

Left Must Unite All to Oust RSS-BJP Govt: CPI

Communist Party of India general secretary D Raja said that the country is passing through a very critical situation and hence the left must take all initiatives to unite all the democratic, secular parties in the country to oust the RSS-BJP combine government at the Centre. He was briefing the media on July 29, 2022 after releasing the Draft Political Resolution for the 24th Party Congress to be held from October 14 to 18, 2022 in the city of Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh. Party's national council secretaries Binoy Viswam MP and Amarjeet Kaur were also present at the media meet.



CPI general secretary D Raja briefing the media after releasing the Draft Political Resolution. Also seen are national council secretaries Binoy Viswam MP and Amarjeet Kaur

The general secretary issued a communique to media persons highlighting the draft resolution. The communique said that CPI Party Congress takes place every three years but due to the spread of Covid-19 pandemic worldwide, we could not host our Congress and it is going to take place now. Since our last Congress, the BJP, which is the political arm of the RSS, has returned to power at the Centre. The last few years have witnessed major assaults on our constitutional parliamentary democracy, discrimination against minorities, encroachments on the rights of SC, ST and women, polarisation, privatisation and brazen attempts at subverting our Constitution.

The communique highlighted the following:

The BJP government has been relentlessly pursuing neo-liberal crony capitalism resulting in unprecedented concentration of wealth with the top one per cent of the population. Inequality and unemployment have risen to alarming extent with the mismanagement of Covid-19 pandemic

claiming lives and livelihoods of millions.

The 24th Congress is going to take place at a time when the entire world is going through a serious phase of imperialist assault, deepening systemic crisis of capitalism, growing contradiction among imperialist forces, alignment and realignment among different forces on regional and global scale, local wars, aggression, occupation, intimidation and worsening environmental conditions. The Covid-19 crisis again brought the inherent contradictions of capitalism to the fore and countries with a privatised healthcare system crumbled before the pandemic.

Loss of lives, livelihoods, chaotic conditions experienced during the pandemic will have long-term social consequences, for example according to UNESCO, 90 per cent children in the world experienced disruption in their education. However, the corporate pharmaceutical lobby took full advantage of this chaotic situation and realized huge amounts of super-profit by waxing fat on people's misfortune. Nine new billionaires were created

by big pharma monopolies, which produced the Covid vaccines. The menace of religious fanaticism, hyper-nationalism and hatred against minorities and marginalised sections are on the rise.

The Covid-19 crisis proved beyond doubt that the only political force which can give a sustainable and pro-people model of governance is the Left. The policies of the right-wing are based on profit and greed while the Left model is one of selflessly serving the people. In Kerala, the development model was reconstructed to effectively combat the pandemic. Its success was lauded all over the country and it received accolades from many international platforms.

Public sector is the solid bedrock of our economy, which enabled the country to become self-sufficient in core sectors after getting freedom from colonial clutches. Historically deprived communities got opportunity and representation through reservation policies in the public sector. Sys-

tematic dismantling of the public sector under Modi is the result of ideological reliance on neo-liberalism with strong dosages of cronyism threatening our economic sovereignty and defeating the idea of social justice.

The renewed mandate BJP got in 2019 has emboldened the BJP-RSS to pursue its agenda of Hindu Rashtra much more vigorously. The RSS and BJP are more aggressive now and they have effectively changed our secular parliamentary democracy into an elected autocracy with unprecedented centralisation of power and authority. RSS-BJP's disregard for dialogue and debate is visible in their attempts at undermining institutions, including constitutional ones like the Parliament and judiciary. Immediately after coming to power for a second term, the BJP government unilaterally revoked Article 370 of the Indian Constitution gravely affecting J&K in the most undemocratic way. In December 2019, BJP brought the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 which

seeks to completely alter the secular foundations of our republic by granting or refusing citizenship on the basis of religion.

RSS assault on the Idea of India is continuing with great vigour and state patronage. Our Constitution has a well-defined structure for Centre-State relations. Constitution makers provided for a federal structure keeping in mind the diversity and aspirations of our people situated in various states of India but RSS as an organisation is antagonistic to this diversity. Their idea of Hindi, Hindu, Hindusthan is monolithic and seeks to flatten out the cultural, linguistic and regional diversity of our country.

Our economy is in shambles due to the aggressive imposition of neo-liberal policies on various sectors of the economy. The agricultural sector employs nearly half of the workforce in the country making it the most crucial sector for the livelihoods of the majority of our workers and our food security. Area under cultivation is be-

On Page 02

Editorial

Salutes to the Flag of India

At the 75th year of Independence, India witnesses unusual initiatives from BJP, the ruling party. They are taking extra pains to exhibit their loyalty to the national freedom struggle and the National Flag. Anyone with a little understanding of history knows that neither the BJP nor its predecessors who form part of the RSS-led parivar had no role in the freedom movement, which was immensely inspired by the tricolor. All those forces committed to the RSS theory of cultural nationalism kept aloof from the national struggle for freedom. They branded it as a political exercise, nothing of concern for their cultural organisation. Adamantly reluctant they were, even to touch the National Flag. RSS and its followers were never seen near the mass upsurge aroused by the flag of freedom.

Decades after country's independence, they were not bothered about their approach supportive to the interests of the British imperialism. When the whole population of free India celebrated August 15 and the tricolor, they remained unmoved. For long 52 years after independence, RSS-BJP had never thought of unfurling a National Flag anywhere near their offices. They were having their own peculiar interpretations. Now, at the call of a newly found wisdom, RSS and BJP seem hyper enthused to champion the celebration of National Flag. The Prime Minister himself made an appeal to the people to begin the Independence Day celebrations on August 13th itself. On July 22nd he was keen to tell the people that it was on the same day in 1947 that the tricolor flag was approved as India's National Flag. The Prime Minister wanted all the Indians to hoist National Flag on each house. Several festivities to celebrate the National Flag was planned by the government. The flag code of India was suitably amended to manufacture tricolor flags in huge numbers. It is reported that polyester cloth was imported from China in huge quantities to make the smooth

availability of Indian flag. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his proven skills are doing their rounds to write a new history of India's freedom struggle. The purpose of rewriting history is to dig and hide the real facts and to magnificently project a new history of BJP'S choice.

The tricolour found its place in the heart of India since 1931, when the Congress during the freedom struggle adopted a flag with three colours as the symbol of its national honour. The objection of the RSS to the tricolor flag was aired by their founding leaders from the very beginning. Hedgewar and Golwalkar stood in the forefront of the RSS tirade against the National Flag. They were preaching for a saffron flag with 'Om' at its center. They argued that their flag represented India's cultural ethos. According to them, the saffron flag prevailing in India's temples, right from the time of Mahabharat should be the natural choice for the country. In January 1931 when the Congress made the appeal to hoist tricolour, the RSS came out openly against it. Hedgewar, the first Sir Sangh Chalak issued a directive among all its sakhas to hoist *Bhagwa Bhwaj* instead of tricolour. All along its history RSS was eager to uphold a parallel view regarding the national movement and the difference on National Flag was paramount for them.

On July 14th, 1946, at a congregation of Swayam Sevaks in Nagpur, Golwalkar exhorted: "It was the saffron flag which in totality represented Bharatiya culture. It was the embodiment of God. We firmly believe that in the end, the whole nation will bow before the national flag." In an essay titled 'The Eternal Basis', included in 'Bunch of Thoughts', Golwalkar wrote "for example our leaders have set up a new flag for our country. Why did they do so? It is just a case of drifting and imitating..... how did this flag come into being. During the French revolution, the French put up three strips on their flag to express the triple ideas of 'equality', 'fraternity', and 'liberty'... Three strips therefore held a sort of fascination for

our freedom fighters also.... So it was taken up by the Congress. Then it was interpreted as depicting the unity of various communities — the saffron colour for the Hindus, the green for the Muslims and the white for all other communities. Out of the non-Hindu communities, the Muslim was specially named because in the minds of most of the eminent leaders, the Muslim was dominant and without naming him they did not think that our nationality could be complete!"

In the above communally charged venomous misinterpretation, the RSS approaches to the tricolor is evident. They consciously close their eyes to the real and patriotic ideas represented by the tricolor. Educated and trained by the philosophy of hatred, they always kept a sort of vengeance towards the National Flag. Its colors signify the unity and diversity of Indian society. The cultural, natural and philosophical beauty of the values embraced by a great people of a great nation is imbibed into the national flag. RSS-BJP was always keeping an emotional and political distance with the ethos represented by the national flag. In Nagpur, at the headquarters of RSS, they hoisted a tricolor only in 2002 when A B Vajpayee became the Prime Minister of India. On several occasions BJP leaders were showing disrespect to the national flag violating the flag code of India. During the final rites of Kalyan Singh, former Chief Minister of UP and Governor of Rajasthan, the National Flag was seen half covered by the BJP flags. None of the top brass of the RSS-BJP, including the Prime Minister was concerned about this flagrant violation. Now the people see them singing praise for tricolor day and night. The reasons are known to them. The RSS-BJP have their saffron dreams which for the time being, they want to cover by the tricolor. For them everything is meant for propaganda sake. Nation, national ethos, National flag all are being projected with only one purpose - political games and clinging to power!

Long Live the National Flag!

Left Must Unite

From Front Page

coming more and more fragmented affecting productivity and increasing costs. Faulty policies relating to fertilizers, exports and increased unemployment is putting strain on rural sector. Under the mining sector, incessant privatisation and inefficient policy making resulted in the

country witnessing coal shortages and consequent power cuts impairing civilian life and production both.

In this context, to bring back people in the agenda instead of serving the corporates, the CPI proposes an alternative economic programme consisting of realigning macro-eco-

conomic priorities, eradication of poverty, overhauling the structure of the economy, generating employment and focusing on the social sector.

The agenda of the CPI and the opposition should therefore be radically different from what the RSS is trying to achieve economically and socially. A left-of-centre position is needed

to cement the unity against the RSS-BJP. The Left will have to take initiative in forging this unity. We should be aiming at building a broadest unity of political parties, mass and class organisations and social movements in defense of our Constitution and to intensify our united struggle against the decisive and poisonous policies of RSS and BJP.

The CPI is clear about the role of the Left in defending the fundamental interests of the nation and its people. With this clarity of vision, the CPI has raised the banner of Left unity. The CPI believes that the unification of the Communist movement in India on a principled basis is the demand of the time for building a strong and independent pillar of the Left in Indian polity.

24th CPI Congress to be held at Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh from October 14–18, 2022

DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the National Council at its Meeting in New Delhi from July 15–17, 2022)

Introduction

1. Many major developments have taken place on the national and international scene since our 23rd Party Congress held in Kollam, Kerala. Party Congress is taking place in every three years but due the spread of COVID-19 pandemic worldwide, we could not host our Party Congress. This 24th Party Congress of the CPI is taking place one year late than schedule because of the disruption in public life created by the pandemic.

2. Since our last Congress, the BJP has returned to power at the Centre in May 2019 with increased number of seats and vote share. The BJP is the political-arm of the RSS. The CPI in its 22nd Puducherry Congress rightly noted that “the clear majority of the Bhartiya Janta Party in the Lok Sabha elections marks a definite right-ward shift in politics”. That observation has become true as after capturing power at the center for a consecutive second term, the BJP-RSS combine is pursuing its agenda of Hindu Rashtra more aggressively.

3. The last few years have witnessed major assaults on our constitutional parliamentary democracy, discrimination against minorities, encroachments on the rights of SC, ST and women, polarization and brazen attempts at subverting our Constitution. It has resorted to ruthlessly assault the lower and middle-income groups. The peasantry and the working class of India are thrashed to the wall by enactment of various anti-peasant, anti-working-class measures. Farmers’ suicide – resulting from reduction in subsidy, perpetual indebtedness and non-materialization of MSP – have become a mainstay of Indian agriculture.

4. BJP government has been relentlessly pursuing neo-liberal crony capitalism resulting in unprecedented concentration of wealth with the top 1% of the population. Inequality has risen to alarming extent and the mismanagement of COVID-19 pandemic has claimed livelihoods of millions. Our health infrastructure imploded under the pressure of COVID-19. India’s fall on all indices related to hunger, poverty, access to education, freedom of press etc. has been a consistent feature of the Modi government. Capitalism’s quest for profits is doing significant damage to environment while the

government looks the other way. Nationally, the overall scenario remains one saturated with attempts establishing Hindutva rule and polarization.

