

VOL 23 | ISSUE 7 | OCTOBER 2022

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES
CENTRAL ORGAN OF CPI (ML) RED STAR

Political Significance of the 12TH CONGRESS OF CPI (ML) RED STAR



Central Organ of CPI (ML) Red Star

Vol 23 | Issue 7 | October 2022

RED STAR


PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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VOL 23 | ISSUE 7 | OCTOBER 2022

Editorial

Political Significance of the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star



The 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star successfully held during September 24- 29, 2022 at Kozhikode, Kerala, has been at a critical situation when neo-fascism is on the ascendance at a global level. Integrally linked up with it, neo-fascist Modi regime propped up by RSS, the longest-running and biggest fascist organisation in the world is on its way towards the transformation of India as a Hindurashtra whose ideological basis is Manusmriti that denies basic human rights to the people categorised under oppressed castes and minorities, especially Muslims. In this context, the Party Congress based on a concrete evaluation of the international and national

situation, has adopted the immediate tactical and long-term strategic steps required for resisting and defeating RSS neo-fascism and moving towards democracy and socialism. From this perspective, all the documents adopted in the Congress are in conformity with the various tasks that the Party has to take up in this situation.

Till now, the CPI (ML) Red Star Party Program has been that adopted at the 9th Party Congress in 2011 that basically altered the 1970 Program of CPI (ML) with the addition of minor amendments in the 10th and 11th Congresses of the Party. However, during this period, especially after the World Crisis of imperialism in 2008, neofascism has been an increasing trend across the world, irrespective of imperialist and neocolonial dependent countries. During this period, using most reactionary ideologies as its basis, and according to the concrete situation of countries, corporate capital has succeeded in installing neofascist regimes in many countries. Its outcome has been a sharpening of all inherent contradictions of the world imperialist system, intensification of far-right neoliberal policies and super-exploitation of the working class by corporate capital effectively utilising a whole set of 21st century “frontier technologies”, further oppression and

marginalisation of the oppressed peoples of the world, terribly destructive wealth appropriation by a few financial elite, unprecedented joblessness and sky-rocketing prices of essential items of sustenance leading to massive growth in poverty, hitherto unknown levels of migration and refugee crisis, and above all a global ecological crisis of horrific proportions. RSS neofascism rooted in the inhuman caste system with its concomitant repercussions is flourishing in India in this global context.

Therefore, the Congress resolved to update the Party Program based on a concrete evaluation of these international and India-specific developments, self-



critically taking into account the ideological-political weakness of the communist movement today in putting forward a people's alternative that too in view of the all-round ideological pollution created by imperialism. In this regard, compared with the 2011 Program which acknowledged the inseparable role of caste in the class analysis of India, the crucial role of uncompromising ideological and political attack on caste system and the subsequent formation of the Caste Annihilation Movement, the updated Program as adopted in the 12th Congress based on more clarity on caste, has incorporated a specific portion situating class struggle in India in the whole course of transformation of caste system based on Manuvadi-Hindutva. As a testimony to this, in a historic resolution unanimously adopted by the Party Congress, all Central Committee members of the Party have decided to give up all their caste surnames.

At the same time, the stage of Indian Revolution being still that of People's Democracy which calls for resolution of the anti-imperialist and democratic tasks, though sufficient

updating has been there, the Path of Revolution adopted by the 12th Congress has no basic departure from that adopted in the 9th Congress and concretised in the 10th Congress. However, the concrete evaluation on the sharpening contradictions at the international and national context and the emergence of RSS neo-fascism as reflected in the Party Program are reflected in the adopted Path of Revolution too. Similarly, from the perspective of the updated Party Program and based on the organisational experiences since the 11th Congress in 2018, the 12th Congress adopted the various amendments to the Constitution. It also adopted the Central Committee's Political Organisational Report since the last Congress.

Together with the adoption of the basic documents, the most striking initiative of the Party Congress has been the adoption of the Political Resolution taking up the immediate task of building up the broadest anti-fascist front against the neo-fascism of RSS. Of course, the Political Resolution adopted in 2018 at the 11th Party Congress, in view of Modi.1's ruthless unleashing of all round fascist offensives, had called for a broad movement of "all revolutionary, left, democratic and struggling forces ... against corporate saffron fascistisation at the all India level" based on a minimum program. However, with the ascendancy of Modi.2 and shift to full-fledged neofascism led by RSS with its multi-dimensional manifestations, the Political Resolution adopted by the Party Congress called for a coordinated all-out offensive among all non-fascist forces to throw out fascism as the urgent and indispensable task.

Here, the ideological-political weakness of the communist movement today should not be a justification for refraining from such a task. Therefore, acknowledging the absence of a powerful communist movement capable of fighting and defeating neofascism, the Political Resolution calls for a tactical alliance with all non-fascist forces including that of social democrats and non-fascist ruling classes. While being part of such an anti-fascist alliance, the communists who are bound to stand with the interests of the working class and oppressed, and being fully conscious of the overlapping interpenetrating class interests among all ruling classes, should not have any laxity in upholding their ideological line linked with class struggle. A specific aspect connected with RSS neofascism that is now moving at a maddening pace towards a majoritarian



Hindurashtra as manifested in its manipulations towards denying even citizenship rights to Muslims in tune with the “cultural nationalism” of RSS, is the inhuman brahmanical caste system whose ideological basis is Manusmriti. Hence, as stressed by the Party Congress, appropriate ideological-political and cultural interventions joining with all democratic forces and progressive intellectuals and like-minded forces against Manuvadi-Hindutva are inseparable aspects of anti-fascist struggle in India.

Along with this clear perspective on fighting RSS neo-fascism, the Party Congress also underlined the urgent need for taking appropriate initiatives for resisting the dangerous trend of neofascism gaining ground at a global. Like Indian fascism that uses majoritarian Hindutva or “political Hinduism” as its ideological basis, everywhere corporate-finance capital is adept in effectively utilising majoritarian religion and other reactionary ideologies as the ideological basis of neofascism. Evangelism in the Americas, political Islam in West Asia, Zionism in Israel, neo-tribalism in Africa, Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar are examples. In taking up this global task of challenging neofascism based on proletarian internationalism and in accordance with unity of working class and oppressed, the Party Congress resolved to strengthen ICOR’s (International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations in which CPI (ML) Red Star is a constituent) efforts to build up an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist united front at the international level.

While shouldering this responsibility, the Party has also decided to carry forward the theoretical and ideological initiative for developing the Marxist understanding on imperialism today, along with the required bilateral interventions in this regard.

Among other things, the Party Congress decided to speed up the process of party-building class and mass movements and people’s movements based on the ideological-political line and organisational guidelines as laid down in the Party documents. More specifically, the 12th Congress appealed to all cadres to move forward and build up the Party by grasping the most advanced revolutionary theory and based on practical experience from the past and from leading people’s struggles, assimilating the interrelationship among class struggle, the relentless struggle against caste system, the struggle for gender equality and for ecological protection. This will lead to the development of various struggling fronts and movements involving workers, peasants, women, Dalits, adivasis, oppressed minorities, youth, students, cultural and environmental activists which will also enable to bring about a revolutionary left core that can also play a major role in the fight against neofascism. It shall also immensely contribute to arrive at ideological clarity among the revolutionary sections and in exposing and isolating both adventurist and opportunist trends.

Lastly, but significantly, the various resolutions adopted in the Congress highlighting the pathetic living conditions of the people called for the immediate repeal of the far-right neoliberal policies that have transformed India into a citadel of world’s extreme poverty on the one hand, and fabulous wealth appropriation by a tiny corporate-financial elite closely integrated with the neo-fascism everywhere. To put it precisely, the struggle against neoliberal-corporatisation, the manifestations of which among other things are unprecedented unemployment, galloping prices, environmental destruction, etc. is to be taken up as integral part of Party’s strategic task of advancing towards people’s democracy and socialism as laid down in the Program and Path of Revolution adopted by the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star.

Statements

12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star Calls for All Out Offensive Against RSS Fascism

The 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star held at Shivaram-Sharmishta Hall (SK Pottekad Hall) from September 24 to 29 concluded with a call to resist and defeat RSS neo-fascism. The Congress attended by around 300 delegates and observers from 16 states, following intense discussion, adopted the updated Party Program and Path of Revolution along with amendments to Party Constitution, Political Organisational Report and Political Resolution. The 34-member Central Committee and the 3-member Central Control Commission unanimously elected by the Congress respectively elected PJ James as General Secretary of the Party and Adv. Sabi Joseph as Convener of the Central Control Commission.

The Party Congress decided to take up the urgent task of building up the broadest anti-fascist front against the neo-fascism of RSS, the biggest and longest running fascist organization in the world. While joining with all anti-fascist forces in this task, the Party Congress also decided to uphold the communists' duty to uphold the ideological independence of the working class and all oppressed in the fight against neoliberal-corporatisation. The inhuman caste system based on Manusmriti being the ideological basis of RSS fascism, the Party Congress unanimously resolved that members of the Central Committee shall give up all caste surnames. Related to this, the Congress also called for uncompromising fight to end all forms of gender discrimination and advance towards gender equality.

Even as CPI(ML) Red Star's position on religious-communal organisations is explicit, the Congress has resolutely condemned the Modi regime's ongoing move in selectively targeting and banning Muslim organizations which is in line with the cultural nationalism of the RSS that identifies Muslims as it's enemy number one enemy since it's very inception.

The Party Congress also stressed the extreme significance of resisting the ever-mounting corporate encroachment on nature which is now leading to an environmental catastrophe making the very survival of all living beings unsustainable.

Together with the primary task of building up the Party organisation, the Congress decided to strive for achieving unity among communist revolutionary organisations in the country. Being a constituent of ICOR, the Party has decided to strengthen ICOR's (International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations) efforts to build up an Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Fascist United Front at the international level against imperialism and neofascism.

And the Party Congress has resolved to integrate Party's strategic task of advancing towards people's democracy and socialism with the immediate task of resisting and defeating the far-right neoliberal policies of the corporate -saffron fascist regime that have led to horrific levels of wealth appropriation by a tiny group of Adani-Ambani like big corporates on the one hand, while transforming India into a citadel of "absolute" or "extreme" poverty coupled with unprecedented unemployment and sky-rocketing prices making the very sustenance of people impossible.

CPI ((ML) Red Star extends its revolutionary greetings to all the working and oppressed people and progressive democratic sections who wholeheartedly supported to make the 12th Party Congress a success!

PJ James, General Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Star
 Kozhikode, October 1, 2022

ICOR Statement

This cry is not a lament; It is the cry of a courageous popular uprising



On September 18, a young Kurdish woman, Jina Masha Amini (age 22), died in police custody in Tehran at the hands of Iran's morality police. The pretext for her arrest was the alleged violation of the headscarf rules. She was from Saghes, the Kurdish part of Iran.

Since then, the mass protests in Iran do not stop; day and night the streets are dominated by the protesters, in the Kurdish province, but also in all big and small cities of Iran. Jina Amini's death has ignited the fire of a revolutionary ferment throughout the country, which had been glowing among the masses for a long time and expressed itself above all in an unprecedented accumulation of workers' struggles.

"The people have simply had enough! The many workers' strikes; the women are in the streets; the teachers have been fighting for months, the pensioners. Everyone is fighting against the

unbearable life full of poverty, inflation, hunger and oppression. The protests bear clear signs that the Kurds and all other peoples in Iran stand together in great solidarity" says Iranian Zaman Masudi, activist of the international militant women's movement.

People are losing their fear. Despite brutal repression and violence (thousands of arrests, dozens of deaths - exact numbers are not yet known), women and men, workers, youth, students are standing up to the hated regime. "Marg bar Stamkar, che Shah bascha, che Rahbar!" they shout, "Death to the despot, whether Shah or leader." In Tehran, they chanted, "No hajjis, no mullahs, death to Hezbollah." Women shed their hijabs, police stations, religious centers and public offices go up in flames. And for the first time in 40 years, the slogan "Long live socialism, long live socialism" can be heard.

At first glance, the protests seem like a spontaneous uprising of anger. But it is much more and has a long history. Already last year, inflation of 55 to 130 percent was becoming unbearable for people, and workers with experience of struggle were organizing in the factories. From March 2021 to March 2022, there were 4000 workers' struggles, from industrial sectors such as oil, gas, petrochemical, in Haft Tapeh steel plants from sugar cane workers to truck drivers, nurses and teachers. Trade union demands were raised in the protests, as well as demands directed against the privatization of factories, educational institutions and basic urban services.



