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Organ of the
Central Committee CPI(ML)

NEW DEMOCRACY

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Mobilize the People to Rise Against Rulers' Attacks

Srilanka is not alone. It may be more advanced on the road. Implosion of economy built under the aegis of imperialist powers, pursuing export led growth and seeking foreign investments as the engine to spur growth has not been accidental. The causes of this implosion are rooted in the very economic model some of whose features are given above. Tragedy is for the people who are bearing the brunt of this collapse.

World economy dominated by imperialism is in extremely deep crisis resulting in intensification of all the basic contradictions of imperialism. Contradiction among imperialist powers has become particularly acute as imperialist powers resort to war to overcome the crisis and shift more and more burden on the people. Since the explosion of world financial economic crisis from 2008 onwards, imperialist system has been living on borrowed times. On the one hand, capital accumulation has speeded up and concentrated more and more, and on the other pole poverty including what is called absolute poverty has grown with growing inequality. The basic feature of capitalist crisis that is crisis of overproduction i.e. production not backed by effective demand, has assumed menacing proportions. More and more debt driven consumption has become an increasingly prominent feature with global debt having grown over three and a half times (355%) of global GDP. Debt servicing

reportedly consumes 12% of the GDP even at the extremely low interest rate. With expansion of currency especially in imperialist countries during Corona pandemic prices of essential commodities are rising sharply and developed countries are recording very high inflation levels. To control inflation interest rates are being hiked up which will lead to even greater share of world GDP going for the interest payment, one estimate by John Smith shows the share would double if the interest rate goes even up by 2% sucking a very large part of the value generated by the world economy.

Intensification of inter-imperialist contradiction on the basis of US withdrawal from Afghanistan in defeat has led to war in Ukraine. Sanctions imposed by western countries against Russia for its invasion of Ukraine to stop eastward expansion of NATO has resulted in disruption of world trade and especially affected supply of fuel, food and fertilizer to name a few. It has led to worldwide crisis of essential commodities especially in the backward countries which are dependent on imperialism to different degrees. No imperialist country is coming forward to help them. They are only bent on extracting more out of the crisis, further burdening people and creating conditions of uprisings and revolts in a number of countries. These uprisings are against the havoc created by neoliberal economic policies and plunder of their natural resources and exploitation of their labour power. While people are mostly reacting to abysmal conditions of their existence, ruling classes of these backward countries who have mostly been junior partners in loot and plunder of their countries, are showing only hope in securing bailouts from international financial institutions dominated by the same imperialist countries.

While Indian rulers are displaying bravado in tackling the choppy waters of economy, their nervousness is showing through

and with time their tone is also changing. Intensification of contradiction among imperialist powers is for the time being giving them scope to pat their backs as different imperialist powers are courting them. Uncertainty looms over how long this situation will continue and it cannot but have implications for the economy.

Indian rulers have long been parading their big foreign exchange reserves implying that India faces no crisis on this score. However, forex reserves of India have fallen by over 62 billion dollars over last few months reaching almost 580 billion dollars. That level may not be alarming. However, payment of interest and installments are due in near future reportedly amounting to 243 billion dollars. Alarming trend is foreign capital going out of India due to rise in interest rates in their home countries. Nearly 32 billion US dollars have gone out over last two months. It may not take very long for this ‘un-worrisome’ situation to turn worrisome. India too like many other backward countries has pursued export led and FDI dependent model of development. All talks of “Make in India” are essentially for creating more conducive environment to attract foreign capital from western imperialist countries especially in view of their deteriorating relations with China.

Govt.’s nervousness is being shown by divergent steps it has taken of late. Central Govt. has reduced special excise duty on petrol and diesel to absorb to an extent the rising prices of crude oil in international market. This is also due to cascading effect of rise in prices of petrol and diesel on prices of almost all commodities and that may affect their sale in the market. Despite empty boast of “feeding the world” Central Govt. banned exports of wheat when it discovered lower production of *rabi* crops and due to its deliberate ploy to let corporate purchase most of the crop from the farmers through traders. This failure was because Govt. not able to

purchase enough to ensure implementation of its existing schemes and food grain reserves. Central govt. has also lowered custom duties on edible oil and pulses of which India is a large importer again thanks to policies pursued by successive govts. And to raise the revenue Govt. has imposed GST of 5% on hitherto exempted articles like packaged food which affect common people especially middle classes and even working people in cities. Govt. had also imposed windfall tax on the earnings on domestic extraction of crude oil and also increased tax on gold import. Though there is a design in this apparent madness, but the imbalance of the economy cannot be remedied by these stitches here and there; by a cut and paste job.

India has had a large current account deficit. Large part of this deficit is contributed by excess of imports over exports i.e. trade imbalance. Current Account Deficit is expected to reach 3% of GDP this year; for comparison it was 1.2% of GDP last year. The root cause of this deficit lies in the very structure of Indian imports and exports. Most of Indian imports are vital, with important effect on economy while Indian exports are largely not of that effect on importing countries. The biggest import is of crude oil which accounts for two fifth of Indian imports (over 38%). With prices of crude oil escalating in international market, the burden is increasing. Other vital imports are pulses, edible oil and fertilizers to name a few. These are essential for people or have effect on economy including agriculture. With trade imbalance deteriorating, Indian rupee is under pressure and has already reached Rs.80 for every dollar to which rising interest rates in USA are also contributing. The declining value of rupee makes imports costlier thereby further increasing trade imbalance. Indian Reserve Bank has intervened to check rise in value of dollar by releasing dollars in

the market. This intervention has its limits besides further eroding forex reserves of the country. Such erosion takes place at a slow rate but cannot extinguish the effect of trade imbalance with India importing machinery, equipment and technological knowhow. Indian ruling classes, through new economic policies, have increased their dependence on imperialist countries and now chickens are coming home to roost.

Trade imbalance is also rooted in the different values of products of imperialist countries like USA and backward countries like India. Trade is basically exchange of labour incorporated in the commodities but the value of the same is determined by imperialist countries. The difference between nominal GDP and purchase power parity GDP is an example of how labour is valued differently including in international trade. With value of rupee declining steeply, exploitation of the toiling people of the people of the country will increase further as India will have to shell out greater products of labour to meet even the essential imports. This imbalance is built in the present world economic system dominated by western imperialist countries. Countries like India face this very delicate situation of shelling out greater and greater values.

Indian rulers being aware of the impending downturn which may be catastrophic in intensity, are taking steps to cut the expenditure. The recently introduced Agnipath scheme of introducing fixed term contract employment in the combat forces has its roots in cutting down or not increasing capital expenditure on armed forces. Expenditure on a number of social sectors has been curtailed. Some of the cuts are openly claimed but mostly surreptitiously implemented. Brazenness of the present ruling dispensation can be seen from the assertion of Foreign Minister Jaishankar who praised his Govt. for managing Corona pandemic

effectively and ‘economically’. The latter is the most significant as Indian Govt. reduced allocation on Health by 10% in 2021-’22 Union Budget as compared to Revised Estimates of the expenditure on this head in earlier year. How this played out is known to every Indian who witnessed the misery and helplessness of the people during second wave from April ’21. Expenditure on Education was similarly cut as was expenditure on Scientific Research.

Besides cutting expenditure on mainly social sectors Indian rulers are continuing to roll out the red carpet to corporate including foreign corporate. Attempts to deprive workers of their hard won rights are still on in the form of the sword of four Labour Codes hanging over their head. They are amending Forest Conservation Rules to allow handing over of mineral rich land to corporate. Recently Indian Prime Minister has held a summit with US, Israel and UAE and agreed to open food parks in India. One of the purposes of these ventures is “These investments will help maximize crop yields and, in turn, help tackle food security in South Asia and the Middle East”. These echo the avowed purport of now repealed three black Agri Acts, only this time it is being done in a gradual manner.

Besides these economic measures, Indian rulers are also intent on deepening communal polarization in the country and intensifying repression on the people. These measures being unleashed relentlessly show the intent to pre-empt people’s resistance to economic attacks which requires unity of the people. How far these will give immunity to the rulers is though doubtful. These conspiracies could not crush the farmers’ movement against farm laws. Such conspiracies lie in shambles in Srilanka where Sinhala majoritarianism had bred authoritarian Rajpakshe rule and militant religious organizations of majority religion could not rescue

the rule once people were on the move. Probably aware of such situation and yet helpless, except doing the only thing they are expert in doing, the present rulers are intensifying their communal fascist drive.

As the burden on the people is increasing and their conditions are declining with further threat of decline, it is time to mobilize people to rise in defense of their rights. By drawing people into struggle, they can be made aware of the conspiracies of present rulers against them, their interests and their livelihood. Building such movements requires boldness in taking up issues as well as flexibility in uniting all sections that can be united in such people's movements. These movements hold the future and save the people from despondency. It is indeed tragic that a country of such vast fertile land, rich mineral resources and huge laboring masses should face the perilous conditions in which rulers have thrown them. The tragedy must be ended. The revolutionary and democratic forces must rise to the occasion and play their due role.



Protest Against Bulldozer Raj and Implication of Activists ; Unitedly Rise Against Onslaught of Fascist Rulers

As was widely expected after assembly elections in February March 2022, ruling RSS-BJP has intensified its fascist campaign to crush all dissent under the boots of security forces. RSS-BJP has made the most populous province of Uttar Pradesh an advanced laboratory of their Hindutva fascism. Their campaign has been widened to disturb and destroy the economic life of a section of the citizens of the country- Muslims. The attack is no longer confined to incarcerating people in prisons on trumped up charges, to unleashing police brutalities including killing in firing, to denying every semblance of democratic rights. These measures continue and are intensified but also the ambit is enlarged to destroy their property and means of livelihood. This is aimed at terrorizing the whole community. The Bulldozer has emerged as a new symbol of fascist rulers who are also crushing under it the very concept of India as enshrined in the Constitution. RSS-BJP Govt. is working overtime to close the democratic space which was opened by historic farmers' movement against three black Agricultural acts and Electricity Bill. The breach is not only being repaired but cemented over.

