and withdrawing the previous government’s decision to allow FDI in retail. But not a single promise that can benefit the working people was fulfilled.

Say No to AAP

In the bitter struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between the oppressor and the oppressed, AAP is decidedly on the side of counter-revolution and the oppressors, notwithstanding its revolutionary and ‘pro-people’ rhetoric. For all the tall talk on democracy it easily lends itself to serve fascistic purposes. Thus its manifesto is mild on the repressive apparatus of the Indian state – making oppressive laws like the AFSPA “humane”, an acknowledgement of the need for the “security apparatus’ need to work with an exceptional mandate outside the public glare”, and so on. Like all parliamentary ruling-class parties, AAP too has the potential to become an instrument of bolstering and perfecting the joint dictatorship of the big landlords and big capitalists. Indeed, the emergence of AAP is necessitated by the revulsion and hatred of the masses towards all parliamentary parties. The Indian ruling classes need a new buffer. Arvind Kejriwal and his AAP fit this demand.

The trend towards heightened exploitation, repression and fascisization is explicit. How should the workers, peasants, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, other toiling classes and the country’s democrats, patriots, pro-people intellectuals, students and youth perceive their role in opposition to it? Tail behind AAP in its quest for political power as a new representative of the Indian ruling classes and imperialism? Or expose AAP for what it is and unmask its Goebblesian lies? It is time that the democrats, patriots, pro-people intellectuals and activists, employees, students and others who are supporting AAP examine its politics critically, see through its false promises and join those who are genuinely fighting for a real democracy and real liberation.



from page 8. 'Interview...'

get the massacres, discrimination, suppression and chauvinism that they suffered in the hands of the Sangh Parivar right from 1947 to the recent Muzaffarnagar killings? The pogrom and persecution of religious minorities in Gujarat under Modi met with unprecedented opposition and protest not only in Gujarat but all over our country. Even if they come to power, the Hindu fascists will have to face the countrywide active resistance of the Muslim and Christian minorities, revolutionary and democratic forces. This would be the foremost task of these forces then.

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) entered the electoral arena with the aim of benefiting from submerging the people in illusions about parliamentary democracy one more time. It is trying to catch the attention of the people with revolutionary rhetoric sheltered in ideological eclecticism consisting of Gandhian 'Ahimsa' and 'Swaraj', 'Socialist' politics of Jayaprakash Narain and 'direct participatory democracy' of the NGOs. The AAP that was born and brought up with a NGO background and on imperialist and NRI funds and support, is not going into the roots of this system and into the basic problems of the people and is resorting to Gandhian feats for solving people's problems. It does not have any solution for the basic problems of the oppressed classes, people and social sections. It is serving as a safety valve to divert the erupting people's anger into peaceful and parliamentary solutions and trying to cash in on it.

Despite Left Front's humiliating defeat in West Bengal and the failure of its experiments in alliance with the Congress in the name of supporting the so-called secular and anti-communal forces and the failure of the previous attempts to form a Third Front, the left parties led by CPI (M) are retaining ridiculous hopes of winning and took the main initiative for the formation of the Third Front once again. Thus the Third Front consisting of eleven parties that came together on the basis of being anti-Congress and anti-BJP came to the fore with much fanfare. As expected, it is still immersed in fist fights regarding sharing of seats. The agreement between the CPI (M) and the AIADMK in the Third Front became invalid even before the ink had dried on alliance signatures due to differences in seat-sharing. The left parties including CPI (M) had not yet recovered from the humiliating defeat they had suffered in the West Bengal elections. Parties like the SP, BSP, DMK, AIADMK, Biju Janata Dal, Janata Dal (U), Trinamool, AGP, TDP, TRS, YSRCP etc are fearing defeat to join either the UPA or the NDA and so have either joined the Third Front or going it alone with so-called slogans of social justice, emancipation of Dalits and Bahujans, regional development etc. The Third Front parties are mostly regional parties but all of them belong to the ruling classes. They had all implemented pro-imperialist, pro-ruling class and anti-people policies. Whenever in state power either in alliance with the UPA or the NDA or independently they played a reactionary role in suppressing people's movements. Both the Third Front parties and those parties contesting on their own are following a 'wait and see' policy to join whichever alliance comes to power. While the Lok Jansakti Dal joined the NDA as it felt defeat was certain if it remains in UPA, the RJD is continuing in the UPA to somehow keep its lantern lit. The politicians belonging to various parties who came to the fore overnight with new flags and new agendas after leaving their parties fearing defeat due to people's wrath or because they did not get a seat in their parties are flinging as much mud as possible over each other in the fight for seats. They are breaking all the previous records during these elections. They had come to

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power throwing to winds all electoral norms with the sole aim of coming to power and amassing wealth. Once in power they violated all their election promises and had exploited and oppressed the people without respite and lost the confidence of the people. So now they are resorting to such blatant opportunist methods having lost any hope of winning in these elections.

The actual issues of the people never come up for discussion in the parliament and the assemblies. They are under the control of the CBB and the landlords who are subservient to imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. Where is the place for genuine democracy in this system where votes could be bought with money, liquor, religious and casteist sentiments or rigging? It is ridiculous to call this a democracy when criminals, bandits and notoriously corrupt politicians win in elections. In fact, when we look into history we find that people's problems have always been solved basically and real transformation of the society was possible only through people's struggles and protracted people's war (PPW) and not through parliamentary forums.

As elections are being conducted like a farce each time, the Election Commission of India vowed to 'strengthen democracy' during these elections and is trying to bring in several reforms along with including guidelines according to the Supreme Court order. At an unprecedented scale it involved several persons, right from school children to NGOs and celebrities to propagate about the inviolability of the vote. The SC had issued orders to give the voters the right to 'reject.' As a result, the NOTA button was introduced in the EVMs for the first time during the assembly elections in five states in 2013. Now during these Lok Sabha elections this is being introduced all over the country. In fact, this NOTA option distracts the 'right to recall' the elected representatives that the people should rightfully possess. If they really intend to give the 'right to reject', why are they deploying lakhs of state armed forces in the name of conducting 'free and fair' elections in areas where our party had given the call to boycott the polls and carrying on attacks, search operations, arrests, fake encounters and massacres?

Q: Is there any change in your boycott policy during these general elections? How do you justify your policy?

A: There is basically no change in our boycott policy. However, depending on the concrete conditions, our tactics may vary to some extent according to the changing political formations at the all-India level and in the states, according to our strength and people's preparedness. Though tactics may vary, the main aim of our boycott policy is to expose the pseudo-parliamentary system and increase the consciousness of the people on building a real alternative of people's democracy in its place.

In these general and assembly elections the main focus of our political exposure in the boycott call would be against the retrogressive, treacherous and fascist Congress and the BJP all over the country. One of the main aspects in the exposure of BJP would be exposing the Hindu fascist danger coming to the fore in the guise of 'Gujarat Vikas' model. Our main ideological exposure would be against the revisionist CPI (M) and CPI. In the states, along with the Congress and the BJP the main focus of our political exposure would be against the various regional ruling class parties that have been/are in power like the CPI (M) and Trinamool in West Bengal; the Biju Janata Dal in Odisha; TDP, YSRCP and TRS in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana; Samajwadi Party and the BSP in Uttar Pradesh; DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu etc. We would ideologically and politically expose the Aam Aadmi Party all over country on its futile Gandhian program. Regarding all other parties, we would politically expose them locally. As part of our boycott call we would mobilize the people to question these parties on their stand and past practice regarding major issues such as state repression on our movement and all other democratic movements and deployment of state forces in our movement areas; land reforms; treachery and servility to the imperialists in all matters relating to our country's sovereignty; selling our

country's riches to the MNCs; disinvestment and privatization of public sector units; Hindu chauvinism; education, health and drinking water; displacement and civil rights and send them back. Where the state forces use brute force to make the people vote, our PLGA would resist.

Regarding your second question, firstly our policy towards the bourgeois parliamentary elections is not just boycott. That is just one aspect of it. It has two aspects – one is boycott of the present bourgeois parliamentary elections and another is the call to build a new people's parliament. There is no change in this two-prong policy of ours during the 16th Loksabha polls.

The reason we are asking the people to boycott these elections is – the present parliament is in fact a dictatorship of the CBB and landlords who are subservient to imperialism. The parliamentary democracy is just a mask to deceive the people about the true nature of this dictatorship. In our opinion, the so-called democracies functioning in all the capitalist countries in the present day world, including the US, are nothing but such dictatorships of the monopoly capitalists; and in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries it is the joint dictatorship of the CBB and the landlord classes. So, though 65 years have passed since so-called independence, the overwhelming majority of the people are still poor in our country. None of their basic issues have been solved. None of the parliamentary parties have an independent path for the development of the country. All of these parties are saying that they would develop our country through neo-liberal policies and by bringing in more FDI into our country. The economy, polity and culture of our country have been restructured according to the needs of the world financial capital and formal independence and formal sovereignty have also been sold out by UPA, NDA, Left Front and other parliamentary parties to the imperialists. On the other hand, they are blatantly violating all the rights won by countless struggles waged by the people of our country by flouting their own laws and several universally acknowledged international laws and statutes. They are depending only on their armed forces, sham propaganda and eyewash reforms.

The nature of the parties and the politicians who are contesting in this elections need not be explained in detail by us. We are not alone in making accusations against them. Any citizen who follows the media and the accusations they themselves make against each other would know how corrupt, criminal, casteist, jingoist, religious chauvinistic, comprador and culturally degenerated they are and how nepotism reached its peak in these parties. The huge amounts of election expenses of all major all-India and regional parties beg a query as to where they

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are getting such gigantic amounts of funds. How could every candidate for a parliament seat spend 10 crores of rupees and every candidate for an assembly seat spend 2 crores of rupees on an average? Will an aam aadmi who wants to serve the people genuinely be able to spend that much of amount for getting elected? Don't you think it is atrocious that one has to spend so much of money to 'serve the people?' How many of these candidates are free of corruption and criminal records? How much is the role played by caste, religion, region, money and muscle power in candidates getting elected? Is there a single party that is beyond all these? Why are the ruling classes trying to satisfy the electorate with Nota button without giving the people the right to recall? Why are they deploying state forces ranging from a few thousands to more than one lakh for every district and why are they not able to conduct elections without such huge deployments even in areas where there are no Maoists?

In our opinion and in the opinion of every common citizen of our country, achieving genuine land reforms, independent & self-reliant economic development, democracy and sovereignty is the foremost issue be-

fore us and these four points are a must for solving the basic problems of the ninety percent of our population and for the all-round development of our people and our country. The parliamentary parties are quite contrary to this and the present pseudo-democracy is exactly suitable for such a rule.

Hence these second aspect of our call – Not to the continuation of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal pseudo-parliamentary dictatorial system, Yes to genuine parliamentary system of the People's Democratic Federal Republic which serves the people and the country. It would be elected and run by the vast masses of the people for their interests.

