

JUNE 2025
Rs. 25

Liberation

CENTRAL ORGAN OF CPI(ML)



Page 19

EXCLUSIVE

Letter from
Gaza

CPIML Congratulates International Booker Prize Winners Banu Mushtaq and Deepa Bhashti



CPIML congratulates Banu Mushtaq, journalist, advocate and activist, and Deepa Bhashti, who translated the writing to English on creating history, for winning the International Booker Prize 2025 for the fantastic book “Heart Lamp”, a collection of twelve selected stories. This vibrant collection of short stories offers an insider view on the life of the Muslim community from a primarily feminine perspective. This win is all the more remarkable since Banu Mushtaq began her foray into writing as a key member of the Bandaya Sahitya movement (Rebel Literature) in Kannada writing in the 1970s and 1980s. This was a period of progressive protest

within the literary circles framing literature from the lens of caste and class system, and litterateurs from oppressed and marginalised sections redefined Kannada Literature giving rise to influential Dalit and Muslim writers, of whom Banu Mushtaq was one of the few women.

Banu Mushtaq has fearlessly confronted caste, class, and patriarchy in her writings and activism with unflinching determination. “My stories are about women – how religion, society, and politics demand unquestioning obedience from them, and in doing so, inflict inhumane cruelty upon them, turning them into mere subordinates. The daily incidents reported in media and the personal experiences I have endured have been my inspiration. The pain, suffering, and helpless lives of these women create a deep emotional response within me, compelling me to write.”, Mushtaq said during a Booker Prize interview.

Banu Mushtaq has braved the threats of Muslim conservatives when she supported women's right to offer prayer in mosques as also the growing communal polarisation in society. It is revealing that she

receives the Booker Prize just two years after she presided as chief guest over the Jana Sahitya Sammelana (People's Literary Conference) held in protest to the exclusion of Muslims and women from the official Kannada Sahitya Sammelana organised by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat.

Banu Mushtaq is a strong voice against the communal agenda of the Sangh Parivar, and never shy to air her thoughts. In an interview with Article-14 on the hijab issue, she had said “This saviour attitude of the Sangh Parivar is only a tool for political gain and is actually being misused to demolish the identity of the Muslims. They have already done that to the Dravidian cultures. In Karnataka, the same cultural practices that Basavanna fought against are getting reintroduced today. The basic teachings of Basavanna need to be understood and practised but whoever tries to do that is being shunned by their own community.”

This extraordinary achievement of Banu Mushtaq comes at a time when Muslims were emerging as India's new Dalits due to their outright oppression, discrimination, marginalisation and ghettoisation. We salute Banu Mushtaq whose writings continue to question the structures of oppression and marginalisation in Indian society. Onward in the struggle for a society free of caste and class, communal polarisation and gender inequality. ■

Indian Institute of Marxist Studies Organises Interaction Session in Chennai

An interaction with Comrade Dipankar on the contemporary political situation, on strengthening anti-fascist resistance and on the need for establishing peace and justice was organised by Indian Institute of Marxist Studies (IIMS) at Chennai on 16 May 2025. Personalities from different walks of life, activists of left, democratic and progressive politics, media and film personalities joined the interaction with a lot of enthusiasm. The program evoked a lot of response and there was a sharp and lively discussion on various topics right from Indo-Pak war to anti-fascist resistance. Comrade Chandramohan presided over the discussion while Adhiyaman welcomed the gathering. ■





New Series Vol. 31 No. 02

JUNE 2025

CONTENTS

COMMENTARY

Modi's U-turn on Caste Census	05
Mahila Adalats in Bihar	06
Importance of 1857	08

COVER FEATURE

Pahalgam: Pressing Questions	09
War-mongering Godi Media	10

SPECIAL FEATURE

Operation Kagar: The War on Adivasis	16
--------------------------------------	----

INTERNATIONAL

Letter from Gaza	19
JCB's Crimes Exposed	21

IN FOCUS

Students' Union Elections in JNU	23
----------------------------------	----

ARTICLE

Vizhinjam Port: Adani Profits	26
Tariffs Reduction and Workers' Wages	28

REPORTS

	30
--	----

Editor-in-chief

Dipankar Bhattacharya

Editor

Arindam Sen

Editorial Board

V. Shankar

Sanjay Sharma

Sucheta De

Ajit Patil

Clifton D' Rozario

Maitreyi Krishnan

Akash Bhattacharya

Editors' e-mail:

liberation@cpiml.org

Design: V Arun Kumar

Manager: Prabhat Kumar

Phone: 7042877713

Website: liberation.org.in

E-mail: manager.liberation@gmail.com

36 pages including covers

Annual Subscription Rates

India Rs. 300

Abroad US\$ 60

Digital Subscription Rs. 200

Online Payment: liberation.org.in

Pay By Bank transfer:

Account Name: Liberation Publications

Account No.: 90502010091855

IFSC Code: CNRB0019050

MICR Code.: 110015388

Bank: Canara Bank

Pahalgam, Operation Sindoor and After: Lessons India Must Learn

Operation Sindoor and its immediate military aftermath that threatened to escalate into a full-scale war between India and Pakistan have given way to at least a temporary truce. The Sangh brigade, the loudmouth godi media anchors and the vocal community of Modi bhakts who were already in a celebratory mode anticipating another 1971-type decisive outcome are deeply disappointed and frustrated. The short-lived triumphalist exuberance over, there is now an orchestrated campaign to silence and persecute every voice that preferred peace to war and stood boldly against war hysteria and anti-Muslim hate. This can be seen not just in the form of abusive social media trolling that targets even people like Himanshi Narwal who lost her husband in the Pahalgam terror attack or Foreign Secretary Vikram Misri who led the public briefings during Operation Sindoor, but in violent attacks on anti-war meetings and marches and the vindictive arrest of a scholar like Professor Ali Khan Mahmudabad on totally baseless charges.

The trajectory of events from the horrific terrorist attack in Pahalgam to the sudden announcement of ceasefire has given rise to many questions regarding India's national security and foreign policy. The Modi government has been claiming great successes in these two areas but facts now clearly suggest that it has completely failed even on its own terms. From Uri and Pathankot to Pulwama and now Pahalgam, there have been major attacks on India's security forces and military installations and on civilians during the last ten years. Add the Galwan valley clash with China in 2020, and it is evident to all that, unsurprisingly, Jammu and Kashmir has not become a more peaceful region in the Modi era. With Pakistan India has now had to settle for a ceasefire that Trump says was brokered by his government, and as for the clash with China we still remember how Modi told the country that there was no incursion or occupation by China, making us wonder what the clash then was all about.

The countrywide mock drills and the spread of military exchanges across almost the entire stretch of the India-Pakistan border rekindled memories of the 1971 war. Any sober comparison between the 1971 war and the latest conflict should however tell us how much things have changed since then. We must never forget that 1971 was primarily Bangladesh's own liberation war which turned into an India-Pakistan war only after India's open military intervention and declaration of support

“

What India needs is a decisive policy shift - reject the disastrous course of the Modi regime and reorient the country's internal and external policies in consonance with the constitutional proclamation of a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and the legacy of the inclusive and anti-imperialist nationalism nurtured in the course of India's historic freedom movement.

for Bangladesh. The international strategic environment and balance of forces has also undergone a dramatic shift since then. In 1971, India had the fullest backing of the Soviet Union without which the war could not possibly have been clinched so quickly and decisively. This time round India had hardly any external support while Pakistan had the full backing of China. We must also remember that for all their disparities in size and strength, there is now nuclear parity between the two countries, a reality that both can only ignore at their own peril.

In his post-ceasefire address to the nation, Narendra Modi sought to come up with a new doctrine of national security when he said that every act of terror would henceforth be treated as an act of war and India would not accept any 'nuclear blackmail'. Nuclear parity produces nuclear deterrence, which if ignored can only guarantee mutually assured destruction. Whatever Modi may mean by nuclear blackmail, no nuclear power in the world today can risk a nuclear war with another nuclear power. Nuclear weapons apart, constant upgradation of technology has also drastically changed the nature of warfare. The latest military showdown between India and Pakistan gave us some glimpses of this new mode of technology-driven warfare. If India can buy sophisticated weaponry and military technologies from the US, Israel or France, so can Pakistan from China and other weapons-exporting countries, the US included. A permanent threat of war can only mean a spiralling arms race between India and Pakistan.

The question we need to ask ourselves is obvious. If a former superpower like the Soviet Union collapsed under the weight of an unsustainable arms race with the

US, should not India avoid such a suicidal course by all means possible? This is where the role of diplomacy and foreign policy becomes so important. In the wake of the Pahalgam terror attack, India had sympathy from across the world. But when the Modi government launched Operation Sindoor and the threat of a full-scale war between two nuclear-powered neighbours began to loom large, the sympathy for India dissipated and almost the entire world called for de-escalation and dialogue. Israel and to an extent Afghanistan have been the only two countries that have appeared to side with India, whereas the United States, after initial expressions of indifference, stepped in and broke the news of ceasefire. At the hour of its biggest test, the Modi era foreign policy proved to be an abject failure and India virtually stood thoroughly isolated in the global arena.

Known for his declared policy of seeking opportunities in adversity, Modi has now outsourced his foreign policy fiasco to parties of the very opposition the Sangh brigade had been dubbing anti-national all this while. A few opposition MPs have been selectively chosen to join and even head parliamentary delegations that will visit select countries in the world on a so called diplomatic outreach mission. China and India's other South Asian neighbours, along with Iran and Canada are however conspicuously missing among the delegation destinations. In the Modi era India has been busy abandoning and ignoring relevant regional and global south platforms like SAARC and BRICS while becoming obsessed with West-dominated groupings like G7 and G20 and becoming increasingly dependent on and subservient to the US-Israel axis. The result is there for all to see - utter isolation in India's

own neighbourhood which the government now seems to accept as a permanent reality.

India needs an urgent rethink on national security and course correction on foreign policy. The opposition had rightly demanded an immediate special joint session of Parliament for a proper update on the situation and discussion on the pressing questions. The Modi government is trying to avoid its accountability by now hiding behind this global outreach mission comprising selectively curated delegations. The world has been watching the entire course of post-Pahalgam developments. The vicious targeting of Himanshi Narwal, the abusive trolling of India's own foreign secretary, the derogatory remarks about Colonel Sofiya Qureshi by Madhya Pradesh BJP minister Kunwar Vijay Shah and the arrest of Professor Ali Khan Mahmudabad are all global news. If Narendra Modi's much publicised foreign visits and the pursuit of a foreign policy that caters to the corporate greed of India's crony capitalists at the cost of India's own strategic needs, and the failure of the Modi government's Kashmir policy have landed India into the current crisis, the seemingly bipartisan diplomatic outreach mission where handpicked opposition MPs provide a thin facade of 'national unity' around these same failed policies cannot change the scenario. What India needs is a decisive policy shift - reject the disastrous course of the Modi regime and reorient the country's internal and external policies in consonance with the constitutional proclamation of a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and the legacy of the inclusive and anti-imperialist nationalism nurtured in the course of India's historic freedom movement. ■

Modi's U-turn on Caste Census: Intensify the Battle for Comprehensive Social Justice

▲ DIPANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Just when the country was expecting some decisive response from the Modi government in the wake of the Pahalgam terror attack, the regime took everybody by surprise by announcing its readiness to conduct a caste enumeration as part of the already over delayed census. There is of course no announcement yet about the timeline of the census. The 2025-26 budget made no provision for this massive exercise. With no signs of the census happening anytime soon, the announcement at this moment must be seen more as a calculated political move ahead of the crucial Bihar elections than an immediate agenda of action. Be that as it may, this is a major announcement for a caste-ridden society where the last caste census was conducted in 1931.

For the Sangh-BJP establishment, this latest Modi 'masterstroke' is perhaps the biggest Sanghi U-turn in decades. In the run-up to the 2024 elections when the INDIA bloc and the Congress led by Rahul Gandhi made a forceful demand for caste census, the entire Sangh-BJP establishment called it a divisive and 'urban Naxal' agenda. We cannot but remember how when the VP Singh government had taken the historic step to announce partial implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations in 1990, the BJP engineered the government's defeat in a no-confidence motion, much the same way as the Jan Sangh had ousted Karpooori Thakur from power after the implementation of reservation for OBCs in Bihar in the late 1970s on the basis of the Mungeri

Lal Commission report. It is well known that the Sangh brigade opposed the Mandal Commission measures of OBC empowerment as fiercely as it had opposed the Constitution of India at the time of its adoption. It is another thing that now in power, it swears allegiance to the Constitution even as it wages a relentless war of subversion of all constitutional values, principles and objectives; and with the rise of Modi it has been busy projecting the BJP as the biggest champion of OBC assertion.

Now the latest caste census U-turn signals the Sangh-BJP desperation to hijack the popular call for comprehensive social justice even as the Sangh brigade is busy trying to stop the biopic on Savitribai and Jyotirao Phule, the legendary pioneers of women's education and bahujan empowerment in 19th century India and its members continue to perpetrate caste atrocities across the country. Post-Pahalgam, the Sangh brigade worked overtime to weaponise the terror attack for its agenda of hate and division. When terrorists kill on the basis of religion, other identities like caste, language and region should no more matter - this was the aggressive Sanghi line of post-Pahalgam propaganda. But now just a week after the attack, the government itself has decided to ask everybody's caste identity, making it clear that the government needs an urgent tool to deflect public attention away from the questions that Pahalgam has generated.

Ten years ago, the BJP had cut a sorry figure in Bihar when it did not have the support of Nitish

Kumar and Bihar reacted strongly against Mohan Bhagwat's call for 'review' of reservations, a thinly veiled expression of the Sangh-BJP clamour for ending reservation. Ahead of the 2024 elections, the same Bhagwat acknowledged two thousand years of caste oppression, a departure from the oft-repeated Sangh formulation of caste as a defence mechanism adopted by Hindus in the face of 'Muslim aggression' or caste as a colonial era legacy, and asked the Sangh to tolerate reservations for two hundred years. And now ahead of the forthcoming Assembly elections in Bihar, the Modi government is trying to camouflage the Sangh's campaign of subversion of the Constitution in general and reservations in particular by this sudden announcement of caste census.

The same Sangh-BJP ideologues, IT cell and godi media amplifiers who were mocking at the call for caste census till the other day have overnight turned into caste census exponents. The government which told the Supreme Court that conducting a caste census was a logistical nightmare and impossibility is now busy blaming the Congress for not having held a caste census all these years. The Modi-Yogi slogans "batenge toh katenge" (divided you'll be slaughtered) and "ek hai to safe hai" (stay united to stay safe) that were coined and repeated endlessly during the 2024 BJP Lok Sabha campaign in order to counter the caste census demand and advocate Hindu unity on the basis of anti-Muslim fear and hate have now been put on the back burner.

Bihar had already done its caste count in 2023 and on the basis of the 2023 caste data, the state Assembly had unanimously adopted a resolution to enhance the level of reservation to 65 percent. The onus for getting it implemented by incorporating it in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution

and thus taking it out of the ambit of judicial review lay with the Modi government. With this caste census announcement, the Modi government now seeks to nullify the caste surveys that have already taken place in states and defer the whole agenda to an indefinite future. The social justice movement of India must therefore become more alert and mount decisive pressure on the government to implement the caste census at the earliest and take it to its logical conclusion.