Ruling RSS-BJP has asserted their right to destroy the means of livelihood and places to live of those who dare challenge

their communal fascist agenda. It is all done in the name of demolishing illegal constructions and it is the Admn. run by RSS-BJP which decides what is an illegal construction. This linkage is meant to crush the very right to dissent what if it is written in the Constitution and guaranteed by laws of the land. *Reddis* and rickshaws, means of earning livelihood of many urban poor, are not only removed but crushed by bulldozers as in Jahangirpuri and several other places in Delhi. Notices are issued with back date and no opportunity is given to the person targeted. The victims know of the action when it is actually done i.e. when bulldozers come to demolish their residences. By linking the very right to means of livelihood and shelter to the exercise of the right to protest, fascist rule has taken the present attack further. This pattern has become familiar for several months in the RSS-BJP ruled states.

When BJP spokesperson Nupur Sharma hurled insults on Prophet Mohammed and BJP media cell chief Navin Jindal tweeted insults, they were doing what has been the routine exercise on the part of the functionaries of ruling dispensation. This attack came in the backdrop of intensifying attacks on the Muslim minority in the country. It widened the ambit from Muslims in India to Islam itself. However, this attack was resented by a number of Muslim majority countries especially countries of West Asia. Their opposition unnerved the ruling dispensation in the context of volatile international situation and some token actions were taken against the erring functionaries. But this did not and could not signify any correction on behalf of the ruling dispensation. The 'correction' they have made is that they have intensified attacks on Muslims to correct any impression that so-called action against BJP functionaries is anything but for international audiences.

Protests against insults to Prophet are being held in many

parts of the country and these are being crushed with severity using disproportionate force. In crushing these protests, the activists who had participated in the people's protests against CAA-NRC-NPR are being falsely implicated in the protests. This is being deliberately done to punish them for daring to raise their voice against acts of this Govt. In Prayagraj (earlier Allahabad), AIKMS General Secretary Com. Ashish Mital has been falsely named as a participant in the protest on 10th June 2022 and senior police official have charged him and others for instigating violence. Police and Admn. did not hide that this is being done to punish him for supporting protests against CAA-NRC-NPR. This is being done with scant regard to facts e.g. Com. Ashish had been in the Court the whole day having been summoned for threat of breach of peace and Admn. has been well aware of this. Buildings of so-called masterminds of protests in Prayagraj and Saharanpur have been demolished. They also displayed their patriarchal attitude when they demolished the house in Prayagraj to punish an activist though the house belonged to his wife.

Bulldozer raj marks the new phase of rule of fascists and UP has emerged as the advanced laboratory for their Hindutva, Gujarat having been the first laboratory of RSS-BJP. The same Yogi Govt. is doing everything to protect Union Minister 'Teni' accused of organizing crushing of agitating farmers under a car. There have been increased attacks against Dalits, Tribals and women.

It is noteworthy that higher judiciary is not being seen doing enough to protect people's rights under the Constitution and laws of the land. It is especially significant as these attacks are being launched in the name of enforcing laws and regulations.

Intensification of these attacks is being done at a time when condition of the people is worsening. Unemployment has risen to

alarming levels. Rise in the prices of essential commodities has further increased burden on the people. The unsettled international situation continues to contribute to increasing hardships of the people. Fearing people's unrest, RSS-BJP has been forced to reduce special excise duty on petroleum products which it had imposed when crude prices were low in the international market, but they are acutely aware of the growing restiveness of the people. They may be unnerved how economic hardships have demolished the hegemony over power in Srilanka of Rajapakshe clan who thrived on consolidation of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists. RSS-BJP's attacks to close the democratic space for the expression of people's anger represent both their desperation as well as design.

These attacks call for a serious fight back to protect the democratic rights of people, right to life and means of livelihood of minorities, and to fight the attacks on the means of livelihood of common people. These attacks call for a united response from all the forces opposed to these attacks even including those who have been and also those who have not been steadfast in their opposition. The attack is very thorough and intense and hence response has to be commensurate to the attack.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy condemns demolition of properties of Muslims and demands end to bulldozer raj.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy condemns framing of false cases against activists who had participated in the protests against CAA-NRC-NPR including Com. Ashish Mital, General Secretary of AIKMS and demands immediate withdrawal of such false cases against him and other activists.

CPI (ML)- New Democracy calls on all forces- political parties and mass organizations and individuals- to unite to oppose

this brutal attack on the minorities especially Muslims. Let all rise against this fascist onslaught including attacks on the rights of states.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy calls for intensification of the struggle of different sections of people to safeguard their interests from the attacks from the fascist rulers.

Central Committee,

CPI (ML)-New Democracy

June 14, 2022



‘Agnipath’ Bursts The Unemployment Cauldron !

Fixed Term Contract Employment Reaches Army Combat Units as Unemployment Situation Worsens

Educated youth poured into streets to express their anger over the Central Govt. announcement of contract jobs in the Army for four years with only a fourth of them to be absorbed in the Army. With sky high unemployment (youth unemployment nearly 26%) and no proper jobs in the Govt. and public sector (most of these contractualized), educated youth's hope of Army recruitment providing secure employment was dealt a severe blow and they

came out in protest, braving assault by the police. This explosion was waiting to happen. It has challenged the ambit of Govt. policy of contractualization which has now hit even the combat units of Army. These protests, drawing large number of students and educated youth, deserve to be supported.

The Central Govt. had itself tried to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand is the severe economic crisis. Even as the Govt. does its best to stoke its virulent anti Muslim agenda to distract the people, it is quite aware that the economy is in dire straits. It is aware of the acute danger of deepening economic crisis with potential to draw masses into struggle. This can jeopardize its Hindutva project like Sinhala chauvinists are being blown away in Sri Lanka. This scheme – Agnipath- is a cost cutting measure and the recruits – Agniveers- the contract combatants. Several leaders from civilian and military fields are openly saying that this would free necessary funds for ‘modernization’ (procuring equipment mostly from foreign countries) of Armed Forces by cutting down expenditure on Military personnel, their pension and on their medical and educational benefits.

Unemployment remains very high with share of industrial production in GDP progressively declining, the price rise is back breaking, there is a wheat crisis in the world, the all out PSU sales have few buyers and there is no deluge of foreign investment. Also in the picture is the BJP’s electoral promise of twenty million jobs per year for five years while the unemployment figures escalate.

In this situation, the Prime Minister has announced that 10 lakh vacant govt. jobs would be filled in 18 months. He did not say whether this would be by regular employments. It is reported that over 60 lakh sanctioned Govt. jobs remain vacant though the

number is estimated to be over 1 crore. In Govt. departments, institutions and public sector enterprises, the number of regular employees has steadily decreased and overwhelming majority of posts are filled with contract workers. Govt. is trying to deny workers all benefits, reducing them to mere minimum wage even in Govt. and public sector.

On the heels of this situation, came the announcement of the Agnipath scheme by the Central Govt. projected as a big move for youth. But the volatile unemployment cauldron has blown up in the Govt.'s face and angry youth are angrily displaying anger on the streets. Over 10 states were rocked on 16th June. Widespread in Bihar, and also erupting in Palwal and other parts of Haryana, in several districts of Uttar Pradesh including Bulandshahr, Gonda, Meerut, Unnao and Ballia, in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi, protests are bursting out. In Bihar, Govt. offices including railways witnessed protests and railway stations saw sieges in Nawada, Sivan, Chhapra, Arah, Saharsa, Muzaffarpur, Jehanabad, Gaya, Bhabhua, and other districts. Protests are spreading to other states and to other regions of the states already witnessing protests. One person has been killed and three others are critical when police opened fire on protesters at Secunderabad railway station. RSS-BJP is also becoming target of this anger.

The Agnipath Scheme

The Central Govt. has announced this new recruitment scheme for the 1.38 million strong armed forces. It will replace existing recruitment schemes. From this year, 46,000 youth aged between 17 and a half to 21 years and having passed 10th standard will be recruited into the forces for 4 years. They will be trained for

six months, and retained for three and a half years. They will be paid Rs. 30,000 a month for the first year, Rs. 33,000 per month for the second year, Rs. 36,500 per month for the third year and Rs. 40,000 per month for the fourth and final year and will get medical benefits during service. At the end of four years, three fourth will be discharged with nearly Rs. 11 lakh package. Half of this package will come from 30% deductions from the above given emoluments. It means that in the four year term, a recruit will get Rs. 21,000 per month in first year, Rs. 23,100 per month for the second year, Rs. 25,550 per month for the third year and Rs. 28,000 per month for the fourth year. No pension, no gratuity and back on the road with a 10th class certificate at maximally 25 years of age. The Govt. says it might give a 12th class certificate and the lump of a few lakhs is going to breed entrepreneurs! As the agitation escalated, the Govt. raised the maximum age to 23 years as no recruitments had taken place over last two years in the name of Covid. Examinations have been repeatedly postponed and this announcement added to the anger. It also hastily issued a booklet of “Myths and Facts” which does not address concerns.

But the Central Govt. cannot hide the fact that this is a scheme for contractualization of the lower ranks of the three forces on one hand. On the other, it is designed to save the govt. from paying pensions to larger and larger numbers. Third of course, it pushes the Hindutva agenda of militarization of society along with giving an ever increasing pool of unemployed trained in use of arms. It might be used to swell the ranks of RSS’ armed ranks that are anyway being openly trained in the use of arms; it could provide armed personnel to be exploited by mafias. Their expertise may also adopt other channels.

While the youth is afire with being rendered unemployed in

the prime of youth, there are criticisms on additional counts. The Govt. is vociferously denying but no one believes that this is a further attempt to homogenize the Army whereas there have been special regiments in the army belonging to different regions. There are criticisms from retired members of the forces, that this contractualization will dilute the spirit of sacrifice, risk taking. The six month training is inadequate and officers will have to deal with half baked recruits. RSS-BJP have been targeting different institutions and now is the turn of armed forces.