There is no remedy, no solution, no shortcut method to resolve the present day basic problems of the people and the country. The system has become a great hindrance to their progress. Yes, there is a great solution outside this system, i.e., wage PPW by rallying the vast masses led by the vanguard party of the proletariat, the CPI (Maoist) to smash the rotten system and make success the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) with agrarian revolution as its axis.

Briefly, our party's basic program states - India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country; the targets of our revolution are imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism exploiting and oppressing the people of our country and are to be overthrown through the NDR to establish a People's Democratic Federal Republic. Contradiction between feudalism and broad masses is the principal contradiction at present. During the process of resolving this contradiction through the armed agrarian revolution, which is the axis of the NDR, through PPW, the resolution of other contradictions will be facilitated. The semi-colonial semi-feudal character of Indian society determines that the Indian revolution would have to pass through two stages. The task of first stage is to change the semi –colonial, semi -feudal society into an independent new democratic society through the resolution of the two fundamental contradictions of the present Indian society, i.e. the contradiction of the Indian people with imperialism and the contradiction of the broad masses with feudalism. Again, in its continuity, the task of second stage is to establish the socialist system and continuing the revolution advancing towards communism on the world scale. This new democratic state will be the people's democratic dictatorship exercised by the united front comprising the proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie class under the leadership of the proletariat based upon the worker-peasant alliance. The state will guarantee real democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship over the tiny minority of the exploiters. This NDR will bring national independence uprooting the imperialist exploitation, oppression and control, and will establish the people's democracy uprooting the feudal autocracy.

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Workers, peasants and urban poor who form the overwhelming majority of the population in our country are living in utter poverty as victims of hunger, disease, inhuman imperialist, feudal exploitation and oppression and they would be liberated from all these through NDR. It uproots the Brahminical feudal hierarchical inhuman caste system that kept crores of Dalits and other oppressed castes in suppression since centuries and the imperialist and feudal, patriarchal social system that had been exploiting and oppressing half of the population i.e., women. It destroys the Hindu chauvinist domination that had been oppressing the religious minorities in our country, particularly Muslims and Christians. Vast majority of the Adivasis have long been deprived of their land and other traditional means of livelihood without providing any alternative and have been the major victims of 'development' and displacement. They would live a life of dignity, freedom and self-reliance in a new democratic society. Present day India is a prison-house of nationalities. The New Democratic state would unequivocally recognize the right to self-determination of the nationalities including the right to secession and the New Democratic India would be formed only

with those states that voluntarily stay within it. The rotten, decaying, anti-democratic, anti-people, obnoxious, reactionary semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture that is dominating all the spheres of our life would be destroyed. Hatred for labor, patriarchy, superstition, autocracy, imperialist slavery, national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, blind greed, self-centredness, consumerist culture, and perverted sex-centered ideology and culture would be ended. Feudal culture which is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority would be extinguished.

This state will try its best to peacefully and fairly settle border, water and other disputes with neighboring countries and will develop friendly relations with them. This state will never exert any expansionist behavior with the neighboring countries. This People's Democratic State will establish unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world; opposes imperialist war and aggression, bullying, subversion and interference etc. It will support and help by all means the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war, especially the ongoing struggles under the leadership of various Maoist revolutionary forces against capitalism, imperialism and reaction the world over. s

Thus a new people's electoral system, a new people's parliament of the four class alliance, a new people's constitution, a new people's state and a new people's administration and a new people's judicial system will replace the present ones. Thus the present system would be replaced by a new system and the present rulers will become the ruled.

I reiterate the appeal of our party to the great masses of our country to boycott the pseudo-parliamentary elections and unite to advance the NDR to build a genuine people's federal democratic republic of India.

Q: With the approach of General Elections the UPA-2 intensified its propaganda of 'Bharat Nirman' as its model for development. What is your take on it?

A: The NDA had on a huge scale all over the country propagated about India Shining during the 2004 general elections and similarly now UPA had taken up this propaganda about Bharat Nirman. Bharat Nirman is not concerned with the Indian people but with the development of the Indian ruling classes i.e., of CBB, landlords and the MNCs to which both are subservient. The then propaganda by NDA was also not about the Indian people's shining but about the shining of corporate sharks - both domestic and foreign and landlords. The condition of the Indian economy and subsequently of the people is actually very pathetic. The Indian economy is not self-reliant and is completely dependent on imperialism. It is useful only to them. The model for development of India advocated by Manmohan-Chidambaram-Ahluwalia-Rangarajan-Raghuram Rajan was not given shape in our country. This was prepared by the imperialists and they have adopted it. This is not our accusation. They themselves had claimed so. This model was implemented by the NDA too previously. The Bills passed in the parliament by considering foreign investments as the panacea for the development of our country are living example of this approach. Depending on the entry of FII and FDI into stock markets and into all sectors of our economy, they are juggling with the growth rate numbers. The ruling classes are bringing in foreign investments into defense, banking, insurance, railway, ports, power sector, mining, education, health, transport, trade and commerce, agriculture, retail sector, oil and natural gas and what not, even into small and medium industries and service sector and are making our economy completely dependent on imperialist capital. This is what is being shown as 'development.' The financial crisis that started in the US from end 2008 and that went on to shake the world had shaken our economy too. Manmohan and Chidambaram blatantly lied that Indian economy was sound and announced about the ill-effects of the world economic crisis on Indian economy only when they could no longer hide behind this falsehood.

... a new people's electoral system, a new people's parliament of the four class alliance, a new people's constitution, a new people's state and a new people's administration and a new people's judicial system will replace the present ones. Thus the present system would be replaced by a new system and the present rulers will become the ruled.

The Indian big corporations collaborated with the MNCs to attract foreign investments. To ensure guarantee to their investments and profits, the central and state governments went out of their way to facilitate infrastructure and other basic facilities (land, electricity, water, market etc), gave them tax holidays and tax cuts. Tax cuts and tax holidays to Indian big bourgeoisie amounts to almost 6 to 8 lakh crores of rupees per annum in recent years. And this is the direct package, the indirect packages given in various forms are countless. Countless and large amounts of financial exemptions were given to the MNCs by the consecutive governments. On the contrary, the indirect taxes on innumerable daily goods consumed by the poor and the middle classes are ever increasing. The money squeezed through taxes from the common people is directly turned into tax holidays and tax cuts for the foreign and domestic corporate sharks. That is why the profits of the tiny minority are increasing in leaps and bounds. Billions of dollars are plundered by the MNCs every year in the form of profits from our country. Whatever maybe their gimmicks regarding GDP growth, the gap between the rich and the poor in our country has widened to an unprecedented level in the history of our 'glorious independence' and it is increasing by the day. This is the reason for basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter, water, education, health, transport etc becoming scarce for the common people.

The ruling classes are shouting from rooftops that they are developing all sectors, implementing various welfare schemes and so the number of poor people has decreased due to plans implemented by them to eliminate poverty. Though they are talking tall about these, they are not able to hide the fact that the condition of the people is becoming unbearable day by day.

If the economy is sound and the country is on the development path as the ruling elite is claiming, then why did the exchange value of rupee plunge to such depths? Why did exercises to stop inflation with their monetary measures fail? How can they develop the country through cuts in welfare schemes and subsidies for the people? How can they fill budget deficits by cuts in planned expenditure and increase in unplanned expenditure? How could Jala Yagnams, linking of rivers and other major irrigation projects prevent suicides and bankruptcy of millions of farmers? Will they decrease or increase the migration of farmers from the unprofitable agricultural sector? How would they solve the ever increasing unemployment problem in our country through dependence on foreign investments, through mainly concentrating on building infrastructure and by neglecting the manufacturing and agricultural sectors? How can corruption be controlled when MoUs guaranteeing monopoly profits are being signed as part of implementing LPG policies?

After ruining the employment opportunities of millions of our workforce and consequently their income and their purchasing power, how will economic development be possible? Without measures to increasing the employment generating capacity and purchasing power of the masses, if further liberalization is carried on and foreign capital is brought in further, how will economic development be possible? According to the WTO trade facilitation agreement signed in Bali the customs process would be liberalized and made transparent and this is being flouted as a favorable measure to India by the central government. In fact, this would be profitable to the MNCs and detrimental to India's interests. The entire exports and import policy of the Indian government is geared towards fulfilling the needs of the imperialist capital and a handful of the rich and has nothing to do with the needs of the poor and the middle classes.

The prices of daily commodities are skyrocketing – the previous year the prices of food items increased by 157 percent. The price of onions increased five times over, price of vegetables increased from three to five times, price of pulses increased by 123 percent, rice by 137 percent, wheat by 117 percent, milk by 119 percent, sugar by 106 percent and salt by 85 percent. While millions are becoming pauperized and increasingly being denied food and drinking water, the super-rich are enjoying criminally disproportionate share of these apart from an immoral, superfluous level of luxuries. The increase in population living on pavements is directly proportional to the increase in the number of mansions of the super-rich. Water and electricity have become the private property

of the comprador capitalists and the MNCs while agriculture is thrown into further crisis for the lack of the same and the migration of millions of farmers from this sector is leading to further crisis in the society. Some communities like the fishing community, Adivasis, peasantry and the urban slum population are specifically targeted for displacement/evictions and the super-rich are occupying their rightful places. Our country has become a horrific place where 77 percent of the people live on less than 20 rupees a day and 100 people have wealth equivalent to 25 per cent of the GDP.

Now the time has come for repayment of loans to the imperialists. How will they repay without putting more burden on the people in the form of taxes? What is the magic potion available with the ruling and opposition parties for solving the current account deficit problem? The only solution available with them is further liberalization, deregulation, privatization and restructuring; further bending down to the dictates of IMF, WB and the MNCs; further sell-out of natural resources; further destruction of ecology; further internal and other displacement of huge number of people; further liquidation of labor laws, implementation of colonial and draconian laws and formulating new fascist laws – further fascization of state machinery and judicial system; further spurt in a series of popular welfare schemes to divert the people who are increasingly becoming frustrated with the various governments to partially satisfy their demands and increasing further the role of corporate media in distorting facts. Last but not least, a deluge of psychological operations on the people to keep them from knowing the actual reality about our economy.

As long as the Congress, BJP, Third Front or other parliamentary parties follow or want to follow economic policies that are favorable to imperialists and their compradors, our economy is bound to be further ruined and our country is bound to become more and more dependent. Our nominal sovereignty also is bound to get more compromised. These parties and their policies are bound to become a heavy burden for the people of our country. The home ministry has recently stated in an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court that the Maoists are a threat to 'rastra nirman' (nation-building process). We declare that it is the Congress, BJP, Third Front and other parliamentary parties that are really pernicious to 'rastra nirman'. We are stating very clearly that economic policies that help imperialists and (their) compradors should not be tolerated. So, our party is giving a call to the people that these policies should not be allowed. The various treacherous parties that have become harmful to the people and our country should be overthrown from political power structures. The only way to follow self-reliant, progressive, independent, sovereign policies is to win the NDR in our country.

