**Cultural field – Present tasks**

**Sadhana**

Discussing about cultural field would normally mean speaking about literature and art. This is indeed a very important issue and so it gained prominence. We see culture from the understanding that ‘the culture of a society is the theoretical reflection of the politics and economic system of it’. To see it in more detail – we define our country as semi-colonial, semi-feudal. It means here there are semi-feudal politics and semi-feudal economic system. Culture is the theoretical reflection of both these. We also have culture that is the theoretical reflection of the politics of imperialism and that is indirectly exploiting and ruling our country and its economic system. ‘Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are two great brothers’ says Mao. He adds that ‘both these have become reactionary cultural unity. This serves the imperialists and landlords. Imperialist politics and culture as the theoretical reflection of its economic system are in the leadership of the alliance of both these. Both the cultures are bad and should be wiped out. It is certain that without wiping out those we cannot build any new culture. The new culture formed by wiping out these shall be the reflection of the new politics and economic system’. Let us see one more thing here. We feel that politics are the centralized expression of the economy. This is our understanding in saying economic system as the base and culture as the superstructure.

We are making revolution to bring a fundamental change in the politics and economy of a society. We are making serious efforts to change the culture that is the reflection of the same. We are working in the background set in our basic document ‘Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution’ - ‘Establishing New Democratic Culture means rooting out semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture and modern revisionist ideology and establishing scientific democratic people’s culture and this is the task of the cultural field in the present revolutionary stage’. This work is of two types. One is in the form of agitation and propaganda and the second is organizational work. Out of the two, there is more work in agitation and propaganda and work in organization is weak. Consolidating the forces inspired with the agitation and propaganda organizationally, expanding by paying proper attention and strengthening them, educating the organisation and bringing them into practice means creating literature and art. The process of participating and gaining experience in propaganda and agitation is like a cycle. Only if we understand the dialectical relation between them that wherever there is a violation to this process it would entirely face loss and that too it would be useful to achieve the task only if we give primary importance to organisations. This work must go on according to the primary Marxist understanding that only the organized people make revolution. Anyway organizational work is relatively hard and complex than agitation and propaganda. It has to be taken up according to the discipline and democratic centralism mentioned in the Constitution of the organization. How can we wipe out the exploitive culture without this work? How can we enlighten the people?

We need to give serious thought to how the writings and art created by persons can fulfill the revolutionary task without going among the people, without direct relation with the movements and without organizational consolidation. How can those who believe that - ‘writings and art pieces are the expressions as a result of the reflection of life of a society in one’s brain’, ‘the necessary raw material and source for literature is the people’s life’, ‘art is the expression of people’s life, thoughts and feelings’- create literature and art without totally identifying themselves with the revolutionary people? They must understand that without active participation in the organization and without making organizational effort they cannot create powerful literature and lively art. This does not mean to undermine the importance of agitation and propaganda. This is to emphasise that the essence and life necessary for revolutionary propaganda through meetings and other forums is obtained from organizational work. Those who created marvelous literature and art in the world have been closely in touch with the people’s movements. The inspiration and enthusiasm from those have helped to an extent in fulfilling the interests of revolution. Anyhow the actual thing is that without organizational work in the cultural field revolutions were not successful and will not be successful. Where such work is lacking we can make out the gap. For example, in our country today the revolutionary movement is going on in a broad area. Guerilla war is going on in a severe level in the central and east India. People’s War is building the state power of the people. It is working among the people in the primary level. The destruction created by the Salwa judums, Sendras, Shanthiyathras and Harmadvahinis is nothing less. But the people and the people’s armed forces defeated them with their heroic struggles. With this the exploitive state was shocked and is unleashing Operation Green Hunt with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement for the past five years with protracted schemes. This destructive operation is going on with the aim of total destruction or total war. The exploitive state security forces are indulging in many brutalities. People’s victories too are in a unique level. All those are not being written to the necessary extent! They are not being molded widely into art forms. We have such bitter experiences in the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary movement and the Bihar-Jharkhand revolutionary movement that have stood in the forefront of Indian Revolution. Whatever the reasons might be, the good effort in the initial days of the movements has lacked later. The people have to gain the experiences of these movements to a much more extent. The little literature and art that the revolutionary movements are creating are nothing in terms of quantity in the multipronged offensive of the enemy. We cannot expect literature and art to the extent of fulfilling the necessities of the revolutionary movement from the pens that are constantly involved in war. Moreover the Protracted People’s War going on in a semi-feudal country has to depend mainly on the worker and the peasant forces. They are the motive forces. Coming specifically to our country, in the conditions where lakhs of adivasi people are involved in war in the vast forest areas, the help from writers, artists, journalists, doctors, engineers, agricultural scientists, intellectuals and others is very much needed.