From these struggles developed the force that gives today's mass uprisings their nationwide breadth, their consistency, and directs their resistance against the regime. As early as mid-July 2022, Nosrat T., CP Iran said in an ICOR webinar, "I would like to say that society is moving at high speed toward revolutionary conditions." This is now proving true as economic and political demands, struggles interpenetrate and insurrectionary goals revolutionize. Organizers of the mass uprising in Marivan (near the Iraqi border) said in a call, a day after Jina's murder, "The reason for the degradation of women is capitalist culture, laws, and reactionary and patriarchal traditions." And several unions called for a strike under political slogans; the Coordinating Council of Oil Contract Workers wrote: "The increasing intensification of the cycle of oppression and brutality in the life of the government has put society in a state of rebellion today,

highlighting the need for unity among permanent oil workers and short-time workers, and for practical solidarity to end this hellish situation."

Organizations such as the Fadaiyan Organization (Minority)/Eastern Kurdistan are calling for a general political strike and a nationwide uprising.

Courage and will for social change of the workers and popular masses are the potential for a victorious struggle. In order that their way does not suffocate in resignation or blood, a nationwide united leadership and a revolutionary party is necessary, which is respected among the masses and gives them orientation and organization. Above all, no struggle in any country today must remain alone and isolated. Therefore, the ICOR declares itself in solidarity with these struggles all over the world and sets itself the task to organize consciousness and support in worldwide solidarity activities. Imperialists and fascists are connected worldwide and the counterrevolution acts transnationally. Therefore, national party building and the strengthening of international forms of organization such as ICOR or the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front must be resolutely pursued.

Long live the struggle of the Iranian masses for freedom and democracy

Down with the Islamic-fascist regime!

Long live freedom - long live socialism!

Forward with the ICOR!

Strengthen worldwide the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist united front!

Let us organize solidarity! Let's break internet block and censorship!



**INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION OF
REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Greetings to 12th Party Congress

Greetings from MLPD:

Message of Greetings to the 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star India

Dear comrades,

It is an honour and pleasure for me to convey best wishes to your Party Congress on behalf of the Central Committee and all members of the MLPD, its Youth League *Rebell*, and the children's organisation Red Foxes.

In particular, I have been asked by Gabi Fechtner, Chairwoman of the MLPD, Monika Gärtner-Engel, the party's Internationalism Secretary, and Stefan Engel, our Chairman for many years and today head of the theoretical organ *Revolutionärer Weg*, to convey their best regards.

Our parties are united by some 20 years of close, friendly, and productive cooperation. Many members of our organisations have come to know and esteem each other during this time. The MLPD and Stefan Engel worked closely together especially with Comrade K N Ramachandran already during the building of the ICMLPO, and together we are founding members of ICOR.

We appreciate in particular that even where arising differences of opinion are concerned, as for example on our assessment of the emergence of new-imperialist countries, between us a constructive debate was and is being conducted; as is also the case with the publication of your book, in which you have extensively documented both standpoints.

But not only that: since its founding, Comrade Sanjay Singhvi has served as Deputy Main Coordinator of ICOR. He not only worked closely together with Stefan Engel, but also was very supportive in helping Monika Gärtner-Engel learn the ropes. His assumption of such an office is important not only for the revolutionary world movement. For the respective party it also means making considerable staff and time available for tasks of the international movement. For that you deserve great respect and

gratitude. Doing this is not a matter of course by any means, especially seeing as you have lost very important comrades due to Covid – a great loss. Please accept our sympathies on the passing of comrades Sharmistha, Sivaram, and others.

In your documents for the preparation of the Party Congress you state that this Twelfth Party Congress especially intends to discuss the “intensification of the crisis of the global imperialist system,” analyse “the great changes” in the world, and draw conclusions. Your Party Congress is taking place in a special period of accelerated destabilization of the imperialist world system, which has been unfolding with the Ukraine war. As long as this phase lasts, the world is heading towards a decision: World War III or international socialist revolution! We experience an open political, economic, ecological and military world crisis, and with the Ukraine war the acute danger of a Third World War has emerged. After all, for the first time since the Second World War, the main imperialist blocs directly face each other in a military confrontation. All the more reason for us to appreciate the joint commitment to the building of an international united front against imperialism and war.

In the drafts you also touch upon the division of the communist movement of India, which still has not been overcome. We wish you every success in strengthening and expanding unity based on principles.

Another reason why we follow all of this with greatest interest is because India today is a centre of the international class struggle: in no other country of the world are there more protests, strikes, peasant unrest, or even historic general strikes. We are very interested in hearing about your experience.

At the same time, the rightward development and the fascistisation of the state apparatus have been stepped up under the fascist Modi – a sharp social polarisation! On the other hand, our analysis shows that particularly in the last few years the neo-imperialist character of India has developed even more strongly. The apt characterisation of the opponent is of fundamental significance for the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninists. Critically and self-critically we have realised that the international discussion about this must not stagnate, and for this reason we have made further analyses, also in advance of your Party Congress, which we would like to present to you and discuss with you.

The Marxist-Leninists of the world have, in our opinion, the common task to overcome any pushing

aside of the ideological struggle, which also implies a pushing aside of the dialectical method. The dialectical method, however, is the key to the liveliness and superiority of Marxism-Leninism, to the clarification of inner-party contradictions and the prevention of splits, which weaken the revolutionary party. And of course, the key to winning and organising the working class and the popular masses for the international socialist revolution.

All success to the 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star!

Forward with the worldwide revolutionary movement in the preparation of the international socialist revolution!

Forward with the cooperation between CPI (ML) Red Star and MLPD; forward with ICOR!

Greetings from Communist Party of Bangladesh

Esteemed Comrades of the Presidium, Honourable Fraternal Delegates,

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) warmly greets this historic 12th Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist – Leninist) Red Star and wishes it a great success. The 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star meets at very challenging times of Covid-19 pandemic period. We are confident that your Party will succeed in fulfilling the many challenges that you are confronted with. We would like to assure that the Communist Party of Bangladesh will stand firmly with your Party in the struggle against Imperialism of the coming days.

In Bangladesh, we are in a critical political situation of our country. On the one hand, the Islamic fascist fundamentalist forces have intensified their attacks, and on the other, the government is curtailing the democratic rights of the people and has become more repressive in its actions. The government has practically destroyed the system of democratic transfer of power. They have caused serious damage to all the democratic institution i.e. Election

Commission, Judiciary, Anti-Corruption Commission etc. Instead of relying upon the people, the ruling alliance is governing the country depending on military and civil bureaucracy. Consequently, corruption has increased unprecedented level.

Both these two major bourgeois parties of our country are pro-imperialist and allow imperialism to plunder our natural resources and encroach on the domestic affairs of the country. Worsening of the economic condition of the working people, inflation and unemployment, very low wages for the industrial workers, lack of trade union rights, corruption and ruthless exploration by the ruling bourgeois couple with the curtailment of democratic rights, killings without trail, state terrorism and making lection a mere farce- all these have created a situation which demands the immediate change of the socio-economic system, the end of plundering-bourgeois rule and return of the country to the fundamental principles our liberation water, namely Nationalism, Socialism, Democracy and Secularism. The CPB has adopted the tactics to work towards the formation of a viable left democratic alternative,

which will be capable of replacing the two bourgeois parties who have been alternately in power for the last four decades. With this call, our party CPB concluded its 12th Congress in last February in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Dear Comrades,

Today, imperialism has not only become more aggressive politically, economically and militarily, but it has also intensified ideological attack on socialism and Marxism-Leninism. It has also intensified attacks on all the forces of peace, democracy and progress. It is an urgent imperative that the revolutionary working class parties of the world further strengthen their cooperation and unitedly advance the ideological and political battle against imperialism. In his context, it is very disappointing any types of split within any Communist Party and thus our party put high priority on communist unity. The unified Communist and Left forces in India therefore will be always our sources of inspiration.

Dear Comrades,

Your Congress meets at a time when humanity is confronted with unparalleled dangers. US imperialism has become more aggressive and carrying out its military ambition to impose

permanent hegemony over the South Asian region and ongoing Indi-US military engagement is dangerous sign of that imperialist conspiracy.

Humanity, however, is starting to fight back. The struggles against US led imperialist aggression and occupation intensified throughout the world. We all must intensify our activities in our own countries. The Communist Party of Bangladesh stands firmly beside your Party in this struggle of the new century.

I will end by wishing the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star a great success in fulfilling the challenging tasks it is confronted with.

Long live global coalition against imperialism

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the friendship between CPI (ML) Red Star and CPB

Red Salute,

Anwar Hossain Reza

Member of Central Committee,

Communist Party of Bangladesh.

Greetings from MLKP Turkey/Kurdistan

Dear comrades from CPI (ML) Red Star,

We would like to convey our sincerest wishes for success and hope that your 12th party congress will be very successful. We have no doubt that your party congress, which is one of the most important indicators of socialist democracy, will further raise your struggle in all India. We congratulate all party members, in advance, for their hard work during the preparation period of the congress and send our solidarity messages against the fascist attacks towards your gatherings. We have eagerly reviewed the drafts of the party program you have sent us and have

once again seen that we are ideologically united on many important issues.

We would have loved to take part in your party congress and experience the revolutionary atmosphere there, but unfortunately, the conditions for any of our comrades from our party's central committee or international bureau to attend your party congress did not occur. Although the intensity of different moments and fields of the struggle does not allow us to physically come together, we want you to know that we are with you with our internationalist solidarity.

In the attachment is the text we prepared for your discussion on “imperialism, war and fascism”. We wanted to send it to you even though the deadline has passed, we apologize for this delay. You can shorten the text if it exceeds the limit of decided length accordingly. We hope that this discussion will help revolutionary parties around the world to better understand each other in this critical period of time full of crises.

Once again, we wish a successful congress and salute all the comrades.

Revolutionary greetings,

International Bureau

MLKP Turkey/Kurdistan

Greetings from Socialist Party of Bangladesh

To,
General Secretary
CPI(M-L) Red Star
India

Dear Comrade

Greetings and congratulations from the Socialist Party of Bangladesh-SPB. The 12th Congress of your party CPI(M-L)-Red Star is going to be held from 24th to 29th September 2022. In spite of the great interest here for some engagements, we first of all regret that we are unable to attend this, Congress & also international seminar. But we send our seminar paper with this greetings letter. Comrade,

The revolutionary movement in India is very important not only for India but also for the entire Southeast Asia. We know how difficult it is to carry forward a revolutionary movement in this multi-lingual and multi-cultural country. Moreover, as India is one of the largest capitalist economies in the world, imperialism-capitalism is also integrated here.

The capitalist world system all over the world today is moving towards a fascist trend to ax its power. Which is being observed through Trumpism in the United States or the role of the Modi government in India. On the one hand, people's democratic rights are being taken away by repression, and the whole of India is now scarred by the rise of fierce Hinduism. The Communists of India are struggling in such a difficult time.

In our country Bangladesh, the ruling Awami League government has been in power for almost 14 years without the support of the people through two questionable elections. People's democratic rights are being suppressed by various repressive black laws. All arrangements have been made to protect the interests of capitalists and have made people's lives miserable. Voting politics is fueled by religious-sectarian incitement. The wild horse of commodity prices is running rampant. Wealth inequality continues to grow. We are also fighting against these odds to the best of our ability.

Revolutionary movements around the world influence and co-operate with each other. As our closest neighbor, the struggle of the working people of India inspires and motivates us. We hope the Congress of CPI(M-L) Red Star make success and will strengthen the tools of struggle of the toiling people of India. This is what we expect from our team. Once again, I send my best wishes and red salutes to all the delegates, workers and supporters of your party.

With Revolutionary Greetings

বন্ধুত্ব কামী বিপ্লব

General Secretary
Central Committee
Socialist Party of Bangladesh-SPB
Cell: 01711537399

Greetings from Dr. Shamsul Islam

From
Shamsul Islam
To,
The Central Committee of CPI (M-L) Red Star
My dear Comrades,
Revolutionary Greetings!

12th Party Congress of CPI (M-L) Red Star is taking place at a very critical juncture in the history of our country. The rulers belonging to the RSS Neo-fascist gang, the flag-bearer of Manuvadi Hindutva are working over-time to establish their hegemony over social, political, cultural and religious aspects of India. It is causing unspeakable-unparalleled misery to the vast masses of the people; working class, peasantry, Dalits, Adivasis, women, minorities especially Muslims and Christians and all other deprived sections of the Indian masses.

I hope the 12th Party Congress of the CPI (M-L) Red Star shall discuss this exceptional challenge thrown by the Neo-fascist rulers, work-out a strategy and tactics to confront and defeat the Neo-fascist onslaught basing on Marxism-Leninism and lessons of revolutionary struggles in India and abroad. As a leading revolutionary force the task before the CPI (M-L) Red Star Congress is crystal clear. I wished to be present at this revolutionary gathering at Kozhikode, Kerala but due to unavoidable reason will not be able to join. I extend my warmest revolutionary greetings to all the delegates and participants and wish great success to the 12th Party Congress of CPI (M-L) Red Star.