Q: What is your comment on the reform schemes for people's welfare brought forth during the rule of UPA-1 and UPA-2 in the past ten years?

A: First of all, even in the past, right from Nehru to Vajpayee, different governments had been bringing forth various schemes relating to people's welfare. Out of all these, the slogan 'Garibi Hatao' and the 20-point program brought forth by Indira Gandhi were the most popular. The ruling class parties always formulate popular welfare programs when people come into streets or take up guns and also when elections are due. This increased as never before during the past fifteen years. In different states freebies like TVs, fans, cookers, saris, grinders, bicycles, computers, rice for one or two rupees per kilo etc are being promised and inferior quality goods are even distributed to some extent. When there is no genuine agenda for the development of the people the ruling classes bring forth such welfare schemes. On the one hand the ruling classes are carrying on policies that intensify exploitation of the laboring masses, squeezing their incomes through ever increasing number of taxes and looting through skyrocketing prices. This is leading to severe discontent among the people and they are getting organized and fighting against this. So we can say that such reforms and schemes are a direct result of the struggles of the people. So such welfare measures are also brought forth by the ruling classes to meet their demands partially just enough to diffuse their anger, to prevent the fighting people from advancing their struggles or even getting organized with a higher aim of ending exploitation altogether. This can be seen in all the coun-

tries including the imperialist countries. All these are a part of the 'globalization with a human face' policy brought forth by IMF. This policy of IMF is being implemented all over the world.

Bills regarding right to information, right to work (MNREGA), food security, forest rights, land acquisition and rehabilitation, company bill, hawkers rights etc were brought by the UPA during its ten years of rule.

After the Second World War, several changes occurred in the world imperialist market according to neo-colonial economic and political policies and in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries too changes occurred accordingly. All the bills passed during the UPA rule should also be seen and understood in this background.

After 1947 land reforms were brought forth by the ruling classes for the first time due to the impact of long-drawn struggles of tenants and poor peasants against feudal lords and due to the Telangana armed agrarian revolution against the Nizam feudal state and the so-called independent Nehru government. Later land reforms were brought forth due to the Naxalbari and Srikakulam peasant armed revolutionary movements and the NDR led by the Maoist party with agrarian revolution as its axis since the past thirty five years. The land reforms and the Forest Rights Act (FRA) brought forth by the ruling classes could not in fact damage the feudal base in our country. One of the main aims of the land reforms and the forest rights act is to prevent the vast peasantry and the Adivasis from joining the agrarian revolutionary war, to divert them from the land issue and hand over their lands to the MNCs and big bourgeoisie in accordance with the liberalization process. Both of these are a strategic offensive over the agrarian revolution. Jairam Ramesh and Manmohan Singh are trying to deceive the people by saying that these two are for the interests of the peasantry and the Adivasis. But actually they are aimed at displacing millions of peasantry and Adivasis, rendering them homeless and helpless. With Land Acquisition Act, all Adivasi rights such as 5th schedule, PESA, 1/70 etc will be destroyed.

Even after 65 years of so-called independence poverty alleviation being the main election slogan of all ruling class parties is in itself a shameless thing. On the one hand the livelihood of millions of our population is being snatched away due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord economic policies of subsequent governments at the centre and the states and on the other they are promising a semblance of employment through MNREGA which was never intended to give decent employment. With thousands of crores of rupees of funds allotted for MNREGA, worst forms of corruption came to the fore. Moreover machines are being brought in place of human labor which in turn snatch away the employment opportunities of the people. The rural development minister and other politicians themselves have been shedding crocodile tears about the corruption in MNREGA in the states. Rahul Gandhi, Ahluwalia and Jairam Ramesh are whipping up hype about how millions were lifted out of poverty due to MNREGA and other reforms while the facts point out to the opposite.

Rahul Gandhi was seen describing the RTI act brought by the UPA as the biggest weapon in the hands of the people to fight corruption. None of the big scams were exposed due to this act. Leave aside his hype, is there a single instance where the higher ups had been convicted for corruption in spite of clear evidence? What about Manmohan, Chidambaram and Robert Vadra? Were they being spared just because of lack of information?

Whatever may be the merits of these reforms, one should realize that all these are a result of the struggles of the masses. Even partial implementation of these reforms is possible only through a united struggle of the masses. On the occasion of the 16th Loksabha elections, all political parties would come forth with several popular slogans and promises. The people should never believe their lies and rely only on their unity and struggle. If they believe their lies, poverty would not be alleviated in our country even after another century. Only a united struggle of the people and the People's War are the real way for poverty alleviation in our country.

Q: During the rule of UPA-2 corruption scams got exposed as nev-

er before. What do you think is the reason for this? How do you think these scams which are worrying the people of our country be prevented?

A: Just like British colonialists had domesticated the feudal kings and zamindars in India to establish their rule all over our country, the MNCs of today are also bribing the comprador rulers of our country and carrying on their neo-colonial exploitation, oppression and control of our people and resources. After LPG policies were adopted, the MoUs signed with the MNCs and their

As long as means of production and thousands of crores of rupees of wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few, as long as political power rests in their hands, as long as the state machinery and the judiciary that protects them is in their hands and as long as their collaboration with the imperialists and their dependence on them continues, it is impossible to wipe out corruption from our society.

investments increased beyond imagination and consequently corruption also increased in an unparalleled manner. Black money getting deposited in Swiss bank accounts increased from tens of crores to hundreds of crores of rupees after LPG policies. True to political parties' accusations on each other, lakhs of crores of rupees of black money is now deposited in Swiss and other banks. Global Financial Integrity declared that in just in one year – in 2011 – 4 lakh crores of rupees of black money crossed our borders and that India ranks among the most corrupt nations in the world.

The yesteryear scams like Bofors and fodder scam pale in the face of recent scams pertaining to Commonwealth games, 2G spectrum, Adarsh housing society, coal block allotments, VVIP choppers, Tetra truck scam, illegal mining of Gali brothers, YSR-Jagan Reddy, Sarada Chit Fund scam in West Bengal etc. The list is actually endless as these are a tip of only those scams that got exposed due to contradictions between the ruling classes. Just as Marcos and his wife Imelda had amassed huge wealth when they were in state power by sucking the blood of the Filipino people, in our country too politicians such as Jayalalita, Chandrababu Naidu, YSR, Madhu Koda, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Raman Singh, Naveen Patnaik, Yedyurappa, Prithviraj Chauhan, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Jagannath Misra etc vied with each other in amassing huge wealth. All of them either belong to all-India political parties or are regional political party leaders. Only when political rivalry became serious, some among these like Jayalalita, Koda, Yedyurappa, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav etc were booked under cases. Bangaru Laxman and Nitin Gadkari had to resign their president posts in BJP due to corruption charges. Rajiv Gandhi was the main accused in Bofors scam, Suresh Kalmadi in Commonwealth Games scam, A. Raja in 2G scam, Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram in coal gate scam – several names of the leaders of ruling and opposition parties can be reeled off. That is why our party says that our country is ruled by scamsters and gangsters.

The economic, political and social system of our country is rife with corruption and scams. This disease is rampant everywhere - right from getting a driving license to getting a job in military or a visa. This has become an integral part of our system and culture. The people of our country are rising against this. In order to prevent this opposition from taking an organized form and to divert it Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal had taken up the satyagraha form of protest. Kejriwal had even formed the Aam Aadmi Party to 'reform' this corrupt system. He could cash upon this in the recently held Delhi assembly polls. The Lokpal Bill was passed by the parliament as the ruling classes feared the increasing discontent among the people and their agitations against corruption in our political system. The joke is it has been prepared and passed by the very scamsters who are the gods of corruption. This bill would never touch these sharks but would be used in a draconian manner on the smaller fish. This was described as being toothless by Kejriwal and Hazare and they are proposing the Janlok Bill which vests powers in some individuals. The very idea that corruption which is endemic to the parliamentary democracy, particularly in the LPG era could be fought by honest individuals is being naive at best and deceptive at worst.

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in the hands of a few, as long as political power rests in their hands, as long as the state machinery and the judiciary that protects them is in their hands and as long as their collaboration with the imperialists and their dependence on them continues, it is impossible to wipe out corruption from our society. There is a need for a countrywide organized militant people's movement against corruption, a need to fight in a united manner against it. In order to overthrow the system that is the root cause for corruption, it is necessary to wage NDR in India. Millions of people should get rallied into the PPW for this revolution to be successful. Only then could a radical change occur regarding corruption. Even in the new society there would be a need for the people to fight against corruption.

Q: A separate Telangana is being formed. What is your party's program for the Telangana and the Seemandhra states?

A: Ultimately the Telangana state has been formed after a prolonged struggle by the Telangana people. It is a victory of the Telangana people. It is a good thing. The struggle for statehood for Telangana started when the Andhra Pradesh state was formed constituting Telangana and Seemandhra areas. It gradually consolidated and finally culminated in the formation of the Telangana state.

From the very beginning two kinds of forces fought for a separate statehood for Telangana. One was represented by the democratic and Maoist forces that truly represented the aspirations of the Telangana people. But the petty bourgeois forces particularly the students, employees and youth that participated in the first phase soon got influenced by the Congress party leadership and most of the leaders joined it. Some more joined the then Jan Sangh. However, a section of ranks that participated in the movement gradually consolidated into Maoist parties and their mass organizations and into various democratic organizations. In the second phase different democratic forces and our party played the leadership role. These forces further consolidated to develop this movement. In the third phase, they were the backbone of the movement. And different sections of the petty bourgeoisie – students, lawyers, employees, teachers, youth, intellectuals; different social sections like women, Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims rallied on a wide scale and played a crucial role. Workers and peasantry played an important role in this phase unlike in the previous two phases. In spite of the Maoist movement suffering a setback and getting weakened, it strove hard to work with limited forces in the third phase of the movement for statehood. It is necessary that the Maoist forces strive to develop their strength and be in the forefront in the rebuilding of Telangana. On the other hand, most of the democratic forces who came forward were from the new generation. Later in the course of the movement many of these became part of the various political streams. On the whole, these democratic forces belonged to the various political streams. Due to the petty-bourgeoisie class nature of these forces they could not lead the movement more militantly and in a more united manner. Consequently, they were subjected to several limitations in achieving their democratic demands. Only through putting serious efforts to overcome these limitations, it is possible to play a better role in transforming the present Telangana into a democratic Telangana and advance further.

The other was represented by the ruling class cliques belonging to different political parties which strove for a Separate Telangana and simultaneously fought with each other internally. These forces had fought with the Seemandhra rulers but had also compromised with them frequently. When we look at the history of the movements for bifurcation of states, none of them was as long-drawn as the movement for a Telangana state.