5. All these developments are deeply linked with the global phenomenon of neo-liberal economic features of imperialism and

its negative consequences world over. We should ponder over these developments before deciding our future course.

The World We Are Living In

1. The 24th congress of the Communist Party of India is taking place at a time when the entire world is going through a serious phase of imperialist assault, deepening systemic crisis of capitalism, growing contradiction among imperialist forces, alignment and realignment among different forces on regional and global scale, local wars, aggression, occupation, intimidation and worsening environmental conditions. These, however, are not an indication of the strengthening of capitalist-imperialist forces. On the contrary, they are exhibiting the deep crisis through which international finance capital is passing through.

2. To rid itself of this crisis, imperialism is orchestrating different sorts of criminal

cent children in the world experienced disruption in their education.

3. The corporate pharmaceutical lobby, though, took full advantage of this chaotic situation. It realized huge amounts of super-profit by waxing fat on people’s misfortune, and according to figures, nine new global billionaires are created by big pharma monopolies which produced the COVID vaccines.

4. It was only the socialist states such as China, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos that could survive the onslaught and protect their citizens owing to their people-centric policies. Capitalism has not yet been able to recover from the global economic meltdown of 2008, and despite several measures, conditions have not much improved.

5. Before the pandemic, the global GDP growth rate was 2.8 percent, which – due to closures during COVID 19 situation – drastically came down to minus 4.4 percent in 2020. Even the stimulus packages in the US and the EU that triggered a stock market boom, made little contribution in elevating the lives of the downtrodden and middleclass. This has, hence, quite naturally, augmented global hunger and poverty. Unemployment and salary cuts have also proliferated to an unprecedented degree – even in developed countries.

6. In such a situation, imperialism is depending on wars and armed conflicts. US imperialism’s perpetual efforts of aggressive intervention in different countries for maintaining global hegemony is a proof of this. The Military-Industrial complex is making huge profits in these times of instability and conflict with great increases in defense spending worldwide.

7. The recent armed conflict between Ukraine and Russia is a specific case of US imperialism’s interference. The US has been trying to undermine the might of the Russian people in every possible way for long. However, despite the dismantling of the Soviet Union it has not been able to take control of the Russian market. It has, therefore, used Ukraine as its pawn to destroy the whole politico-economic foundation of the Russian Federation.

8. By introducing Ukraine to the evil alliance of NATO, US hatched a war plot against Russia. The United States instigated Ukraine to proceed to the Russian border and work as its watchdog. The EU is also a partner in this jingoistic crime, and together they are trying to bring Russia to its knees so that a reverse step towards a unipolar world order under US hegemony could be taken.

9. Russian-Ukraine war must be stopped.



complot and conflicts across the length and breadth of the globe. The whole affair was engineered in such a way that people everywhere got badly affected by it. The pandemic directly affected 300 million people out of which nearly 5 million lost their lives. In addition to this huge loss of human resource, the international economic sector, especially the economic condition of individual countries, received a humiliating jolt – putting people’s lives in peril. Children’s education suffered a great deal. According to UNESCO, 90 per-

Comrades are requested to send their suggestions and amendments if any, indicating the page and para number on or before October 10, 2022



An urgent demand of the international community is to stop the war and work for sustainable peace. Immediate stopping of war is all the more important as the danger of use of nuclear weapons in this war is real and grave since both NATO and Russia have threatened the use of these weapons. Any such incident would be catastrophic.

10. There were many moves to end the war of hostilities and achieve permanent peace. On the initiative of the President of Turkey, the foreign Ministers of Russia and Ukraine agreed on some formulations to end the war. But under the Pressure from US and EU, Ukraine finally withdrew from the negotiations.

11. The recently held NATO summit increased its membership by including Sweden and Finland, countries which border Russia. The Madrid Declaration of NATO openly calls for weakening Russia by any means and have decided to mobilize additional 3,00,000 NATO troupes along the Russian border and stopped the negotiations between Russia and Ukraine to find a amicable solution of present conflict. US and NATO wish that the war should continue till their objective of weakening Russia is achieved.

12. Russia-Ukraine war and its impact on Europe are visible. EU's limitless sanctions against Russian oil, gas and other sectors have boomeranged. Growing inflations, high prices of all essential commodities particularly on oil and gas as well as influx of Ukrainian refugees have created not only economic crisis but also political crisis. The so-called "Iron Unity" among the EU members is trembling.

13. This armed conflict has also exposed US, EU and NATO's policy of double standards on the issue of violation of international law. Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan stand as examples of how these countries were attacked and destroyed at their instruction. Their intervention in Syria by aiding the ISIS and other terrorist organizations, continued support to the inhuman occupation of the Palestinian land by Israel and placing sanctions bypassing the UN have placed entire West Asian region in a dangerous situation.

14. This policy of regime change is continuing in Latin America too. Initially, the US and its sidekicks installed a puppet government in Bolivia – but ultimately did not succeed. Movement for Socialism (MAS) garnered strength and leftists once again came back to power. Similar attempts were made in Cuba as well by organizing fabricated agitations but the whole plan ended in a fiasco. The overwhelming popular support for the Cuban government and Cuban revolution foiled America's ugly intentions. Even to this day, the criminal blockade against Cuba is continuing and creating problems in the everyday lives of Cubans but the people are firm in their commitment to the Cuban government and Cuban revolution. Venezuela and Nicaragua, too, are confronting the US aggressors every day and safeguarding their sovereignty and freedom while other Latin American countries now achieving victories through parliamentary democratic means, backed by mass movements are indicative of deepening democracy in countries like Chile and Colombia. They are now advancing towards a democratic transformation of their respective

societies led by popularly elected Left governments.

In the recently held elections in France, the Left combination's performance was also impressive.

15. The new alignment of Gulf and Arab rulers with racist Israel is threatening the already volatile situation in the Middle-East and endangering the life of the Palestine people. Palestinian struggle for their own independent home is being betrayed by majority of Arab countries for their narrow political and economic interest. Ongoing war in Yemen for last Six years remains the largest humanitarian crisis in world. Nearly 20 million people urgently need food assistance. Till now more than 19,000 people have been killed. Syria has overcome the mechanizations of US and other countries and moving forward for political stability though the threats from different hostile powers continue.

16. Recently formed I2U2 framework among India, Israel, United Arab Emirates and United States of America is mainly aiming at Iran and can create more conflicts in that Area.

17. African continent is also becoming a theatre for great powers rivalry. Already US has increased its military presence through Africom. French army's presence is also there. Now, Russia is also increasing its presence and, in some cases, replacing the French army. Latest example is Chad. Growing Islamic militancy is producing disastrous consequences in Nigeria, Chad and Mozambique.

18. In Asia, with five nuclear powers, viz. India, China, Pakistan, DPR of Korea and Israel, the situation is getting more and more complex. The US is attempting to contain China by all means forming various kinds of military formations like AUKUS, QUAD, and mobilizing more US forces in their military bases in the name of "An open, inclusive and rule-based Indo-Pacific." There are many conflicts going on in this region that could certainly take the shape of war among different countries. Conflicts between India and China, India and Pakistan, South Korea and North Korea, China and Taiwan, Japan with China & Russia as well as the issues around the South China Sea are matters of grave concern.

19. Recapturing of political power in Afghanistan by Talibans is to be taken note of. The United States has suffered a humiliating defeat in Afghanistan. New government is continuing the policies of the earlier Taliban government of 1990. Afghanistan is not only rich in natural resources, but in terms of geographical location it is also very important. It connects South Asia and Europe by land via Central Asia. The importance of Afghanistan in global and regional politics cannot be ignored. So its territories should not be allowed to become a haven for any terrorist groups to jeopardise the peace and stability in this region.

20. The Rohingya crisis and fall of Myanmar into anarchy was preceded by communal tensions, mass murders and exclusions indicating a rising trend of communal divide in the region. The refugee crisis due to mass exodus and usurpation of power by Military are also matters of concern.

21. Alongside these, economic crisis in some of the South Asian countries is gradually moving towards a deep political crisis as

in Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Unwillingness of the governments to address popular demands are often resulting in state repression, which is serving as a pretext for foreign intervention in the respective nations – making the geopolitical crisis more acute.

22. Furthermore, growing menace of religious fanaticism, hyper-nationalism and hatred against minorities and marginal sections on the one hand and rewriting of the history to continue anti-communist campaigns has been a common strategy of the growing right-wing forces world over. Concentrated attacks against Left and democratic forces are taking place in full swing.

23. Today, the imperialists are exploiting the information boom to subjugate mass movements and agitations. Major advances in scientific-technological realms and information communication, particularly artificial intelligence, are often being used for espionage on the leaders and organizers of democratic movements. Capital has used the Scientific and Technological Revolution to its aid and now it is exploring the same with artificial intelligence. These new inventions are being used against the working class and other labor forces.

24. In this global scene, the emergence of varied regional forces, their cooperation and integration on various fields, for regional economic development and regional security and on other issues – have already drawn the attention of international community. Inter-governmental organizations like BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Bolivarian Alliance for the People of our America – People's Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP) are in a way challenging the imperialist designs.

25. One has to take note of popular struggles the world over against neo-liberal economic onslaught, against all kinds of exploitations, on human and democratic rights, women rights, rights of the marginal sections, for better education and unemployment, against war,

aggressions, inhuman sanction and for peace and equitable world order. A long list of victories can be made – particularly in Latin America, where Chile is a recent positive example.

26. While Capitalist countries are in big crisis, the socialist and people's democratic countries China, Vietnam, Cuba, Laos and DPRK, present a picture that could be perceived as inspiring.

27. China, which has, since last seven decades, received continuous blows and hindrances from the imperialist camp, has declared that it has successfully eradicated absolute poverty from its map. Despite being a huge country with a large population, it has achieved high GDP growth rate and has built up a society that is moderately prosperous with decent living standards for all. Vietnam too is advancing in all areas of economic and social developments with multiple outstanding achievements. Its average five-year GDP growth rate is to reach approximately 6.5-7% per annum.

28. Sri Lanka's economic crisis turned into a political crisis and members of the cabinet including the President had to resign after heavy protests. The turn towards ethnic na-

tionalism, authoritarianism and centralization of power proved disastrous to the island nation as it finds itself on a tough spot. After the incumbent President fled from the country, a new President and a new Prime Minister are sworn in to tackle with the crisis. The new dispensation has been resorting to repression of democratic voices by using force. Thus, political uncertainty and structural issues continue to plague the island nation.

29. In this background of complex international situation and ongoing onslaught of BJP government on people of our country, the 24th Congress of CPI is taking place in Vijayawada.

Important Developments at the National Level

COVID-19 Pandemic and its Impact

1. The COVID-19 pandemic wreaked havoc all over the globe, especially targeting poorer countries and people whose plight in accessing medicines, oxygen and other essentials laid bare tall claims of development. The globe saw a total number of nearly 57 crore cases and nearly 64 lakhs deaths due to the pandemic. The COVID-19 crisis was an unprecedented crisis humanity faced and it has exposed how stratified our world is despite preaching democracy and equality. Countries with a private or privatized healthcare infrastructure failed to grapple with the crisis completely. The crisis has shown that capitalist greed cannot replace the role of state in essential sectors like health. The leader of the Western World, the United States of America and its heavily privatized health structure imploded before the gravity of the situation. The USA reported a total of 8.33 Crore COVID-19 cases with over 10 lakh deaths according to their official data. Socialist countries like Cuba or Vietnam and countries with a strong public health apparatus fared far better and helped other countries too.

2. The Modi Government completely failed to comprehend the COVID crisis. When cases were reported initially, government's inaction allowed caseload to grow. After that, in a panic decision, Narendra Modi announced a complete lockdown without considering the consequences. The life of the country was halted through an ill-considered summary decision of the Prime Minister. In the absence of transport, millions of migrant laborers had to take a long walk home in the scorching heat. The mismanagement of COVID crisis claimed lives not just through disease but through hunger, poverty, destitution and misery. Complete shutdown of the economy proved costly as laborers who went home were reluctant to come back in case the government announces another lockdown. Unemployment reached a historic peak of nearly 25% and labor force participation rate fell triggering a devastating chain of events for the economy, which is yet to recover from the pandemic.