The widespread demand is to scrap the scheme and resume the recruitments as earlier. The Govt. is doling out sops and wielding batons. The UP Govt. has announced it will recruit from among the discharged youth of this scheme for its police services. Other such announcements will follow. But the youth needs be clear that this is a big move to push ahead to contractualize this employment opportunity and to push down wages as well as further dilute employment with some secure job tenure and a pension net. Youth knows that other avenues are closed especially for common educated youth.

It will need sustained struggle to beat back this move of the Govt. Youth should be supported in building a broad struggle to challenge what is part of the policy framework of the rulers.

CPI (ML)-New Democracy

June 17, 2022



The Raging Political Fire and the Path of Ravaged Economy

● SK

Few months ago, the video of a 19-year-old Pradeep Mehra, working at McDonalds in Sector 16, Noida running in the night went viral. He runs around 10 kilometres everyday after his work. His mother is hospitalised, elder brother works in a night shift. As his work starts at 8 AM in the morning he gets time to practice running only in the night, to reach home and then prepare his dinner. He practices running as he aspires to join the army. Two weeks later, the report of 24-year-old Suresh Bhichar, hailing from Nagaur district of Rajasthan, made it to the news as he ran for 50 hours to attend the demonstration by Army aspirants in New Delhi over the postponement of the recruitment exam. Even as the two incidents seem to be unconnected, yet they revealed the disconnect between those at the helm and ground reality. Pegasus failed!

The violent protests that erupted as a response to the much touted 'Agnipath' surprised some observers even as they praised the scheme as a 'master stroke'. In less than 24 hours, the government has been forced to increase the upper age limit from 21 to 23, as a onetime waiver for the recruitment cycle of 2022. So much for the wide-ranging deliberations and extensive

consultations that were supposedly held for two years prior to the announcement!

The disappointment among the youth is palpable despite the window dressing and firefighting measures to diffuse the situation. The protestors are young army aspirants. For a moment, the 'violent creed' could not be identified by the dress they wear. Nor is it immediately possible to brand them as 'anti-nationals'. An obvious moment where bulldozers couldn't be ushered in to teach an immediate lesson. A Friday, when one was in doubt if it is still followed by a Saturday!

1. That the scheme is criticised by the 'army veterans', including those considered as 'supporters' of ruling dispensation speaks for itself. Retired Major General G.D. Bakshi "Was flabbergasted by the Agniveer scheme. I thought initially it was a trial being done on a pilot basis. This is an across the board change to convert Indian armed forces to a short tenure quasi-conscript force Like the Chinese. For God's sake PLEASE DONT do it."

2. Then there are questions over how ready a soldier will be after just six months of training (as against the 'normal' 3-4 years). A military analyst, Major General Amrit Pal Singh (retired) avers that an Agniveer joining a front-line IA unit after merely six months of rudimentary weapons and battlefield training would definitely end up becoming a burden on other grizzled troops in his battalion.

3. Added to that, some say, this will induce 'unhealthy competition' and jealousy amongst the Agniveers to make it to the select list of 25% to be absorbed into the ranks at the end of the four-year tenure.

4. Apart from these operational aspects, the purported change in doing away with the state wise quota is noted by some

with the warning that it can lead to potential ethnical imbalance in the future army. The announcement of some state governments to give priority to Agniveers in the police recruitment of respective states gives rise to pertinent questions on the intent in altering the nature of the police force in the coming years.

5. There are other serious issues. This scheme is seen as an 'exchequer solution' to the problem of pension payments. As some protesters pointed succinctly, they have moved away from the 2014 demand of 'One Rank, One Pension' in 2014 to No rank, No Pension' in 2022! At a broader level the scheme should be seen in light of the Labour Code which formally introduced the term 'Fixed term Employment', yet another means of implementing contractualisation and 'hire and fire' employees at will. This mode now enters the army employment.

6. The pathetic failure in creating employment opportunities is the result of development model and the policies pursued by the government. The selling spree of public sector units and implementation of labour codes foreclose all avenues for those aspiring for a decent employment. With Agnipath, the Agniveers are now made to tread the path of uncertainty at the young age of 21 – 25 years.

The violent protests revealed the undercurrents – unmet aspirations of a secure future and the shrinking job opportunities in the economy. The politics of stoking communal fire and hatred met with a road block, with the youth rising up against the unemployment and deprivation of job opportunities. It needs to be seen if the PR machinery and media spin on the violence can 'manage' the situation.

But the problem will surely persist. Sociologists and economists speak about social conflicts caused often by the lack of

opportunities. According to Gunnar Heinsohn, the German sociologist and economist, a nation's youth bulge (a period of rapid demographic growth because of which 30-40% of all males are aged 15 to 29) can trigger widespread social conflict, especially when fairly large numbers of young people are educated and unable to secure jobs. Jack Goldstone, an American sociologist, identified "an expanding population of higher-educated youth facing limited opportunities to obtain elite political and economic positions" as one of the key conditions for violent social conflict[i]. The protests are a pointer to the future.

Incidentally, Agnipath, is also a poem written by Hariwansh Rai Bachchan.

‘It’s a great scene,
The man is walking,
in tears, sweat, and blood,
soaked, swathed,
(Walk on the) Path of Fire, (Walk on the) Path of Fire..

Whether youth want to tread the path of fire for a secure future or for a four-year tenure is the question.

[i] <https://gdc.unicef.org/resource/why-india-should-worry-about-its-educated-unemployed-youth>.



The Rozgar Budget of Delhi's AAP Govt.- Evading the Burning Need for Jobs

● **Aparna**

The AAP has recently won a windfall victory in Punjab assembly polls, riding on a 'change' for 'new' wave and flaunting a Delhi 'success story'. In Delhi this year the Delhi Govt. has presented a Rozgar Budget, riveting the attention of middle class intellectuals. A string of pronouncements created a mirage of jobs in the Capital just rolling in.

When AAP stunned political circles by taking a massive majority in Delhi assembly, in this magazine itself, their agenda was defined as for liberalization with a human face. This analysis is now adequately substantiated. It is a class attempt to show that this system is simply being wrongly worked and therefore earning people's ire. It works and there is no need for revolutionary change.

To the other ruling class parties, it shows that some reforms should be there to give some relief to common people. Around that, even delivery of bare essential services can be packaged well and brought with blitz to convince people that the Govt. is actually working for their needs. Using this way, there is no need to change the pro corporate and anti people policy framework. Rather the practical anti people steps needed under it can also be presented as positive steps by correct marketing techniques.

That the policy framework of AAP is no different from the pro corporate BJP RSS Central Govt. is clear from two recent steps. One is the implementation of the Mandi Act (one of the three farm laws which the farmers forced the Central Govt to withdraw) in Delhi in January 2021 itself, even while ostensibly supporting the farmers' struggle against the three farm laws. Second is the framing of rules of several of the new anti worker Labour Codes to help the Central Govt. operationalize them, even while some state Govts have held off.

Politically also the AAP has justly earned itself the title of B team of the RSS. The hands off, refuse- to - intervene approach which actually meant support to events playing out which was adopted by the Delhi Govt. during riots in North East Delhi in a situation where its intervention would have modified the shape of events, was too obvious to ignore. The performance was enhanced in the recent communal flare up in North West Delhi's Jahangirpuri. Here the AAP MLA visited the area when all was done and dusted. He neither intervened to stand by the Muslim youth being targeted by the Police, nor to help restore economic activity of the vast army of *redi patri* workers, nor to save their pushcarts from annihilation by the MCD. The municipality of Delhi is controlled by the BJP running the Central Govt., with whom AAP is at war daily on issues which suit it. Rather AAP leaders, including ministers, openly organized alternative *Hanuman shobha yatras* ostensibly to show contrast with BJP's yatras. In effect the concept of the state having no religion is openly rejected. Several AAP leaders held forth on how it was the BJP which had settled Bangladeshis and Rohyngias in Delhi. This was supposed to counter the BJP's labelling of the Muslim residents of C block Jahangirpuri as 'foreigners and terrorists'. This is a technique of making a myth sound real by

countering the presentation. The reality is simply that many people in C block are migrants from West Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims. This is the fact that the Delhi Govt. needed to highlight to expose the BJP's attitude to Muslim citizens.

The AAP Govt.'s Education policy also has priorities similar to the New Education Policy of the Central Govt. The emphasis is on imparting 'skills' rather than knowledge. So the Delhi Govt. has money for huge and regular full page advertisements in newspapers and for hoardings for broadcasting its achievements. But the colleges run by the Delhi Govt. do not receive adequate funds, govt. schools are being layered subtly in various experiments with the latest being separate 'Schools of Excellence' while normal schools have renovated buildings for good photographs but severe paucity of teachers. In recently announced (1st July 2022) methods for assessing the 'competency' of children, Delhi Govt. said its objectives are 'in line with the mindset curriculum' of the NEP 2020.

The Delhi Govt. has come with its Rozgar Budget at a time when the employment situation in Delhi is serious. The CMIE states that unemployment in Delhi was 44.9% in May 2020, which means this figure pertains to the lockdown period when thousands of unemployed had walked home from Delhi. There is no legitimate statistic of how many left the city on their weary way home at that time. Rather than looking at the figure itself, the message given by the huge spike should be taken. CMIE qualified the figure was higher in urban areas of Delhi as compared to rural ones. 8.9% males were unemployed as compared to 9.1% females.

Earlier figures had put the unemployment rate in the city between July 2019 to June 2020 at 8.7%. Whatever the figures, the real situation was stark. Reopening enterprises were employing less

workers but for longer hours; if they were reopening at all. Children were migrating to govt. schools out of need of parents not conviction.