There are six main reasons for it getting so prolonged and ultimately for the formation of the Telangana state with many limitations. 1. The political forces represented by the Telangana bourgeois and landlord classes were not consolidated enough during the first phase. In the second and third phases they gradually consolidated and strengthened and it got politically manifested in their role during these phases. 2. As most of these forces were related to the Congress, the BJP and the TDP, at different phases of the movement, it got manifested in their indecisive role, almost till the end. The TRS that was formed with the aim of formation of the Telangana state never led the move-

ment by mobilizing the people militantly. It always gave importance to lobbying, parliamentary gimmicks, compromises and peaceful forms of protest. The role of the Congress and the BJP is more weaker and they played pressure tactics on their high commands only when the formation of the Telangana state was on the threshold. However they never dared to mobilize the people. TDP from the beginning till the end talked with a forked tongue and weakened to a large extent in Telangana, turning into a party that is limited mainly to Seemandhra. As YSRCP opposed the bifurcation of the state it got wiped out in Telangana. The CPI (M) worked completely against the aspirations of the Telangana people due to its wrong policies. Though CPI supported the statehood movement in the last phase in unavoidable conditions, it never rallied the people actively. 3. The ruling classes representing Telangana feared the role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces, the militant mobilization of the masses, an increase in their role and the movement having a significant influence with its democratic demands. 4. The Seemandhra and Telangana regional and all-India ruling classes realized with the prominent role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces that the movement would turn more militant with clear-cut democratic programme and not remain in their hands and the political instability in the state would turn dangerous if they do not agree for a separate state of Telangana. 5. For electoral gains the Congress at the centre was forced to agree for the formation of the Telangana state. 6. From the beginning, the regional ruling classes representing Seemandhra were relatively consolidated and stronger. So, they could influence the centre for a long period in delaying the formation. When they could no longer stall its formation they could influence the centre in taking pro-Seemandhra decisions regarding Hyderabad and the Polavaram project.

Telangana state came into existence. But what kind of a Telangana is it? This is a Telangana with Hyderabad as the common capital for the next ten years. Congress did not solve several issues and left lot of scope for further disputes to divide the people of the two states. The people of Telangana had aspired for a Telangana with their exclusive capital city and with several of the disputed issues regarding jobs, water and other resources, reimbursement of state loans, employees, etc resolved in a just manner. They did not get it. Now they have to fight for these just demands. Deciding Hyderabad as the common capital for ten years, construction of Polavaram dam and keeping in pending other major issues unresolved is part of the Chanakya Neeti of the Congress to stoke the fires in both the states and tighten its grip on them. This is even against the formal federal spirit of the constitution.

The ruling classes succeeded in creating a contentment among the Telangana people that somehow a state has been formed, whatever maybe its limitations. Now the Telangana parties are all engaged in electoral parleys and compromises. The CBB and imperialist corporations are making their moves behind curtains since a long time as to whom to bring to power to fulfill their agenda and interests in the two new states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. KCR talked of inviting financial capital from MNCs and CBB for development of Telangana and building satellite cities etc. He doesn't have any qualms in inviting investments from Seemandhra bourgeoisie. So also Seemandhra politicians are falling heads over heels to invite foreign and CBB capital for bigger projects than these.

Since the centre's announcement about the formation of Telangana state, our party's Central Regional Bureau and North Telangana Special Zonal Committee had been stating our stand consistently. During the first phase of the Separate Telangana movement in 1969, our party had formulated a clear political stand on this issue and worked for it. In the second and third phases our party played a major role in it. Right from the beginning, our party worked for the formation of a Telangana state by representing the interests of the vast masses - working class, peasantry, middle class, small and medium capitalists and the various oppressed social sections like Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities and women by mobilizing them. Our party united with all the forces working for statehood for Telangana and at the same time has exposed the compromising forces and strove to lead the movement in a militant manner. Those in power in the centre and the states to whatever parties or region they may have belonged, unleashed repression in a fascist manner this movement waged under the leadership of various democratic forces and our

party. In the course of this struggle hundreds of students and youth have laid down their lives. In this entire period the state and the central governments launched offensives on us to suppress the armed agrarian revolution. Through this they also wanted to render the statehood movement for Telangana leaderless and prevent the development of this as a mighty mass movement with democratic demands. This caused severe loss to the statehood movement for Telangana.

When we look at the nature of the Separate Telangana movement and the composition of leading political forces in it, the formation of Telangana state would be mainly useful to the ruling classes in Telangana. When we keep in view the history and class interests of the parliamentary parties that would be coming to power in Telangana, their development models are nothing but obsolete. In these models, there is no basic difference from the previous regimes in not representing the interests of the vast masses. Though the future governments may bring in some eyewash reforms, people should not be satisfied. They should prepare themselves for a long drawn struggle with a clear program and strategy. Depending on the extent to which the people would go in fighting for their demands, they would be able to utilize the favorable conditions that would prevail with the formation of Telangana.

The ruling classes are ignoring the demands brought forth by the democratic forces now with the formation of the state and are completely immersed in electoral politics. Even the Seemandhra leaders are concentrating on special packages, projects like Polavaram and on Hyderabad and are not putting forward any demands or program for the backward regions in that state. Central government announced a special package for five years for Seemandhra. BJP demanded that it be given for ten years for electoral gains and promised to approve the package if it is voted to power. The Congress and the BJP that are vying with each other for giving special packages for Seemandhra are not recognizing the need for such packages for the backward Telangana state. In Telangana too there is a need for special packages for the most backward Adivasi areas, drought hit areas like the backward Mahboobnagar district and specific measures to fulfill the socio-economic and political demands of the religious minorities and Dalits.

When we look at the nature of the Separate Telangana movement and the composition of leading political forces in it, the formation of Telangana state would be mainly useful to the ruling classes in Telangana. When we keep in view the history and class interests of the parliamentary parties that would be coming to power in Telangana, their development models are nothing but obsolete. In these models, there is no basic difference from the previous regimes in not representing the interests of the vast masses. Though the future governments may bring in some eyewash reforms, people should not be satisfied. They should prepare themselves for a long drawn struggle with a clear program and strategy. Depending on the extent to which the people would go in fighting for their demands, they would be able to utilize the favorable conditions that would prevail with the formation of Telangana.

Regarding Seemandhra, our party opines that the democratic forces and organizations and the people there should agitate on clear democratic demands on socio-economic issues according to the democratic aspirations of the people.

The actual danger faced by the people of these two states now is – further opening of doors for the corporations – both domestic and foreign – for the loot of the resources and market in these two states. This danger is present due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord policies of the ruling classes in the two states. So unless the people of both the states realize this danger and fight against the state and central governments on socio, economic and political demands they would not be able to fulfill even their minimum demands. And it would even be difficult to turn these struggles into a movement to establish a genuine democratic, self-reliant, independent economic and political system.

Our party is giving a general call to the people of the two states to boycott the sham assembly and parliamentary elections as one of the steps towards realization of a democratic Telangana and a democratic Andhra Pradesh (Seemandhra). At the same time the people should put forward and agitate on their specific socio-economic, political demands includ-

ing lifting ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass organizations in both the states. Our party is calling upon the people of both states to support each other and unitedly fight for a new democratic state in our country that would guarantee the fulfillment of their interests in the true sense.

The Telangana people should not lose their alert in achieving their goals by losing themselves in the celebrations over winning the demand for a state. However, even in this state the political power would not lie with the people and would lie in the hands of parties like Congress, TDP, TRS and BJP that are the parties of the CBB and the landlords. With the formation of a separate Telangana state, there would be benefit to some extent regarding demands like end to discrimination, water and jobs. However the basic problems of the people would remain unsolved. These problems could be solved only when political power lies with the people. That is why, the people of Telangana should fight for their democratic demands. Some of the important among these demands should be:

1. Bitter struggle should be put up against making Hyderabad as the common capital, against construction of Polavaram project and against giving all the areas that would be submerged due to Polavaram project construction to Coastal Andhra. Both these are a Great Conspiracy of the central and the Seemandhra bourgeoisie that should be fought back by all the agitating forces of Telangana in a united manner.

2. Withdrawal of all cases on Telangana agitators; support to Telangana Martyrs' families; lifting of ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary and democratic mass organization, restoration of democratic rights and putting a stop to fake encounters; unconditional release of all political prisoners; withdrawal of all false cases on religious minorities; withdrawal of police camps in educational institutions; punishing the killers who murdered Telangana agitators and annulling of APSIB and greyhounds.

3. Implementation of genuine land reforms; the rights over lands occupied by the people as part of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles should be handed over to the people; the government and assigned lands that were forcibly occupied by the bourgeoisie, landlords and political leaders should be seized and distributed to the urban poor.

4. The entry to imperialist and MNCs should be stopped. Polavaram, Pulichintala, open cast mines, Bayyaram mines, Kavval Tiger Project and SEZs that are displacing the people should be scrapped. All the MoUs signed with the CBB and MNCs regarding these projects should be scrapped. Along with public sector, small and medium scale industries should be encouraged. The rights of workers should be protected. Plans should be taken up for the self-development of the state.

5. The just share of water belonging to Telangana should be allotted and irrigation to peasantry and drinking water to the people should be provided.

6. Allotments for agricultural sector should be increased in the budget. Seeds, fertilizers and pesticides should be distributed free of cost to the peasants. Minimum support prices should be ensured. Electricity cuts should be done away with. Loans should be annulled. Loans without interest should be provided.

7. Lands should be distributed to all the landless Dalits. Dalits should be given protection from all kinds of attacks on them.

8. Religious minorities should be provided with reservations. Land should be distributed to the landless. Urdu should be given the status of second official language.

9. The 5th schedule of the constitution, PESA and 1/70 Act should be strictly implemented and Adivasis should be given rights to their Jal, Jungle and Zameen. The autonomy rights of Adivasis should be given recognition.

10. 50 percent reservation should be given to women in legislatives, education and employment. Women should be provided protection.

The Telangana people should continue the spirit of unity and determination that they displayed in the agitation for a separate state and should carry on the movement for the democratic aspirations of the people to be fulfilled in the rebuilding of the state of Telangana. They should coordinate this movement with the movements for solving their basic issues. Thus they should march forward determinedly in fulfilling the aims of the NDR. With agrarian revolution as the axis and the slogan of 'Land to the tiller', they should march forward in the liberation movement. The entire people should come forward to make the NDR successful. This is a great opportunity for us. The bourgeois parties and their lackeys would attempt to take the people along the bourgeois parliamentary path, destroy their unity and continue their power and exploitation. Our party is giving a call to the entire people that they should march forward with their unity as the basis, fight back the conspiracies of Congress, TDP, BJP, TRS, YSR Congress party and also of the revisionist parties CPI and CPI (M) and advance the NDR. The Telangana agitators and organizations should preserve the successes of the people and carry on struggles on democratic demands in the new state of Telangana in a united manner. They should unite with the people of Andhra Pradesh and fight against their common enemies – imperialists, CBB and the landlord classes.