3. The second wave of Corona hit the country severely and blatantly exposed the inadequacy of the Indian health infrastructure, weakened by decades of reliance on private sector and little consideration for the public health ecosystem. During the second

wave, India became the biggest contributor to the daily case tally worldwide but numbers alone are not enough to reflect the magnitude of the problem. Thousands of people perished as the state failed to ensure the supply of oxygen and other essential medicines. Hospital beds became the rarest. Deep structural inequalities of the Indian economy were nakedly on display as thousands of dead bodies were floating in the Ganges River as the families could not even afford the cost of cremation. Reportedly, 1 crore people lost their jobs because of the second wave of coronavirus and 97 per cent of households' incomes have declined since the beginning of the pandemic last year. Repeated demands by the CPI and other opposition parties fell to deaf ears as the government has not initiated any cash transfer scheme to help the desperate Indian population.

4. Another aspect of the COVID-19 pandemic came to fore as the crisis over vaccines. Under neo-liberal economic setup, access to vaccination remained highly concentrated in the Western World at the cost of Africa and Asia. In India too, instead of using compulsory licensing to ensure adequate supply of vaccines, the government seemed complicit with the super-profit making corporate machinery as reflected in the early differential pricing of vaccines. Looking after the corporate interest at the cost of citizens has been a hallmark of the BJP government and in vaccine manufacturing too, the Union government purposefully excluded public sector vaccine manufacturing companies and heavily favored private companies, even if costs were borne by the exchequer. The supply of vaccines to other countries also drew a flak. Export of vaccines had to stop partially because the vaccines were not approved and partly because of the shady deals between the Indian manufacturers and foreign governments, resulting in massive protests against President Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. A lot of myths and superstitions came into circulation with the disease indicating a lack of scientific understanding.

5. The work of our party and other mass fronts was seriously affected because of the pandemic but things have improved after the restrictions were lifted. We also lost many of our dedicated and committed comrades in this crisis. The party takes note of the efficient management of COVID-19 by the LDF government in Kerala which even after the heavy caseload, supplied oxygen to neighboring states like Karnataka and Goa. Wherever possible, party comrades also indulged in relief activities and helped the population in need. The services rendered by healthcare professionals, doctors, paramedics, sanitation workers etc. were noteworthy. The ASHA workers gained global applauds for their work.

6. The COVID-19 crisis proved beyond doubt that the only political force which can give a sustainable and pro-people model of governance is the Left. The policies of the right-wing are based on profit and greed while the Left model is one of selflessly serving the people. In Kerala, the development model was reconstructed to effectively combat the pandemic. Its success was lauded all over the country and it received accolades from many international platforms. The portfolios of Revenue, Agri-

culture, Food and Civil Supplies, which are administered by our Party made significant contributions in Kerala's fight against the pandemic. Department of Disaster Management under ministry of Revenue worked day and night to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. The Food and Civil Supplies ministry

ensured that no one goes hungry even during the lockdown while the ministry of Agriculture contributed through timely procurement of harvests and support to community kitchens throughout the state.

Assault of Neo-Liberalism

7. Neo-liberal economics and its fallouts are with us for more than three decades now. The process of Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization that was put in motion in the early 1990s has resulted in unprecedented inequality of income and opportunities. Heavy concentration of wealth with the top few and destitution for a vast majority of those who are the bottom is becoming visible as the defining characteristic of our times. This trend was captured in the latest Oxfam Report aptly titled "Inequality Kills" which reported that 100-odd billionaires in India own more wealth than the poorest 55 crore people of the country.

8. Public Sector is the solid bedrock of our economy which enabled the country to become self-sufficient in core sectors after getting freedom from colonial clutches. India's vast geography and differential availability of material resources could be managed only by positive state-interventions to promote holistic development and remove regional disparities. The public sector insulated our country from many economic crises. Historically deprived communities got opportunity and representation through reservation policies in the public sector. Public Sector is an effective weapon in the hands of democratic forces to fight the monopoly finance capital. To preserve the public sector, ensure representation and address regional disparities, revival of the Planning Commission is needed.

9. Neo-liberal economics abhors state-interventions and prefers management of resources by profit-seeking private hands. Systematic dismantling of the public sector is the result of ideological reliance on neo-liberalism with strong dosages of cronyism. As a result, national assets like Air India and LIC are either being sold at throw-away prices or being privatized substantially. Union government's agenda includes privatization of public sector banks. Doing away with the public sector threatens our economic sovereignty and financial independence. Increased dependence on the private sector is producing islands of prosperity surrounded by a sea of poverty. The philosophy of social justice and inclusion is being defeated by ruining the public sector.

10. Capitalism thrives on profit-maximization through cost-cutting. Irresponsible and unregulated flow of capital is degrading our work-force and doing irreparable damage to environment in search of cheap inputs. Hard earned labor rights are being sacrificed at the altar of corporate interest. The hire-and-fire policy preferred by employers has created great uncertainties in the work-force. Without strong





legislations to back their claims, workers are at the mercy of employers who are taking away their social security and hawking on their future.

11. Multi-national corporate giants with no social responsibility are plundering our natural resources. Our forests, mines, river and fields are at their disposal to exploit. Massive damage is being done to the environment in the search for profits. The incidences of flash floods, erratic rains, increase in temperatures, landslides etc. are destroying livelihoods and erasing certain ways of life entirely. Capital is dissecting earth with zero regard for future generations and state representing the bourgeoisie class interests prefers to look away. Any attempt at claiming the environment by the people meet with utter condemnation and reprisal from the state. Climate Change and Global Warming are issues to be tackled urgently but here too, the narrow interests of the Western world are impeding any positive progress. Nations of the West are primarily responsible for Global Warming as they have emitted more CO2 historically but now they want to shift focus to the developing world. Developing countries should unite against these attempts. Western countries should offset the damage they had done to environment and cooperate in building a more environment friendly world for the future.

12. Capitalism has widened its net and seeks complete control over our lives. Recently withdrawn Farm Laws serve as a case in point. The Farm Laws intended to offer rural India to corporates on a platter. After capital intensive sectors of manufacturing and services, capitalism is looking forward to dominate agriculture and allied activities. These sectors are labor intensive and vast majority of our work-force is engaged in the primary sector. Unrestricted entry and exit for capital in rural India will cause an unprecedented upheaval by destroying whatever livelihood people have in the countryside.

13. Economic and political developments of our times should be seen in the above context where capital wants unrestricted and free-flow for itself but keeps labor captive. The Indian state, representing bourgeoisie class interest, works as an active facilitator in this process by sacrificing the interests of the people it is sworn to serve.

Important Economic and Political Developments

General Elections

1. The Narendra Modi led BJP Government came back to power in the 2019 General Elections with 303 seats in the Lok Sabha. BJP's vote share also went up by nearly 6.50% to 37.36% since 2014 General Elections. The BJP went into election with dismal economic performance and little to show for development work. Decisions like demonetization and GST have ruined the already slowing economy. Unemployment was reaching heights and agrarian distress was widespread. However, a shrill hyper-nationalist rhetoric, polarization and intense politicization of the Balakot Air Strike following the Pulwama terrorist attack was used to polarize public opinion in BJP's favor.

2. Opposition parties failed to forge a

meaningful, reliable and ideologically committed front to take on the BJP at the national level. Alliances were forged at the state level mostly. Main opposition party, the India National Congress won 52 seats with 19.50% of vote share. INC's decision to send Rahul Gandhi to contest from Wayanad in Kerala harmed the Left and also prevented a secular, democratic unity. Our party won two seats, both from Tamil Nadu, under an alliance with the DMK.

3. This renewed mandate emboldened the BJP and its patron organization the RSS to pursue its agenda of Hindu Rashtra much more vigorously. The three years of BJP rule after 2019 have seen forces of right-reaction attacking the very foundations of our democracy. The RSS-BJP are more aggressive now and they have effectively changed our secular parliamentary democracy into an elected autocracy with unprecedented centralization of power and authority. The RSS-BJP's hatred for pluralism is out in the open now as they launch systematic attacks on religious minorities intended to polarize the society and galvanize a Hindu majority behind the RSS-BJP.

4. RSS-BJP's disregard for dialogue and debate is visible in their attempts at undermining institutions, including constitutional ones. It has become common for them to dub any kind of dissent and criticism as anti-national, motivated by a foreign power, work of a cabal of 'Urban Naxals' or unpatriotic. Social harmony and the spirit of co-existence is under threat. RSS-BJP's contempt to the country's diversity has found multiple expressions in them trying to impose Hindi as the Lingua Franca, promoting a homogenous interpretation of religion and targeting people on the basis of their diverse food habits, clothing or beliefs.

Scrapping Article 370

5. Immediately after coming to power for a second term, the BJP Government unilaterally revoked Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Article 370, coupled with Article 35A was the basis of Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union. Revoking the crucial link and unilaterally bifurcating the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir and Union Territory of Ladakh was most undemocratic and received widespread condemnation. Union Government failed to engage in dialogue with the Kashmiri opinion and instead tried to rule with an iron fist. This breach of mutual trust by the BJP has made the valley more restive. The delimitation exercise in Jammu and Kashmir was also seen as the continuation of BJP's discriminatory policies with J&K and its people as it tried to alter the demographic balance of the region as reflected in the state assembly. BJP's claim that terror activity has come down following the scarping of Article 370 has turned out to be false. On the other hand, BJP is trying to change the demographics of J&K by allowing people from other states to purchase land. This is being used by corporates to obtain large tracts of land in the J&K.

The Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the NRC

6. In December 2019, BJP brought the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 by rushing it through the parliament. The CAA, as

it is referred to, seeks to completely alter the secular foundations of our republic by granting or refusing citizenship on the basis of religion. The CAA amended the Citizenship Act, 1955 to provide Indian citizenship for persecuted religious minorities from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan who are Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis or Christians, and arrived in India before the end of December 2014. The Act has excluded Muslims neglecting the social realities of region. The CAA, coupled with the National Register of Citizens (NRC) exercise can snatch away the citizenship of many on the grounds of religion. The introduction of CAA saw massive peaceful sit-in protest, led primarily by women like Shaheen Bagh all over the country.

Assaults on Secularism

7. Secularism, as enshrined in our Constitution is being put under severe strain on an everyday basis. Every other day, the RSS-BJP are raising communally charged and polarizing issues. Whether it be Love Jihad or the Hijab controversy, they are losing no opportunity to turn our secular democracy into a theocratic ecosystem full with hatred for minorities. Discrimination with minorities is being institutionalized at all levels. The recent illegal and unconstitutional trend of Bulldozing houses and properties belonging to minorities is a case in point.

8. After the Supreme Court ordered the construction of a Ram Temple in Ayodhya, the RSS-BJP have identified more such sites to stoke controversies in blatant violation of constitution, standing statutes and morality. The issue regarding the Gyanvapi Mosque in Benaras is the latest, among various other such fabricated disputes in complete violation of constitutional norms and Places of Worship Act, 1991. Controversy after controversy is creating deep fractures in our society and the Party need to present the people with a uniting, positive agenda to counter the RSS.

Concerning State of Judiciary

9. Along with the growth of totalitarian ideology in our society, our watchdogs are failing to check these divisive tendencies and protect our foundations effectively. Millions of litigants are suffering due to the inefficiency of our judicial system already with nearly 5 crore cases being pending before courts, the most marginalized sections like poor Dalits and tribals are suffering the most. Even simple matters are taking inordinate time before getting resolved in courts. This delay in getting justice is serving as encouragement for people to opt for extra-judicial methods. Judiciary's failures in protecting constitutional values of debate, discussion and dissent are also harming the democratic foundations of our country. People from the minority and other marginalized communities, activists, journalists and social workers who are exercising their rights and are critical of the government are not getting enough protection from the courts. Important constitutional matters are getting delayed. This apathy of the judiciary to the prevailing circumstances is proving conducive for the growth of undemocratic and reactionary forces at a time when the independence of judiciary and the principle of separation of powers are being threatened by the totalitarian RSS-BJP.

Falling Living Standards

10. India's fall on the indices to measure social development has been a consistent feature of the Modi years. The government's overt fondness for the private sector has made it retract substantially from the social sector including slashing allocations to vital schemes like

MGNREGS. The state of our country is miserable as the Global Hunger Index ranked India at 101 out of 116 countries with only 15 countries faring worse than India. Neighboring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan fared better with only Sub-Saharan countries like Congo or war-torn countries like Yemen faring worse than India. In United Nation's Human Development Index, India has slipped to the 131st spot out of 189 countries. The World Happiness Report 2022 ranked India 136th – tenth from the bottom of the list. Unfortunately, this clear decline in the standards of living for the majority of the country have not become major issues since our country has also slipped to the 150th spot on the Press Freedom Index.