Comradely yours,
Shamsul Islam

Greetings from Dr. Ram Puniyani

Dear Friends and Comrades

It is my great pleasure to extend warm greetings to you all on the occasion of 12th Party Congress of CPI (M-L) in Kozhikode, Kerala.

I am sure as friends committed to democracy and pluralism we are aware that the country is facing the worst ever attacks on the values of our National Amity, Liberty and Equality. The politics under the garb of Religion, Hindutva has been stifling the social movements for the rights of poor, marginalized struggling sections of society. It is also tormenting the religious minorities. It is creating an autocracy revolving around Hindu Nationalism. This is the biggest obstacle to the rights and dignity of struggling people: Workers, Farmers, Adivasis, women and religious minorities.

We need to stand in solidarity with these sections of

society. It is our paramount duty to stand in alliance with the political parties who are opposing the narrow sectarian agenda of Hindutva. The nation is at the crossroads and it is only our united struggle which can strengthen the democratic forces and our resolve for exploitation free society where we can breathe with freedom and strive for a society with substantive equality.

I am sure the comrades will deliberate on these issues and resolve fight the communal forces and restore democratic ethos so that we can struggle for our rights.

In solidarity

Ram Puniyani
National Solidarity Forum
Mumbai

Greetings from Com Arjun Prasad Singh

Message to the Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star
Revolutionary Salute to all the Delegates of
Congress!

Sorry to say that I along with Dr. Darshan Pal have
been invited to attend the Congress, but failed to
attend due to our other engagements. Hope, the

Congress will be very much successful in targeting
the real enemies of Indian people and find out the
ways to smash them.

..... Arjun Prasad Singh, Former State Leader of CPI
(ML) Party Unity & now the Chief Editor of Morcha
Magazine, published from Delhi.

Greetings from Dr. S Faizi

Dear Comrades,

Greetings to you all attending the 12th Congress of the
CPI ML Red Star.

I am missing the joy of being present there with you
dedicated to creating an egalitarian India and
dreaming a better world, nothing would have been
more inspiring in these trying times for the country.

India is passing through the most difficult time in its
history since Independence. The kind of oppression
and plunder seen today is reminiscent of the colonial
period. Four senior judges of the highest judiciary had
warned us the people of the country that our
democracy was in danger; that one of the judges was
quickly coopted only shows how devious and
scheming the powers working against our democracy
are. The attacks on people for their food choice, public
lynchings, open calls for genocide with impunity,
creation of laws that deny the fundamentals of the
Constitution, corporate loot of the country's assets
and public resources, fast and efficient dissemination
of lies as truth, transformation of the corporate media
into unambiguous propagandists of the regime all
mark this period as one that is worse than the dark
days of Emergency. One cannot escape noting the
striking resemblance to the Germany of the 1930s.

The agenda of the nation has been shifted from the
Constitutional aspirations and the values of the
Freedom movement to the calculated divide of the
society created by the colonial regime for the
perpetuation of their occupation. The narrative, the
historiography that the small country of Britain
created in India to rule a large and diverse country by

pitting Hindus and Muslims against each other are
now used to rule us by the same forces that were
partners of the occupiers and who saw the colonial
victory over India as deliverance.

The Hindutwa-corporate rule has created multiple
crises in the country- political, social, economic and
equally important is the environmental crisis. India
has been turned into an ecological nightmare over
the years since BJP came to power in 2014, a
drastic fall from the state of general environmental
degradation. Immediately upon assuming power the
government formed a high level panel to pave the
way for changing the country's legal framework for
'the ease of doing business', ignoring the judicial
and legislative history of the same and the people's
struggles and international treaty commitments that
shaped the legal framework.

Although the recommendations of the panel were
rejected by the Parliament's standing committee on
environment and forest, and protested against
by the Left parties and civil society the subsequent
years saw the implementation of these through a
series of notifications and orders and now the
government is audaciously seeking to amend the
multiple conservation laws of the country in a
hurry, in favour of BJP/RSS's corporate
cronies, in a manner similar to the passing of the
Citizenship Amendment Act, Farm Laws and the
repeating of Article 370. The Forest Rights Act, the
magna carta of the Adivasis, is also being tampered
with through the backdoor. For eg removing the

requirement of prior approval by the Gram Sabha for forest clearance is mandatory under the FRA but this requirement is removed in the rules for submission of applications for forest clearance under the Forest Conservation Act. Bringing African Cheetah from Namibia- which is more or less an exotic species in our habitats- while refusing to part with a few numbers of Asian Lion from Gujarat to MP, is an expensive farce.

Independent global assessments have repeatedly put India at the bottom of the community of nations on environmental performance. More than half of the worst polluted cities in the world are in India. The natural endowments of the country are left to the mercy of the corporates, Indian and foreign. Our cities are the gifts of rivers but those very cities have turned the same rivers into receptacles of pollution. Sabarmati River, for example, no longer carries any natural water. Like India's invaluable public infrastructure, our forests too are gradually being transferred to the crony corporates, with the result of thousands of hectares of natural forests being decimated, and producing plantations to cover up the irreversible loss in the statistics. All the while the Adivasis, the historical custodians of our forests are being alienated and even displaced from their forest homes. It is a telling paradox that the Supreme Court had ordered the eviction of half a million Adivasis from their forest homes in 2019, as apparently desired by the BJP govt, using the same FRA that is meant to protect the rights of Adivasis in the forests. India has also lost its lead role of the developing countries in the UN negotiations on environment in the past few years.

India's future lies as much in restoring its damaged ecological security as in retrieving its hard earned democracy. Political ecology should be integral to the debate on the development paradigm. Using natural resources within their regenerative capacity and protecting the environmental resilience are important as equity and distributive justice. Putting the people first is important while bridling the corporate forces as

required by the founding principles of the Constitution.

In spite of a ruthlessly suppressive regime that does not hesitate even to demolish the houses of democratic protesters, the country is dotted with theatres of people's protests to protect the forests, water sources, coastal ecosystems, grasslands and the village commons and the Party should join forces with these movements and their environmental aspirations. There is a huge niche for a national ecopolitical movement in the country and therefore the Left must deepen its environmental involvement seeking the democratic governance of natural resources and their equitable use. That also takes us closer to a socialist future. We should also be alert to the misappropriation of the environmental space by feudal aesthetics and caste apologists to provide a back door entry for Hindutwa by glorifying the "lost past". This is as dangerous as the green-washed environmental concern of the corporate elements.

The global picture isn't anything promising too. Biodiversity loss, climate crisis, loss of habitats, pollution of waters all happen unimpeded despite thirty years of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). What has wrought this planetary impasse is the capitalist economic order, but that is seldom addressed in the discourse to seek solutions to the environmental crisis. In fact capitalism is bailed out by blaming 'humans' for the environmental malady- instead of the corporates- which amounts to blaming the victims of capitalism.

The modern conservation project remains a failure, as marked by the loss of species and habitats, on account of its refusal to shake off the legacy of colonialism, as found in the conservation thinking of the early US organisations like Seira Club, Audoben Society etc. It was essentially their racist thoughts that was polished by IUCN, WWF etc to shape what has come to the conservation doctrine that alienates and displaces the historical custodians of biodiversity with exclusionary ideas of nature conservation. As long as this paradigm is radically revised and put the charge of biodiversity management in the hands of the

traditional conservers, the conservation project will continue to remain a failure even as the budget for this will increase across the world.

It is wishful thinking that the climate crisis can be addressed by adaptation rather than reducing the emission of warming gases. It is perplexing that even most of the developing countries are shy to ask for mandatory carbon reduction targets for the industrial countries that cause the highest per capita carbon emissions. In India, one of the big emitters, the carbon space is cornered by the rich, even as the country gets global concessions on behalf of its large population, in other words, India's rich is using the poor to shield their huge levels of carbon emission.

I hope that the Congress will have these issues on its deliberations and will envisage plans for the Party's future engagements in these areas. For a party with limited resources I believe it can profitably undertake international opinion campaigns among the

progressive forces through networking to rescue India's parliamentary democracy; let us recall that India's struggle against Emergency had the support the democratic forces outside even as several western govts stood by the regime. It is also worthwhile to consider the importance peaceful direct actions on issues of concern for public mobilization. A few environmental groups in Europe and the US have used this method quite successfully in bringing public attention to critical issues. I would also underline the importance of litigation to protect the Constitutional rule, while even the foundations of the Constitution itself is questioned by the reactionary forces through such litigation. Even as we strive for our long term goal of a socialist India.

I join you all in sharing the hope of an India of peace, equality, prosperity and environmental security, banishing poverty and illiteracy.

S Faizi

Resolutions

Resolution on RSS Neo-Fascism

Neo-fascism in India has come into existence without banning elections, keeping the constitution and the administrative structure.

Elections have been rendered irrelevant through bribing and purchasing of the elected representatives, the use of mechanisms like ED, CBI, NIA and through manipulation of administrative and judicial institutions. The legal system has been turned in favor of the fascists by several rulings that render it irrelevant. There is a concern that the constitution itself will be rewritten incorporating ideas of Manusmriti in the immediate future with many pro-Hindutva amendments already being introduced in the Constitution. Fascism has ensured the unbridled growth of corporatisation while constitutional systems have been transformed

into fascist forms. While Adani has become the second richest man in the world, majority of world's poor lives in India. More and more anti-people, anti-worker and anti-farmer laws are being promulgated by the government.

Fascism has unleashed its evils by dehumanizing and mass murdering of minorities, especially the Muslim population. Laws like CAA are trying to keep minorities away from even citizenship. Atrocities against women and Dalits have also increased manifold. The BJP regime remains as a spectator while saffron goons carry on lynching of Dalits and minorities even as secularists, democrats and dissidents are charged with laws like UAPA.

The Communist Revolutionaries in India must strive for a broad based national front against RSS neo-

fascism. Only such a broad national coalition can counter the Hindutva fascism prevailing in India today. We must also remember that Hindutva fascism is an ideological project that cannot be subjugated culturally by mere winning of national elections. A fierce counter-cultural and ideological offensive is also required to defeat the Manuist ideological base of Indian fascism.

The 12th Party Congress of CPIML Redstar calls for the unity of Left-Communist revolutionary forces and Dalit, Ambedkarite, Social Democratic forces to form a broad front with all anti-fascist democratic forces for the complete eradication of caste-based corporate Brahminical Hindutva fascism. Party Congress demands to all democratic anti-fascist forces to form a broad anti-fascist front and defeat fascism

Resolution on Party Members Code of Conduct with Regard to Caste Question

CPI (ML) Red Star evaluates Indian Caste system as highly inhuman and abominable. Under the corporate-saffron fascist regime, with its ideology of Manuvadi-Hindutva, casteism and untouchability are reinforced further in manifold ways. According to the updated Party Program, the Communist Movement in India failed to unitedly organize the working class and the oppressed on account of its failure to recognize the inseparable and integral link between class formation and caste system in the Indian subcontinent. The Program says: “5.12. The People’s Democratic State shall take concrete steps for the abolition of the inhuman caste system. Eradicate all forms of untouchability, caste-oppression and caste-discrimination from all spheres of life. All caste-practices and reactionary institutions should be suppressed and the perpetrators of such crimes shall be punished. Ensure caste-based reservation and other affirmative actions for uplifting the Dalits and oppressed castes and priority to them in land-distribution based on the principle ‘land to the tiller’, along with appropriate administrative and cultural interventions.” Based on this, today our Party is engaged in an uncompromising struggle for the annihilation of caste as one of the most crucial tasks of India’s Democratic Revolution.

As such, members of CPI (ML) Red Star are duty-bound to carry out this task of caste annihilation as laid down in our Program as well as in the Party Pledge (Article VI) of the Party Constitution. Any dilution in this approach adopted by the Party towards caste system is tantamount to a basic departure from the most crucial task of democratic revolution. This becomes all the more relevant today when it is alleged that the whole approach of the Communist Movement towards caste annihilation has been a mere tactical one. Hence Party members should be cautious and careful not to have any deviation, both in words and in deeds, from the Path towards Democratic Revolution based on Party’s approach towards caste annihilation. However, this shall not preclude Party members’ right to have free and frank ideological debate and discussion pertaining to issues of crucial political importance including that pertaining to caste within the Party Committees at all levels.

Viewed in this perspective, the 12th Party Congress CPI (ML) Red Star resolves that Party members who violate this principle shall be subjected to the disciplinary proceedings as laid down in the Party Constitution.

