

VOLUME 24 | ISSUE 1 | JANUARY 2023

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

CENTRAL ORGAN OF CPI(ML) RED STAR

NEW YEAR CALL TO RESIST RSS NEO-FASCISM

CAMPAIGN AGAINST MANUVADI HINDUTVA

Party Document:

PATH OF INDIAN REVOLUTION



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PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

CENTRAL ORGAN OF
CPI(ML) RED STAR

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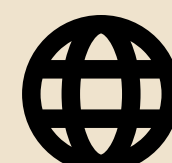
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EDITORIAL

LET'S INTENSIFY OUR EFFORT TO RESIST RSS NEOFASCISM AS THE YEAR 2023 DAWNS

As the new year dawns, the RSS, world's biggest and the longest-running fascist organization, which has established its stranglehold over the entire Indian regime through its political tool BJP is in a maddening pace towards its ultimate goal of establishing a Hindurashtra. As its manifestation, the Modi regime based on far-right turn in economic policies has unleashed a no holds barred corporatisation led by the most corrupt crony capitalists on the one hand, while strengthening Manuvad-Hindutva, the ideological basis of RSS fascism, on the other. As a result, along with horrific levels of wealth concentration with Adani-like crony capitalists, India is also becoming a citadel of global poverty and as its manifestation, unemployment, price-rise, deprivation, starvation and so on are becoming routine. Parliament is made a mere spectator, policy decisions are made in corporate board-rooms and the state itself become a facilitator of unhindered corporatization. Due to the systematic demolition of public enterprises in all sectors including industry and agriculture, the share of organized workers in total workforce is further reduced to less than 3 percent while more than 97 percent of the Indian work force is condemned to the category of informal or unorganized devoid of even minimum means of sustenance, even as all hard-earned rights of working class are systematically being taken away.

Along with this far-right corporatization agenda, RSS and BJP are resorting to all avenues for further fortifying Manuvad-Hindutva, the ideology of RSS neofascism. Even the basic

structure of the constitution is demolished by amending the Constitution through the incorporation of reservation for the elite upper castes under the guise of economic reservation. And even the apex court is becoming amenable to the brahmanical move against the oppressed castes. Along with this Manuist offensive against the oppressed castes composed of the SC/ST/OBC categories that comprise the vast majority of Indian people, the process of further alienation of the minorities, especially the RSS strategy of stigmatization of the Muslims is intensified further by making them second class citizens. The recent move on the part of Modi regime to implement the CAA through backdoor by opening up Indian citizenship route to non-Muslim categories totally excluding Muslim migrants in violation of the secular character of the Indian Constitution should be seen as part of this Hindurashtra agenda. Of course, these new developments including the move towards Uniform Civil Code, adding further teeth to the NIA with the proposal for establishing NIA offices in states and so on are in continuation of the saffronisation of the entire administration including civil and military spheres, judiciary, education and RSS' full-fledged control over the entire macro and micro spheres of Indian society.

Along with this far-right corporatization agenda, RSS and BJP are resorting to all avenues for further fortifying Manuvad-Hindutva, the ideology of RSS neofascism. Now the latest in the armoury of RSS neofascism is the further refinement and extension of the EVM as RVM (Remote Voting Machine) in the guise of



Credits: The Leaflet, The Pakistan Daily

enabling domestic migrants to exercise their franchise through remote voting. On account of many doubts raised by even technical experts regarding the security, accuracy, and reliability of EVMs, many technologically advanced countries have banned the use of EVMs in elections. It is in this context that since its ascendance to power, the Modi regime has been superimposing EVM in Indian elections in a fascist way. Now when the same is extended as RVM in the guise of enabling migrants' voting, along with the already existing apprehensions regarding EVM, many unresolvable procedural, administrative and technical hurdles are going to arise. But in view of the saffron goons holding immense street power along with the RSS hold on state power, this sudden move on the part of Modi regime to resort to RVM, especially in view of the Election Commission's own past doubts on the practicality of remote voting, is to be viewed in relation to the many possibilities of manipulating EVM/RVM. Hence all progressive-democratic forces along with all non-fascist forces must come forward resolutely opposing RVM as part of the immediate task of defeating RSS neofascism.

In this context, in the latest Assembly and by-poll elections, though the BJP had a sweeping

win only Gujarat, a close analysis of the election results clearly points to a further consolidation towards Hindutva and polarisation against Muslim minorities across the States. And the RSS/BJP centres using brute state power and with the backing of most corrupt corporate billionaires and saffron media are preparing themselves to use the forthcoming Assembly elections as a launching pad for the 2024 General Elections and towards the establishment of a majoritarian Hindutva regime whose ideological basis will be Manusmriti which the RSS put forward as India's Constitution in 1949 November itself instead of that drafted by the Committee led by Dr. Ambedkar. No doubt, in the coming days the fascist forces will resort to a series of Hindutva moves by whipping up Hindutva nationalism which is pseudo in essence and polarisation by spreading hatred and suspicion among people on the basis of religion and in gross disregard of diversities, and unleashing all kinds of divisive forces.

This critical situation calls for concerted evaluation and intervention on the part of the Left, progressive and democratic forces who uphold the perspective of the working and toiling people along with all oppressed comprising the Dalits, Adivasis, women and minorities, especially in view of the possibility of extreme polarisation targeted against minorities and dalits by RSS goons in accordance with Manuvadi-Hindutva. The intervention now calls for initiatives at two levels. First, on the basis of a minimum agenda against neoliberal corporatisation including all its manifestations on the one hand, and Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of Indian fascism on the other, the Left-Democratic forces should form a political core. Based on

this, sustained and uncompromising struggles against corporate-saffron-fascist forces are to be developed in all states according to the concrete situation. In the process, working and toiling people, especially the vast unorganised and informal sections composed of more than 95 percent of the Indian working class, peasantry, oppressed peoples including women, Dalits, Adivasis, Minorities, especially the persecuted Muslims, youth and students are to be mobilised against corporate onslaughts, displacement from habitat, environmental destruction, caste atrocities, communal oppression, violation of democratic rights and so on. State-level initiatives led by revolutionary left, democratic and struggling forces that emerge from such interventions can create an atmosphere for the emergence of a national coordination against corporate-Hindutva fascism based on a common program.

Second is the task to form a united front that can be extended to electoral struggles by exploring the possibility of alliances with anti-fascist, anti-caste and secular sections according to concrete conditions in states. Based on this, efforts are to be taken to participate in the 2023 Assembly elections wherever possible. In continuation of this and utilising such experiences, efforts are required to form a broad anti-fascist movement taking advantage of the contradictions among ruling class parties isolating reactionary parties and fascists. This should create solid foundations for uniting with all non-fascist ruling class parties also to resist and defeat the biggest challenge from RSS neo-fascism in the 2024 general election. While entering the new year, it is high time on the part of the revolutionary, left and democratic forces to think and act along these lines.

STATEMENT

CPI (ML) RED STAR STRONGLY OPPOSES EVMS AND ITS FURTHER EXTENSION AS RVMS IN THE GUISE OF MIGRANTS' VOTING

The Election Commission of India on December 29, 2022 has sent a proposal to the Recognised 57 political parties in India soliciting their opinion on enabling domestic migrants to vote for their home constituencies from their place of stay through a new remote EVM (RVM). The parties are requested to submit their views related to legal, administrative, technological and procedural issues pertaining to RVM voting by January 31, 2023. In the meanwhile the Commission has also scheduled a demonstration

of the RVM prototype for party representatives on January 16. As of now, a decision on RVM voting can come any time after January 31.

The most important reason advanced by governmental source for this use of Remote EVM or RVM is the present low voter turn-out due to the presence of around 14 crore internal migrants in India, who find it difficult to exercise their franchise during elections.

But this argument of the Modi regime is too flimsy as the RSS/BJP has no qualm in accomplishing even the lowest voter turn-out if it serves its Hindutva-fascist agenda. Hence the Election Commission's claim in its Press Statement on the mandate with it to ensure that 'no voter is left behind' along with its self-proclaimed task of overcoming the phenomenon of 'stagnating voter turnout' as the reason to resort to 'remote voting' mechanism or RVM lacks credibility and intends only to hoodwink the people.

For instance, in the latest Assembly bypoll in UP's Rampur constituency where the state election machinery merging itself with the fascist regime effectively used the police and administration to use all means at their disposal to prevent voters from Muslim-majority areas in coming to the polling booths resulting in a mere 33.94 percent polling there while it recorded 56.61 percent polling in 2019. Therefore, in the guise of low voting and migrants' franchise, Modi regime's infatuation with RVM is to be seen as inseparable from its intention to manipulate the entire polling in the coming Assembly and General elections in tune with its neofascist agenda.



Credits: The Wire

In this context, leaving aside the serious doubts raised even by Election Commission in the past regarding the practicality of remote voting by migrants, it is high time on the part of all progressive-democratic forces to rise up against Modi government's arbitrary superimposition of EVM amidst widespread public scepticism about its impartiality. For, technologically advanced and tech-friendly imperialist powers having regular parliamentary elections have banned the use of EVMs in elections in their countries. On account of serious concerns among broad sections of the people regarding the security, accuracy, reliability, and verifiability of EVM-based elections, most of the countries in EU and US are still following the ballot system. Many experts have shown how EVMs can be hacked at the booth level itself. Accordingly, EVM-based voting and counting does not comply with the democratic principle that every voter must be able to verify her/his vote is "cast as intended, recorded as cast, and counted as recorded."

If the Modi government is pursuing with RVM or remote voting, then it calls for many legislative changes such as amendments to the Representation of People Act, 1951 & 1952, along with alteration in the Registration of Electors Rules (1960), and Conduct of Election Rules (1961). Proper identification and definition of domestic migrant, enumeration and verification of remote voters to avoid impersonation, ensuring facilities for secure and secret voting at remote voting sites, appointment of poll and security staff for remote locations and many other procedural and administrative steps will lead to many loopholes which will give immense possibilities for the fascists who control both state power and street power at the same time.

In this regard, the CPI (ML) Red Star has been taking a consistent position against the use of EVMs in elections from the very beginning. Fully in consonance with the scientific perception regarding EVMs, the Party in its 2019 Election Manifesto had inserted a specific clause against the use of EVMs. Among other things, it says: “5.2 c. Since the possibility of insertion of malicious software in to EVMs and manipulation of voting preferences being already proved, one of the immediate tasks of the people’s government shall be a return to the ballot system.”

As such, under Modi.2, backed by corporate funding and the ideology of Manuvadi-Hiindutva, the EVM/RVM has also become an effective tool in the hands of fascists for using/manipulating elections in their maddening pace towards Hindurashtra. Therefore, the demand for withdrawal of EVM/RVM and return to ballots in the elections should form part of the immediate task of resisting and defeating RSS neofascism. The Left, progressive and democratic forces who have identified themselves with the struggling people and striving for a political alternative, while extending their anti-fascist initiatives to the arena of electoral struggles by entering into tactical alliances with all non-fascist forces should put forward the withdrawal of EVM/RVM as one of the immediate tasks.