Muzzling Dissent through Draconian Measures

11. Perpetually afraid of criticism and debate, the BJP-RSS led Union government has attempted to muzzle the dissenting voices. The government and the enforcing authorities adhering to its dictates have slapped false charges against many activists and politicians in the past for raising the voice of people at different platforms. For protesting against the discriminating Citizenship Amendment Act, many activists were charged with the draconian UAPA and other penalizing provisions.

12. Similarly, those incarcerated in the Bhima-Koregaon controversy continues to be in jails on flimsy grounds. These include prominent activists and scholars like Gautam Navlakha and Anand Teltumbde. The NIA is pushing to cancel the bail granted on medical grounds to Octogenarian Telugu poet and activist Varvara Rao. Advocate and activist Sudha Bhardwaj got bail on legal grounds but her movement remains restricted. Father Stan Swamy passed away in custody which was nothing short of custodial murder. The treatment meted to this octogenarian activist was nothing short of inhuman and many dubbed his demise as judicial murder. The health of the ninety-percent disabled Prof. G.N. Saibaba is also deteriorating in jail according to sources. Activist Teesta Setalvad and Ex-DGP Srikumar were arrested under flimsy charges of conspiracy. Journalist Mohd. Zubair and filmmaker Avinash Das were arrested on equally fabricated charges. Activist Himanshu Kumar was slapped with a fine and is being harassed for speaking for the poor tribals of Chhattisgarh. It is evident that the BJP wants to create an atmosphere of fear in the country where the slightest dissent will result in jail terms and loss of reputation.

13. Slapping sedition charges under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act or the National Security Act on opposition, activists or social workers has become a fashion with patronage from the rulers and mainstream media. In 2020, the year for which the latest NCRB data is available, total 230 cases of sedition were registered, only 23 were charge sheeted.

Pendency in court reached close to 95 per cent for the sedition cases in 2020. A total of 4,827 UAPA cases were pending in 2020 – of them, only 398 could be charge sheeted in that year. The pendency rate in court remained 95 per cent, indicating harassment and violation of the right to life and liberty for a great number of people who are suffering the diabolical prison conditions in India.

Privatization

14. The Union Government is going ahead with its aggressive privatization drive. To benefit their corporate bosses, the BJP government is giving away national assets, including profit making ones, at throwaway prices fundamentally weakening the foundations of our economy. Modi Government has been continually pursuing disastrous and anti-people economic policies. Heavy disinvestments, privatization, strategic sale have been the vehicles to do away with the public sector.

15. The strategic sale in BPCL, CCI, Shipping Corporation, BEML, IDBI Bank, Neelachal Ispat Nigam Ltd., disinvestment through initial public offering IPO in LIC, sale of one public sector general insurance company and two public sector banks are examples. Air India and Pawan Hans were sold at throwaway prices. 41 Ordnance Factories were split into seven Corporations with a view to privatize them compromising country's defense preparedness. Participation of private players in critical and strategic sectors like defense manufacturing, space exploration and atomic energy etc. will fundamentally jeopardize the sovereignty of the country. Government is moving ahead with the privatization of critical sectors like coal, railways, ports and airports.

National Monetization Pipeline

16. The National Monetization Pipeline (NMP) as announced by the finance minister is a severe threat to the public infrastructure of the country. NMP comprises a four-year pipeline of the Central Government's brownfield infrastructure assets. Besides providing visibility to investors, NMP will also serve as a medium-term roadmap for the Asset Monetization initiative of the Government. Govt.

proposes to raise Rupee 6 lakh crores through this measure. It is common knowledge that monetization is a jargon for direct sale and privatization of national assets. The NMP is threatening to handover thousands of crores worth of national assets to private hands through SPVs. SPV or the Special Purpose Vehicles model of privatization is tentacle of crony capitalism. These SPV subsidiary companies are formed to undertake a specific purpose. It effectively means that companies with a bad business record can still get national assets through the NMP if they are on the right side of the BJP.

Labor Codes

17. The Four Labor Codes, namely, the Code on Wages, 2019 the Industrial Relations Code, 2020, the Code on Social Security, 2020 & the Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code, 2020 brought by the government without discussion in the parliament are going to deal a decisive blow to laborers and put them on a significantly weaker footing vis-à-vis employers. The process is doing away with the hard-earned labor rights and as a result, employees of various

public sector units, banks, insurance companies, mining and railway etc. have resorted to strikes. All central trade unions have protested against the labor codes including AITUC. Situation of child labor also needs attention as the current law as brought by the BJP government has many loopholes. The Union government has not held any Indian Labor Conference after 2015, in complete violation of International Labor Organization's (ILO) rules and norms. Similarly, the anti-labor face of the BJP was exposed when they enacted Defense Service Act, 2021 to preempt any action from defense civilian employees of 41 ordnance factories in disregard of our constitution.

Farm Laws and Protests

18. The Modi Government is proving to be anti-farmer as it seeks to promote the infusion of big capital in rural India. In 2015, following two successive ordinances over amendments to the Land Acquisition Bill, the government had to retract. Through the Land Acquisition bill, government wanted to facilitate land capture by corporates. Similarly, about 15 months after the three farm laws were rushed in Parliament, Prime Minister Narendra Modi had to take them back following a year-long historic protest with participation from all sections of the society. The farmers and their unity with other sections of the society affirmed our right to protest. The protesters remained undeterred when the PM, his cabinet colleagues and members of his party ridiculed the farmers by calling them andolanjeevis, Khalistanis and anti-nationals. It should be underlined here that it was the unity and support the farmers' protest received from all quarters which compelled the adamant BJP government to take back the farm laws. The Farmers' protest has showed the way towards Workers' – Farmers' unity for a wider class struggle against big capital. Modi government's arrogance in delaying the repeal the laws claimed lives of more than 700 farmers including the heinous incident at Lakhimpur Kheri.

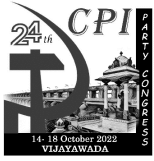
Snooping

19. Those who are not jailed were spied upon. Alleged instances of snooping, spying and surveillance of ministers, politicians, prominent citizens, journalists and constitutional authorities using a military-grade Israeli spyware named Pegasus came to light. The government refused to let the parliament discuss and probe the issue. Government's evasive responses indicate towards its complicity in the matter. It was alleged that over 50000 devices were tempered with using the NSO group's Pegasus spyware globally, including over 150 from India. Spying on citizens has no place in a democracy but the government has scant concern for essence of democracy and using power to curb dissent.

Non-transparent Electoral Bonds & PM-CARES

20. Corruption, lobbying and bribery have been institutionalized under the Modi government through electoral bonds. The system of electoral bonds has made fundings to political parties totally opaque to the public and opposition parties. The BJP argued that electoral bonds will make it easier to the general public to donate to political parties but what happened is the opposite. Nearly 10000 crores





worth of these bonds were sold in the last 4 years with nearly 90% being of INR 1 crore, the highest denomination. This kind of donation is impossible for the general public. The ruling party at the center, BJP, cornered nearly 80% of these funds. Similarly, the PM-CARES fund, which was created to aid the country's fight against COVID-19 pandemic replacing the Prime Minister's Disaster Relief Fund has proved to be totally opaque, arbitrary and unaccountable. The Prime Minister's office has declined all requests to make the details of receipts and expenses public in gross violation of transparency and Right to Information.

Electoral Reforms

21. Rampant abuse of money power, muscle power and state machinery has made free and fair elections increasingly distant under the current framework. Systematic, comprehensive and thorough reforms are needed in our electoral system to ensure level playing field. Recommendations of the Indrajit Gupta Committee on State Funding of Elections become highly relevant in our times of political and moral crisis. The first-past-the-post system favors large parties with money and muscle power and people do not exercise their franchise freely fearing that the votes cast to a smaller party will go waste.

22. It is time to introduce changes in our electoral system to make it truly representative. Many political parties have raised apprehensions around the credibility of the EVMs. To make the system representative, we should push for proportional representation with adequate safeguards. Opting for the system of proportional representation along with electoral reforms will reinstate level playing field by providing political parties and individuals with equal opportunity to take part in the electoral process.

Presidential Elections

23. The electoral college of MPs and MLAs elected Smt. Draupadi Murmu, the BJP candidate, as the 15th President of the republic. The CPI, while congratulating the President-elect expressed its hope that the President, as the custodian of the Constitution, will uphold and protect the values enshrined in the Constitution. Many opposition parties came together and proposed the name of Yashwant Sinha as a common candidate and he secured nearly 36% of votes, the highest for an opposition candidate in about five decades. However, many issues continue to come in the way before a solid opposition unity as was seen in the presidential elections where many non-NDA parties voted for the BJP candidate for different reasons. Crossvoting also hurt the opposition in some states. These issues must be resolved before the nation goes to polls in 2024, if a concrete opposition is to fight the BJP.

Foreign Policy

1. Foreign policies of nation-states are generally an extension of their internal policies in general and economic policies in particular. After coming to power for the second time, the foreign policy of Modi

government has continued in the direction of balancing major global powers. However, a certain tilt towards the United States and Israel is visible, leading to conflicts on some issues.

Growing Proximity with US & Israel

2. After the renewed mandate, India's role at international platforms has remained closely tied to US and Israeli interests. The formation of QUAD and later AUKUS in Asia-Pacific region on the pretext of "an open, inclusive and rule-based Indo-Pacific" and India's signing of various defense treaties like the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) and finally Basic Exchange Cooperation Agreement (BECA) places India in the US led framework in the region towards realizing USA's military strategic goal of "Pivot to Asia".

QUAD and IPEFP

3. Last QUAD meeting held in Tokyo in the month of May this year came out with the formation of "Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity" (IPEFP). In the vast region of Indo-Pacific (consisting 23 countries + Taiwan) 13 countries expressed their interest in being part of this framework, though Asia, as a region is as widespread as to encompass East Asia, Oceania, the Russian Far East, South Asia and Southeast Asia.

4. The IPEFP is an initiative to contain the emerging economic power and political influence of China in Asia-Pacific region and aiming at against the Chinese "Road and Belt initiative". Behind the IPEFP initiative, US firmly declares that all its initiatives are linked with the strategic objective of reinforcing military deterrence in Indo-Pacific region. Naturally many countries believe that real intention of US administration is to form some kind of "Asian NATO" in the region. Participation of India in such framework may further undermine its status in South and South East Asia where many countries did not join the framework.

5. Present world is no more a unipolar one though Biden administration is trying hard to bring back its old status as world super power through sanctions, intimidations, blockades and military means. US' role in Russia-Ukraine war is one pertinent example.

6. India openly pronounces that they will not join any military alliance and took a reasonable stand on the issue of Russia-Ukraine war. But at the same time, it has increased defense procurement from USA and Israel sacrificing our traditional friendship and unflinching solidarity to the Palestine cause. For the first time, India voted in favor of Israel in the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to prevent a Palestinian Human Rights Organization from getting observer status in United Nations system.

7. In the present multipolar world, India has to play more positive role. India's participation in BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) can contribute on economic cooperation among the countries and play an important role in the fight against terrorism and advancing struggles for changing the present unequal world order.

8. One of the consistent positions of our foreign policy is to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for their own home land with East Jerusalem as capital. This position should continue without succumbing to Israel.

9. Many international human rights organizations and bodies have expressed concern on growing violations of human rights, freedom of belief, faith and expression in India. These issues should be taken seriously by the government and concerns should be addressed.

Our Neighborhood

10. India's biggest failure is in building close relations with its neighboring countries. Unfortunate aspect of the present government's foreign policy is that the internal communal atmosphere has also started affecting our foreign policy when it comes to relations with the neighboring countries, particularly in relation to Pakistan and Bangladesh. This negative approach also will not help us in building better relations with Afghanistan which is yet to be stabilized. Moreover, its political apathy towards SAARC and hot and sour relations with all neighboring countries are part of the failure of BJP government's foreign policy.

11. In this context, the strained relations between India and China are becoming a major concern in the South Asian region. After two summit meetings between Prime Minister Modi and Chinese President XI Jinping, some positivity emerged in bilateral ties. There were hopes of deepening dialogue, mutual cooperation and better understanding between the two countries. But the clash between the two armies in June 2020, resulting in the death of 20 Indian soldiers in Galwan valley has changed the situation. This event has created many apprehensions in the minds of Indian people.