Resolution On Giving up Caste Surnames

12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star in Session at Kozhikode on 27th September 2022, has unanimously resolved that its Central Committee members shall not use Caste surnames. The New Central Committee members shall take appropriate steps to implement it in letter and spirit. The Party

Congress passed resolution during the discussion on Party Constitution amendment. With respect to the code of conduct of Party members, this provision will be incorporated in to the Party Constitution appropriately.

Against Patriarchy and Atrocities on Women

Women are continuously oppressed in patriarchal society. Especially the reactionary RSS-BJP Fascist regime is trying to insert the anti-women scripture like Manusmriti into the existing Constitutional framework. According to Manusmriti women are subhuman and, now also, in practice women are treated as second class citizens. Extreme violence and sexual assaults against Dalit women and Adivasi women in public are on the rise. In BJP-ruled states, especially in Uttar Pradesh, Dalit and Muslim women live in great fear, with no protection for their dignity, life and property. It is worrisome that the perpetrators of such heinous crimes roam freely in the society and

the society treats the women victims as abettors of such crimes.

The 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star condemns depriving Muslim women of their religious rights and treating them as foreign or second class citizens. As per Constitution Indian Muslim women have all the rights granted to citizens. This Congress demands that women victims be given adequate protection and legal remedies. The 12th Party Congress also demands that the perpetrators of crimes against women should be punished according to law. Judicial investigations should be conducted immediately.

Resolution on Maternity Leave

It is only after a series of long struggles that women got the right of maternity leave with wages or salaries. But this right is available only to those women working in government/public sector and very rarely in some in private sectors. In this context, the 12th

Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star demands that government must formulate policies and schemes on this important issue so that unorganized workers, daily wage workers and contract workers can get full maternity benefits as per law.

Resolution on Expatriates/Overseas Workers

Before and after Corona pandemic, the living conditions of Indian expatriates continue to be extremely miserable. There is no guarantee for their sustenance during times crises and loss of jobs and livelihood have become routine things.

As such, many expatriates are unable to go home and meet their families and children. The central and state governments are turning a blind eye to this painful situation while airline companies are amassing huge sums.

Due to the collusion between airline companies and the central government, sky-rocketing of airfares during vacations festival seasons are the general rule.

While the Pinarayi government in Kerala is trying to superimpose the economically, environmentally and socially unviable K-Rail based on lakhs of crores of

foreign debt, it is revealing that the government has no interest to start a Kerala Airline which will be economically viable in all likelihood. It would have contributed much in reducing the travel burdens of millions of expatriate workers from India.

More gruesome is the difficulties involved in bringing back the dead bodies of the expired workers. If the central and state governments are interested, it would

be easy to remove the problems involved in this. And it is high time on the part of all concerned to resort to appropriate steps needed in this regard.

The 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star calls upon all democratic and concerned sections to come forward compelling the authorities to urgently intervene in this issues and reduce the untold miseries suffered by expatriate workers.

Against Early Release of Criminals in Balkis Banu Case

Gujarat pogrom of 2002 took place when Modi was the Chief minister of Gujarat. More than a thousand innocent Muslims including children and pregnant women were butchered in this genocide perpetrated by Hindutva forces. Many Muslim women were gang-raped, even foetus were taken out after rippling open the stomach of pregnant women by Hindutva goons, and the regime or its police did nothing to protect the victims.

Bilkis Banu, a survivor of this worst crime against humanity, has been seeking justice by knocking at the doors of judiciary for many years. After prolonged court cases, in 2008, a special CBI court in Mumbai convicted 11 people in the Bilkis Banu case. All of them were sentenced to life imprisonment. The

conviction was upheld by the Bombay High Court and the Supreme Court.

But on the occasion of the of the 75th anniversary of India's independence, by making a mockery of justice, the Gujarat government released the criminals and thereby inflicted further insult and injury to Bilkis Banu . This is an injustice not only to Bilkis Banu but threatening to all victims. The Sangh Parivar forces even provided a warm reception to the criminals on the occasion of their release from jail.

The 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star severely condemns this heinous move by the fascist regime and demand the sending back of the released criminals to jail with immediate effect.

CPI (ML) Red Star Condemns Selective Ban Imposed on PFI as Majoritarian-Fascist

The corporate Brahminical Hindutva fascism prevailing in India has been trying to marginalize the minorities, especially the Muslims, with all the state and non-state avenues at its disposal.

Several dissident intellectuals have been jailed and held indefinitely without bail on fabricated evidence in the guise of Bhima Korogaoon case. ED, NIA, CBI, etc. have been turned into agencies to implement RSS - BJP agenda.

While clandestine saffron outfits and Sanghi goons are free to roam around attacking opponents, Popular Front of India, a Muslim organization has now been

banned following raids by NIA and ED. Many APDR activists are arrested for protesting this ban.

CPI (ML) Red Star does not subscribe to the religious fundamentalist positions of PFI or similar other organisations. But the majoritarian agenda behind selective banning of certain organisations needs to be condemned.

In this context, the 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star calls for the development of broad people's unity and a broad-based anti-fascist front to throw away RSS corporate Brahminical Hindutva fascism.

Articles

A Critique on National Education Policy (NEP) 2020

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As is known widely, the Central Government has issued the “National Education Policy 2020” on 29th July 2020. The Central Government has bypassed the Parliament, Central Advisory Board on Education where the State Governments are represented by the education ministers of the respective States, all other Central and State level education bodies, educationists, teachers’ and students’ organizations in finalizing the policy. On a close analysis of the policy document, which runs to 66 pages, one finds that it was prepared for further commercialization, centralization and fascisation of education. Now the policy is being implemented with great urgency. Let us try to analyze the salient features of the POLICY hereunder. To be brief and precise, we shall deal with the policy, pointwise. Hope, this piece will give hints for further study of the policy and its implementation.

1. No Constitutional Values: The words ‘Socialism’ and ‘Secularism’ are not to be found in the entire 66-page policy document. These blatant omissions will have great ramifications

for the rights and entitlements of the persons and communities in the Country as and when this policy is translated into action, fully. Of course, the different aspects of the policy are already under implementation for the detriment of the education system, which has already degraded by widespread commercialization of education. While this policy repeatedly speaks about the “Fundamental Duties”, it doesn’t make any reference to the “Fundamental Rights”. As is widely known, authoritarian States are always against the fundamental rights of the people. Now, we have an education policy in place which doesn’t have any regard for the values enshrined in our Constitution. The policy mixes up the so-called human values with constitutional values to marginalize constitutional values (see introduction).

2. Commercialisation of Education: It has got six important components:

A) Global Trade in Education: NEP 2020 proposes measures to intensify commercialization, corporatization and globalization of education. At present, private managements of educational institutions are not legally allowed to transfer any financial ‘surplus’ outside a given institution, whether for establishing another educational institution or for spreading business. However, this policy allows such financial transfers even across borders. This policy paves a path for globalisation of

education. The Congress government could not do this and the BJP government is all set to take this patriotic measure of developing global trade in education.

B) Ease of doing Business in Education: In line with World Bank promoted policies, the NEP 2020 seeks to reduce State regulation of privately managed educational institutions. It recommends just transparency while allowing private players a free hand in all aspects of management like fees to be collected from students, salaries to be paid to teachers and other staff, infrastructure, playgrounds etc. What is required of private management is transparency. They could loot but transparently.

C) Siphoning Public Funds to Private Operators: NEP 2020 recommends allocation of 6% of the GDP for education. In 1966, the Kothari Commission recommended a gradual increase in the allocation to education to reach 6% of GDP by 1986. However, no government till date has ever implemented the recommendation, and it has remained an empty promise. The NEP 2020 makes the same promise; however, it also recommends siphoning of public funds to private players in the name of encouraging philanthropic initiatives. Thus, even if the government provides 6% GDP, public institutions will be starved of funds because these will be diverted to private institutions in the name of Public-Philanthropic Partnership (PPP).

D) Hiking fee in Public Institutions: The policy is seeking to hike fees to be collected from students even in government colleges and public universities, and bringing them on par with private institutions. This will be another major blow to the public provision of education. “All HEIs – public and private – shall be treated on par within this regulatory regime ... fee

determining mechanism will ensure reasonable recovery of cost while ensuring that HEIs discharge their social obligations... (EPW 26TH Feb 2022).”. No need to state that fee hikes will be ensured in public institutions, and the social justice agenda will be left to the mercy of the administration who will in turn be identifying the ‘Socially and Educationally Disadvantaged Groups’. This is elaborated later.

E) Commoditization of the intent and content of education: This doesn't require any elaboration. This started long back in our education system and NEP 2020, though vociferous about social interest in education, is only set to produce theories and professionals for the corporate business. More and more access to education is linked with the ability to pay, and the purpose of education also becomes increasingly earning-oriented. Government, university and the students - all will orient themselves towards corporate interests to sell them well. NEP 2020 is buzzing with all facets of commercialisation of education.

F) Neglect of Public Institutions: Of course, commercialization of education is also associated with neglect of education in the public sector. Leave alone the vacancies in universities, even the schools are suffering shortages of teachers. Around ten Lakh teacher posts are vacant now throughout the Country. “Even prestigious Kendriya Vidyalayas are suffering shortage of teaching and nonteaching staff, and the vacancies doubled in the last three years (Jagriti Chandra, The Hindu, 28th Aug, 2022)”. As to the development of government schools, colleges and public universities, things are moving just in the opposite direction to policy pronouncements (13.2). The general rule is that all negative proposals will be implemented in fast-track mode and all promised positive measures will be

neglected. In a nutshell, the commercialization of education is growing in leaps and bounds with all its facets under the umbrella of NEP 2020.

3. Language Education. A critical analysis of language education, as proposed in the NEP 2020, requires a full-length article. Here we may just note a few salient things: **(A)** While the “Right to Education Act” makes mother tongue as medium of education up to class 8, this policy reduced this to class 5 only. “Wherever possible, the medium of instruction until at least grade 5, but preferably till grade 8 and beyond, will be the home language/mother tongue/local language/regional language”. So, NEP 2020 is weaker than “RTE Act 2009” on the question of medium of education. **(B)** The “three-language policy” in vogue invariably includes mother tongue. But the NEP 2020 provides for a minimum of two native languages among the three. “However, there will be greater flexibility in the three-language formula, and no language will be imposed on any State. The three languages learned by children will be the choices of the State, regions, and of course the students themselves, so long as at least two of the three languages are native to India. (Para 4.13)” If you take any South Indian State, a school can implement Hindi, Sanskrit and English as “three language set” because mother tongue is not compulsory. That is what the private schools are doing in Andhra Pradesh. Take Gujarat, the State Government could deny teaching of English in government schools there and take Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit as “three language set” because in NEP 2020, one foreign language is not compulsory. The flexibility provided in the policy will be of use for profit making schools. **(C)** For NEP 2020, Sanskrit is most important. It wants to teach Sanskrit from the nursery. Sanskrit is not only proposed as one of the three languages but also as an optional subject at secondary level too. Sanskrit could be an optional subject at under-graduate level as well. The students, who are desirous of doing

research into the classical literature, epigraphs, Ayurveda and such secular literature, could learn and master Sanskrit as part of Higher Education. But teaching Sanskrit at school level is only to develop bigotry in young minds. You may find some related excerpts here from NEP 2020. “Sanskrit will thus be offered at all levels of school and higher education as an important, enriching option for students, including as an option in the three – language formula.... Sanskrit text books at foundational and middle school level may be written in Simple and Standard Sanskrit (SSS) to teach Sanskrit through Sanskrit (STS) and make its study truly enjoyable (4.17)”, “all students in all schools, public or private, will have the option of learning at least two years of classical language of India and its associated literature....”. So runs the importance accorded to a language which has no direct link to the life of the people. It is one thing to support some students interested in research in Sanskrit, and it is a completely different thing to believe that Sanskrit enriches our culture and knowledge.