In this context the CPI (ML) Red Star firmly resolves to carry forward the slogan of abolition EVM/RVM-based voting in the forthcoming elections to Assembly and General elections which for the RSS are a launching pad for its goal towards a majoritarian Hindutva state.



The Party appeals to all like-minded forces to resolutely come forward organising nation-wide campaigns and protests raising this demand compelling the Modi regime to withdraw EVM/RVM and return to ballot-based voting at the earliest. If the Modi government is pursuing with RVM or remote voting, then it calls for many legislative changes such as amendments to the Representation of People Act, 1951 & 1952, along with alteration in the Registration of Electors Rules (1960), and Conduct of Election Rules (1961). Proper identification and definition of domestic migrant, enumeration and verification of remote voters to avoid impersonation, ensuring facilities for secure and secret voting at remote voting sites, appointment of poll and security staff for remote locations and many other procedural and administrative steps will lead to many loopholes which will give immense possibilities for the fascists who control both state power and street power at the same time.

P J James
General Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Star

New Delhi
02/01/2023

INDIA CEASES TO BE A SECULAR COUNTRY AS MODI REGIME STARTS IMPLEMENTING CAA THROUGH BACKDOOR?



Credits: Telegraph India

By opening Indian citizenship route to just 6 non-Muslim categories - Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Buddhists and Jain's - from 3 countries (Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh), the Modi government has started implementation of the CAA, by totally excluding Muslims. In the same vein, hectic moves are in full swing to identify Muslim refugees including the Rohingyas, "the most persecuted minority", according to UN, and deporting them to outside mainly to Bangladesh.

Though the regime claims this move in terms of the 2015 amendment of Citizenship Rules that legalised the stay of migrants and exempted them from the provisions of the Passport Act and the Foreigners Act even after the expiry of their passports, in effect it tantamounts to partial implementation of the of CAA (2019) that aims to grant citizenship exclusively to illegal or undocumented 6 non-Muslim communities.

Thus, in view of the people's simmering discontent against CAA that may flare up at any moment, while claiming that CAA is not yet in force on the one hand, the Modi government has started fast-tracking it under the cover of 2015 Citizenship Amendment Rules, on the other. No doubt, this heinous move is also to be read along with the series of Hindutva offensives targeting Muslim minorities initiated in recent times as part of RSS-BJP move towards its ultimate goal of Hindurashtra.

The CPI (ML) Red Star resolutely condemns this implementation of CAA through backdoor, and calls upon progressive-democratic forces, the working people and all oppressed to resist and defeat this neofascist move that altogether undermines the secular character of India.

P J James
General Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Star
20/12/2022

APPROACH PAPER

ON BUILDING UP THE POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE AGAINST RSS NEO-FASCISM

(Paper presented by Com. P J James on behalf of CPI-ML Red Star during the brainstorming session organized by 'Bharat Bachao' on 22nd and 23rd December 2022 at Gandhi Peace Foundation hall, New Delhi)

I On the Approach to RSS Neo-fascism

The BJP that claims to have 18 crore membership and wielding state power in India is the principal political tool of RSS, the longest-running and biggest fascist organization in the world. With its ideology of "Hindutva" (which is different from Hindu) or political Hinduism rooted in Manusmriti that treats Dalits and women as subhuman, the orientation of RSS from its very inception has been subjugation of untouchables(Dalits) and women, and stigmatization and elimination of religious minorities, especially Muslims.

The so called 'cultural nationalism' of RSS during the colonial days was a camouflage for its servility to British imperialism and a cover for betraying the independence struggle. And the RSS leadership at that time was advising its cadres not to waste their energy fighting the British but save it for fighting 'internal enemies' such as Muslims. When the Constituent Assembly led by Dr. Ambedkar was drafting the Indian Constitution, RSS was vehemently opposing it and instead suggested Manusmriti as the Constitution of India. It opposed the adoption of the tricolour National Flag too.

Usually, it is the sharpening contradictions and intensifying crisis of the ruling system that

create the conditions for the ascendance of fascist forces to the mainstream. In India, it was the crisis of the 1970s and declaration of Emergency in 1975 by the Indira Gandhi regime that enabled RSS, which until then had been in the periphery of polity, to come to the political mainstream. And utilising the absence of a progressive democratic alternative, RSS effectively utilised the situation to come to the forefront of the anti-Emergency movement. Very soon, replacing the Jan Sangh, RSS constituted the BJP as its political tool.

The post-Emergency period saw Indian state's abject surrender to neoliberal diktats and its further integration with global corporate capital and consequent abandoning of the Nehruvian 'state-led model of development' and embracing of neoliberal policies. This far-right policy-shift in India towardsneoliberalism provided the material basis for RSS to design its well-thought-out strategy for the transformation of India into a Hindurashtra, i.e., a Hindutva fascist state merging itself with the most corrupt corporate-crony capital. The soft-Hindutva pursued by Congress and other parties has acted as a facilitating factor in this neofascist agenda of RSS.

To be precise, beginning with the Ram Janmabhoomimovement since the 1980s, demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992,

Vajpayee government in the late 1990s, Gujarat Pogrom in 2002, the ascendancy Modi regime in 2014 and its reiteration as Modi.2 in 2019, are some of the important milestones towards this neo-fascist transformation. Today, RSS neofascism has penetrated its tentacles in to the macro and micro spaces of the entire political, economic and cultural sectors of India. Along with the control over all civilian and military organs of the state and administration including judiciary, the saffron-fascists through their vast and unparalleled, open and secret organisational structure also have established spectacular control over 'street power' through lumpen and paramilitary goons.

II On Building up the Anti-Fascist Movement

Of course, fascists are the most reactionary, terrorist and unscrupulous section of the ruling classes. Obviously, there are ruling class parties including social democratic parties who stand for rule of law, bourgeois-democratic rights, freedom of expression, free press, free and fair election, etc. However, in spite of being non-fascist, on account of their roots in neoliberalism and links with corporate capital, inability to take an uncompromising stand against Manuvadand due to mere preoccupation with elections and power sharing, these parties have many limitations to take a strong anti-fascist position. AAP like parties are even competing with BJP to prove their saffron/Hindutva credentials, while according to social democratic CPI (M), as laid down in its documents, fascism has not yet come to India though "symptoms of fascism" are there. Revealingly, CPI (M) is the staunchest proponent of the upper caste-oriented EWS, and when in power, as was the case with Bengal and now in Kerala, it is the ardent proponent of pro-corporate

and far-right policies.

In this complex political spectrum, it is high time on the part of the political Left, movements of the oppressed, anti-caste and secular movements and all progressive-democratic forces to seriously take up the task of building up the broadest movement against RSS neo-fascism. Any delay in this most immediate and indispensable task today will be suicidal, and the inherent political weakness of the non-fascist parties and forces shall not be a hindrance for this. Here, while the electoral option of challenging fascists is unavoidable, the fact that an electoral victory where the vacillating non-fascist ruling parties have a major role alone is not sufficient enough to wipe out fascists who have already usurped the macro- and micro spaces of social life is also important. And, even if fascists are defeated in the election, the threat of a fascist come-back cannot be ruled out.

Therefore, the Left and Movements of the Oppressed Peoples have to intervene in this critical situation from a proper political perspective. Foremost is upholding the long-term strategic interests of the working class and all oppressed while engaging in the anti-fascist struggle. This can be achieved only if sufficient flexibility is there to assert the ideological-political independence from the perspective of the interests of the working class and oppressed. To accomplish this, the formation of a core composed of the left and movements of the oppressed having firm ideological-political positions against neoliberal corporatisation and Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of Indian fascism is of utmost significance.

Led by this core, possibilities to develop sustained and uncompromising struggles against corporate-saffron-fascist forces by uniting with

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ARTICLES

MILITARIZATION OF BHAGAT SINGH'S REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

DR. SHAMSUL ISLAM

The following quote is from the first paragraph of Lenin's great work; *The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution* (2017) underlining a cardinal truth; how rulers and their henchmen/women repress those ideologies and individuals who strive to emancipate masses from the exploitative rules. This chameleon like lot uses every trick in their criminal armoury. "What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation.

During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it. Today, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure, or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie."



What is happening to great martyr Bhagat Singh and his revolutionary heritage in India is a living proof of the truthfulness of Lenin's understanding of the phenomenon. Since India is supposed to be 'Vishwa Guru' (spiritual teacher of the world) we have added new sinister dimensions to it! The British rulers hounded him (and his comrades) which culminated in his hanging on March 23, 1931 with Rajguru and Sukhdev. After Independence these were/are his supposedly 'fans' who converted him into harmless icon robbing the substance of his revolutionary heritage or presented him as a hero of Jats or Sikh. It could be witnessed in more than half a dozen Hindi movies on his life. Even Hindutva gang which shamelessly colluded with the British rulers and denigrated the whole tradition of martyrdom has the audacity to display his photos in public. The newest foul, in fact, criminal addition goes beyond imagination of all those who have read Bhagat Singh and are familiar with his

commitments in his short eventful life. This time Bhagat Singh is being offered as a package in the form of a decorated book; a coffee table book to the Indian armed forces as an icon for militarization of the Indian State not by someone inimical to Bhagat Singh, a Communist revolutionary but by someone who is stated to be 'a chronicler of Bhagat Singh's life'; Professor Chaman Lal whom I always regarded as a person who genuinely believed in the ideals of great revolutionary!

He is a retired Professor from JNU, honorary advisor to Bhagat Singh Archives and Resource Centre, New Delhi, Dean, Faculty of Languages, Panjab [sic] University Chandigarh and former President JNU Teachers Association. According to his own description ('Spreading Bhagat Singh's ideas', The Tribune, December 3, 2022) he seems to be the most prolific author after Bhagat Singh of latter's writings:

all anti-fascist sections comprising secular, democratic and left forces are there in all states in varying degrees. It is urgent to develop such initiatives throughout the length and breadth of the country according to the concrete situation of states. In the process, working and toiling people, especially the vast unorganised and informal sections composed of more than 95 percent of the Indian working class, peasantry, oppressed peoples including women, Dalits, Adivasis, Minorities, especially the persecuted Muslims, youth and students are to be mobilised against corporate onslaughts, displacement from habitat, environmental destruction, caste atrocities, communal oppression, violation of democratic rights and so on. Along with such resistance struggles of people, conscious efforts are required to initiate debates and discussions on a political alternative against neoliberal policies

"I received author/editor's complimentary copies of 11th reprint of the book from National Book Trust, New Delhi, few days before I got a copy of another book, Jail Notebook, and other writings from another publisher leftword [sic], mentioning it as 12th reprint...Marathi translation of Bhagat Singh's complete writings from my edited book in Hindi of same title by Datta Desai was released by late Supreme Court Justice, PB Sawant, during Bhagat Singh birth centenary.

"Another coincident is that Publication Division, Government of India, had released an edited volume in Hindi of complete writings of Bhagat Singh, in 2007 in the presence of two of his nephews and late Kuldip Nayar. This was updated into a four volume edition, brought out in the beginning of celebrations of 75th anniversary of independence. I was invited to write a biography-Life and Legend of Bhagat Singh: A Pictorial Volume!

