

Build Broad based movement against Fascist Offensive of RSS- BJP

Build struggles of Workers, Peasants and Oppressed Sections to counter fascist forces

In the absence of a credible alternative for addressing the deepening problems of the people, Modi led RSS-BJP's 'nationalist' narrative targeted at Pakistan and powered by upper castes led Hindu mobilization led to return to power of RSS-BJP in 2019 Lok Sabha elections. While NDA's strength remained virtually unchanged, BJP managed to increase its seats returning with single party majority in Lok Sabha. In the backdrop of deepening economic crisis and increasing woes of the people exemplified by growing peasant distress and exploding unemployment crisis, this pseudo-nationalist narrative has been powered by the big section of corporate – foreign and domestic – and landlords; managed by RSS cadre machinery aided by deep seated communalization of state machinery. The increasing rallying of Indian ruling classes to the bandwagon of anti-minority, anti-Dalit, anti-tribal and patriarchal Hindutva demonstrates their desperation in the face of deep structural crisis of Indian economy. It also demonstrates the bankruptcy of the so-called centrist forces, collapse of social democracy and continuing weakness of revolutionary forces and people's movements. 2019 verdict proves that 2014 was no aberration but a shift in the ruling class politics to the right in league with such shifts in most of the countries and rise of fascist forces targeting minorities, disrupting people's unity against exploitation and oppression and thereby saving the anti-people regimes serving imperialism and reaction.

This narrative of muscular 'nationalism' targeting Pakistan outside and Muslims in the country was paraded through Balakote strike after Pulwama

blast killing CRPF personnel. RSS-BJP Govt. has predictably used people's struggle in Kashmir, the only Muslim majority 'province' in the country, to serve its jingoist communal agenda. Bringing that state under Central rule in violation of all norms of democracy and constitutional provisions was no accident. Majority communalism couched as nationalism has been an electorally winning formula, as repeatedly demonstrated in the ruling class politics of the country. The continuous whipping up of these sentiments shows the urgency with which the ruling dispensation treats the need to divert the attention of the people from their increasing woes. That this crescendo in jingoist-communal propaganda was orchestrated to telling effect is borne out by the change in fortunes of the RSS-BJP post Balakote, after losses in parliamentary by-elections in Hindi speaking states and defeat in three Hindi heartland states in central India. People were asked to eat grass or even mud for saving/ glory of the country and draw vicarious satisfaction despite suffering all around.

Modi Govt. has increasingly aligned itself with US led international grouping including Israel, Saudi Arabia, Japan and other US allies. The role of US imperialism in helping carrying Balakote strike and also resolution thereafter has been demonstrated. Visits of Saudi Crown Prince and Israeli officials just before elections point to their support to Modi led RSS-BJP Govt. Corporate media's help in not only unleashing communal jingoist frenzy but also projecting stable govt. and strong leadership of Modi is also well known. The corporate media worked overtime to project that there was no alternative to Modi. This amply demonstrated the support of the major sections of the corporate, foreign and domestic to Modi led RSS-BJP.

Deepening economic crisis and increasing hardships of the people, particularly of peasants and youth, are very much there but different ruling class parties/alliances have nothing new to offer to address the same while foreign and domestic corporate want the Govt. to advance the implementation of the policies which are at the root of these. Govt. claims fast growth of economy despite decline in growth in manufacture, stagnation in agriculture and slow-down in services. These claims based on data from corporate, have been punctured by the disclosure that 36% of these companies did not even exist. These growth claims are also not backed by macro-economic indices like increase in sales, growth in employment, increase in private or public investments or increase in credit or increase

in saving. These frivolous claims are being made to continue the anti-people economic policies despite overwhelming evidence that India is suffering from 'Demand Deficit' due to both low purchasing power of the people and declining exports. On the other hand, foreign loan over the country has doubled over past five years and NPAs of public sector banks have increased to 12 lakh crores despite periodic waiving of part of NPAs.

Govt. has done everything to suppress the fact that unemployment is rising. All studies have pointed out that pro-corporate measures like Demonetization and GST have resulted in severe job losses but the Govt. backed by the corporate media have sold fake stories about them. In fact, selling demonetization as targeted against 'black money' despite clear facts to the contrary and severe sufferings inflicted upon the people, was a big demonstration of the ability of ruling group backed by corporate media to sway the people's opinion against their own interests. Data about increasing joblessness has been suppressed. NSSO data on the unemployment at 6.1%, highest in 45 years, was not allowed to be published. CMIE has set the unemployment at 8.4% in a recent study. This does not cover the vast underemployment in the country.

Peasant distress has been growing. Nearly half of the workforce in the country is directly engaged in agriculture and over two third people living in rural areas are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture while share of agriculture in the GDP has come to about one seventh. Condition of peasantry has been hit by higher cost of inputs, relatively lower prices of produce, low institutional support, neglect of irrigation and almost no support to poor and middle peasants who constitute majority of peasantry. Suicides by peasants continue at alarming level. RSS-BJP Govt. has 'solved' the problem by not keeping the data of peasant suicides. Working class is facing increasing attacks on jobs and rights with number of those employed going down. Employment in organized sectors has declined with increasing contractualization.

Five years of Modi led RSS-BJP Govt. are marked by complete disregard of people's concerns, intensification of anti-people policies and feverish attempts to drown the people's disillusionment in communal and pseudo-nationalist din. Attacks on Muslims and Dalits have increased. With the aid of state machinery dominated by upper castes, these attacks in the name of '*gaaraksha*' and against beef have escalated while RSS vigilante groups have mushroomed under state patronage. RSS-BJP Govt. has made

a particularly determined bid to capture institutions of higher learning, statutory bodies governing education, science, history and culture. Thus they are trying to establish their sway not only on the present, but also on the past and the future and establishing their sway over academic, intellectual and cultural life of the country. RSS-BJP gov't. has intensified repression on people's movements, particularly communist revolutionaries. They have targeted all dissent as anti-national and attempts were made to suppress people's movements and democratic rights organizations and activists labelling them 'Urban Naxals'.

That despite such a dismal record, Modi led RSS-BJP could return to power is also due to the fact that other ruling class alternatives had nothing else to offer. The largest opposition party, the Congress, has not only been the originator of these policies but is even now committed to follow these policies. While paying lip service to peasant distress and unemployment crisis, it refused to endorse the peasant demands particularly of agricultural produce pricing formula of Swaminathan Committee and refused to offer any new policy to increase employment. Even other parties of the ruling classes did not come up with any new policies or change in policies. Thus there remained only the question of expression of anger against Modi led RSS-BJP which was effectively subverted by jingoist hysteria.

2019 Lok Sabha elections have demonstrated that RSS polarization on religious line and service of corporate is supported by the bigger section of ruling classes and is in sync with dominant communal caste chauvinist dispensation in other organs of state. The corporate and managers of Indian state, the upper castes, have rallied around the banner of Hindutva though for their own reasons. Corporate see RSS's utility in disrupting people's unity against the disastrous economic policies and the ability to serve corporate interests better than other ruling class parties. Corporate are also in favour of centralized state to facilitate their using people's money as well as suppressing the people's movements. Upper castes want their hegemony in society; landlords who mostly belong to these social groups their land and control over village economy, and their monopoly over higher jobs to be kept intact. They find Hindutva an effective tool to control the more numerous oppressed castes. New Economic Policies have mainly strengthened the position of upper middle class which is mostly drawn from these sections. It is due to the shift in allegiance of these sections

that leaders of RSS who hailed killer of Gandhi have been elected to parliament.

Congress tried to re-emerge as the main party of these sections. Before the elections Congress leaders claimed that Congress is a Hindu party. Their Govts. in MP and Rajasthan have implemented their own brand of Hinduism. Secularism was banished from their vocabulary. In fact, Congress at the instance of corporate did not confront RSS-BJP, rather they fought against regional parties in many states. Even entry of Priyanka Gandhi, for whatever it was worth, was mainly used against regional parties. Both Rahul and Priyanka talked of rebuilding of Congress in the long run. Liberal intelligentsia should understand that while ruling class parties were willing to use people's abhorrence of RSS attacks on minorities, Dalits and other oppressed sections, they are keen to continue the policies which are at the root of rise of Hindutva forces as the main force of ruling classes.

2019 results have also demonstrated the limits of ruling class parties mainly banking on mobilization of backward castes and Dalits. In UP Samajwadi Party and BSP, marginalized by RSS-BJP in 2014 Lok Sabha elections and 2017 state assembly elections, had come together. They were banking upon mobilization of their castes and consolidation of Muslim votes to deliver victory to them in the most populous state even making them dream of the chair at the Centre in the event of a fractured mandate. Similar was the planning in neighbouring Bihar where RJD led alliance tried to build symbols of some backward castes to conjure a winning combination. These forces are in time wrap. It was the backward castes' assertion that challenged the monopoly of Congress in late 1960s and it was the advent of Kashi Ram as electoral leader of Dalits which denied Congress majority and was one of factors responsible for coalition era. The main ruling class parties dominated by upper castes and supported by main sections of big landlords and big bourgeoisie came up with 'social engineering' to counter the mobilization of oppressed castes and Dalits. The whole thrust was to break up these larger groupings into individual caste groups to deprive them of the influence that they had come to wield. Analyzing 2014 results, CC had noted that the era of macro caste mobilization (broad mobilization of backwards and Dalits) has been replaced by micro management of castes. Social engineering had come of age. Backward and Dalit parties banking on a single large social group from among them could not rally other caste groups socially closer to them. Appetite for power had percolated to elites of all the groups and unable to get satisfaction from

these parties, some social groups were rallied under the banner of religion (Hindutva) to be accorded a slice of power and the money that goes with it. This micromanagement of castes has been established even more firmly. Even more, the sections of these social groups i.e. from backwards and Dalits, who have been able to improve their condition too look for acceptance by the dominant castes. Hindutva accords that recognition though under the overall dominance of upper castes. The caste parties had treated the sections they claimed to represent only as vehicles of coming to enjoy power and perks and were being paid back by their constituents in the same coin. 2019 elections have not proved that caste identities have ceased to exist as is being claimed by some ruling class parties and their commentators, rather the question of caste oppression has further evolved. There is a broad class differentiation among the different social groups and within the groups themselves. The present situation brings to the fore that caste oppression can be fought on the basis of class unity both within these groups as well as in society at large. Revolutionary communists who have long advocated this approach should intensify their efforts to hit at the base of caste oppression i.e. the deprivation of Dalits and oppressed castes from ownership of means of production and forge unity of all exploited and oppressed.

Muslims have been the main target of Hindutva forces. They have been attacked, killed and maimed, their properties destroyed, they were forced to leave their hearth, their women assaulted and their youth incarcerated. Hindutva forces define their Hindu national identity mainly in opposition to Muslims. Hindutva forces' success can be gauged by the fact that other ruling class parties too hesitate to come to the defense of Muslims. Congress has been eager to shed its pro-Muslim tag pinned on it by RSS. But even other ruling class parties are not immune. AAP leader Arvind Kejriwal's statement before counting of votes, about the Muslims voting en bloc for Congress in Delhi echoed the oft-repeated charge of RSS. It is not the question of bloc voting by any community- many of them have been doing this and to a much greater degree than Muslims even in these elections- but his singling out of Muslims for that attack. The fact is that since 1947 all ruling class parties have been practicing Hindu Raj, conditions of Muslims have deteriorated in almost all states as brought out by Sachar Committee report. Hence bulk movement of cadres of such parties to RSS-BJP should not come as a big surprise. RSS however, through Hindu Rashtra, is moving to institutionalize minorities' status as

second-class citizens (actually non-citizens who are to live at the mercy of Hindus-Golwalkar). With ruling class parties not standing against the attacks by RSS and communal forces, there is increasing despondency among Muslims and consequent decline in their votes. Muslims today occupy the lowest economic status in India and are mostly labourers- urban and rural. Even the so-called secular ruling class parties do not stand for their protection as evidenced by Muzaffarnagar violence under SP rule and abandonment of a Bill against communal violence by the then ruling Congress. Revolutionary forces must rise to the occasion and organize them into class organizations while standing against all attacks on them by communal forces. There is a need to project unity of India in terms of people's unity cutting across religions as was begun in the 1857 war against British colonial rule.

Five years of Modi led RSS-BJP rule has seen intensified offensive against tribals aimed at dispossessing them from their land and means of livelihood. Modi Govt. tried to change the LARR 2013 through an Ordinance and when they failed to enact the amendments, RSS-BJP state govts. changed the rules under the Act virtually to deny tribal rights. Similarly, rules of environmental laws have been changed to facilitate exploitation of resources by corporate at the cost of environment. NGT has become an instrument in the service of corporate and neglects its duty to protect the environment. There have been intensified attempts to impose *Manusmriti* code on women which imposes patriarchal order. There have been increase in attempts to privatize health and education and hand over the health delivery system to corporate.

These elections marked continuing decline of revisionist parties. Their strength dwindled to a mere five – three for CPM and two for CPI (four of them courtesy alliance with DMK in Tamilnadu). In Bengal which CPM led front ruled for over thirty-four years, their vote share was reduced to a mere 7.46% (of which CPM 6.28%) while bulk of their voters shifted to BJP. Their candidates lost their deposits in all seats in West Bengal except one. While CPM talked about defeating BJP at the Centre, in West Bengal they mainly targeted TMC. Infact CPM cadres should seriously consider how their leaders at different levels have supported BJP in West Bengal. This is the hypocrisy of ruling class opposition parties that though they talked of defeating BJP, in that garb they tried only to increase their own strength. Even Mamata Banerjee posed to take on Modi led RSS-BJP, but unleashed attacks on the opposition parties. TMC's attacks on opposition

parties reached a zenith during panchayat elections, when one third of total seats were won by TMC unopposed through physical prevention of candidates of opposition parties from filing their nominations. CPM led Left Front's decline is not limited to West Bengal, in Tripura too it came a poor third on both the seats while Congress came second. Congress was decimated in the assembly elections in Tripura with almost all of it going over to BJP. Even in Kerala, not only CPM's strength has been reduced to merely one seat, its vote share declined by over five percent. While decline of CPM led Left Front is due to their neglect of people's issues, pursuing of anti-people policies by their govt. and also crimes against the people, ruling classes propagate their decline to be a decline of Left politics itself. Even these 'left' parties are claiming that decline in their vote share is not due to their anti-people policies but due to their stand on Sabrimala. The revisionist parties, in the course of their long service to the ruling classes, have suffered from deep corrosion and corruption among their ranks and are unable to resist the attacks of Govts. Even the later entrant to the revisionist club, Liberation, eschewed all opposition to RJD and became part of the RJD led grand alliance including Congress for Arrah seat in Bihar. They even gave up their slogan of left unity for parliamentary representation as RJD was not willing to accommodate CPI, CPM. The revisionist parties supported AAP in Delhi. They had done so in the Delhi assembly elections as well.