In the absence of up-to-date caste data and given the Supreme Court directed cap of 50 percent on caste-based reservation, the OBC quota has been pegged at 27 percent, way lower than the estimated proportion of OBC population in Indian society. Even this 27 percent reservation has been achieved only in phases, first in government employment in 1990 and then in central educational institutions in 2006. But with relentless downsizing of government jobs, institutionalisation of lateral entry in higher echelons of bureaucracy to bypass reservations and most recently with the introduction of reservation on economic basis for otherwise privileged caste groups, reservation as a measure of affirmative action has lost much of its earlier efficacy. The social justice movement must therefore fight for not just removal of the artificial 50 percent quota cap and for extension of reservation to the private sector, but also for completion of effective land reforms and reversal of the neoliberal policies that have undermined the state's role in the spheres of education and employment.

A properly conducted caste census should reveal a comprehensive picture of social inequality in India. Now that the social justice movement has succeeded in forcing the Modi government to agree to this first step, the battle has to be intensified not only for an honest timebound implementation of the census but also for necessary follow-up action to destroy caste-based privileges and ensure fair representation and rightful participation of the historically excluded and underrepresented sections of Indians in all spheres.

(This article was first published in *The Wire* on May 4, 2025.)

Women Fight Back Mahila Adalat Challenges Nitish Kumar's PR-Driven Mahila Samvaad

▲ VANDANA PRABHA



When Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar launched the Mahila Samvaad campaign in April 2025, it was touted as a transformative initiative to empower over two crore women. Backed by a Rs. 300 crore budget, mobile vans, LED screens, and multimedia fanfare, the campaign promised to bring governance closer to women. But with state elections around the corner, its timing raises questions. Is this a genuine attempt at inclusion—or an elaborate PR stunt to secure the women's vote bank?

In recent elections across India, women have emerged as independent political agents, often voting based on issues like health, education, livelihood, and safety, rather than caste or community. Bihar is no exception: women outnumbered men in the 2020 state assembly election turnout. The Nitish-led government's sudden enthusiasm for women's engagement must be seen in this political context.

On closer scrutiny, Mahila Samvaad appears less about dialogue and more about top-down messaging. Rolled out through JEEViKA's bureaucratic machinery, the campaign seems curated from above rather than organically led from below. Senior officials participate, but the structure leaves little room for real dissent. Many women report being silenced or discouraged from raising uncomfortable questions. Far from being a space of empowerment, this initiative risks becoming a state-scripted spectacle of participation. While officials focus on information dissemination in favour of the government on schemes for women like Kanya Utthan Yojana, free bicycles, and JEEViKA loans—programs that have existed for years—ground realities remain unchanged. Violence, debt, child marriage, and school dropouts continue unabated. According to Bihar's Economic Survey, crimes against women rose by 13% between 2021 and 2022. The situation demands accountability, not announcements.

A People's Tribunal: Mahila Adalat

In response to the government's orchestrated campaign, the All India Progressive Women's Association (AIPWA) launched Mahila Adalat, a grassroots public hearing initiative that puts real women's voices at the centre.

Between May 13 and 19, Mahila Adalat (Women's Court) programs were organized in several locations across Bihar, including Gaya, Arwal, and various areas of Patna city such as Kadamkuan, CT, and Gulzarbagh, as well as rural Patna in Paliganj, Bihta, Masaurhi, and Punpun. The initiative also took place in Bhojpur (Agiaon, Jagdishpur, Ara, Sahar, Garhani, and Piro), Vaishali (Lalganj and Hajipur), Muzaffarpur (Musahri), and Siwan (Raghunathpur), among other places — with more events scheduled in the coming days. AIPWA General Secretary participated in the Mahila Adalat programs held in Lalganj, Musahri, Pali, and Bihta.

Women came forward not to receive state messaging but to speak, demand, and resist. The issues raised paint a far bleaker picture than the one projected in Mahila Samvaad.

Ground Realities the Government Won't Broadcast

Exploitation through JEEViKA:

Women reported that JEEViKA self-help groups, instead of fostering empowerment, now function as tools of extraction. The government collects funds from these women for basic operations, yet offers no job security.

Underpaid Scheme Workers:

ASHAs, Anganwadi workers, Mamta workers, and cooks earn a pittance—Rs. 1650 per month in some cases—while playing essential roles in public welfare. These women are rising up against the Nitish-Modi government's exploitative policies.

Microfinance Harassment:

To run their homes, many women are forced to take loans. But microfinance companies are harassing them for repayments. Families are living in fear, some even fleeing their homes.

When they can't pay instalments, their Aadhaar cards are seized, blocking access to government schemes. While the government waives loans for big businesses, poor women are left to suffer. The demand for loan waivers is now turning into a major movement.

Prepaid Electricity Meters:

Women decried the imposition of prepaid meters, calling them coercive and unjust. Women strongly protested the coercive policies of the electricity department, especially the installation of prepaid electricity meters, which they described as a heavy burden on the poor. They demanded immediate removal of these meters, citing harassment by the authorities.

Education in Crisis:

"Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao" is a hollow slogan in a state where colleges lack teachers, fees are rising, and scholarships are delayed. Skill programs fail to translate into jobs, leaving educated girls stranded.

Basic Needs Denied:

Malnourishment, inaccessible healthcare, and the collapse of local health infrastructure plague rural Bihar. Women are demanding MGNREGA jobs, restored health services, Rs. 1500 in pension, and a dignity allowance of Rs. 2500.

Unfulfilled Promises to Dalit Women:

Land promised for housing before the 2020 elections remains undelivered. Landless Dalit women feel betrayed.

Unaffordable LPG:

A once-celebrated shift to LPG cooking has become a burden. The central government once promoted LPG as a cleaner cooking alternative to relieve women from cooking over firewood, skyrocketing LPG prices—

reaching Rs. 1,000 per cylinder—have placed them beyond the reach of the poor.

Rising Gender-Based Violence:

Women and girls in Bihar still face deep social inequality and structural violence especially those from Scheduled Castes, backward classes, and economically weaker communities. Sexual violence, including rape and gang rape, has increased sharply. According to the NCRB 2022 report, crimes against women in Bihar rose by 20% in recent years. Government services meant to protect women—like the Sakhi One Stop Centres, 181 helpline, and women's police stations—are hard to access, especially in rural areas. Often, the accused are politically or socially powerful, and victims face social pressure and mental harassment instead of justice. Girls face rising threats of sexual harassment, assault, blackmail, and even honour killings.

Beyond Slogans: A Call for Political Consciousness

While Mahila Samvaad claims to "listen," Mahila Adalat proves that women aren't waiting to be heard, they're demanding to be answered. The government's polished optics are no substitute for real accountability. AIPWA's initiative shows what genuine political participation can look like: organized, fearless, and rooted in lived experiences. The contrast is stark where the state uses loudspeakers, women use the power of testimony.

As Bihar approaches another critical election, women must not be reduced to passive recipients of state messaging. They are not props in a Rs. 300 crore performance. They are citizens demanding justice, dignity, and structural change not a Rs. 300 crore performance!! ■

Why 10 May Deserves a Grand Commemoration

▲ AKASH BHATTACHARYA

10 May 2025 marked the 168th anniversary of the Revolt of 1857. It went rather unnoticed, as usual. While the Revolt has attained iconic status as the first war of independence, its role as an act of nation-making remains overlooked. This is partly due to historical oversight and partly due to deliberate attempts to manipulate its historical memory.

The rebel leaders set forth the ideal of national sovereignty vis-à-vis European colonial rule. They imaged the nation as plural and diverse; its cartographic template broadly corresponded to undivided India.

The Revolt produced the earliest known articulation of a modern sovereign Indian political identity, in the form of Azimullah Khan's iconic composition: Hum Hai Iske Malik, Hindustan Humara. Composed by a Muslim leader, it spoke about an Indian identity based on unity of all religions and communities, especially between Hindus and Muslims. The song was infused with the spirit of unity that guided the Revolt: Hindus and Muslims chose each other as leaders, and fought shoulder to shoulder against a colonizing force.

Other than the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Revolt also stood out for its mass character, social diversity and unprecedented scale. All these together shocked the Britishers. The British Crown ended Company rule and started governing India directly after suppressing the Revolt.

From here onwards, they deliberately introduced ideas of racial superiority and racial segregation as dominant ideologies of the empire. The Indians now came to be projected as barbaric, as people who

must be controlled. This was a way of suppressing India's political agency whose powerful display almost cost the British the empire in 1857.

1857 onwards, we find a conscious effort by the British government to divide Indians on religious lines as a matter of policy. Religious fault-lines were deliberately played up in the post-1857 colonial discourse, and religious conflict came to be projected as a key element of Indian "barbarism".

Despite the Revolt's composite character, or rather because of it, the Britishers blamed the Muslim community for conspiring to destabilize their rule, and began to exclude them from the freshly constituted structures of governance. At the same time, they pretended to be benevolent to Hindus, and attempted to "befriend" Hindus as a community. This created a political and economic chasm between the two communities, and eventually tore the country apart.

Far from being a revolt of a few disgruntled kings, queens and feudal lords, 1857 was a national uprising of peasants whether in soldiers' uniforms or without, artisans and small traders, and other sections of the Indian people cutting across caste and creed. The appointment of the titular Mughal ruler as the leader was nothing more than a tactical move.

While several Indian princes played a major role in eventually betraying the rebels, the princes who emerged as rebel leaders invariably connected with the masses. Kunwar Singh from Bihar is a good example. He led a mass rebellion in Shahabad, which was remarkable for the armed guerrilla warfare of peasantry against imperialism, its Hindu-Muslim unity, and

its spirit of democratic equality towards the peasant masses and oppressed castes.

The mass character of the Revolt arose from the events which preceded it. For almost two decades preceding the Revolt, its epicentres had witnessed militant movements of Adivasi peasants against the colonial-feudal nexus of exploitation and oppression.

The Revolt of 1857 was followed by several such movements such as the Santhal rebellions which presaged the worker-peasant-Adivasi agitations of the 1920s and 1930s. The Revolt was thus a precursor to the 20th century freedom struggle in which revolts against societal exploitation combined with revolts against colonial rule and tireless efforts to build Hindu-Muslim unity, to create a nationalist mass consciousness that accepted justice, equality and fraternity as central objectives of nation-making.

Not only the British but also Indian feudal forces were taken aback by the scale and diversity of the Revolt. VD Savarkar was among those uncomfortable ones. His much-celebrated book on the Revolt of 1857 downplayed its mass character, overlooked the peasant and Adivasi rebellions it gave birth to, and portrayed Hindu-Muslim unity as a tactical rather than principled move by the rebels.

Given that Savarkar's worshippers are now ruling the country, no wonder their aggressive nationalism has little space for the Revolt of 1857 except its manipulative commemoration by VD Savarkar. Unwilling to accept a deeply plural and diverse popular movement as a foundational moment of the modern Indian nation, Hindutva narratives of the nation's origin hark back to an ancient "Hindu" Brahminical past. It becomes important for today's secular, democratic forces to commemorate the Revolt of 1857 as not only a war of independence but also as a foundational act of nation-making. ■

Pahalgam, Operation Sindoor, Ceasefire: Pressing Questions Awaiting Answers

▲ DIPANKAR BHATTACHARYA

The horrific terrorist attack in Pahalgam claimed twenty-six lives including twenty-four Indian tourists, a Nepali tourist and a local Kashmiri pony operator. India responded by first announcing a series of measures against Pakistan including the controversial decision to suspend the 1960 Indus water-sharing agreement. Pakistan responded with a set of retaliatory measures including the suspension of the historic Simla Agreement of 1972 which had ruled out any third-party intervention in Indo-Pak bilateral matters. Two weeks later India launched a military reprisal against alleged terror camps in Pakistan. Retaliation ensued from the Pakistan side and the conflagration threatened to escalate into yet another full-scale war.

With the whole world apprehensive of the consequences of this growing military combat between these two nuclear-powered neighbours, there came the announcement of a truce. The news was broken on social media by US President Trump who credited it to a long night of American mediation, before formal announcements followed from India and Pakistan. Two days later Prime Minister Modi acknowledged the ceasefire, describing it as a watchful and conditional suspension of the Indian military response, codenamed Operation Sindoor, and attributing it to a desperate plea from Pakistan for respite. But once again, moments

before Modi's address, President Trump reiterated that the truce had been achieved through American intervention and the US did it by leveraging its power in international trade. And after Modi's address, Trump has again repeated his claim during his visit to Saudi Arabia along with his offer to invite the PMs of India and Pakistan to 'a nice dinner'.

Three weeks since the Pahalgam terror attack, we are thus faced with a number of pressing unanswered questions. Modi has made two major speeches in these three weeks, the first from what can only be called an election rally in Bihar's Madhubani where he announced his government's resolve to pursue the perpetrators of terror to the end of the earth and now his post-ceasefire televised address to the nation. For all his rhetorical bravado, his silences continue to ring louder than his assertions. By the government's own proclamations, Operation Sindoor was meant to secure justice for the victims of the Pahalgam terror attack and now the government claims that justice has been served. But even as we are told that several terror camps in Pakistan have been destroyed and many 'dreaded terrorists' eliminated, we know nothing about the perpetrators of the Pahalgam carnage.

Modi has remained conspicuously silent about the claims made by Trump and senior US officials. His silence only lends credence to the American claims.

India has in the past always been against American intervention in India's internal matters or Indo-Pak bilateral affairs. By suspending the 1972 Simla Agreement, Pakistan has clearly signalled its intention to open the Kashmir question to international mediation, and Trump has quickly stepped in with his renewed offer to mediate. Modi's silence about the growing signs and claims of American intervention does not inspire any confidence or clarity about the future of India's foreign policy when India continues to get increasingly isolated in the region even as India's dependence on the US-Israel axis grows by the day.

In the context of Russia's war on Ukraine, Modi came up with the grand formulation: this is not the era of war. Now after the ceasefire, he chose the occasion of Buddha Purnima, to return to that formulation: this is the era of neither war nor terror. He would like us to believe that with Operation Sindoor, his government has made a bold and defining statement against terror. But as of now, even the military balance sheet of the exercise does not suggest any clear victory with India's military establishment telling us that losses are a part of combat and will be counted when the combat is truly over. We are told that our pilots are all safely back home but there is no clarity about the reported loss of India's fighting aircrafts.

If anything, this operation has taught us once again that a country must not rush into war without exhausting diplomatic options. The media which was spreading the fake news of capturing Karachi and Lahore now has to live with the reality of a ceasefire. In his address to the nation, Modi has said that from now on every act of terror will be treated as an act of war. Such a generalised conflation of terror with war, will put India and Pakistan in a permanent warlike

situation, and as the chain of events from Operation Sindoor to ceasefire has demonstrated, such a situation will only turn the subcontinent into an extended theatre of a US-China showdown. If we have to overcome the twin threats of terror and war and keep the subcontinent free from the strategic implications of a US-China showdown, India and Pakistan will have to work for lasting peace in the region and improved bilateral understanding and cooperation.

Enraged by the new turn of events, the Sanghi troll army targeted Foreign Secretary Vikram Misri and his family, forcing him to lock his twitter account, and the government refused to condemn this abusive trolling of one of its own senior officials. Madhya Pradesh BJP Minister Kunwar Vijay Shah has made insulting remarks against Colonel Sofiya Qureshi, calling her a sister of the terrorists. The war hysteria and communal venom is not giving rise to only abusive trolling, but also to heightened attacks on Kashmiri people and migrant Muslim workers. BJP hooligans are also attacking

citizen assemblies and marches for peace and harmony.