4. Centralization of Power: The policy seeks to concentrate all powers in the hands of the Central Government and its seven central education bodies including the overarching new body under the nomenclature of Higher Education Commission of India (HECI – Bill is pending). The policy seeks to marginalize the State Governments and State education bodies like Higher Education Councils and State Councils for Education, Research and Training (SCERTs). It seeks to impose even the textbook material for schools and courses in higher education from Delhi which has been the sole right and responsibility of the State level boards and Universities. Under this policy, NCERT would prepare school textbooks for the entire Country, and the General Education Council (GEC) would prepare courses for all Universities. National Testing Agency (NTA) is an unpopular central body which was established in 2019, and is being widely used now for centralization of admissions to higher education

courses. Under NEP 2020, the NTA conducts the entrance exams for admission into Medical Colleges, IITs and NITs, Central Universities, and further proposes to conduct entrance examinations for State Universities also. NTA will be a bottleneck which only allows uniform aspects of diversified knowledge and ethos to find place in the institutes of higher education. It leads to the projection of majoritarian and authoritarian aspects of our heritage and culture. Every State, for enabling the students to prepare for NTA exams, will have to transform its education system to identify with the cultural positions pursued by the Central Government through NTA. The NEP 2020 also seeks to control research in all universities by the Central Government through National Research Foundation (NRF). This policy stands against federal rights of the States and neglects the rich diversity in language, culture and, thus, the differential aspirations of the peoples of India. The central bodies provide opportunities for the ruling party at the Centre to infiltrate its ideology into course content at all levels. More importantly, the masses of people in different States would lose the opportunity to achieve educational demands according to their respective aspirations through state level struggles, as the State Governments would not have any power to respond to the struggles of the people. The moot point to be noted is that the centralism pursued by this policy is not only against the federal rights of the State Governments in formulating education policies but also against the democratic rights of the people. On 17th July 2022, girls were asked to take away their inner-garments to enter the examination hall to write NEET in Kollam district of Kerala State. We can not forget the story of the young girl student S. Anita who committed suicide on 1st Sept 2017 as she could not compete through NEET. "If there has been no NEET, S. Anita (Tamil Nadu), who scored a cut-off score of 196.75 for medicine, would have enrolled in the prestigious Madras Medical College (EPW 26th Oct 2021)". Anita has not

been the only Victim. Centralization of admissions, which disregards the course content and regional ethos, led to many more tragedies, and many more things are in store.

5. The Autonomy of the Universities is at stake: This policy is against the autonomy of the universities, rights of the students and teachers in the universities. The aforementioned HECI and National Higher Education Regulation Council (NHERC), a regulatory body to be established under it, would establish a Board of Governors (BoG) for each of the universities in the entire Country. Of course, "Board of Governors" are already being established in different universities by the existing UGC, pending the establishment of HECI and NHERC. The BoGs, which would replace the existing "Executive Councils (ECs)" in universities, would have more members from outside the universities in comparison to the present ECs, and thus would be dominated by outsiders. The BoGs would control the university, and in turn would be controlled by persons from outside the university, who, in all possibility, would be belonging to the ruling party at the Central Government. Consequently, the autonomy of the universities, the internal possible democratic structure of the universities, the rights of students and teachers, and campus democracy would be at stake.

6. Right to free and compulsory education is at stake: As on date, "The Right of the Child to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009" (RTE Act) of the Central Government provides for universal elementary education (from class 1 to 8). Further, under the Act, the child has a fundamental right to get education at free of cost, and it is mandatory (compulsory) for the parent to send the child to school and also compulsory for the government to provide education in a proper school. Outside the RTE Act, different State governments are providing secondary education (class 9 to 12) also to all children essentially at free of cost in government schools and colleges. Some States have been providing

free pre-school education also. However, provision of education has been weak on both the policy side and implementation side of NEP 2020. It proposes that all children from age 3 to 18 years (or from nursery to class 12) shall get education. It looks nice. But, the serious point to be noted is that the NEP 2020 doesn't propose the provision of school education as a fundamental right of the child. It doesn't speak about free and compulsory education. So, one could say that while the provision for education is extended to preschool and secondary school, the right to free and compulsory education stands liquidated.

7. New dimensions of discrimination:



We would find the following three discriminations in NEP 2020. (a) In difference with “Right to Education Act 2009”, this policy does not provide for institutional education for all children and, instead, only proposes to provide massive online programs for those who are outside the school and under the drudgery of child labour.

(b) Vocational courses would also be introduced from class 6th along with existing academic courses, and the child will be given the right to make ‘choice’. This would lead to a situation where government schools would be running vocational courses and private schools would be running academic courses. This in turn would lead to conditioning the poor and the socially disadvantaged children to pursue vocational courses in government schools, while allowing

the children from the middle and rich classes to pursue academic courses in private schools. This is a new discrimination to be meted out to children. (c) The policy provides for two levels of school exams namely (i) standard level and (ii) high level exams. It need not be stated that poor and disadvantaged children would be pushed by circumstances to attend only standard exams and the children from better off families will be attending the high-level exams, and this would in turn lead to disallowing poor and disadvantaged children to pursue higher education. These three new dimensions of discrimination would be added by NEP 2020 to the existing discrimination in the standards of schools (in terms of the provisions of infrastructure and teachers) available to children coming from different social sections.

8. No Reservations, No Hostels: NEP 2020 doesn't speak in terms of SC, ST, OBC, Minority, Women, Trans-gender and Persons with disabilities. Instead, it speaks about “Socially and Educationally Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs)”. Such a general expression gives a long rope to the government to identify any social group of its choice as disadvantaged and extend the opportunities, while denying the opportunities to the really disadvantaged sections. Further, this policy document, where it has dealt with the SEDGs (Para 14), does not speak of proper quota of seats in colleges and universities. There is every possibility that reservations would be gradually liquidated. We see such trends in many States and institutes of higher learning. So, as the policy is being implemented gradually, the majority of the youth from the socially disadvantaged sections would not find opportunities in higher educational institutions. Even those youth who manage to get seats in higher educational institutions through open competition would not be provided with hostel facilities. The policy states that meritorious among the disadvantaged [only] would get scholarships (Para 12.10). One has to note that the policy speaks only about the

scholarships for a few meritorious but does not speak about stipends to all poor and disadvantaged students. It may be that the majority of the poor and disadvantaged students will have to make use of the “open learning provision” through which the policy wants to ‘spread’ education. To say it straight, if this policy is implemented, the poor and disadvantaged would not find a place in colleges and universities. Under this policy regime, we also observe that the young scholars from disadvantaged groups are not allowed to take up research on the issues of disadvantaged communities. Under the scheme of ‘National Overseas Scholarship’, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment had been providing scholarships to SCs, STs and some other disadvantaged groups for pursuing research in foreign universities, and recently these scholars were barred from doing any research in humanities and social sciences. “However, the department of social justice and empowerment has recently introduced a specific rule that excludes subjects or topics that broadly come under the umbrella of humanities and social sciences from within the purview of this scholarship (EPW 26TH Feb, 2022)”.

9. Reservations, Seniority and Merit are at stake: This policy nowhere speaks about reservations in appointments of teaching and non-teaching staff in schools, colleges and universities. Further, it does not consider seniority as one of the components in promotions. In Para 13.7, it states “excellent faculty with high academic and service credentials as well as demonstrated leadership and management skills will be identified early and trained through a ladder of leadership positions”. One has to note that ‘Seniority’ is being replaced by ‘Service Credentials’. While seniority is an objective measure, service credentials cannot be measured objectively. A Vice Chancellor (VC) will not have any objective tools to measure the service credentials of the

university teachers. He/she depends on his/her subjective assessment. In a setup where the VC is accountable to the Board of Governors, which is essentially filled with partisan persons, the VC will be more partisan and promote the persons who fall in line with the official line. Though the policy in 13.7 speaks of merit and excellence, the same is being countered by “commitment and leadership and management skills”. Further, these qualities will be recognized early and special ladders will be provided to the selected persons to reach higher positions. So, one is not sure if academic qualifications would even be considered for promotions. In all possibility, uncritical obedience to authorities may be considered as commitment, and serving the interests of the ruling party may be considered as having great leadership qualities. According to this policy, the period of probation will be evaluated and that would only lead, in all possibility, for regularization (declaration of probation) of only those who would fall in line. There is a provision for lateral entry. By face value, one need not oppose it. But, in practice, it will only lead not only to bribery and nepotism in appointments but, more dangerously, to party ideological appointments. Now, UGC has taken a decision for these lateral appointments of “Professors of Practice (23rd Aug, Andhra Jyothi)”.

10. Fascist culture: This policy speaks time and again about Indian culture. All education policies hitherto have been speaking about Indian culture and heritage. What is new with this policy is that it is highly sectarian in its approach to the heritage of the country. Indian culture, for that matter culture of any Country, is not something monolithic, uniform and static. Culture of any Country has diversity across populations, contradictions within each which leads to change in time. But for NEP 2020, the Indian culture is something unchanging for all times, and uniform across all populations of India. Further, it does not recognize the possible contradiction between

the culture of the rulers and masses of the people. If we analyze the policy document, we understand that, for this policy, the culture of a select time, a select region and a select class, say a thing like 'Manu Dharma', which stands frozen, is Indian culture. It wants to impose such Hindutva, Brahminical and patriarchal culture on the gradually growing democratic and secular culture among the masses of the Country. This absolutist understanding of culture is nothing but fascism when interwoven with crises-ridden capitalism and market fundamentalism. The policy also seeks in different forms to impose communal literature through Sanskrit language on the students. The policy does not make any reference to the history of the middle-ages which gave highest material and cultural development to India. The policy makers cannot take the names of Ashoka as he was a Buddhist, Akbar as he was a 'Muslim' and Gandhi as he was Congress. The policy doesn't speak of either the reform movement or independence movement. What sort of values will this policy be fostering in the next generation?

11. Informalization and Infiltration: This policy provides for informalization of existing structures and methods. Taking class demos from the candidates for teacher posts is one such thing. Selection of school teachers on the basis of written tests is more formal and evaluation is more objective. When class demo is considered for appointment of a teacher, the subjective role of the examiner becomes predominant in selection of teachers, and, in many cases, it leads to nepotism and corruption. So also, in appointment of university teachers, probation period is provided for in the policy and the performance during probation will be considered while regularizing the services of the person. Again, the subjective role could become dominant because reservations, seniority and qualifications are being sought to be replaced by 'commitment' to the institution and leadership and managerial skills. Wherever there is a space for subjective decisions of the officers or

authorities, in all such places, the ruling party could infiltrate its preferred persons. Further, as noted earlier, the ruling party ideology will be infiltrated into education courses through NCERT, National Testing Agency (NTA), General Education Council (GEC) and National Research Foundation (NRF). If this policy is implemented in full, the ruling party at the Centre will be able to infiltrate both its persons and perceptions into the education system.

In Brief, this policy seeks to -

- (1) centralize power against federalism both for control of institutions and courses,
- (2) commercialize education and siphon public funds to private managements,
- (3) deny institutional education facilities to the poor and socially and educationally backward sections by abolishing reservations and universal hostel facilities which would confine them only to online distance courses; it even seeks to bring new discriminations [provision of (a) education outside the school, (b) only vocational courses and (c) low standard examinations] to be meted out to the children from poor and disadvantaged families in school education,
- (4) introduce informal methods of appointment and promotion to fill the posts with the persons obliged to the authorities and the ruling party and
- (5) to establish a fascist culture in education through infiltration of reactionary ideas against democratic and secular values of the Constitution of the land. The future of the nation would depend on whether this policy will be resisted by the people or implemented by the rulers!

On 75th Anniversary of end of British Colonialism in India

Bhagat Singh and his Comrades' Legacy

Prof Jagmohan Singh



When we are celebrating 75th Anniversary of the end of the direct colonial rule of British, it becomes very important to understand the evolution of the idea of freedom during the fight against colonial rule. This will help us assess the contribution of Bhagat Singh and his party.

British colonial rule had two phases one starting with rule of East India company from 1757 to 1857. It was rule by a corporate company of 18th century, which started as a corporate business company which slowly took over the administrative control to collect revenue. The rule it changed was to collect land revenue in cash that too before the sowing by the farmers and was fixed at the best crop time. It was a basic change from earlier Mughal as well as Indian rulers who use to have share of the crop which may vary from the fifth to fourth to third share. This was also like progressive tax, which meant that as the crop yield increased so was the tax increase.

The effect of colonial land revenue system was that in 1769-70 there was a great famine in the company controlled area of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Farmers escaped the company violence and turned to a moving columns and so there were revolts of farmers and Tribals which finally culminated in the 1857 revolt, the first war of Independence. As noted by Kyes and Malleson, the British historians of 1857, that it was the land revenue and management system which made the small land lords, peasants and soldiers, particularly of Rohailkhand, Bundhelkhand and Oudh. It was levy of very heavy land revenue which was fixed in the best crop time as well as the peasants/land lords were asked to prove their ownership. This virtually meant depriving them of their lands.

The increase of revenue was also because post American Independence in 1876 free trade to company was not allowed till 1818 when after adopting a draconian law free trade was allowed to spin more profits by the British Businesses . Free trade simply meant to have minimum from Importer and the loss of such revenue is to be collected from the inner resources. This policy can be seen even now. So this effected everybody may be king or the ruled, land holders and peasants, traders and the artisans. So there was a great unity among the Indian people and it may be noted that all fought unitedly rising above caste and religion. Rural people fought as a united one.