12. On the border issue between India and China, the CPI demanded that the status quo of the position of both armies should be maintained as before April 2020. We believe that the agreements between the two governments, particularly 'Political Parameters and Guiding Principle' on border issue in 2005 should be strictly followed. Both sides should take maximum efforts to find fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the border problem as soon as possible.

Way Forward

13. In the present international scenario, our foreign policy should be based on the principles of the Non-Alignment Movement which is now known as South-South Cooperation to bring together the developing and emerging economies, join forces with people fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism and other discriminations and to support the process of strengthening a multipolar world for sustainable peace and equitable global order.

Overview of the Economy

1. It is important to take note of the impact of the aggressive imposition of neo-liberal policies on various sectors of the economy. The overall trend of the Modi years has been one of declining growth and productivity in the

economy. Economy was already growing at a slow pace when demonetization, GST and other faulty economic policies of the BJP government totally quelled the momentum. Sector after sector was gripped by slow growth, unemployment and loss of jobs in the country. Here, we take a look at some of the important sectors and their performance in the past years.

Agriculture

2. The agriculture sector employs nearly half of the workforce in the country making it the most crucial sector for the livelihoods of the majority of our workers and our food security. Due to several reasons, agriculture's contribution to our GDP remains only 17.5% of the GDP even after employing nearly half the workforce indicating a lesser share for our farmers, peasants and agricultural workers. This makes them the most vulnerable and deprived sections of our society barring some patches of prosperity. Agriculture's central importance is highlighted again as the breadwinning sector of our economy. Naturally, a crisis in agriculture means a crisis in the country.

3. Agriculture is in peril because of many factors. Nearly 140 million hectare of land is used as agricultural area, as of 2012-13. Over the years, this area is becoming more and more fragmented affecting productivity and increasing costs. The number of marginal land holdings (less than one hectare) increased from 36 million in 1971 to 93 million in 2011. This exponential fragmentation of holdings came with a decrease in the total area under agriculture.

Swaminathan Commission Report's recommendations on making barren land fertile to increase area under cultivation was paid no heed. Marginal and small land holdings face many problems like lack of mechanization and irrigation techniques. Small nature of holding is making them unviable to sustain families causing massive push migration to cities and towns in search of whatever employment can be found. To tackle with the deepening agrarian crisis, bringing comprehensive land reforms should be made part of the national agenda.

4. Neo-liberal assault on agriculture has intensified under BJP rule. Faulty policies relating to fertilizers, exports and increased unemployment is putting strain on rural sector. To facilitate corporate entry into agriculture, Modi government brought the farm laws aiming to destroy the whole procurement and price support ecosystem. Even after taking back the farm laws, legal guarantee of Minimum Support Price (MSP) has not been assured and the demand for adequate crop-insurance has not been addressed properly. Government procurement of wheat has fallen by 53% in the current fiscal to 182 lakh tonne. Confusion in policymaking and lack of responsibility towards agriculture is doing the sector immense harm.

Mining

5. The mining sector comprises nearly 2.5% of the country's GDP and provides direct employment to nearly a million people. Apart from that, small scale mining of natural resources is a source of livelihood for many families. However, multiple issues relating to the sector have come up in the previous year.

Due to inefficient policy making, the whole country has repeatedly witnessed coal shortages and consequent power cuts impairing civilian life and production both. Rampant privatization and lack of oversight is damaging the environment. Large scale Illegal sand mining in many parts of the country is destroying river bodies and natural resources.

Manufacturing

6. Manufacturing sector in the country is facing its own troubles. Government's understanding of the sector is not reflective of the reality as a major chunk of manufacturers is small-scale. These small-scale units faced the major brunt of demonetization and GST affecting their productivity and operations. Shut down of economic activity during COVID-19 has done major damage to the manufacturing sector but growth of the sector was slowing down

even before COVID. Due to rising expenditures, a slump in demand and confusion in policies, many large-scale manufacturers have shifted their activities in nearby markets like Bangladesh. There is need to focus attention on the MSME section for it is one of the largest employers in the country.

Construction

7. The share of construction in our GDP is near 10%. Construction is one sector which absorbs bulk of the migrant labor force migrating from rural to urban India. Jobs in the construction sectors remains highly risky, insecure and low paying. Unfortunately, even the availability of this low-quality employment has come down in the previous years. Laborers who went back to their villages during the lockdown have been reluctant to face the same uncertainties again. Despite government's claims of adding massive infrastructure to the country, securing minimum stipulated wages has been difficult. The problem is more severe for women laborers as they face pay-gap, discrimination and more risks in the highly unregulated sector.

Services

8. Services sector contributes over 50 per cent to India's GDP. The impact of COVID-19 pandemic was the worst on the service sector resulting in its share in India's Gross Value Added declining from 55 per cent in 2019-20 to 53 per cent in 2021-22. A nationwide lockdown imposed on a four hours' notice halted certain sectors like transport, hotel, retail trade, entertainment etc. completely. However, other non-physical contact-based sectors like finance, real estate & professional services have also registered a decline. India's service sector is diverse but majority of it is concentrated in the private sector which makes it exclusionary for many from the deprived backgrounds.

Situation of Labor Force and Crisis of Unemployment

9. The crisis of unemployment is deepening with time in the country and government has been caught sleeping over it many a times. Before coming to power, the BJP promised to create 2 crore jobs per year but crores of people lost their jobs in the pandemic years. The retreat of the Public Sector and advances made by the private sector are already ringing death bells for secure and inclusive employment structure in India. Our employment structure

is already biased in favor of male workers and female participation is not adequate. Employment opportunities are shrinking with mass employers like the Railways receding and banks being privatized. Even before the pandemic, unemployment was at its highest level in the last five decades, a clear reflection of the utter and complete failure of the Modi Government in creating jobs.

10. Out of our nearly 50 crore strong workforce, the majority of near 90% works in the informal sector of the economy. Employment share of state affiliated mass recruiters like Railways and defense is shrinking and total employment under central government has declined to close to 30 lakhs, of that nearly half are Armed Forces. According to latest data on formal labor in for major 9 non-farm sectors of the economy covering establishments with at least 10 workers, a total of 3.10 crore workers are engaged in the formal sector. This represents a little more than 6% of our total work force and the rest remains concentrated in the vast informal sector. Even in the formal sector, the incidence of contractual and casual labor with no social security is increasing. This trend is creating great uncertainties for the workers. Female participation remains low and has not reached its potential.

11. India's vast majority works in the informal sector with no legislative protection and social security. According to data, a little over 20% of all workers in the informal sector got a paid leave, reflecting the grossly unregulated and insecure nature of employment. Majority of these are agricultural laborers who are predominantly landless. A major chunk of the workforce is employed as casual workers, depriving them of the slightest of stability. Those engaged in the informal sector, and especially women, have to face low and fluctuating incomes, often risky working conditions, lack of legal protection and often low social standing. To compound their misery, the Modi Government has not revised the minimum wage in the last couple of years, even during the pandemic and it remains at an abysmal low of INR 178-80/- . Rampant inflation is adding to their woes and these laborers run post to pole just to make ends meet.

12. The country's youth is looking at a bleak future. The much talked about 'demographic dividend' is turning into a 'demographic disaster' before our eyes due to the apathy and faulty policies of the Modi Government. A total of 1.42 crore people registered on the National Career Service portal under Ministry of Labor & Employment in 2022-23, 1.29 crore out of them were youth of 18-44 years of age. In the same year, total active vacancies at the portal were a pathetic 71,447 indicating a massive gap in demand & supply and chronic unemployment in our economy. Estimates of unemployment have remained high all through the Modi regime. Even Labor Force Participation Rates have come down for both male and female workers. This amounts to a betrayal of the mandate people gave to the BJP and a treachery with the youth of the nation.

Agnipath Scheme

13. Unemployed and frustrated young men and women of the country are restive. We have seen large scale protests over employment issues, most recently over Railway





recruitment in Bihar and UP. Recently, the government announced the contractual Agnipath Scheme for recruitment in armed forces. This amounts to nothing less than betrayal of promises made to country's youth. Unemployed youth protested in large numbers against Agnipath. Still, in lack of ideological guidance and under influence from new mediums of communication like social media, large scale lumpenization of youth can be observed. With doors of opportunities closing on their face, their anger and frustrations are being channelized through the Hindutva ideology. This ideology which is formed on the basis of hate and othering is poisoning the future of our country with values that are discriminatory, conflictual and promotes strife in the society. There are apprehensions that Agnipath scheme is part of a sinister design of militarization of masses. It can be hijacked by RSS and post-retirement, these trained soldiers can be used as an armed militia by the RSS.

Alternative Economic Program

1. Keeping in view the above situation of the economy and its ill spill-over on our society, we need to come up with an alternative economic program and present it to the masses. This program should be holistic, people-centric and pro-social sector. Alternative model is necessary to preserve the strong welfarist tenets of our constitution as enshrined in the directive principles and also to ably answer the 'There is no Alternative' question. Neo-liberal exploitation, environmental degradation and inequalities are issues that need urgent attention. Thus, an outline of our alternative economic program is discussed here.

2. It should be stressed at the beginning itself that our country is rich in resources, both natural and human. The state's misplaced priorities, reliance on neo-liberalism, cronyism and corruption have made life miserable for the common-man while filling the coffers of a select few. It is our understanding that the country's resource base is adequate to fulfill all basic needs of the population if it is distributed with equity and concern for the downtrodden. This alternative economic outline

intends to serve the purpose of a broad, pro-people policy framework for the future.

Realigning Macroeconomic Priorities

3. Taking into account that our economy has enough resources to fulfil the needs of our countrymen, we should realign the broad direction of our economy. The core concern of our economy should be production and consumption for the home market instead of prioritizing external ones.

4. Our economy should prioritize the social sector with a right-based approach. Right to food, education, health, housing, sanitation, employment and social security should be guaranteed by the state. Creating more employment instead of attracting more investment should be our target.

5. 10% of our GDP should go to education, 6% of GDP for health and sanitation, adequate allocation for food security and

employment generation specifically and 2% should be kept for Research and Development.

6. India should stand with developing countries in international bodies like the WTO, IMF, World Bank etc. to democratize these institutions and make them more reflective of the global economic reality.

7. India should take the lead in establishing a bank of the developing countries with non-discrimination as the corner stone of its policy.

8. Vigorous attempts should be made to form an Asian Monetary Union to facilitate payments and exchanges between Asian countries and to replace dollar with a basket of Asian currencies as the medium of transaction.

Eradication of Poverty

9. Our country continues to be poverty-stricken even after 75 years of independence. A radical agenda to eradicate poverty should be taken up to deliver our country from this evil.

10. For this purpose, Poverty Line should be redefined as a band between extreme poverty and poverty (defined as socially minimum necessary consumption).

11. The issue should be dealt with holistically by creation of productive employment and provisions of basic goods & services for the poverty eradication program to be sustainable in the long-run. For this purpose, we should be consistent in forming public opinion and demanding the enactment of a National Urban Employment Guarantee Act.

12. Creating meaningful employment should be made the criteria in determining investment destinations. It should be coupled with increasing social sector expenditure, promoting small and micro sectors and strictly checking inflation.

13. Planning Commission should be brought back to ensure employment and judicious & equitable distribution of resources between people and regions.

Structure of the Economy

14. Inequality should be checked by positively intervening in the structure of the economy. Income ceilings, highly progressive taxation of income, wealth, capital gains, estate duties, gifts should be introduced to tackle concentration of wealth. The resources raised through these can be used to develop rural and productive sectors.

Agriculture, Mining and Forestry

15. Agriculture and allied activities are the backbone of our country and economy. Agriculture should be made viable by reducing costs of inputs and shifting terms of trade to favor the peasantry. A higher share of the prices paid by the consumer should reach the producers by curtailing the influence of middlemen.

16. MSP should be guaranteed for all crops. We should strive to get not only legal but constitutional status for MSP to best protect the interest of farmers' and prevent any future tempering with the MSP model. This will enable rational farming and ensure remunerative prices. Traditional cropping patterns, consistent with the agro-climate of the region should be encouraged through subsidies and state interventions. At the same time, the coverage of crop insurance should

be made comprehensive to minimize losses.