As the myths built assiduously around the so-called great global standing and power of the Modi government get shattered in real life, the frustrated Sangh brigade and bhakt army are likely to give vent to their anger by unleashing more communal venom and violence in the coming days. But these tension-filled days since the Pahalgam terror attack have also shown us enough glimpses of the strength and courage of the people to face the challenges with unity and calm resolve. We saw the people of Kashmir come out in large numbers on the streets to unequivocally condemn terrorism and the heinous attacks on tourists. We heard Himanshi Narwal insisting on justice with peace and appealing against any targeting of Kashmiris and Muslims in the name of avenging terror. We watched Shaila Negi confront a violent hate-filled mob on the streets of Nainital with inspiring courage and clarity.

The entire opposition has demanded an urgent special session

of Parliament to discuss the current crisis in depth and seek answers on the whole gamut of questions the government is trying to evade. We need to acknowledge every life we have lost, of civilians or soldiers, in the Pahalgam terror attack and in the course of Operation Sindoor and Pakistani retaliation. The state must compensate for the deaths and stand with the families that have lost their breadwinners. Action has to be taken against the propagators of hate and lies in the media that only weakened India at such a crucial juncture. The politics of hate and violence and the policies of persecution and suppression of dissent will have to stop.

The spirit of nationalism and concern for national unity must not be used as a smokescreen to deprive the people of their rights and curb their just democratic struggles. India's national security is best defended through India's composite culture, constitutional rule of law, and a conducive environment for the people to exercise their democratic rights. ■

War-Mongering Godi Media

▲ LEKHA ADAVI

Following the Pahalgam terror attack, India's military response through Operation Sindoor and the subsequent announcement of a ceasefire with Pakistan, mainstream Indian media indulged in rage-baiting, spreading misinformation, and using provocative language to stoke jingoism. The Godi Media, with its deafening decibels, invited self-proclaimed

defense experts, security analysts, and retired military personnel to justify their warmongering and project machismo—while remaining oblivious to the grief and suffering of the families of tourists who were killed, and those who died in the crossfire. Meanwhile, Himanshi Narwal who lost her husband in the attack was trolled online for seeking peace, unity, justice and sanity.

War Became Entertainment

Newsrooms were saturated with visuals of war: fighter jets, bombings, and gunfire. Godi Media anchors spread fake news - claiming Karachi Port had been bombed, a Fidayeen attack had occurred in Kashmir, a Pakistani fighter jet pilot had been captured, and hundreds had died in Pakistan. They parodied Pakistani politicians, shouted “maza aa jayega” at the idea of Pakistan being razed to the ground, and called for blood—“Asif Munir ka sar kaat ke Noida ke raaston par football khelenge!” The live coverage of the three-day exchange of fire featured reporters from the LoC

giving away tactical and locational details, jeopardizing the Indian Army's operations. This prompted the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to issue an advisory urging media outlets to refrain from revealing sensitive, source-based information that could compromise operational effectiveness and endanger lives. Channels were advised to avoid live coverage of anti-terror operations and troop movements, limiting reports to official briefings until operations concluded.

Yet the same Godi Media, claiming patriotism, risked national security and Indian lives in their pursuit of sensationalism - cheerleading the murder of innocents. BJP spokesperson Sanju Verma even congratulated Arnab Goswami live on air for his "skyrocketing TRP" during the military operation.

Crackdown on Critical Voices

While the government turned a blind eye to the recklessness of Godi Media, it swiftly cracked down on liberal and progressive voices who questioned the government and its jingoistic rhetoric. Independent journalist Rejaz Sydeek from Kerala, and a student activist affiliated with the Democratic Students' Association, was arrested under UAPA in Nagpur after posting criticism of "Operation Sindoor" on social media. Under executive orders, X (formerly Twitter) blocked over 8,000 accounts belonging to international media and prominent users. In a statement, X said, "In most cases, the Indian government has not specified which posts from an account have violated India's local laws... we did not receive any evidence or justification to block the accounts," adding, "Blocking entire

accounts is not only unnecessary, it amounts to censorship of existing and future content." X acknowledged the difficulty of the decision but emphasized that keeping the platform accessible is vital to Indians' ability to access information.

Online news portal The Wire was blocked for several hours after publishing a story on the Rafale jets, later restored only after the article was taken down, with officials citing "technical limitations."

Mohammed Zubair, co-founder of AltNews, faced a torrent of abuse for fact-checking false claims the night Operation Sindoor was launched. He worked tirelessly to provide accurate information in a volatile situation and helped debunk fake narratives and old war footages circulated by Pakistan. Many lauded him as "India's Chief of the Information War," yet that didn't stop trolls from doxing him and even sending pork meat to his home. He sought police protection in the aftermath.

Ali Khan Mahmudabad, an assistant professor at Ashoka University, was arrested for posting on social media: "There are those who are mindlessly advocating for a war but they have never seen one, let alone lived in or visited a conflict zone." He further added, "I am very happy to see so many right-wing commentators applauding Colonel Sofiya Qureshi, but perhaps they could also equally loudly demand that the victims of mob lynchings, arbitrary bulldozing, and others who are victims of the BJP's hate-mongering be protected as Indian citizens. The optics of two women soldiers presenting their findings is important, but optics must translate to reality on the ground—otherwise it's just hypocrisy."

Likewise, Comrade Manish,

the AISA State President of Uttar Pradesh, faced an FIR for a social media post.

The arrest of Prof. Mahmudabad was a clear act of Islamophobia, and the FIR against Comrade Manish shows the government is actively silencing dissent and suppressing the constitutional right to seek truth and accountability.

Declining Press Freedom and the Quest for Truth

Press freedom in India has sharply declined in recent years, marred by increasing violence, harassment, and censorship targeting journalists. Reporters are under threat from both state and non-state actors, facing legal intimidation through sedition and defamation charges, along with physical attacks. Many more—especially women—are subjected to relentless online abuse. Rising government pressure on media houses, coupled with the suppression of dissenting voices and the proliferation of misinformation, has created an environment of fear and self-censorship, putting the future of independent journalism at serious risk.

In Kashmir, a systematic clampdown on the press has taken root. Journalists are frequently detained, interrogated, and harassed under the pretext of "national security." Independent media like The Kashmir Walla has been especially targeted, with its editor Fahad Shah booked under the UAPA. Surveillance and intimidation are routine, and press freedom in the region is virtually non-existent.

In times of war or national crisis, the role of the media becomes more crucial than ever—yet much of the Indian mainstream media has increasingly resorted

to war-mongering, sensationalism, and jingoistic rhetoric instead of responsible reporting. By prioritising TRPs over truth, many channels amplify misinformation, glorify violence, and inflame public sentiment, often at the cost of national security and human lives. During the recent military operation, what the people truly needed was factual reporting, reliable ground updates, and clarity to stay informed and safe. What they received instead was noise—loud untruths, theatrics, and manufactured rage. The frenzy of flag-waving and manufactured patriotism drowned out critical voices and suppressed calls for peace and accountability.

In such volatile moments, what the country urgently needs is principled, fact-based journalism that informs the public, holds power to account, and upholds democratic values—not media that acts as a megaphone for propaganda. True journalism must serve the people, not power. It's time for citizens to confront this dangerous degradation of public discourse and reject the weaponisation of the media. Say no to information warfare—demand truth. ■

Amid War Hysteria and Communal Hatred, People Stand United for Peace and Diplomacy

In a resounding display of unity, Kolkata witnessed a massive gathering on 13 May as Left-wing parties and progressive citizens rallied against the growing tide of war hysteria, communalism, and terrorism. This protest, organised by a coalition of Leftist parties—including CPI(M) Liberation, CPIM, CPI, SUCI, and RSP—and supported by hundreds of citizens, called for peace, justice, and diplomacy. Days after the horrific Pahalgam terror attack and the loss of twenty-six precious lives, we still do not know when the perpetrators will be brought to justice.

Addressing the protest march, CPI(ML) Central Committee member Jayatu Deshmukh stated that a resounding rejection of war and a commitment to people-to-people solidarity will form the foundation for lasting peace and stability in the region. The ceasefire should be used as the first step towards complete de-escalation. Both India and Pakistan must withdraw the announcements made in the wake of the Pahalgam terror attack and restore full diplomatic relations. The perpetrators must be brought to justice, and measures must be taken to ensure lasting peace and promote friendship and cooperation in the region.

The protest followed a disturbing incident on 12 May, when BJP goons attacked a peaceful march organised by citizens opposing the dangerous rhetoric of war and communal hatred. Peaceful demonstrators were met with violence, as BJP thugs launched an unprovoked assault on the rally, injuring several protestors. Shockingly, instead of protecting citizens exercising their democratic rights, the Kolkata Police arrested over a hundred peaceful marchers.

CPI(ML) West Bengal State Committee member Malay Tiwari remarked, “A large contingent of police and RAF personnel had been deployed at the site. Shockingly, instead of protecting the peaceful demonstrators, the police and RAF ended up arresting us - ordinary citizens exercising our democratic right to protest.”

Earlier that day, local BJP leader Sajal Ghosh had posted threats on social media targeting the march. A large group of BJP members gathered at the venue under his leadership just as the rally was about to begin. Although the police initially blocked their path, they soon returned by another route and launched an unprovoked attack on protesters - many of whom were senior citizens - by throwing burnt oil on them. Rather than acting against the BJP goons, the police chose to arrest peaceful demonstrators,” Malay Tiwari said.

The rally was organised under a clear slogan: “Say No to War. We Want



Peace.” It is important to note that this call was issued by civil society even before the ceasefire between India and Pakistan was announced.

The right-wing attack on protesters and the heavy-handed response by the authorities has only strengthened the resolve of Kolkata's citizens, who returned to the streets the next day in even greater numbers.

An anti-war protest was also organised by CPI(ML) in Siliguri, where Politburo member and West Bengal State Secretary Comrade Abhijit Mazumdar addressed the march, calling for an end to warmongering, communal hate, and terrorism.

Bihar: Anti-War Marches Uphold Shared Heritage and Anti-Imperialist Nationalism

Standing firm under the banner of Indian nationalism rooted in anti-imperialism and shared sacrifice, the CPI(ML) and the All India Kisan Mahasabha (AIKM) held statewide programmes across Bihar on 10 May, raising their voices against war-mongering, communal violence, and repression, while calling for peace, harmony, and justice. These events coincided with the anniversary of the First War of Independence against British rule, which began on this day in 1857.

Marches were organised in Patna, Ara, Paliganj, Masaurhi, Gaya, Nawada, Buxar, Banka, and other locations to honour the martyrs of the freedom struggle. In Patna, a march began at the GPO Golambar and culminated in a gathering near the Buddha Smriti Park.

Addressing the gathering in Patna, CPI(ML) Politburo member Meena Tiwari said, “The terrorist attack in Pahalgam is deeply sorrowful. The perpetrators must be given the harshest punishment



and brought to justice through legal means, but we must not permit war hysteria in its name. We must not forget that India and Pakistan are nuclear-armed neighbours. People in both countries cannot afford another war. Reject the war frenzy, reduce tensions, and work towards lasting peace. The most affected by war will be women and children. The Indian government should resolve this through diplomatic dialogue.”

Uttar Pradesh

On May 10 at the call of Insaf Manch of Uttar Pradesh, a convention took place at Nehru Yuva Kendra near the famous Lucknow Residency to mark the 168th anniversary of the 1857 uprising. The convention began by mourning the Pahalgam terror victims and endorsed the cry for peace and justice raised by the Pahalgam victim families. The convention appealed for de-escalation between India and Pakistan and resolved to intensify the battle to defend the Constitution of India and the great legacy of India's anti-colonial freedom movement.

Student Protest and Online Campaign

On 9 May, the All India Students' Association (AISA) organised a demonstration in Kolkata, calling for peace and urging the government

to engage in dialogue rather than conflict. “Let us say a loud no to another India-Pakistan war,” said AISA activists, urging both governments to prioritise diplomacy and avoid the devastation that war would bring.

Following the protest, the AISA activists were harassed, doxxed, and subjected to threats by right-wing goons and warmongers. A police FIR was filed by the activists in response to these threats.

As part of the broader anti-war movement, a nationwide online campaign - #SayNoToWar was launched on 9 May on the social media platform X (formerly Twitter). The campaign quickly gained traction, with thousands of citizens from across the country joining the virtual protest. It became a nationwide call for peace and an unequivocal rejection of communal violence and terrorism.

The solidarity shown both online and, on the ground, represents a growing wave of resistance to the war-mongering rhetoric propagated by sections of the political establishment. Rejecting war hysteria, the voices unanimously condemned terrorism and communal hatred, demanding the arrest of the perpetrators of the Pahalgam terror attack and justice for the victims. ■

The Pahalgam Terror Attack: Questions the Modi Government Must Answer

The heinous Pahalgam attack has once again brought us face to face with the brutality of terrorism. The brutal killing of as many as twenty-six tourists, including a tourist from Nepal and a local pony operator from Pahalgam has shocked the world. The perpetrators of this ghastly crime must be brought to justice. Accountability for the many lapses and omissions on multiple levels that enabled the perpetrators to kill at will and flee unobstructed after carrying out this cold-blooded terror attack, must be fixed.

When the UPA government was in power, Narendra Modi as Chief Minister of Gujarat used to demand answers from former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for every terror attack which took place in Jammu and Kashmir. The video of an eloquent Narendra Modi asking Manmohan Singh to explain how terrorists could cross the border and kill people at will when the powers that be in Delhi have complete control over the country's borders and over the flow of funds, information and communication, has been watched by millions over the last decade and more. The Pahalgam attack is the first instance of tourists having been targeted on this scale in the valley. The same questions are today all the more pertinent, yet the deafening silence of Modi as India's PM seems to be mocking at the questions raised by Modi as Gujarat CM.

Jammu and Kashmir is today a Union Territory, which means that the law and order in this region is an exclusive responsibility of the Union Government. The unified central command dealing with the

challenge of terrorism is headed not by the elected Chief Minister but by the Lieutenant Governor appointed by the Union Government. Just two weeks before the April 22 Pahalgam terror attack, Union Home Minister Amit Shah had visited the state to review the security situation and CM Omar Abdullah was kept out of that meeting. After the meeting Shah told the media how the Modi government had freed Kashmir from the scourge of terrorism and restored normalcy in the state. Today Home Minister Amit Shah, National Security Advisor Ajit Doval and Lieutenant-Governor Manoj Sinha should take the primary responsibility for the Pahalgam tragedy and heads should roll. But abdication of responsibility and refusal of accountability remain the hallmark of the Modi regime.

There are now reports about the establishment having prior intelligence inputs about a possible terror attack. The fact that Narendra Modi's scheduled visit to Jammu & Kashmir on 19 April was called off at the last moment only lends credence to such reports. Reports suggest that the perpetrators of the terror attack were around for quite a few days and had perfected their plans with due reconnaissance. This makes it all the more shocking and indefensible that some two thousand tourists were left in a state of utter vulnerability without an iota of police or military presence in an otherwise massively militarised state. Many victim families, security analysts and Kashmir watchers have flagged this crucial intelligence and security lapse but the government and dominant media are conspicuously silent about it.

The dominant media and the Sangh-BJP IT cell are instead busy demonising Kashmiris and the entire Muslim community over the Pahalgam terror attack. If the terrorists targeted tourists, and particularly so for their religious identity, local Kashmiri Muslims risked and even sacrificed their lives to ferry tourists to safety and rush the injured to hospitals. In the absence of any security and with no official help for no less than an hour and a half, it was the local people's intervention which saved many lives and kept the death toll limited. People came out on the streets to condemn this horrific attack and this huge blow to tourism, a major base of Kashmir's economy and many people's livelihood, and there was a spontaneous shutdown across the state in protest. In the wake of the Pahalgam massacre, while airlines are busy fleecing the stranded tourists desperate to return home, Kashmiris have opened their hearts and homes to extend a warm helping hand. Yet Kashmiri Muslims are being vilified and the result of the toxic hate campaign of the Sangh brigade and the Godi Media can be seen across India in increased threats and violence against Kashmiri students, traders and labourers.