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and RSS neofascism. Such initiatives leading to state-level coordination joining with revolutionary left, democratic and struggling forces can create an atmosphere for the emergence of a national coordination against corporate- Hindutva fascism based on a common program. Such a political initiative can be extended to electoral struggles by exploring the possibility of tactical alliances with non-fascist sections of the parliamentary parties according to concrete conditions in states. This tactical approach towards a broad anti-fascist movement without surrendering the long-term strategic interests of the working class and all the oppressed shall also enable the struggling people to effectively utilise the contradictions among ruling class parties having overlapping interests so as to isolate the reactionary elements who are allies of fascists. And based on this approach and in view of the 2023 Assembly elections, conscious efforts are required on the part of all like-minded

forces to come forward with a political alternative as early as possible. It will help to consolidate our forces and strengthen ourselves to effectively resist the impending biggest-ever challenge from RSS neo-fascism in the 2024 general election.

I was more in collecting and researching on Bhagat Singh's writings and was in a dilemma how to plan it since there were already a number of biographies in print! It suddenly struck my mind that since decades, I have been collecting documents, writings, images, etc., in order to focus on the authenticity of Bhagat Singh's life and writings, I accepted the invite and this book has just come out. The Bhagat Singh Reader is being published by Harper Collins shortly, as I found more documents since its first publication in 2019. In 2019, I had included 130 writings of Bhagat Singh along with Jail Notebook and three more writings are being added to an upcoming edition." Professor holds the copyright of all the above mentioned books. He missed mentioning few Hindi editions of Bhagat Singh's writings copyrighted to him. This inventory of Professor Chaman Lal's writings of/on Bhagat Singh is quite impressive. After its perusal it is natural to assume that Professor genuinely believes in the ideals of Bhagat Singh whose writings were based on deep academic research. Bhagat Singh was a voracious reader who did not let die his thirst for knowledge despite high-handed censorship and unspeakable hardships of the jail life. In fact, he and his comrades resorted to hunger strike for 116 days at Mianwali Jail (now in Pakistan) demanding supply of books and status of political prisoners in 1929 in the course of which Jatindra Nath Das was martyred. Bhagat Singh was in Jail for 716 days out of which 167 days as death prisoner. In this period he read 143 foreign published English books and 159 Indian published books (English 54, Hindi 63, Punjabi 7, Urdu 28, Bengali 17 and Marathi 3.

Professor also shared the following information with 2 exclamations that "I was invited to write a biography-Life and Legend of Bhagat Singh: A Pictorial Volume! I was more in collecting and researching on Bhagat Singh's writings and was in a dilemma how to plan it since there were already a number of biographies in print! It suddenly struck my mind that since decades, I have been collecting documents, writings, images, etc, in order to focus on the authenticity of Bhagat Singh's life and writings, I accepted the invite and this book has just come out."

Who invited him to accomplish this task and when it was released has not been made clear by him. However, a perusal of the official site of the Publication Division of Government of India unravels the reality. It was planned in January 2022, an e-tender floated on August 4, 2022 and printing work awarded on August 17. It must have been out in last November. It is priced INR 895 with Chaman Lal mentioned as author on the cover (only hard bound edition available presently).

There is no record of release of this book but author does inform where it was first discussed. According to him:

"It was a bit perplexing for me when I got a call from Sports University, Patiala, Vice Chancellor, Lieutenant General JS Cheema (Retd), inviting me to be part of a discussion panel in a session on Bhagat Singh in Military Literary [Literature] Festival, as I could not see any connection, since the festival concentrates more on defence related books and matters, national and international. Among other panellists, he named Mahavir Chakra awardee, Maj Gen Sheonan Singh (Retd), who is a nephew of Bhagat Singh...Among all close relations of Bhagat Singh, he is one of most well read about Bhagat Singh and his ideas, as Ranbir Singh, his father and younger brother of Bhagat Singh, had penned a biography of the great martyr in Urdu!"

Professor is reported to have told the top brass of the Indian army, the 4th most powerful army in the world, on the last day of the Military Literature Festival at Chandigarh [The Times of India, Chandigarh, December 5] that “Bhagat Singh was a socialist revolutionary...by calling only patriot and fearless, attempts are made to reduce his stature...Governments are not interested beyond his stories and photographs”.

There can be no objection to the Indian Army deliberating on Bhagat Singh or releasing books on his valour. But it is highly ‘perplexing’ (resorting to the term used by Professor himself while accepting the invitation for the Military Festival) that he was allowed to say what he told about Bhagat Singh to the military personnel. It could happen only if Indian Military was changing its character from Indian State’s armed organ to people’s army. The reality is that it is committed to serve loyally the interests of the pro-rich Indian ruling elite which believe that slogan INQUILAB ZINDABAD preaches violence and refuses to accord the status of martyr to Bhagat Singh and others who laid down their lives during the freedom struggle. It is also to be noted that writings of Bhagat Singh are part of the archives or museums and not part of academic syllabuses at any level.

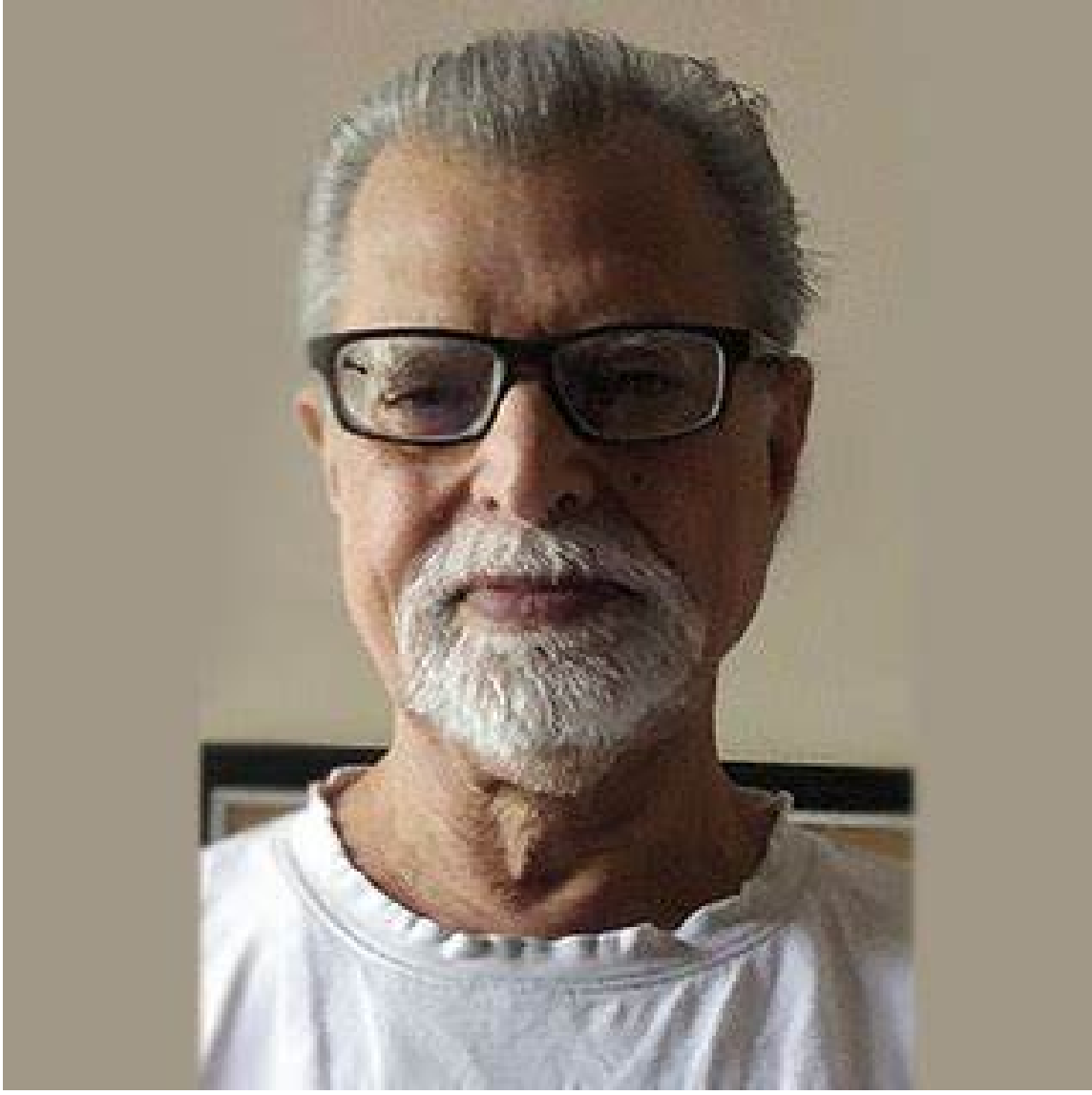
It is sad that while joining the Military Literature Festival Professor as a chronicler of Bhagat Singh brazenly overlooked that Bhagat Singh while in Jail read an amazing book by a German revolutionary academician Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) titled Militarism & Anti-Militarism (1907). Karl was assassinated with Rosa Luxemburg on January 15, 1919 by a killing squad of the German reactionary ruling classes. This book is a great work of academic research combined with his experiences in the revolutionary movements not only in Germany

but in whole of Europe. This peerless work on militarism traces roots of militarism under capitalism and fore-warned the coming of the World War I. According to Karl militarism is not only a project for saving the Fatherland from foreign enemies but also controls colonies and crush the ‘internal enemy’; the rising tide of working class, peasantry and youth movements against the repressive rule.

In a chapter titled ‘Sins of Militarism’ Karl discusses how under militarism soldiers are ill-treated, people have to bear the cost of financing it, “it is rule of the sword and rifle against strikes”, army is used as “a tool against the proletariat in the political struggle” and is “danger to peace” and “proletarian revolution”. The book ends with a list of tactics to be used fighting militarism.

We should not be foolish enough to believe that Indian military establishment is developing love for a Socialist revolutionary, Bhagat Singh who combined two mottos together; Down with Imperialism and Long Live Revolution. Professor was allowed to introduce Bhagat Singh in a military-literary conclave held in Punjab as year-long (2020-21) historic farmers struggle used Bhagat Singh (his visuals as well as writings) as the most prominent tools of resistance against all kinds of repressive acts of the Modi regime. Bhagat Singh needs to be converted into a harmless icon, blunting his revolutionary edge and adopt him as a hero who laid down his life for the country without going into the question; country for whom!

I will be the last person to believe that Professor Chaman Lal had any illusion that he would bring about change of heart of the participants or those who invited him to this Military Literature Festival. His pictorial book coinciding with this festival will bring him more laurels, more royalty; may even get him a mention in Guinness Book of World Records as the most prolific author (or



Prof Chaman Lal

compiler) on Bhagat Singh.