17. A minimum-wage for agricultural laborers should be devised and all social sector benefits should be ensured for this group.

18. Universal food security should be ensured via a rationalized and people-centric system of universal public distribution system. Cash transfers to population should augment, but never substitute the entitlements under PDS.

19. Land fragmentation and landlessness should be tackled by introducing comprehensive land-reforms and formation of cooperatives.

20. Mining, forestry and logging should be permitted while considering long term environmental sustainability. Any scheme for mining or forestry should have the welfare of the local population at its core.

21. In fisheries, animal husbandry and dairy production, small scale producers should be encouraged by forming cooperatives. State should positively intervene with research, marketing and credit.

Manufacturing and Industry

22. Monopolies in industry should be effectively prevented and pricing powers should be kept under check. Emphasis should be on labor-intensive activities.

23. The structure of corporate governance should be democratized and made transparent to ensure compliance with all laws and regulations. Reservations for deprived and backward sections should be introduced in private sector to ensure inclusivity and social justice.

Services

24. Instead of capital-intensive operations, labor intensive components of the service sector should be encouraged to ensure employment. Wasteful components should be eliminated in big sectors like trade, transport, banking and insurance.

Infrastructure

25. Instead of heavy capital intensive and harmful to environment model of infrastructure, it should be optimized focusing on local needs.

26. Transportation must be minimized by encouraging local production and consumption, provisions of residence closer to workplace, promoting energy efficient public transport etc.

Defense

27. Peace and tranquility in the neighborhood should be promoted to lower the defense budget. India should become the harbinger of peace in the region. For this, arm race and hostilities be ceased. Privatization of the defense sector should be halted.

Social Sector

28. Public health and public education at all levels to be heavily promoted with the state providing high-quality education and healthcare with minimal costs. Preventive healthcare and general well-being should be prioritized.

29. Affordable higher education should reach all sections. Scholarships and other supporting institutions should be augmented.

30. Prices of drugs and pharmaceuticals

should be regulated to lower the health costs. Compulsory licensing and generic drugs should be promoted.

31. Strengthening of organ banks and blood banks should be promoted. A national registry of blood-donors and organ-donors should be encouraged. Blood donation cards should work on a network of hospitals without actual movement of the donor.

32. Affordable housing should be taken up on priority basis. State should frustrate real estate nexus by taking up the responsibility for providing housing.

33. Speedy delivery of justice through fast-track courts.

Finances

34. The tax-GDP ratio of the country should be raised to 25%. This can be done by widening the direct-tax net to 5% of the population from the current 1%. Frustrating the black economy and corruption will make the economy more buoyant and transparent. Luxury consumption should be targeted for taxation.

35. Progressive income tax slabs should be introduced with provisions for higher share for corporate tax and taxation of high net-worth individuals.

36. Capital gains, wealth, inheritance, property and gifts should attract taxation.

37. GST network should be simplified and democratized by devolving more power with the states consistent with the federal framework.

Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh's Assault on the Idea of India

1. The Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, its ideology and its program of Hindu Rashtra have made gains in past years. Ever since the Modi Government came to power, the RSS is trying to impose its own agenda on the country with great vigor and state patronage. The Hindu Rashtra of their imagination runs contrary to everything enshrined in our constitution. Generations of freedom fighters sacrificed everything for our freedom. The values they stood for got an expression in our constitution. The RSS, which remained loyal to the British in the colonial period, is now destroying the legacy of our freedom movement and aspirations of making India a truly Secular Socialist Democratic Republic.

2. The totalitarian functioning of the BJP Government and interferences of the RSS ideology in the working of the government is undermining the authority and moral sanctity of all democratic and constitutional institutions. The Parliament, which represents the will of the people,

is rendered ineffective and irrelevant. Important legislative business is being carried through BJP's majority without any substantial debate or scrutiny.

3. When Modi government's mandate was returned in 2019, the right-ward shift in politics became all too visible, not just at the political level but in an all-encompassing form. RSS' attempts at the reinterpretation of history and redefining the basis of our nation are out in the open now. They seek to filter our history from their communal prism, demon-

izing the minorities as foreign plunderers and questioning their rights and patriotic credentials.

Attack on Federalism

4. Ours is a federal polity with division of functions between various levels and organs of government. Our constitution has a well-defined structure for center-state relations. Constitution makers provided for a federal structure keeping in mind the diversity and aspirations of our people situated in various states of India but RSS as an organization is antagonistic to this diversity. Their idea of Hindi, Hindu, Hindusthan is monolithic and seeks to flatten out the cultural, linguistic and regional diversity of our country. To achieve this objective and to cement a unidimensional flow of power in the country, the Modi Government has encroached upon the rights of states on multiple occasions thus eroding the federal spirit of our constitution. From devolution of taxes to Parliament legislating on state subjects, the assault on the diversity of India is manifold. Many states and political parties have come out in opposition to this tendency of running India like a unitary country. In the context of Centre misusing the office of Governor like a political office to destabilize elected state governments, the demand for the abolition of the largely ceremonial Governors' office is also growing.

National Education Policy

5. The National Education Policy (NEP), 2020 came as a disaster for public education in the country. The NEP does not even acknowledge the constitutionally mandated Right to Education for children, neither considers the Directive Principles of State Policy. Passed without any discussion in Parliament, it fails on many accounts including failing the federal test as it is encroaching on the rights of states. The NEP is an attempt at commercialization, communalization and centralization of education. It discriminates with students coming from deprived backgrounds by distorting the level playing field and goes against the ethos of social justice. Educationists, commentators, student organizations, political parties and other stakeholders have flagged the exclusionary nature of the NEP. Imposition of NEP should be resisted.

Undermining Institutions

6. Many have flagged the executive's interference and tensions with the judiciary in the last eight years. Central agencies like the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), the Enforcement Directorate (ED), the Income Tax Department (IT), the National Investigation Agency (NIA) are being used frequently to intimidate political opposition in violation of the mandate of these organizations. The institutional structure of the country is crumbling as the RSS-BJP stomps every norm and convention in its totalitarian Hindutva march.

Attacks and Discrimination Against Minorities

7. At its core, the RSS is a communal organization committed to the idea of Hindu Rashtra. In this so-called Hindu Rashtra, people hailing from other religions like Muslims and Christians have no place. The RSS is systematically attacking the minorities all over the country and now using state power

to discriminate against them. The RSS ecosystem has targeted the minorities on many fabricated pretexts like Love Jihad, Burka, Triple Talaq etc. The state has turned a blind eye to these attacks and open calls of genocide by a group of seers. BJP governments in UP, MP, Assam and Karnataka are openly discriminating against Muslims. The bulldozer model of justice is specifically targeting Muslims with utter contempt for rule of law, role of judiciary and the principles of non-discrimination enshrined in our constitution. The high-pitched, shrill rhetoric against minorities is being used to polarize the society on communal lines and to take attention away from issues of vital interest to the population like price rise or unemployment. While struggling for protecting the rights of minorities, Party should also take note of the caste system and hierarchies among Muslims where the Pasmanda Muslims are struggling for social equality and dignity but their peers are discriminating against them. We should demand their inclusion in the Schedule Caste list. We should also consider the growing fundamentalism among minority communities and try to organize them on secular lines.

Increasing Attacks on Dalits

8. The ideological fountainhead of the BJP, the RSS is a Brahmanical Manuvaadi organization which believes in Chaturvarna, the four-fold division of the society and in hierarchy between people. The

diabolical ideology of Chaturvarna has deprived Dalits of education, equal opportunity and dignity for centuries and continues to do so. Attacks on Dalits and institutional discrimination have reached new heights after the RSS dispensation coming to power. The Hindutva ideology is antithetical to equality in society as preached by Dr. Ambedkar but it is trying to assimilate Dalits into its fold by playing the subaltern Hindutva card and portraying a larger Hindu identity which is threatened by Muslims according to the RSS. All this, without tempering with the essentially hierarchical, discriminatory and anti-national caste structure.

The Tribal Question

9. The tribal population of the country is facing a multi-pronged brunt under the BJP regime. On the one hand, aggressive privatization of mines and mineral resources, incursions on forests and environmental damage are threatening their livelihood, on the other hand, the RSS' claims of the tribal being 'Vanvasis' and originally Hindus is leading to social conflict as the RSS tries to 're-convert' tribals back to Hinduism. Anti-conversion laws are enacted in many BJP ruled states restricting freedom of choice and faith. In many parts of the country, tribal youth, who are in need of education and jobs are regularly rounded up dubbing them Naxalites. The Left played an important role in bringing the Vth Schedule of the constitution and the Forest Rights Act but their lackluster implementation remains a very serious issues infringing on the entitlements of the tribal population.

The Backward Castes

10. The RSS-BJP is trying to work on the basis of a larger Hindu identity among backward groups which is leading to consolidation of different castes into a compact Hindu vote





bank. They are attempting this without tempering with hierarchical nature of caste. It should also be noted that the BJP is drawing support from socially marginalized sections not only on the basis of Hindutva but also by exploiting caste fault-lines. It can be observed that the weaker sections of SCs and OBCs are coming out against the upwardly mobile dominant castes and the RSS-BJP are able to harp on this sentiment and garner support, despite these backward castes not fully supporting the communal idea of Hindutva. The urge for having a share in power is also drawing these communities closer to the BJP. The BJP is deliberately placing Dalits against the OBCs and one caste against the other to use this divide for electoral advantage.

11. Demand of conducting a caste census is gaining pace. For adequate representation and policy making, caste data is rendered necessary. The United Front government included the criteria of caste in the census exercise but later, the Vajpayee led NDA government overturned that decision. All political parties in Bihar have agreed to conduct a caste census. Similar demand is being raised by many regional parties but the BJP-government is adamant on not including caste criteria in the census as yet.

Status of Women

12. Patriarchy is one of the most major issues to be tackled in the country. The RSS-BJP have shown their true colors on this issue many a times since they follow the dictum of Manu where there is no public space for women, starting from the Hindu Code Bill controversy right after independence. Women are considered inferior to men and are expected to exclusively look after the needs of the family. This stream of thought has made it immensely difficult for women to contribute in our society as workers or in leadership roles. Gender stereotypes are being further reinforced as part of the revivalist turn. Crimes and violence against women are affair as usual under the current dispensation, so much so, that many instances of BJP leaders violating women and the state machinery backing them have come to light. Our party has fought consistently for Women's Reservation Bill but it has not seen the light of day under Modi.

13. Along with social status, economically too, women's situation is worsening under the BJP-RSS regime. In the Global Gender Gap Index 2022, India is at the 135th position out of 146 countries surveyed. The aggressive assault of neo-liberalism on livelihoods has affected women the most. Labor Force Participation Rate for women is on decline and there is excessive concentration of women in unpaid care and home related works. All these adversities are reflected in the National Family Health Survey 2019-21, which gave us the sorry fact that 57% women of the age group 15-49 are anemic. Political participation of women is far from potential as implementation of the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution remain inadequate. Repeated attacks on MNREGA scheme and delays in allotment of funds for the scheme are directly hurting the interest of working rural women who constitute the bulk of labor under MNREGA.

Evolving Political Situation

1. Taking into account the above political developments and background, our most

important task is to place our party in position where we can significantly shape and influence the national agenda. The application of Marxism-Leninism in Indian context is the only way to understand the evolving political, economic, social and cultural situation in its entirety. We need to be sensitive to the Indian context and its peculiarities before formulating our future political course. India is an amazingly diverse country with a very different framework of social organization and we should take into account these historical and contemporary specifics to make our political-tactical line more holistic and reflective of the reality.

The Caste Question

2. It should be underlined here that Indian society is divided not just between classes with mutually antagonistic interest, we also have the caste structure which is resilient, stubborn and hierarchical. Writing on India, Karl Marx called caste "the most decisive impediment to India's progress and power" underlining the centrality of caste in Indian context. The caste structure stipulates a hereditary division of labor and incentivize or restrict entry in the work-force at almost every level thereby opening or closing the material class structure for people on the basis of their birth. Because of this, people at the hierarchical bottom of the caste ladder are generally the most impoverished and unfortunate lot of our society. They face capitalist exploitation and the daily brunt of caste discrimination. No revolutionary strategy can be formulated neglecting this hierarchical nature of Indian society which progressively diminishes equality of opportunity.