So 1857 put death knell to the East India Company against whom the Indian public fought. Thus won half the battle. The British government then took direct control and it was declared by Queen on 1st Nov 1858 promising equal citizen rights as of her British subjects, no interference in religious matters and no revenge. It took some time to really understand the bad effects of this type of British rule. The two problems of Indians were never addressed namely the mass poverty and distress of farmers in contradiction to better resources. It was the constant debate in House of commons by Dada Bhai Naoroji through his reports which were entitled “Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India”, and his conclusion was that poverty is caused by drain of resources from India, and so in 1906 his suggestion was that it's solution lies in Swaraj, i.e self-rule only. Let us remember that 1890 to 1900 has worst famine and epidemic years, killing 1 crore 90 lakh people out of 20 crore population. His observation was fully supported by British administrator Digby who wrote “Prosperous British India”. He used official statistics to argue that India is poor, and also laid the blame on the “drain of wealth” engendered by British rule. It used a more logical structure, beginning with a discussion of India’s poverty and then going to explain famines in that light, and then attributing both phenomena to the Drain of resources. Similarly, R C Dutt who was first Indian origin I C S, resigned and joined teaching in University of London. R C Dutt concluded that, ”We have heard

often of a benevolent despotism being suited to India. Facts and figures show that Benevolent Despotism has not worked satisfactorily for the people of India during a century and a-half. It has brought about famines once in four to five years the latest famines being the most wide-spread and the worst. It has drained India of an annual tribute estimated to represent the food of thirty millions of people. It has increased the Land Tax of the country to a degree which alarms responsible English administrators, and which has reduced the cultivators to a chronic state of indebtedness. It has permitted the decline of most of the indigenous industries of India without any adequate endeavor to help the ruined industrial classes.

Thus in the first decade of twentieth century freedom movement advanced in presenting some realistic solutions to real problems of Indian masses.

It was these ideas which helped Ajit Singh uncle of Bhagat Singh along with Sufi Amba Parshad, his brothers Kishan Singh and Swaran Singh and Lal Chand Falak to organise a successful farmers movement “ Pagri Sambhal O Jatta” in 1907. The conclusion which Ajit Singh drew was that until the British rule is thrown out, no real solution can be had to the problems faced by toiling masses. To succeed there is a need of dedicated volunteers as Garibaldi who liberated Italy. Before leaving India in search of the volunteers who will liberate India, in July 1909 he wrote, the first internal condition required is to have unity in society rising above religious and caste divide.

These efforts gave birth to Ghadar Party which was constituted by Indian migrant workers and farmers, students and exiled patriots. It established the basic rules that religion is individual matter should never take space in public affairs, similarly rising above cast lines should follow principle of equality. As explained by the youngest revolutionary martyr of Ghadar party Kartar Singh Sarabha, that the party

adopted tricolour flag to represent Equality, fraternity and freedom, the three essential values establishment of which advances the country. 8000 of these Ghadar Party workers returned to India to liberate it from British Imperialism. They advanced the understanding that freedom is not a racial question but it is a system known as Imperialism. Though Ghadar Party revolutionaries has to face gallows and long imprisonments. But their ideology did percolate into masses. Punjab in 1919 showed a great unity rising above religious divide and cast inequality. As the call to hartal against the draconian Rowalt law was given, the hindrance to it was the availability of food for common masses. So collective food known as Langer was held twice a day in each Mohalla. The effect of this was forging great unity. The Ram Naumy which fell on 9th April 1919 was celebrated jointly by all religion communities as well as all casts. Which sent a chilling signal into British administrators. The panic was so much that the fear of 1857 was gripping the British officer families. As they have read the GW Forrester's history of 1857 written in 1904. He was the British administrator and historian of 1857 who had concluded that ,” The administrators and Historians are of one view that if the Indian people rise above cast and religion divide then it is end of British rule.” The top leaders were expelled from Punjab and the peaceful protesters in support of their leaders were cold bloody fired upon on 10th of April killing 20 person and injuring many more. It was this unity which panicked the “efficient” British officers to commit Jallainwala Bagh massacre and much more atrocities during one and half month marshal law. The report of it was collected by congress committee in which Mahatma Gandhi spent a month long enquiries and was published in a report. It was this that led Gandhi to call for “swaraj in nine months“, if all give support to non-cooperation movement. Which was very enthusiastically supported. But in the shadow of incident at Chora Chori it was

withdrawn.



It was at that time that British was forced to sit on negotiating table by Irish Revolutionaries and they succeeded in getting their freedom though with division. It attracted the attention of young Bhagat Singh to translate the autobiography of Dan Breen “My Fight for Irish Freedom” in Hindi in 1924. This was a call for armed struggle. But following Kakori Train hold up and people's cool response made Bhagat Singh to conclude that we learnt only half of the lesson. Dan Breen has stated that even if I come to my village after attack on Viceroy, my villagers will boldly face atrocities of British Imperialism but would not divulge my identity. Bhagat Singh said the revolutionaries have to be connected with the problems and sentiments of people. He along with his comrades started studying the detailed



literature to enhance the understanding on human behaviour as well as that of world revolutionary movements. It is more clearly written by him in his article Why I am an Atheist, which is his autobiography of ideological evolution. He writes, "Up to that period I was only a romantic idealist revolutionary. Up till then we were to follow. Now come the time to shoulder the whole responsibility. Due to the inevitable reaction for some time the very existence of the party seemed impossible. Enthusiastic comrades - nay, leaders-began to jeer at us. For some time I was afraid that some day I also might not be convinced of the futility of our own programme. That was a turning point in my revolutionary career. "Study" was the cry that reverberated in the corridors of my mind. Study to enable yourself with arguments in favour of your cult. I began to study. My previous faith and convictions underwent methods alone which was so prominent amongst our predecessors, was replaced by serious ideas. No more mysticism, no more blind faith. Realism became our cult. Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity: nonviolence as policy indispensable for all mass movements. So much about methods. The most important thing was the clear conception of the ideal for which we were to fight. As there were no important activities in the field of action I got ample opportunity to study

various ideals of the world revolution. I studied Bakunin, the anarchist leader, something of Marx, the father of communism, and much of Lenin, Trotsky and others-the men who had successfully carried out a revolution in their country. They were all atheists". So the romantic revolutionary's transition to true revolutionary is a very advancement into the freedom movement. He writes in another place that he became "Realist", the one who assess the reality and then try to change it by conviction and effectiveness of action .The action is planned to have effect on reality.

It was in 1924 that he thought of first building a youth movement which should overcome the worst weaknesses which are exploited by the enemy as well as the selfish people within the society. These are communalism and casteism. He pointed out that the youth could be trained to get rid of these weaknesses along with that he should be scientific enough to understand the cause of the things. The main issue was that the British Rule has caused a great inequality. The youth must understand that the freedom will mean freedom from inequality. The scientific solution to inequality is socialism as practiced in Europe and Russia of the contemporary time.

Netajee Subash remembered Bhagat Singh as one who initiated a strong youth movement. The manifesto of Nav Jawan Bharat sabha is one document which is powerful document to help diagnose today's problems.

Then remember his two ideas, while assessing Mahatma Gandhi he said, "He must be appreciated for his near revolutionary act of involving the masses in the freedom struggle. "he further assessed the problem of freedom movement in this way, "It does not stand for freedom avowedly; it is in favour of "Partnership" – a strange interpretation of what "complete independence" signifies. Its method is novel, and but for the helplessness of the

people. Gandhism would gain no adherent for the Saint of Sabarmati. It has fulfilled and is fulfilling the role of an intermediate party of Liberal Radical combination fighting shy of reality of the situation and controlled mostly by men with stakes in the country, who prize their stakes with bourgeois tenacity, and it is bound to stagnate unless rescued from its own fate by an infusion of Revolutionary blood. It must be saved from its friends.

He also wrote that, "Terrorism is a confession that the Revolutionary mentality has not penetrated down into the masses. It is thus a confession of our failure...But I am not a terrorist. I am a revolutionary who has got such definite ideas of a lengthy programme as is being discussed here." My "comrades in arms" might accuse me, like Ram Prasad Bismil, for having been subjected to certain sort of reaction in the condemned cell, which is not true. **I have got the same ideas, same convictions, same zeal and same spirit as I used to have outside, perhaps-nay, decidedly-better. Hence I warn my readers to be careful while reading my words.** They should not try to read anything between the lines. Let me announce with all the strength at my command, that I am not a terrorist and I never was, expect perhaps in the beginning of my revolutionary career."

His role as defined in his and B K Dutt's statement in Assembly Case that, "(We) humbly claim to be serious students of history, conditions of our people and their aspirations. It requires neither the emotion nor the death, but the life of constant struggle, suffering and sacrifice. Crush your individuality first. Shake off the dreams of personal comfort. Then start to work. Inch by inch you shall have to proceed. It needs courage, perseverance and very strong determination. No difficulties and no hardships shall discourage you. No failure and betrayals shall dishearten you. No travails

(engagement in painful or laborious effort) imposed upon you shall snuff out the revolutionary zeal in you. Through the ordeal of sufferings and sacrifice you shall come out victorious. And these individual victories shall be the valuable assets of the revolution."

The most important contribution is raising the complete slogan, "Down with Imperialism Long live revolution." The categories of Imperialism and Revolution must be understood, He defined that Imperialism is exploitation of one country by another and it also creates such divisive conditions inside the country so that its exploitation is possible .

He also made a very important observation to his comrades that , " philanthropy cannot bring a social change, for a social change one needs scientifically oriented social dynamic force."

The Assembly case was to prove the reactionary role of parliament which was over-ruling the opinion of elected members and was imposing draconian laws by ordinances , the dictatorial power.





The hunger strike to expose racial discrimination in jail as well to have free access to knowledge was also to break the fear of Jail which is used to crush the will of the individual. The very first quote written on the first page of his Jail Note Book tells the spirit, “My strength is the strength of oppressed, my courage is the courage of desperation.”

It is the faith in justice system keeps people bound with the faith in system. The whole court proceedings were to prove that the British Imperial system does not have any scruples and is all out to kill them. This was amply exposed.

Thus having educated the masses of unfairness of the system its end was brought closer to as he predicted that it can hand on for 15 years because the social force has been generated.

Even after their hanging, the Karachi Congress was debating the resolution of Complete Independence and take an oath too on 26th January 1930, but how would it translate into the life of masses. The Karachi congress thus had to pass the resolution of Fundamental Rights to ensure spirit of

Independence and also the Tricolour was adopted as flag bearing that Equality, Liberty and Fraternity will prevail in the country.

So it may be concluded in his own words, that he and his comrades acted as vanguard of the broad national independence movement.

Bhagat Singh said, ” Gandhi is a philanthropist but philanthropy does not bring social change. To bring social change one need a scientifically oriented social dynamic force.”

To this effect there is need of revolutionary passion. Explaining that how the revolutionary passion was inculcated by their slogan, ”Down with Imperialism and Long Live Revolution”

“We stated therein that Revolution did not necessarily involve sanguinary strife. It was not a cult of bomb and pistol. They may sometimes be mere means for its achievement. No doubt they play a prominent part in some movements, but they do not - for that very reason - become one and the same thing. A rebellion is not a revolution. It may ultimately lead to that end.

The sense in which the word Revolution is used in that phrase, is the spirit, the longing for a change for the better. The people generally get accustomed to the established order of things and begin to tremble at the very idea of a change. It is this lethargical spirit that needs be replaced by the revolutionary spirit. Otherwise degeneration gains the upper hand and the whole humanity is led astray by the reactionary forces. Such a state of affairs leads to stagnation and paralysis in human progress. The spirit of Revolution should always permeate the soul of humanity, so that the reactionary forces may not accumulate (strength) to check its eternal onward march. Old order should change, always and ever, yielding place to new, so that one "good" order may not corrupt the world. It is in this sense that we raise the shout "Long Live Revolution"

So in current crisis there is lot more to learn from their experience and do our current duty. For this the Bhagat Singh mantra is, ”we humbly submit to be serious students of history, conditions of our people and their aspirations.”

IS INDIAN STATE PROXYING FOR THE HINDUTVA PROJECT OF MILITARIZATION OF HINDUS?