Q: The central government and some of the state governments had in the past proposed to conduct talks with your party. In the recent past too some Congress party leaders were seen proposing about Peace Talks on various forums either directly or indirectly. What is your party's stand regarding Peace Talks with the government?

A: We are not against Peace Talks with the government. The aim of Peace Talks should be genuine peace, and it should be a fruitful one. Peace Talks are an integral part of the political struggle between two conflicting camps. It is another form of political struggle, i.e., a peaceful one. But in reality, the ruling classes and their central and state governments are not for it. They are completely against it. They are playing a ploy as before. Their words do not match with their deeds in practice. They do not have any belief regarding political talks or political dialogues. The only thing they believe in is their military, paramilitary and police forces. The only thing they believe in is using their brute force and establishing graveyard peace in the society. But due to their erroneous policy in dealing with the civil war, the situation is becoming much more complex against their wishes. Whenever the people fight for their just rights and liberation and whenever the people intensify their struggle the ruling classes bring to the fore Peace Talks so that they can utilize it as a means to suppress the movement. In the name of Peace Talks they try to create confusions and illusions within the ranks and the people and make us lose our vigil or if we avoid talks then they try to put a stamp on us that we are against peace. They try to isolate us from the people or utilize the talks to try to bring us "to our senses" by hook or crook. Our party is absolutely against such deceptive, insincere, aggressive Peace Talks proposals.

On the contrary, our party wishes to achieve genuine peace. Our party and the people ever since the Naxalbari peasant armed agrarian revolutionary movement to this day, for decades together had fought for the resolution of fundamental issues of the people and the country, i.e., genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services, sovereignty and long-lasting peace for the progress and

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If one has to take a correct stand on the present proposal for talks from the ruling elite, we have to examine similar proposals put by the ruling classes to the communists in our country in the past. We have to see historically with what agenda they came forward with the proposal for talks and how they dealt with any political movement in the past led by the communist revolutionaries or national liberation organizations of Kashmir and the North East. What happened as a result of Talks with nationality movements? The experience of most of the nationality movements is negative due to the expansionist and fascist approach of the Indian ruling classes and the capitulation of the leadership who that led those movements. The talks did not resolve any issues raised by these movements. To this date these movements are still continuing in one form or the other.

What was the stand taken by the communist revolutionaries when the proposals for talks were put before them?

The first such instance was during the glorious Telangana armed peasant revolutionary movement. The CBB and the landlord classes came to power in place of the British colonialists, and a fascist suppression campaign was being carried on by the Nehru-Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel army and thousands of peasants and peasant guerilla fighters were being butchered brutally when talks were held between the revolutionaries and the government. The aim of the government in these talks was to destroy the Telangana armed revolutionary movement by bending the revolutionaries. However as basic issues like genuine land reforms, people's democracy and issues brought forth by the Telangana armed struggle remained unsolved, the glorious Naxalbari peasantry took up arms and fought to resolve the same. A glorious armed peasant rebellion erupted and it spread like prairie fire to all the corners of our country with a correct perspective, program and strategy etc in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).

After Indira's fascist rule ended, leaders of various rightist ML groups milled around the Janata Party that came to power with the slogan of restitution of democratic rights, for talks. The Talks of those days paved the way for these groups to enter electoral politics and were used to get some of their leaders and cadres released but only after they gave shameful undertakings. Our party had openly opposed and criticized such capitulationist policy and getting bogged down in electoral politics. At that time, the functioning of Bhargava Commission that was formed by the Janata party government for enquiring into false encounter killings was stopped midway by the ruling classes, putting into the dustbin the slogans on which it came to power. And it was on such a government that these groups had such illusions. They did not understand the class nature of the ruling classes and also failed in assessing the concrete political condition at that time. Such groups gradually disappeared from the scene of revolution. Again the revolutionary movement erupted in an upsurge in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar with its basic program, all the while fighting back state repression. The movement extended to some more areas in our country.

In AP, once in 1990 immediately after Chenna Reddy came to power, once in 1996 during Chandrababu Naidu's rule when repression was intensified to unprecedented levels and later on certain occasions proposals for Talks came to the fore either from the governments intellectuals or other quarters. However, the then state governments intensified repression and did not show any inclination for talks. Rajasekhar Reddy came to power in 2004 with the agenda of conducting Talks with the Maoists. He came forth for Talks after making all preparations for launching an offensive campaign on us in fascist methods and with a plan for an unprecedented intensification of repres-

sion. After one round of talks the government shamelessly stopped the Talks process midway. It did not even let its delegation to officially sign on behalf of the state government on the agenda decided between the delegations of both sides. The YSR government feared the interest shown by the vast masses towards our party and ideology and the rallying of people towards the agenda brought forth by our party and immediately resorted to an offensive on our party. Along with fake encounters severe repression was unleashed all over the state. Thus it sabotaged the Talks process. Seeing the positive response among the various sections of people towards the Talks the government brought forth the demand midway that Maoists should abandon arms and it did not implement the ceasefire even for a single day in the period decided by both sides. The government did not have the aim of discussing on the agenda put forward by our party. Its aim was to disarm the party and make it surrender. Soon after the crooked ploy ended, the AP police brutally killed comrade Riaz, a member of the Maoist parties' delegation. This was the first bitter experience for our party in conducting Peace Talks. This is an example of the real intentions of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters in Peace Talks.

The UPA led by the Congress came to power for the second time and launched the first phase of the War on People – the Operation Green Hunt. Simultaneously it brought forth the proposal for Peace Talks at central level through its Home Ministry and Congress senior leaders directly and indirectly. People like Swami Agnivesh directly entered the arena for facilitating Talks. On the one hand, the central government brought forth the proposal for Talks with Maoist leadership and on the other hand it either killed the top leadership of our party in fake encounters or arrested them and put them in jails. Our CC was to discuss and reach a final decision on Talks but before that comrade Azad, our Politburo member was caught and killed in a fake encounter in July 2010. This murder exposed the conspiracy of the ruling classes behind the proposal for Peace Talks. It became clear as daylight that Manmohan Singh government was not ready for Talks except to deceive.

Even while the OGH was being further intensified, some ministers like the home minister and some Congress top leaders parroted about Peace Talks some times. Apart from brutally killing another PBM of our party comrade Kishenji, several of our top leaders were arrested and put in jails. In Bengal too, Mamta Banerji talked about peace before she came to power. Once in power, it did not take many days for her real face to get exposed. Massacres of common people, fake encounters, loot, destruction and all kinds of atrocities on women became the daily routine of the state forces in Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Maharashtra. When Chidambaram was the home minister and after Shinde took over, both of them and the home secretaries had been declaring openly that there was no question for Peace Talks unless Maoists abandon arms and that the Maoists would not come for talks unless their backbone is broken that is, unless their top leadership is wiped out. They declared that only the government forces have the right to carry arms and even said that the law does not allow conduct of Talks with a banned organization.

From the beginning, the aim of the ruling classes in conducting Peace Talks is either disarming Maoists as a precondition for talks or disarming the Maoists as a result of Talks. The government has been asking the Maoists to come into mainstream and that it would rehabilitate them. It declared that if the Maoists put forward the grievances of the people, it would consider and solve those that are possible to be solved. To be precise, all proposals for Peace Talks from the ruling classes are nothing but humbug.

Now once again direct and indirect proposals for Peace Talks are coming from the Congress leaders. On the other hand, every kind of preparation for another big offensive-OGH-3rd phase is being concluded that includes further involvement of army and Air Force apart from deployment of paramilitary and Special Forces numbering around 4 lakhs all over the country at present (they have already built up carpet security like in Kashmir in every stronghold of our movement and at every strategic point of movement of our forces). Consolidation and expansion of carpet security and construction of hundreds of attack-proof police stations/camps and dozens of aerodromes and helipads is being done at a rapid pace all over the country in our movement areas. Expanding intelligence

network in rural areas, expanding communication network, setting up several dozens of training centres for Special Forces, importing most advanced weaponry and weapon systems, intensifying psychological operations utilizing corporate media and increase in the strategic role of paramilitary, Air Force and Army is being done at an unprecedented level. Vast tracts of rural areas have been transformed into big concentration camps. In all of these areas, there is no civil administration on ground. It is only a police/paramilitary dictated administration. Repression on mass organizations and mass movements including murders of its leaders is on. Large number of our central leaders and several hundreds of party cadres up to the lower levels were put in jails. They are languishing since several years in prisons without any justice. The government forces are intensifying and expanding cordon and search operations in our movement areas on a daily basis. Their model for dealing with Maoists is the Saranda model. This is a model that follows in the footsteps of Hitler's Nazi Germany.

The central and state governments had been making all the above preparations on the one hand and on the other hand, some Congress leaders and some chief ministers have been putting forward proposals for Peace Talks even while doing all this at the ground level. In such a backdrop, at present our stand towards Peace Talks would be as follows:

1. The government should accept that ours is a political movement of this country. Its program concerns our people and our country. Our party is the vanguard of this just movement. We are leading a national democratic revolution to resolve the fundamental problems before the people and the country which are the reason for the origin and continuation of our movement. Hence, our main agenda is genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services and sovereignty and long-lasting peace to develop the country. So they have to understand and recognize the root cause for this movement and if they wish to fulfill the interests of the people they would have to accept that our movement is an internal conflict and a civil war according to international laws also. Only then can Peace Talks be conducted in a genuine manner and be productive. Democratic organizations, progressive intellectuals and the people should understand this clearly and strive for peace.

2. Ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass organizations in our country should be lifted and attacks on their leaders and activists should stop.

3. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on Comrade Riaz's murder and the culprits should be punished. The killers who murdered comrade Azad who was involved in the Talks process should be arrested and punished.

4. Government forces that are carrying on loot, destruction, mayhem, atrocities on women and massacres in rural areas and killing of mass organization leaders in urban areas flouting international, national laws and agreements should be stopped from doing so. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on all these incidents.

5. In order to preserve our leadership from the conspiracies of the ruling classes to decimate our party leadership one more time in the name of Talks, all veteran comrades in prisons should be released by lifting all false cases on them or on bails. They should be allowed to meet our CC to facilitate deciding on a team to participate in the dialogue with the government.

I appeal to all the democratic organizations and individuals to understand our party's stand regarding Talks for establishment of genuine peace. If a conducive atmosphere as we propose for conduct of Peace Talks is established from the government, we would participate in it.

On this occasion, I appeal to the democratic organizations and individuals to build a movement to force the government to stop the unjust state offensive on revolutionary and democratic organizations, to demand that they be allowed to function and to demand a stop to all extra-judicial killings, fake encounters, destruction, loot, sexual atroci-

ties on women etc in the rural areas and killings of mass organization leaders in urban areas.