The Rozgar Budget arrived and promised to create 20 million jobs in the next five years. Deputy CM Shisodia stated clearly that there is no scope of creating manufacturing jobs in Delhi “due to pollution issues”. Delhi has long been not just a trade centre but an industrial city with a huge army of private sector industrial workers. Polluting factories were made to relocate out of Delhi during the years of the Shiela Dixit Congress Govt. in Delhi. However, the AAP Govt. has no will to control vehicular pollution or pollution due to unbridled massive construction activities which are the major contributors to air pollution in Delhi. Trees are being systematically cut in the city by agencies of both state and central govts for real estate work. Industrial pollution is not the major contributor to air pollution in Delhi. But Manish Shisodia simply flung aside this truth as though it was a settled matter. That is because stopping support to middle and small scale industry and reducing them to minor contractors of Corporate is part of the ruling class policy framework.

Thus a plan to further commercialize Delhi has been put forth in the Rozgar Budget. Employment is to be ‘generated’ in eight sectors by executing some schemes which will create possibilities of employment. The Delhi Govt. has even clearly stated the precise employment which will be generated by the schemes per sector. For those skeptical of how this is being calculated, it speaks of its technological back up which apparently can correctly project the exact numbers to which all these projections are going to be reality.

The Budget announced by the AAP Govt. is, like all its schemes, grandiose. Two million jobs created by specific

interventions planned in eight sectors. They are Retail, Food and beverages, Logistic and Supply Chains, Travel and Tourism, Entertainment, Construction, Real Estate and Green Energy. (Reported in detail in Hindustan Times 27th March 2022).

The logic behind the pronouncement is breathtakingly simple — First; reinterpreting the meaning of the word “job”. It is not the job for which once you are selected, you get regular income, some facilities and job security, even if it is not a proper “govt. job”. Rather, what the govt. has set out to do is to commercially develop some sectors which in turn will be employing people. Label it Employment generation then? Yes, but more of the kind now available in Delhi. It will be informal, in small and big shops and establishments, with unregulated working hours, no enforcement of labour laws on minimum wages or other rights. In addition, the Delhi Govt. is allowing the Labour law enforcement machinery to dwindle away, imposes no workplace safety measures as the gruesome scores of numbers of burnt dead workers in its governance term reveal starkly, and also it stands in practice with new anti worker Labour Codes.

A run through of the total Budget announcement substantiates this. Delhi Govt. will revamp five traditional markets, organize an annual Delhi Shopping festival, a Delhi wholesale shopping festival. Gandhinagar textile market will become a Grand Market Hub. So by retail market renovation, one and a half lakh jobs will be generated says the Govt., in 5 years in 5 markets. The Delhi Bazaar Portal will generate 1.2 lakh jobs in one year and the Gandhi Nagar Garment Hub will give 40,000 jobs in five years. Such alluring exact numbers!- AND the Govt. claims this is substantiated due to its technological competence !

The fallout of this is definitely going to be that those who own small shops and businesses in these areas or sell on pushcarts are all going to be squeezed out by big players and turned into employees.

The second announcement is that the Govt. holds that cloud kitchens are growing at 20% per year and that there are 20,000 currently operational which provide direct employment to 2 lakhs and indirect to 50 thousand workers. So in its job generation scheme, it will give fillip to food business and encourage food trucks between 8pm to 2am in different parts of the city. Thus, it says will 42 thousand jobs be generated in 5 years by cloud kitchens. 80 thousand jobs will come from new start ups and its Rozgar Bazaar. Women will be trained in urban farming and a new Veterinary College (first of its kind in Delhi) will be set up, all of which will give jobs.

Further, said the Delhi Govt. in its Budget, Green Energy will generate one lakh jobs. Jobs in Construction sector will be created by rebuilding of non conforming industrial areas and will give 42,000 jobs in five years. No one in Govt. points out that by their very nature, these will be temporary, if at all and anyway construction workers already in jobs are not fully registered by Delhi Govt. or given facilities they are entitled to under current laws.

Under Real Estate the Govt. says it will create 80 thousand new jobs by establishing a new electronic city.

This is the outline of the Govt.'s Rozgar Budget. It is just interesting to note that according to Govt. data reproduced in the same newspaper, there are 3.5 lakh retail shops in Delhi which employ 7.5 lakh people living in a 150 to 200 km radius around the city. Gandhi Nagar garment market already has one lakh direct and

2 lakh indirect employment. In this, the Delhi govt.'s "Rozgar Budget" says it will add 40 thousand jobs in next five years!

Push in Electric Vehicle sector, it announced, will generate 45 thousand jobs in 5 years. In the period Dec.2019-2020, share of EVs in new vehicle sale in Delhi it says was 1.2% which was 10% by Feb 2022. 20,000 jobs it says will be generated in sale, repair, and maintenance in next 5 years. Then there will be employment generation in maintenance and operation of charging stations. Further, says Delhi Govt., we will give another 25 thousand jobs in five years by giving 5000 permits per year for those who can buy e-autos! So 5 thousand driver jobs per year or even ten thousand if one never keeps the autos off the road and each driver does a 12 hour shift! That works out to even more than 45000.

The Govt. says it is even making children into job creators. It is giving 2 thousand rupees per head to children in class eleventh and twelfth in Delhi schools to 'kick start business ideas' (part of Delhi Govt.'s Entrepreneur Mindset Curriculum). It is another matter that a study by PDSU in Delhi's Sagarpur area schools found that few children returned the money as they can't figure out what to do with it. Some used part of the money to buy some items (typically masks or some fancy display) and placed it for display. Very few tried to actually make some project.

This is the essence of the Rozgar Budget of the Govt. of Delhi. The CM has claimed that in 7 years his govt. has ensured 12 lakh job opportunities to the people of this city. One lakh 78 thousand of these jobs are in the Govt. sector and ten lakh have been created in the private sector.

He did not say and newspapers now do not ask, for breakups of such exact figures. So citizens have to rely on alternative sources

of information. There are, for instance, 24 thousand permanent posts of govt. school teachers lying vacant in Delhi schools. Teaching is carried on by “guest teachers”; contractual employees not regularized in last 7 years, not getting same pay and rights as regular teachers but probably grateful to the AAP Delhi Govt. for giving the security that they will not be thrown out of their contractual status. Of sanctioned staff strength in June 2018, 58.3 % posts had been filled. Of these 21,926 were regular teachers and 17,000 were guest teachers. As per figures, in December 2021, 20,000 guest teachers stood employed by the Delhi Govt. In 2022, 4000 more posts of guest teachers have been advertized. Anganwadi workers, helpers, vocational trainees and AASHAs, are all contractual against permanent nature of work. In hospitals of the Delhi Govt., in fact in its own offices, security guards, lift workers, typists, housekeeping staff are all contractual but yes, now their contract status does not need renewal annually. Delhi now has a massive permanently contractual govt. sector workforce.

Contractual work force of Delhi Govt. does not get thrown out of the job when contractors change. But the Govt. saves crores in wages, other allowances as equal wage for equal work is not implemented for contractual work force. These workers also do not need to be given pensions and any other post retirement benefits. Women workers get no maternity leave.

What is the reality behind the numbers regularly announced by Delhi Govt.’s Ministers as being of ‘jobs generated’? On 3rd July, the Delhi Edition of the Hindu, a daily newspaper, carried a frontpage report exposing Deputy CM Manish Shisodia’s clarification given to the same paper in March this year that his Govt.’s Rozgar Bazaar Portal had given ten lakh jobs (and not just job opportunities or openings) in private sector in Delhi. The Delhi

Govt. used to hold job fairs pre corona. Post Corona, this portal was set up in July 2020. According to the report, data from this portal shows that upto May 1st, 2022, 76,646 applications were screened and 12,588 people may have got jobs though it cannot be known whether they retain them.

In all these numbers and descriptions, what is absent is any mention of jobs for teachers at any level, for employing more doctors or nurses or scientists, for even job openings in IT sector. As stated earlier, the same is true of the way CM Kejriwal and his ministers speak about Education too- Skill, not Knowledge. That is their vision for the children of Delhi who are studying in the Govt. schools- be Mechanics, helpers, shop assistants, plumbers, cooks, caterers, workers in beauty parlours, electricians. Or be traders and businessmen. It is not as though universities, medical colleges etc. are being shut down in Delhi- they are being commercialized. AAP's Delhi Govt. does its best to not allow attention to turn towards the private schools flourishing unhampered by it. These charge enormous fees- for even during the Corona period- which the salaried and the middle class and also upper class pay so that their children could have access to the sciences and social sciences in higher education.

The reality of the Rozgar Budget will soon become clear to the youth of Delhi. The employment situation in the city and of course in the country is becoming more serious despite lofty pronouncements of Govts. The crisis is linked directly to the development model, where production is not for the needs of the country and people. The youth must be mobilized to fight both for jobs and for a pro people model of development. Sovereignty is a reality only when this vast country's production is oriented to producing and delivering in accordance with the needs of the people

and the country. India needs to put money in the hands of its workers and peasants, which are the huge market that will stimulate production.

In Delhi, the youth can raise many concrete immediate demands. All guest faculty should be regularized in schools and colleges and all vacant posts filled. Manufacture should be facilitated in the small and middle scale manufacturing sector in the 29 big and small private industrial areas and industries should be supported to not migrate out of the city. Alongside labour laws should be implemented. Additional hospitals and crèche facility development have been announced and for all these permanent appointments must be made. All contractual staff must be regularized and all vacant govt. posts filled. Concrete measures and not mythical market employment is the need.