Shamsul Islam



Presently, the Indian defence paraphernalia is ranked as the fourth mightiest army in the world after USA, Russia and China with Japan at the fifth place. It has approximately 3,544,000 on roll, 1,444,000 being on active duty with 2,100,000 as reserve personnel.ⁱ It is credited with innumerable military operations of glory like Bangladesh War 1971, Kargil War 1999, surgical strikes in Pakistan occupied Kashmir 2019 etc. Indian Army rendered direct help to the Sri Lankan State in suppressing the LTTE; the Tamilian rebels (1987-90) and has been immensely contributing to the UN peace-keeping military operations in different parts of the world numbering more than 43. According to the Indian Army website "India is ranked, as the third largest troop contributor to the UN"ⁱⁱⁱ contributing 2,00,000 Indian troops.ⁱⁱⁱ

INDIAN ARMY KEEPS SAFE DISTANCE IN COVID-19 PANDEMIC TIMES

However, it is sad that when India continues to witness a devastation and mayhem only comparable to the 1947 Partition; the 4th mightiest army in the world has rendered help which cannot

be described even as cosmetic. Approximately, last two months of the abrupt lock-down have proved decisively that the Indian State completely betrayed the working class and poor Indians. In absence of jobs, food, shelter, transport and health care millions of them were left to suffer horrible times and tragedies. The stories are so horrendous that the term gut-wrenching would be highly under-statement to describe the prevalent hunger, maiming and killings of migratory workers (it is a kind of racism that workers belonging to India if go to work in different parts of the country are described as migratory workers. This term is not used for those who join high-profile jobs or politicians) in almost all parts of the country. The three wings of the Indian armed forces; the army, air force and navy have finest medical, transport and communication paraphernalia.

It is puzzling that all these were kept locked-down in face of the rampaging Covid- 19 pandemic when India was in dire need of doctors, hospitals, vehicles, airplanes and high quality professional communication facilities. All major cities of India have the most modern military hospitals which if opened for Covid-19 patients would have greatly lessened the unbearable pressure on the civil health services. If a small number of military doctors and nursing staff were deputed in critical areas, the sufferings and fatalities would have been lessened.

The lock-down showed how migratory workers suffered and are suffering while trying to reach to their native places; road, rail services almost incapable of help. The mighty transport capacity

available with the army would have made a real difference. Likewise, with a centralized and most modern surveillance system of the armed forces and its own satellites in the space (using which India was able to identify terrorist centres in Pakistan and destroyed the same celebrated as 'surgical strikes') the devastated multitudes in millions which included pregnant women, children, old and disabled persons, walking on roads and rail tracks (many of them getting killed while undertaking these risky journeys) would have been identified and picked up in army vehicles or airplanes.

It intervened only to shower flower petals on the hospitals and army/navy/air force bands playing outside hospitals which were treating the Covid-19 patients (despite warning from the medical fraternity that this shower of flowers may be a serious cause of spreading the dreaded virus and a law that hospital areas are 'no noise' areas). It was ostensibly done with a noble objective to honour the 'warriors' against the Covid-19. Even a cosmetic intervention should have meant deputing a small number of medical and Para-medical staff in at least Red Zones. In fact, many countries of the world including African countries armed forces were deployed to fight the pandemic which continue to play great pro-active role in this fight.^{iv}

INDIAN ARMY MAKES PUBLIC PLAN OF 3-YEAR MILITARY TRAINING DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC TIMES



It is puzzling that the Indian armed forces remaining insulated during the times of Covid-19

came out with a plan of employing Indians for a 3-year voluntary "tour of duty".^v According to a release from the Indian Army,

“The proposal is a shift from the concept of permanent service/job in the Armed Forces, towards „internship“/temporary experience for three years. It is for youth who “do not want to make defence services their permanent vocation, but still want to experience the thrill and adventure of military professionalism”.

Explaining the rationale behind this innovative scheme the note read that it was to tap the "resurgence of nationalism and patriotism" amongst Indian youth and help reduce the unemployment in India. The proposal also envisages that the earnings of these three years could be made tax-free and all those who would be part of 'tour of duty' could be given preference in public sector jobs as well as post-graduate courses. The note also stressed the fact that it would help to channelize the youth energy into positive utilization of their potential and that “rigorous military training and habits inculcated will lead to healthy citizenry”.^{vi}

This announcement proposing a policy decision, unheard and never debated in Parliament or at the ministry of defence level, about new mode and tenure of recruitment in the Indian Army was not made public by the defence minister, Rajnath Singh or Chief of Defence Staff of India, General Bipin Rawat but through a press-note of the Army. Army spokesperson Colonel Aman Anand confirmed that such a proposal was being discussed. The opposition political parties and media did not bother to react to this proposal which may prove to be a defining moment for future of democratic-secular India.

The above note during Covid-19 times raises many important questions, the answers to which have to be found to determine the future course of democratic- secular Indian polity. The loud mouthed claim that 3-year voluntary „tour of duty“ would help reducing unemployment is laughable.

The claim gives the impression that out of millions and millions of unemployed Indian youth few millions are going to be absorbed under this scheme. How Indian Army is helping to reduce unemployment can be known by the fact that it plans to reduce force strength by cutting 1.5 lakh jobs. In some sections the reduction is going to be as high as 20%.^{vii}

3-YEAR MILITARY TRAINING FOR NATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM & HEALTHY CITIZENRY

Justifying the scheme Army note said that it was in response to the "resurgence of nationalism and patriotism" and "rigorous military training and habits inculcated will lead to healthy citizenry". Thus nationalism, patriotism and healthy citizenry are being equated with the Army training. Such slogans were generally heard during the World War II and presently heard in totalitarian states like North Korea and Zionist Israel.

HINDU NATIONALIST ICONS BORROWED THE IDEA OF MILITARIZATION OF HINDUS FROM MUSSOLINI & HITLER



The fact is that such a scheme has been part of the old Hindutva project namely 'Militarize Hindu Society' zealously promoted by leaders of Hindu Mahasabha and RSS. The well-known Italian researcher of Indian politics, Marzia Casolari has done pioneering work in tracing the fraternal links between the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS founders on the one hand and on the other hand, how the latter borrowed the idea of militarization of Aryans from Fascism and Nazism. According to her pioneer work relying on the primary

sources of the documents of the prominent Hindu nationalists, one of the aspects of Fascism which appealed most to the Hindu nationalists was militarization of society. Balakrishna Shivram Moonje, a mentor of the RSS founder, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar on his return from the Round Table Conference, Moonje regarded as the Dharmveer (Brave of the religion) made a tour of Italy (February-March 1931). There he visited some important military schools (Military College, the Central Military School of Physical Education, the Fascist Academy of Physical Education), highlight of the visit being a meeting with Mussolini.

Moonje praised the militarization project of Mussolini and planned to put into practice in India. He wrote:

"India and particularly Hindu India needs some such institution for the military regeneration of the Hindus: so that the artificial distinction so much emphasized by the British, of martial and non-martial classes amongst the Hindus, may disappear...Our institution of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh of Nagpur under Hedgewar is of this kind, though quite independently conceived. I will spend the rest of my life in developing and extending this Institution of Hedgewar all throughout Maharashtra and other provinces."^{viii}

As soon as he reached Pune, he gave an interview to „The Mahratta“. Regarding the military reorganization of the Hindu community, he stressed the necessity to „Indianise“ the army and expressed the hope that conscription would become compulsory and an Indian would be put in-charge of the defence ministry. He finally made a clear reference to the Italian and German examples in his diary:

"In fact, leaders should imitate the youth movements of Germany and the Balilla and Fascist organisations of Italy. I think they are eminently suited for introduction in India, adapting them to suit the special conditions. I have been very much

impressed by these movements and I have seen their activities with my own eyes in all details."

According to Moonje's diary on March 31, 1934, he himself, Hedgewar and Laloo Gokhale had a meeting, the subject of which was again the military organisation of the Hindus, along the Italian and German lines. Moonje told the gathering,

"I have thought out a scheme based on the Hindu Dharm Shashtra which provides for the standardization of Hinduism throughout India... But the point is that this ideal cannot be brought to effect unless we have our own swaraj with a Hindu as a dictator like Shivaji of old or Mussolini or Hitler of the present day Italy or Germany... But this does not mean that we have to sit with folded hands until (*sic*) some such dictator arises in India. We should formulate a scientific scheme and carry on propaganda for it..."

According to Marzia, Moonje publicly admitted that his idea of militarily reorganizing Hindu society was inspired by the "military training schools of England, France, Germany and Italy."

Moonje's "Preface to the Scheme of the Central Hindu Military Society and its Military School" which he circulated among influential personalities, out rightly said:

"This training is meant for qualifying and fitting our boys for the game of killing masses of men with the ambition of winning victory with the best possible causalities (*sic*) of dead and wounded while causing the utmost possible to the adversary."

It is not to be missed here that what Moonje meant by 'adversary' was not the external enemy, the British, but "historical" internal enemy, the Muslims. In fact, this School was inaugurated by then Governor of Bombay State, Sir Roger Lumley. Moreover, this School helped the British in supplying Hindu youth for the World War II. This military school was financed by two

old stooges of the British; the Bhonsles and Scindias. Moonje gave a call to 'militarize the Hindu society'.

CONTRIBUTION OF SAVARKAR



Vinayak Damodar Savarkar went to the extent of organizing more than 100 recruitment camps for Hindus in the British Army when Netaji Subhash Chander Bose was trying to liberate India militarily from abroad. This was part of Savarkar's strategy to militarize Hindus of India. Savarkar called upon Hindus "to flood the [British] army, the navy and the aerial forces with millions of Hindu warriors with Hindu Sanghatanist hearts" and assured them that if Hindus recruited in the British armed forces,

"our Hindu nation is bound to emerge far more powerful, consolidated and situated in an incomparably more advantageous position to face issues after the war— whether it be an internal anti-Hindu Civil War or a constitutional crisis or an armed revolution."^{ix}

RSS PLAN OF CLEANSING OF MUSLIMS & CHRISTIANS

RSS since its inception (1925) has been working for one main agenda; cleansing of Muslims and Christians from India. Hedgewar, the founder of RSS left Congress because freedom struggle under the leadership of Congress stood for an-all inclusive India in which Muslims would be part of nation. Hedgewar's successor, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar in his book, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) eulogizing the cleansing of Jews by Hitler made it clear that RSS would like to emulate it:

"German Race pride has now become the

topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by." x

There was no respite in hatred towards Muslims and Christians even after the birth of independent India. Golwalkar, a Guru of Hate penned a chapter titled 'Internal Threats' to India. It appeared in the holy book for the RSS cadres, *Bunch of Thoughts*, the compilation of the writings of MS Golwalkar. , the ideologue of the RSS, has a long chapter titled, "Internal Threats" in which the Muslims and Christians are described as threats number one and two respectively. The Communists get the honour of being "Internal Threat" number three.^{xi}

With Modi's coming to power in 2014 the Hindutva juggernaut started running amok and the RSS leaders brazenly declared that by 2021 India would be cleansed of Muslims and Christians.^{xii} An aggressive campaign in the name of 'love-jihad', 'ghar-wapsi' and cow started in which Muslims and Christians were lynched. Perturbed by this Hindutva frenzy in less than a year of Modi's rule that one of the most decorated cops of India, Julio Ribeiro, former ambassador to Romania and recipient of the Padma Bhushan, a prominent national award wrote on March 17, 2015:

"Today, in my 86th year, I feel threatened, not wanted, reduced to a stranger in my own country...I am not an Indian anymore, at least in the eyes of the proponents of the Hindu Rashtra. Is it coincidence or a well-thought-out plan that the systematic targeting of a small and peaceful community should begin only after the BJP government of Narendra Modi came to power last May? It is tragic that these extremists [Hindutva zealots] have been emboldened beyond permissible limits by an atmosphere of hate and distrust. The Christian population, a mere 2 per cent of the

total populace, has been subjected to a series of well-directed body blows. If these extremists later turn their attention to Muslims, which seems to be their goal, they will invite consequences that this writer dreads to imagine."^{xiii}

DID RSS KNOW THAT 'TOUR OF DUTY' MILITARY RECRUITMENT WAS COMING?



According to a leading English daily report dated July 29, 2019 the RSS, a cultural organization was going to establish its own military school which would start in April 2020 with 160 students in the first batch. This military school would be run by the RSS' education wing Vidya Bharti, being first such initiative and would be named 'Rajju Bhaiya Sainik Vidya Mandir' (RBSVM) after the former RSS boss, Rajendra Singh. According to Ajay Goyal, regional convener of West UP and Uttarakhand for the 'Vidya Bharti Uchha Shiksha Sansthan' the military school was under construction in an area of 20,000 square meters in Shikarpur in Bulandshahar district of UP. Goyal also made a stunning disclosure that "a number of Army officers across the country are in touch with RSS and affiliate organisations". It is a serious matter and needs investigation from intelligence agencies how a non-state organization is maintaining contacts with the military officers if they are in service. Interestingly, this military school would run under a trust named 'Rajpal Singh Jankalyan Sewa Samiti'. By now the RSS military school must be functional to prepare cadres for recruitment in the Indian Army.^{xiv}

According to the RBSVM website (<http://www.rbsvm.in/> accessed on May 26, 2020) the school has already selected 75 students for the first batch. A perusal of the list shows that it carries name from one community only.