AAP also suffered setback in these elections with only their Sangrur (Punjab) candidate winning. AAP ranked third after Congress in five of the seven seats in Delhi and came second in only two seats. Its votes in Delhi and Punjab declined even compared to 2014 elections. AAP Govt. had come to power in Delhi winning 67 out of 70 seats. However, they only focused on the issues which are not under the jurisdiction of Delhi Territorial Administration and did little on the issues over which they have jurisdiction. They propagated much about their reforms of Education and Health. Under their rule, allocation for Health has continued to be abysmally low. Their reforms of Education meant a large number of students being given second grade education right from the 6th standard. Obviously, children from working class background are sufferers.

It has been once again demonstrated that when fascists intensify their offensive, opposition ruling class parties adopt the issues brought up by fascist forces in order to win over the ruling class sections supporting the fascist forces and do not move to confront the fascist forces. They do so

only when they too come under attack which is when fascist forces are able to change the mode of governance to fascism. In the period of intensifying fascist offensive, only revolutionary forces and people's movements consistently oppose the fascist offensive.

Conduct of these Elections was marred by the extensive use of money, media and muscle power mostly by the Hindutva forces. According to a report over Rs. 60 thousand crores were spent in these elections, of which expenditure by Election Commission has been only less than 4 thousand crores. Modi Govt. has almost monopolized funding from the foreign and domestic big capitalists. Its electoral bond scheme is to dissuade the big donors from contributing to opposition parties. Under the scheme, the recipient does not know the donor but the Govt. does. The use of money has been so widespread that an unprecedented amount has been seized by the Election Commission, more than the total expenditure by the Commission in the conduct of elections. The number of MPs with criminal cases of moral turpitude and millionaires has gone up. Parliament has become a happy hunting ground for corrupt, criminal and communal elements.

There have been reports of large-scale deletion of names from voter lists. Among the names so deleted a large number was of Muslims and Dalits. There has also been expression of rejection of ruling class parties with over 2% of people voting NOTA in Assam and Bihar.

Elections have been conducted in the most biased manner. Election Commission has refused to maintain transparency in the conduction of elections. Its blind adherence to EVMs for conducting elections despite many objections of their being prone to manipulation, abandonment of EVMs by a number of countries, and first and foremost the need to inspire confidence among the people in whose name ruling classes renew their rule through such elections, have made EC an EVM Commission. The utter disregard of the EC to act impartially even creating division in the EC itself, refusal of Supreme Court to address concerns of the affected parties, all show the extent to which institutions of the state have been compromised in the pursuit of power by corporate backed Hindutva forces. There have been widespread reports of EVM malfunctioning and people at many places have seen and intercepted EVMs which were being unauthorizably transported increasing suspicions among the people.

RSS-BJP have set new records in misusing the state machinery. State machinery was used to arrange crowds for meetings of ruling party leaders. Beneficiaries of Govt. schemes were approached through Govt. machinery to cast votes for the ruling party, money was deposited in their accounts and all those shown to be on behalf of Modi, in short total subversion of the state machinery for electoral purpose, using people's money as handouts by the ruling Party leader.

Re-election of Modi led RSS-BJP Govt. is definitely a serious challenge to the people of the country. With conditions of people worsening, sectarian violence against oppressed increasing, intensified repression on people's movements, the rule of RSS-BJP will increase hardships of the people. Modi Govt. is going to take implementation of anti-people policies to a higher level. It is going to promote corporate and contract farming while further decreasing support to agriculture and expenditure on rural development. Peasants and agricultural labourers' sufferings are going to further increase with RSS-BJP only favouring the landlords. RSS-BJP Govt. will attack Land Acquisition Act (LARR 2013) and Forest Rights Act 2006 to hand over big tracts of land to the corporate. In their drive to serve foreign and domestic corporate, this Govt. will further dilute environmental laws and also their practice, posing serious challenge to environment. Modi led Govt. will move to further dilute labour laws, go about labour law free industrial zones similar to SEZs, disinvestment in public sector including railways, privatization of profit-making PSUs, shutting down of PSUs and monetization of their assets including land. Modi Govt. has already granted permission for term employment, now would make it available to all enterprises thereby delivering a serious blow to whatever job security exists under law. There is sinister trend of workers being designated as part-time thereby eliminating the need to follow labour laws. Modi Govt. will try to shift burden of NPAs onto the people by merging Public Sector Banks and utilize RBI reserves for largesse to the corporate. Modi Govt. will divert public money to save non-banking financial companies (NBFCs) thereby helping the corporate who have milked these companies. Modi Govt. will move further to privatize health and bring research too under the control of corporate. Modi Govt. will further pack educational institutions and statutory bodies with RSS persons and try to eliminate progressive elements from academic institutions while making institutions of higher learning a preserve of the privileged. RSS-BJP II will bring untold miseries on the already suffering people.

Coming of RSS-BJP back to power with improved majority marks a new phase for the country. The attacks on minorities, Dalits, tribals will be intensified. Repression on the people's movements and communist revolutionaries will grow further. Democratic Rights organizations and their leaders will come under further attacks. RSS-BJP have increased their strength in Rajya Sabha and NDA will gain majority in that House as well in the coming year. They have brought different state institutions under their control and even higher judiciary is full of compromised individuals and may not offer much resistance. Hence this phase demands more vigorous efforts to counter fascist offensive.

1. Forge and develop unity of communist revolutionary forces and people's movements, struggles of oppressed sections and other democratic forces against the intensifying fascist offensive.
2. Build and develop struggles of peasants and workers, students and youth, oppressed castes, tribals, minorities and women. Move to broaden base among all these classes and sections and draw them into struggles.
3. Strengthen democratic rights movement and organizations. Strengthen protection of legal rights.
4. Organize youth against unemployment & other issues and students against attacks on educational institutions.
5. Participate in and forge close relations with struggles of people with approach of building broad based resistance to fascist offensive.
6. Adapt organizational forms to meet the requirement of the present situation and needs of struggle.

(This statement was issued by the Central Committee of CPI(ML)-New Democracy on May 25, 2019)

Homage to Com. Rama Rao, a Pillar of the Revolutionary Cultural Movement

On May 5, 2019 at about 2 PM, a leading figure of the Revolutionary Cultural Movement in the country breathed his last in Hyderabad. He had suffered a stroke on May 4 and was rushed to a hospital. However, the next day, while in hospital, he suffered another attack and collapsed. Com. Rama Rao was President of Arunodaya Andhra Pradesh and Co-convenor of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Cultural Organizations. Com. Rama Rao was a member of the Andhra Pradesh Provincial Committee of CPI(ML)-New Democracy. Central Committee of CPI(ML)-New Democracy pays its homage to the revolutionary memory of Com. Rama Rao. His untimely death is a big loss to the communist revolutionary movement, particularly to the revolutionary cultural movement.

Com. Rama Rao was born on July 1, 1955 in Mulgavali village in Kurnool District. From early life he became active in the revolutionary movement. Cultural work attracted him since childhood. Gifted with a melodious voice and developing the art of modulating with ease, grace and on a wide scale, Com. Rama Rao was easily one of the best singers of revolutionary songs. He also penned a number of revolutionary songs and plays.

Com. Rama Rao from his childhood, sensitive as he was, reacted to the class and caste oppression in his village and the area. He was among the first educated in his community. He belonged to an oppressed section. Drawn to the revolutionary movement he got involved in the state wide revolutionary cultural work when he came in contact with Com. Kanuri Venkateshwar Rao. His grooming in performing art though predates his involvement in revolutionary culture and he was known in the area for his rendering of traditional songs. Since 1974, he started singing and writing revolutionary songs, artfully depicting the reality of oppression and will to struggle. Com. Rama Rao was one of the founders of Arunodaya Cultural Federation when it was formed.

Com. Rama Rao remained, throughout his life, steadfast in his commitment to the revolutionary movement and committed to leading

people's struggles while mainly serving the movement through his contribution to cultural work. Despite ups and downs in the revolutionary movement, his resolve and determination knew no wavering. He was among the few well known revolutionary cultural figures who were neither attracted by lure of lucre nor of power though ruling class parties and establishment had embarked on drawing a number of good and known artists from the revolutionary cultural movement into the commercial world. Revolutionaries in AP, Telengana and rest of the country salute his consistency, resolve and steadfastness.



Com. Rama Rao had a lifelong commitment to revolutionary mass line.

He never wavered from this and remained resolute against both revisionism and right and 'left' deviations. He waged continuous battle against deviations from revolutionary mass line both in cultural and political fields. Like true revolutionary he always kept his commitment to revolution above every other relation.

Com. Rama Rao's life partner, Com. Aruna is a professional revolutionary. She is an organizer of working class and has worked specially among bidi workers. She is a member of the IFTU Telengana State Committee. Com. Aruna is a member of Hyderabad DC of the Party.

Com. Rama Rao's untimely death is an irreparable loss to the revolutionary cultural movement particularly at a time when ruling classes' Hindutva fascist offensive is doing everything to attack people's culture. This offensive has a very strong cultural aspect as Hindutva forces camouflage their fascist offensive under 'cultural nationalism'. At this time revolutionary forces have a very important and urgent task of confronting this reactionary, fascist offensive in culture. Com. Rama Rao had much to contribute and his absence will be sorely felt. When some revolutionary cultural organizations set up an All India Co-ordination, he was chosen its Co-convenor. Though he mainly worked in Telengana and Andhra (parts of erstwhile AP), he rendered help in training cultural activists in a number of states, Odisha and UP in recent past, where comrades fondly remember him not only as an outstanding performer but also as a patient and helpful teacher.

The true homage to this departed comrade would be to strengthen the revolutionary movement, particularly revolutionary cultural movement, for which he lived and worked, he sang and wrote. It was in his life, in his every breath. Let us rise to the occasion, convert sadness into commitment and strength.

Com. Rama Rao, Lal, Lal, Laal Salam!

Central Committee, CPI(ML)-New Democracy

May 6, 2019

In Memory of Rama Rao

Pradeep

He was admitted to a hospital on the 4th of May after complaining of nausea, vomitings, giddiness and motions. His blood pressure fell down to a miserable low. The doctors, after examining him, told us that he had a mild heart attack and that he would be under observation in the ICU for the next twenty four hours. We talked to him before his being taken to the ICU on a wheel chair and he appeared to be normal. While being taken to the ICU on the wheel chair, his right hand fingers were as usual active with the four fingers beating the thumb.

He spent the night in the ICU and many of us returned to the hospital in the morning unaware of what was to happen that day. They did not allow anyone inside the ICU, but a friend did go and meet him. It appeared that he was doing okay but there were problems with the kidney and liver. Another comrade and I could somehow manage to enter the ICU as he wanted to see us. He was there on the bed, leaning behind and looked normal and we tried to convince him that there was nothing wrong with his heart. We were telling him a lie. We knew he had had a mild heart attack.

We told him that there was nothing to worry and that he would be discharged the next morning. We were there only for a few minutes and left, little realising that a process has set in him that would take him away from us. This was around noon when we saw him in the ICU. Around 2 PM we got a call from one of our friends in the hospital asking us to immediately get back. We knew something was wrong, but did not realise what was actually in store. By the time we reached the hospital it was all over. They tried to revive him but in vain. His heart stopped beating and he was gone. His body lay there on the bed motionless. The usual movement of his right hand fingers was not to be seen anymore. We lost him and the loss was shocking, unbelievable. It was this hospital that he used to visit often to get comrades or friends examined and the visit on 4th May turned out to be the last one.

Born into a Dalit family, on July 1, 1955, he was brought up by his uncle Siddappa, his mother Laxamma's brother. The village Mulagavalli at that

time comprised of various classes and castes like any other village in the country but belonged to a relatively backward region. There were upper caste landlords holding hundreds of acres and there were few Dalit families holding some land. Rama Rao belonged to this middle stratum. He had his schooling in the village and during his school days he was already a singer. There were bhajans, recitation of poems, tatwas, kolatam dance in this rural milieu and this had a lot of influence on Rama Rao. In one of his interviews, he referred to his singing outside a temple while the upper castes would be inside enjoying his singing. After finishing schooling, he joined B.Sc in Anantapur but later discontinued. The communist revolutionary movement had its presence in Kurnool district; then many leaders like CP Reddy, Neelam Ramchandraiah hailed from this district and there were organisers of the APRCP in Alur taluka as well. Sunkulu from Bollavaram was a singer linked to the organisation and Ramarao came into contact with him. He was now singing songs of the people and revolution. It was in this milieu that sometime in December 1973, I along with three other PDSU activists of Hyderabad met him for the first time in Bollavaram, Kurnool District. Somehow we could not hear all the singing of Ramarao then, but nevertheless the demand to send him to Hyderabad was made then. It was, may be, sometime in the first three months of 1974 that he came to Hyderabad. We had a room in Domalguda. It was here that some of us heard him sing and were all praise for the voice that he had. After the city conference of PDS in April 1974, where the name of PDSU was given, preparations were on for the 1st State conference of PDSU. As part of these preparations, activists who could sing, dance, and act were regularly gathering at the Engineering College canteen under the guidance of Kanuri thatha and Chalapathi. It was here that many of us would hear some of the songs made popular by Ramarao. The first Conference of PDSU on October 11, 12 and 13 of 1974 was held in Sarojini Devi Hall in Hyderabad. The packed hall was all silent when he sang Amara kalavethalara. It was in this conference that the political satire penned by Kanuri, 'Veedhi Bhagavatham' was staged and it was a huge attraction in those days. By this time, the banner of 'Arunodaya' was already there and Ramarao was practically staying in the city, but giving performances in the districts. It was only in 1981 that a formal state level organizational structure came into being in the first Conference in Ongole. Rama Rao was elected as the General Secretary of Arunodaya and Kanuri as President.

In the immediate post-Emergency period, Rama Rao's songs played

their own role in the revival of the movement that suffered serious losses due to the heavy repression unleashed by the state during the Emergency. The song on Jampala penned by Kasipati while in jail, was sung by Rama Rao in this period after the Emergency and it had tremendous impact particularly on the students. In this song Rama Rao gears his voice to suit the lyrics of the song with all that intensity required, creating an emotional mood culminating in the audience shouting “Jampala Prasad Amar Rahe”. When Rama Rao rendered “anna amarudu” song written by Angadi Chennaiah, tears would roll down the eyes of many. Chelli Chandamma by Sivasagar was another huge attraction in those days when it was translated into a nritya natika and in the centre of this dance drama form was Rama Rao, unleashing various tunes to suit the various roles and moods of the play. The Burra Kathas on Ramnarsaiah and George were staged through out the state and in these kathas the main story teller was Rama Rao. There was Kanuri tatha as the mentor of this form while Bollavaram Sunkulu was one of the vanthalu (a second fiddle). Rama Rao was known for rendering *padyalu* (poems), political poems at that. “Veera gadhala padara”, “Ayyalara alakincha”, “Idemi palana”, “Entha sahasamainadi ee telangana”, “Adavi edchindi”, “Amma nanu kannanduku” “Arunaruna baatalo” are among the many popular songs that Rama Rao sang.