Q: Your party comrades had recently killed two journalists Nemichand Jain and Sai Reddy in Bastar. This is in contradiction with your party's stand on journalists. Similarly, in Jharkhand your party comrades planted an IED as a booby trap in the body of a CRPF jawan who died in your PLGA attack. Do these not deserve a clear explanation from your Central Committee?

A: The incident of Nemichand Jain (a stringer of Haribhoomi, Nayi Duniya and Dainik Bhaskar) on 12 February, 2013 is worrying. Our CC also expresses its sincere regret on this. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement explaining the reasons behind it and expressing its regret. DKSZC secretary comrade Ramanna had responded on this once again in an interview he gave on October 10, 2013 and expressed his regret. He stated, "This was a result of wrong assessment and sectarian approach of the concerned Area Committee of our party. I express my deep regrets regarding this. On behalf of our SZC I send my deep condolences to Nemichand Jain's family and his friends. Our party had already openly apologized for this."

On December 6, 2013 correspondent Sai Reddy of Hindi daily Deshbandhu and a resident of Bijapur was killed by our comrades. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement on December 10 defending the killing. Immediately after this, local media and the media in Raipur condemned this killing and had decided to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party. National and international journalists and media organizations also condemned the killing. On December 27, PUDR condemned this incident citing Article 79 of Protocol I of Geneva Convention (1949). A 16-member team of journalists took protest rally in our movement areas of Bastar from 26th to 31st January, 2014 and on the last day held a press meet in Bijapur.

Recently our Dandakaranya SZC had reviewed the Sai Reddy incident and all these developments. For about two decades Sai Reddy had been taking up anti-people and anti-movement activities even while being a journalist. So the party's South Bastar Divisional Committee (DVC) decided to punish him and accordingly a PLGA unit attacked his house once. But he escaped in that attack. In 2008 he was arrested by the Chhattisgarh police under Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act on a false accusation that he was a Maoist supporter and put him in jail for one year. However there were other reasons for his arrest. But with this arrest his image turned into one who opposed the government. In this backdrop the DVC stalled the decision to punish him. However this decision was not passed on to the lower ranks properly. As a result, this happened. The DKSZC reviewed that the SRC should have responded without delay in the Nemichand Jain incident and that the SRC defending the killing of Sai Reddy is not correct.

Regarding military actions and particularly regarding journalists, employees and professionals etc when any of them gets involved in anti-people activities or turns into an enemy of the movement and the people, the policy and guidelines formulated by the CC dictate that every unit of our party and the PLGA must adhere to them and follow class line and mass line in such instances. The DKSZC decided to release a letter to the PUDR and the media giving explanation on the Sai Reddy incident. In the past, when our South Bastar DVC decided to punish him, we should have informed the media organizations, journalists and the media houses he worked for, about his anti-people activities.

Even though our policy is correct, rarely some errors are occurring in practice. However, our CC feels that the local media and the media in Raipur deciding to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party is not correct. We feel that democratic organizations should give attention to this undemocratic attitude of the media too.

The incident on January 8, 2013 in Latehar where an IED was placed in the body of a slain CRPF jawan is also worrying. After the launch of OGH the ruling classes have resorted to every kind of brutality against the people in the most heinous manner. When the state forces use their superior

strength and inflict serious damages to the revolutionary movement, the people and the people's guerillas are forced to function under intense conditions. Every opportunity to resist the state forces should be utilized by them. In this course, due to lack of experience, due to lack of knowledge about the norms, rules and regulations regarding war/s that are prevalent in the world, our people and our fighters are taking up some actions which are not acceptable even to our supporters. Such instances are paining the well-wishers of the revolution and pro-people forces and they are asking that such incidents be avoided. On the other hand, such only being used by the state to intensify cal war but also by it's apologists to make mole hills and to attack the Maoist move-

Whatever maybe the arguments classes, the ongoing war in our country civil war. The party which is leading it for society and the people's army, how much pressure under which we are working in should choose the appropriate forms of against the enemy. When seen from such though such mistakes are occurring rarely, necessary to avoid them. When weapons planted with the aim of inflicting damag-forces, any methods that have the possi-damage to the people and those who are ticipating in the war like employees in civil medical personnel and civilians should

In general, according to our par-should not behave in an abusive manner forces who surrender to us or are arrest-Latehar instance did not happen as part dead bodies of enemy soldiers in a disre-However we should not let such incidents enemy forces are behaving in the most inhuman, callous and disrespectful manner towards the dead bodies of our comrades and the people as their general norm. In all societies all over world dead bodies are treated with certain respect. So we instruct our cadres that they should treat the bodies of slain enemy soldiers keeping this in view. On behalf of our CC, I appeal to our party and our PLGA comrades that this incident should be taken as a lesson and our party policy should be implemented.

Q: The spokesperson of your party's Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee GVK Prasad (Gudsa Usendi) surrendered to the police recently. How would you explain this?

A: DKSZC member GVK Prasad along with a DVC level cadre Santoshi Markam @ Jaini left DK and surrendered before the AP police on January 8, 2014. He is familiar as Gudsa Usendi, the spokesperson of the DKSZC not only to our party but also to all supporters of our movement and to several others who follow in the media about our party. The AP, DK cadre and people and the cadre and people of our various movement areas of the country know why such degenerated elements surrender. Their surrender was strictly condemned and severely hated by them. Even though it is a loss to our movement, this would not last long. The number of those who worked in our party central and state committees and later surrendered to the enemy is limited. However, there is no doubt that his surrender has done damage to the party as he was in the state level leadership position. After they surrendered to the enemy, our party's DKSZC Secretary Comrade Ramanna gave a statement condemning it and explaining the reasons for his surrender.

... the ongoing war in our country is nothing but a civil war. The party which is leading it for building a new society and the people's army, how much ever maybe the pressure under which we are working in the midst of war, should choose the appropriate forms of struggle to fight against the enemy. When seen from such a point of view, though such mistakes are occurring rarely, it is very much necessary to avoid them. When weapons like IEDs are planted with the aim of inflicting damages to the enemy forces, any methods that have the possibility of causing damage to the people and those who are not directly participating in the war like employees in civil administration, medical personnel and civilians should be avoided.

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This was covered extensively in the media. The politically degenerated Prasad responded to this statement with utter lies. All his arguments are completely wrong. The reasons he showed for their surrender are unpardonable not only in their case but in case of any leadership of that rank.

Since 2010 the countrywide counter-revolutionary offensive of the enemy and armed suppression campaign intensified on our movement. In this offensive, the party leadership and the movement suffered serious losses. Particularly, the DK movement which was advancing became the focal point of the enemy offensive and it was facing a tough situation. Under such circumstances, he was directly responsible for guiding the Manpur Division movement that was facing a more complex situation. Due to this, his old weakness of political vacillation arose again. He over-estimated the enemy's supremacy, felt fear and lost his self-confidence. In fact, though he surrendered before the enemy in January, his political degeneration took a shape since the end of 2012. The recognition he got as the spokesperson of DKSZC was due to the significance of DK movement but he thought it was due to his own talent and became arrogant and egoistic. Due to this, he was scathing while criticizing others and was liberal towards his own mistakes and weaknesses.

He failed to look at phenomena in a dialectical manner. So he looked only at the intensity of the enemy offensive and the temporary upper hand of the enemy and ignored the laws of social development and the revolutionary role of the oppressed people in this. He refused to look at the present favorable revolutionary situation in our country and the world and the strong points of the revolutionary movement, lost self-confidence and ultimately lost confidence on the movement itself. He degenerated ideologically and politically, was not ready for sacrifice, left the party and bent his knees before the enemy. This is treachery towards the revolution.

Our party examines every aspect in the society, in the party and inside every member in the party and likewise it also examines those individuals who had worked in the party and degenerated – all from a Marxist point of view. In every comrade working in the party, including the leaders, there is always present some positive and negative aspects - revolutionary ones, strengths and good qualities and non-revolutionary ones, along with weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations. Nobody is exception to these. The positive aspects serve the revolution and the negative ones harm it. However, these maybe present relatively in varying degrees in different comrades. As long as the good-strong aspects are principal inside an individual he/she continue to work in the party. If in an individual negative aspects become principal he/she does not last for long in the party. In every person, a continuous internal struggle goes on between the positive and negative aspects. Every person should fight consciously to get rid of the negative aspects and thus strengthen the positive aspects. Only then they would be able to serve the revolution and the people further. This struggle should be carried on inside every individual, in every party unit and in the entire party continuously. Failure, neglect, delay and lack of vigilance in this internal struggle would weaken the party, the party units and the individuals in the party. According to the level and degree of this weakness the party and the movement would be negatively affected in proportion.

To be precise, every party member, particularly every member of all leading committees inside the party should fight against their non-proletarian ideological and political trends, weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings. When they are not able to overcome these when they are present at a lesser degree, there is every possibility for these to aggravate. If anyone fails to rectify serious shortcomings, there is always a danger of political degeneration. Then they will either run away or be thrown away. Our party opines that this is an integral part of the ongoing class struggle inside the society.

Though Prasad worked in the movement as a professional revolutionary since 1985, he had two main weaknesses in his long revolutionary life. First, he vacillated politically during some critical junctures when the enemy repression intensified on the movement and it faced new dangers and challenges; second, he had petty-bourgeois anarchic notions regarding man-woman relations. The party helped him in overcoming these two weaknesses inside him and he too accepted and had tried to overcome them.

In that course he could serve the revolution too. However, he failed in correcting the past weaknesses continuing in him. In the new conditions too he failed in continuing more severe internal struggle on himself to overcome his weaknesses and ultimately degenerated and surrendered before the enemy.

Q: Recently the central government filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court that Maoist ideologues are more dangerous than Maoist guerillas and that those intellectuals who support them and build support for them are more dangerous. How do you respond to this?

A: This was done with the sole aim of suppressing every just dissent and movement against the ruling class policies. This is to suppress the aspirations and demands of vast masses, to damage all opportunities to express them, to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas by curtailing fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of movement and freedom to agitate. This is done to isolate the people's struggles in rural areas to crush them. This is to prevent the protest that is increasing against their evil rule in society from taking a consolidated form. This is to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas in the name of suppressing Maoist ideology. On the other hand they want to spread imperialist and feudal ideas such as autocracy, selfishness, deception, consumerism, sexism/patriarchy, Brahminical casteism, religious jingoism and treachery. All these serve retrogressive class interests. This is an excuse for implementing the existing draconian laws and to formulate new ones. This is part of the psy-war carried on by the ruling classes on the revolutionary and democratic movements. This is also to dent the solidarity and support movement of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic organizations and individuals all over the world for the PPW led by our party. The ruling classes are terrified by the great support we are getting from the parties, organizations and the oppressed people and intellectuals of our country and other countries. So the ruling classes have done this to prevent the revolutionary movement from getting such support from the world people. This was done to isolate the Maoist movement from other democratic and progressive movements and elements in our country and world over.