Since we are specifically talking about literary and cultural field, the ‘cultural army’ as Mao said, without their total identity with the people’s movements there would be a gap in the revolutionary movement. For this purpose they will have to first be organized in the revolutionary people’s organisations and a direct part of the people’s movements. In the situation when the revolutionary movement is facing a difficult condition, the necessity of more perfectionin the organisational strength of the revolutionary cultural army has increased more manifold than in the past. If the army is not consolidated in a big way the movement would lag behind in fulfilling the necessities of the revolutionary movement, in the forms, literature with standards and art to the world. ‘All the soldiers’ of the cultural field must be prepared to fulfill this gap. The elite and advanced forces must be prepared first. The present conditions demand this. On this occasion let us see what the world famous poet Lu Shun suggested literati and artists about whom Com. Mao said, ‘great daring, correct, highly steady, most reliable, committed national warrior in the cultural field’ and ‘he is a great unparalleled warrior in our history’ –

“Though you do not identify with the ongoing struggles in the society and study and write residing in glass buildings, it is very easy for you to become great transformers or terrorists. One more thing is that if you do not understand the actual character of revolution you will easily become rightists. If you cannot see the revolution in difficult conditions much more closely, the beautiful dreams about revolution shall shatter in no time”.

We must apply what Lu Shun said in difficult conditions. It is a good tradition to visit the areas of revolutionary movement to know their experiences occasionally. It is also the present necessity to totally identify with those movements organizationally.

Coming to the second thing, though we formed propaganda teams in the cultural field, the work of building it as a mass organization began only after the AP State Committee formulated the Cultural Perspective in 1995. We understand that the Andhra Pradesh State Committee though late, realized the necessity of forming propaganda squads and decided through the JNM perspective.

In 1972-75 when the Party was mainly limited to the student and the intellectual fields, JNM could enthuse the student, youth, intellectual, employee, middle class and the peasantry to think about revolution through its cultural programs. During the time when the Srikakulam Armed Peasant struggle was suppressed in a severe way, JNM efficiently conducted its role in propaganda. It widely propagated the history of Srikakulam Tribal peasant struggle that was limited to North Andhra, especially Srikakulam, the Naxalbari and other armed peasant struggles in Telangana and other Andhra towns and the rural areas of Rayalaseema. Through its cultural programs in the colleges, towns and villages JNM created an optimistic understanding towards the future struggles and revolution among the oppressed masses. During those days the extempore drama ‘Beedalapaatlu’ (plight of the poor), ‘Rytu Coolie Vijayam’ (the success of agricultural labor), dappu (drum) dance, kawali and other such songs galvanized many. JNM went around for months staying in one village each day and performed basing on the people. This work not only helped to mobilise the people and attract them towards the movement but also as an efficient organization of propaganda as a preparation for mobilizing the student, youth and intellectual fields and to revive the movement.

A few days before imposing emergency in 1975 repression initially began on JNM. The proposed RYL conference in Guntur was disturbed, the JNM artists were arrested and tortured. In emergency the Party was banned. Since there was no special program for the JNM artists as a part of the secret party, the comrades who until then were part of activities in the name of JNM became scattered. In a period they were caught, tortured and jailed. During the dark days of emergency JNM could not take up any activities.