Rama Rao was an emotional and sensitive person. Many a time his emotions would manifest in breaking down while talking, singing. There was that vishadha raga in many of the songs and this was perhaps a reflection of his emotive feelings. He was, on the other hand, a jovial person, very friendly to many. A day after his death, a vegetable woman hawker was moving with her cart in the office lane and a comrade told her that Rama Rao was no more to which she said she knew about it and that it was sad.

Arunodaya Rama Rao was not only an artist but was also a political activist. Right since the days of the APRCP in the first years of the seventies to the present, he remained an activist in the ML movement. He was a member of the AP state committee of the CPI(ML-ND). In the more than forty years of political life, he like many had to face many odds and difficulties. In the late eighties, when the questions relating to the role of cultural organizations in the democratic revolutionary movement came up, a position was taken that the role cannot be confined to only performances in some programmes arranged by mass organizations. Cultural organizations had the role of building the cultural movement on the basis

of a democratic revolutionary orientation and this cannot be reduced to some performances. Rama Rao stood with this position and the task still remains unfinished. Let us pay homage to our Rama Rao by pledging to move in that direction.

He had a wonderful life partner in Aruna whom he respected and she is one person who understood him, helped him to move on.

Jalandhar (Punjab)

Memorial Meeting of Com. (Arunodaya) Rama Rao

A meeting to pay homage to a tireless pioneer of new democratic culture in India, Com. Rama Rao, was held on June 16th, 2019 at Desh Bhagat Yadgar Complex, Jalandhar, by CPL (M-L) New Democracy, Punjab in which a large number of workers, peasants, students, youth, women, employees and other sections took part to pay tributes to this immortal departed cultural icon for his priceless contribution to the cause of all the oppressed and suppressed of our society.

In the beginning a two minutes silence was observed and then a short documentary was screened which highlighted some of bright, indelible, committed and creative aspects of Com. Rama Rao who devoted his entire life for awakening the “wretched of this earth”.

Some salient events of Com. Rama Rao’s life were narrated from the dias after which Com. Shamshul Islam, founder of Nishant Natya Manch New Delhi, shared moments from the life of Com. Rama Rao. He told how he met Com. Rama Rao as a cultural activist and learned from him also to integrate cultural activists with toiling masses of the people, adopt various folk techniques and traditions to serve the needs and aims of contemporary

cultural movements in India. Islam said how Com. Rama Rao always stood like rock against state repression, divisive deviations in revolutionary communist movement and against Hindutva fascist offensive of RSS-BJP combine.

Then Com. Aruna was invited to share her views with an eager and excited audience. Com. Aruna commenced her narration with very touching memories which were capable of stirring the emotions of anyone. She placed some important and memorable events of her life-partner Com Rama Rao. She disclosed that she joined the revolutionary communist movement led by Com. C.P. Reddy, Com. P Narsaiah and others with her own commitment to the cause and as an activist. Com. Rama Rao always submitted to the priority of revolutionary duties and work, even when both sons were passing through their childhood. She remembered how Rama Rao always stood by correct party line and opposed all narrow, sectarian and divisive views of some comrades. Com. Rama Rao always responded to the needs of work irrespective of age and health-condition. She remembered how all our comrades rushed together when Com. Rama Rao's health suddenly become problematic and how all of them did their best to



On the Dias of the meeting (from left) Darshan Singh Khatkar, Meghnad, Vimla, Aruna and Shamsul Islam

save that precious life. Com, Aruna reiterated how they both joined and worked in our party to end exploitation and suppression in our society and for revolution. This task, she said, has been a very dear task to her and Rama Rao and she will go on performing determinedly.

Com. Bimla, a well known revolutionary Telgu poet, translated Aruna's Telugu narration in a mixture of Hindi and Urdu. She also narrated and remembered the life-story of Rama Rao and his valuable contribution for the development of New Democratic Cultural movement in India.

Then a seasoned and experienced cultural activist from West Bengal Com. Meghnad paid homage to Com. Rama Rao and shared his memories of Rama Rao. He said Com. Rama Rao felt concerned about the development of revolutionary cultural movement and training of new activists in various provinces. Com. Meghnad expressed his commitment to continue on the path of building up a revolutionary cultural movement. He also presented two inspiring songs in Bengali.

A well known poet of militant stream, Com. Darshan Singh Khatkar, paid homage to Com. Rama Rao and shared with the audience the memories of Com. Rama Rao. He particularly mentioned his last meeting with Com. Rama Rao at Kolkata from April 21-23, 2019. He said that Com. Rama Rao's had serious plans of training cultural activists in various province. Com. Rama Rao emphasized that his services in the building up of Cultural teams should be utilized. Com. Khatkar said that then Com. Rama Rao struck an alap and a tune of a classical raga shivrangini. A sad tune but effective and piercing. Then Com Rama Rao sang a few lines of a Hindi song meaning that stars and constellations will remain in incessant motion, though we remain alive or not.

Progressive songs by young and budding artists were also presented. Some well-known poets recited their poems and this meeting ended with slogans of Com. Rama Rao Zindabad, New Democratic Culture Zindabad, Inqulab Zindabad, CPI (M-L) N.D. Zindabad. Com. Rama Rao was honoured posthumously by presenting a memento and a shawl which was received by Com. Aruna.

Impartial, Transparent Probe Must Into Allegations of Sexual Harassment at Workplace against CJI

Once again, the Supreme Court has been rocked by allegations of power sexual harassment at workplace by a Judge of the Supreme Court, the highest court of the country. This time the allegation is against the Chief Justice of India himself. Once again, unfortunately, it is found that there is lack of a laid down procedure in the Supreme Court to transparently deal with such allegations- though following similar allegations against Judges of this Court there is now a Gender Harassment Body in place but it is incompetent to deal with allegations against a CJI! This is the situation so many years after this very Court pronounced the Vishakha Judgement and years after a law on the issue has been formulated. This suggests that the august Judges hold themselves above the law on this issue, and also want to remain untouched by their own guidelines.

In a naked display of vengeful power on the rampage, the first reaction of the Chief Justice of India to media disclosure of the news, was to heat a Bench of assorted Judges who seem to have forgotten their role in upholding Justice. This Bench pronounced that the allegations were an attack on the Judiciary, an assault on and conspiracy against the independence of the Judiciary. Sitting on the Bench himself, Justice Ranjan Gogoi spewed venom against the complainant, character assassinated her. The same Bench then, but without his signature, issued a virtual gag order to the media. To date, the joint body of all the Supreme Court judges has not regretted this character assassination; all being subordinate to the sitting CJI they would hardly dare to ask him to apologise for the same. They have, not for the first time though, failed to uphold the institution above the individual.

The complainant had only taken the legal option of sending a signed affidavit to all the Judges of the Supreme Court chronicling both the sexual harassment at the hands of the CJI while he held that office and the subsequent merciless witch hunt that she and her family faced when she rebuffed his attempts. Several senior advocates have spoken up and said that they advised her- she is also a dismissed employee of this very Court-

both on the procedure and on the preparation of her affidavit. Forced by popular opinion, the statement of the Supreme Court Bar Association and of the Association of Advocates on Record of the Court and a prompt demonstration demanding Enquiry which actually had the wide support of the legal fraternity, the CJI handed over the case to the second senior most Judge of the Supreme Court. He, in turn, kept up the process of violating both the law against Sexual Harassment at Workplace as well as the spirit of the Vishakha Judgement. The minimum condition for fairplay in investigating power- sexual harassment at workplace allegations, especially after open character assassination by the Chief justice of India speaking in that very capacity, was to have asked him to step down in the period of enquiry so as to allow all witnesses to depose freely. Justice Bobde has shown himself unequal to honouring this basic demand of Justice and the others in the Collegium too have let down Justice and the women of India in this regard. The Committee formed was against the barest stipulations of the Law- that there should be a majority of women on the inhouse committees, that one of the members should be both a woman conversant with the law on this issue as well as an outsider. Following the very restrained protest by the complainant, two of the three members of the Committee are now women Judges of the Court. Simultaneously, the second seniormost Justice also set up a three member committee of Supreme Court Judges to examine the allegation of a conspiracy against the Judiciary- promptly after the Chief Justice alleged one, a young lawyer has surfaced alleging proof of such a charge. The 3 member bench appointed Retd. Justice Patnaik to probe this charge- with some sense of propriety, the Retd. Justice has stated he will begin his investigation only after the work of the in house committee examining the charge of sexual harassment has completed its work.

In this context, it would be appropriate to examine the demand raised by the complainant in her sworn affidavit to each of the 22 judges of the Supreme Court. She has suggested an in house committee consisting of retired Supreme Court judges so that no one on the Committee should be subordinate to the Chief Justice. She has also suggested videography of the proceedings in order that modern tools are used to ensure transparency. Given the high office which is under cloud, one would imagine that the Supreme Court judges would have jumped at this chance to ensure an above board Enquiry. One would imagine that any innocent too would want to ensure maximum fair play to establish the truth. Apparently these aspects

are not the consideration in this case.

The affidavit of the complainant is in public domain, brought there by several news portals and magazines. It is a tragic saga replete with verifiable allegations and transcripts of her harassment at the hands of senior police officers, including her arrest on a flimsy charge of bribery and her being kept chained in the police station and the dismissal of her policeman husband as well as her brother-in-law from their jobs.

The Supreme Court Employees Association has distinguished itself by condemning the complainant even before she has been heard. So also has the Bar Council of India abdicated from any pretence of being a defender of the law by echoing the master's voice without even asking for an enquiry into the allegation of power sexual harassment at work place.

The responses are symptomatic of the experiences with such cases in India where patriarchy prevails enshrined even in the responses of those who are to protect the law. Lady Justice may stand blindfolded in the lawns of the Supreme Court of India with her perfectly balanced scales, but the proverbial judicial hammer of this very Court has already bonked her on the head. Beginning with Bhanwari Devi- the survivor whose experience drove the Vishakha application- it is difficult to quote any example of a complainant who has secured Justice in power sexual harassment except maybe through the process of filing of FIR and going through criminal cases, if at all. In Delhi, the capital city, from the case of a nurse complaining against the Director of LRS TB Hospital (Here too the enquiry ordered by the Govt. was conducted by subordinates), to law interns complaining against Supreme Court judges to librarians complaining against mere senior librarians in the well known academic institutions- the experience has been uniform – exoneration by Vishakha/ in house Committees. The Scarlet Letter may be an old novel but the blame still sticks to the complainant in the India of 2019. There is some chance that the criminal investigations ongoing in the case of Tarun Tejpal and the much feted ex Director of TERI may meet a different fate, but both these are cases where in house mechanisms failed the survivors. It is the Me TOO movement which has given an option by openly naming and shaming the perpetrators while there are gasps of 'unfair method' from those who disdain to participate in movements to ensure justice to those facing power sexual violence. However, in these too, most survivors are let down by courts if they file FIRs.

The Enquiry into the current case is on and it may be unfair to speculate on its fate. The experience is, however totally one sided and has only one lesson. Only powerful movements supporting the quest for justice get the issue anywhere and only to the extent that the movements and the attention and the anger continue to be manifest. In this case too, it was the overt, clearcut statement of the Supreme Court Bar Association, the courageous statements of senior women lawyers of the apex Court in their individual capacities and also the courageous move to publicly demand a transparent and independent Enquiry by holding up posters at the gate of the Supreme Court by lawyers of Delhi initiated and led by the lawyers of Pragatisheel Mahila Sangathan which forced the CJI to handover the matter for an in house Enquiry. It is true that these few overt acts were backed by tremendous silent sympathy among the legal and judicial fraternity but that will not be enough to ensure Justice unless there is open expression of fight to ensure it. In the immediate instance, a properly constituted inhouse committee which takes note of and properly verifies all aspects of her allegation, was the first need.

The complainant has, in her affidavit to the Judges, stated clearly that she placed her complaint before the Home Minister of India in January 2019. She also has narrated how a pointless charge of one day absence from duty was foisted on her, how an internal enquiry of the Supreme Court of this charge was concluded and action taken in the space of a day though the committee was aware that she had been removed to hospital from within the Court's premises by officers of the Court, how officers of the relevant police station made statements showing they were aware that she was paying the price for offending someone senior and not of doing any criminal act. It is crystal clear that the entire spectrum of the state was participant in throttling any chance of the complainant demanding Justice in the case of power sexual harassment at workplace, to get it. The three member Verma commission which let off the steam of the struggle after Nirbhaya rape case, had pointed out that every section of the state needs gender sensitization. The solution it gave – of 'good men to rule'- let down the struggle. The struggle had evolved to one against Patriarchy and that fight needs a social revolution.

(This comment was issued on April 23, 2019)

Modi Speech to NDA MPs*Sab ka vishwas* meant for the Western Press

On May 24, 2019 a Muslim couple along with a colleague was beaten black and blue by RSS's Gau Rakshaks in Sivni in MP even as PM re-elect Modi was delivering his sermon to the newly elected MPs of NDA. MP police under Congress Govt. duly arrested the victims of this vigilante attack. The culprits of this attack were arrested by the police a day later only after an explicit video of the barbarous attack went viral. That it was no accidental incident is clear from what followed. Next day i.e. on May 25, a Muslims youth, Barkat Alam, who wanted to work as a tailor and had come from Begusarai in Bihar to his brother in Gurugram in Haryana looking for job, was thrown to the ground and soundly thrashed when he came out of a mosque after praying there and was forced to shout 'Jai Sriram' besides being told to go to Pakistan. A day later, on May 26, in Begusarai in Bihar a Muslim youth, Mohd. Qasim, was shot at after he told his name and the assailants asked him to go to Pakistan. As usual, despite an FIR, the assailants have not been arrested.

These incidents are and were meant to be a clear warning to all that Modi's statement adding "sabka vishwas" to his earlier slogan of "sabka sath, sabka vikas" which had come back after an election sabbatical, should not be taken seriously. These are not meant for domestic consumption and particularly not for "law enforcement agencies" lest they misunderstand and act against RSS vigilante groups. This message was primarily meant for foreign media which has been harsh on Modi unlike the responsible Indian media which neither sees, nor hears and definitely does not speak ill about the evil rule of RSS pracharaks in power. Not for nothing India occupies one of the lowest ranks in press freedom index, almost similar to that of our neighbour Pakistan and much lower than Nepal, Srilanka and Bhutan. It is only on Indian media that we get to hear that in India press is free.