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CPI(ML) Organs

New Democracy	English
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Voice of New Democracy	Telugu
Biplabi Ganaline	Bengali
Inquilabi Sada Rah	Punjabi
Sangrami Ekta	Odia

AIKMS CEC Statement

Resist the Pro Corporate Amendments in the Forest Conservation Rules

Fight back BJP-RSS Govt's move to snatch away the hard earned rights of tribal and other traditional forest dwellers over their forest land

While the BJP-RSS is trying to project itself as pro tribal by fielding a tribal woman first time for the post of President of India, its Govt. at the Centre has started an all-out attack on tribal people living in our forest area. The hard earned rights of tribal and other traditional forest dwellers given in The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, are going to be snatched away soon. On 28th June 2022, the Union Environment, Forest and Climate Change Ministry has issued a notification named Forest Conservation Rules - 2022 to amend the present forest conservation rules framed under the Forest Conservation Act-1980. The new amendments will replace the existing Forest Conservation rules which were formed after the amendments in 2004, 2014 and 2017. Given the numerical strength of the ruling party in the parliament, it may be easily passed in the coming session. Once these amendments are approved than lakhs of our Tribals and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers residing in the forest land for generations will lose their rights forever. The Govt. will have the unchecked power of

approving the cutting down of forests without taking the consent of Grama Sabha.

As per the present Forest Conservation Rules, compliance of Forest Rights of Tribals and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers is mandatory in accordance with The Forest Rights Act 2006 (FRA) for any kind of diversion of forest land for non-forestry purposes. The Union Government is required to verify the consent of the forest dwellers and ensure recognition of their rights over the forest land before approving handovers for private projects. But after the amendments in the forest conservation rules, it can approve the handover of the forest without any hindrance and collect the payment for compensatory afforestation from the private developer even before the state government has settled forest dwellers' rights and ensured their consent for the project. The Rules reduce the power of Gram Sabhas, improve the ease of doing business for corporates, concentrate power in the forest bureaucracy and seek to override the FRA. This will only be helpful for big corporates who have been seeing this whole process of clearance by Gram Sabhas as an obstacle for acquiring forest land. Now after this amendment they can easily get the forest land for their different projects especially mining, big dams and industries.

The Tribals and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Forest Rights Act -2006 (FRA-2006) was enacted after decades of continuous fight by tribal and traditional forest dwellers of our country. Its stated objective was to undo the historical injustice done to these communities by successive Govts since 1878. It recognized all rights of tribal and traditional forest dwellers over all categories of forest land including reserve forest. Even the 18th April 2013 historic Vedanta judgment of the Supreme Court has reaffirmed the right of these communities over forest land through

Grama Sabha. It categorically said that FRA-2006 is applicable for all forest land and no forest land can be handed over for non-forestry purposes without the consent of Grama Sabha. But big corporates, who want to get huge stretches of forest land for their various projects, consider this provision as an obstacle. That is the reason why the BJP and RSS Govt soon after coming to power at the Centre in 2014 has started conspiring to at least dilute or weaken the forest rights of tribal and other traditional forest dwellers given under the Forest Rights Act-2006. After 8 long years, finally they could bring some amendments to make the FRA-2006 virtually toothless. This is purely intended to hand over the forest land to their corporate masters.

The Central Executive Committee of All India Kisan Mazdoor Sabha (AIKMS) strongly opposes the MoEF's proposed amendments in the Forest conservation Rules 2022. This is nothing but a design to hand over country's vast forest land to corporate sharks by snatching the hard earned rights of tribal and forest dwellers. AIKMS urges various organizations working among tribal and forest dwelling communities to resist this pro-corporate and anti-tribal move of RSS-BJP Govt unitedly.

(Issued by Central Executive Committee of AIKMS on 12th July 2022)



ILPS Statement On the 2022 NATO Summit

The leaders of the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) held their annual Summit from June 28 - 30. In contrast to the business-as-usual style summits of the past, this one marked an unprecedented increase in the militarization of the whole of Europe and the expansion of its members particularly in the east against Russia and of its influence in the Indo-Pacific to address the threat of China. This reflects the intensified heightening contradictions between the US-led and Russia-dominant poles of the inter-imperialist system. It also reflected the heightening contradiction between the imperialist class and the masses of the world who held mass protests to expose and oppose NATO as the leading imperialist alliance in the world today.

The NATO Summit was preceded by the G7 meeting of the most powerful US-led imperialist economies (US, Canada, UK, France, Germany, Italy, Japan). Instead of discussing the most pressing needs of the people such as rising commodity prices and the exacerbating climate crisis, the leaders' only focus was on combating Russia with harsher sanctions and military posturing. Apart from acting as a mere dress rehearsal for the NATO Summit directly afterwards, these actions are meant to pull European countries further away from the Russian economy so as to be more reliant on US-led oil and gas producing countries.

The NATO Summit itself solidified a major increase in NATO's offensive capabilities. US President Biden hollowly referred to "threats from the east and challenges from the south" as

the NATO 2030 strategy described China and Russia as “systemic enemies”. The number of NATO troops on “high alert” will be increased sevenfold to 300,000, the largest since the end of the Cold War. It was determined that over \$350 billion have been spent on NATO budgets by its members since 2014 with new plans announced to increase more over the next year.

The US made its own increase to its troop presence in Europe, promising two navy destroyers to the Rota navy base in Spain, bringing the total number now to six. The US army will establish its first permanent troop basing in Poland, add more permanently stationed troops in Germany and Italy, commit troops to Romania and increase rotating troop levels in the Baltic countries.

The most significant development was the welcoming of Sweden and Finland’s application to the alliance. Turkey, a NATO member, had originally opposed their application given the presence of exiled PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party) members in their countries. Yet after a phone call from Biden, the three countries signed a trilateral agreement affirming Sweden and Finland’s intent to join NATO and the two countries’ commitment to collaborate closely with Turkey on “anti-terrorism” operations. This exposes the continued role of the US as the commander in chief of NATO while clarifying the alliances’ inherent counterrevolutionary character.

The presence of South Korea, Japan, Australia and New Zealand is a harrowing reminder that, despite its name, NATO’s influence expands far beyond the North Atlantic as the US-led war machine sinks its talons further into the Indo-Pacific to defend its weakening existence.

The people of the world are making clear their rejection of this decrepit relic of the Cold War past. An estimated five thousand

people marched in the streets of Madrid under the calls of “No to NATO!” and “Bases Out!”, with multiple gatherings and counter-conferences held to discuss the way forward given this increased consolidation of the imperialist forces.

ILPS members joined in these demonstrations along with other members of the International Coordinating Network on a European Peace and Justice tour as part of the Fight Against Imperialist Wars campaign. The League and all genuine anti-imperialist forces are one with the people in demanding the dismantling of NATO. Only a mass movement has the power to free the people from the conditions of endless war!

(Issued by ILPS Chairperson, Len Cooper on July 2, 2022)

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Homage to Com. DVK !

Secretary of CPI (ML)-Prajapandha Com. D.V. Krishna expired today (26.6.2022) morning. He had been suffering from a serious ailment for over a year.

Com. DVK had been active in the communist revolutionary movement since 1969 and became a professional revolutionary soon after. He had been entrusted with important responsibilities in the organization. He was co-opted as a member of AP State Committee in 1975. He was again taken into APPC of the Party in 1989 and since then he had been a member of APPC and of Telengana PC after bifurcation of the State. He was elected by Telengana PC as Secretary after death of Com. Ravi in 2016. He had been a member of the Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy for a long period of time getting first elected to CC in the

All India Party Congress held in 1992.

Com. DVK also devoted his energy for work among workers including trade union movement. He was elected as All India General Secretary of Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) at its conference in 1993 and remained in that responsibility till 2006.

Central Committee of CPI (ML)-New Democracy pays homage to the memory of Com. DVK and his contribution to the Party and revolutionary movement including revolutionary Trade Union movement.

CC, CPI (ML) - New Democracy conveys heartfelt condolences to leaders and members of CPI (ML)-Prajapandha, his daughter (Deepa) and son-in-law.

Central Committee,

CPI (ML)-New Democracy

June 26, 2022

IFTU Condoles Death of Com. DVK

The national committee of IFTU condoles the death of Comrade DVK who has been suffering with pancreatic cancer for the last one year. A senior comrade whose revolutionary political life began in the beginning months of 1970, he was a close confidante of Neelam Ramchandraiah and rose to become an important functionary of the party. He was the general secretary of IFTU for over a decade and secretary of the party after the death of Com. Ravi. At the time of his death he was the secretary of CPI ML Prajapandha.

In his death we have lost a valuable comrade in the struggle for revolutionary change. The IFTU salutes him and expresses deep felt sympathy to Deepa and other family members.

Pradeep, General Secretary IFTU

A Serious Situation for People's Rights

● **Aditya Prakash**

Arrest of Teesta Setalvad and B. Sreekumar, former DGP of Gujarat, is a direct attack on the activists campaigning against violation of rights of the people including their right to life. The arrests have been made by Gujarat ATS for approaching Supreme Court questioning findings of SIT on large scale murders in Gulberg Society in Ahmedabad on February 28, 2002. These arrests mark a new low in the state of democratic rights in India. This is despite Prime Minister Modi signing a declaration by leaders of G7 countries and countries invited to the Summit including India committing India to open public debate and the free flow of information online and offline while guarding the freedom, independence and diversity of civil society actors. India signed '2022 Resilient Democracies Statement' issued on June 27. This only demonstrates present rulers' limitless double speak and impunity in transgressing the democratic rights.

Even more worrisome is that arrests have followed an observation of the Supreme Court bench dismissing appeal of Zakia Jafri. Supreme Court bench did not stop at "Suffice it to observe that there no tittle of material, much less tangible material to support the plea of the appellant..." but found fault with the petitioner's quest for justice itself. Ostensibly advising the appellant to come to terms with her loss, the Bench found it "Intriguingly, the present proceedings have been pursued for last 16 years including

with the audacity to question the integrity of every functionary involved in the process of exposing the devious stratagem adopted (to borrow the submission of learned counsel for the SIT), to keep the pot boiling, obviously, for an ulterior design. As a matter of fact, all those involved in such abuse of process, need to be in the dock and proceeded with in accordance with law”. 69 persons were brutally massacred on February 28, 2002 and the relatives of the victims are not even entitled to pursue their quest for 16 years and that too in a country where far less serious cases remain pending for decades. If this quest has spanned over 16 years it is any way a commentary on the state of pendency of cases in the judiciary including higher judiciary.