When emergency was lifted there were new conditions in the country and as a part of the Party tasks to ‘form JNM in each and every place and develop them as powerful instruments of propaganda for the propaganda of People’s Democratic Revolution’, JNM units were formed in many villages and colonies. The songs of JNM went from village to village as a part of the campaign ‘go to villages’. JNM song was like a weapon in the struggles where the peasantry was mobilized in the anti-landlord struggle. The villages marched in struggles with resounding songs. JNM song became a beat in the mouths of the people. A tradition came into existence where the people’s activists created songs orally in the people’s tunes then and there. JNM became an inseparable part of the then peasant struggles, created enthusiasm among the people, faced the exploitation and oppression on them and enthused so that they go in the path of struggle to change their lives. JNM brought ‘Naxalbari biddalu (Children of Naxalbari)’,‘Oggukatha’ as a new people’s art form. The people’s art form was revolutionized in the peasant struggles and changed into a revolutionary people’s art form. Many JNM units were formed in the struggle areas and worked actively. JNM was entwined as a cultural movement in the peasant struggles that rose in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal districts. Later the struggle areas of Telangana were announced as disturbed areas and the government put its iron heel on the peasantry. Then JNM conducted its cultural activities among the people against the repression like fish in the water. It conducted cultural programs in the towns and mobilized the urban people. It performed giving a call to boycott fake elections. It propagated exposing the cruel repression during emergency. In 1981 when tribals were brutally killed by the police in Indravelli, JNM participated in the open demonstrations in the urban areas condemning this massacre and prepared a ballet ‘Ragaljenda’ (Red flag) on the tribal life and performed all over the state. During the same time JNM performed ‘Bhumi Bhagotham’ (the story of land), ‘Sikkoluyuddham’ (the war of Sikkolu (Srikakulam)) and propagated the fakeness of the government land reforms and the story of the struggle of the Srikakulam Tribal peasants in North Andhra. Along with this it conducted district, region and state level cultural classes. In this period JNM teams were formed in many districts and involved in agitation and propaganda activities. JNM enthused the people of the struggle and non-struggle areas in the campaign in solidarity to the Adilabad-Karimnagar struggle. Thus JNM became part of the peasant struggles and the student and the youth movements. Through the performances of JNM at the time of Seminar on Nationality Questionunder the auspices of RSU in Chennai, intellectuals of other states too were enlightened. JNM participated actively in the second conference of the Agricultural labor organization in Karimnagar that was conducted to coordinate the peasant struggles and advance them as an organized force. It prepared a drama ‘Nagetichallallo…’ (in the fields). Thus JNM activities continued until the government unleashed severe repression on the people’s movements and mass organisations in 1985. In a situation where RSU and RYL could not take up open activities JNM too faced the same. JNM comrades played an active role in the country wide propaganda campaign exposing this situation in 1985.

Open performances of JNM stopped since the end of 1985. JNM activities totally came to a stop in Telangana area. It could take up its propaganda activities in the rural areas of South Coastal and Rayalaseema until 1989. In Telangana except for singing songs and making small performances as a part of the RYL and RCS activities, JNM could not perform as an organization. Though we had experiences of emergency, party could not guide JNM to take up open and secret activities during the period of repression that started since 1985. Few videos were prepared, few Telugu songs were translated into Hindi and the cultural art forms in some states were studied. We failed to work in a creative manner during the period of repression. We had considerable experiences in the cultural field in 1972-85 but the Party could not formulate a proper plan regarding the cultural squads in the struggle areas, about the secret activities in areas of repression or about proper activities in Coastal Andhra where there were more opportunities. By then songs were coming in the tribal languages in the tribal areas of struggle. Though there was no separate cultural unit in the squads, the cultural field too was a part of the functioning of the squads. The cultural movement to rectify the backward ideas in the cultural life of the Gond tribal people too became a part of the Tribal peasant struggle. Few leaders of JNM did not bend to repression and became part of the secret life. But Party could not utilize the organization of cultural movement during this period of repression.