The ruling establishment was addressing this "sabka vishwas" message to the western press which, in their opinion, has not got their act right.

Time magazine had put Modi on its cover, splashing "Divider in Chief" across. On the day of election results i.e. on May 23, Guardian of Britain had made scathing editorial comments on what Modi's victory portends for India. The same day a major US daily, New York Times, ran a lengthy piece on what Modi's victory meant for India and its people. Indian media on the other hand was over the top in celebrating the victory of Modi and RSS-BJP disregarding the most divisive and virulent campaign run by Modi led RSS-BJP and the most fraudulent and non-transparent elections conducted in India with misuse of election machinery by the ruling party setting new record.

Adverse coverage in western media obviously makes a difference to the rulers as they are dependent on western imperialist powers in a number of ways. One can only remember the role of US Admn. in enabling Modi in pulling off Balakote. US president Trump had tweeted both about the impending strike and the de-escalation before these happened. US Admn. obviously needs India not only for its vast markets, but also in escalating conflict with Iran and rivalry with China.

These three incidents in three days are a grim reminder of the real situation in the country. And these incidents are happening with open connivance and help from police and administrative machinery in which communal and casteist sway has been further strengthened under RSS-BJP rule. Without the involvement of state machinery these vigilante groups dare not make a single attack. Modi Govt. expects foreign media to relay his speeches and publish only the Govt. press handouts and not make fact checks about its claims.

One can believe Modi and RSS talk of taking all along only at one's own peril. Their coming back to power heralds new challenges which should make every patriot and democrat, peace loving and well meaning person careful not to take their advent to power as some form of aberration but as a new normal which Indian people have to fight against.

Current Challenges before the Working Class Movement

Aparna

Even before taking oath of office as Prime Minister, Narendra Modi stated post the electoral victory of the BJP-RSS in the Parliamentary Elections 2019, that there were now only two 'jatis' in India- the poor and those who want to contribute to taking the poor out of poverty. Thus, at one stroke, one myth was created and another debunked.

The gloss-over was of the reality of the caste system in India. In addition, was presented the myth of an India which had no class contradiction between the mighty numbers of the exploited and the handful of exploiters who flourish on this exploitation and have no intentions of ending it. This myth, created by the RSS, is to lull the exploited and to cover up the agenda for the crackdown on workers and peasants which is in the offing under the new Govt's policies.

In addition, it was clarified that the "new, strong" India under Modi had nothing to do with the economic well being of India and her people. It was openly admitted by Modi himself by the above quoted statement that poverty was an over riding feature of India and that was the state of the largest number of the citizens. The serious economic situation was to be further conceded within days by announcing the deceleration of the growth rate of the GDP to 5.8% in the last quarter, lower even than the 6.2 % figure being given out by several sources. Such is the capacity of the RSS machinery, that the 'strong India' discourse was substituted by India in economic distress almost overnight and hardly any eyelids blinked.

Acknowledgement of Economic Crisis

Thus, almost alongside the electoral results came the acknowledgement

of rising unemployment and of a fall in the growth rate of the GDP. Both had been brushed aside prior to elections, though the NSSO data showing unemployment hitting an all time high in 47 years (when assessment was begun) was denied official release. The focus shifted overnight to the economy needing attention, corporate funded media put out almost identical economic challenges before the new Govt. The Economic Times announced a ten point economic agenda on the 24th of May 2019 itself, i.e. the day after BJP-RSS's massive electoral victory. Within days came the announcement that a first 100 days agenda on various issues had already been kept ready and it was made public. It substantiated the Economic Times report of 24th May 2019, "an economic plan to kickstart private investment and stimulate demand is already ready" and it also announced some of the measures which the corporate media had been stipulating- no doubt the others will follow soon.

The economy had been projected as growing throughout the 2018-19 financial year, though some slowing was conceded. In the first three quarters the figures were given as 8% in the first quarter, slowing to 7% and then to 6.6% in the third. The fourth quarter was being projected at 6.4% to 6.2% but with the announcement of the name of the new Finance Minister came the acknowledgement of a figure of 5.8%. Figures of Industrial production shrank in March 2019 for the first time in two years, private investment has been conceded to be low and so too consumer demand. Figures of annual growth in Car sales have been used to show falling consumer demand- they were 9.2% in 2017, fell to 7.9% in 2018 and are at 6.3% this year. The current account deficit has increased, trade deficit has increased and the CMIE has stated that the unemployment rate is 7.35%. all these figures are now being openly talked of in newspaper and television debates of the corporate media, as though they have been born post the election results and have nothing to do with the policies of the RSS-BJP 1 Govt in particular and the pro imperialist economic model being implemented in general post- 1947 of course, but more particularly since 1991.

There has been much pushing of what the Govt. "must do" in the economic scenario and the proposals are all intensification of the agenda of new economic policies. Govt. should monetize public assets like rail tracks, ports, roads and power generation units, must sell off or close public sector and monetize its huge land assets, Anil Ambani says the Non Banking Finance Companies (NBFCs) are in the ICU and the govt

must help them get liquidity; public sector banks must be merged and of course the inevitable and most popular-there must be Ease of doing Business by allowing foreign (read multinational) investments to slurp super profits from India. All of these, but especially the last, target the jobs and rights of India's working class, apart from being formats of increasing loot of all India's assets by corporate.

This business of "Ease of Doing Business" has over the years been firmly projected not only as some sort of cure-all for ills of India's economy but also as a desired end which the working class of India alone is stubbornly blocking. "If only" antiquated labour laws were thrown away, if only owners were not forced to continue to employ workers who were availing benefits, if only "competitive" wage rates could be given, if needless money need not be wasted on safety but one could just replace when there was death or injury, if only..... oh! what bliss there would be in business, how foreign investments would come rushing into India and how private investments would rejoice at the super profits they siphoned off the country.

The truth is not faced- jobs available are very few and are all contractual, there are no labour laws being applied to such workers, labour law implementation machinery has been already systematically eroded and most of the labour laws detested by employers are only on paper really, workers holding permanent jobs are a small minority, already safety at workplace is not enforced- all the dreamt of conditions of annihilation of workers' rights and downgrading of wages already exist, but still Business is not happening, Make in India is not taking off, foreign investment is not coming and demand is not picking up. That is because the crisis in the economy and the unease of doing business is not because workers' wages are high and they have too many rights, but due to the pro imperialist economic model and the resultant shrunken domestic demand. In fact, minimum wages to all workers would actually stimulate domestic demand. But keeping up a false co-relation narrative helps to fool the people by giving a false target, distract dissent when workers' rights are attacked.

Upcoming attacks on the Working class

The Economic Times edition mentioned earlier- 24th May 2019- used a most interesting term to describe what the focus of the BJP-RSS govt should be – it called it the China opportunity. It picked up all the attacks on the working class by social imperialist China post the downfall of socialism.

It laid out three main arenas for the govt to focus on- labour law reforms, mega industrial zones or SEZs and changes in land acquisition laws to allow large scale manufacturing units which would be competitive. Alongside of course would be the revival of Make in India. Without using the same term, other narratives from ruling class establishments and from the spokespersons of the ruling dispensation also point to the same measures as imminently necessary.

In due course the Central govt. has unfurled its first 100 days agenda and has included labour law reforms and closure or disinvestment of all public sectors and "monetization" of their landed assets in it. Appointment of consultants has already been announced to sell off land and assets of over 20 public sector enterprises including of textiles, fertilizers and power sector, of which many may already be lying closed. Their residential quarters are also to be sold off, or probably, in the new model, be redeveloped by real estate companies with a substantial part of the land being given as a 'cut' for commercial development.

Besides of course, this RSS BJP Govt., as in its earlier avatar too, speaks some part but does lot more in the same direction. Thus, while only days into office for a second time it has cut the contributions of both employers and employees to the ESI corpus. It has only spoken about how much easier it is going to be to make more owners comply with providing ESI and how much the workers are going to enjoy a smaller contribution level but not given any commitment about there being no dilution of the facilities under ESI Act which are provided to those covered by the ESI. The point is, it is not workers but employers who have been wanting the ESI contributions to be done away with. This is clear from the Govt's official release which says that the step is going to promote Ease of Doing Business, and other reports which say that employers are going to save over 500 crores at a conservative estimate. It also needs further discussion that unfortunately reformist trade union centres have assented in these cuts and are now protesting that the Govt has cut more than was agreed! Indian Express, on 20th June 2019 reported in an article that the CITU has termed the announcement a gross violation of the Tripartite Governing Body Meeting of the ESI held on September 18th 2018 where it was "unanimously decided" that the employers' contribution would be reduced to 4% of enrolled workers' wages from the existing 4.75% and the employees contribution to 1% from the existing 1.75%. Subsequent to the meeting, said CITU, a draft notification was issued on the same lines by the Govt. on 5th February

2019. The anger of these trade unions is that the cut announced is more than was agreed upon! Most of the Central Trade Unions apart from IFTU and few other fighting centres are part of the Tripartite Committee. Still, their compliance does not do away from the Govt's intentions, it only points to the huge task cut out for the fighting trade unions.

The Govt. intent on public sector sale is clear. These are enterprises set up with public money and continue to employ substantial number of permanent workforce, though the count of contractual workers has been continually increasing. Apart from the question of fighting against the threat of job loss to these workers, the working class needs also fight against the sale of these assets set up with public funds and also the privatization and inevitable corporatization of the products and services of these enterprises. It is no secret that an important target of the Govt. is the railways sector.

The second big issue is the issue of labour law changes. Not only are these hard won rights, it is also true that over the years there were many suggestions on how they should be strengthened by pro worker changes. It is also true that the laws are poorly implemented; in fact mostly implemented only where working class fights for their implementation. But at least they remain as a reference point of what are rights of workers and trade unions can organize workers and fight for their implementation. Today the BJP RSS govt is seeking to put them in the dustbin in the very name of "rationalizing" them and this is a move which should be opposed tooth and nail instead of trying to meet the Govt. half way by flirting with pro and anti worker changes. The policy thrust and intent of the Govt is very clear.

In 1991, when the new economic policy prescriptions began being implemented, the trade delegations of various imperialist countries that came to India had one demand in common- dilution of the Chapter VB of the Industrial Disputes Act which provided workmen protection against arbitrary closures and lockouts. This has been a fairly specific target in the general clamour of right to hire and fire, and one of the changes made by the erstwhile BJP Govt of Rajasthan under Vijayraje Sindhia was to restrict this protection to enterprises with over 300 regular workers. Curiously, this is the very formulation in the Industrial Relations Code. This Code also contains provisions which will make it impossible to ever go on a legal strike. The Codes will dilute rights of unions besides making it virtually impossible to register one. The Wages Code does away with The Equal Remunerations Act and will make equal pay for equal work and enforcement

of even minimum wages virtually impossible for women workers. Doing away with this provision derecognizes the very real gender disparity in wages for similar work. In addition, the Wages Code brings in the concept of facilitators in place of labour law inspectors in the context of implementing minimum wages. The Codes are also going to make provisions of ESI and PF not statutory any more but optional.

As stated earlier, it is not as though this central govt is marking time to enforce its attack on the 44 labour laws it has targeted in the name of bringing Codes. Already the BJP-RSS 1 Govt. had issued circulars which greatly diluted the ability of the central labour law enforcement machinery to ensure implementation of the laws. The labour depts were gradually emasculated of staff to enforce labour laws. This depleted staff too is tasked with everything from electoral duties to other sundry govt surveys. The relevant law was changed to allow contractual workers in all sectors. The law was amended so that labour laws could be enforced where there was a minimum of 50 such workers instead of 20. The Apprentice Act was changed to allow easy permissions to owners, to take a large part of the financial burden for payments from them onto the Govt, and to take away the responsibility of providing employment- in effect allowing use and throw of skilled workers at much lower wages. Units below 40 workers stand outside the purview of the Factory Act and further dilution is on the cards. The Govt. has already announced its intention to bring the Code on Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions as a Bill in the current session of Parliament. This is going to place the total number of overtime hours allowed per month at 125 hours in place of the 100 hours it had earlier allowed by an amendment in its first avatar. Acceptable working hours for women workers have been placed at 6am to 7pm after which employers will have to ensure their security. This code will take the place of 13 existing labour laws.

Apart from the SEZ Act which had gone through parliament unopposed in the period of the UPA Govt and which put these sectors outside the pale of labour laws, the BJP RSS Govt 1 thought of several other schemes for by passing the laws. Fixed term Employment is one, which allows workers to be kept for as many years as managements choose at terms applicable to maybe casual workers. The Start Up Act was another which allowed start ups three years in which they need not implement labour laws. And the provision of self certification allowed to employers is anyway going to make infructuous all provisions for labour law enforcement. Depositing of

the 44 labour laws into the dustbin of the RSS BJP will ring a death knell for hard won rights.

While the new Govt. has not yet stated the obvious, it is quite clear that dilution of land acquisition laws and freedom for mining, for land grab by corporates are all high on the Govt. agenda. This has its inevitable fallouts for the working class. The death of over 30 miners in illegal coal mining in Meghalaya at the start of this year is a case in point of what the future holds. With this it is important to reckon with one fallout which has already occurred of the whole emphasis on doing away with labour laws and the machinery which implements them howsoever weakly this may have been done. Since about the last three or four years there is a steep rise in deaths and injuries at workplaces and the rise in numbers is not due only to better reporting or any other cosmetic reason. The cause is squarely that now the workperson is only a replaceable entity whose life and limb is of no importance as far as workplace laws are concerned. The worker as an individual is dispensable. The Factory Act is one of those on the block of the executioner and with that its provisions of safety at workplaces. Factory Inspectors have already dwindled in number in the country; even state govts which speak of opposing the Modi govt are one with it on anti-worker provisions; only three factory inspectors are left for the lakhs of workers in Delhi under Delhi Govt.; the Congress govts which came to power in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have not undone the changes in labour laws made by the previous BJP Govts. The real issue is that lack of enforcement of safety measures have seen steep rise in deaths at workplace due to negligence though they are being termed "accidents". These have occurred in NTPC Rai Barailley, occur with clockwork regularity in industrial areas in Delhi, have occurred post new Central Govt in Bengaluru, are occurring all over the country involving workers cleaning sewers without minimum safety gear and also construction workers working without safety kits. A new understanding in the field of construction workers is that if the Govt sanctions compensation in the case of an FIR justice is done- this loses sight of the fact that it is often a losing battle for these unorganized workers to force an FIR unless accidents occur in full public glare, that the compensation is paid from the Fund anyway meant to be spent on welfare of these workers and which govts just do not dispense to them and thirdly that govts sit on these funds rather than giving mandatory safety kits to every registered construction worker.