Immediately after SC observation for the need “to be in the dock and proceeded with in accordance with law” Union Home Minister signaled immediate action and with good speed ATS of Gujarat arrested Teesta Setalwad and Sreekumar while third ‘accused’ IPS officer Pradeep Bhat is already in jail. This is a fall out of the observation that the appellant, Zakia Jafri, was working at someone else’s insistence. Her loss, butchering of her husband, a former Member of Parliament, before her own eyes was not considered reason enough for her to pursue all who were behind the gruesome murders; not only those who executed but also those who conspired, especially those who were duty bound to protect the victims.

Many comments on the issue have been made highlighting not only the injustice of these arrests but also change of stance on behalf of the apex Court. In 2004, Supreme Court has been quoted to have remarked in Best Bakery case, “The modern day Neroes were looking elsewhere when Best Bakery and innocent children were burning, and were probably deliberating how the perpetrators

of the crime can be protected.” One finds the change in stance in the present case.

The supreme injustice of this judgment is to warn against those, so-called “the protagonists of quest for justice”, who help the victims of such organized pogroms, rendering the victims defenseless. In any avowedly democratic society those, whether sitting in their air-conditioned office or otherwise, who help victims secure or pursue their quest for justice are lauded and not prosecuted as in this case. An important fallout of the judgment is to warn all those who help victims against powers that be from desisting from providing such a help. This aspect has very ill portents for activists of democratic rights organizations who highlight violation of democratic rights and help victims pursue their quest for justice.

In brief the judgment is both a stark reminder of the state of democratic rights in the country as well as a dire warning to those who are victims of the current assault. In this respect this judgment takes import of the ADM Jabalpur case even further. In that case the apex Court had opined its inability to help in those circumstances, but in the present case the Court has warned that it should be even approached to seek justice only at one’s own risk.

Though Supreme Court has a few years back upheld the minority opinion in ADM Jabalpur case (Justice H.R. Khanna) but that seems to be only because those who wielded power then no longer do so, if one goes by the reasoning of this judgment.

Democratic rights activists are raising the demand that Supreme Court should clarify the import of this aspect of its judgment that “... all those involved in such abuse of process, need to be in the dock...” This demand is correct and Supreme Court should clarify this aspect without delay.

But the most significant and alarming observation of the judgment is the import which implies aspersion on the people of the country. The judgment says, “...connecting failures of the state administration at different levels during such horrendous situation, little knowing or even referring to the ground realities and the continual effort put in by the duty holders in controlling the spontaneous evolving situation unfolding aftermath mass violence across the state.” We see in this some aspects – firstly “state administration at different levels” was only guilty of “failures”, secondly “ground realities and continual effort put in by the duty holders in controlling” and last and most significant aspect “spontaneous evolving situation unfolding aftermath mass violence across the state.” This means that the violence unleashed against Muslims in Gujarat was spontaneous mass violence and duty holders put continual efforts in controlling this and might have had some failures in the course of controlling such a situation. This logic puts the onus of the mass killings on the people and not powers that be and who benefited from such an orgy of violence.

This reasoning tells us that this ‘orgy’ of killings, loot and arson, rapes and injuries was spontaneous act of masses and not orchestrated or organized by any force or organization. This is the same logic which was used by then powers that were at that time in the course of investigation of genocide of Sikhs in 1984. At that time too it was claimed that it was the spontaneous reaction of masses and the then Admn. and those in power had no complicity in organizing and executing it but tried to control the situation. This reasoning in 1984 and now in relation to 2002 pogrom, this time also coming from apex Court, holds the “mass” guilty of violence. This aspect must also be scrutinized and challenged. People of India do not spontaneous indulge in mass violence on communal lines

unless instigated, organized and orchestrated by powerful political forces and state machinery. This aspect cannot be unraveled by the official police records because of the involvement of state machinery; hence records never reflect this. The involvement of political power and administrative machinery is *sine qua non* for executing such pogroms; in fact they do not take place nor can ever take place without them. Both in the history, past and recent past, it has been the rule. Indian society is not epitome of senseless communal violence. We have seen unprecedented violence against common people but always organized by powerful sections in the interest of oppression and plunder. In the recent history, political utilization of mass violence, again for the interest of gaining or retaining power to perpetuate and intensify exploitation and oppression, has also emerged as a source of violence against mass of people. This part of history does remain a history of struggle for and against exploitation and oppression, in nutshell, part of history of class struggle.

In fact before the advent of colonial rule, India had not seen such violence by the common people against another set of common people on communal lines. If such were the normal state India could not have evolved a composite culture. There had been wars and violence in relation to conflict for power whether over the country including parts of it or in society. Even the current manufacturers of history have not been able to come up with anything different.

Not to go to the colonial period when country had seen systematic use of communal polarization and violence as one of the important pillars of sustaining the colonial rule, it has been so even after end of the colonial rule in 1947. Even if one takes into account only two incidents –that of anti-Sikh genocide of 1984 and anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat in 2002, one must be living on another

planet to believe that these were spontaneous outbursts of the people. How the machinery of ruling party was unleashed against a targeted minority and how the state machinery was openly utilized and involved to further this aim for a definite political objective i.e. of retaining and consolidating power is known to everyone. Who all were involved in planning and unleashing such a heinous crime against a section of the citizens of the country and of humanity, should be a matter of enquiry and not only into the fact whether any planning for unleashing it was there. To blame the people in the name of their “spontaneous” violence may be pleasing to those in power but will not stand scrutiny of any independent enquiry nor the verdict of history, though the latter may be late in coming.

The import of the verdict does increase vulnerability of the democratic rights activists and those who help and assist victims of state sponsored violence. There are already a plethora of black acts which ensnare the activists and struggling people, UAPA to name one such. A large number of activists are languishing in jail without even an iota of evidence of their involvement in the crimes for which they are charged, all under the name of investigation of their allegedly serious crimes whose “seriousness” is obviously to forbid them to live in society but the charges fail to be established despite decades of incarceration. Now even the apex Court wants activists to be put in the dock for pursuing cases of affected people.

While the higher judiciary upholds the “rule by law established” the scope and exercise of democratic rights has always been and shall remain dependent on the people themselves, i.e. on their struggles and their readiness to stand for these rights. The contest between people’s struggles to defend their rights and widen their scope on the one hand and ruling classes’ efforts to curtail these rights, even deny them at times but circumscribe at all times,

goes on in the society. It is the arena of political sphere of class struggle and people's movements. Rulers do not leave any opportunity to curtail these rights as we recently saw during Covid, and people assert their right whenever possible as again we recently saw during farmers' agitation victorious against three black Acts. And the contest goes on.

This judicial hammer on the activists comes at a time when the people are suffering under the yoke of fascist rule and rights of the people are facing all round attacks. Workers, peasants, tribals, dalits, minorities, women; in fact all exploited and oppressed are facing attacks on their livelihood. Unemployment and price rise is tormenting the youth and hounding the society. Fascist rulers go about demolishing whatever rights are enshrined in the Constitution.

The import of this verdict shrinks democratic space for people's struggles. People definitely oppose. Challenge to this shrinking of democratic space can be mounted by developing people's struggles. These struggles will help increasing sections see through the real designs of ruling fascists and mobilize more and more sections of people in defense of their own rights including democratic rights and in support of struggles of different sections of people.



Enquiry into Selective Targeting of Muslims and Fear Among them

(We are publishing here a press statement issued by Janhastakshep Delhi on the Enquiry conducted by them into aftermath of arrests in Jahangirpuri area of Delhi which had witnessed alleged a communal incident on April 16, 2022. The incident was followed by large scale arrests of persons, most of them belonged to one community. The enquiry focused on selective targeting by the police of people of one community and climate of fear among people of that community. The Enquiry Report was released by Janhastakshep through a press conference held on July 9, 2022 at Press Club at New Delhi)

Jahangirpuri locality, specifically its C block had been rocked by communal incidents on 16th of April this year when a procession was taken out on the occasion of 'Hanuman Jayanti' by persons affiliated to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

Public gaze and interest in such events and their consequences is lost once the immediate mayhem settles down; however, the victims of such clashes continue to bear the burden of suffering. There had been many reports that pointed to the continued suffering and a sense of fear among the people, especially the Muslims living in Jahangirpuri.

In view of these reports it was decided by Janhastakshep to do a fact finding investigation into the reported fear and persecution prevailing among the local Muslim community, as also to investigate if the police are particularly targeting the Muslim community as being responsible for the clash. Towards this end a five member team of Janhastakshep comprising of Dr Vikas Bajpai, Convener Janhastakshep and research scholars Chandan, Harender, Pankaj and Rupak visited Jahangirpuri on Sunday the 19 June to meet some of the affected families and common people in the area along with the police officials.

Salient findings of the report

Majority of the residents in the C block of Janhangirpuri are Bengali speaking Muslims. Respondents in many of the households or those to whom we spoke with on the street, including some Hindus, at random told that either they themselves or their earlier generation had been rehabilitated to this area by the Indira Gandhi government in the early 1970s from the slums near the Yamuna pushta around the Old Yamuna Bridge (Lohe wala pul). It was told by most of the respondents that they are in possession of proper ownership documents of their houses.

Intercommunity relations:

People reported that the clashes that took place on 16 April 2022 were the first of their kind in the area. Both Hindus and Muslims told that the people taking part in the procession were certainly not from the local area. As per the local Muslims and the few Hindu households we talked to emphasized that despite recent disturbances there exist no tensions between the two communities in the area. One of the only two Hindu families in Gali No 6 of Jahangirpuri reported that - “Our neighbors and we participate in

each other's festivals and family functions etc. All this talk of tension between the local Muslims and Hindus is rubbish."

Prevailing tensions in the area:

It was categorically stated by the people that it was only this year that a Hanuman Jayanti procession had been organized in the area. They did not recall any such procession having been taken out ever earlier.