It brings me to a serious ethical issue concerning writings, contemporary photos and records of Bhagat Singh, his comrades and the family. Professor has been chronicling/remodeling writings of Bhagat Singh and his contemporary material in book forms assigning to himself as copyright owner. Furthermore, nobody knows under what authority the copyright of Bhagat Singh's writings published by Government of India publication houses and edited by Professor have been appropriated by the former. Forget about revolutionary morality even bourgeois morality demands that if descendants of Bhagat Singh have not claimed ownership of his writings (a great gesture) these belong to all those who love and follow him. Professor should have retained copyright of his introductions to the books, if any. I remember a Hindi edition of Bhagat Singh's writings titled as 'Bhagat Singh aur unke Sathiyon ke Dastavez' [Documents of Bhagat Singh and his comrades] jointly edited by Bhagat Singh's nephew (sister's son) Dr. Jagmohan Singh and Professor Chama Lal copyright of which was assigned to a committee formed to collect revolutionary's unearthed documents.

I will end by reminding Professor Chaman Lal, a dear friend that his obsession with selling Bhagat Singh has landed him into the category of the lot referred to by Lenin above. Shockingly, the title of his latest book on Bhagat Singh which coincided with the military festival at Chandigarh describes Bhagat Singh a LEGEND. As a renowned linguist he is expected to know the meaning of the term. According to almost all English dictionaries it means a story from the past that is believed by many people but cannot be proved to be true. In Hindi too it is defined as *pracheen kathaa jiskaa satey yaa asatey hona prasangkik naheen hae* (an ancient story whose being true or untrue is not relevant). The ruling classes need a Bhagat Singh who happened sometime in the past, to be worshipped as a saint having no relevance in the present times; a harmless icons devoid of revolutionary side of his theory as stated by Lenin. Only this kind of Bhagat Singh is acceptable to the rulers and Professor Chaman Lal is facilitating it.

[I received above mentioned The Tribune piece penned by Professor Chaman Lal on December 19 and immediately wrote a protest note to him which read "Unbelievable that you were involved in this!" Since there was no response I decided to pen this piece.] ●

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FOREST ACT 2022 : ADIVASI TRIBAL COMMUNITIES ARE THROWN INTO THE COLONIAL WILDFIRE.

P A PREMBABU

New legislation has been enacted to subvert the forest act and displace Adivasi - tribal communities for corporate, forest mafia to ransack forest resources. The central Sankh Parivar administration has made all plans to exterminate the Forest Rights Act (FRA) of 2006 and implement the new Forest Conservation Rule (FCR) under the Forest Conservation Act 1980.

With this new law, which overturns and completely replaces the Forest Protection Act of 2003 and the amendments of 2004, 2014 and 2017, the Modi administration can effortlessly besiege the forest land and dedicate it to the domestic and multinational blood suckers.

Now the question of the hour is weather our democracy can become a significant, dynamic force to start agitation against this gruesome uprooting of adivasi and other tribal communities from their habitats and constitutional rights that shackles them, and gravely endangeres their lives and environment.

We have tangible experience and encountered several cases pertaining to similar issues, how judiciary and law enforcement agencies are going to approach this unconstitutional neo colonial finance capitalist crisis law which tramples tribal communities who have got distinctive constitutional deliberation.

It is no coincidence that such hawkish, expansionist mandates as law in the name of corporate sustainable development occur in the new Indian context, where the fountains of democracy have almost dried up.

The Indian President Draupadi Murmu, a tongue - tied witness of upper class fascist regime's wreaking havoc on the lives of the tribals with brutal law of deception intending their extermination, belongs to Santhal Tribe - a natural worshippers - who had formed their own army to fight against British.



Credits: Adivasi Resurgence

All remaining forest Rights, which are granted after intensive struggles to end the historical injustice and persecution faced by the tribal communities in the country, are going to be rubbed out.

With the amendment of 2022, the Modi government has conferred a formal assurance that the most monstrous activities can be carried out by felling, chopping, burning and uprooting all vegetations and trees in the forest land of one hectare and above.

The Forest Rights Act which ensures all forest rights, except hunting, to tribals in all forest zones and forest lands including unclassified forests, existing or other forests, protected forests, and national park was gradually debilitated and stamped out.

Now with the new amendment 2022, the finance capital occupation forces can physically and ethnically carry off tribal communities in the name of development.

Legal interpretations and observations are going to be derived from the legal field that if compensatory afforestations are built under the label of 'surrogate forest', it could be a substitute for encroaching and laying hold of forest resources.

These violent legislative definitions aimed at the complete incineration of forest, do not enter into the fact that forests are not just flora and fauna, but are the habitats that sustain the earth and the livelihood of the tribals who protect them and preserve its values.

Net Present Value (NPV)

is the name given to the Blood Money the bandits pay for the bogus process of afforestation to cover up these hidden hole-and-corner deeds that make forests the breeding ground of mining mafias and resource grabbers.

In the 2022 Act, only 10.69 to 15.95 lakhs has been valued for this desertification of forest.

Despite a court order in 2008 to review this amount every three years, it was implemented only in 2022.

The government claims that the newly amended 'Corporate Protection Act' will enable companies to invest in mega projects, including mining, even in strictly prohibited bays, to be a catalyst for 'Ease of doing Business' which can be described as the signature tune of India's development.

Like this,

between 2008 and 2019, 2,53,179 hectares of forest land has been subject to exploitation for the forest resources.

The requests received by the Ministry of Forests on a regular basis for conversion of forest land for non-forest purposes are submitted with a submission that the Forest Rights Act will be considered later.

In 2009, following a massive protest by tribal organizations, blocking the National Highway, the Ministry of Forests was forced to issue a strict directive to allow non-forestry purposes only with the permission of the Gram Sabhas in accordance with the Forest Act.

A blatant subversion of forest rights

In February 2013, the Ministry of Forests overturned its own order by informing all states that the permission of the village councils was not required for the use of forest land for roads, canals, pipelines, optical fibers, transmission lines, etc.

The order also added an insidious farce that social groups such as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTB) and Pre-Agricultural Communities (PAC) should not be affected.

Now in the new amendment of 2022, it is unequivocally stated that Forest Rights Act need not be complied with the final approval of the Ministry of Forest and Environment, for construction activities and non-forest purposes.

The Forest Rules of 2022 are a set of Finance Capital protection laws put together by the central government to allow private developers to clear forests by felling trees without seeking permission from tribal groups. With the implementation of this Act, tribal communities and other agricultural communities will not have any rights in their forest areas.

The forest rights act of 2006 was the reason why tribal villages in Kerala were listed as forest villages for the first time in history. That is what the fascist regime has now burned out. Thus the Forest Rule 2022 becomes a pretext for plundering forest land. Another serious social impact of this Act is that the Adivasis and other tribal communities will be denied access to the Gram Sabhas and Panchayats as there is no clear definition of the power structure of the Gram Sabha in this new Act.

The Corporate 'Mandir Fascist' Union government has also moved to amend three laws pertaining to the protection of the environment – the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986, Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974 and Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981. The amendments will “decriminalise” offences to “weed out fear of imprisonment for violations”. Offenders will no longer face the threat of imprisonment but will be faced with just monetary fines. Legal and policy experts believe that the amendments will encourage a pollute-and-pay attitude.



Credits: The Wire

The Adivasi Gram Sabha has the right to determine and record the traditional boundaries of the tribal communities and to ensure their special habitations and other uses within them. It is that tribal democracy which is going to be shattered and disintegrated by this damn law. It is a simple extension of colonial forest policy. Tribals are being thrown by the fascist regime into the wildfires of the colonial British era of forest exploitation.

It constituted an Advisory Committee, a regional empowered committee at each of the integrated regional offices and a screening committee at State/Union Territory (UT) government-level. There is no any representation of Adivasi, tribal, and other forest dwellers in these implementing committees.

According to the Environment Ministry’s statements in the Lok Sabha, between April 2016 and March 2022, the despotic Modi government approved licences to cut 99,982 hectares of forests across the country, an area half the size of Noida. Since the enactment of the FCA in 1980, 3.54 lakh hectares of forests have been cleared, an average of 8,448 hectares a year. In spite of these direful rate at which forests are being flattened, commitments for compensatory afforestation are either not being met or are unregulated which is obvious in the Environment Ministry documents. Officials admit to not having “complete details” on the progress of compensatory afforestation.

Ministry of environment and Forest conveniently forgotten the 1996 Supreme Court order in T.N. Godavarman Thirumulpad vs Union of India regarding the identification of forests and their conservation. In its order on December 12, 1996, the court directed that tree-felling and non-forestry activity in forests across the country should be stopped.



Credits: cjp.org.in

It also directed States to set up expert committees to identify forests by its dictionary meaning. Lands so identified were to be notified as forests irrespective of ownership.

Now quarter of a century later, States are far from accomplishing the process. Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu have identified private forests and deemed forests. Mumbai's Aarey forest is one such deemed forest. The court, in its order, also directed the Union government to apply the provisions of Forest Conservation Act, 1980, to all forests thus

According to the Forest Conservation Rules , 2003, subsequently amended in 2004, 2014, and 2017, at least 1,000 trees a hectare must be planted in all compensatory afforestation land to make up for the depletion of "land by land" and of "trees by trees".

The new absurd, invasive rules say that an identified non-forest land with a canopy density of 0.4 (40 per cent tree cover) or more can be considered for swapping as compensatory land. The earlier requirement to plant 1,000 trees a hectare has also been invalidated.

86-year-old Ondan of Wayanad's Nenmeri Kulipura Colony, who despite having received one acre of land in the government records ten years ago, still goes to government offices to find out where that land is, is a representative of brutal tribal poaching..

FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS IN NARAYANPUR AND KONDAGAON DISTRICTS IN CHHATTISGARH – III

(Fact Finding Report by a team led by Irfan Engineer)

On 2nd January 2023, nearly half a dozen policemen, including the District Superintendent of Police were injured and a church vandalized after a meeting in which about 2,000 people participated led by the BJP district president Rupsay Salam. Armed mob vandalized the church built on the premises of Vishwa Deepti High School ignoring the counsel of the SP Sadanand Kumar not to indulge in violence (Sikdar, 2023). The attacks on Christian vishwasus escalated since 9th December 2022.

More than a thousand Christian vishwasus were forcibly evicted from their village as they refused to convert and give up their faith in Christianity. Some of the attacks were documented by a fact-finding team of which this author was a member. The accounts of attacks were detailed in the previous articles of the author. The Town Inspector and the district administration refused to take any action against those who were resorting to violence in order to force the Christians out of their villages. They visited the

villages, talked to the sarpanch and village elders and merely persuaded them to allow the Christian vishwasus to return. They did not register any FIRs nor initiated any legal proceedings, and advised the Christian vishwasus to give up their faith in order to restore peace.

Why was the state machinery required, if the vishwasus wanted to give up their faith, they would be welcome to the villages without the administration doing anything. We saw videos of the attack on the church and the police. The police, led by the SP were mute spectators, even though the police were being attacked, and one police personnel was lifted and wrestled down onto the ground. The mob is using lathis whereas the police are just holding their counsel. After the attack, the SP holds a press conference and only says that he was trying to persuade the mob not to be violent. In order not to act against anyone, the SP told the press that he was hit from behind on his head and the mob was leaderless.

Can a violent mob be unprovoked and leaderless, and that too, consisting of normally docile and submissive Adivasis? This defies common sense. The administration appears to be leaderless and lacking commitment to the rule of law and their duty! The inaction of the administration is emboldening the perpetrators and encouraging them to escalate violence.