There are issues which the new Central Govt may not have announced but which are certainly in the offing. One concerns the SEZs. There are 232 SEZs in the country of which 25 are multiproduct ones. Till 2019, 5109 total units have been approved to function within these areas. The corporate demand is for integrated portals for processing requests for setting up units and to open up all these areas for tourism including medical tourism and multimedia. There are revamp plans already ready for allowing a wider range of companies, for flexible longterm leases and easy exits. There is also a plan to provide for easy subcontracting to customers outside zones who now need permits for this work. A committee on SEZs was set up by the Commerce and Industry Ministry of the BJP RSS 1 Govt under Baba Kalyani, the chairman of Bharat Forge. It recommended making the SEZs into economic and employment enclaves with uninterrupted water and power supply. It needs little imagination to define under what terms employment will be offered here.

Challenges Today Before the Working Class Movement in India

The coming to power of the BJP RSS Govt with a clear majority definitely poses new challenges before the working class and these have to be considered with due seriousness by fighting trade unions While it is entirely true that ruling class parties across the spectrum are one on the anti worker policies, weak governments or coalition govts give more room for struggles to force back policies as coalition partners or even the leading ruling parties have to save their own bases. Second, the RSS-BJP govt will cover its anti worker policies in nationalist and communal garb, posing an additional challenge to the united fightback of the working class.

The second challenge is also that the reformist trade unions are not at all clearcut on the issues of giving a genuine fight to the anti worker policies. Their sectarian determined and continual blocking of all fighting trade union centres from participating in decisions and discussions on collective fights has been a hurdle to working class united action even in the first stint of the RSS-BJP Central govt. This is in stark contrast to their willingness to let BMS take part and their accommodation and flexibility towards INTUC. There is, along with, an attempt to restrict the struggle to tokenism and some ill prepared propaganda actions alone which breaks even the conviction of the workers in the efficacy of the struggle. One of the important issues which is going to arise with the decision to sell out or shut down public sector undertakings is the issue of the workers employed there- there is

substantial organized working class in railways and other sectors. They must be led into fights in defence of jobs and of the undertakings and not into struggles to decide the rate of VRS. Vigorous propaganda and also struggles have to be taken up by all fighting unions wherever they are to inspire these workers to put up spirited struggles. The workers of public sector banks are also on the radar as the question of bank mergers is very much on the agenda as the only way of dealing with bad loans of a 100 odd identifiable corporate.

A united and broad based struggle is necessary against discarding of labour laws and the enactment of Codes; more and more sections of workers must be drawn into this struggle so that even the trade union of the RSS, the BMS, is forced into opposing atleast to convince its base. The overwhelming majority secured by the BJP RSS in the elections has struck despondency in many fighting sections who somehow convinced themselves that the real struggle against anti people policies lies in the parliamentary arena. The reality remains that it is struggles which are the method to defeat anti worker, antipeople and pro imperialist policies. Let there be no confusion; anti worker legislation introduced in Parliament can be blocked only if there is struggle on the ground and not by pinning hopes on the composition of the Rajya Sabha.

For the working class to fight convincingly to defend the labour laws, the real struggle must be built to ensure implementation of labour laws. Positive struggles will give more conviction to the opposition of the working class to attacks on the labour laws. Struggles should be built to demand adequate appointments to the state labour law enforcement machinery, more so in nonBJP ruled states like W. Bengal, Bihar, Telengana, Andhra Pradesh, TamilNadu, Punjab, Delhi, Karnataka, MP, Chattisgarh and Rajasthan where the state govts claim that they oppose the BJP's policies. Working class unions must fight for Labour law changes made by the previous regimes in MP, Rajasthan and Chattisgarh to be revoked. This is not at all to say that determined struggles must not be built in the other states which are ruled by BJP, but it is merely being pointed out that the rhetoric of state govts can be used in the struggle. Struggle must be built of contract workers in any and every sector to implement statutory laws and for equal wages for equal work so that they have a fighting and immediate stake in fighting attempts to finish off the labour laws. Struggles of unorganized workers like AASHAs and anganwadis must demand statutory rights and struggle of construction workers for inclusion in ESI

and PF need to be built. Movements of workers in each and every section-including sectoral movements so that individual employers in private sector do not take the easy route of retrenchments to kill the struggle- are necessary for the working class to force its issues on the agenda. Building struggles for forcing enforcement of labour laws and also opposing state govts' dilution of laws is the need of the present.

On this score the issue of workplace deaths due to negligence and forcing safety measures and inspections can be the most powerful issue to build working class struggles. It is also important to build these struggles so that the working class begins to value itself and give importance to its right to life and safety. It is an issue which puts exploiters and govts in the dock in the eyes of even common people and becomes indefensible for the perpetrators.

In this context, rising unemployment puts its own strains on the rights of the workers. Hence it is important for the workers' organizations to be in solidarity with struggles for employment. Similarly, an important challenge will be to uphold working class unity in the face of the divisive tactics of the Central govt. and its political organization.

The attacks on democratic rights of the people including the working class is going to be a feature of this current government at the Centre if the experience with the past govt is any indication- and it is. Black acts like sedition, PD Act and UAPA are used with impunity against democratic rights' activists and even trade union leaders. Cases are foisted against journalists, cultural activists and general activists for even speaking against the policies of the BJP RSS. Section 144 is used as a tool to prevent any expression of dissent. In this milieu the working class movement and the trade unions must come forward to fight to uphold democratic rights. These are rights maximally needed by the working class movement and its organizations must be part of all general movements to uphold and defend these rights.

Building up broad based sectoral struggles by fighting unions coming together and changing the defensive tenor of the movement, especially by taking up the right to safety at all workplaces and the importance of the right to life of the workers is the most important challenge before the trade unions. Let us fight to save every job, every right and for statutory rights for all workers in all sectors irrespective of the terms used to define them.

AIKMS Organizes Tribal Convention to Protect Tribal Lands

Stop eviction of Tribals & Other Traditional Forest Dwellers

Issue pattas to those cultivating Podu Lands
Implement the Rights enumerated in the Forest Rights Act 2006

Rise and develop the united movement to defend Podu Lands

Tribals are the most oppressed, exploited and neglected people in Society and even now the main means of their livelihood is Podu Lands (forest lands). State and Central governments have started attacks through Forest personnel, with police force on a large scale, to evict the Tribals and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers from forests. In the last 5 years, Telangana State Government abandoned issuing pattas to those cultivating podu lands, though they are cultivating since long and instead took up the programme of evicting them from their podu lands in the name of "Harithahara" and started planting saplings on these lands.

Parliament on 29.12.2006 approved "The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act 2006", due to the pressure mounted by the movements launched by Tribals and other Forest Dwellers through their organizations, supported by intellectuals and other forces. Rules pertaining to the above Act were finalized in 2008. In 2002, Supreme Court in Godavarman case had given orders to evict the tribals and other forest dwellers, whose forest lands have not been regularized. The danger of eviction of 50 lakh tribals from their podu lands came to the fore and about 3 lakh tribals had been evicted. The movement against the Supreme Court order was militant and some persons sacrificed their lives. As a

consequence of these struggles, the present FRA -2006 came into existence. This Act stipulates issuing of Title Deeds up to 4 Hectares/10 acres of forest lands, which were being cultivated before 13th December 2005, by Tribals and other Traditional Forest Dwellers, who are residing since 3 generations- 75 years. FRA 2006 defined the Forest Land in its chapter 1(d) "...within any forest area and includes unclassified forests, undemarcated forests, existing or deemed forests, protected forests, reserved forests, sanctuaries and national parks". Land patta certificates are to be given for community needs also. Besides these communities also have the right to utilize the minor forest produce and these include, "...all non-timber forest produce of plant origin including bamboo, brushwood, stumps, cane, tursar, cocoons, honey, wax, lac, medicinal plants and herbs, roots, tubers and the like." Thus, the Act gives 13 kinds of legal rights. Their rights are not dependent on anyone's magnanimity but have legal sanction.

Already 13 years have passed since the existence of FRA 2006 but

**All India Tribal Convention
For Protection of Tribal Lands
July 4, 2019
10 AM to 5 PM
Sundaraiah Vignan Kendra
Hyderabad (Telengana)**

neither the Central nor any State Government has implemented this Act properly. Though the tribals and other forest dwellers (who are residing since 75 years) are cultivating 3, 5, 6 or 10 acres of podu land but they were given pattas for only 1 to 10 cents in many villages, thus diluting the very purpose of the Act itself.

More than half of the claims for pattas have been rejected ignoring the

provisions of the Act. According to available statistics, 18,92,893 claims have been rejected. In Telangana State 1,16,118 claims, amounting to 3,81,566 acres of land, have been rejected. According to the Supreme Court order, 11.8 lakh Tribals (families) have to be evicted. About one crore tribal people are facing the danger of evictions. Tribal peasants and other people are not able to get pattas and utilize the schemes such as loans from the Banks, Rytu Bandhu, Insurance to the peasants, subsidies on seeds etc. and other schemes due to lack of legal rights.

In Telangana, Forest officials are coming with police on a large scale and digging trenches, including those areas which people are cultivating and in some places even occupying the podu land for which the peasants have got the pattas as well. They are using filthy language, heckling, insulting and threatening the tribals with dire consequences. They have already arrested and foisted false cases on thousands of tribals and others and even used the P.D. Act. Com. Madhu, the Secretary of R.C. of CPI(ML)-ND has been arrested under P.D. Act and since one year he is languishing in prison. They are instigating the people against each other and creating disputes and contradictions between tribals and non-tribals; people who have pattas and who does not possess pattas; primitive tribes e.g. Gonds, Koyas and plain tribes e.g. Banjaras. Last year they destroyed standing crops such as cotton and maize with tractors. Some tribals even resorted to suicide in Khammam, Warangal, Bhadradi Kothagudem and Mahabubabad districts. These tribals had lost their crops and lands. However, suicides are not at all the solution. This only shows their desperation and highlights the need to wage a determined struggle to safeguard their land and livelihood.

“Wild Life First” and other organizations have filed writ petitions in the Supreme Court in 2008, challenging the constitutional validity of the FRA 2006. Supreme Court, on Feb. 13, 2019, ordered all State governments to evict before 10th July those tribals and others from their podu lands, either whose claims have been rejected or who have no legal titles and submit compliance report to the Supreme court on 12.7.2019 and stated, “In case the eviction is not carried out, the matter would be viewed seriously by the Court.” By the time of this order, Central government had not filed its affidavit to the Supreme Court and even the Solicitor General had not attended the court. On this Supreme Court order, tribals and others expressed their opposition and anger seriously throughout the country. Due

to this opposition and keeping in view then ensuing parliamentary elections, Modi Government filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court seeking modification of the earlier order. Hearing on this writ petition was held on 28.2.2019 and Supreme Court modified its earlier order.

Supreme Court, in its modified order, directed to inform the persons the causes of rejection, give them an opportunity to appeal to the higher committee and these issues will be discussed on 24th July by the Supreme court. Tribals and others could be evicted only after exhausting of all the legal opportunities by the beneficiaries, implementing the Act and after examining all the issues pertaining to them.

“Supreme Court’s modified order” has not been implemented in any state in the country, though 4 months have passed since this order. It was stated in the writ petition filed by Tribal welfare Department of the Centre that the claims of tribals and others were rejected in a summary manner and due opportunity was not provided to the claimants. In certain cases eviction orders were issued even before the appeals under the Act were exhausted. Supreme Court Bench consisting of Justice Arun Misra, Navin Sinha and M.R. Shah commented, “What was the Centre doing till now? Some states had not followed due procedure, while considering the claims despite the Centre’s directions.” Finally the Bench in its proceedings order stated, “We keep our order dated 13.2.2019 on hold, so far as eviction is concerned.” Supreme Court directed the state governments, “In the facts and circumstances of the case, we direct the Chief Secretaries of various State Governments to file detailed affidavits covering all the aspects and also place on record the rejection orders and the details of the procedure followed for settlement of claims and what are the main grounds on which the claims have been rejected; and prepare the list with category wise details. Every claimant should be given an opportunity to appeal to the Sub-Divisional Committee, if the Village Committee rejected and to the District level committee, if the SDLC rejects.”

Centre and State Governments are allocating lakhs of forest land for other purposes - mines, projects, industries and commercial forestry etc. Green Tribunal is also permitting allotment of forest land to such schemes. In fact, Governments are on the one side evicting the tribals and others from the forest land they are cultivating and on the other hand, they are giving lakhs of acres of forest land to foreign and domestic corporate.

While building the movement, tribals and OTFD should utilize the scope and opportunity given by the Supreme Court order for knowing the causes of their eviction and to appeal to the higher committee.

Stop eviction of Tribals and others from their cultivating forest land and issue pattas to those cultivating forest land. Withdraw all the cases foisted on tribals and others. Build a strong and united movement with the aim of getting the rights, such as right to get 10 acres cultivated land, land for residence and land for the needs of the community as per FRA 2006. We have got the rights through struggles and we can get the implementation of FRA 2006 through struggle only and there is no other way. Komram Bheem, Alluri Seetharamaraju and Birsa Munda led heroic tribal struggles for land and against oppression and suppression during the colonial rule of the Britishers.

July 4th is the day armed struggle of the peasants started in Telangana, which is one of the important days in the history of peasants' struggles, carried out for land and livelihood and against feudal forced labour (Vetti), autocratic oppression and suppression. On this day Doddi Komaraiah was martyred.

All should come together, rise and move to defend Podu Lands, taking the spirit and exemplary sacrifices of martyrs. There is no other way.

All India Tribal Convention is being held on 4th July 2019 at Hyderabad. Delegates from different Tribal Organizations from Telangana and other states are participating in this convention.

Politics of Formation of CPL (ML) — Response to Criticism - II

(The first part of this article by Amit Chakraborty was published in the April 2019 issue of ND. We are here publishing the second part of this article. In this part, the author continues with the criticism of the positions of Com. Kanu Sanyal and Com. Asim Chatterjee on CPI(ML) formation. - Editor)

As per the organizational resolution of CPI (M-L), "We must assimilate the teaching of Com. Lin Piao, which has also been confirmed in our recent Sompeta struggle, 'Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy.' The coming period will be a period of fast developing guerrilla struggle throughout the vast expanse of our country and the party is called upon to conduct them & lead them confidently. Therefore the party should concentrate in the main, on developing guerilla forms of armed struggle and not waste time and its energies in holding open mass meetings and forming Kisan Sabhas in the old style."