GOVERNOR OF A STATE WANTS CIVIL WAR BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

Julio Ribeiro was right when he wrote that cleansing of Muslims was the goal of RSS cadres. This was corroborated by none other but a very senior RSS ideologue and Governor of Tripura Tathagata Roy. On June 18, 2017, this RSS icon quoting another icon of RSS, Syama Prasad wrote:

"Syama Prasad Mookerjee wrote in his diary on 10/1/1946: 'The Hindu-Muslim problem won't b solved without a Civil War'. So much like Lincoln!"

Mind it; it was not some street ruffian who was baying for civil war against Muslims of India but one of the occupiers of the highest constitutional office. When criticized for this take of his he refused to withdraw the comment saying that he was only quoting SP Mookerjee. Incidentally, Mookerjee continues to be a great icon for RSS. Moreover, Modi government continued patronizing him as no explanation was sought from him.^{xv}

RSS BUILDING A NETWORK AGAINST MUSLIMS & CHRISTIANS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

According to international media reports RSS has been building a militant alliance with fascist Buddhist organization in the South Asia against Muslims and Christians. *The New York Times* in an editorial titled 'Deadly Alliances Against Muslims' dated October 15, 2014 disclosed sensational facts in this regard.^{xvi}

BABA RAMDEV STARTS A SECURITY AGENCY TO PROTECT COUNTRY'S ASSETTS

It was no coincidence that controversial renowned

yoga guru, a Hindutva saint, one of the richest men in India and darling of the RSS-BJP rulers, Baba Ramdev decided to start a private security agency under his Patanjali Yogpeeth Trust. It announced enlisting,

"Guards from its 11 lakh yoga centres across India. Called Parakram Suraksha Private Ltd., the company will provide employment to the young and protect the country's assets, SK Tijarawala, spokesperson of Patanjali Yogpeeth... There is a need for 50 lakh guards in India, he said".^{xvii}

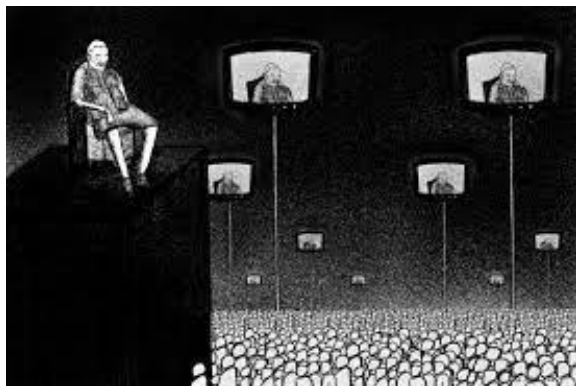
Why Ramdev ventured into security business is not difficult to understand. He has been brand ambassador of RSS preached masculine Hindu nationalism. In March 2016 he gave the war-cry for beheading all those who refused to chant 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'.^{xviii}

It is no ordinary security agency. Ramdev started it to "provide employment to the young and protect the country's assets". It is alleged to be a Hindu nationalist venture. With such outlets RSS and other Hindutva organizations did not need to organize surreptitious arms training camps. Enroll from any of the 11 lakh yoga centres of Ramdev and get training in all kinds of arms. Unfortunately, there has been no state or non-state scrutiny of such Hindutva ventures.

It would be a sad day for democratic-secular Indian polity if the Indian army actually joins this project of militarization of the majority community, facilitating directly or indirectly the Hindutva organizations' long hanging project of civil war against the largest minority of India. It is crucial to know that Hindutva love for religious strife suits the international enemies of India too. It represents another serious threat to the existing democratic polity of India. In case, RSS-BJP regime loses power such cadres trained in sophisticated arms may be used not to let the democratic process continue.

Social Status within Caste and Resistance to Hindutva Fascism

Pramod Sankaran



Ambedkar gives a warning about the danger that India is going to face in the future. There is a chance for two types of majorities to come to power in the country. One of them comes through political majority. Political majority is not permanent. It can be ousted by another political majority. But apart from the political majority there is a communal majority. Communal majority is constant. Although Hinduism is a disjointed caste in India, it has the potential to become a majority religion and come to power permanently. Ambedkar gave this warning to be cautious against the threat that India is going to face. Today, when the Sangh Parivar-controlled Modi government continues to rule India, democratic India needs to seriously discuss Ambedkar's vision and the fundamental nature of Indian society.

Hinduism rests on a religious foundation falsely constructed between social classes divided into many castes and discriminated against each other. Therefore, there is a need to deeply discuss the caste structure in the Hindu social structure, where brotherhood and justice are not naturally distributed. Only a democratic political society formed through such discussion can ultimately effectively counter the threat of Sangh Parivar Hindutva. All the people of India were not given an equal share of power and resources, and wealth, power and status were monopolized by

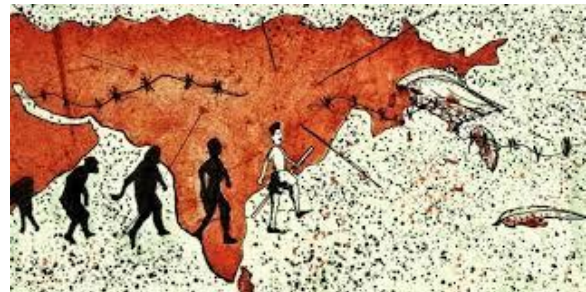
the caste Hindus. During the formation of modern India, social classes and religious minorities, who were subject to social marginalization, got a limited share in the powers once held by the upper castes through reservation. This constitutional right caused widespread opposition among upper castes. Later, power-sharing was made available to the backward people, who were the vast majority of Hindus, through the Mandal Commission. The upper castes, who were only 10% of the Indian population, occupied the lion's share of the government jobs, and unleashed a widespread revolt in India against this. The issue of reservation kept the upper castes of 10% as enemies against the large majority backward Dalit population. Or the reservation issue was kept as a caste issue all along as a hindrance to the integration of the so called Hindus. Therefore, it has been an all-time political requirement of the Sangh Parivar that Hindu integration should be possible instead of the reservation equation. To solve this problem, the Modi government came up with upper caste reservation in the name of economic reservation. All the political parties, except the Muslim League and Owaisi's All India Majlis-e-Ittihadul Muslimeen Party claiming to be secular parties in India were seen surrendering to Sangh Parivar politics that day in Parliament. If the so-called secular political parties aimed at 10% upper caste vote, the Sangh Parivar's demand for Hindu integration was fulfilled by resolving the internal conflict between the socially backward masses and upper castes.

Hindu assimilation must be prevented to eliminate the power stability of the communal majority. This requires active discussion of the caste problem, which is divided into many castes and does not interact socially with each other. Such a discussion can foster the growth of a new democratic political community and thereby

defend the Sangh Parivar Hindutva politics. For that it is important to recognize the nature of the caste system and the underlying nature of the social structure. Caste communities that exist in a hierarchical relationship have a fundamentally common character. It is a common characteristic of castes to be oppressed and oppressor at the same time. For example, there are many caste groups among the Brahmins themselves whose social relationship is to receive discrimination from the upper caste and discriminate against the Brahmin castes of lower social status among them. Caste is more of a stratified social status than anything else. Therefore, it is necessary to form a democratic society with the realization that no one is recognized as equal in the caste system. The reason for saying this is that there is a common sense that caste is understood only as a Dalit tribal power resource issue or as a human rights issue. In order to overcome that common sense, anti-caste ideas have to be developed by placing the concept of equal human rights as the core problem of modern value concepts. That does not mean that Dalit tribal land issues and issues related to caste oppression should be avoided or downplayed. It is the responsibility of the governments to resolve the Dalit tribal power and resource issues in terms of social justice. It can be solved through a political process. But the problem of hierarchical social status maintained by the caste system is one that modern democratic society must deal with. While the caste problem in a broad sense is a social problem related to social privileges, it is seen only as a tribal problem even by upper castes and backward communities uniting in anti-caste struggles. The problem with this kind of unity is that he doesn't feel internalized the struggle for himself, but he feels that he is parenting the survival problem of a community outside of him. Such custodial solidarities cannot undermine the foundations of the caste system of hierarchical social status. For one who participates in the struggle for equal social status against the caste system, the struggle becomes not a struggle for outsiders but for oneself. Even if the participants in the anti-caste movement were from among the Brahmin castes, he would be speaking against the system that does not recognize him as an equal human being. Therefore, only people from all caste groups who come forward for their own human status can

create a new social democratic society. Therefore, the caste problem should be presented and understood not only as a Dalit problem. The anti-caste struggle needs to be transformed into one for the human status of all social classes.

Interferences that are done in such a way as to establish the caste system as a problem of the Dalits alone without valuing the caste system in its entirety will only lead to the non-Dalit communities becoming gentrified. In the caste system, which operates on the basis of hierarchical and graded inequality, the caste system maintains a sense of privilege over the castes immediately below it, while all castes are discriminated against. This social structure is trained to treat each other discriminately in the order of lower and upper castes, even among the Brahmin castes. A mass unity against the caste system is possible only when all the people who live by accepting insults and believing that they have the opportunity to treat their inferiors with contempt, join themselves in the construction of an anti-caste democratic collective. The privileged communities of the caste system must unite in the anti-caste struggle not only as a demand for the liberation of the Dalits but also in the consciousness that the caste system is something that does not treat them as equal human beings.



On the other side of caste criticism, which focuses only on the historical experience of caste oppression of Dalits, what has happened is that the historical experience of other backward/Shudra castes has been kept invisible. As a result of presenting caste oppression as a laughable experience of Dalits alone, there has been a large-scale gentrification of the privileged backward sections over Dalits. As a result of the strengthening of Hindu consciousness among the Shudra castes and the backward castes, it is

evident that Sangh Parivar Hinduism had a great influence in these sections. Such social groups are led towards soft Hinduism by being gentrified, but ultimately it forms the basis of the radical Hinduism of the Sangh Parivar. Beyond the reality that Hinduism is a group of unequal castes that do not distribute justice equally, they shift to religious consciousness and to protect the Hindu way of life, becomes a moral responsibility of theirs too. In such a situation, if the Sangh Parivar spreads the word that Ram and the cow are in danger, the victims of caste violence come to the streets in large numbers to protect the system. In such a situation, if the Sangh Parivar spreads the word that Ram and the cow are in danger, the victims of caste violence come to the streets in large numbers to protect the system. It is necessary to stop the backward communities and upper Shudra groups from being Hindutized and make them part of the anti-caste struggle. Therefore the caste system needs to be explained in its entirety and how each caste has gone through historical experiences in oppressive caste systems in modern times. It is important to note that the content of such explanatory efforts should not be offensive to any caste group. Rather, ironic explanations of caste criticism should be emphasized in such a way that members of privileged castes are made aware that they are not treated equally in the social structure of inequality.



In this way, the escalation of anti-caste struggle to social status undermines the unification of

many castes and Hinduism, which Sangh Parivar aims at. It is a social reality that Hinduism is unified as one fraught with caste conflicts that discriminate against each other. The political debate over social status ultimately sharpens the antagonism over the caste structure within Hinduism. When social status comes into the discussion as a central issue, even among the upper castes, their social status and the subtle issues of discrimination they experience come to the fore. In this way, a mass public front in the anti-caste struggle, which has the potential to undermine neo-Hindu politics internally, is possible.



Ambedkar observes that the caste system in India is not a division of labour but a division of labourers because castes are hierarchically arranged by social status. It has been argued that caste communities were formed by ancient labour groups. If the labor groups have become the caste, then the fact that the social status of the castes has remained unchanged in modern society despite the change of the clan occupation is breaking the tip of this argument. Ambedkar clearly says in the work called 'The Caste Annihilation' that Marx's slogan 'Unite the workers of all countries, you will lose only your chains' is not applicable to India. The reason for this is that the worker in India has not only the economic chain to lose but also the social status classified by the caste system. The working class in India is divided by social status as opposed to worker unity. Therefore, anti-caste politics must destroy the social status that is the foundation of the caste system. It serves as a prerequisite for the unity of the working class and the development of a broad mass front against fascism and the creation of a democratic society by resisting fascism.

Central Organ of CPI (ML) Red Star VOLUME 23 | ISSUE 07 | OCTOBER 20220

RED STAR MONTHLY

12TH PARTY CONGRESS MOMENTS



CPI (ML) RED STAR 12TH PARTY CONGRESS
24-29TH SEPTEMBER 2022 AT KOZHIKODE, KERALA