As with the Pulwama incident six years ago, the government is once again busy harvesting the shock and anger of the people for electoral gains. The PM cut short his visit to Saudi Arabia and cancelled his scheduled programme in Kanpur on 24 April not to visit Kashmir but to address a rally in Bihar where elections are due later this year. He also did not bother to attend the all-party meeting in Delhi to discuss the Pahalgam attack.

The decisions taken by India to suspend the Indus waters treaty, cancel visas granted to Pakistani citizens, downsize the High Commission strength and stop the

Attari check point on the Indo-Pak border, and the retaliatory measures announced by Pakistan will curtail legal diplomatic ties and interaction between the two countries, intensify tensions between the two neighbours and put citizens of both countries to inconvenience in their legitimate activities, but are unlikely to put any real curb on terrorist activities. The focus is on creating a jingoistic climate to divert people's attention from the Modi government's many failures and whip up an Islamophobic hysteria. There is, needless to say, no attempt to address the pain of the people of Kashmir for whom the paradise of the valley has long been marred by mass killings, disappearances, and incarcerations, and who since 2019 have faced a further escalation of militarization and repression, suppression of their democratic aspirations and the loss of Constitutionally guaranteed rights.

The orchestrated loud clamour for revenge attacks and collective punishment of Kashmir has already put Kashmiri students and traders at grave risk in many parts of India. Reports of violent hate campaigns against Bengali-speaking Muslim workers are also coming in from Gujarat and Maharashtra. Within Kashmir, family homes of individual suspects and accused are being blown up in direct contravention of the recent Supreme Court ruling, and blanket mass arrests are yet again underway. The government which completely abdicated its responsibility to provide security to the people is now busy feeding the Islamophobic frenzy with spectacles of performative retribution.

Meanwhile, the voices of the families of the Pahalgam attack victims demanding answers and accountability from the Modi government are being deliberately silenced. The anger of Shital Kalathiya



On May 3, Bihar observed a Statewide Protest Day led by CPIML and Insaaf Manch, paying tribute to Pahalgam attack victims and denouncing communal polarization and anti-Muslim hatred.

of Surat, who lost her banker husband Shailesh Kalathiya in Pahalgam, against the VIP-obsessed security culture which left tax-paying tourists at grave risk, reflects the pain of every Indian who lost their kin in a context of government indifference and callousness, whether in the Covid19 pandemic or the Mahakumbh stampede or now in the Pahalgam terrorist attack. While tourists paid with their lives in Pahalgam for the total absence of security, there are now reports of Jharkhand BJP MP Nishikant Dubey, notorious for his irresponsible remarks against opposition leaders and even the Chief Justice of India, celebrating his 25th wedding anniversary in Gulmarg, Kashmir amidst tight security arrangements just a few days before the Pahalgam terror attack. Meanwhile, the recent denial of responsibility for the attack by the Lashkar-e-Taiba offshoot The Resistance Front, which had ostensibly claimed responsibility earlier, only makes the whole incident even murkier.

Contrary to the BJP's claims about 'solving' the Kashmir question, the Modi government's Kashmir policy has only deepened the crisis. In November 2016, demonetisation was sold as a sure antidote against terrorism in Kashmir. Pulwama shattered that myth in no time. The

stripping of Jammu and Kashmir's constitutional status, including its very statehood, on 5 August 2019 was advertised as another masterstroke. Pahalgam has now thoroughly punctured this propaganda. Tourists were encouraged to visit Kashmir as part of this propaganda, but now after the Pahalgam attack, the government tells us that the tourists in Baisaran valley did not have necessary police permission to visit the meadow.

It is this innate disrespect for the lives and rights of ordinary people which makes the Modi regime an unmitigated disaster cutting across communities and regions. From Manipur to Kashmir, and Maharashtra to Chhattisgarh, the Sangh's power games are making India bleed and burn while the Adanis and Ambanis count their billions and the BJP and its allies celebrate. Pahalgam is the latest wake-up call for India in the 75th anniversary of the republic.

The people must stand united against the fascist forces' despicable attempts to exploit the Pahalgam tragedy to sow further hatred and polarization. And as more questions arise daily about how the heinous attack could happen, we must insist on holding those in power accountable and not allow the truth to become another casualty. ■

Operation Kagar: The War on Adivasis and Their Land

The escalated war on Maoists under “Operation Kagar”, has seen security forces in Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Maharashtra claim the lives of hundreds of Adivasis over the past year, and in particular since January 2025. The use of advanced warfare equipment including Israeli drones, fake encounters, extrajudicial violence by the state, and large-scale proliferation of security camps particularly in Bastar, Chhattisgarh, have to be seen in the context of Home Minister Amit Shah setting March 2026 as the deadline to make India Maoist-free.

This alarming militarisation has been met with peaceful and sustained protests by Adivasis against the establishment of security camps in Fifth Schedule Areas without any consultation and consent of the concerned Gram Sabhas, and illegal appropriation of their forests, lands and other resources while also demanding proper schools, health facilities and other basic amenities. The Chhattisgarh government has responded by banning a people's rights organisation like the Moolvasi Bachao Manch, in October 2024, under the provisions of the draconian Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act. More recently, the Chhattisgarh's police has targeted Manish Kunjam, prominent Adivasi leader in the Bastar region, who has been at the forefront of the struggle seeking investigation into the irregularities of distribution of tendu patta bonus amounting to crores of rupees.

In the name of 'Naxal-mukt Bharat' the BJP-led governments

have unleashed a campaign of complete militarisation of resource-rich Adivasi areas like Bastar and launch an unbridled war on the Adivasi people and all kinds of protests and people's rights campaigns. This focus on military operations rather than the socio-economic development of the region is condemnable and lays bare the true intentions of the government to enable corporate take-over of these mineral-rich regions. The reported plans to convert these military camps into so-called “integrated development centres” to provide various welfare services including hospitals, schools, rations and other services, points to a plan of permanent military presence in the region.



Adivasis have become the victims of collective punishment as the state wages a war against them, and the brutality of Operation Kagar is intended to strip Adivasis of any claim over the forests, land and dignity. This policy of militarisation and war on Adivasis has to end.

Speaking at the Press Conference organised by the Coordination Committee for Peace at Press Club, New Delhi on 9th May 2025, Comrade Dipankar emphasised that Bastar is passing through an entirely new phase which is qualitatively different from earlier ones

like Salwa Judum, Operation Green Hunt or encounters. Whatever name the government gives it, this time around it is essentially an extrajudicial extermination campaign which is not acceptable by any democracy irrespective of ideologies. Amit Shah has fixed a March 2026 deadline which translates into a licence to kill indiscriminately. In fact, the increasing numbers of encounters coming now explicitly make it clear that people are being killed one sidedly, and on a large scale.

Com Dipankar urged that, firstly, we must recognise this as an extrajudicial extermination campaign by the government which if continues, will be fatal for the democracy. This violence by the state is a killing spree, which is unacceptable and must be stopped. Such an approach irrespective of what Maoists or any other movement, organisation or ideology have done must be opposed. Com Dipankar hope that the Coordination Committee for Peace will succeed in raising this issue throughout the country and will build enough pressure on the government, recognising the hard task at hand given that the recalcitrant attitude of the Union government which neither listens to the people's voices nor takes any responsibility and accountability on its shortcomings, and yet efforts must be made in that direction.

Com Dipankar also made the point about Bastar and Adivasis, and that these were Scheduled areas, which are mineral rich, and has a very rich cultural and historical heritage, has been facing complete violations of Scheduled area norms and the rights of the Gram Sabhas only to facilitate militarisation and corporatisation. Com Dipankar also made it clear that mining and land acquisitions in this area cannot take place without the help of military

camps even when there were no Maoists in Bastar. It is for this reason that it is not only the Maoists facing repression, but even Gandhiwadis like Himanshu Kumar were forced to leave that area. He added that it is a complete suppression of dissent and whoever talks about Adivasis through whatever angle and means are being jailed.

Com. Dipankar clarified this is not about Maoists versus Indian State, given that we are witnessing the same modus operandi all over the country. We had seen brutal repression in Tamil Nadu's Sterlite movement where police acted like a corporate army. Fact is the state is serving the corporate interests and working for the corporate plunder in all mineral rich areas in the country. The issue here is about Adivasis and their rights under the Fifth Schedule and their needs and aspirations.

Finally Com Dipankar stated that the Maoists have made it clear that they want peace talks, and when any organisation comes forward with such a proposal, the government should respond. However, this is not the case. In fact, this government has given the slogan of "Naxal Mukti Bharat", and has also given the "Congress Mukti Bharat" slogan. Congress is a parliamentary party hence a different route of ED and CBI was taken, but Maoists do not go for elections as they have a peculiar mode of operation. Even so, even if the Maoists had not given any offer, even then as citizens for democracy and the Constitution we must hold the government accountable for this ongoing extermination campaign and any other such campaign in any part of the country, since allowing such a campaign will only mean complete extermination of democracy itself.

The civil society as democratic medium of this country should collectively demand this because it is in the common interest of all beyond ideological leanings. Otherwise any future struggle or movement belonging to any ideology will face a similar kind of repression.

Adivasis have become the victims of collective punishment as the state wages a war against them, and the brutality of Operation Kagar is intended to strip Adivasis of any claim over the forests, land and dignity. This policy of militarisation and war on Adivasis has to end, and there must be the guarantee of a democratic space and environment for the deprived and oppressed Adivasis in Bastar and other areas of Adivasi unrest.

Peace Coalition Presses for Ceasefire in Govt's Internal War on Its Own Citizens

As India returned from the brink of war with its neighbour, concerned citizens from across states gathered at New Delhi, last week, to form 'Coordination Committee for Peace' -- a civil society coalition raising the call for immediate ceasefire in the security forces' unabated internal war in Schedule V areas of the mainland. Amidst reports of the suspension of a major military engagement launched on April 21, in the Karregutta range of hills near Chhattisgarh's border with Telangana, Adivasi bodies continue to pile up from Bastar to Jharkhand, accompanied with horrifying tales of government brutality. Media reports suggest that at least 25 people (Maoists/civilians) were recently killed by paramilitary forces in the Karregutta hills area. This takes the toll of the government's war in Bastar closer to 500, since Operation Kagar, the most aggressive offensive after Salwa Judum, was launched last January. While CPI (Maoist) unilaterally declared ceasefire a month ago, and has repeatedly been calling for peace talks, ever since, the Government continues the military offensive with a blind eye towards the political questions of Adivasi rights.

More than 300 civil society organisations, people's movements, and concerned individuals from across India had appealed to both the Government and the CPI (Maoist) in early April for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire and peace talks. They also wrote to the President, Prime Minister and Home Minister. On 8-9 May, 19 organisations and several notable individuals, who are part of this collective civil society effort, came together and formed the Coordinating Committee for Peace to continue their advocacy for the ceasefire and peace talks. It is expected that more democratic organisations will join the committee in the days to come.

Prominent members of the Coordination Committee for Peace addressed a press conference on Friday, May 9, at Press Club of India, New Delhi, throwing light on various aspects of the ceasefire demand. CPI (ML) Liberation General Secretary, Dipankar Bhattacharya also addressed the conference. Speakers at the presser included former Andhra Pradesh High Court judge, Justice B Chandra Kumar; retired Hyderabad Central University Professor G Haragopal; writer Meena Kandasamy; Delhi University Sociology Professor Nandini Sundar; Jharkhand Janadhikar Mahasbha representative Dinesh Murmu; People's Union for Civil Liberties National President Kavita Srivastava; Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisation Co-Convenor Kranthi Chaitanya; and

Forum Against Corporatisation and Militarisation Convenor Ehtmam.

The committee members articulated their firm collective opinion that the public offer of restraint by the CPI (Maoist) leadership called for a matching government response rooted in constitutional responsibility and political foresight. While the Chhattisgarh Home Minister Vijay Sharma has often held out the fig leaf of “unconditional” talks with the Maoist combatants, albeit with the presumption of a willingness on their part to lay down arms, the simultaneous escalation of extensive military operations has sent a deeply contradictory message. The continuing ban in Chhattisgarh, since November, on Moolvasi Bachao Manch, a democratic association comprising unarmed Adivasi youth; the arrest and denial of bail to scores of its young activists, with UAPA invoked against Raghu Midiyami, Sunita Pottam, and others, have further eroded the confidence of people.

A month into the public advocacy for immediate ceasefire and peace talks, the demand now echoes across the country. Protests and public events have been organised in parts of Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Karnataka, and Delhi, since March, to raise the banner of internal ceasefire and peace talks. Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK)

President and MP Dr Thirumavalavan wrote about the matter to Union Minister of Home Affairs, Amit Shah. The CPI, CPI (M) and Bharat Rashttra Samithi (BRS) have also pledged support. Former Telanagana CM K Chandrashekhara Rao addressed a public meeting at Warangal where he called upon the ruling regime to declare the ceasefire, while current CM A Revanth Reddy also expressed support. CPI (ML) Liberation and CPI (ML) New Democracy have hit the streets with the demand across states.

Coordination Committee for Peace delegations also met Rahul Gandhi (Leader of Opposition, Lok Sabha) and Congress President, Mallikarjun Kharge (LoP, Rajya Sabha) on 9-10 May, urging them to lend political support to the demand for ceasefire and peace talks between the Maoist party leadership, on the one hand, and the central and state government representatives, on the other. The delegations further asked them to mobilise other INDIA parties on this issue. They also met CPI National Secretary D Raja, and CPI (M) General Secretary MA Baby.

At this juncture, according to the peace coalition, an unconditional ceasefire by the Government is a constitutional imperative deriving from Article 21. It is the only viable way to halt the violence, rebuild trust among Adivasi communities, and reaffirm the state's commitment

to justice, peace, and democratic values. The Coordination Committee for Peace reiterates its demands here below, and appeals to all citizens and democratic and political forces to support this process and make the state deliver its constitutional obligations:

1. The government should stop the offensive in Adivasi areas, initiating and implementing a credible ceasefire in all fairness.
2. The CPI (Maoist), having unilaterally declared a ceasefire, should stick to their assurance.
3. Dialogue must begin between the Government and CPI (Maoist), at the earliest. All Adivasi groups and leaders working for the democratic rights of people should be a part of the dialogue.
4. Free access to all the conflict areas should be provided to the independent civil organizations and the media.
5. People's livelihood needs and constitutional rights must be addressed urgently.
6. The state should immediately release Adivasis and other activists jailed for asserting their democratic rights and make them an equal stakeholder in this dialogue. (For example, the activists of Moolvasi Bachao Manch). ■

On Narayanpur-Bijapur Extrajudicial Killings

CPI(ML) strongly condemns the cold-blooded extra-judicial killing of the General Secretary of CPI(Maoist) Comrade Keshav Rao and other Maoist activists and Adivasis in Narayanpur-Bijapur. From the celebratory post of Union Home Minister Amit Shah, it is clear that the state is spearheading Operation Kagar as an extra-judicial extermination campaign and taking credit for killing citizens and suppressing Adivasi

protests against corporate plunder and militarisation in the name of combating Maoism.

We appeal to all justice-loving Indians to insist on a judicial probe into the massacre and demand an immediate end to the military operation, especially when the Maoists have declared a unilateral ceasefire.

-- Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation (21 May 2025)

Letter from Gaza:

"I Was Born Here, and Here I Shall Remain, No Matter How Fiercely the Ground Beneath Me Burns"

▲ WISSAM ZOGHBAR

(Israel has launched a new and intensified phase of its genocidal war on Gaza under the code name "Operation Gideon's Chariots," with the clear objective of annihilating the Palestinian people and erasing their homeland. Amid starvation, siege, and relentless bombardment, the people of Gaza continue to stand—not only for survival, but for justice, memory, and the right of return. In the face of death, they assert life. From the rubble, where the smell of death hangs heavy in the air, Wissam Zoghbar, a Central Committee member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, offers a searing testament to Gaza's unbreakable will. This letter from ground zero is a declaration of steadfastness from a people who refuse to be erased and who continue to resist the genocidal project. -Ed.)

In Gaza, it is not only buildings that are bombarded, but also memory, and the very right to life. What Gaza is enduring today is a savage war that cannot be reduced to scenes of bombing and destruction. It goes far beyond that—it is a systematic operation to uproot the Palestinian person from their land and strip the place of its meaning and identity. This is a war of displacement par excellence, executed by a brutal military machine and shielded by biased international narratives, as if the eradication of an entire people could somehow be justified under the pretext of "self-defense."

The demolished homes, streets carved out by shellfire, and temporary camps turned into open graves—these are not merely images of destruction, but evidence of a relentless effort to manufacture a new Palestinian reality: one without a people. From the very first moment of this war, it became clear that the aim goes beyond "neutralizing resistance factions" to targeting the very existence of Palestinians by rendering cities uninhabitable and forcing people to flee or be displaced into the unknown.

This form of warfare is a

reenactment of the Nakba, only with new, harsher, and more blatant methods. Just as more than 750,000 Palestinians were uprooted from their cities and villages in 1948, today hundreds of thousands are being driven into internal and external displacement under the pressure of fear, death, and devastation. The message behind this systematic violence is unmistakable: There is no place for Palestinians on their land, and no option left but departure.

Displacement here is not practiced by weapons alone, but by depriving people of electricity, water, food, and medicine—by destroying hospitals, wiping out entire families, and erasing everything that binds a person to their homeland. Palestinians are no longer killed because they resist, but simply because they exist. Survival itself has become an act of resistance, and anyone who refuses to leave is branded a threat.

This displacement is not just a battle over land—it is a battle over narrative and consciousness. The occupation and its backers want the world to believe that Palestinians chose to leave, not that they were forced out under the threat of

annihilation. But the world knows, history testifies, and the Palestinian people are writing another story with their blood: Displacement will not prevail, and return is not a dream—it is a right.

In conclusion, this is not merely a war on Gaza, but a war on Palestinian dignity and human existence. The bombing is just a means—the true objective is total erasure. And yet, the Palestinian, from beneath the rubble, resists through life itself, crying out from the depths of agony: "I was born here, and here I shall remain, no matter how fiercely the ground beneath me burns." ■



"Gideon's Chariots": The Memory of a Crime Repeats in a New Assault on Gaza

▲ MUSTAFA BALQIS

The Israeli occupation army has named its latest military assault on the Gaza Strip "Gideon's Chariots"—a move laden with deep historical and political implications. It exposes a colonial mindset that remains trapped in the framework of the Nakba, even after more than seven decades. This name is not new in Israel's bloody record; it's a recycled alias from a crime committed in 1948, when the Palestinian inhabitants of the city of Beisan were forcibly displaced as part of a wide-scale campaign of ethnic cleansing that constituted the essence of the Palestinian Nakba and laid the foundation for the creation of the occupation state atop the ruins of depopulated Palestinian towns and cities.

Reusing this name at this specific moment, and with Gaza as the target, sends a clear message: the Zionist project still sees force as its primary tool for imposing reality, and it does not hesitate to summon the symbols of past atrocities to justify its continued aggression today. The naming of this operation cannot be dismissed as merely symbolic or logistical—it is a deliberate act that links past to present, seeking to lend a false "historical" legitimacy to a continuous assault on an unarmed people who have lived under siege, bombardment, and starvation for over fifteen years.

While civilians in Gaza are subjected to intense airstrikes targeting homes, mosques, medical centers, schools, and all forms of civilian infrastructure, the Israeli

army is recycling terminology from the archives of the Nakba—as though killing and destroying Palestinians is not a crime, but rather a continuation of an unfinished master plan. "Gideon's Chariots" is not just a name; it is a title for a colonial policy that regards Palestinian land as an incomplete project, seeing every act of aggression as an opportunity to eliminate what remains of resistance and to crush the collective Palestinian spirit that refuses to accept death in silence.

The painful irony is that this aggression is unfolding while the world once again stands by as a spectator. The international community, which has long ignored the violations of the occupation, now contents itself with timid condemnations—if any—while Israel is granted full impunity to commit its aggression under the guise of "self-defense." But the facts on the ground reveal the truth: the first and last victim is the Palestinian people, and the perpetrator is the same force that used violence to expel the people of Beisan, Jaffa, and Haifa more than seventy years ago. History is repeating itself in a brutal fashion—but this time, it is documented in sound and image, visible to the whole world, which chooses to cover its ears and shut its eyes.

Today in Gaza, it is not only the resistance that is under attack—but the very concept of life. Homes are leveled to the ground with their inhabitants inside, roads turn into mass graves, hospitals overflow with martyrs and the wounded, and



At least **16,500 Palestinian children** have been killed in Gaza by Israeli forces since October 2023. Many were crushed beneath the rubble of their homes, schools, and shelters targeted in relentless airstrikes. **Countless bodies remain unretrieved**, buried under debris in areas made inaccessible by continuous bombing and siege.

This genocidal assault has also left **over 3,000 children amputated**, many undergoing surgery without anesthesia. Gaza now holds the grim distinction of having the **highest number of child amputees per capita in the world**.

Amid Israel's total blockade of humanitarian aid, at least **29 children have died from starvation**, while over **70,000 children under five are suffering from acute malnutrition**, their lives hanging by a thread.

children are born under the bombs, knowing childhood only through the fantasies of stories. In this grim scene, Palestinians are once again redefining the meaning of steadfastness, affirming that memory is stronger than displacement, and that remaining on the land—despite the siege—is an act of resistance as vital as any battle fought with weapons.

"Gideon's Chariots" may carry military meaning for the Israeli army, but for Palestinians, it signifies the continuation of a crime. It confirms that the Nakba was not a passing moment in history, but an ongoing trajectory that demands awareness and resistance. Despite the destruction, Palestinians cling to their rights, raise their voices, document the occupation's crimes, and build their narrative against all efforts at erasure. Just as Beisan was never forgotten, neither will Gaza be. Just as the people of Galilee, Lydda, and Ramla resisted, so too do Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the diaspora resist today—united in destiny, undivided by distances or barbed wire.

Israel may think that by repeating the names of its operations, it can control the narrative. But history is not written only from the podiums of generals—it is written also among the rubble of homes, in the cries of mothers, and in the eyes of children born to the sound of bombs, yet who refuse to live as eternal victims. The name Israel chose for its assault will never confer legitimacy; rather, it will stand as one more piece of evidence of the racism of a project still feeding on Palestinian blood and sustained by global silence.

In the end, no name can alter the truth: there is a living people, fighting for their freedom, refusing to be just another casualty in the archives of power. And no matter how arrogant the occupation becomes, the Palestinian people's consciousness, deep-rooted identity, and just cause will remain stronger than all of Gideon's chariots. ■

JCB's Crimes Exposed at 80th Anniversary Event

On Sunday 18 May, British bulldozer manufacturer JCB, notorious for profiting from the destruction of homes from Palestine to India was due to celebrate its 80th anniversary at its headquarters in Rocester in the British Midlands with a so-called 'sportive', a cycle ride which aimed to raise money for the children's charity NSPCC. However, the sportive did not go according to plan. Activists from the Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign turned it into an expose of JCB's complicity in ethnic cleansing and genocide, while shaming NSPCC for accepting funds from a company which has destroyed children's lives, plunging them into homelessness, poverty and lasting trauma.

Despite tight security, the activists managed to enter the grounds of the JCB headquarters. When the event began with the cyclists being flagged off, several cyclists revealed striking black and yellow T shirts with the message 'Stop Bulldozer genocide in Palestine, India and Kashmir'. Simultaneously supporters of the campaign shouted slogans and held banners accusing JCB of complicity in genocide and NSPCC of a callous and racist lack of care for children in these parts of the world. Despite the JCB security guards' best efforts, this scene was enacted several times during the 50 km route of the sportive.

One of the protestors, Josh, commented: 'I am glad to be here exposing the crimes of JCB, a British company which hypocritically poses as family friendly when in fact it is destroying communities in Palestine, India and Kashmir. As for the NSPCC, the fact that they are accepting JCB's blood-stained money shows that they think only some children matter. This is blatant colonial racism!'

The protestors, who were mainly South Asian, were met with extreme hostility and racism from a few cyclists taking part in the ride who appeared to be JCB employees and their supporters. These men shouted 'go back to your own country' and 'you don't look like you were born here'. At one point, a passing cyclist grabbed a megaphone out of one of the protestors' hands and threw it into the road, damaging it in the process, before doing the same to a mobile phone belonging to a fellow protester trying to film the incident. Despite these experiences, the protestors remained chanting with their banners.

As one of the protestors, Raj, commented, 'Attending the JCB Sportive has shown us the disgusting dominance of this company complicit in genocide in the area surrounding its headquarters. As a predominantly South Asian group of protestors, we were met with outright racism of the kind that is only growing across the UK. This experience was a stark reminder that not all lives are valued the same by the UK establishment and that companies like JCB - with children's blood on their hands - reinforce this thinking among their employees and supporters.'

JCB's Chairman, billionaire Anthony Bamford or Baron Bamford of Daylesford and Wootton is a 'super donor' to the British Conservative party and a close friend of Boris Johnson. The JCB empire is controlled

by the Bamford family trusts, which have been involved in off shore tax scandals.

More recently Bamford has been getting closer to the far-right Reform party. In March this year party leader Nigel Farage entered a major Reform rally on a JCB machine lent to him by Bamford. Earlier Bamford had treated him to a £8000 helicopter flight to tour a JCB site.

Over the years the NSPCC, a long-established children's charity whose aim is the 'prevention of cruelty to children', has been frequently asked to stop taking funds from JCB and provided with evidence of the callous and illegal home demolitions carried out by JCB. As the UK Palestine Mental Health network puts it. "It would appear that children's services provided by the NSPCC in the UK are financed in part by profits from state crime and the abuse and traumatising of children overseas."

Across India, state governments controlled by the BJP have consistently used JCB bulldozers to demolish Muslim homes, shops and places of worship during the ongoing project disturbingly named 'bulldozer justice'. In fact, JCB is so closely intertwined with this project that it has come to symbolize attacks on Muslims. The harm to children is incalculable.

The Stop JCB Demolitions campaign pointed to the fact, for example, that on 2 February 2024, the demolition of a madrasa and 600 year old Mosque in Mehrauli, South Delhi left more than 20 orphaned children who lived in the madrasa displaced and traumatised. There was no notice given before the JCB bulldozers moved in.

In Kashmir, in the name of development drives, houses have been demolished across large areas, affecting whole communities



and of course numerous children, permanently damaging their physical and mental health

In January, the Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign, which is a coalition of organisations based in Britain including South Asia Solidarity Group and Nijor Manush, produced a report titled Stop JCB's Bulldozer Genocide, a report on human rights violations referencing a large number of cases in Palestine, Kashmir and elsewhere in India where JCB has been involved in serious human rights violations.

The campaign has also filed a complaint with the UK National Contact Point, a government body promoting OECD guidelines on responsible business conduct, alleging that the manufacturer had failed to address the adverse human rights impacts from the use of its products in India.

The Stop JCB's Demolitions Campaign has two main demands: firstly that JCB must end its relationship with the Israeli Ministry of Defence and cease all activities in occupied Palestine; and secondly, that JCB must commit to ensuring that its products are not used for human rights violations in India and Kashmir through robust monitoring

and prevention systems. This includes making compulsory the use of its existing LiveLink technology to trace and locate JCB machines. JCB's failure to use this technology is a deliberate violation of its human rights responsibilities.

As Mukti Shah of the Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign commented 'The fact that JCB continues to operate on behalf of the Israeli state in ethnically cleansing Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and that they have also failed to make use of the technology they already have to prevent horrific human rights violations in Kashmir and elsewhere in India, despite an Indian Supreme Court ruling is utterly shameful'

In November last year, more than 180 authors had spoken out against the JCB literature prize, a clear strategy by the company to 'culture-wash' its reputation. In March 2025, activists from the Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign and Parents for Palestine occupied London's South Bank Centre, the well-known multi-storey riverside arts venue, where JCB sponsors a branded lift. The campaign to expose and shame JCB continues to grow. ■

AISA-DSF Emerge Victorious in JNUSU Election

▲ DHANANJAY

The JNUSU Election for 2025 was held on the 25th April. In a closely contested fight against the ABVP, the AISA-DSF led united left panel claimed the posts of President, Vice-President and General Secretary. The ABVP managed to win the post of Joint Secretary. While the overall mandate has decisively rebuffed the policies of the Modi regime, the entrance of ABVP in the central panel after a span of 9 years has raised concern among the left-progressive-secular section of the campus as well as in the society.

AISA leader Nitish Kumar has been elected as the JNUSU president. Manisha and Munteha from DSF have been elected as the Vice-President and General Secretary respectively. Naresh Kumar from AISA lost the post of Joint Secretary by a thin margin of 85 votes.

The election happened in the backdrop of targeted policy assault by the Modi government on the country's accessible and quality public funded higher education. Along with systematic fund cuts for public funded educational institutions, the Modi government has also unleashed the disastrous National Education Policy 2020. Like many other universities in the country, students of JNU are also facing the repercussions. While graduation courses have been restructured to introduce the Four Year Undergraduate Program, attempts are ongoing to convert the masters program to a one year course. JNU, like many other public funded universities, has been at the receiving end of fund cut. There has been a reduction in funds received from the government since 2014-15. In 2014-15, JNU spent

Rs 37,807 in academic and institutional expenses per student, the same has reduced to Rs 13,921 in 2023-24, marking a 63% decline. Self-financing courses have been introduced violating all norms of democratic decision making. Several other public funded universities in the country face the same fate resulting in concrete erosion of academic infrastructure and exclusion of students from deprived backgrounds from higher education.

While the policy assault against the country's student-youth, workers and farmers continue, the vile communal design of the ruling regime continues to rampage the country's secular fabric. Preceded by a track record of countless mob lynchings, communal bulldozer rampage, targeted communal attack against Muslims and the attempt to threaten citizenship rights of the Muslims and marginalised through CAA-NRC-NPR, the latest phase of Modi regime has intensified its communal gameplan through violation of places of worship act, Sambhal violence, dangerous amendments to the Waqf Act and targeting of Muslims for speaking out in defence of the country's constitution.

The JNU students have consistently spoken out and raised their voice in protest each and every time there was an assault on the rights of students and secularism in the country. They have identified the corporate-communal fascist nature of today's regime unhesitatingly. This very spirit was reflected in the mandate of the JNU election.

BJP-RSS-JNU Admin Nexus

JNU has been the primary target of the present regime since the beginning of its coming to power. The hateful Shut Down JNU campaign by the right wing in 2016 was truly reflective of the Sangh Brigade's attitude towards universities and inclusive education.

Corrupt Recruitments: The process of recruitment of teachers has come under serious questions time and again. Several due processes have been violated to ensure specific people with loyalty to the ruling regime get recruited in JNU faculty positions. Allegations of plagiarism have also been raised earlier about faculty members recruited under the current regime. Not Found Suitable has become a weapon in the hands of the present Dhulipudi administration to deny recruitment to applicants who have not shown allegiance to the present regime. This has seriously hampered the academic quality of JNU.