When we met the Collector and Addl. SP of Narayanpur district on 21st December, (SP was out of the town), they had a similar response. According to them, both parties were wrong! Both could not point out any wrong doing on the part of the Christian Vishwasus. They had not indulged in any violence, retaliation, or coercion of any sort. There was no hint of any resistance to coercion from the non-Christian Adivasis. No FIR or even a complaint has been filed by the non-Christian Adivasis. When we met the

sarpanch and other villagers of Chimdi, none of them accused any wrong doing on the part of the Christian vishwasus. They said that the Vishwasus just left the village on their own, although we saw the broken prayer hall built out of mud, bamboo and reeds. It was obvious from this that the Christian vishwasus had not left on their own.

Although the District Collector and the Addl. SP did not spell out the wrong doing on the part of the Christian Adivasis, their silence spoke louder than their vocal cords – their praying in the Church was the wrong that they committed – they had stopped believing in the traditional deities of the Adivasis.

This, according to them (impliedly) was the beginning of the entire problem. The Town Inspector had already asked the Adivasis of Chalka village to convert to Hinduism. The approach that both sides were wrong allowed the district administration not to do anything even when one side was violating law, breaching peace and using violence and coercion to convert Christian Adivasis. The result of inaction encouraged the perpetrators of violence to scale up violence and coercion, and attack even the police personnel, including the SP of Narayanpur. There is not going to be any peace in the troubled region unless appropriate legal action is taken against the perpetrators. It is beyond our comprehension as to why this inaction! Is it because of the colour of the Central Government? Or is it that even the Congress led state government desires no action?

Conversion to Hinduism:

In Madamnar village, on 21st December 2022, Bible copies were taken away from the homes of 16 Christians vishwasus families, they were forcibly taken to the village tihad (sacred place),

water was sprinkled on them, some rituals were performed, vermilion smeared on their forehead and they were declared to be Hindus. Manglu Koram (40) was one of them. We met him in the indoor stadium refugee camp where he had come to meet other Christian vishwasus and assure them that his faith in Christ was intact, notwithstanding the conversion ritual. In Udidgaon and Putanchandagaon within Benur Police Station, 3 Christian families in each village were converted likewise. However, by and large the Christian vishwasus have held on to their faith even in the face of hardships and attacks.

Peace in Chiprel village:

It was heartening to know that in spite of escalating violence against the Christian vishwasus in many villages, in Chiprel village. Pastor Phunu Dugga of India Church Growth Mission, having about 500 to 600 members in Narayanpur explained to us as to why there was peace in the village. There are about 95 homes in the village and about 50% are Christians. The sarpanch of the village is a non-Christian. Initially the non-Christians would oppose the conversions. Conversions in the village started in 2003-4. Pastor's wife was beaten up in the year 2008 for her faith. There was a police complaint of the violence. The effective intervention of the then Town Inspector ensured that there was no violence. Since then there has been no opposition – partly due to fear of the police and partly because their numbers have increased and they are half the village population. Every year, according to Pastor Dugga, 5 to 6 families convert to Christianity because of their illness or because they want to give up their drinking habits. There is an even more important factor that has ensured that the social fabric of the village does not rupture.

The Christian vishwasus and non-Christians participate in each other's life cycle events like birth, marriage and death in the village. Both the communities however do not insist on participation of members of the other community in their religious events/activities. The Christians do not participate in worship of village deities and no one holds any grievance about the fact as even they do not insist that non-Christians participate in their religious activities and occasions. Both the communities in the village hold a regular dialogue with each other, and particularly, when issues that have a potential of a conflict arise. Members from both the communities sit together and thrash out the issue. They have also decided not to listen to the outsiders. With this understanding between the communities, they have, so to say, insulated their village from violent conflicts and remained peaceful. The Christians extend solidarity to other Christian vishwasus outside their village by contributing towards their relief. However, they cannot go to other villages in solidarity to resist violence in those villages for the fear of reprisals.

Pathways to peace:

All of us should reflect on the state of public health in the region when the Adivasis have to turn to God and faith for healing of their diseases. Turning to God for spiritual healing and well-being is of course every individual's right and never an issue. Bastar region, in fact, all Adivasi inhabited regions need a robust public health system. The perpetrators of violence in Narayanpur and Kondagaon are barking up the wrong tree and using coercive force may not arrest the growing number of conversions to Christianity if the Adivasis feel helpless in the face of diseases. Poor and inaccessible public health system leaves no other option before them. Their faith helps them tide over the hardships and crisis that

diseases bring upon them. All Adivasis – Christians and non-Christians need to be mobilized in the common struggle to strengthen the public health system.

With the violence inflicted upon them, the Christian vishwasus have undergone the trial of their faith by fire. They have become even more firm believers. They find their Adivasi community turning away from them in their moment of crisis, and other Christians extending a helping hand – with relief, legal aid etc. The whole crisis has strengthened the community feeling and fellow feeling with other vishwasus. It is intriguing why other Adivasi organizations that fight for their traditional rights, material well-being and human rights have not intervened in the conflict.

We need laws that make the public servants accountable and duty bound to uphold the rule of law, and not act according to their whims and fancies. State can restore peace by firmly handling the law and order situation according to the standard operating procedures. Building peace and healing the broken relations can then be undertaken after law and order is restored.

The large church establishments have not effectively spoken up for the Christian vishwasus. The Christian vishwasus are hopelessly fragmented into small independent churches – some having membership of as little as 400 and that too from marginalised and resourceless community. The established churches need to empower them through education and enable them to speak for themselves, as well as amplify their voices. The Christian vishwasus need to speak for themselves as well as for common issues with other Adivasis against the marginalization of the entire Adivasi community.

We repeatedly tried to speak to the Congress leaders but there was no response. The Congress party traditionally has had its social base in the Bastar region. Mohan Markam, the MLA from the Congress party is also the PCC Chief. With our best efforts we failed to elicit any response from him. We couldn't notice their presence during the crisis.

The Congress leaders could have pro-actively held meetings in the villages to neutralize the communal ideology. They may pay a heavy price for their absence.

We talked to the leaders of the organisations working on the Bahujan ideology – who believe in mobilizing the Adivasis, Dalits, OBCs, and minorities for their fair share in the political power as against the Upper-caste, who have a disproportionate hold – Dhanraj Tandon, President of Sarva Anusuchit Jati, Bangaruam Suri of Sarva Adivasi Samaj and Palanram Sahu of Sarva OBC Samaj. The former two blamed the RSS and the Hindu nationalist ideology for the violence. Sahu said the conversions were because of caste system – a known ideological position, which was not true for conversions in the region. All three however looked helpless to intervene and felt that rule of law is the duty of the state.

The entire conflict is undercutting the Congress party's base and the Party has no solution to offer. That may be because the Party can neither afford to oppose, what they perceive as majoritarian anti-Christian sentiment for the fear of conceding its base to the BJP, nor can they openly side with the anti-Christian for fear of being branded as a communal party and looking like the BJP. But the inaction and non-intervention also may not help, and concede their base to the BJP. The Congress should work proactively and determine the issues of the region rather than be reactive and let the BJP decide political issues. For example, take up the issues of development of the region, implementation of the welfare schemes, education, employment, etc. ●

PARTY DOCUMENT

PATH OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

(Path of Indian Revolution Adopted by the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star)



1. Introduction
2. National and International Situation
3. The Tasks of Our Revolution
4. Our Country
5. Class Analysis of Indian Society
6. Building Party as Vanguard of Indian Proletariat
7. Mobilizing the Working Class as Leader of PDR
8. Agrarian Question, Agrarian Program and Revolutionary Peasant Movement
9. The Caste Question
10. Minority Question
11. The Question of Ecology and Nature
12. Mobilizing Women for Liberation
13. Tasks in the Cultural Front
14. Mobilizing Students and Youths for Revolution
15. Combating Fascism
16. The Nationality Question
17. Utilizing Parliamentary Forms of Struggle
18. Tactical and Strategic United Fronts
19. The Path of Indian Revolution
20. Conclusion

1. Introduction

1.1 Whenever the discussion of the Path of Revolution came up in the Indian communist movement, from its very inception, the copy-paste method had a dominating place in it. For quite a long time the debate between the so-called Russian Path and Chinese Path remained prominent. However, the understanding that the path of revolution should be understood based on the concrete reality of our country also existed side by side. We uphold and strive to develop this concept in today's perspective.

1.2 The task before Communist Parties around the world is to evaluate hitherto international and national experience and develop their Path of Revolution based on the concrete analysis of the concrete conditions of today. They should dare to throw out all shades of dogmatism and opportunism, and go forward with historical and dialectical materialist perspective, developing theoretical lines and practices based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and proletarian internationalism.

2. National and International Situation

2.1 Present international situation is marked by growing contradiction between rising Neo-Fascist forces all over the world and developing mass movements. The huge defeat of President Trump in the US appeared as a result of the fierce Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement which took place in more than two hundred cities of that country amidst the first phase of lockdown caused by the CORONA pandemic. Similar movements against anti-people restrictions imposed by the Fascist ruling governments in many countries of Europe can be seen. In Latin America, a bunch of countries very recently emerged where pro-

people forces have come to power defeating the pro-Fascist political parties. In the main, if the consolidation of the Fascistic forces is one of the important phenomena of the present era, the emergence of renewed mass movements is another important phenomenon.

2.2 Internationalization of production coupled with unprecedented development of portfolio finance capital almost delinked with real economy is taking place under the rule of global monopoly capital and neoliberal imperialism today. Although the conflict among the imperialist forces is developing, however, at the same time global scale cooperation and collusion among the imperialists against the labour and rising mass movements has been seen. In this perspective international coordination among the Communist and pro-people forces is becoming extremely important.

2.3. The neo-Fascist takeover of India was started with Narendra Modi led BJP's win in the general election of 2014. Since then, attacks on the masses including the peasantry, the working class, women, dalits and minorities have been increased by many folds. All the features of the erstwhile welfare state are going to be destroyed. All the institutions of the bourgeois democratic state are trying to be abolished or captured. The call of making India a "Hindu Rashtra" is not only revived but implemented with huge vigour. In the particular context of India, the "Hindu Rashtra" means Fascist India.

2.4. Keeping parity with the international situation, anti-Fascist mass movements are developing in many fields. A strong anti-NRC movement was developed in Delhi, Bengal, Maharashtra and in many other parts of the country which was followed by the most

important and glorious movement was the peasant movement in India which forced the Narendra Modi government to go back and repeal the three draconian farm laws. The unprecedented unity among the large sections of peasants and farmers against the multinational corporations and their political representatives is absolutely a big event in recent India.

2.5 In the absence of a united revolutionary communist party in the country, the class struggle could not flourish in the desired direction. The politicisation of the working class in order to develop it as a class and building revolutionary peasant movements along with other important struggles in the country depend on how soon the party can be built.