Changing Class Dynamics

3. In more than three decades of liberalization of our economy, a lot of changes took place in the working class itself. At first, automation in capital intensive industries changed the nature of the workplace which now required more and more skilled workers. Spread of new information technology again brought significant change in the composition of working class. More recently, the COVID-19 pandemic also brought changes in the nature of work with many employers, especially in the IT industry, preferring their employees to work from home which saves them fixed costs. The infusion of capital in rural economy is threatening the agrarian population's livelihoods as land-grab on a large scale, unemployment in the private sector and absence of state support pushes the rural workers to penury.

4. The numbers of the middle-class have swelled and it is largely engaged in the private sector. They face a different set of problems and have adopted different political priorities. This section has gained influence as opinion makers and outreach should be made towards them by engaging with their issues. Further, technologies like artificial intelligence are gaining foothold which will have implications for the working people. We need to develop our standing around these issues too to shape our future course of action. Trade unions should explore the digitally enabled sectors and try to politicize new workers entering the workforce in the atmosphere of great insecurity. Meanwhile, our activities should be intensified in the traditional sectors like agriculture, construction and manufacturing

etc.

Patriarchy

5. Patriarchy and consequent misogyny is another major issue that subordinates half of our population. Violence against women is a scourge that haunts our society. Compounding this issue is the RSS ascendancy to power with their extremely narrow stance towards women liberation. They locate women in the four walls of household and celebrate servility to men as a virtue. They promote the image of women only as ideal homemakers committed to the needs of the male members of the family. Their opposition to women being part of public life is as old as the organization. RSS opposed the Hindu Code Bill which intended to give property rights to women. Under the BJP-RSS regime, crimes against women have increased which again restrict women's agency and space. We will have to take this into account since the struggles of women are not simply economic but social and cultural as well.

The RSS-BJP Combine

6. India is currently ruled by the Bhartiya Janta Party which is the overt political arm of the RSS. The RSS is inspired by Mussolini and Hitler, as admitted by Golwalkar himself, and they have followed fascist organizational principles in their organization, including a private paramilitary. After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and links of the assassin with the RSS-Hindu Mahasabha, this organization was much loathed. However, they gained acceptance during the Janta government when RSS members became senior cabinet ministers. The RSS used this opportunity to infiltrated the academia & bureaucracy and sponsored activities which are in contradiction with India's diversity and the secular ethos of our freedom struggle. This organization is committed to the cause of establishing Hindu-Rashtra which is contrary to our secular, representative democracy. Since the BJP got the majority, RSS stamp is pronounced on all major policy decisions. They are trying to establish and institutionalize authoritarian majoritarianism in the country with a well-thought-out strategy to unite against the 'common enemy' that is Muslims and Communists.

7. Earlier, RSS influence was limited to the urban upper caste petty bourgeoisie, merchants, traders and the like but with time and resources, they have penetrated almost all sections of the society with varying degree of influence. Civil servants, government employees, teachers and students with RSS affiliations are active in their capacity to spread the RSS agenda and ideology. RSS influence can be observed in defense and judiciary also. In rural areas too, various social and political organizations with RSS backing are working to assimilate farmers, peasants and agricultural laborers in their fold. After the BJP coming to power, government schemes have also become one very effective way for RSS men to reach all sections of society. Thus, greatly increasing their reach and legitimacy. The RSS is effectively using this reach and legitimacy to bring together divergent groups. Among the backward and scheduled castes, they have projected a larger Hindu unity and playing with caste fault-lines to get them together without tempering with the hierarchical and discriminatory nature of

caste.

8. The BJP is in power in a number of states and in a dominant position in the Hindi speaking belt. Major North Indian states like Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have a BJP government. BJP is sharing power with the Janata Dal (United) in Bihar and with the Jannayak Janta Party in Haryana. They have captured power in a number of North Eastern states either by allying with local political outfits or by horse-trading. In the south, the BJP is in power in Karnataka only. These BJP governments are manned by many from the RSS background and they seek to implement their conservative social agenda through steps like prohibiting inter-faith marriage, bringing anti-conversion laws and discriminating with citizens on the basis of faith. The upper-caste and patriarchal mentality of the RSS is visible in the work of these state governments also.

Indian National Congress

9. Largest opposition party, the Indian National Congress, is troubled with internal strife, defections and with a lack of ideological coherence amongst its leadership and party-workers. At the national level, the Congress has not been able to forge a solid opposition unity to take on the BJP in electoral battle. The Congress failed to anchor and galvanize the opposition and its approach to this vital question has remained ad-hoc. Many regional political parties are now claiming the center space in opposition ranks. The congress party is in power in two states, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh and an alliance partner in the Jharkhand government. These governments follow the neo-liberal model.

10. The major issues that are eclipsing a solid and viable opposition unity are both economic and social. Post-liberalization, the INC became ideologically incoherent and inconsistent. Secular credentials of the INC were questioned after the demolition of the Babri Mosque under Narsimha Rao's prime ministership. On the issue of secularism, the Congress' stance has not been very clear as its leadership is still engaged in the debate of Hinduism vs Hindutva instead of sticking to the constitutional ground of secularism. On the economic front, the Congress is still following the neo-liberal doctrine. This has resulted in the discourse shifting to the right. Any alternate coalition to the RSS-BJP should be starkly different from them. The Congress party should take note of this. At the least, the INC should reconsider the Nehruvian model of economy and socialist pattern of society vis-à-vis BJP's aggressive and crony neo-liberalism. These issues should be dealt with ideologically to come at a solid understanding among opposition parties.

Regional Parties

11. Some major challengers to the BJP which thwarted its national hegemonic ambitions were regional parties. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) forged an alliance of secular, democratic parties and defeated the BJP-AIADMK alliance in Tamil Nadu. The Rashtriya Janta Dal led alliance came close to defeating the BJP-JD(U) alliance in Bihar. Trinamool Congress upset BJP's much hyped bid to power in West Bengal. BJP's presence remains limited in southern states with regional parties with Jagan Mohan Reddy and K. Chandrashekar Rao ruling over

Andhra Pradesh and Telangana respectively. The Biju Janta Dal has consolidated its hold over Odisha where the BJP has dislodged the Congress as the main opposition party. The Samajwadi Party emerged as the major challenger to the BJP in Uttar Pradesh. The Aam Aadmi Party has retained power in the NCT of Delhi and has won Punjab recently, they are also showing national aspirations.

12. One issue with many regional parties is their right-of-center inclinations and social conservatism. Most of the regional parties do not have a coherent critique of neo-liberalism. They are following the dictates of financial agencies like World Bank & IMF under pressure and in lack of alternative ideological approach to development. In matters of policy and governance, they are leaning more and more to the right of the political spectrum with the flow of finance capital. Their ideological reliance on neo-liberalism leaves the economic sphere open for monopolies. To come up with an alternative model to the BJP, regional parties should move towards the center of the spectrum.

13. Overt show of religious credentials, dependence on caste-based groupings, hesitation in coming up with alternative ways of development, reluctance in incorporating labor rights, land reforms and sweeping changes in the caste-ridden, patriarchal and exploitative societal framework. Inability in confronting the RSS socially and culturally reinforces the same Hindu common sense the RSS is sponsoring. These issues are in urgent need of attention to forge a viable ideological unity to defeat the RSS-BJP. Unfortunately, the Left's electoral setbacks have made the economic right more lucrative to some of the regional parties. Increased and intense presence of the Left in society is needed to arrest this trend and bring policy-making left-of-center.

Principled Opposition Unity

14. It must be underlined that right-of-center positioning and social conservatism cannot defeat the RSS-BJP. The opposition agenda should be radically different from what the RSS is trying to achieve economically and socially. A left-of-center position thus, is need to cement the unity against the RSS-BJP. The Left will have to take initiative in forging this unity. Having said that, the Left should go to the masses to mobilize them against the RSS agenda by coming-up with a clear-cut economic alternative and social harmony.

The Left Democratic Front

15. It should be noted here that the LDF government got reelected in Kerala with a comfortable majority and the BJP could not secure a single seat even after trying its best to communalize the atmosphere. The victory of the LDF was the result of the alternative model the LDF has presented before the people of Kerala and they reposed their trust in the Left.

Strengthening the CPI

1. Immediately after the commencement of our Constitution, legalized CPI contested the 1st General elections which were held between 25 October 1951 and 21 February 1952 and emerged as the largest opposition party. In the second general elections held in 1957, we retained our leadership of the opposition and improved our performance by

winning 27 seats with nearly 9% vote share. The seats we won in these elections were primarily located in areas we led mass struggles relating to land and labor. Our work during the Bengal famine and success of our cultural work made us accessible to the masses. We also made gains in state assemblies. The CPI formed government in the newly formed state of Kerala and emerged as the primary opposition to Congress in the Tamil Nadu region, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal. In Bombay, our party gained leadership in working class habitations through Trade Unions.

2. We gained further on the electoral index in 1962 elections by winning 29 seats with about 10% vote share. Our program of land to the tiller was getting acceptance in newer areas like Bihar, UP and Tripura now along with our traditional strongholds of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra where we continued with militant mass struggles. The success and degree of influence our movement gained in these areas translated to electoral successes by consolidating our gains at all fronts like Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, Youth, Students and cultural front. It can be observed that since the 1970s, when we firmly established ourselves as a parliamentary force and were contributing to the national agenda significantly, there started to come a paucity in our mass struggles. We adopted the parliamentary path as a mean but it came to be viewed as an end in itself.

3. Lack of sustained, militant mass struggles and focusing on elections alone has hurt us in both ways. Since it is clear that we made our electoral base by claiming the leadership of mass movements, a lull in that activity led to fragmentation of our vote base and we could not cultivate new arenas for mass action. The split in the party also caused harm. By the 1990s, our vote share dropped to around 2.50% and in the 1991 elections, we won 14 seats in the Lok Sabha. We opposed the communalization of politics tooth and nail and supported the recommendations of the Mandal Commission but at the same time, the introduction of liberalization policies made significant changes on the political scene.

4. The period following liberalization has been dominated by privatization, fragmentation of the electorate, atomization of the family and extreme individuality. This has hurt our strength in Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas & Khet Mazdoor Union and in urban pockets too. Social movements, where they exist, have become increasingly isolated from each other.

5. The present situation demands a stronger CPI. Party has to overcome all kinds of deviations, alien tendencies and weaknesses by necessary important changes in our party organization at all levels so that it will re-connect with people, building grassroots movement on concrete issues, strengthen our party with strong mass bases and will be able to intervene in any political development with its strength, program and policies and will be in position to face any eventuality.

6. Party will take appropriate measures to intensify its political-ideological works with updated syllabus and high-quality of teachings for raising Marxist Leninist consciousness among the all sections of our Party member and people.





7. By strengthening the Party politically-ideologically and organizationally we will be in position to launch broad based militant movements. It is challenging but as we see from our growth and decline, we perform the best at the head of such struggles leading to emancipation of the toiling masses. As we are going to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the foundation of our party in 2025, we need to reclaim the leading role in our polity by identifying with emerging issues, bringing the exploited together and politicizing them towards the goal of socialism.

On Left Unity

The CPI is clear about the role of the Left in defending the fundamental interests of the nation and its people. CPI believes that the struggles against class exploitation, caste discrimination and gender disabilities are interlinked and should form the basis of our ideological resistance against the RSS. The RSS is committed to Fascist ideology and it is the historical role of Left to fight and defeat them. With this clarity of vision, the CPI has raised the banner of Left unity. The CPI believes that the unification of the Communist movement in India on a principled basis is the demand of the time for building a strong and independent pillar of the Left in Indian polity. This unity will help the Left to in playing a dedi-

cated and meaningful role, not only in building the broad coalition of secular-democratic forces, but also in strengthening struggles for social emancipation.

For Broader Unity of Patriotic Forces Against Ruling BJP Government

1. BJP misrule has plunged the country in deep crisis. The communal fascistic onslaughts on the people of our country have severely weakened the secular democratic fabric, freedom and unity of our country endangering the sovereignty of the nation.

2. In this context it is an urgent need to build a broadest coalition of all Secular, Democratic and left forces to rally together for developing a secular democratic alternative to BJP rule, both at centre and in the states.

3. To realize this goal, the rallying and cohesion of the Left forces and the expansion of militant mass actions are of decisive importance for bringing democratic, secular and patriotic forces around such alternative to defeat the plans of communal fascistic forces in their attempts at penetrating the society with their poisonous agenda and continuation in power.