Muslim residents reported a sense of fear because of the arbitrary arrests of local Muslims on the charge of being involved in the violence. The police personnel have been coming to the area and are intimidating in the name of finding about those who were involved in the violence on 16th April. One specific reason for the prevailing fear has been the setting up of police check-posts in the area in the name of beefing up security in the area. Some people informed that three permanent police posts are going to be set up in the area of which our team saw at least one being put together.

Details of some of the cases:

Saddam Khan, 28 years of age, at C-452, Gali No. 6 in C block Jahangirpuri, has been declared a proclaimed offender in the case filed by the police and has been missing from the house after the communal incident. Saddam's elder sister Rahila reported that the police threatened to pull down their house if Saddam did not surrender by 20 to 22nd of July. Apart from the police visiting his house on daily basis, Saddam's 66 year old father Ahmad Khan had been summoned by the Crime branch of Delhi Police at its office in Rohini for interrogation where he was often kept waiting for the whole day before being let off. Both Rahila and Ahmad Khan denied the involvement of Saddam in the incident and suggested that his name has perhaps been given to the police by some other accused.

Another case in the point is that of 48 years old Md. Jalaluddin, also a resident of Gali No 6. His mother Jahanara, in her late 80s is distraught at the agony of his son's family and their own repeated harassment by plain clothes policemen who have been coming to her home repeatedly and have kept questioning the women family members for hours together. Even as Jalaluddin was avoiding arrest the police picked up his two sons in early teens, Sarfaraz and Sohail Khan, from their maternal grandmother's house. Jalaluddin's wife and mother denied his involvement in the clashes in any form.

While it is not possible for us to vouch for the veracity of the individual cases, there are reasons to believe that in order to put the blame of the violence on local Muslims the police have been deliberately targeting them even in the absence of any evidence of their involvement. For example, the learned ASJ in its order dated 1st July, 2022 in the matter of Bail Application of three accused in the relevant FIR No. 440/2022 observes:

“The reply filed by the IO reflects that till date no evidence qua the applicants/accused persons has come on record and it is not clear on what basis their arrest is being sought. Merely because they were the resident of C-Block, Jahangir Puri, no presumption can be drawn regarding their involvement.”

FIR filed in the case of Jahangirpuri violence:

The FIR No. 0440/2022 filed in the case states that “The Shobha Yatra was proceeding in a peaceful manner; however, when the Shobha Yatra reached the C Block Jama Masjid at around 6 pm, one individual Ansar came along with 4 to 5 of his accomplices and started arguing with the people in the Shobha Yatra. The argument soon went out of control resulting in stone pelting from both sides causing pandemonium in the Yatra.”

No mention is made in the FIR of the arms being brandished by those taking part in the Shobha Yatra, or the fact that the Yatra was taken out without due permission and as such was illegal. The ASJ court in its order dated 7th May 2022 noted:

It is fairly admitted by on behalf of the State that the last procession which was passing through during which the unfortunate riots took place was illegal having no prior permission from police. If that was the situation, then the contents of the FIR itself show that the local staff of police station Jahangir Puri, led by Inspector Rajiv Ranjan as well as other officials from DCP reserve were accompanying the said illegal procession on its route instead of stopping it.

The FIR further states:

“Stone pelting and gun firing by some anti-social elements on the peaceful ‘shobha yatra’ being taken out on the occasion of Hanuman Jayanti led to communal clashes, breach of peace and private property being set on fire. This led to injuries being sustained by the policemen on duty and some members of the public.”

Some important consequences follow from such a framing in the FIR :

Obviously, the Hindus involved in the incident are those who were taking out the procession.

The procession as claimed by the police was peaceful and certainly could not be held responsible for initiating the clash. This being so despite the fact that the procession to celebrate birth anniversary of Lord Hanuman made three rounds in the area (as had already been acknowledged in available reports), including the

Muslim majority C block of Jahangirpuri, and many members of the procession could be seen swaying swords and fire arms in the videos available in public realm.

It follows from the above that it is the local Muslims who were the actual perpetrators of the clash and responsible in the main for the clash and other consequences that followed the procession.

The Hindus involved in the clash were instead the victims or at best were only protecting themselves against violent aggression.

To make their distortion of facts of the case appear rational, in its reply to the bail application filed on behalf of the accused Gulam Rasul @ Gulli in the learned trial court, the police states:

..... it is revealed that the present riot was basically outcome of the resentment of CAA & NRC, then North East Delhi Riots, which further aggravated after Ram Navmi incidents just few days back in the different parts of the country.

This only shows a belligerent effort on part of the police to distort the framing of the context of the violence that took place on 16 April 2022 in a manner as to absolve the organizers of the so called 'shobha yatra' of any wrong done on their part in the events that followed. Once the procession itself is rendered "peaceful" and devoid of malice, the way to framing Muslims as the protagonists of violence gets paved. The resulting arrests and the continuing intimidation of the local Muslims in the name of carrying out investigation in to the violence to nab the culprits, then automatically becomes the logical due process.

This also becomes well evident from the details of the charge sheet filed by the police in the court. As per the charge sheet of the

total 37 persons accused in the case as high as 30 are Muslims while only 7 are said to be Hindus. Additionally, none of the alleged key conspirators in the case is a Hindu.

Conclusion

Our findings presented above clearly bring out that whatever happened in Jahangirpuri on the 16th of April and its continuing aftermath are very much in line with the overall design of the communal frenzy being whipped up in the country. Essential to this design is that the majoritarian communal forces do their utmost to provoke and flare up communal clashes and tensions, and once that is achieved, the minority community is made out to be the principal protagonist and the common members of the community get targeted not only to instill fear and submission among them, but also to drive the wedge of communal divisions in the society deeper. In the instant case as well, the Hanuman Jayanti procession, apparently the first of its kind to be taken out in the area in last many decades, made repeated rounds of the area until the processionists managed to force a communal riot by pointedly targeting a Masjid at a time when people were gathering there to offer prayers and break their fast. The whole incident has been framed to project not those behind repeated rounds of 'Hanuman Jayanti' procession as the conspirators, but the local Muslims who for most part refused to get provoked by the arms wielding processionists.

Nevertheless, it is a matter of great relief that despite such an ashamed effort of the communal forces to divide the people on religious lines, the local Hindus and Muslims, at least in C block of the colony, still seemed to have weathered the storm well enough by preventing their religious identity to come in the way of their

daily lives. This reaffirms the faith of those fighting against the communal forces in the fact that people following different faiths have lived together in South Asia peacefully throughout history barring the upheavals caused by the mechanizations of the rulers of the day.

Our demands

In light of the above findings Janhastakshep demands that:

A through going independent inquiry be conducted by a sitting judge of the Delhi High Court in to the causes of the 16 April 2022 communal clashes that took place in C block Jahangirpuri.

That those responsible for taking out the ‘illegal’ shobha yatra on the occasion of Hanuman Jayanti and repeatedly trying to provoke communal flare up be brought to book immediately in accordance with the relevant provisions of law.

The guilty police officers who escorted the illegal procession rather than preventing it from happening be prosecuted under the relevant provisions of law and service rules in accordance with the recommendations of the learned ASJ.

□ □ □

UP Govt. after Return to Power

Unleashing Communal Hatred and Fascist Repression

Victory of BJP in UP state assembly elections has heralded a renewed push towards its twin agenda of Hindutva with fascist state onslaught and promotion of Corporate and MNC interests. Campaigning on its anti Muslim Hindutva plank, RSS-BJP reminded voters about Samajwadi Party's 'Goonda Raj' and invoking BJP's 'welfare care', particularly distribution of free ration over 19 months, something it had been forced to do to cover up its inhuman and uncaring treatment of people during Covid epidemic. People were severely mistreated during the lockdown restrictions – prevented from moving back home, deprived of public transport, baton charged, tear gas shelled and confined for weeks, foisting of criminal cases and imposition of heavy fines, etc., speaks volumes about the miserable destitution they have been reduced to.

Election result also exposes the complete failure of the parliamentary opposition, the SP, BSP, Congress and others to stand by people where they have struggled against govt. failures. While it also outlines the ability of ruling class parties and media to divert people's choices to issues based on caste and communal polarization, it also shows that the attack on people's livelihood and survival has been so severe that issues of hunger and unemployment have become difficult to cover up.

Empty Promises Galore: Proposals for Corporate Growth

Having won, Yogi made loud declarations about Express highways, airports, smart cities, Defense Corridor, industrial and transport infra structure, all of which will enhance land value in the neighborhood, kick up construction of commercial complexes and new structures by drawing out peoples' savings, but creating no long term employment security for local people. This is done to attract foreign and corporate investments, it ends up making peoples' lives more dependent on inflated commercial interests. The govt. has pushed to promote ODOP, i.e. One District One Product and 6 Mega Food Parks. Products include one crop and also craftsmanship per district which will be allocated to one MNC to monopolize. In both products the resourcing of the produce and marketing is to be done by Corporate. The ground is being laid to provide cheap labour, cheaper raw material, cheap handicrafts and crops and cheap land for corporate investments. Earlier promises of ensuring of water supply and irrigation for Bundelkhand has been given a short shrift. The main move for this remains to restart the Ken Betwa river interlinking project, which will create more environment destruction than benefit to people.

Promises of Peoples' Welfare

On issues of people, the BJP had made a number of electoral promises and on these it intends to nurture its political constituency for 2024 which it calls the final, 2022 being the semifinal. It declared 2 free gas cylinder refills for all beneficiaries during Holi and Diwali, as opposed to 9 subsidized refills during the Ujjwala plan of 2016. Then, in July 2016, subsidized gas cylinder cost Rs 420 while today it costs Rs 1150.