Before entering this debate, let's look at an important argument made by Com. Asim Chatterjee regarding this quote from Lin Piao- "This formulation has been presented in the Organizational Report, clearly titled 'Guerrilla war is the only way' by quoting Lin Piao. In the meeting, 'annihilation of the class enemy' was presented as the higher stage of class struggle and the starting point of guerilla warfare and it was accepted unanimously". He further said that 'The line of exclusion of mass movement and mass organization was established during party formation'. In his words, 'excluding the 'Operative Part', the value of statements of the political report is not genuine. They become 'worthless words'. CPI (M-L) document on April 22, 1969 quoted Mao in the political proposal. It said that 'the main strategy of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is the Guerrilla war. We must keep in mind the Chairman's education, "Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable condition." If we read carefully the organizational proposal, one will notice that though guerrilla warfare is the only one that has been mentioned, but

in the last sentence it is said that mainly Party has to organize a guerrilla type of struggle. ('We have to focus mainly on building up the guerrilla struggle.') The opinion of Com. Chatterjee is therefore one-sided. He talked about 'class annihilation' as the higher stage of class struggle, interpreted it as line of individual annihilation and stated the latter was decided in COC meeting. It is not substantiated from the document of 22nd April that individual annihilation was implied in the name of 'class annihilation' or 'the war of annihilation' as described by Com. Mao in his article 'Strategic Problems of Chinese Revolutionary War' mentioning 'A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on an enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and roundup of ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them..' Com. Chatterjee was not a member of COC which was organized on 22 April and his opinion was not mentioned even by Com. Kanu Sanyal or any other COC member. Moreover the relation between guerrilla warfare and the war of annihilation is not just about terrorism. It is different from the line of terrorist killing of an individual. Unfortunately, later after 1970 Party Congress, terrorist line of individual annihilation was the dominant trend although a section of prominent leaders of CPI (M-L) tried to rectify this line. We will talk about this later.

Now on the question of guerrilla warfare, we quote from a letter written by Com. Kanu Sanyal along with 6 comrades on the question of 'only guerilla warfare' as mentioned by Com. Sanyal and Com. Chatterjee - "You have applied Lin Piao's people's war theory mechanically. Lin's guerrilla war theory is a military affair. During the anti-Japanese resistance war, when they had an army of 10 Lakhs, at that time some comrades in the army raised the slogan that the positional warfare and mobile warfare are the way to mobilise the people. In reply to this wrong theory Com. Lin said that guerrilla war is the only way to mobilize people. This military theory has no relation with political and organizational question." The line of annihilation of individual class enemy as the starting point of guerilla war was not presented in COC meeting otherwise they would have mentioned it. Even Com. Sanyal never mentioned this in his letter. It was not accepted as organization's opinion. Com. Chatterjee's allegation regarding this matter is not substantiated by any document. He also added that "Boycott of mass movement and mass organization were established as a principle during the party foundation." The above-mentioned allegation by Com. Chatterjee was baseless. On 8th February 1969 AICCCR passed the

resolution on party building. 'Develop peasants' class struggle through class analysis, investigation and study' by Com. Charu Majumdar was published in Liberation (Vol.2. No.1, November 1968) on 17 October 1968. Com. Charu Majumdar stated in his article, "That is why economic struggles against feudal classes are necessary, not only in the present but in the future also. That is why the movement to seize the crops is necessary. The political consciousness and organization in a given area will determine form that this struggle will assume...." Terai Report by Com. Kanu Sanyal was also published in that same issue. In that same issue, under the headline of 'Communist Revolutionaries Meet', it was said, "So the time has come as revolutionary communists to plunge ourselves more resolutely and more deeply into the peasant masses and to build up revolutionary bases in the countryside. This is our major task, basic task. Other tasks, developing class struggle among other sections of the people, are undoubtedly important; but they should be contributory and subordinate to this basic task." Agrarian Revolutionary struggle in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh had been growing in that period. At that time Srikakulam District Committee (included in the AICCCR) was very strong and was strongly advocating joining the AICCCR and joined the AICCCR before the Andhra leadership decided. Let's take a look at what the revolutionaries of Srikakulam district did in the period from 1968 to 1969. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Srikakulam movement, Harsh Thakor published an article in Frontier on December 8, 2018. It mentions - 'With Charu Mazumdar's consent, in October 1968 a decision was adopted by the AICCCR to adopt the armed struggle and set up the Ryotanga Sangrama Samiti as a body to facilitate the seizure of political power.' On 25th November the house of Mahajan Zamindar Tigala Narasimhan was attacked and his hoarded materials, rice, grains and bond papers, which were taken from the peasants year after year, were confiscated. Between 1967 and 1969, there were about 300 villages out of 518 villages of Srikakulam under red political power. In October 1969, the government sent 12,000 CRPF to suppress the movement. In the same essay, Harsh Thakor says, 'We have to respect the critique of the mistakes prevailing in Srikakulam movement made by comrades like Tarimela Nagi Reddy, D.V. Rao etc. leading the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee. However one can never deny it was a mass movement till 1970.' In another place it is said - "It is a very complex question but in many respects mass line was followed in the Srikakulam movement till 1969 with mass participation of girijans in armed

actions against landlords to seize land. No doubt Charu Mazumadar's policy of 'annihilation of class enemies' caused considerable harm by replacing mass line but unlike Naxalbari, guerilla squads operated in 'strategic defensive' with the movement extending to the forests of the adjoining Koraput and Ganjam districts of Odisha. The landlords had fled, the guerrilla squads and local militia were protecting the villagers, and the Ryotanga Sangrama Samiti was in power and about to undertake land re-distribution." (Reference from Bernard de Mello) The struggle of Gopiballabhpur in Midnapur reached its peak in 1969. The historical struggle for harvesting and capturing of crops was in October 1969.

Some of the incorrect ideas of Com. Charu Majumdar were published before the formation of the party, but it did not dominate the initial days of the formation of AICCCR to CPI (ML) formation. Com. Satyanarayan Singh wrote in September 1969: "It does not necessarily mean that we will not raise the economic issues in that the new area that we will start working in." When Com. Asim Chatterjee claimed that boycott of mass organizations and mass movements was established in the party, at the same time it was seen that in December '68 - January '69, peasants in Munger, Ranchi, Darbhanga in Bihar organized themselves and confiscated grains. Communist revolutionaries of Bihar were in the forefront of struggles of Chandrapura thermal power plant, Sindhri fertilizer factory, Dhanbad rail strike movement. HTTP's strike was led by Hatiya Majdoor Union (whose secretary was Com. S.N. Singh) from the last week of April 1969 to the first week of May. Although Com. SN Singh and other leading comrades of Bihar were in the wrong 'left' line to deny the economic and partial demand where the armed struggle was developing but village-based peasant organization 'Kisan Sangram Samiti' was there in Bihar. There was no such concept that these organizations were village administrative organs and not a mass organization (Self Critical Report P. 23). In addition to the struggle of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Medinipur, it is known from the history of Punjab that in December 1968 there was a struggle in Seed Farm in Ropar by the labourers and peasants, land movement in Hoshiarpur and Sangrur, struggle in Bhiki Samoa. All of them were militant mass movements. In 1968-69 throughout Punjab such movements continued. The above information is showing that Com. Asim Chatterjee's claim that the line of boycott of mass movement and mass organization was established during party formation is wrong. It is also wrong if we consider in his own terms the 'Operative Part'. Defaming CPI (M-L), Com. Chatterjee says -

'There was no land policy in CPI(M-L) party led by Charu Babu, it was not sudden in any way. This was the inevitable and natural result of Charu Babu's line'. Why was this? According to him, the anarchist character of the party was rejecting the class struggle and as a consequence struggle for land. If anarchists are so much against the land policy why then did the philosopher and guide of Russian Narodniks, Chernyshevsky, write so much about the agrarian economy? Why Karl Marx (Please see- Late Marx & the Russian Road, Theodor Shanin, 1983) was impressed by them and rewrote the introduction of French Edition of Capital a few years before his death? The matter is not so simple. The countries which have accomplished agrarian revolution such as China, Vietnam- did their Land Policy come immediately after the party was formed?

Some more remarks on Com. Kanu and Com. Asim's opinion-Annihilation, Anarchism and Marx

It is true that boycott of mass organization, mass movement and the line of annihilation did immense harm to CPI (M-L). That is beyond doubt but let us also deal with what will be the Marxist approach towards them? In this context, Marx's viewpoint about 'Black Repartition Group' will be useful. This famous group was led by Plekhanov, Axelrod during their bitter struggle against Russian Narodniks. In an article written by Haruki Wada ('Marx & Revolutionary Russia') it is mentioned that in February 1879, he (Engels) pointed out the positive meaning of the murder of Kharkov governor Kropotkin, and said 'political assassination is the only means of self defense available to the Russian intellectuals.' Although Marx never commented on it but after reading and marking thoroughly the programme of 'Peoples will' for their members of working class origin, he had never called them a 'terrorist group'. On the other hand, he commented on Plekhanov's Black Repartition group (those who opposed all the acts of 'Peoples Will' and later on accepted Marxism)- 'These gentlemen are against all political revolutionary action'. In 1881, Marx and Engels were very much excited about the assassination of Alexander II. Engels wrote in a letter to Bebel - "The revolutionary world conditions for the overall crisis which have long been anticipated, are ripening." Marx wrote to his daughter Jenny about Narodniks - "Being strong hearted people through & through, they are without a melodramatic pose, but are simple, sachlich (matter-of-fact) and heroic. Screaming and action are mutually irreconcilable opposites." These words are used as a reference to understand the attitude of Marx & Engels towards

the Narodniks. Readers can easily differentiate between their attitude & Com. Chatterjee's attitude. Com. Chatterjee said in 1975, 'Charu Majumdar's idea about revolution is not a deviation but a departure from the communist movement.' Just before martyrdom Com. Charu Majumdar wrote to his wife that, "The decision has been made to organize a procession on Vietnam Day, July 20th. This will be done by our worker comrades. ... Due to the over-emphasis on annihilation, we have organized less numbers of anti imperialist struggle. It's a deviation and we're overcoming it. It is increasingly being criticized inside the party, therefore it will be rectified'. (Letter written to wife, July 14, 1972). We can't reach any definite conclusion from this letter but what Com. Chatterjee is trying to conclude is not corroborated by the above-mentioned letter. To evaluate CM's politics Com. Chatterjee used a quote from Bakunin, 'As a result, students and youths will be the midwife of people's self emancipation. Do not waste time on your study. You will be captured and emasculated in the name of this studying.' Chatterjee discovered similarities between CM and Bakunin but he lost from his field of vision the great initiative of CPI (M-L) and Com. CM to explore the power of workers, poor peasants & landless peasantry, who were far beyond student community and are the creators of human civilization. In this context, we can quote Dr. Heim Jinot, a Holocaust survivor, "I'm a survivor from the concentration camp; I wish no one will be a witness of what I have seen - a gas chamber manufactured by wise engineers, poisoning children by educated doctors, killing children under the age of one year by a trained nurse. Women and children shot dead by high school and college graduates. So I'm sceptical about education. My request is to help your children to be human, never try to create educated monsters or masterpieces. Reading, writing, and counting is only important when it makes our children more human." Com. Chatterjee discovered great similarities between Com. CM and Bakunin and concluded that CM was not actually deviated but isolated from reality. This opinion of Com. Chatterjee is one-sided and erroneous.

Com. Chatterjee criticized the policy of trade union boycott (mass organization boycott) by CPI (M-L). Simply talking about boycott of trade union or boycotting mass organization is not equal to anarchist departure. A great Communist leader like Rosa Luxemburg in 1918 considered trade unions to be a harmful 'evil' and was in favour of boycotting trade unions. On January 1918 in the first congress of German Communist Party, Com. Rosa argued in favour of dissolving trade unions and demanded the

responsibilities of trade unions should be handed over to the workers and soldier deputies or factory workers' council. In this context Com. Lenin criticized Com. Rosa during the eighth Congress of Bolshevik party but never termed her position as a departure from the communist movement. To find out the wrong attitude of Com. Asim let's again look at the self-critical report of Bengal provincial Committee of CPI in 1950. From August 15, 1947 to August 1, 1950 entire India was under Congress rule. They had killed 3784 people, wounded and handicapped 10 thousand, detained in jail - 50,000. The membership of the party was reduced from 1 lakh to 20 thousand due to the ultra-left line advocated by BT Ranadive. Communist influenced trade unions had collapsed, membership was reduced from 8 lakh to 1 lakh, and peasant organizations were almost finished. (History of Communist Movement in Bengal: An Investigation (Bengali). Edited by Manju Kr. Majumder, Bhanudev Dutta, Vol-6, p.30)-[All English translation done from Bengali original] In Trade Union Organiser (No.3) it was stated that "The factory will be taken as a battlefield and there will be a minor civil war, where the first and last slogan of the proletariat class must be "attack, attack, attack and attack." Slogans of students' movement changed accordingly and stated, "Attack from all sides, make yourself armed, armed before the protests and during the protests, without harming yourself, bring huge damage to enemy camps ... comrades, be cautious, whenever possible take away the gun from the police." On 14 June 1949 the provincial committee secretariat notified that "...They are conspiring to break prison gate and transfer prisoners to Buxar, It should not be allowed to happen. To stop this we will resist them with the people inside the prison, in front of the prison gate, on the streets, railway station and in all districts." Due to the political stand of CPI in those days the communist movement suffered heavily, but neither the communist leadership of those days and nor Cominform marked it as a departure, they called it as deviation. While evaluating the results of CPI's Second Party Congress, Comrade Balabushovich (Problems of Economics No. 8 published in Moscow) wrote: 'The second Congress of the Communist Party of India that was organized at the end of February and beginning of March 1948, was a major step in the life of the Communist Party of India and a major political event in the country.' The contribution of the second Congress is said to be: "Congress rejected the policy that the previous Central Committee was running, which was a right-wing reformist policy. Congress has announced that big bourgeoisie and the Congress leadership betrayed

the people and joined with imperialist power. Congress has clarified that imperialist oppression is still going on and Mountbatten's plan is 'cunning counter-attack.' Congress has shown that the struggle against imperialism is still the main duty. Proper programme for democratic fronts has been introduced. The emphasis is given on the alliance of different classes under the leadership of working class in the national liberation struggle and in the democratic front." (Democratic movement of Indian people, main characteristic and duty of the Communist Party, 13 May 1950, p. 181-182). In the same document, it was said, "In the last two years after the second party congress, there was a left-wing narrow-minded deviation in the work of PB and leading party workers. As a result, we tried to put an end to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage of the revolution. In 1948 and in 1949 there was a huge chance to carry forward the agrarian revolution and armed liberation movement in rural areas but due to our left opportunist line peasant front was facing a split, we neglected the rural armed struggle and separated the working class from its ally at the level of the current democratic revolution. ... Because of our sectarian leftist narrow-minded decision about the character of the revolution, the character of struggle changed its shape to left-wing desperate struggle." (History of the Communist movement in Bengal, an Investigation, p.185) During that time an important note was submitted by two members of Calcutta District committee of CPI, 'The history of our party teaches us one more thing that is not far away in general. Even when there is a big mistake, even in the struggle against this mistake and in the struggle for determining the right policy, there is no attempt to bring the whole party to this struggle, party leaders who have dipped the party in error, they have again acquired monopoly rights in the 'struggle' against wrongdoing. The result has been that the leadership has taken a one-sided approach and the general cadres are lying behind the political consciousness and backwardness in the ideological struggle." (Do, p-317) In the context of the criticism of CPI (M-L), there is a strange similarity!