3. The Task of Our Revolution

3.1 Describing the character and course of our revolution, the Party Program says “The resolution of the principal contradiction is inseparably linked up with the resolution of the other antagonistic contradictions. In the neo-fascist context, the anti-fascist people’s front led by the Communist Party composed of the working class, the peasantry, and all exploited and oppressed should be capable of tactically utilizing the contradiction among various sections of the ruling classes in its march towards capture of political power. It means combining the countrywide struggles of the working class with the revolutionary agrarian struggles, combining all other forms of struggle with it.” (4.13)

3.2. It is further stated that our revolution is an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, the leader of our revolution is the working class organized and empowered by the great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung

thought. After seizing the political power the working class and its party lead the revolution toward the socialist revolution and socialist construction crossing the boundary of the PDR/NDR. Therefore, for us the revolution means not only the seizure of power, but the entire course beginning from the preparation for seizure of power to the completion of the socialist construction. However, our present Path of Revolution document limits itself to discussing the general outline regarding the path of revolution up to the seizure of power only.

3.3 Our Party Program has further pointed out that caste struggle and gender struggle have been developing as two integral aspects of Indian class struggle from the very beginning. Therefore, the task of our revolution is to develop unity of the working class, peasantry and other revolutionary classes under the leadership of the working class and combining class struggles with caste struggles and gender struggles in order to snatch political power from the hands of the ruling classes and march forward towards socialist construction. With the snatching of political power from the ruling classes overthrowing the Manuist, Patriarchal state and the yokes of imperialism and corporate capital, the tasks of democratic revolution shall be completed and revolution shall immediately take socialist character.

4. Our Country

4.1. Describing our country where we are leading the revolution, our Party Program says: “Our country India is one of the biggest countries in the world inhabited by around 1.4 billion people. It is a multinational, multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious country coupled with deeply entrenched hierarchical caste system with vast diversities and complexities.” (3.1)

4.2. Unlike many other countries in the world, the vast areas of our country are not only geographically diverse but the history, culture and ethnic composition of different portions of the people are having different sources and different continuations. When the Vedic culture dominated almost the entire northern India, the Southern side and Eastern side were dominated by non-Vedic culture in the main. When the Dravidian lineage dominates in Southern India, the Turko-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Scytho-Dravidian or Mongoloid lineage dominate in other parts of the country. The economic and other societal processes which were responsible for the origin of classes, class struggles, and their trajectories are also different.

4.3. Since the working class is the most modern class in our society therefore the working class and its vanguard party are only capable to bring out the common tune from the histories of struggles of the Indian people and to build unity among the divergent oppressed masses in order to lead the revolution which can obtain a national character. The working class and only the Communist Party is capable of utilizing divergent tactical methods which are suitable in their concerned politico-psychological and geographical atmosphere.

5. Class Analysis of Indian Society

5.1 On the class approach to the PDR, the Party Program states: (4.11). "Politicisation and mobilization of the Indian working class and transforming it as leader of revolution is the primary task of the Communist Party in its march towards capturing of political power. It begins with the building up of the People's Democratic Front based on the worker-peasant alliance uniting with the middle classes and the national bourgeoisie which is a vacillating ally".

5.2 India is a country where class division started with Varna-Caste division and the vast portion of Indian toiling masses are dalits who belong to the so called backward castes. The Communist movement in India could never evaluate this unique feature of Indian reality which prevented them to understand the interrelated nature of class struggle and caste struggle. This lack of understanding created hindrance to unite the toiling masses of the country which led to failure to establish the leadership of the working class, to mobilize the peasantry through agrarian revolution, to forge worker-peasant alliance, and thus to unite with the real friends to attack the real enemies.

5.3 The comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie is the leading class among the ruling classes. While the Indian big bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic class have contradictions with imperialism, which is often reflected in their maneuvers to utilize the inter-imperialist contradictions for their benefit, their collaboration with imperialism is basic as reflected in their collaboration with the neoliberal policies. Their making huge investments in other countries, or some of the heads of these corporate houses finding a place among the richest in the world, do not change the basic fact that they are continuing to collaborate with imperialism and to obstruct the independent development of productive forces in the country. So whether one calls it a junior partner of imperialism or dependent bourgeoisie, its basic character remains the same – it is a comprador class serving imperialist interests in the main, reaping big benefits in the bargain.

5.4 On the contrary, the stand taken by all those forces, who define it as an independent capitalist class and India as an independent capitalist country (which inevitably means another

imperialist country in this era of imperialism) and the stage of revolution as socialist, has been proved inconsistent with the present reality, especially after the imposition of globalization and 'neo-liberal' policies. While the intensifying neo-colonization leading to increasing capitalist transformation of relations of production in the agrarian and all other sectors is a fact to be recognized, it is taking place under domination of imperialist agencies and MNCs, with even seeds production controlled by Monsanto-like MNCs. The two tasks of democratic revolution are putting an end to pre-capitalist relations and overthrowing imperialist domination. Under neo-colonial domination, the development of capitalist relations in agriculture is a growing trend at the all-India level, though there are diversities and unevenness to a large extent. The task of the Indian revolution is to overthrow imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and landlordism. These tasks are inter-related. That is why, in spite of fast and deep capitalist inroads in agriculture, the stage of revolution is still democratic, not socialist.

5.5 The big bureaucratic-bourgeois landlord class, agricultural corporate, the agricultural bourgeoisie and various sections of land owning mafias comprise a deadly force in the countryside. It is integrating the agricultural sector with imperialist economy, facilitating entry of imperialist capital and MNCs into every sphere of agriculture from production of seeds to procurement of produce and their marketing, and allying with the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie to perpetuate the neo-colonial plunder.

5.6 The national bourgeoisie is a vacillating ally of the Indian revolution. To retain their existence, they want to remain inter-twined with the

comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie increasingly, and collaborate with imperialism more than ever, especially after the imposition of neo-liberal policies. In spite of all this, their contradictions with imperialism shall be increasing with the increasing trend of monopolization in every field. With the development of the struggles of the working class and the peasantry, the possibility of the national bourgeoisie joining the revolutionary movement will increase.

5.7 The petty bourgeoisie, including the middle peasants, because of its size and class character is a significant class with the possibility of being a dependable ally of the revolution. The lower middle class which constitutes more than half of it, which may be called its left wing, is facing ever-intensifying misery under the globalization-liberalization-privatization regime, as a result of which large sections of it have fallen to the level of workers, having lost all property.

5.8 The landless, poor and middle peasants and agricultural workers, the real tillers of the land, constitute almost half of the population. They include the adivasis, dalits, and most backward and oppressed sections of society. Due to neo-liberal policies, massive changes have come about in the class structure of the agrarian sector. These new forms of class differentiation oblige us to make more intensive studies and the conclusions drawn from the same may be used to come up with more concrete/realistic slogans for revolutionary offensive.

5.9 India is a country with a large working class, without mobilizing and politicizing which as the leader of revolution, the completion of PDR and advancement to socialist revolution are impossible. Leave alone pre-revolutionary China, the working class in India is many times more numerous than it was in pre-revolutionary Russia

or any other country where revolution has taken place. So the working class movement assumes far greater importance here. Under liberalization-privatization raj the population of the working class in the unorganized sector has enormously increased under the contract labour, and hire and fire systems. Even the modern industrial proletariat is coming under this category increasingly. Through closures, modernization, outsourcing, VRS etc. the number of workers and employees in organized sector is rapidly reduced. By increasing regular hours of work, cutting down wages, security of service, social security etc. workers in the organized sector are under constant attack. Though the comparatively better paid workers of the organized sector form the main force of most of the trade union centres today, more attention is to be given to unorganized workers who constitute 98% of the workers. The task is to mobilize and lead them to local, state-wide and country-wide struggles, re-creating an atmosphere favourable for working class struggles and upsurges.

6. Building Party as Vanguard of Indian Proletariat

6.1 Without a revolutionary party no revolutionary movement is possible. However, no united revolutionary party exists in our country still, since the communist movement was disintegrated into many groups and parties in early 1970s. The concrete conditions in India compared to the situation in Russia, China and other countries when revolutions took place there are vastly different. Today party building is taking place when almost all parties built up under Comintern guidance have degenerated to capitalist path with bureaucratic organizational structures. Almost all the erstwhile socialist countries have degenerated

to bureaucratic state capitalism or to open capitalist/imperialist countries. The PDR is taking place now when fascistic tendencies are growing all over the world and in our country as well.

6.2 Though the CPI (M), CPI like parties have totally degenerated to right opportunist positions and considerably weakened in that process, they are continuing to use the communist banner and confuse the left masses. The activities of CPI (Maoist) are also destroying the image of the communist movement. Under the social democratic influence, a section of the Marxist-Leninist forces has also already degenerated to parliamentary opportunism. Ideological struggle has to be intensified against both right opportunist and anarchist trends of all hues.

6.3 What is required is the building of a Bolshevik-model party surrounded by class and mass organizations and different people's movements according to present conditions. In a country of around 140 crore of people including tens of millions of workers, landless-poor peasants and agricultural workers and other revolutionary sections, they can be successfully mobilized for countrywide campaigns and struggles only if the Leninist approach towards Bolshevik party building surrounded by class/mass organizations is developed according to present needs and studiously pursued. Concepts like 'front' organizations without a democratic program and mobilization of the masses are nothing but manifestations of sectarianism.

6.4 It should be a party with countrywide organization and political influence. The concept of 'area wise seizure of political power' and 'base areas', influence of localism etc. under the line of 'protracted people's war' are presently used as cover for 'self-satisfied' opportunism, for keeping

aloof from the masses and for continuing activities reduced to certain pockets of influence. Significant changes that have taken place in the concrete situation in recent decades, especially after the launching of neo-liberal offensive by imperialism and the native ruling classes call for a countrywide offensive by the revolutionary forces mobilizing tens of millions. So, political and organizational initiative should be taken for party building at all India level uniting all communist revolutionary forces that can be united.

6.5 The possibilities available today to launch vigorous ideological and political campaigns, to win over politically advanced sections and for party building should be fully utilized. Already there are numerous instances of spontaneous struggles in different regions against consequences of neo-liberal policies, corruption, increasing attacks on women, proposed nuclear plants, displacement for 'development' projects etc. Possibilities for countrywide mass upsurges cannot be overlooked in this situation after the anti-CAA movement, and the historic farmers' movement which paralyzed the Delhi borders for an year. The Party should be able to provide leadership to the coming upsurges and political and organizational work should be taken up with this perspective. At the same time, building of party fractions among the working class, organizing fractions in sensitive areas including state apparatus and within the police, para-military and military, should be given importance.

6.6 The ideological-political education and training, which keep the party politically vigorous and organizationally active, should be given prime importance. Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action which should be continuously developed to cope with the changes taking place

in the concrete conditions internationally and nationally. The party should be capable of taking up this challenge and prepare the whole organization for theoretical offensive consciously and continuously.

6.7 Democratic centralism should be organically practiced so that the democratic atmosphere for inner-party struggle always exists. It is easy to talk about the undesirability of individual authority and bureaucratic practices. But even after serious setbacks suffered by the ICM, no proper lessons are drawn from them so that the above negative factors can be combated and a lively democratic atmosphere maintained within the party and class/mass organizations. Replacement of committee system and collective functioning with individual authority, and democratic functioning with bureaucratic methods are petit-bourgeois influences in the party. Similarly, the existence of so many groups claiming to uphold Marxist-Leninist line even when in many cases there are no basic differences among their lines and the 'theory of many centres' are alien, petit-bourgeois trends, which should be vigorously fought.