The BJP promised free electricity to farmers during

elections. Today it has launched raids on farmers installing pumping sets. While irrigation sets in MP are charged at Rs 100, 150 and 200 for 2, 3 and 5 HP motors respectively, in UP charges have been fixed at Rs 550 for up to 3 HP and Rs 850 pm for 5 HP motors. These are charged for the full year although pumps are used only for few days in some months. Few years back pumps were charged only for 6 months a year. Domestic supply charges too have been raised and through cable supply and pre paid metres, recharge billing structure is to be established. Pre paid charging structure is a critical ingredient of all 'smart' services, smart city included, where in the consumer pays in any case and there is no loss of revenue to the companies.

It is so desperate to increase govt. revenue through extraction from common people that it has launched a massive program for registering all rural households with the sinister plan to make them pay house tax in future. This is being propagated as a loan security enabler.

Under other welfare schemes aid given for Anganwadi schools, teaching aid and nutritional supplements remain suspended in many areas of the state. Scheme of distributing school dresses, shoes, bags and books has been converted into cash transfer. This also makes pilferage at lower level easier. Promises to improve govt. schools by adding Computer, Science and Art labs have been made as also for raising rural pensions to Rs 1500 pm.

On the important issue of free PDS rations, ever since elections have been declared the pressure has been there on the govt. to extend its duration. Earlier it was to end in November 2021, but was extended up to March 2022. Then it was extended for another 4 months. With prevailing situation of price rise and

unemployment, during this period these rations have become mainstay of food for the vast sections of poor people. In May this year UP govt. had tried to invoke recovery from those who according to it were illegal beneficiaries and out of fear lakhs of people queued up to get their cards cancelled. The orders for this recovery had been issued by more than 10 District Magistrates and had to be hastily withdrawn after massive public resentment and panic. Meanwhile govt. intentions to withdraw or restrict the scheme, convert it into cash transfers are all too obvious. It has already withdrawn wheat supply to some extent, even though govt. stocks are adequate. Currently the central expenditure on food stock maintenance and PDS is billed centrally at Rs 4 lakh crores, it being Rs 5 lakh crores in FY 21. The govt. is desperate to withdraw this as it is under pressure from WTO to do so.

Attention to Unemployment

The govt. has 'taken care' of unemployment. During elections, in January this year, there was a massive militant protest by youth and students against manipulation of Railway recruitment process and we have already witnessed the youth's anger on Agnipath issue. During and after elections the govt. promised one job for all class of people along with targeting 1 per family for either a job or funds for self employment. In rural UP few youth have been enrolled as Gram Sewaks, electricity meter readers by private companies, computer operators, for PWD works on short term contracts on lines of jobs given to ASHA, Anganwadi workers and School cooks. These jobs are very low paid, mostly between Rs. 4000 to 6000 pm. With self praise Yogi has declared fulfillment of its promise of 10,000 jobs in first 100 days of rule.

For self employment each family is to be mapped to connect one member for issue of another card, the '*parivar card*'. This is

meant to promote artisans and handicrafts. This is linked to ODOP and for this a MOU has been signed with Amazon.com, which will set up a digital centre in Kanpur. This year a declaration of Rs 2.95 lakh crores been earmarked for such loans, total budget of UP is Rs 6.15 lakh crores. It is under this scheme that loans of small amounts of Rs 1 lakh to a few lakhs is being offered with up to 40% waiver on refund and a penal clause of full interest on entire amount if it is not returned on time. With corruption having risen as a muti-headed hydra, one can understand who this scheme is meant to serve. It is under this very scheme that people from fishermen community have been promised loans for boats and fishing, though the ban on their boats continues despite a clear election promise to restart sand mining with boats. Similarly women SHGs have been promised loans.

Agriculture

Since last year's central budget and even during elections BJP has been trying to push farmers to engage in old, traditional chemical free natural farming, 'Jaivik kheti'. This is actually a euphemism for cutting down govt. expenditure on fertilizer subsidy. Total annual expenditure on this is estimated to be Rs 1.1 lakh crores. It is to save this that the govt. is promoting Natural Farming, not willing to draw any lessons from Srilanka experience. Recently RSS chief, Mohan Bhagwat stated that 67% of Indian farmers are small farmers who cannot bear the burden of mechanized farming as it is costly and it indebts them, forcing many to commit suicide. Hence they should see value in traditional methods of Natural Farming which is scientific.

The govt. has meanwhile promoted registration of 4000 FPOs in UP. These are being registered by the rich rural gentry after collecting funds from ordinary member farmers. They are to

be local vehicles for contract farming and operation of private *mandis* by corporate and MNCs, as we had noted during the agitation against 3 farm laws.

Yogi govt. has also claimed complete payment of cane dues, but its record shows that 28% of current total payments, Rs 9000 crore out of Rs 32,000 remain unmet.

Real Game Plan

In the background of promises made by BJP this double engine govt. is desperately pushing its Hindutva agenda through Bulldozer Raj. Since the day of its installation its cadres have created conflict over Kashi and Mathura even approaching courts. To a good extent the courts have been compliant.

In April, immediately after installation of the second Yogi term, RSS organized Ram Naumi yatras in cities and markets with much fanfare, use of loud DJs and with huge police protection, ban on loud speakers notwithstanding. The participation was mostly thin. They then invoked reading of Hanuman Chalisa, but again this did not show any success. RSS also organized several Devi Jagrans with bhandaras serving food in rural areas, but in these too participation was ordinary. It is then that the Nupur Sharma and Naveen Jindal comments on Prophet Mohammad came in May end. Even this did not flare up matters as several Muslim leaders tried to keep tempers down. It did become a big issue internationally due to which BJP had to suspend its two leaders. However earlier it was sought to be repeatedly justified by various leaders in the media. There are news reports of some call for Friday bandh on June 3 Kanpur and also on June 10 for Allahabad being given. Kanpur 'riots' and the June 10 Atala 'riots' in Prayagraj took place in this situation. What exactly happened is a subject of investigation, but

the police stories reveal that many aspects of this were used by the govt. in a preplanned manner. In any case there is no clash between Hindus and Muslims. In both cases the place of occurrence is Muslim colonies. Most properties destroyed are through illegal demolitions done by the “Development Authorities” and this includes very many small dwellings and kiosks belonging to Muslims.

The events that have unfolded in UP show clear signs of attempts to invoke the communal agenda and intensify repression, with threat to destruction of personal properties of dissenters as a weapon of governance in order to divert attention away from people’s needs and BJP’s promises and to instill fear in people. People’s real livelihood issues are be high in their minds. It is the duty of all progressive and democratic forces to build on this need of the people and push back both the communal and fascist offensive of RSS-BJP against the people and the country.

The ‘Riots’ in Allahabad, June 10, 2022

On 10th June evening, ADG (Range) Sri Prem Prakash stated before the electronic media that some vehicles have been damaged, some jawans have been injured, the rioters have been driven back, we had the intelligence inputs, we held our meeting and posted the magistrates in the area, some names have come to light, earlier also these persons have been organizing riots, some names have come to light, leftist organizations are involved, names of Dr. Ashish Mital, Sarah Ahmad, AIMIM District President Shah Alam and there are others also, they have already been bound by legal process. Elsewhere he said that those involved in the anti CAA – NRC movement were involved in this riot. In saying all this just a few hours after the claimed time of the ‘riot’ he effectively was revealing the plan of the UP govt. in its execution.

On June 10, after the Friday prayers, the first news came that the prayer had passed off peacefully and that everybody had returned to their homes. It is only later, around evening that the news of disturbances in the narrow lanes, of one police person having been injured by a stone, of a police bike having been burnt down, of rioters trying to burn a PAC truck having been foiled started coming in. It is at this time that the ADG (Range) spoke to the media.

The FIR however reveals other facts. It says the disturbances began at 2 pm, immediately after Friday prayers. It says that the complainant SI observed about over 5000 rioters, 70 of who he identified himself by name, that of these 69 were Muslims and the 70th person was Dr. Ashish Mital, that he saw all of them near Roshan Bagh pelting stones, etc. The FIR is registered almost 25 hours later, on June 11th at about 3:13 AM. The papers of June 11 revealed that the DM and some others had also been injured.

Some more facts are important. The anti CAA, NRC, NPR sit in at Roshan Bagh, Prayagraj during January to March 2020 remained entirely peaceful. Even the police cases registered, and there were many, claim violation of Epidemics Act and of unlawful assembly. Left forces including revolutionary and democratic organizations participated in this movement including AIKMS. The protest was peaceful till Corona clampdown.

During recent assembly elections in our area of work our organization conducted an active anti BJP campaign with mass rallies, exposing the real anti people, communal and pro imperialist character of RSS-BJP. Post elections also we tried to build a joint campaign at Allahabad with other organizations on some people's issues and against fascist rule of BJP, mostly under banner of

Nagrik Samaj. One such protest was scheduled to take place on June 10 in memory of Maulvi Liaqat Ali who had held Allahabad for 2 weeks after uprooting British rule in 1857. The call was for highlighting heritage of India as a shared heritage of people belonging to all religions and that the fight against foreign exploitation remains unfinished. It stands to reason hence that the govt. made a plan to name some leaders in the events of June 10.

On June 9, at 6.25 pm, AIKMS GS, Ashish Mital was served a notice accusing him of having made a provocative statement with regard to the June 3 Kanpur riots, which had potential of disturbing peace and he was commanded to be bound on June 10 in the court of ACM, Prayagraj, failing which he will be arrested. On June 10 he presented himself before the Magistrate court and asked for evidence of the allegation of the statement with regard to June 3 Kanpur events as he had made no statement at all. Though Dr. Ashish was in the Court at all relevant times on June 10, his name figures in FIR, clearly exposing pre planned attack on democratic rights.



Back Cover Photos

Tribals and other traditional forest dwellers under the banner of AIKMS protested against the Forest Conservation Rules 2022 in Kashinagar of Gajapati district (Odisha) on 18th July 2022.

Organ of the Central Committee, CPI(ML)

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cpimlnd@hotmail.com

<http://www.cpimlnd.org>