Our party condemns this strongly and appeals to one and all to condemn this fascist attitude of the government. We appeal to all democratic organizations, intellectuals, journalists, media persons, lawyers and judges to condemn this in no uncertain terms and unite to fight this back. This is a question of fundamental rights and not just something concerned with Maoist guerillas or their ideologues. Our party opines that this is a question of whether we should agitate for a genuine democracy in our country or accept autocracy.

Q: The UPA-2 government led by Manmohan Singh as soon as it came to power launched the Operation Green Hunt by labeling your movement as the gravest threat to internal security of our country. It has been five years since. What do you think is the reason for this offensive? How do you plan to fight this back?

A: Firstly, Manmohan labeling us as 'the gravest threat' is rubbish. In fact, neither we nor our PLGA have descended from the skies. This is a people's war waged by millions of people of our country and their army- the PLGA, under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) against the ruling classes and their state to build a new democratic society. We reiterate that ours is a national democratic revolution. The unjust war imposed on us, on our people is the war which is being waged for the interests of a few. We are not at all a threat to our people. In fact, the ruling classes are the 'gravest threat' to the people of our country. That is why, all the democratic, civil rights organizations in our country and the world are describing OGH as a 'War on People' and demanding its immediate withdrawal.

Though there are several reasons for the Indian ruling classes to impose this war on us, we feel there are two main reasons for this. The national democratic revolutionary program proposed by us to the people is gaining countrywide recognition as the alternative to their pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-big landlord policies. That is why, our party, our PLGA and our Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) are gaining recognition among revolutionary and democratic forces and the oppressed

masses. The vast masses who are fed up with the anti-people, regressive policies of the governments are severely opposing them. Their anger and discontent are developing to the extent of submerging the ruling classes. In such circumstances, they are afraid that our revolutionary movement is developing and that it would shake their very foundations. That is why, the ruling classes have shamelessly violated all domestic and international laws and intensified fascist repression. The second reason is - the Indian ruling classes collaborated with the imperialists and are selling out our country to them. Joining hands with them, they are looting the natural riches and labor power of our people. After the

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economy of our country has been completely transformed to the needs of the world market in the name of so-called development, the economy of our country is retrogressing. Along with the needs of the imperialist capital, its crisis is also increasing. As the pressure of the MNCs is increasing on the comprador rulers to implement the MoUs they signed to loot our natural resources and markets of our country, the repressive offensives are also intensifying.

When the Indian ruling classes launched OGH, they carried on the offensive saying that they would wipe out our movement within five to seven years. It is true that they could inflict serious losses on our movement. But they had to face the bitter resistance of our people and our PLGA in this period. It has been exposed as never before that the government is deploying on its own people even the Army that should be on the borders, that it is carrying on an unjust war and that this is a war being carried on for the interests of the comprador and imperialist bandits. In a people's war, it is very crucial that it becomes clear as to which side represents which classes and whose interests. How many ever maybe our difficulties in this war, as far as this war is concerned, we give utmost importance to this aspect becoming clear, i.e., the class interests represented by our people's war and those represented by the counter-revolutionary war. The fact that they could not wipe out the movement in the past five years in itself is a proof that the nature of this war does not allow them to conclude it as they wish.

Since the days of the Telangana armed peasant rebellion where PPW began to take a shape, we learnt many lessons and later developed our strategy and tactics. Depending on it we made our PPW wider and deeper. Along with losses and setbacks we have also witnessed the movement learning several lessons and developing. Brute force, unjust war and fascist rule can never win forever. Our party is not only learning from our own mistakes, failures and defeats but also from the revolutionary experiences of the oppressed masses of the world, particularly of the successful and failed revolutions of the world and is trying to make the NDR in our country successful. By utilizing favorable conditions for the revolution to mobilize the vast masses into the revolutionary war and by carrying on active resistance against the enemy forces by creatively applying our general political line and the strategy and tactics of PPW, we can march forward successfully. That is why, we, meaning the party, PLGA and the vast oppressed masses would face the enemy in spite of having to face immense difficulties and having to make huge sacrifices, would fight

resolutely and emerge victorious in this war. However long drawn it may be, how many ever maybe the twists and turns it goes through and how many ever maybe the thorns in its path, the PPW is invincible. We are very confident that our glorious people are ready for this long drawn battle to crush the treacherous Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters on this very soil of our great country.

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The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism of the weapon, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.

Karl Marx

Revolutionary war is an antitoxin that not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power and can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation.

Mao Tsetung

... from page 15. 'Another May Day...'

alists and their lackeys too. Their growing contention amply indicates this.

Another May Day comes, in a world crying out for revolution, for communism; a day for the class conscious proletariat and their vanguard, the Maoists, to take stock of the world transforming mission of the proletariat and the great traditions of proletarian internationalism.

Today there is no socialist country. Not even a government that can be broadly qualified as progressive, pro people. There is much, much, to be done. But there are also factors that give strength and confidence in pursuing the world emancipatory mission of the proletariat - the clarity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the deepening of the struggle against revisionism of all hues including those of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and Avakianism, the wave of struggles seen all over the world, the people's wars in India and the Philippines and its reorganisation or preparation in some other countries, the strengthening of internationalist ties and activities among Maoist parties and organisations.

Building on these strengths, the Maoists must creatively develop forms of organisation suitable for orienting the rebellious energy of the streets towards revolution, with the building and strengthening of Maoist parties at its center. They must take up the task of building an international organisation of Maoist parties and organisations. This must be the core of an organised international anti-imperialist front of the proletarians and oppressed peoples. Thus the Maoists will be able to establish and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, realise a new unity of the international communist movement, place it at the van of worldwide people's struggles and fully unleash and realize the revolutionary potential of the present world.

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Tongpal Ambush is the Consequence of White Terrorism of the Indian state in the name of Operation Green Hunt – ‘War on the People

On March 11 in a valiant attack by our People’s Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) commanders and red fighters on the joint forces of paramilitary and district police on the Jagdalpur-Konta NH-221 near Tongpal of Sukma district in Chhattisgarh, 11 CRPF jawans belonging to the 80th Battalion and four district policemen died. Our guerillas seized 19 weapons (six AK-47s, two SLRs, seven Insas rifles, three grenade launchers, one LMG), ammunitions and other military equipment. The Tongpal ambush is part of the tactical counter-offensives carried on by the PLGA all over the country under the leadership of our party in self-defence against the white terrorism of the Indian state in the name of Operation Green Hunt (OGH)– The War on People. The Central Committee sends its revolutionary greetings to the PLGA forces for making this ambush successful.

While this incident enthused a lot the oppressed masses of our country who are being crushed under the iron heels of the mercenary paramilitary and police forces, the exploiting governments and their lackeys were shaken to the core once again. The central and state governments, the Congress and the BJP condemned this attack. The Congress gave a call for state bandh stating that this was the failure of the state government and demanding Raman Singh’s resignation. The Home Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde, Chief Minister Raman Singh and the higher police officials immediately rushed to the spot to keep up the morale of their mercenary forces and shed crocodile tears while stating that this was a cowardly act of the Naxals, that the Naxalites had in fact weakened, their documents prove this and they had resorted to this horrific act to cover their weakness. Shinde proved his counter-revolutionary character by stating that they would take revenge for this terrorist act of the Naxals. And he is the Home Minister of India – ‘the biggest democracy in the world!’

To cover up the War on People carried on in the name of OGH, the central and state governments are accusing us of being terrorists. Who are actually the terrorists? If we had really weakened why are more than four lakh central and state armed forces deployed in the revolutionary movement areas and why do they carry on nonstop combings and attacks, harass, arrest, put in jails, murder, rape, kill in fake encounters and massacre the people without respite? Why were 165 companies of paramilitary forces deployed during the Chhattisgarh assembly polls in an unprecedented manner? The central and state exploiting ruling classes that are carrying on incessant offensives on the people of our country by fascizing the state machinery are the real terrorists. The plans for these offensives are made under the direct supervision of the FBI, the intelligence agency of the US imperialists sitting in Delhi. The aim of these offensives in to completely wipe out our party, the protracted people’s war led by it, the Revolutionary People’s Committees (Revolutionary People’s governments) formed on the basis of genuine democracy and self-reliance and developing as an alternative to the exploiting Indian state. In the name of ‘gravest threat to the internal security’ of the country and in accordance with the US dictated LIC strategy and tactics, they are resorting to a severe multi-pronged offensive. Their deceptive Peace Talks proposals and reform schemes are intended to divert the people and the democrats and to carry on further heavy offensive on the revolutionary movement. ...

(excerpted from the March 25th press release of the CPI (Maoist) CC Spokesperson)

... from page 6. 'On Election Results...'

fake votes were cast in these booths. Nevertheless, even 5-20 percent polling did not take place in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, Odisha and Andhra-Odisha Border and other areas where Revolutionary People's Committees are present and the Maoist movement is strong,. In Kashmir, even after creating state-terror prior to elections, merely 27% polling took place as per official claims. In the context of elections, the slogan of Azad Kashmir once again reverberated across the valley.

The 'alternative' of NOTA has been brought forward to deny the people the 'right to recall'. Due to a lack of alternative and threats from the political parties and armed forces, more than one crore voters pressed NOTA button. This is primarily because those who chose not to vote are often branded as terrorists or Maoists. In the revolutionary and nationals liberation movement areas, responding to the call of poll boycott, the people of these areas and in places where democratic movements and anti-displacement movements are going on, people in significant numbers have rejected these farcical elections in protest against the antipeople policies of the governments their repression. The CC, CPI(Maoist) extends revolutionary greetings to all of them for daring to defy the state and boycott the elections even while facing grave threats and intimidation.

In defensive campaigns against the reactionary forces, the red fighters of our PLGA conducted many heroic attacks in Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and Andhra-Odisha Border Area and other regions and inflicted a number of casualties to the enemy troops and seizing many arms and ammunitions. It is a matter of great regret, however, that our PLGA forces ambushed vehicles carrying poll officials mistaking them to be police vehicles. Some employees engaged in poll duty died or got injured due to such mistakes. Concerned units of our party has already apologized for these unfortunate incidents. We once again extend our apology to the people for this and express our heartfelt condolence to the relatives and friends of the deceased.

In the farcical elections, the BJP has claimed that it has won an unprecedented and historic victory. However, the total vote share they received is no more than 35 percent. There can be no bigger bankruptcy in this so-called largest democracy of the world than to claim a 'historic victory' for a party that wins a mere 35 percent of the votes polled. One more time the scamsters, gangsters and criminals came to power, revealing the farcical nature of the parliamentary system.