7. Mobilizing Working Class as Leader of PDR

7.1 Marxism is the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, the most advanced class engaged in the most developed, advanced and organized fields of production. The task of the Communist Party, as the vanguard of the proletariat, is to transform it from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself", capable of leading the revolutionary transformation of society, by providing leadership to the people's democratic revolution.

7.2 After the imposition of imperialist globalization in 1991, under the neo-liberal regime the working class is confronting ever intensifying challenges. Almost all democratic,

wage and TU rights achieved through a century of bitter struggles are being snatched away. Contract labour system and 'hire and fire' are the rules of the day. What is witnessed, are extreme forms of wage slavery. The number of workers in the organized sectors is dwindling fast, with 'labour aristocracy' dominant among their leadership. Tens of millions of workers in the unorganized sectors, whose number is increasing day by day, are denied all democratic and trade union rights. Many draconian laws are imposed for it. Even struggles for economic demands, right to form unions, etc. are made extremely difficult. Along with de-unionization, de-politicization and dominance of caste based, communal, parochial feelings are increasing among the workers. The party committees have to be prepared to reverse the present situation.

7.3 While leadership of the major TU centres like BMS and INTUC are not opposing foreign investment and are actively involved in mortgaging the interests of the working class and the country to imperialist interests in the name of promoting 'development' under imperialist globalization, leaderships of TU centres like AITUC and CITU are satisfied with making a show of ritualistic opposition to imperialist globalization. There are NGO-led trade unions and their centres also. Some of the communist revolutionary cadres have reduced trade union work to fighting individual worker's cases in labour courts. The TU centres led by them are also failing to forge unity and to launch active resistance against the increasing attacks on the working class, as well as to politicize them to take up political tasks. This is not a task which cannot be left to the TU centres and their committees. The Party should prepare a program for politicization of the workers and propagate it through extensive fraction work not only among the unions led by the party cadres, but also in the trade unions as a whole.

7.4 An important task of politicising the working class lies in organising it to stand and act in support of peasants' struggles, all democratic movements and struggles of the oppressed sections of society. The working class should be encouraged to actively participate in the solidarity movements in support of the working class and oppressed peoples internationally.

7.5 In the present context when cross-border labour mobility is one of the important characters of modern capitalism India has a large section of overseas labour force. This force is an integral part of our working class. Therefore, organizing them is also an important task in front of the party.

8. Agrarian Question, Agrarian Program and Revolutionary Peasant Movement

8.1 When the transfer of power took place, India was a vast agrarian country with 80% of the people dependent on agriculture. The historic Telangana struggle, Tebhaga movement and other revolutionary agrarian movements against the dominating feudal, semi-feudal relations were sweeping across the country under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Congress government was utilizing a two-pronged drive to crush these struggles: promoting reformist Bhoodan movement of Vinobha Bhave, and launching brutal attacks to crush them. Soon under neo-colonial domination, faced with pressure from below and on the basis of advice of US imperialist experts, land reform was introduced, initiating the replacement of the feudal landlords with a new generation of landlords who were ready to embrace the Green Revolution launched under imperialist guidance. Conditions were created for the entry of capital, along with fertilizers, chemicals, new seeds and other inputs into the agrarian sector. Under colonialism, imperialism had used feudalism as its social base. But under

neo-colonial domination capitalist relations were promoted in the agrarian sector giving rise to a new class of capitalist landlords. In this way imperialism started tightening its grip over the entire agricultural sector.

8.2 The land reforms introduced were not revolutionary land reforms from below based on "land to the tiller" but were imposed from above creating a new class of bourgeois landlords whereas the real tillers including the adivasis, dalits, and other oppressed sections continued to remain landless or own only small housing plots. The right to land for the women in most of the cases is denied although the right to land is also a democratic issue for all the concerned sections. Overall impact was further integration of the agrarian sector in to the imperialist capital-market system. With the introduction of neo-liberal policies, increasing number of poor, marginal and middle peasants are displaced from their land for major projects, number of farms and plantations have increased, concentration of lands with landlords and corporate forces has increased, agrarian sector is brought under increasing corporatization and capitalist relations have grown very fast.

8.3 The significance of the Naxalbari struggle was that it brought back the agrarian revolutionary struggle abandoned by the CPI leadership in the early 1950s to the Communist agenda. After the disintegration of the movement under left adventurist line, though a rectification was initiated by sections of CPI (ML), and significant mobilization of the poor and landless peasants and agricultural workers took place in Bihar and AP in the land struggles, there were no efforts to take up the study of the vast changes taking place in the agricultural sector under neo-colonization or to develop the agrarian struggles addressing the demands of the new class of farmers according to the concrete conditions.

8.4 Agrarian revolution means wiping out landlordism, including still surviving remnants of feudal and pre-capitalist land relations, and making revolutionary changes in the land relations based on land to the tiller slogan and establishing the collective ownership of the workers on plantations and farms, and developing the co-operativization and social control of agriculture. Agrarian revolution is a basic task during the phase of PDR/NDR to overthrow the reactionary class rule in the countryside according to the concrete situation of the society. While the tasks of agrarian revolution is still relevant as the tens of millions of landless, poor peasants and agricultural workers want land, and as feudal remnants still exist in some regions, the vast changes that have taken place under Green Revolution infused policies demanded new studies to address the problems faced by the farmers in the context of neo-liberal offensive for corporatization of agriculture.

8.5 The Naxalbari uprising took place challenging the reformist path practiced by the CPI and the CPI(M) and once again bringing agrarian revolution back to the agenda. However the Farmers' movement of 2020-21 shows that, as the capitalist relations have become dominant in the agricultural sector, developing the Revolutionary Farmers' Movement against the Multinational and Big Farming Companies and the state policies which promote them had become the main task from the early years of Green Revolution. But for a long time the hangover of the sectarian line stunted the process of theoretical sum up of these movements, which in return dented the possibility to develop these struggles in higher stage. In spite of the weakness of the left movement, the new type of farmers' movement gained strength in Punjab, Haryana, Western UP like areas giving rise to the historic farmers' movement. Thus the

peasant question has once again come up in new forms to the forefront of the political scene.

8.6 The tasks before the Party are: Firstly, take up the study of the vast changes that have taken place in the agricultural sector under more than six decades of neo-colonization, speeded up by the neo-liberal policies, and chalk out an agrarian program based on these. Secondly, organise the peasantry, especially the agricultural workers, landless and poor peasants – the most oppressed sections. Build up the peasant movement at state level and co-ordinate them at all India level. In line with the agrarian revolutionary program, form land struggle committees starting from village level with the initiative of agricultural workers and middle, poor and landless peasants' organization to launch struggles with land to the tiller slogan, and organise movements for taking over plantations and farms. These two tasks are inter-related, and make appropriate organizational arrangements for it. A thorough study on the land reform acts is also an important task in front of the party.

8.7 Immediate slogans against the growing control of the multinational and big farm companies over the inputs and outputs of agriculture, for MSP laws, for APMC laws and strict implementation of these laws along with other important issues like forced labour, usury, communal and caste and gender based oppression, for higher wages, for distribution of banjar land, against forest contractors etc. should be raised and struggles organized. While taking up campaigns and struggles for immediate demands, the link between immediate and basic demands should be established. These sections should be organised at the all India level to fight for their immediate demands as well as for the basic slogans. Similarly, relation with the numerous peasant movements against

displacement should also be developed, participating in their struggles. Side by side, the party must take up multi-dimensional tasks related to the plantation industry.

9. The Caste Question

9.1 In spite of the efforts from the period of social renaissance movements for the annihilation of this social plague, in newer and newer forms the varna-caste based socio-economic and cultural structure of Indian society still persists, making life miserable for the oppressed castes. The mechanical understanding that once revolution takes place caste question will get weakened and disappear still dominate many of the so-called left forces. It may weaken, but will come back in new forms more fiercely as the caste division is not only a matter of super structure but an integral part of our economy. Fighting caste based oppression and campaigning for caste annihilation should be made an integral part of the agenda. Caste annihilation has to be taken up as integral part of class struggle.

9.2 The caste system has strengthened in new forms during the last six decades. It is incorporated in the ruling system through caste based parties serving ruling class interests, and through the creation of caste based vote banks. Along with these, identity politics and tribalism like reactionary ideologies are promoted by imperialist centers to channelize the struggles against oppression based on caste, race, tribal system etc. to harmless paths, to keep these downtrodden sections away from the revolutionary path. The weakness of the communist movement so far in developing uncompromising struggle against caste system also helped these efforts to institutionalize caste system and tribal oppression through various

means by the imperialists and the ruling classes. In India casteist oppression was intensified by keeping dalits away from land ownership, reducing them to tillers without land and doing all menial jobs for upper caste sections. So backbone of the caste system can be broken through agrarian revolution, according to present concrete conditions in each region, which ensures land to the tillers on the one hand, and a separately taken-up caste annihilation movement on the other, in order to change the production relation. Campaigns should be taken up against various forms of caste based oppression on dalits and adivasis and other backward sections including untouchability, which is still prevalent in various forms. While fighting all caste based discrimination against dalits, inter-caste marriages should be promoted. The reservation based on caste should be defended and struggle against diluting it should be waged, as a democratic right of the socially backward and oppressed classes.

9.3 It is with this perspective the Party took the initiative along with other progressive forces to launch the Caste Annihilation Movement with a Program. The enthusiastic response it has received during the last several years shows the necessity to carry it forward vigorously.

9.4 But the understandings and activities of the caste abolition movement need to be strengthened both conceptually and in the field of practical action. For that, the caste system in India requires a unique understanding and analysis of the underlying social structure. Reducing the caste system to the human rights of Dalits and the issue of power/resource sharing is likely to limit the building of a broad mass front against the undemocratic caste system. It is a fact that the biggest victims of the caste system are the marginalized sections of the society at the bottom and their liberation struggles should be given

priority. However, if the caste system is not assessed in its entirety and is considered a problem of Dalits only then the caste annihilation movement cannot be successful. In the caste system, which operates on the basis of hierarchical inequality, the caste system is maintained by the sense of privilege over the castes immediately below it, while all castes are victims of discrimination. This social structure is trained to discriminate against each other in the order of lower and upper castes, even among the Brahmin castes. A mass unity against the caste system will be possible only when all the people who live with self-inflicted insults and think that they have the opportunity to despise those who come below them, join themselves in the construction of an anti-caste democratic collective.

9.5 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 the criticism of caste, which focuses only on the historical experience of caste oppression of Dalits, what happened is that the caste historical experience of other backward/marginal groups was kept invisible.

9.6 Although Dalit is a political term, such a political consciousness does not exist in all lower caste communities. The Dalit community is also divided into many castes. That is why the Sangh Parivar is succeeding in conducting social organizations in a way that shatters the anti-caste collective work that is happening among the Dalits. The fact that the Sangh Parivar is able to keep the castes among the Dalits in their favor, indicates a more effective continuation of the anti-caste ideology is required within the lower castes.