The processes of admissions in JNU have also been made exclusionary and non-credible. While the well established JNU Entrance Exam has been dismantled, the Central University Entrance Test conducted by CUET has made the entire process vulnerable to the centralised and corrupt network of examinations conducted by NTA.

The RSS-BJP appointed administration leaves no stone unturned to suppress voices of rights for students while the ABVP has been given a free hand to unleash violence and spread communal hate, misogyny and their regressive ideology in the campus. Hostel mess halls, where public meetings used to traditionally happen, are no longer accessible to other student organisations, even to JNUSU. ABVP has full access to the convention centre and auditoriums of JNU. Protests have been effectively

banned in front of the administrative building, but RSS is allowed to hold their rallies at the very same place. Students fighting for gender justice demanding punishment against perpetrator of sexual harassment are faced with disciplinary action, ABVP activists are not touched even after unleashing violence on the JNUSU Election Commission.

A Hard-Fought Struggle

The left and progressive organisations fought the JNUSU election in an extremely hostile environment. The administration left no stone unturned in trying to block the elections. This election should have taken place in March, if Admin had not been using flimsy excuses to stall it! It was only through the uncompromising struggle of the Occupy DoS movement fought under the banner of the earlier JNUSU led by AISA, that the administration was forced to bring out the notification of the election.

ABVP's Campaign of Violence

True to their character, ABVP attempted to sabotage the election process through physical intimidation and vandalism. On both the days of withdrawal of nominations, they attacked the Election Committee office, smashing windows, engaging in stone-pelting, and creating an atmosphere of fear. In all the elections in recent years, ABVP has made it a point to unleash violence and use it as a political tool to threaten the voters. Despite this, the proctorial board of the university has taken no action against the ABVP activists who ran rampage in the university.

Fractures in Left Unity

The left unity that JNU needed was unfortunately undermined. It is extremely unfortunate that, despite serious and sincere efforts initiated by AISA, a broader left alliance

could not be forged. AISA and DSF came together to form a principled anti-fascist alliance, putting aside all differences in the larger interest of defeating ABVP. However, the arrogance and short-sightedness of SFI disrupted the possibility of a full unity. From the very beginning of the OccupyDoS movement, SFI behaved in a manner unbecoming of a democratic organisation — locking up the JNUSU President Dhananjay and taking unilateral decisions. Their electoral strategy was no different. At the last minute, they stitched together an opportunistic "alliance" with a member of BAPSA — an alliance in name only, since BAPSA openly contested with a separate presidential candidate. This confusion sent a damaging message to the student community, weakening the broader progressive front.

SFI's Misplaced Priorities

They claimed to be an anti-ABVP force, but the only thing they were fighting against in the election was AISA. Their entire campaign plan revolved around slandering AISA and DSF. From running anonymous social media handles to planting rumours — they used all the tricks in the book. Their obsessive-compulsive sectarianism and complete disrespect and disregard for alliance partners are some of the major reasons because of which the larger left unity could not take place this year.

It must be said without hesitation: it is the divisions created by SFI's political adventurism that allowed ABVP to sneak into the Union. The campus tried hard to reject ABVP, but the arrogance of some ensured an opening for the forces of hate.

Lessons in Unity

AISA has stated that the lessons from the election must be taken seriously and unity cannot be a matter of convenience; it must be grounded

in principle, in a real commitment to campus democracy, and in an unwavering opposition to fascism.

It is to be recognised that the struggle against ABVP is not limited to elections. It is a day-to-day battle — in classrooms, in hostels, in every space where democratic rights are under threat. Every attempt by ABVP to divide students on the basis of religion, caste or region must be defeated with the power of collective resistance. We must stay united, deepen our bonds of solidarity, and continue to defend the spirit of JNU. We must reject sectarianism, confront opportunism, and commit ourselves to the larger fight for democracy, equality, and justice — values that have always defined JNU and must continue to do so.

Defend the Soul and Spirit of JNU

The last tenure of JNUSU built up movements defying all odds under. Protest actions were held consistently to demand increase in Merit cum Means Scholarship and UGC non-NET fellowship, reinstatement of Maulana Azad Fellowship for students from minority background, bringing back the JNU Entrance Exam, ensure punishment for the perpetrators of sexual harassment in the campus, ensure democratic functioning of Academic Council and Board of Studies and against the imposition of self-financing and NEP in JNU. A 16 days long indefinite hunger strike was held by JNU where both the former JNUSU president Dhananjay and Nitish participated along with several other student activists. The Occupy DoS movement not only ensured notification of the JNUSU election, but also opening of the newly constructed Barak Hostel in JNU.

The uncompromising battle to ensure an inclusive campus, to defend the idea of a university 'where the mind is without fear and the held is held high' shall continue. ■

PROFILE:**JNUSU President Nitish Kumar**

Nitish Kumar, the elected JNUSU President hails from a humble family in Sheikhpura, Araria District of Bihar, his roots are in the agricultural struggles of rural India, his father being a small farmer and mother a homemaker. His educational journey reflects the challenges faced by underprivileged students, having to leave his family at a young age to pursue schooling at Saraswati Sishu Vidya Mandir in Forbesganj. It was during these formative years that he first witnessed and understood the sinister nature of communal fascism penetrating educational spaces.

After completing his BA in Political Science from BHU, Nitish joined JNU in 2020 for his MA at the Center for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences. His arrival on campus coincided with one of the most challenging periods for public education in India - the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath. While other institutions across India gradually resumed normal functioning, the JNU administration under the current regime deliberately kept the campus closed, implementing

policies that systematically excluded economically disadvantaged students from accessing education. This administrative apathy and anti-student stance propelled Nitish into active student politics. He emerges as one of the key organizer of the 'Reopen JNU' movement in 2021, mobilizing students across departments to demand the resumption of offline classes, reopening of campus facilities, and most crucially, the allotment of hostels without which education remained inaccessible to students from marginalized backgrounds.

Because of his consistent efforts and leadership qualities, he was elected as the Students' SFC representative for his batch in 2021, and later as Councillor from the School of Social Sciences in the 2023-24 JNUSU elections. As an elected representative, Nitish distinguished himself through both his militant resistance against communal forces and his constructive engagement with student welfare issues. He sat on a 16-day hunger strike in August, 2023 which became a watershed moment in JNU's student movement, where



he championed a comprehensive charter of demands focusing on the acute hostel crisis and the right to dignified accommodation for all students.

Concurrently serving as Secretary of AISA's JNU Unit, Nitish provided organizational leadership to several crucial struggles - from campaigning to increase the meager MCM fellowship amounts that barely cover basic expenses, to demanding a referendum on conducting JNUUEE, to opposing political appointments of faculty members lacking proper academic credentials, culminating in the sustained mobilization that eventually forced the administration to reopen Barak Hostel. His political work has consistently centered on making JNU accessible and equitable for students from working class, OBC, Dalit, and minority backgrounds. ■

JNUSU Leaders Hailed as Symbols of Resistance Amid Attacks on Democracy and Education

In a vibrant civic reception held on May 12 in Patna, the All India People's Forum (AIPF) honoured the newly elected office bearers of the Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union (JNUSU), representing the United Left panel. The event also featured a panel discussion on "The Significance of the JNUSU Election Results Amid

Attacks on Education and Democracy."

Addressing the gathering, CPI(ML) General Secretary Comrade Dipankar Bhattacharya hailed the JNUSU victory as an inspiring achievement, especially given the timing of the election following the Pahalgam terror attack. "This victory is meaningful because it comes at a time

of heightened political and communal tension. It gives strength to all of us engaged in democratic struggles, inside and outside the university spaces," he said. "JNU is a unique institution - it reads and it resists. Historically, it has produced leaders like Sitaram Yechury who resisted fascist forces during the Emergency. The fight today is even harder, and we must meet it head-on."

JNUSU President and AISA leader Nitish Kumar acknowledged that while full unity among Left forces was not achieved during the JNU

elections, there is a strong desire to see all progressive forces in Bihar come together to defeat the fascist BJP in the upcoming state elections.

General Secretary Munteha Fatima highlighted the increasing attacks on Dalits, Muslims, and marginalised communities across India, pointing out that JNU is targeted precisely because students from these communities raise critical questions against the regime.

Vice President Manisha said, "We are the heirs of Bhagat Singh and Dr Ambedkar. Our fight against fascism will continue. There have been many attempts to malign JNU, but our goal is for every region in India to have a campus like JNU."

Vice President Manisha and General Secretary Munteha Fatima belong to Democratic Students' Federation (DSF) who formed the United Left Alliance with AISA.

Former JNUSU President and Congress Legislative Party Leader Shakeel Ahmad Khan spoke of JNU's legacy with pride, recalling that it gave birth to leaders like Comrade Chandrashekhar. He accused the BJP of attempting to destroy institutions like JNU because they question the establishment.

Outgoing JNUSU President Comrade Dhananjay also addressed the programme, while renowned historian Prof. O. P. Jaiswal, in his presidential speech, warned of the RSS's fascist vision and advised the audience to read Bunch of Thoughts to understand the Sangh's future strategy. "The RSS is walking the path of Hitler, and the country is not safe in their hands," he cautioned. The event was conducted by former JNUSU General Secretary and current MLA Comrade Sandeep Saurabh. AIPF convener Kamlesh Sharma welcomed the guests. The event witnessed the participation of a large number of students, youth, educators, and members of Patna's civil society. ■

Vizhinjam Port: Kerala Pays, Adani Profits

▲ K A SHAJI

(On 2 May, even as the country was dealing with the aftershock of the horrific terrorist attack in Pahalgam, PM Modi was joking in Kerala about opposition leaders losing their sleep. The occasion was the inauguration of the Vizhinjam International Deepwater Multipurpose Seaport, a PPP bonanza for the Adani group funded and facilitated mostly by the LDF government of Kerala. He made these remarks in the presence of Kerala CM and senior CPI(M) leader Pinarayi Vijayan, Congress MP from Thiruvananthapuram Shashi Tharoor and of course his dear friend Gautam Adani. Getting a CPI(M) led government to sponsor and celebrate the biggest Adani acquisition in India's trade and maritime economy is of course a matter of great satisfaction and glee for Modi, but since its inception the port has been mired in controversies and the fisherpeople and environmental activists of Kerala remain deeply concerned about the impact of the project on people's livelihood and environmental and climate stability. While most political leaders of Kerala cutting across their ideological divides are convinced that the port will boost the overall economic growth of Southern Kerala, fishing workers, environmental experts, and civil society organisations see it as a potential threat to the environment and coastal livelihoods.

A report by environmental journalist K A Shaji, whose documentary 'Stolen Shorelines' exposing the corporate role in aggravating climate-change induced coastal environmental crisis won wide critical acclaim. – Ed.)

The Rs. 8,800 crore seaport is being developed through a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) between the Kerala government and Adani Vizhinjam Port Private Ltd. (AVPPL), a subsidiary of the Ahmedabad-based Adani Group. The company secured the project bid five years ago. Although the port was originally scheduled for completion in 2018, it has faced multiple delays. Nonetheless, it is anticipated to become India's deepest port, capable of handling 80% of the country's transshipment cargo.

In addition to providing financial support, the Kerala government has contributed 360 acres of land to the project and allowed Adani to reclaim 130 acres from the sea. Experts warn that constructing the new seaport and its breakwater may exacerbate the ongoing large-scale coastal erosion, potentially displacing over three dozen fishing villages with over 7,000 families.

Both Adani Port and the Kerala government strongly deny allegations of coastal erosion and ecological damage. A compliance report for the seaport project, which covers the period from October 2019 to March 2020 and was issued by Adani Ports in consultation with the Kerala government, asserts that there is no shoreline degradation in the area, contrary to opponents' claims. However, visuals could challenge the validity of these assertions.

It has been less than two years since Kerala's then Fisheries Minister, J. Mercykutty Amma, acknowledged that the construction of the port

breakwater had led to increased high tides and erosion along the Thiruvananthapuram coast. This warning has been echoed by experts and confirmed by coastal communities.

The total project cost of Vizhinjam port is Rs. 7,525 crore, with Adani's investment amounting to Rs. 2,454 crore. The Union Government is contributing Rs. 1,635 crore as a viability gap fund, while the State government is investing Rs. 3,436 crore. According to the agreement, Adani will operate the port for 40 years, with the option to extend by an additional 20 years. The State government will only begin to receive a share of the revenue from the port after 15 years.

When the project was initially launched by the former UDF government in Kerala, led by Oommen Chandy in partnership with the Adani Group in 2015, the CPI (M) alleged that it involved corruption amounting to Rs. 6,000 crore. However, after assuming power in 2016, the party changed its stance. A 2017 report from the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) identified several inaccuracies in the project and predicted a substantial loss of Rs. 5,608 crore by the end of the 40-year concession period. The CAG also noted that the total project cost was unreasonably high compared to similar ports in other states.

Kerala is one of the country's coastal states, boasting a 590 km coastline, making it one of the world's most densely populated coastal regions. In the Thiruvananthapuram district, the coastal area stretches over 90 km, beginning at Edava and ending at Pozhiyoor. This high population density increases the vulnerability of coastal communities to natural disasters, such as tsunamis and cyclones.

Experts on coastal issues have

indicated that coastal erosion in the Vizhinjam-Shanghumukham region will likely worsen in the coming years as the Adani port becomes fully operational.

The massive sea erosion propelled by the project is liable to turn severe in the coming years, and that could create challenges even for the local airport and several facilities of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) in Veli and nearby Thumba, which are all coastal hubs close to Vizhinjam. The experts argue that the environmental and livelihood impacts of the Vizhinjam international seaport project have not been assessed adequately or accurately till now. They claim that the port is irresponsibly located on the erosion-prone coast of Thiruvananthapuram. Research suggests that the coastline is not equipped to absorb the potential impacts resulting from the construction and operation of the Vizhinjam port.

In the neighbouring fishing villages of Vizhinjam, including Kovalam, Veli, Valiyathura, Kallumoodu, Bheemapalli, and Muttathara, hundreds of families connected to the fishing industry are currently staying in relief camps, as the sea has destroyed their homes, livelihoods, lands and belongings. Despite the much-publicised reopening of schools and colleges elsewhere, local schools and community centres in these areas still function as relief camps. With the rainy season extending and sea erosion increasing, more families of fish workers are expected to seek shelter in these camps in the coming days.

According to Vijayan Joseph, a local resident and former researcher with the International Ocean Institute, coastal erosion in the Thiruvananthapuram region began in the 1970s when a minor breakwater

was constructed for the Vizhinjam fishing harbour.

However, the sea's encroachment has accelerated significantly since 2015, when construction commenced on the much-anticipated Vizhinjam International Deepwater Multipurpose Seaport.

The Kerala government has not only provided financial support for the development of the new seaport but has also contributed 360 acres of land to Adani and permitted Adani to reclaim 130 acres from the sea. However, experts caution that constructing the new seaport and its breakwater may exacerbate the existing problem of coastal erosion, which could potentially displace over three dozen fishing villages with over 7,000 families.

Both the fishing industry and the region's marine biodiversity have already been negatively impacted by the project. The situation will likely deteriorate further by the time the construction of the breakwater and quay walls for the port is completed. Experts warn that this construction poses a serious threat to the diverse marine life of the Wadge bank, located off the coast of Thiruvananthapuram. This area serves as a breeding ground for over 200 fish species and contains the largest coral reef in the Indian Ocean. The Wadge Bank is home to more than 60 species of ornamental fish and other oceanic animals. It also supports commercially important species such as squids, cuttlefish, carangids, tuna, anchovies, and lobsters. Despite its designation as a Protected Marine Area, the state government has decided to proceed with the project.