Again in 1990 there was the condition to conduct open performances. We knew this legal period would exist for a very little time but party did not try in a serious manner to deal with the problems of organization in JNM, about the shortcomings in the cultural performances and about the message to be given to the people. With the affection of the people towards the JNM artists who came into the open after a secret life during the repression, word and song became an art form in the place of cultural performances. JNM could not prepare creative new art forms according to the cruel repression, the struggle spirit of the people’s retaliation and the level of consciousness of the people during 1985-89. There were some new songs during this time but the cultural performances could not reach the level of people’s mobilization and to raise the struggle consciousness of the people. The oppressed masses under severe repression since 1985 mobilised in lakhs like a flood. The rallies brought all together and it helped to enhance the morale and self-confidence of the people in the struggles. In fact if JNM had worked much more creatively during this period it would have contributed more to enhance the cultural level of the people. JNM had little time to create such new cultural art forms but if attempted it would have been able to reach that objective to a little extent. During that period JNM comrades tried to bring forth new art forms but could not perform them successfully. People had so much interest in the cultural performances and the art forms that the JNM songs books and audio cassettes were sold in lakhs, creating new chapter in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The movement developed quantitatively and qualitatively but JNM could not perform Ragaljenda of 1981 as much artistically as earlier. The songs and dances of the 1970s found place in the performances again and it could not reach the level of people’ movement and people’s consciousness. JNM had an advanced role in the movement in the 1970s but it could not develop in the 1990s. In 1991 government repression started and JNM could not give open cultural performances. We gained a lot of experience in forming propaganda units and in taking up legal and illegal activities but we could not reach to an understanding about forming Jananatyamandali as a mass organization until 1995. We reached the understanding that JNM too should be a mass organization in the Perspective APSC wrote in 1995. We could not make it a mass organization in the repression that immediately broke and also we could not continue the propaganda teams. However the mass organisations continued in the cultural field in cover.

The tasks of the cultural field – revolutionary mass organization – revolutionary propaganda – these tasks must be consolidated in the direction of the people, people’s army and state power. Only the people consolidated as people’s army can protect the various people’s organisations and the organisations of cultural (literary, art) field. We must understand that there is a dialectical relation between these two organizations in the revolutionary movement. If one of it is not strong it would have a negative impact on the other. Mainly, if the people’s army is not formed in proper time and cannot protect the revolutionary people’s organisations those revolutionary organisations will face a loss. In such conditions we have to change our tactics. There were organizational changes in the cultural field, especially the art field in AP (the present AP and Telangana states) in this direction. Since counter revolutionary war was gaining the upper hand in AP, Jananatyamandali that was until then working openly started taking up its tasks in an armed manner. At this juncture we formed ‘X’ cover organization. It took up the task to mold the activities and tasks of People’s War as art forms and perform. In a process it spread as a statewide mass organization. It took up wide propaganda with the aim of New Democratic Revolution through various art forms. Even now it is continuing this task successfully.

The Armed JNM took up revolutionary propaganda for a decade. Since the revolutionary movement faced a severeloss in AP and Telangana JNM too was dissolved along with all the secret organizations. ‘X’ is continuing successfully.

In the later stage of the movement in Telangana, Telangana Kala Samithi was formed and it took cultural art forms reflecting the aspirations of the people and contributing to the organization of the movement.

When the revolutionary peasant guerilla squads initially spread to strategic areas (forests) they took up political, military, organizational and cultural tasks, i.e., multipronged tasks. The initial guerilla squads took up these multipronged tasks for more than a decade. Later first the military tasks and four years later cultural tasks were separated. In this process Chetana Natya Manch was recognized as revolutionary mass organization in 2002 and then the efforts for its development intensified.