Narendra Modi was put forward as the BJP prime-ministerial candidate by the Sangh-Parivar and with its sponsorship and full involvement in the elections, BJP has gained an unprecedented victory under Modi's leadership, however may be. On the other hand, the UPA-led by Congress had to suffer a humiliating defeat. During the rule of UPA government, neo-liberal economic, political, social, cultural and ecological policies were implemented in a large scale, corruption and scams manifested itself in an unprecedented manner, price rise skyrocketed, access to healthcare and education became much more meager for the people, lack of accountability to the people, high rate of unemployment, retrenchment of workers, farmer's suicide, atrocities and violence on women, gaping social inequality, starvation, atrocities on dalits by the Brahminical casteist forces, suppression of the rights of the oppressed nationalities, depriving the adivasis and the oppressed of their jal-jangal-zameen, haq-adhikar aur izzat, state repression on the anti-displacement movements and the separate statehood movements particularly in Telangana and Gorkhaland, rampant ecological destruction, etc., all of which are major reasons resulting in the accumulation of people's anger against the Congress and its allies.

Due to a lack of alternative and threats from the political parties and armed forces, more than one crore voters pressed NOTA button. This is primarily because those who chose not to vote are often branded as terrorists or Maoists. In the revolutionary and nationals liberation movement areas, responding to the call of poll boycott, the people of these areas and in places where democratic movements and anti-displacement movements are going on, people in significant numbers have rejected these farcical elections in protest against the antipeople policies of the governments their repression. The CC, CPI(Maoist) extends revolutionary greetings to all of them for daring to defy the state and boycott the elections even while facing grave threats and intimidation.

The mass anger against UPA government and the anti-corruption campaign initiated by Anna Hazare-Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) has been successfully utilized by the BJP for electoral gain. By remaining behind the scene, BJP-RSS orchestrated anti-Muslim attacks and stirred-up Hindu religious chauvinism against them all over the country, particularly through the attacks in Muzaffarnagar and Samli, UP. RSS played a central role in this. In the North East, particularly in Assam, BJP could mobilize the Hindus to some extent against the perceived Bangladeshi Muslim immigrants and garner their votes. The above explains the hollowness of BJP's claim that it has gained the votes from all sections and thereby the divisions of religion, caste, community and gender etc. It is a fact that BJP has not gained the majority of votes from the Muslims and dalits. That behind BJP's win there is no countrywide 'Modi-wave' is shown by the election results of Kerala, Odisha, Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Seemandhra, etc., where BJP did not perform well. In Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim too non-NDA parties have won. The so-called Modi-wave is the joint creation of the big corporations and its corporate media. Narendra Modi has been put forward by the imperialists, the MNCs, big comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords to divert the people's wrath against the neo-liberal policies of the ruling classes and usher in fascism like Hitler to serve their interests more effectively. In fact, the Congress has been thoroughly exposed and discredited as an out-and-out anti-people, reactionary and corrupt party. Perceiving the people's anger, the Indian ruling classes and imperialists have presented another ruling-class party in the form of BJP and Narendra Modi in place of Manmohan Singh as an alternative before the people, only to hoodwink them with parliamentary illusions for another five years.

In this election, UPA constituents and particularly Congress were wiped out in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Seemandhra, Delhi and in some other places. In most of the other states Congress was reduced to a very few seats. In spite of creating some reformist rhetoric, AAP could not perform well because it lacked a clear-cut position on the basic problems of the people and the country and even burning issues facing the people. SP, BSP, RJD, JD(U), DMK, the Left Front led by CPI(M) and other regional parties which championed the same policies of Manmohan Singh government and that were mired in corruption, exploitation and suppression and opportunism too had to suffer ignominious defeat. DMK, BSP and National Conference in particular have been washed out and have no presence left in the parliament. In Odisha, BJD came to power for the fourth time due to the absence of any effective parliamentary opposition. In Andhra Pradesh, Telugu Desam Party and TRS took advantage of the people's anger against the Congress and registered victories. In Kashmir, National Conference had to pay for its collusion with the Congress party and policies aimed at crushing and liquidating Kashmir's national liberation movement.

After securing a simple majority in the parliament under the leadership of Modi, BJP is acting magnanimous in victory and is promising to carry along its NDA partners. It has promised to work for even those voters and social sections who have not voted for it. Modi himself in his address to the people after the election victory has said that "It is a victory for Bharat", that "India will be made self-reliant" and that "Acche din anewale hai" ("Good days are ahead"). Hearing this, some people are under the illusion that this is a beginning of 'good governance' and that Modi will bring about 'change'. Some also naively believe that BJP will not run its government on the basis of its Hindu-fascist agenda as in Gujarat but on the basis of a development agenda. Some believe that the days of the 2002 Gujarat pogrom have been left behind and that all sections and communities will be treated equally, corruption will be checked, unemployment opportunities will be created, women's safety will be ensured, etc. under Modi's NDA regime. However, Modi and other champions of Brahmanical Hindutva will never fulfill these aspirations. On the contrary, the neo-liberal policies implemented by the UPA government will now be even more aggressively executed by the NDA government led by Modi. The conditions of the masses will further deteriorate in all fronts. NDA's clear majority in the parliament under Modi's leadership, absence of a strong

The emergence of fascism to overcome its crises and counter the growth of revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements in the context of deepening imperialist crises worldwide is a growing phenomenon in the present times. To effectively implement the neo-liberal policies, imperialists and their allies seek to establish neo-fascist forms of rule. This can be seen in India as well. This is a challenge before the revolutionary and democratic forces and the masses of our country.

parliamentary opposition, and most importantly RSS/BJP's Hindutva agenda are indications of the coming fascist onslaught. It will not take long for BJP-led central government to reveal its fascist, pro-imperialist, antifederal and Indian expansionist face while using the people's mandate to justify its anti-people actions.

Workers, peasants, Muslims, dalits and other exploited masses will soon find themselves amidst growing persecution as BJP's government reveals its fascist face. Modi and co. and the big compradors and big landlords are promoting his 'Gujarat Model' in a big way in their attempt to create illusions among the masses. The real meaning of this Gujarat Model, which has been said to be 'the laboratory of Hindutva', is the suppression of all forms of dissent, including that of the workers, peasants, religious minorities particularly Muslims, and other exploited and oppressed sections of the society. It means suppression and control of dissent coming from its opposition camp and even from within its own camp, opening the doors for the big domestic and international corporations to plunder and loot as much as they wish, and other similar measures. Combined with these, 'Gujarat Model' signifies the extensive use of mass media in a Goebblesian manner to present the image of an iron-willed leader and a strong party capable of resolving all of people's problems. Modi's Gujarat Model of fascist rule now extends to the entire country and amplifies the expansionist threat in the entire South-Asian sub-continent. The election manifesto of BJP does not forget to present its anti-Muslim, anti-Kashmir nationality and Hindutva agenda. It promises to scrap Article 370, impose Uniform Civil Code and build Ram temple, among other things. This poses a threat to the people of India and an existential threat to the armed agrarian revolutionary war, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities and dalits and other oppressed communities.

The emergence of fascism to overcome its crises and counter the growth of revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements in the context of deepening imperialist crises worldwide is a growing phenomenon in the present times. To effectively implement the neo-liberal policies, imperialists and their allies seek to establish neo-fascist forms of rule. This can be seen in India as well. This is a challenge before the revolutionary and democratic forces and the masses of our country. That is why the exploited masses of India, oppressed nationalities, patriots and pro-people individuals and organisations, students and youth, intellectuals and other progressive forces should comprehend the serious threat posed by the growth of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascists. Building broad-based and powerful mass movements by uniting all the revolutionary and democratic organizations, forces and individuals and the vast masses against all ruling classes, particularly against saffron fascism, is an important task before us. Simultaneously, struggles must be waged to resolve the day-to-day and the basic problems facing the masses. No right can be won by the people without struggles. Only by uniting all the struggling forces and defending, intensifying and expanding the protracted people's war and the completion of the new democratic revolution with armed agrarian revolution at its axis can the basic problems of the people and our country be resolved and all reactionary, fascist and counter-revolutionary weeds be uprooted.

(May 19th press release)

from page 2. 'Merger Statement'

of the proletariat and struggling people all over the world it develops its line and practice. It shoulders the tasks of carrying out the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist new democratic revolution. This revolution leads to socialism and further to communism by continuing the revolution through cultural revolutions. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are the targets of the new democratic revolution, whose main content is the armed agrarian revolution. The path of revolution is that of protracted people's war. The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses is principal. It considers that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples is the principal contradiction at the world level. It is intensifying along with the other basic contradictions in the world.

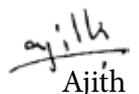
The unity now achieved gives a boost to the capacity of the CPI (Maoist) to better fulfill its role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution. Over decades of arduous struggle, sacrificing thousands of lives of great communist leaders, red fighters and oppressed masses, the CPI (Maoist) has developed the people's war in India to the level where guerilla bases and red political power, in the form of Revolutionary Peoples Committees, have been established in central and eastern India, protected by the People's Liberation Guerilla Army and the People's Militia. This has been achieved by fighting against most vicious suppression campaigns, now concentrated in Operation Green Hunt - a war against the people. As part of this, tens of thousands of people have been brutally attacked. Murder, rape, burning down houses and destroying crops, forcible displacement and many other inhuman practices are common. Now the Indian state is actively rehearsing airborne and ground attack with its air force and army. But despite this murderous onslaught the protracted people's war continues to advance in waves. The recent expansion it has made in the southern part of the Western Ghats situated along the western coast of the Indian peninsula is proof that the flames of revolution will continue to spread till the Indian state, this pillar of imperialism in South Asia, is destroyed.

When the imperialists and their lackey ruling classes all over the world are trapped in an unabated crisis, the favourable revolutionary situation in the world has led to intense class struggles in the imperialist world and people's wars led by Maoists and anti-imperialist struggles by other forces in oppressed countries. In India, on the one hand, the ruling classes have deployed four lakhs of its mercenary forces in central and eastern India, where the class struggle has reached the stage of intense revolutionary civil war, emerging as a revolutionary alternative, which is inspiring vast oppressed masses towards revolution and is concretised in the formation of People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) and the new democratic state in its embryonic form. It is stepping up militarisation of Western Ghats to crush the budding revolutionary armed struggle. On the other hand, it is forcibly thrusting the anti-people globalisation policies on the workers, peasants, adivasis, dalits, women and other oppressed masses, leading to an increase in militant struggles. Utilising this favourable situation the party will make greater efforts to advance the revolutionary movement to a higher level and better fulfill its international tasks. It will strive go all out to mobilise the masses in lakhs, intensify and expand the guerrilla war, meet the critical challenges faced by the revolutionary movement and overcome them.

Painfully aware of the deep suffering and misery in which the vast majority of the people are forced to live in India and the world over by the inhuman world imperialist system, conscious of the devastation caused by this system on the global environment and the very existence of life on this earth, cherishing the memories of the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of communism, and rallying under the Red Flag crimson with their blood, we pledge to make this unity we have achieved a powerful weapon of revolution.



Ganapathy
General Secretary,
CPI (Maoist)



Ajith
Secretary,
CPI (M-L) NAXALBARI



Images from Germany of solidarity actions inspired by the Call of the Committee to Support the People's War in India