Over 50,000 fishing workers are being adversely affected by the Adani project in Vizhinjam. The project has destroyed breeding grounds,

reduced fish catches, caused beach erosion, decreased access to fishing areas, and intensified conflicts with shipping vessels. Increased water turbidity from reclamation and dredging lowers fish catches by disrupting fish spawning and habitat sites. Fishing workers report that the dredging has led to habitat loss for several aquatic species, particularly mussels and lobsters. Of the 33 reefs near Vizhinjam, 15 have been destroyed, and 17 have been heavily damaged due to sand deposition from the dredging activities.

Many people consider sea erosion to be a natural phenomenon, believing that the sea will eventually deposit the sand and soil it has taken away back in the same place. However, visiting Pulluvila, located in the southern part of the Vizhinjam project, can challenge this belief. The shores north of the Adani project have lost sand and soil, which are not returning. Instead, this sediment is being deposited on the southern part of the project. This situation highlights the seriousness of the issue. Experts have long pointed out that seawalls and breakwaters disrupt the natural accumulation of sediments along the coast, preventing the shoreline from being replenished.

In September 2021, Adani Enterprises secured a 50-year lease to operate, manage, and develop the 89-year-old Thiruvananthapuram International Airport. This decision was made by the Union Cabinet and faced strong opposition from the Kerala government. Local residents express concerns that if coastal erosion continues, the sea could reach the airport. They also speculate that Adani could integrate the seaport and airport, potentially creating a unique collaboration worldwide. ■

India's Tariff Reductions on the United States Will Come at the Cost of Workers' Sweat

▲ SURYADEEPTO NAG

Tariffs on imports of commodities from wealthy industrialised economies like the United States exist for a purpose – to disincentivise the import of goods and services and incentivise the production of these goods and services domestically. Reduced tariffs would mean Indian firms and consumers would have cheaper access to American products, thus thwarting the development of Indian products that could replace American goods, while boosting imports from the US.

The implications of this are many-fold. A direct implication of this is that firms based in India are more likely to import commodities from the US due to lower costs. This could hurt Indian companies competing with US products in Indian markets, either putting them out of business, resulting in widespread job losses. Alternatively, Indian businesses may need to further reduce their prices to remain competitive, but any reduction in prices would then mean lower revenue, ultimately resulting in lower wages in the workers employed in these firms.

A bigger problem, however, is to do with an increase in imports from the United States. International trade between a developed country like the US and a developing country like India is inherently unequal. Everything from the cost of wheat to the cost of an hour's work is higher in the United States. Thus, a standard manufactured commodity in the US is more expensive than the same commodity manufactured in India. Therefore, when India and the US exchange commodities, India needs to export more goods to offset a smaller volume of expensive imports from the US. What further worsens this situation is that most goods (barring crude petroleum) that India imports from



the US, are already expensive, such as sophisticated heavy machinery, expensive pharmaceuticals, and vehicle parts, while India exports low-cost goods like agricultural products like rice, generic medication, readymade garments, and petroleum products. As a result, the volume of commodities traded between India and the US are lopsided and unequal.

In Marxist economics, this phenomenon is called Unequal exchange, and it facilitates the accumulation of profit and capital in rich countries at the cost of workers in the Global South. Since every good is the product of human labour, there are billions of hours of labour embodied in these exported goods. The larger the scale of exports, larger is the quantity of labour exported India. On the contrary, since the US exports a much smaller volume of goods to India, India receives a much smaller amount of embodied labour from the US. To put this in numbers, in 2017, India imported 795 million hours of embodied labour from the US, while it exported a staggering 56 billion hours, over 7 times as much as it imported! The difference comes out to be 55 billion hours of Indian labour effectively drained from the country to the US alone. These are hours of crucial work that could be redirected towards the development of the country and instead is used to serve capital accumulation and overconsumption in the United States. This phenomenon also implies that the more India imports from the US, the more it has to (disproportionately) export.

With the Indian government slashing tariffs on US products, imports from the US are likely to rise, which would mean India would have to proportionately increase exports, if it wants to avoid running into a trade deficit. However, since Indian exports were already at low tariffs

before the Trump administration, it is unlikely to benefit significantly from free trade agreements with the US. To then bring about an increase in exports, Indian commodities would have to attract more buyers than they currently do. The most effective macroeconomic policy that could cheapen exports is a currency devaluation, which would only make matters worse for Indian consumers. Regardless of what short-term policy the government employs, one consequence is certain – tariff reductions will increase imports, and Indian workers would have to work more to avoid a trade deficit.

Until last year, the United States was one of the very few large economies of the world with whom India had a large trade surplus, despite India overall still suffering from trade deficits year-after-year, unlike competing economic powers like China. Since India imports more than it exports, India is at a constant requirement of foreign currency, usually the US dollar. If India's trade surplus over the United States reduces, or turns into a deficit, then India's existing foreign exchange reserves will deplete further. As the demand for foreign currency in India increases, the relative demand for the Indian rupee decreases, and the Rupee will continue to fall, making imports expensive. This will have various negative consequences. For consumers who depend on certain imported goods, such as smartphones, the cost of these goods will increase. For manufacturers, a currency devaluation would mean an increase in the cost of imported intermediate inputs. This would ultimately mean either a higher cost of goods for consumers, or lower wages for workers. For the government, this would mean greater costs on key imports – predominantly in natural resources and defence.

Greater government expenditure on purchases, would imply lower government expenditure on welfare schemes, which will only worsen the trend towards austerity in India, and government expenditure that benefits India's farmers, workers, and masses would shrink.

These problems must also be understood in the context of India's new "Free trade agreements" (FTA) with the European Free Trade Association in 2024, and the United Kingdom, earlier this month. While the government of India claims that these agreements will bring investments and create jobs, this is unlikely to benefit Indian producers, as these investments would be centred around multinational corporations selling their commodities in India. It is also important to note, that India's advantage in international trade partly comes from low labour costs in India, and India stands little to benefit from FTAs, as Indian exports are already extremely lucrative and competitive in international markets. FTAs are neither free nor fair, when between a wealthy country like the US or UK and a developing economy like India, and they only result in greater freedom for multinational corporations to operate in India at the cost of Indian workers.

Thus, when other political powers like China and the European Union are approaching US's tariffs with retaliatory tariff hikes, it is strange that the Indian government is employing a strategy of tariff reductions and reducing trade protections. While this would benefit American producers, as intended by the US government, it will only hurt Indian producers and workers in the long run. Instead, the government must focus on developing Indian industries and reducing dependence on imports. True development of India can only come from self-sufficiency, and economic sovereignty. ■

Build a More Robust Democracy with Robust Federalism

Makkal Adhikaaram (People's power), a left organisation in Tamil Nadu, held a political convention on 17 May 2025 at Chennai titled, "Oh, Tamil Nadu, Prevent Centralisation of Powers at the hands of the Union Government! Fight for the State's Self Rule!". Dipankar Bhattacharya, General Secretary of CPI(ML) delivered the inaugural speech. Thol. Thirumavalavan, MP of VCK (Viduthalai Chiruthaikal Katchi), Jawahirullah, MLA of MMK (Manithaneyam Makkal Katchi), Veerapandian, assistant state secretary of CPI, Samuel Raj, the general secretary of Untouchability Eradication Front, Prince Ennarasu Periyar, deputy general secretary of DK (Dravidar Kazhagam), Advocate Raju of Makkal Adhikaram also addressed the gathering while the session was presided over by Chezhiyan of Makkal Adhikaaram.

We present here an abridged version of Comrade Dipankar Bhattacharya's inaugural speech:

After seventy-five years it is now very clear to all of us that our republic today is a beleaguered republic. There are unprecedented attacks on every aspect of the Constitution, on its very vision of a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic which promises to every Indian social, economic, and political justice; equality; liberty; and fraternity. The Union Government is waging a relentless war on the very constitutional framework of the Indian Republic hence it is important to talk about states' rights and autonomy.

The Constitution is written by "We, the people of India", that is why when we talk about states' rights, those rights must actually be extended to the people, and

that's why I like this name, Makkal Adhikaram - People's Power or Rights.

The word federal is not there in the preamble of the Constitution, and we know that the constitution which Babasaheb Ambedkar actually wanted to write, was in the draft called "States and Minorities" which he had submitted to the Constituent Assembly in March 1947 on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation. This was more explicitly federal. In that he envisioned India as the United States of India. He had a vision for minorities where Dalits were also considered to be a minority, not just Muslims and other religious minorities. Dalits as a minority, actually need the greatest amount of constitutional support and protection. Dr. Ambedkar had a different vision of minorities and of states, with a clear vision of uniting them in a democratic republican framework. The constitution which eventually got adopted guaranteed federalism in a more implicit form.

When inducted into the Constituent Assembly Babasaheb Ambedkar thought his job was to advocate and defend and fight for the interests of Dalits and the deprived people. He never thought that he would be asked to chair the drafting committee and take the responsibility for the entire constitution, but as it happened, he was made the chairman and he had to draft the entire constitution, and that meant that at that time, in that situation, in the given balance of forces, the constitution that could be passed, got passed. It was not an ideal constitution that Babasaheb Ambedkar actually wanted, but an approximation and a step forward. But we must understand that the constitution is not a frozen document but a dynamic statement, a manifesto

of our times. Its Preamble, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic" is a call to action for the Indian people. With that spirit we must today defend the constitution with all our might.

Today, there are two types of states in the Modi era. BJP or NDA-ruled states are glorified as double-engine governments while non-BJP ruled governments are targeted and harassed in all possible ways. The biggest attack on federalism was witnessed in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, where the state was stripped of not only its unique constitutional status as provided under Article 370, but of its very statehood and bifurcated into two Union Territories. In a similar attack on Delhi, the rights of the elected government were denied by the Lieutenant Governor and after the Supreme Court upheld the rights of the Delhi government, the Modi government negated the Supreme Court order with a discriminatory legislation that made a complete mockery of the spirit of the Constitution and the Modi government's own rhetoric of cooperative federalism. In Tamil Nadu the attack is felt everyday in every arena, including language and education. One classic example is the role of the Governor who refused to give assent to bills passed by the state assembly. The Supreme Court rightly called it an unconstitutional action and hence the Governor has absolutely no right to continue in the office, and yet, that never happened. The Vice President is attacking the Supreme Court, saying it is using its power of judicial review like a nuclear missile. A BJP MP accused the Chief Justice of being responsible for a civil war in this country. The new Chief Justice Gavai, India's second Dalit and first

Buddhist Chief Justice has got 14 referrals from the President's office virtually challenging the Supreme Court's power as the custodian of the constitution.

While non-BJP ruled states face discrimination and obstruction, the so called double engine driven states are just abandoned when they face some crisis. Manipur has been burning for nearly two years with absolutely no governance; and now to avoid all accountability the state has been placed under President's Rule. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Union Home Ministry is responsible for security, but when the Pahalgam happened, the government refuses all accountability.

Should we really be surprised at the kind of attack which we see on the Constitution today? The RSS - is a hundred-year-old organisation formed in 1925 - did not take part in the struggle for independence from British colonial rule. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the RSS in its mouthpiece *The Organizer* wrote an editorial completely denouncing and rejecting the Indian Constitution. They said there is nothing "Indian" about this Constitution and wanted *Manusmriti* as India's Constitution. That was 1949 when they were very, very clear and open about it.

It so happened that after the assassination of Gandhi, when the RSS was banned, then they had to give in writing, Okay, we will accept the Constitution, we will be like a cultural organisation, and the government of India withdrew the ban.

If you read the "Bunch of Thoughts" by Golwalkar, you will understand that there is absolutely no federalism. They are against any kind of federalism. Their vision of India is like a big empire. For them Modi is like an Emperor, not considered to be the prime minister

of an elected republic. They consider the government as "our rule, our empire" and the states are nothing but glorified municipalities. Hence all power is completely centralised by various means. The complete concentration of wealth and centralisation of power, are the two things happening aggressively today. This is very much built into the RSS philosophy, its view of India, and its politics.

When the constitution was being adopted Ambedkar gave us enough warnings. He said it is not so much about whether the Constitution is good or bad; it is about the people who are called upon to administer the Constitution. If you give a good constitution to a bunch of bad people, what outcome do you expect? A bunch of bad people will definitely destroy a good Constitution. Ambedkar made it very clear that this Constitution of India is a top dressing of democracy on an undemocratic Indian soil. Which obviously meant that Ambedkar gave us the task of democratising the soil, otherwise that undemocratic soil will tear the democratic top dressing apart. This he said in 1949. Then, before 1947 he had told us that if ever a Hindu Raj becomes a reality in India, that will be the greatest calamity. He was telling this to Dalits, and the entire deprived and marginalised people of India, that there will be no democracy under a Hindu Raj. We are facing that calamity today, which is what we call Indian fascism.

This constitution emerged from the legacy of centuries of struggle in India. Part of it we know as the Freedom Movement, part of it we know as the anti-caste struggle, against patriarchy, against caste domination, against every kind of injustice. India has been fighting for change, for liberation, for emancipation, for justice, and for

equality for centuries. Especially India's achievement from 1857 to 1947, the 90 years of continuous and focused resistance which we know as India's freedom movement, is under threat because fascism is trying to demolish democracy and federalism, to turn India into a colony of concentrated corporate loot and plunder. They are denouncing the entire legacy of the freedom movement. We heard Mohan Bhagwat who says that India got real independence only with the consecration of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya. So for them independence was not achieved on August 15th, 1947, it was achieved on January 22, 2024, when the Ram Mandir was consecrated.

The nationalism in India that developed through the anti-colonial movement was inclusive, secular and anti-imperialist. That nationalism emerged from the first war of India's independence in 1857, gave us a song which declared, very loud and clear, that India belongs to us; we are the owners of India. We had such a clear statement of popular sovereignty and bold expression of inter-religious harmony in 1857.

We must protect this legacy and defeat the degeneration of nationalism in the hands of the Sangh-BJP brigade. If nationalism loses its inclusive and secular character and anti-imperialist spirit, it will weaken and imperil India's national unity. We must not allow our government to surrender to the Trump administration, the United States, the biggest imperialist power today, this degeneration of Indian nationalism will destroy India's federalism. We need to once again reignite that spirit of patriotism, the spirit of anti-imperialist, inclusive, secular nationalism in India. We need to wage a very resolute, united and

► *Continued on Next Page 32*

Tamil Nadu Party Cadre Meet in Chennai

“Drive away the fascist forces, Fight for rights of the people of the state, Rise as an alternative political force, Build a strong communist party” was the theme of the state cadre meeting of the CPIML in Tamil Nadu on 18 May 2025 at Chennai. More than 350 cadres from 25 districts participated in deliberations on the political climate of the state, to build a strong communist party organisation and plan for next assembly elections due in 2026. Tamil Nadu state secretary Asaithambi initiated the discussions by presenting an approach paper.

Balasundaram, CCM, explained the political approach in the backdrop of developments of AIADMK-BJP alliance and the entry of a new political outfit by actor Vijay. He called for a state level mobilisation on housing, land and wage issues as a culmination of a vibrant campaign among masses. He highlighted the growing unemployment in rural Tamil Nadu and called upon the cadres to give a political dimension to the socio-economic demands of the people. While welcoming affiliation of LTUC with AICCTU as an encouraging development, he called for mobilising sanitation workers as a political force in the state.