Chetana Natya Manch achieved considerable development as a mass organization. It registered membership in thousands. It could form leadership in three layers. CNM could also form squads with full time revolutionaries. These squads mainly held the task of revolutionary propaganda in various forms. Along with this Chetana Natya Manch is also taking up the tasks of training activists, creating new literary and art forms, revolutionizing people’s arts, recording and protecting them, and other such things. To that extent it is contributing to revolutionary movement. It is helpful to enlighten the people. Anyhow there are no enough cultural squads is another problem is that where there are no separate cultural squads, the squads taking up political and organizational tasks of the party do not show the necessary interest towards the cultural field. The activities of CNM as a mass organization are naturally very limited. They cannot fulfill the necessity of taking the revolutionary message to the people among the enemy attacks, the revolutionary political propaganda and about the people’s problems in the level of the cultural squads. We can understand some more things if we think about the intensity of the problem in a deeper manner. Then we can be comprehensive about the tasks before us.

Primary organisations in the military field (Local Guerilla Squads, Platoons) are almost unable to fulfill the tasks of the cultural field. Though they have mainly military tasks, they are not taking up the task of propaganda as written in the PLGA manifesto. Though a few enthusiastic persons are trying to do something it is clear that they cannot do anything as individuals. Another serious problem is that except for the activists of the cultural field others are not interested in these programs. This is a negative trend. At least one third of the recruited in a year into the revolutionary movement are active members in CNM in their villages. However immediately after recruitment they are gradually distancing from those activities. In fact this is the result of the failure of understanding the importance of the propaganda of revolutionary politics and cultural activities. This unwanted consequence in the youth who in fact actually went among the masses when in the villages and performed, ultimately harms the revolutionary movement. It is a fact that the cultural activities give a lot of enthusiasm necessary for a combat unit. If there are no cultural activities at least to a minimum extent, as Mao said the combat units would become dull.

In the present difficult conditions of the revolutionary movement there is a strong need to widely propagate the victories of the past three and a half decades with the aim of strengthening mass base. In order to defeat the present fascist Operation Green Hunt, the experiences of defeating several enemy repressive campaigns, the armed goonda army like the salwa judum, the success of wiping the infamous leader of it, Mahendra Karma, the role of the people and people’s militia in the military successes in Mukaram, Battum, Gollagudem, Kongera, Laheri, Manpur and others must be taken to the people. Today there is a dire need to prepare the people politically to boycott the fake reforms of the government and the large scale Civic Action Programs of the ‘security forces’ in the name of filling up their distance with the people. Unable to understand the difficult conditions, some people lose confidence in the historic truth that people are the makers of history, cannot know the prominence of MLM and leave the revolutionary movement out of despair. Answers need to be given to the thoughts and discussion arising out of these among the people. So there are many tasks. All of them are the problems of the cultural teams taking the message through their cultural and art programs to the people. Where there are no such teams, all the revolutionary squads including the military units going among the people must take the message in cultural forms so that the people can understand in an easy manner. There is no other way in the present conditions.