Let's take a look at the CPC leadership's position towards CPI (M-L) politics. On 29th October 1970, Souren Basu met Chou Enlai and Kang Sheng. On behalf of the CPC, Comrade Kang Sheng made many important suggestions about CPI (M-L)'s political position and said, 'Our relationship is based on fraternity and friendship'. He also said, 'Your general orientation was right, only some of the policies were not following Marxism, Leninism & Mao Tsetung Thought. But rectification should be step by step. People's

feelings & enthusiasm should not be hurt, should not take quick decisions, and should practice patiently. In case of rectification, in place of wrong policy, it should be replaced by creative principles. We think you have a bright future under the leadership of Comrade Charu Majumdar." It should be remembered that it was said in the same discussion where Com. Kang Sheng was criticizing the line published in the Liberation on 'class enemy annihilation' in July 1970 – "It is isolated from the Party and mass organization, it is dangerous". The subject matter of the 'whose hand is not coloured with blood of class enemy...' is not ideologically correct and it will change the organizational character.' (Naxalbari an Evaluation, Suniti Kr. Ghosh, p-386-87) The above-mentioned criticisms are not consistent with the opinion advocated by Com. Sanyal and Com. Chatterjee regarding CPI (M-L). CPI (M-L) has to be evaluated in light of the important opinion that Com. Mao has expressed in relation to the evaluation of the party history. Com. Mao said, "What should our outlook be while studying our historical experiences? While judging the party history this time, we should not stress on the tasks and responsibilities of a few individuals, rather we would stress on the analysis of the circumstances under which these mistakes were committed, of the contents of the mistakes and of their social, historical and ideological base. And if excessive stress is laid on personal responsibilities then the extent to which we could have united people in common activities, we have been unsuccessful in doing that." He also added, "Treat all questions analytically, do not negate anything. The question concerning the line of the central leadership during the period from the fourth plenary session to the Tsunyi meeting (from January 1931 to January 1935) for example should be analyzed from two aspects. It should be pointed out on the one hand that the political tactics, the military tactics and the cadre policy which the central leading body adopted during that period were wrong in their main aspects but on the other hand that on such fundamental issues as opposing Chiang Kai-shek and carrying on an agrarian revolution and the struggle of the Red Army there was no dispute between ourselves and the comrades who committed errors. And even the tactical side needs to be analyzed. ...Lacking analytical approach many of our comrades do not want to go deeply into complex matters, to analyze and study them over & over again but like to draw simple conclusions which are either absolutely affirmative or absolutely negative." (Our Study & Current Situation-Selected Works of Mao Vol. III Pg-164-5)

In his famous article 'The fall of second international' Com. Lenin said that "The important scientific and political question is ... How it could be possible to betray socialism by the most prominent representatives of the second international?" He answered that question, "This question should not, of course, be considered from the standpoint of the biographies of the individual leaders...a study of the historical origins, the conclusion, the significance & the strength of a social-chauvinist trend." 1)Where did social chauvinism spring from? 2) What gave it strength? 3) How must it be combated? Only such an approach to the question can be regarded as serious. This view regarding the question is considered to be serious, the personal approach being in practice an evasion, a piece of sophistry". (Lenin's Collected Works, Volume 21, p.241-242). This is the Marxist-Leninist approach regarding party history and evaluation.

CPI(ML) & Com. D.V. Rao

Com. D V Rao and Com. T. Nagi Reddy were the two communist leaders who led the communist movement in Andhra Pradesh since Telangana days. They revolted against CPM leadership after Naxalbari, joined AICCCR but were against CPI(ML) formation. After Naxalbari they revolted against CPM leadership with majority of members within AP state but they did not leave CPM till Burdwan plenum in 1968 (May), AICCCR was formed in November 1967. By the end of October 1968 they joined AICCCR. There were definite political differences between leaders of AICCCR & leaders of Andhra Pradesh CRs. Srikakulam leaders who were at the forefront of the Srikakulam struggle had differences with the Andhra state leadership and decided to join AICCCR, while state leadership also later on joined AICCCR.

Definitely there were political differences between AICCCR leadership & AP leadership. As quoted by Com. Adityan in the foreword to English edition of 'Left Trend among Indian revolutionaries' : "The differences between Charu's clique and the leadership of Andhra communist revolutionaries were not limited to the time of coming out of CPI(M) & joining AICCCR. They extended to the tactical questions as well, such as the concept of armed struggle, attitude towards elections, the need for participation and building of mass organizations etc." He also said that 'Charu's clique' did not allow debate inside the organization & they were expelled from AICCCR. But if we go through the resolution on Andhra state coordination committee we find- "After discussion with the representative

of Andhra coordination committee, AICCCR (All India Coordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries) is of the opinion that there are basic differences between AICCCR & Andhra Coordination committee. AICCCR therefore decides to part with Andhra coordination committee and to treat them as friends and comrades outside AICCCR." AICCCR noted three major political differences: Loyalty to Chinese Communist Party leadership (related to Kerala incident), on attitude towards Srikakulam movement and boycotting election (Failure of Com. Nagi Reddy to resign within two months from October 1968). Moreover in Com. S N Singh's Self critical Report another difference on the question of social imperialism has been mentioned. However whether this difference persisted till February 1969 is not clear. At least that is not mentioned in AICCCR's resolution on Andhra Pradesh coordination committee. We are not going to analyze these positions right now. Whether these first three positions were basic & difference important enough to lead to a split in AICCCR is definitely debatable and AICCCR leadership cannot be absolved of their responsibility.

Here it may be pertinent to note another assessment of CPI(ML) formation. 'Basic Lessons of 13 Years of Struggle' has held, "The formation of the A.I.C.C.C.R. – the All India Co-ordination of Communist Revolutionaries in November 1967, and the formation of the CPI (M-L) on April 1969, are two golden chapters in the annals of the history of the Communist movement in the country. These two events signify the final break of the Communist Revolutionaries ideologically, politically and organizationally with revisionism and neo-revisionism and finally embarking on the path of people's War, never to go back." The same resolution also noted, "Certain sectarian tendencies, even factional tendencies were exhibited by the leadership in the formation of the Party itself, both during the formation of the AICCCR and the formation of the CPI (M-L). Of course one should take proper lessons from these wrong tendencies and rectify them in our functioning."

But if we look at the documents of Com. D V Rao what do we get? In their article 'Some problems of peoples war', 'Immediate Programme' published in April, 1969 we find some serious discussion on building mass movement & armed struggle. In the document 'Left trend among Indian revolutionaries' published in last quarter of 1970s we find elaborate discussion on principal contradiction, armed struggle, economism & revolutionary mass struggle, problems of nationalities & unification of revolutionaries where CPI(ML) position on those issues have been criticized

but unfortunately we don't find any discussion on How to form a Communist party? No discussion on what will be the basis for a revolutionary communist party in India & where CPI(ML) formation erred? There is no road map to form it. There is no discussion on the political & organizational document of CPI(ML) (at the time of formation). Naxalbari struggle and the revolt within & outside CPM among communist revolutionaries created an immense urge to lead the struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary communist party. Since the inception of CPM there were many communist groups or leaders within CPM who fought against CPM leadership politically and ideologically but the uniqueness of Naxalbari leadership led by Com. Charu Majumdar was that they were the only force who tried to build up a practice on the line of peoples war & challenged CPM with an alternative political line & practice to build a revolutionary party. Shortly after the U.F. government came into power in West Bengal but before Naxalbari took place, Peking Radio had held that there was no Marxist-Leninist Party in India, there were only some Marxist-Leninists. In March 1967, Peking Radio gave the call "to rise up and make revolution" in India. (*Quoted in New Age, Delhi (25 June 1967), Editorial, p. 2*)

AICCCR leadership realized that dream to form a party with correct general orientation. Andhra Pradesh leadership, in spite of their many correct positions, failed to grasp this central task of their time. They beat around the bush but AICCCR leadership took the challenge in an excellent revolutionary situation to form a communist party. Com. D V Rao's document failed to show the incorrectness of the reason to form the party CPI(ML) in 1969 and the important flaws in political & organizational report of CPI(ML) at the time of formation.

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and Communist Party of India (Maoist)

CPI (Maoist) was created mainly by the unification of CPI(M-L) (People's War), CPI(M-L) (Party Unity) and then with the integration with MCC. CPI (Maoist) announced their unification - After unification of two parties, the Unity Congress, that is, the first Congress will be considered as the Ninth congress. They also said - "Finally, the CPI (ML) was formed, which firmly grasped MLM thinking, reinstated the Communist Party of India and took the correct ideological and political position on main questions of our time. CPI (ML) chose armed struggle on the path of Protracted People's war,

most of the Communist revolutionaries in India and abroad recognized CPI (ML)." In another paragraph – 'So a section of the Communist revolutionaries could not be united, even though they had the same revolutionary ideas as that of Eighth congress. Among them, MCC which was formed on October 20, 1969, based on the document of 'strategy and tactics' in the seventh congress led by KC, to fight a firm and uncompromising struggle.' It also said- "Thus, two Maoist parties, CPI (ML) and MCC, born in billowy sixties specially by Naxalbari upsurge have been firmly grasping the correct revolutionary lines of Indian Revolution for the past 35years." The unification statement of CPI (Maoist) said 'After the foundation of two Maoist parties, CPI (M-L) and MCC respectively on 22 April 1969 and on 20 October 1969, continuously holding high the bright red banner of MLM ideology.' (History of the Communist Party (Maoist), 2017, Pabitra Halder, Siliguri)-*English Translation From Bengali original*. In the first quote, the party congress was recognized as the ninth Congress and the positiveness of forming CPI(ML) in 1969 was acknowledged. But in the next paragraph, what is said about the foundation of the MCC is utterly false. AICCCR marked many points as an idealistic deviation in its article named 'It is time to form the party', many of those wrong ideas were supported by Dakshin Desh (later MCC). Where is the difficulty in accepting the metaphysical confusing understanding regarding party building of MCC & Dakshin Desh during that period as well as the sectarian tendency within CPI(ML) leadership? In this article, we have submitted evidence from their documents that Dakshin Desh supported the general orientation and working policy of CPI(ML) as a positive step towards revolution but failed to join CPI(ML) (see discussion in the previous Dakshin Desh chapter). Why CPI (Maoist) is silent about the anti-Leninist stand of MCC & Dakshin Desh on party formation?

What does this attitude of CPI (Maoist) signify? How do they recognize the CPI(M-L) as a party? CPI(M-L) has declared itself as a Communist Party since its formation in 1969, but the MCC formed on October 20, 1969, was created as a centre for the establishment of a true revolutionary Communist Party of India. In this case, CPI(ML) was also criticized by them for forming a party abruptly. When did MCC announce their party formation? How did it come into existence? There are too many questions without any answers. All history cannot be blown away by the cacophony of unity. It is said in the quote - 'Most Communist Revolutionaries of India and abroad recognized CPI(M-L).' In that case why there is an equidistance

maintained between CPI (ML) and MCC? With all limitations, the formation of CPI(ML) was a correct example of Third International's policy on party formation. At that time Dakshin Desh later forming MCC deviated from the Leninist principles of party formation. If there is any hesitation in accepting this, it should be understood that the declaration of 'Ninth Congress' is only a formal organizational declaration and the CPI (Maoist)'s politics is an empty vessel on the question of CPI (ML) formation.

Third International, Communist Party and CPI (M-L)

In 1919, after the November revolution, Third International was formed and the idea of Leninist principle on party formation was developed. In the second Congress of Third International few points were accepted for the world proletariat. The second congress of the third international in 1920 unanimously formulated 'The role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution'; according to that, decision of the activities of the Communist parties were adopted. The decisions were based on the idea of the communist party by Marx and Engels, the idea of Leninist party and the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and proletariat's task in the national liberation struggle. On the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels, Lenin, the policies of the Communist International have been formulated. In the first point of the concluding para of that document it is very clearly mentioned that 'The Communist Party is the main and fundamental weapon for the liberation of the working class. In every country we must have not just groups or currents, but a Communist Party.' The second point is that 'In every country there should exist only one single unified Communist Party.' The first point in the thesis of the 'Communist Party's Role in the Proletarian Revolution', adopted in the second congress of the Third International in 1920, guided AICCR. All India Co-ordination Committee (AICCCR) of Communist Revolution in May 1968 announced - 'create a true Indian communist party because revolution without a party cannot win'. Just as the third international mentioned - "The Communist International rejects most decisively the view that the proletariat can carry out its revolution without having an independent political party. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The aim of this struggle, which inevitably turns into civil war, is the conquest of political power. Political power can only be seized, organized and led by a political party, and in no other way.." Following the teachings of the third international, AICCCR appealed to all the constituent groups within AICCCR - "They dissolve their groups

and unite with the Communist revolutionaries of All India Co-ordination Committee, they should understand that the existence of separate groups today is harmful to the interests of Indian revolution."The position of those who supported the historical significance of the group existence on that day was refuted by the revolutionary principles of the Third International.

After the formation of CPI(ML) it was criticized for not being able to organize more members from the working class into the party. Even today some Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Organizations promote the criteria of organizing significant if not the majority number of worker members within the party as the decisive criteria for the party formation. After the formation of CPI (M-L), its organizational resolution mentioned that, "to build a revolutionary party means that first and foremost the ideological and political questions were kept behind and organizational activities put forward to fool revolutionary workers. ... We must take the appropriate lesson from that mistake and give the ideology and politics the first place above everything else." At the second Congress of Third International Com. Lenin discussed about the Labour party and said, "However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat ".This shows that CPI (M-L) Leadership rightly formed CPI (M-L) by adopting a correct position according to this statement.