Chandramohan, CCM, elaborated the organisational part of the approach paper. He suggested the party committees and branches to discuss the approach paper, grasp and implement its content in letter

and spirit. The party committees are asked to undertake socio economic investigations in their area of work to formulate demands on burning issues of the people and to reach out to them. He stressed the importance of developing cadres with Marxist education and orientation. We need an efficient team of cadres and a Bolshevik party for a greater mobilisation of the people. Mass organisations should act as a bridge between the party and masses. He also stressed on the need to focus on selected assembly constituencies for a good electoral performance.

Comrade Shankar, PBM, Stressed that the cadres should pay single minded attention to expand and deepen the party work base and to increase the mobilisation and vote capacity at the district and block level. He also called upon cadres to take up the challenge of transcending the barriers and break the hurdles.

Balasubramanian, CCM, highlighted increasing danger of fascist attacks and called upon party cadres to build the organisation to cope up with new challenges.

A 10 member fraternal delegation of the Communist party (CP), comrades AS Kumar, Bhuvana, Janakiraman, A Govindaraj, Mohan, Gopal, Munusamy and Jayaprakash led by comrade Kumarasami joined the meeting while Comrade S Kumarasami, advisor of the CP, addressed the gathering. Comrade

Kumarsami began his speech by saying that Prime Minister Modi has announced a ceasefire with Pakistan, but his attack on the people of India and the working class is continuing unabated. In the coming Bihar elections, we have to ensure the defeat of fascist forces. The working class of Tamil Nadu should support the revolutionary forces in the Bihar elections by canvassing votes for CPIML among migrant workers of Bihar working in and around Chennai. He also emphasized that women workers from the most downtrodden communities of Arunthathiyar, Adi Dravidars and MBCs are involved in sanitation work in Chennai who should be developed as an independent political force. Comrade A S Kumar, the president of LTUC, sang a song on the conditions of the working class.

A Tamil booklet with two articles, “Hundred years of the communist movement in India” and “Identifying Indian fascism, if not now, then when?” was released by comrade Dipankar and the first copy was received by comrade Kumarasami. Another book on the party's 11th Congress document, “Resolution on the perspective, orientation and tasks of anti-fascist resistance” was released by comrade Krishnaveni, a member of the Central Control Commission of the party and received by comrade Suseela, a standing committee member. A web magazine called “Ethir Chol”

► *Continued from Page 31*

broad-based struggle in defence of the constitution, in defence of democracy, and in defence of the inclusive anti-imperialist legacy of India's freedom movement.

Tamil Nadu is a treasure house of the rich legacy of India's quest for an egalitarian social order. Here we had our first trade union formed by Singaravelu. This is the land of Periyar where anti-caste anti-patriarchal

struggles have struck deep roots.

Such legacies give us the power to envision an India united with all our diversity and a truly liberated and powerful people exercising their full range of democratic rights. The answer to the present crisis is a more robust democracy with robust federalism. More power to the people. Victory to people's struggles. ■

(Counter Point/Word) in Tamil, which can be accessed at www.ethirsol.com was launched by comrade Dipankar.

The party's state committee in Tamil Nadu donated a sum of two lakh rupees, including Kanyakumari's Rs 50,000 as election fund to the party's central fund for fighting the crucial assembly election battle in Bihar this year. LTUC-CP donated Rs 50,000 as a first instalment.

Comrade Dipankar, the general secretary of the party, made his concluding remarks thanking for the financial contributions made by Tamil Nadu comrades and LTUC-CP for Bihar elections.

He said that there is an unprecedented, all-out attack on the people, constitution and all democratic institutions by the ruling Modi government. The people of Tamil Nadu are determined to defeat the BJP and its alliance. This anti-BJP atmosphere in Tamil Nadu needs to be strengthened more by taking painstaking efforts to expand and deepen our party work in the state. We have to strengthen secular and anti-imperialist nationalism against Hindutva's communal nationalism which is a real test for progressive forces. In Tamil Nadu, BJP is trying to capitalise on the anti-incumbency factor of the DMK led state government and by riding on the back of AIADMK and other parties in their alliance to capture the state power. The BJP is the first and foremost danger for the country and the people of Tamil Nadu. We have many issues with DMK like betrayal of election promises, attack on working class rights, acquiring lands to serve the corporates, corruption, caste atrocities, honour killings, etc. We should make the state government accountable for all these. But at the same time, we should be clear about targeting the BJP first which is hell bent on destroying the progressive ethos and values of the state and also the life and livelihood of the people and the downtrodden. Both BJP and DMK cannot be equated.

BJP is trying to take roots among vulnerable people like a section of Dalits, jobless youth, urban poor, merchandise communities and extremely backward communities in Tamil Nadu. We have to expand our work towards all these sections with ideological and political clarity. Our organisation should develop the ability to win over sections of people who are vulnerable towards BJP.

Comrade Dipankar heartily welcomed the affiliation of LTUC with AICCTU on May Day. He also appreciated the grand welcome extended by workers of various trade unions affiliated with AICCTU, including sanitation, TASMAL and other factory workers of LTUC and CP. He appealed to confront the challenges with renewed vigour and spirit and to march forward in the battle to defeat fascist forces in the state and called for making the forthcoming party state conference in Tamil Nadu a historic one by expanding the party membership and widening our influence before the next Assembly elections due in a year. ■



A Meeting with LTUC-CP Comrades in Chennai

Comrade Dipankar, the general secretary of CPI(ML) Liberation, accompanied by Shankar, Asaithambi and Eraniappan, visited comrade Kumarasami, the advisor to LTUC (Left Trade Union Centre – CP (Communist Party)), in their office at Ambattur in Chennai on 16 May 2025.

A grand welcome to comrade Dipankar was accorded by comrades with fire crackers and drums at the entrance of the street where their office is located. Slogans of unity were reverberating across. More than two hundred workers of sanitation and various other companies assembled along with their leaders Barathi, AS Kumar, Bhuvana, Vidyasagar, Janakiraman, A Govindaraj, Uma Maheswaran, Suresh, Mohan, Munuswamy, Shanmugavel and others to welcome comrade Dipankar. LTUC – CP's first instalment of Bihar election fund Rs 50,000 was handed over to comrade Dipankar by the sanitation workers.

Comrade Dipankar addressed the gathering at the office entrance and thanked all workers and LTUC-CP leaders for the exceptional warmth and respect they displayed towards the party, CPI(ML) Liberation and for donating to Bihar election fund. He greeted comrades for staunchly carrying forward people's and workers struggle against fascism in various forms. He also elaborated on the party's preparations towards elections in Bihar. ■

CPIML Jharkhand State Conference

The Jharkhand state conference of CPIML was held on 22-24 April 2025 at Bokaro Steel City. The conference began after paying tributes to the martyrs and the flag hoisting by senior party leader Comrade Anand Mahto, followed by an open session Against Corporate Fascism, Privatisation and Plunder of Jal-Jangal-Jameen. The open session was addressed by party General Secretary Dipankar Bhattacharya, Academician activist Jean Drez, CPI(M) state secretary Prakash Vipplavi, CPI leader Lakhan Mahto and party Polit Bureau member Vinod Singh. Leaders of Sahara Bhugatan Sangharsh Andolan and Railway workers also addressed this session. A booklet of recent articles by Dipankar Bhattacharya against fascism

was also inaugurated during this session.

The delegate sessions began in the evening of 22 April and was presided over by a presidium comprising comrades Gita Mandal, Haldhar Mahto, Sushma Mehta, Jayanti Chaudhary, Usman Ansari, Ravindra Bhuian and RD Manjhi. This session started with passing of a condolence resolution remembering martyred and dead comrades and leaders of people's movement including Prem Mahto who was recently killed by the CISF firing on the anti-displacement movement and martyrs of the Pahalgam terror attack. The conference resolved to expand the party by strengthening the people's movement against BJP's corporate fascist and communal politics.

General Secretary Comrade Dipankar inaugurated the delegate session and

Secretary of the outgoing state committee Manoj Bhakt presented the work report before the delegates.

Comrade Dipankar noted that Jharkhand's comrades will advance with great unity. People here have shown trust in CPI(ML). The energy in the struggles of workers, for water-forest-land in Jharkhand, for the displaced, Adivasis, and for self-respect - if this energy unites, great possibilities emerge.

Party PBM Shashi Yadav was the central observer for the conference which was attended by more than 450 delegates from 20 districts. The conference unanimously adopted the work report and elected a 67 member state committee, which in turn re-elected comrade Manoj Bhakt as the state secretary. The Conference concluded with the singing of The Internationale. ■

Five-Day Statewide Strike Begins as Scheme Workers Protest in Patna

Raising the slogan "Modi-Nitish, Open Your Ears – Scheme Workers Demand Dignity, Security, and Pay", hundreds of scheme workers, including ASHAs, midday meal cooks, and Anganwadi workers took to the streets of Patna on May 20. The massive demonstration, called by the All India Scheme Workers Federation (AISWF), blocked the busy Dakbungalow Chowk, bringing the heart of the city to a standstill.

The workers, affiliated with AICCTU and unions such as the Bihar State ASHA Workers' Union, Bihar State School Cooks' Union, and the Bihar State Anganwadi Workers' Union, are demanding:

1. A monthly honorarium of Rs. 21,000,
2. Retirement age at 65 years,
3. Rs. 10 lakh retirement package,
4. Lifetime pension for all scheme workers
5. Clearing of all pending dues from the last eight months,

The protest also marked the beginning of a five-day state-wide strike by ASHA workers and facilitators, from 20 to 24

May, demanding long-pending promises be fulfilled. Among their key demands is the immediate implementation of the written agreement made in 2023, which promised an increased honorarium and the clearing of pending payments for February–March 2024, and for the past six months.

Addressing the protest, Shashi Yadav, National General Secretary of AISWF and Bihar MLC denounced both the Modi-led Centre and the Nitish Kumar state government, accusing them of gross negligence. "In eleven years of BJP rule, there has been no revision in the honorarium for lakhs of scheme workers. On the contrary, there has been an outright refusal to consider any increase," she stated. She further criticised the Bihar government for failing to uphold the 2023 written agreement on honorarium hikes and for not disbursing wages for the last eight months despite repeated pleas.

School Cooks' Union leader Saroj Chaubey demanded the state immediately implement the Education Minister's earlier

promise of Rs. 3,000 monthly honorarium for school cooks, extend pay from 10 to 12 months per year, and halt the privatisation of the Midday Meal scheme via NGOs.

Ranjana Yadav, leader of Anganwadi workers, accused the state government of systematic repression. She said striking women workers are being denied promotions, particularly to the role of Female Supervisor, and demanded this discriminatory block be lifted. She also called for the withdrawal of the Facial Recognition Attendance Systems (FRAS) and the provision of smartphones to all Anganwadi workers.

Block Project Assistants, who were arbitrarily dismissed also joined the protest to demand reinstatement of 425 sacked workers into the Social Welfare Department.

Leaders of scheme workers' unions Savitri, Sanju, Anita, Rinku, Meena, Sona Devi, Poonam and Rekha also addressed the protest rally. Protests were also held in Darbhanga, Madhubani, Sitamarhi, Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Saran, Begusarai, Bhagalpur, Supaul, Araria, Nalanda, Rohtas, and other districts. ■

Sanjay Singhvi

Com. Sanjay Singhvi, a polit bureau member of the CPI(ML) Mass Line and a veteran leader of the TUCI lost his fight with cancer on the 23rd April 2025.

Born in a well to do family of a Communist Party lawyer, a communist mother and a trade unionist, Naxalite maternal aunt, Com. Sanjay continued this legacy in politics and profession.

He was at the forefront of the student's movement in the 1970s. Subsequently he completed his legal education and was a senior advocate. He was known as a partisan lawyer of the working class, non-sectarian in taking up the cause of the working class. He continued his political journey from the student's movement by joining CPI(ML) Red Star.

He believed in the unity of all streams of the communists in India. He had a comradely friendship with a wide spectrum of communists, trade unionists and professionals. After the fascist Modi regime unfolded, he wished for and tried to work for unity of the left and democratic forces without dogma.

A special mention must be made here about the judicial intervention on behalf of the contract workmen in Air India and Mumbai municipal corporation's waste management workers. We are in grief with Com. Jane, his partner in life. We pay our last respects and revolutionary red salute to a comrade of the working class. ■



Agnipushp

CPI(ML) mourns the passing of veteran poet, journalist, and ideological stalwart Agnipushp, who passed away on 3 May 2025 in Kolkata, at the residence of his son, Anshuman, after a prolonged illness.

Born in 1950 in Tarauni village, Darbhanga, he was educated in Kolkata and later made Darbhanga and Patna the centre of his intellectual and political work. He joined CPI(ML) during the Naxalbari movement and remained a committed activist throughout his life. After completing his studies in Kolkata, he worked first in Darbhanga before shifting to Patna, where along with Comrade Arvind Kumar, he played a pivotal role in developing the publishing wing of CPI(ML). As editor of Samkaleen Janmat, he mentored a generation of energetic journalists across the state, helping to forge a bold and distinct voice in the world of people's journalism. He also held senior editorial positions in two national newspapers, bringing his sharp political insight and literary depth to the wider media landscape.

His contributions to Maithili and Hindi literature were marked by intensity and ideological clarity. His work in publishing set new standards in Bihar, producing thoughtful and aesthetically crafted books and periodicals with limited resources. His memory, his writings, and his steadfast commitment to transformative thought will continue to inspire. CPI(ML) pays heartfelt tribute to a life lived in pursuit of justice and truth — a life that will continue to illuminate the path ahead. ■



Sattar

We are deeply saddened to announce the sudden demise of Comrade Sattar, member of the CPIML Liberation Andhra Pradesh State Standing Committee and Secretary of the Chittoor District Committee. He passed away in the early hours of May 9, 2025, following a cardiac arrest.

A dedicated organiser, Comrade Sattar played a vital role in advancing the party's work in the Rayalaseema region. His passing is an irreparable loss to the party, but his revolutionary legacy will continue to inspire our struggle. Red Salute to Comrade Sattar! ■



José “Pepe” Mujica

CPIML pays heartfelt tribute to José “Pepe” Mujica, former President of Uruguay (2010–2015), leader of the leftist Broad Front and the Movement of Popular Participation (MPP), and a lifelong revolutionary inspired by the Cuban Revolution. Mujica was a guerrilla fighter with the Tupamaros movement who bravely opposed the U.S.-backed dictatorship that ruled Uruguay from 1973 to 1985, spending over a decade as a political prisoner. He passed away on May 13, 2025, at the age of 89.

As president, he defied the logic of neoliberalism by expanding social protections, strengthening the country's trade unions, significantly bolstering minimum wages, and legalizing abortion, same-sex marriage, and cannabis. He also invested in renewable energy. Mujica shunned the trappings of power, lived in a modest farmhouse, and donated most of his salary to the poor, earning the love of the people and the title “the world's humblest president.” ■



POSTING DATE : 27-28 OF EVERY MONTH
PUBLISHED ON 26TH OF EVERY MONTH

R.N.I. NO. 55777/93
P. R. NO. DL(E)—11/5156/2021-23
POSTING AT NEW DELHI G.P.O.



ASHA WORKERS' STRIKE IN BIHAR FOR WAGES, PENSION, SECURITY AND DIGNITY



EDITORIAL OFFICE

CHARU BHAWAN, U-90, SHAKARPUR, DELHI - 110 092

PUBLISHED BY:

Dipankar Bhattacharya for the Central Committee, CPIML
from Charu Bhawan, U-90, Shakarpur, Delhi - 110 092

EDITOR: Arindam Sen

PRINTED BY: Lekhraj Singh Chauhan at Graphic Print,
383, F&E, GF, Patparganj Industrial Area, Delhi - 110 092

liberation@cpiml.org
www.liberation.org.in
PH.: 91-11-42785864