Strong coordination is necessary between the revolutionary people’s committees and the cultural teams. This coordination is necessary among all the revolutionary mass organisations. We understood this necessity and prominence and formed Public relations department in the Revolutionary People’s Committees. Later by 2011 we made changes in the work division of the Executive Committees of the mass organisations in the direction of achieving more coordination with the RPCs. With the formation of the RPCs there was confusion in the functioning of the revolutionary mass organisations in some places that gained great confidence of the peopleand we formulated the necessary guidelines regarding the functioning of RPCs and the Revolutionary MOs to clear it. In fact party had been making decisions developing its understanding in accordance to the conditions to interlink the organized people with their organs of power much closely. But due to shortcoming in the functioning all of them gradually became foggy. The RPCs are not conducting their meetings and also those of the departments as per their policy program. There are a lot of works in the daily lives of the people with the government and the various departments. They will have to solve the problems. Necessary decisions must be made by the RPCs as and when the time arises to protect the people from the cruel and brutal attacks of the exploitive state and to resist these attacks. Since these are not going on properly the decisions and messages of the RPCs are notgoing to the people. As a result the education-culture-propaganda department is unable to work like earlier. The cultural artists provided relief to the people who do agricultural works the day long and are suffocated with the attacks through their cultural performances and maintained a political atmosphere. They worked to enlighten the people on many issues with their performances. Now there is more need to bring such an atmosphere. Where the RPCs are active they have to efficiently utilize the education-culture-propaganda department. Where it is inactive, weak and faced loss, the cultural activists must enthusiastically participate in the work going on in the direction of making them active again. It is not an ordinary job to educate the people. Much illiteracy, blind beliefs, poverty, diseases, outside world-bourgeois world-here too the task of enlightening people would be testing. This task is very tough in the revolutionary strategic areas. Special efforts must be made to take up this task. For this purpose firstly there must be strong coordination between the revolutionary people’s committees being formed in the primary level and the cultural activists. On this occasion let us remember what Com. Mao said in 1944, in the meeting of the activists of the education-cultural department in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border area. There are more than ten lakh illiterates out of the 15 lakh population in this area. There are two thousand magicians. In such an area he said to the activists –

“More than working against the Japan imperialism it is difficult to fight against the enemy in the minds of the people. We must give a call to the people to fight against their illiteracy, blind beliefs and untidy habits. Broad United Front is necessary for this struggle”. As I read these sentences I remember the incident of how the revolutionary people, activists of revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary people’s committees died out of cholera in South Region of Dandakaranya in the rainy season of 2013 without proper medical care, lack of sanitation and at least boiled water. Before educating our people first our revolutionary activists and cultural activists must develop the understanding about these things.

Lastly another important task needs to be given a thought. That is study. Maoism teaches that ‘we have to consider the actual necessities of the people and not those we imagine’. This is a very important issue. If we have to know what the people need without any subjectivity we need to go to them! We have to work among them, gain their confidence and know their real needs. Here class line and mass line too are embedded. We can know the problems of the people if we understand the revolutionary truth that we have to learn from the masses and go to the masses and that people are out teachers. This applies to all the revolutionaries and more to the activists of the cultural field. It is because our strategy-tactics says that ‘educating the workers, peasants and the toiling masses about the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal agrarian revolution and the protracted people’s war is one of the tasks of the cultural field’. We need to go to the people, know their problems and tell them that revolutionary movement is the solution in practice. Going to the people means to bring out the problems of the people. Seeing the lightning in the sky and hearing the sound of thunder does not mean having a sensitive look and hearing. Lower level activists too can know the glaring problems of the people. But the leadership must catch the vital factors that are creating loss to the movements and that are a nucleus to many developments in a village or an area. Though the people strongly feel to express their problems some ‘illusory power’ stops them and distances them from the people’s movements. Then the leadership must expose such forces. It must explain to the people the deception and loss in the temporary benefits that affect the people’s protracted interests. It has to explain the task of taking up problems in time so as to make the solution of other problems easier. Thus it has to go into the people to know the main problems, discuss with the people for proper solutions and keep them firmly for their sake. But they should not carry away with a right trend of tailing the people. They should not know the problems superficially. If so they will not be able to know anything about the problems and more over would fall into the danger of new confusions.

The cultural activists must go into the people and deeply study their traditions, their festivals, mode of production, their customs and habits, their literary work for the past generations, art, appreciation of art, instruments, their education-cultural level and the blind beliefs. They must especially study the language of the areas. We have to more specifically study about the castes and religions, the difference between the tribes. Caste is a distinct problem of our country. It needs deeper study. The ruling classes are widely spreading imperialist and feudal culture. The Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces in power in the centre in our country are intensifying attacks on religious minorities and adivasis. We do not consider in a serious manner the conspiracies going on openly for a long time to hinduise the adivasi children in the relatively strong areas of revolutionary movement. The children in the residential schools must make a Hindu prayer before meals. When the people lack the level of stopping such things the revolutionary movement must definitely enlighten them. The cultural activists must expose the poisonous teachings and impart scientific knowledge to the children and their parents. Many such things have been happening. All these must be studied, presented before the people and we must bring the people in the forefront of the path of liberation.