The principles of Communist International have taught us that "There can be no absolutely correct, immutable organizational form for communist parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in an unceasing process of transformation; the organization of the vanguard of the proletariat must also constantly seek appropriate forms corresponding to these changes. Similarly, the historically determined characteristics of each individual country condition particular forms of adaptation in the organization of the individual parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Despite all peculiarities, the identity of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries and in the different phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the international communist movement. This identity constitutes the common basis for the organization of the communist

parties of all countries.

On this basis we must further develop the organization of the communist parties, not strive to found any new model parties in place of pre-existing ones or seek some absolutely correct organizational form or ideal statutes.” (24th session of 3rd Congress of Communist international, July, 1921)

After the formation of CPI (M-L) it was stated that “Refusing to accept that the inner struggle of the party is an idealist deviation which hinders the party building. A party should be formed after eliminating all opportunistic anti-proletarian tendencies and unwanted elements through class struggle, such an idea is nothing but a subjective idealism. To conceive a party without contradiction and without struggle between the opposites, in other words, the idea of a pure and perfect party, is indulging in mere idealist fantasy.” (It is time to form the Party, 8 February 1969) During the formation of CPI (M-L) and especially today, some ‘creative’ communist complained that, despite being a party of the working class, CPI (M-L) declared, ‘so at the current stage of Indian Revolution our centre of gravity will be in rural areas.’ There is an opinion that the Priority of rural-based works is a deviation from Leninism. However, in the second Congress of the Communist International, the terms and conditions for getting the membership of the Committees are mentioned in point 5, “Regular and systematic agitation is indispensable in the countryside. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without support from at least a section of the farm labourers and poor peasants, and without neutralizing, through its policy, part of the rest of the rural population. In the present period **communist activity in the countryside is of primary importance**”. (Terms of admission into communist international—Lenin, July 1920) [Bold-Author] In the second congress of Third International, in 1920, in ‘The Role of Communist Party in Proletarian Revolution’ it was said, “The Communist Party arises almost everywhere as an urban party, as a party of industrial workers who for the main part live in towns. **For the easiest and quickest possible victory of the working class it is necessary for the Communist Party to become not only the party of the towns but also the party of the villages.** The Communist Party must develop its propaganda and its organizational activity among rural workers and the small and middle peasants. The Communist Party must work with especial care on the organization of Communist cells in the countryside.” It is seen that the criticism on this question towards CPI (M-L) position is baseless.

Another comment by critics on the question of CPI (M-L) is that as long as the working class or proletariat do not accept the CPI(M-L) as their leader till then the organization cannot be a communist party and even if it claims to be a Communist Party it is wrong. In a nutshell, while formed on the basis of a correct programme and established according to the principles of democratic centralism, an organization may declare as a Communist Party, but as long as it is not recognized by the class, it cannot be called a Communist party. This conclusion is mechanical and erroneous. In the third congress of Third International, in a significant resolution it has been said – “Leadership of the revolutionary class struggle presupposes, on the part of the communist party and its leading bodies, the organic tying together of the greatest possible striking power and the greatest ability to adapt to the changing conditions of struggle.

Moreover, successful leadership absolutely presupposes the closest ties with the proletarian masses. Without these ties the leadership will not lead the masses but will at best tail after them.

In its organization, the communist party seeks to achieve these organic ties through democratic centralism.”

Note that, ‘seeks to achieve these organic ties’ with the proletariat’, the question is seeking to achieve not achieving, it never means that till it is not achieved they are not a communist party. In point 23 of the chapter on the ‘Propaganda & Agitation’ section of that document – “Only through such absolutely necessary day-to-day work, through continual self-sacrificing participation in all struggles of the proletariat, can the ‘Communist Party’ develop into a communist party”. Please note that acceptance by the working class or achieving a leadership status is not the determining criteria but ‘self-sacrificing participation in all class struggle’ is important for its development. So, those who are trying to denounce CPI (M-L) after formation in 1969 by using the abovementioned arguments are not at all Leninist. Another argument was that there were multiple communist revolutionary organizations outside of CPI (ML) in 1969. Some people argued that Com. Nagi Reddy, Com. D.V. Rao, Com. Chandrapulla Reddy’s organization was bigger than CPI (M-L). So how can CPI (M-L) be considered as a party? Firstly, the number of membership or the mass base is not considered as a yardstick to be a communist party. Secondly, in the Third International document, it is being said in the context of the communist party that each country should have a single unified communist

party. Notice that the issue of having a single united communist party is 'should'. At one time two communist parties in the United States were associated with the international. Third International instructed them to be united. Three Communist Parties (Not Groups) were working in Indochina. At the initiative of Com. Ho Chi Minh, they united in a single party. Let's talk about the formation of the RSDLP. From 1895 Lenin was talking about forming a party of the working class. In 1895 a pre-congress was organised in Minsk before the actual congress, social democrats of Kiev and St. Petersburg also participated. They decided to form a proletarian party. The essay on Lenin's writings 'Duties of the Russian Social Democrats' in this period played a special role. In this Congress, the organizers of Lenin-led Rabochayya Gazeta journalists, who supported proactivists of the "Rabochayya Mysl" magazine, who worked in St. Petersburg did not allow the Social Democrats working in Odessa and Nikolaev to take part, saying they are not reliable. Expatriate Social Democrats' Association has not been invited to say that they are not aware of the status of Russia and cannot protect privacy. Social Democratic group from Kharkov refused to participate the Congress as they believed that was not the right time for party formation. Even after being elected as representative the social democrats of Lithuania did not participate. So we cannot find any information that the nine representatives who took part in the first Congress represented the vast majority of the social democrats. In that case why Com. Lenin and communist leaders accepted RSDLP as a party?

To declare an organization as a communist party we are not able to find any prerequisite from the third international about the strength of the party, class base or joining of majority communist organizations within the party. So this argument is totally wrong in denying CPI (ML) as a Marxist Leninist Party.

Conclusion

After Naxalbari Indian mass movements were moving forward but it became divided in the face of setback. Today lack of a single united communist party is hindering the movement of the working class and peasantry to victory. Throwing away the revisionist leadership from the Indian communist movement the communist revolutionaries of India united under the banner of AICCCR to CPI (M-L). Despite its significant deviation and mistakes, general direction of CPI (M-L) was correct. That is why even today, all the communist revolutionaries who have joined the life and death

struggle with the Indian state are trying to move forward following this general orientation. The state also identifies these forces as the greatest threat for internal security. This polemics of defending CPI(ML) formation is not only to put the history of its formation in correct perspective but is also important to understand the political ideological importance of Communist party in a revolution. The Anarcho syndicalist trends are at times trying to confuse communists & denying the role of communist party in proletarian revolution. They are promoting revolution without a party & leading to a caucus without revolutionary activity. In the name of working class leadership in revolution they deny the political ideological supremacy & role of leadership in determining character of an organization thereby army of proletariat & its allies are devoid of their commanders-the communists & their organization(communist party) to fight against Imperialism, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie. Even after 50 years, the general orientation of CPI (M-L) is still working as a guide for our liberation struggle. It has been tested by the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought and till date giving the political leadership to the Indian revolution. The general line of CPI (M-L) will surely lead us to fulfill the obligatory duty to build a single unified communist party.

Read and Subscribe

CPI(ML) Organs

New Democracy	English
Pratirodh Ka Swar	Hindi
Voice of New Democracy	Telugu (Telengana)
New Democracy Bulletin	Telugu (Andhra Pradesh)
Biplabi Ganaline	Bengali
Inquilabi Sada Rah	Punjabi
Sangrami Ekta	Odia

IFTU supports strike of workers of Uranium Corporation of India Ltd.

The around 4,000 workers of Uranium Corporation of India Ltd.(UCIL) had gone on strike on 10.06.19 morning. The strike was total in all the seven mines – Jadugoda, Turamdih, Narwapahar, Bhatin, Mohuldih, Bagjata, Banduhurang as well as in the two ore processing mills (in Jadugoda and Turamdih) in East Singhbhum District of Jharkhand (near Jamshedpur) and there was zero production. In addition around 100 mine workers staged a sit in strike at their workplace in the Turamdih underground mine at a depth of 600 metres in Turamdih. The strike was a result of the management's and the concerned ministry's (Department of Atomic energy-DAE) attempts to force the workers to accept a 10 year wage settlement and their refusal to negotiate with the Unions.

In UCIL, which is a public sector unit, since the last 25 years the practice has been for the management to negotiate and sign 5 yearly wage settlements with four operating Unions, three affiliated to IFTU, INTUC, BMS respectively and SUMU (which is associated with JMM). Wage revision of the workers should have been implemented w.e.f. 01.04.2018. One year ago the 4 unions had submitted a common charter of demands for a fresh 5 year wage settlement. However the management, deviating from past practice, instead of negotiating with the Unions on the charter of demands tried to impose a 10 yr. wage settlement. This was rejected by all four unions in November 2018. The management stopped all negotiations. After a few months the Central Labour machinery intervened and in a conciliation proceeding before the Deputy Chief Labour Commissioner (Central), Dhanbad on 06.05.2019, the management declared that the workers agreed with the proposal of the management of having 10 years agreement but the Unions were blocking. Thereupon the management organized a referendum among the workers on its proposal on 20.05.2019. Only 7 workers out of the 4,072 workers on its rolls (less than 0.02%) turned up to vote and thereby overwhelmingly supported the position of the Unions and rejected the managements 10 year wage agreement proposal.

Despite this, instead of resuming negotiations the management with

the collusion of the concerned ministry (DAE) tried to create divisions among the workers. In the conciliation proceedings before the Asst. Labour Commissioner (Central), Chaibasa on 07th June 2019 the management declared that it will not negotiate with the four Unions and immediately issued a notice to workers calling upon them to individually select one of the Unions for negotiations and give that to the management in writing. This effort to sow dissent among workers and bypass the unions proved to be the last straw. The workers' anger erupted and they went on indefinite strike from the morning of 10th June 2019 demanding that the management immediately enter into negotiations with the joint committee of four unions on the common charter of demands for a 5 year wage settlement which was already overdue by more than a year. Incidentally in the public sector coal companies in Jharkhand – BCCL and CCL- a new 5 year wage settlement has already been implemented more than a year ago.

UCIL is the only establishment producing uranium in India but the Govt. has no concern for the workers who expend their sweat and toil in dangerous working conditions. On the other hand, as if to mock the workers, the officers have been paid lakhs of rupees each as performance related pay just a few days ago while management has been continuously giving the excuse of bad economic situation to oppose the demands of the workers. In fact profit and loss question in relation to economic situation of UCIL is meaningless because Uranium mined by UCIL is not sold in the market and the only purchaser is another government company. As both seller and buyer is the government, the prices are not determined by the market rather they are only symbolic.

The National Committee of IFTU strongly condemned the attempts of the UCIL management and the Central Govt. to try to force a 10 year long wage settlement on the workers and curtail their unions and their rights and said that workers will not tolerate such repressive attitude. IFTU extended its full support to the agitating workers of UCIL and called upon the Central Govt. and the Prime Minister's Office (under which UCIL is directly controlled) to immediately intervene and ensure justice to the workers.

The management and the Government tried their utmost to break the strike. Officials of the Labour Department of the Central Govt. deliberately did not intervene to get the issues resolved through negotiations between the management and workers though it was their legal duty. Administrative machinery of the State govt. of BJP was given the task of breaking the

strike and the top officials of police and administration were camping in Turamdih mine. The workers sitting underground on strike and also workers on the ground were threatened with police action. But the underground workers remained firm on their demands that management should take with the joint committee of four Trade Unions and should negotiate 5 year wage agreement. Next day the administration arranged for a National Disaster Management team to take out the underground workers but workers remained unbowed. Lastly, when the management accepted the above two demands, the workers came overground after 70 hours. Strike continued and the production remained at standstill.

On the fourth day the management had negotiations in the office of Rapid Action Force but this attempt of management to pressurize the workers also failed. Lastly, negotiations started in the company head office. After two rounds on the day six of strike, agreement was reached on 5 year wage agreement, merger of full DA in basic pay and on increase in Basic Pay. Assurance was given on no vindictive action against striking workers.

In the whole process, BMS union has been in favour of 10 year agreement. Other two unions were also vacillating and talked about getting more benefits in 10 year proposal. But IFTU union remained firm on not making agreement for more than 5 years. After display of unprecedented unity by the workers in the referendum, the other three Unions came in favour of 5 year agreement. In Central Govt. industries there has been pressure for 10 year agreement since New Economic Policies. In some industries unions succumbed to it in the lure of being given more benefits. Resultantly, unions are inactive in these industries and there has been no struggle of workers. UCIL workers deserve appreciation for having kept their tradition of struggle alive.

During the strike it was often discussed among workers that newly elected BJP MP was there at the gate of Turamdih mine, in the discussions and wherever administration was there. But he never opposed or even differed with the open threats given by the administration. Workers felt that he was there not in support of workers but in favour of the management.

No Compromise on the Civilian Transitional Power

The Sudanese Communist Party has declared its clear Stance: No compromise on the Civilian Transitional Power.

In a separate development, the Alliance for Freedom and Change stressed in a statement issued on 29th April that "The Military Transitional Council (MTC) - the new copy of the old regime - is trying to disperse the sit-in at the army HQ". It called on the participants at the occupation to stand firm, to reorganize themselves and defend their positions. Furthermore, it called on the masses in the Capital to take to the streets and demonstrate against the MTC's manoeuvres to remain in power and break the sit-in, and to join the occupation at the army HQ.

This call came in response to the MTC's statement that the Alliance has accepted to end the siege of the army HQ.

The statement underlined the importance of continuing the mass protest actions all over the country until full power is delivered to the representatives of the people. In addition, the statement stressed on the preparation for launching the general political strike and the campaign for civil disobedience.

The Political Bureau of the Sudanese Communist Party issued a statement on 29th April saying clearly that the Military Transitional Council (MTC) is working to abort the revolution and impose its authority to continue the same policies of Al Bashir, to implement the project of soft landing in collaboration with foreign reactionary forces. Both are attempting to support and consolidate the internal counter-revolutionary forces. Their reluctance to enter into a serious dialogue that leads to the transfer of power to the representatives of the Freedom and Change Alliance, will lead to another military dictatorial regime.

The main duty of all the patriotic forces is the protection of what has been achieved and the continuation along the revolutionary path to achieve the main goal: the eradication of the regime, its dismantling and liquidation. The first step in this respect is the immediate transfer of power to the people's representatives.

The forces of the revolution must start preparing for the stage after the victorious sit-in; that is the launching of the political general strike and the campaign for civil disobedience.

The revolution continues!

Victory to the people!

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