Our Political Tactics

1. While discussing our political tactics in the given complicated situation, CPI has

to mobilize all progressive forces to fight for a new India, where values of secularism, democracy and socialist goals are protected. Only through an uncompromising committed struggle we will be able to fulfill the cherished dreams of our freedom movement. The destiny of the nation will be decided depending on the outcome of this decisive battle.

2. We should be aiming at building a broadest unity of political parties, mass and class organizations and social movements in defense of our constitution and to intensify our united struggle against the divisive and poisonous policies of RSS and BJP.

3. Our Party will take independent initiative as well as participate in joint actions of the Left and others parties to counter the neo-liberal and fascistic offensive of the Modi government and RSS. In this respect the Party will try to strengthen Left co-ordination to intensify the militant mass struggles which will ultimately create conditions for bigger struggles along with other political parties, mass and class organisations and social movements.

4. As far as electoral tactics is concerned, the formulation of 23rd Congress is still valid. It should be clearly understood that there cannot be one tactics for the entire country, but the primary objective must be to oust BJP/RSS combine from power. Electoral tactics has to be worked as and when the party faces an

P. P. H. PUBLICATIONS

S.No.	Title	Author Name	Price
1	In Defence of Materialism in Ancient India	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	150
2	Socio-Political Views of Vivekananda	Binoy K. Roy	80
3	What is the Theory of Relativity	L. Landau, Y. Rumer	50
4	Emergence of A Slave Caste Pulayas of Kerala	K. Saradmoni	450
5	Communist In Indian Women's Movement	Renu Chakravartty	300
6	Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism	Lenin	100
7	Dialectics of Nature	Engels	350
8	Comrade Chandrappan (Memories)	Trans. By V.I., Thomas	150
9	Che Guevara A memoir by Fidel Castro	Ed. David Deutschmann	185
10	Frederick Engels A Short Biography	John Keracher	40
11	Gandhi Ambedkar and the Extirpation of Untouchability	Hirendra Nath Mukerjee	50
12	Marx's Legacy in 21st Century	Samit Kar	170
13	The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis	Conrad Wood	250
14	The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis	Conrad Wood	350
15	Physics for Entertainment	Ya Perelman	230
16	The Geography of the Puranas	S. Muzafer Ali	325
17	Tales of the Amber Sea	Irina Zheleznova	350
18	Ajoy Ghosh : Life and works	Anil Rajimwale	60
19	Understanding the French Revolution	Albert Soboul	400
20	Victims of the world Unite Against Exogenous Pandemics	K.S. Chalam	100
21	What is Living and what is dead in Indian Philosophy	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	300
22	Lokayata	Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya	350
23	The Talwars of Pathan land and Subhash Chandra's Great Escape	Bhagat Ram Talwar	200
24	The Students' Marx	Edward Aveling	200
26	The Rise and growth of Economic Nationalism in India	Bipan Chandra	600
27	Crisis of Corporate Capitalism	A.B. Bardhan	75
28	What is Marxism	Anil Rajimwale	75

Please send your order to:
 People's Publishing House (P) Limited
 5-E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi -110 055
 Phone: 011-23523349, 23529823
 Email: pph5e1947@gmail.com
 Website: <http://www.pphbooks.net>

CPIHQ Showroom: Ajoy Bhavan
 15 Com. Indrajit Gupta Road
 New Delhi-110 002

PPH Showroom JNU
 Near Central Library
 JNU, New Delhi-110 067

PPH Showroom
 22, Qaiser Bagh
 Lucknow (UP)

PPH Showroom, 18 Marina Arcade,
 G-Block, Connaught Place, New
 Delhi-110 001

Current Account Details:
 State Bank of India
 A/c. No. 320 746 74 284
 In favour of: People's
 Publishing House (P) Ltd

election. In states, the tactics has to take into consideration the objective political situation in a given state and co-relation of political forces there and try to avoid the division of votes among the friendly parties. Apart from furthering our march towards building a secular and democratic alternative, the electoral tactics should also ensure significant representation to the party in state and Parliament elections. Representation in elected bodies should start from winning seats in Panchayats and other local bodies.

5. All our militant mass movement should be aiming at further strengthening of CPI, Left and democratic movement to unseat the BJP out of power and moving forward for fulfilling the tasks of our strategic goal the democratic revolution.

Future Tasks

1. The COVID-19 crisis has shaken our society and we saw how our health infrastructure imploded before it due to overwhelming reliance on the private sector. Gap in education in the pandemic years, digital divide and increasing privatization of education is making education a distant dream for many. The instance of landlessness is increasing with precarious living standards prevalent in most of rural India. Landlessness and migration have complicated the very important question of housing and the crisis of unemployment is deepening before us. India's ranking in the Global Hunger Index has seen a continuous downfall under Modi. Thus, we should establish public health, public education, land, housing, employment and food security as the fundamental demands of our agenda.

2. Our party branches and units should lead the fight in improving public schools, colleges and public hospitals. Regular visits and audits of the public schools and hospitals in the locality should be taken up. Area based unity around the issues of quality health and education for all should be build and people should be made aware of their rights and how private participation is encroaching upon them by taking the responsibility away from the government. We should build public opinion for declaring healthcare a Fundamental Right and demand allocation of at least 6% of GDP on public health sector. Such steps are prerequisite for gaining a foothold in society at the branch and unit level.

3. Housing is a major issue that needs immediate attention. Fragmentation of land and lack of employment in rural areas are pushing people to towns in search of jobs. These workers are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled and work for meagre wages in the informal sector. The question of housing is grave for them as they spent their productive years on pavements, shanties or in makeshift arrangements. Extreme unhygienic, lack of sanitation and medical care hurts their productivity and longevity. Millions suffer this lack of four-walls and a roof over their heads. We should organize these workers in rural, semi-urban and urban areas and raise their demands.

4. Unavailability of land remains an issue in most parts of the country. Severe unemployment has further pushed large sections of our rural population towards extreme poverty. The MGNREGS guarantees employment but its implementation varies across states

and regions. Our cadres should actively conduct social audits of MGNREGS, connect with the rural workforce and organize them for better wages, security and employment opportunities. Party should intensify its struggles for the National Urban Employment Guarantee Act and mobilize people in its favor. Our demands should give highest priority to a minimum wage for agricultural laborers and land reforms. Pressure should be made on the government to concede to the demand of introducing reservation policies in private sector to ensure representation and social justice.

5. Trade unions have been the backbone of our party since its formation. The Trade Union network in the country should be strengthened further to envelope more sectors and units, especially in the newly emerging fields which remain highly volatile and less secure. TUs should penetrate the private sector more with demands of social security and social justice. Politicization of the working people should be accorded top priority as to translate our struggle for better wages and amenities into the political arena. Seminars, study circles, talks on current matters should be regularly organized to keep the working classes politically active.

6. It has been observed that in some regions, our party becomes active before the elections to the Lok Sabha or state assemblies and then goes into hibernation for prolonged periods. It should be understood that elections are not an ad-hoc activities. As noted previously, the electoral dividends of a revolutionary party like ourselves depend on the connect we establish with the people by organizing and leading their struggles around their livelihoods. Without that, electoral canvassing will not meet favorable results. Our priority should be to identify and represent the issues around us. For that, our connect with the people should be intimate and thorough. Only with the support of such people that a viable electoral strategy can be formed.

7. We need to target specific constituencies for electoral purposes. Contesting a large number of seats with no preparation is not beneficial as it demoralizes the organization. In every state, we should identify parliamentary, assembly and local body segments and make preparations well in advance by dealing with the specific issues of the constituency and increasing our support base with time and effort. We should strive to establish re-connect with the masses.

8. The 2024 General Elections will be of critical importance for the future of our country and our political system. Dislodging the RSS- BJP combine from power should be our primary goal. All efforts should be made to expose the RSS-BJP's sinister designs before the people. The Party should devise programs and tactics for this objective, both independently and with other secular-democratic parties.

9. The Panchayati Raj system is one of the major achievements of people's struggle for decentralization and grassroot democracy. Panchayati Raj institution can play a decisive role in bringing sustainable rural development, employment generation and eradication of poverty. The role of rural masses in formulation and implementation of the schemes has

been grossly frustrated. The nexus of bureaucracy and local power elite has corrupted the immense potential of Panchayati Raj. We should work for the strengthening of Panchayati Raj system through active interventions. Our party should struggle for the respect and protection of Gram Sabhas and panchayats at all levels.

10. Party will oppose and mobilize Indian people against imperialist aggressions, occupations and intimidations against any country. Will oppose Indian participation in any military block and alliance. Party will continue its solidarity with the people of Palestine, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria, DPR of Korea and other countries facing exploitation and imperialism. At the same time, we will fight for independent foreign policy of India.

11. One of the most significant achievements in present day is the growing cooperation among the communist and workers parties world over. Various forms of cooperation among the parties at sub-regional, regional and global levels are already in existence. CPI has been part of all such global meetings and will contribute further to strengthen the international communist movement.

12. Party will promote researches in the field of Marxism-Leninism for its best application in the present political, economic and social context of the country.

13. Party will make all efforts for the reunification of the communist movement in India on principled basis.

14. In view of the dangers our polity is facing, it is important to internalize and reiterate our commitments before the people. A significant Left presence in the country is needed to resist and defeat the right-wing RSS-BJP onslaught. For that end, we need to strengthen our party and other class and mass organization significantly. We can make this struggle against the forces of communal authoritarianism a struggle between the Left and the Right only with a strong party which can shape the political course. Left is the ideological challenger to the RSS and we have to take this struggle to the people. A strong CPI is the need of the hour to carry a positive alternative program for the country.

15. We should take the lead in bringing together like-minded political parties and groups together through agreement on broad agenda that include a firm commitment to secularism, social justice and equality. Ideological underpinnings of this unity should be strong and radically different from the priorities and agenda of the RSS-BJP. Only that would enable the coalition to present an alternative vision to and finally replace the BJP/ RSS from the power.

16. Therefore, the 24th Congress calls upon 1) to strengthen the CPI, 2) consolidate Left unity 3) build the broader alliance of progressive forces to remove RSS-BJP from power and 4) to intensify mass struggles on the issues of livelihood and move forward our radical agenda of social transformation towards socialism.



Nine-Day Dharna by NFIW

WOMEN DEMAND 50 PER CENT RESERVATION IN PARLIAMENT AND STATE ASSEMBLIES

Annie Raja

The National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW), one of the oldest and largest mass organisation of women organisations in India, began its nine-day long dharna on August 1, 2022 at JantarMantar in the national capital.

NFIW demands introduction and passage of a Bill to reserve 50 per cent of seats for women in both Parliament and state assemblies. Women from different states

added that it has been now more than 25 years since the Women's Reservation Bill for 33 per cent seats was introduced in the Parliament in 1996, and thus it remains a big blot on Indian democracy that



Former member of Planning Commission Dr Syeda Hameed inaugurating the dharna



have come to participate in the dharna, which will culminate on August 9.

Former member of Planning Commission, renowned activist and writer, Dr Syeda Hameed, inaugurated the dharna. She said: "The celebrations around Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav are meaningless, if after 75 years of Independence, only 14 per cent of Parliamentarians are women." She

successive governments have failed to pass it.

Annie Raja, general secretary of NFIW pointed to the complete silence of Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the Bill throughout his two terms, and asked: "How can you celebrate Amrit Kaal, when half of the country's population does not have proportionate representation in the 'House'?"

She added that it is a

travesty that though most of the political parties,

including the BJP and other NDA constituents,

have repeatedly promised in their election manifestos to extent support for the passage of the Bill, it has continued to remain a mere lip service. The failure of this government to take the Bill forward is yet another illustration of its Manuwadi ideology on the question of women's social and political empowerment.

The NFIW sincerely hopes that the government will listen to and honour the voices of Indian women, and demands that in this 75th year of Independence, women get an equal representation in legislatures, by law. ■



Printed & Published by D. RAJA on behalf of the Communist Party of India at BFL Infotech Ltd (Media Division), C-9, Sector-3, Noida, Dist. Gautam Budh Nagar, UP & Published from Ajoy Bhavan, 15-Com.Indrajit Gupta Marg, New Delhi-110 002. Ph: 011-2323 0762.
Editor: BINOY VISWAM, Deputy Editor: KRISHNA JHA *E-mail: newagemukti@gmail.com - Layout: JANARDANAN. R