Intellectuals and writers took up propaganda against the Brahmanical Hindu fascist state that is intensifying its offensives with the evil intention to eliminate the Revolutionary People’s Committees, and in support to the Janathana Sarkars. On the other hand proletarian parties, groups, democratic forces and organisations from many countries of the world are unprecedentedly coming forth in support of our revolutionary movement. It is our responsibility to inform them about the people’s struggles, successes, the work of the RPCs, the attacks of the police and Para-military forces, the martyrdoms, the literature and art of the people and any such slightest thing. For this we need to have a more specific study, analysis and synthesis. This would help make the bolshevization campaign successful in various ways. There are a lot of activists moving among the people. It is not important as to how many days we stayed in an area. The extent to which we bring out the opinions of the people in that area, how we can mold them for the advancement of the revolutionary movement would be the criterion of the practice of the activists. In the tenth anniversary message our Central Committee reminded all the party members that ‘in every vital turn the task of enhancing not only our political level but also the political level of the people in a deep manner comes forward once more in a new way’. Study mainly contributes to this. The message also showed the way that ‘whatever the conditions might be, we have the proper weapon to face them and that is our theory of MLM. Let us realize it deeply and take up firmly’.

Lastly to summarise the tasks of the cultural movement –

1. Revolutionary writers and artists must absolutely identify themselves with the revolutionary movement.
2. We must form cultural squads and in their absence none should hesitate to fulfill the cultural tasks.
3. Cultural activists must achieve strong coordination with the Revolutionary People’s Committees.
4. Cultural activists must pay special attention to study.

**Conclusion**

Since the BJP came to power in the leadership of Sangh gang in the leadership of Narendra Modi, Brahmanical Hindu fascists are intensifying planned ideological spread and attacks. On the other hand the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of the states are shamelessly inviting the foreign rich and Multi-National Corporations to invest in India and to ‘Make in India’. While one says ‘Bangaru (golden) Telangana’ the other says ‘Swarna (golden) Andhra Pradesh’ throwing the people in illusions. The Prime Minister said Digital India. While one says they would make our country as Singapore another says they would make it Shanghai. But the people say they want ‘Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Ijjath and Adhikar’. They wish democracy and self-reliance. The birth of Hitlers and Mussolinis when the diehard religious forces are encouraged by capital is nothing new to history. There is nothing surprising that Modis come forth in this process. But these developments show the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement much more clearly. Brahmanical Hindu fascists are ruling in places like Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University that are known for left politics. The rights of the workers are mercilessly violated. The exploitive state does not condone writers and artists. Many repressive measures for suppressing the revolutionary movement have been taken up even before Modi but now they are going to intensify these much more intentionally and with class hatred. World famous revolutionary intellectual Yan Mirdal, Booker prize awardee and famous writer Arundhati Roy and other such people commented that Green Hunt reached the towns from the forests. This reveals the seriousness of the future situation. In such conditions there is an increasing need much more than in the last six decades, for all the revolutionary forces in the respective fields to integrate with the broad masses and fight united against the horribly degrading conditions. The people and the revolutionary forces have enormous experience to do this. Earlier when the Gujarat pogrom (2002) took place revolutionary writers and artists together with many friendly organisations formed ‘Secular democratic literary, cultural forum’ and made serious effort to heal the ‘Gujarat wound’. It is more than a decade now. Gujarat of that time became the model for the country now. The country is going to face wounds. If we do not rise and start treatment conditions might become critical. People are in struggle. It is our duty to provide them the proper direction, politics and tactics.