10. Question of Muslims – Minority sections.

10.1 In the context of present Indian polity, it is undisputed fact that Muslims are targeted and declared as prime enemy of Hindutva which works as cultural ideological tool of the ruling State, followed by Christians and Communists. Indian Muslims have been undergoing various kinds of continuous oppression directly by the State utilizing all kinds of ruling machineries and systematically alienating them especially by legitimizing this oppression by the hegemony of Hindutva ideology. From Cow politics, demolition of Babri Masjid, CAA-NRC to present Bulldozer politics are just some examples. In addition to the physical aggression, Muslims are perpetually haunted culturally too, by abusing on their food, dress code and belief, severe than ever before, which caused deep insecurity feeling among Muslim population in the country. Along with majority community, the so-called secular democratic sections have equal responsibility for this alienation of Muslims in the country. We need to analyze majority – minority communal forces in this concrete situation.

10.2 Communalism in India has history since the Pre-Independence period itself. The newly emerged big landlord class and especially post 1947 Congress governments were advocates of soft Hindutva. They cannot keep away from the responsibility from demolition of Babri Masjid like severe offensive. However, the ascension of BJP rule as the political party of RSS, this trend gained further strength in many fold. Under present Modi rule, the Hindutva ideology is ruling throughout as a natural general conscience, among every mainstream sections. Anti-Muslim / Minority offensive are continued with physical atrocities by challenging constitution and democracy at one side

and legitimizing it on other side. Here we need to re-analyze the conventional position of measuring both Majority and Minority communal forces are as two side of same coin. Even when both majority and minority communal forces are two sides of same coin in essence, their power relations and cultural hegemony are determining their level and gravity of their works. It doesn't mean to simplify strengthened Muslim/minority communal forces who acts as counter force to Hindutva communal forces, however, it is politically incorrect to generalize Hindutva forces and Muslim / minority communal forces are categorically generalized as similar. In fact, by doing so, it ultimately helps Hindutva forces themselves. Our party need to resist such kind of approach along with all other kinds of Islamophobic approaches.

10.3 Some organizations emerging from Muslim minority sections are trying to resist the insecurity and alienation of Muslim population in general, even though some of them having communal character, even their work style and responses are energizing Sangh Parivar agenda. Such kind of organizations are also need to be part of broadest possible Anti-Fascist Movements. At the same time, we also need to expose the anti-democratic characters, reactionary positions and fascist approaches of such organizations. Ultimately, the struggle against Fascism is also the struggle for the democratization of the entire society. We need to develop our approach to these kinds of organization by this kind of unity and struggle.

11. The Question of Ecology and Nature

11.1 Marxism teaches that capital does not only exploit labour for capitalist accumulation, but also nature for it. The aggressive capital at present era under its development paradigm is destroying nature and ecology which endangers the fate of the human race.

In this perspective our party considers the contradiction between capital and nature as the fifth major contradiction.

11.2 The ecological destruction and consequent 'global warming' is leading to many catastrophes like the one witnessed in Uttarakhand in 2013 and similar calamities in many other areas. The ever increasing manner in which the ecologically fragile Himalayan Ranges are opened for devastating neo-liberal development schemes is threatening the vast Himalayan and Terai regions of India, Nepal and Bhutan and the water availability for Bangladesh. Similarly the Western Ghats and Eastern Ghats regions in South India are also confronting ecological destruction by corporate, mining mafias, real estate barons etc. The Party has taken initiative for studies on Himalayan, Terai regions as well as to work actively in Save Western Ghats Movement. Similarly, at state level also studies are undertaken to advance struggles for environmental protection. In recent past our party has gone through many struggles, including Bhangar movement, where saving nature and ecology became one of the main issues.

11.3 The movement against nuclear arms and against the existing and proposed nuclear plants is also taken up joining hands with scientists and environmentalists. The struggles against open cast coal mining are also developing in many parts of the country. To co-ordinate all these activities nationally and internationally, the Forum for Ecological Protection and Alternative Development (FEPAD) is also launched.

12. Mobilizing Women and LGBTQIA+ for Liberation

12.1 Marxism teaches us that "the first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage and the first class oppression with that of female sex

by male. Monogamy was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth that epoch lasting until today, in which the well-being and development of one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other". As Mao Tse Tung pointed out after the first wave of Cultural Revolution in China, the seizure of political power in pre-revolutionary countries and socialist transformation in post-revolutionary societies shall face ever surmounting problems so long as effective ways for the liberation of these 'first slaves' remain elusive.

12.2 Therefore, the Communist Party should stand firmly in favour of Women's Liberation Movement. It should establish the link between the women's liberation and the liberation of labour from the yokes of patriarchal capitalist-imperialist system. A communist party shall cease to be a communist party and the communist movement shall cease to be the communist movement if it fails to do that. In spite of much advancement the erstwhile socialist countries displayed many limitations in this field. We should take lessons from those experiences also.

12.3 The condition of women in India like countries is much more backward compared to that in the imperialist countries. The resistance to bring forward even superficial changes like providing 33% reservation in the elected bodies ensures that it is still not implemented. The influence of Manu Smriti's declaration that women do not deserve independence' is still dominant. The caste system and religions perpetuate women's backwardness. The rule of capital and market system under neo-liberalism has intensified women's miseries. Woman and their body are made commodities increasingly. The present family system, even after its transformation to the nuclear one, still remains

basically, male dominated and conservative. While dowry system and denial of equal right to family property is rampant, even decadent systems like child marriage, devadasi system etc. still continue in some areas. The growth of communal forces and religious fundamentalism sponsored by the neo-Fascist ruling system has worsened women's condition. Under the influence of the neo-colonial culture, as more and more female fetus are destroyed before birth in Haryana, Punjab like states, number of women compared to men is dwindling in these areas. As a result, a new type of women trafficking is taking place to these areas, 'married' from other states to do household work and to produce children. Not only do women bear the brunt of oppressive patriarchal institutions, they are also subjected to shameless commodification. Though the neoliberal feminist movements have pockets of influence in urban areas, they do not address the real issues of the masses of women like relation between the stranglehold of private property in all fields and women's enslavement.

12.4 In spite of the glorious role played by the Communist Party in particular and the Communist Movement in general, still possess many backward understandings regarding women's role in Communist Movement. As a result in spite of sincere desire to bring them into the movement and Party, the efforts have largely failed. This failure in return has dented the efforts to develop the Communist Party not only physically but spiritually as well.

12.5 The situation calls for conscious efforts to organize women at different levels to take up the task of their liberation, involving ever larger number of women by developing comprehensive and correct understanding on women's movement and women's role in communist movement. The Party should take active steps to assist the development of a powerful women's mass movement.

12.6 Without a strong fight against the patriarchal mindset in and outside the party the women's liberation cannot be achieved. It is not enough to organise women to eliminate the patriarchy. We also have to fight against the male psyche prevailing in and outside of the party. The fight against the male psyche is to be spread from the streets to the fields, from the homes to the offices, from the kitchens to the bed rooms. The party will strive for transforming the women-centred domestic work in to community-centered including the evolution of community kitchens.

13. Tasks in the Cultural Front

13.1 For quite a long time the tasks of cultural front has been understood as to build performing troops like groups for singing revolutionary songs or performing revolutionary dramas etc. The glorious past of IPTA like organizations has been cherished while it was forgotten that the real tasks in this field are much larger. No class in history could rule over the people by force only, if, at the same time it fails to establish the dominance and hegemony of its culture over the masses. Therefore, the revolutionary forces must establish and uplift their cultural influence to the stage of cultural hegemony in order to make a successful social change. Otherwise revolution cannot become victorious, or if it becomes, it cannot be sustained. Performing art is one of the tools to do that. The hegemony of the ideology of private

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property and imperialist culture along with continuing influence of feudal culture, religion and caste system are utilized to subvert revolutionary advances in various fields and to serve the imperialist system. We must oppose the imposition of imperialist culture, at the same time reject the old conservative ideas and blind faith, and strive to develop socialist culture throughout the country. As revolutionaries it is our duty to establish alternative progressive and revolutionary culture.

13.2 We are putting forward the Path of Revolution to complete the tasks of PDR, to realize People's Democracy and to advance towards socialist revolution in our country at a time when drastic changes in the socio-political-cultural fields have taken place, unlike the Russian situation during October Revolution, or the conditions in China and other countries when revolutions took place there. With the advent of neo-liberalism the imperialist powers put special emphasis in the field of culture in order to capture the human minds using modern innovations in technological fields with anti-human, anti-social, patriarchal, religious, reactionary mode of thinking, habits and way of life. It is undoubtedly true that the communist movement so far has failed to launch a successful counter-offensive in cultural field. The question of Cultural Revolution is either neglected or reduced to mere formal phrase mongering.

13.3 Though Naxalbari uprising triggered a new earthquake in the cultural field also, it was short-lived. Soon, similar to what happened in the economic and political fields, in the art, literature and cultural fields also the neo-colonial, imperialist onslaught intensified in newer forms. The table of these reactionary trends is very long including new imports in art, literature and cultural fields, commercialization of education and all welfare sectors, neo-colonial projects in

the field of research, cultural projects of World Bank and many other new incarnations of religious fundamentalism, advocacy of caste system and racism in new forms, attacks on women's liberation, black acts to curb art and literature etc. They are obstructing people's upsurges in all fields. What is required is an all-out offensive to reverse this situation.

13.4 Though many efforts are made to take up revolutionary cultural activities opposing the counter-revolutionary trends, they are localized, not widespread or protracted. They remain superficial or confined to immediate slogans, do not go to basic ideological issues involved. There are many among the revolutionary ranks who do not recognize the significance of a revolutionary cultural offensive; of transforming human thoughts and culture as a continuous process, as a basic task to be taken up right from the beginning. So while developing revolutionary activities the emphasis to be given to the work in the cultural field should be underlined. The content of cultural movement should be seriously debated and developed. Forms of organizations to be built in the cultural field also should be developed. While this task should be taken up at state level and regional level providing all the emphasis it needs, vigorous efforts are called for to build an all India cultural movement taking up its theoretical and practical aspects seriously. The steps taken to launch the cultural offensive at all India level have led to the formation of an All India Coordination of cultural activists with this perspective. Both at state and central level the offensive should be carried forward to serve the revolutionary transformation of society.

14. Mobilizing Students and Youths for Revolution

14.1 Without active participation of the youths

and the students no social and political movement can be successful. History teaches us if they are not mobilized in revolutionary politics the Fascist forces always drag them especially the most oppressed section of the youths for developing reactionary mass movements. The youth in our country have a glorious history of actively participating in the social renaissance movement, in the independence struggle and later in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles led by the Communist Party and other progressive movements. The role of Ashfaqullah Khan and Bhagat Singh and other revolutionary youth who challenged the colonial forces still inspire the youth. But with the transfer of power in 1947 and with the emergence of revisionist tendencies in the Communist Party, the youth started getting frustrated and influenced by retrogressive ideologies and the revisionists misled the youth, causing them to get disenchanted and disillusioned, turning them towards reaction. Many joined reformist and even reactionary forces. When the Naxalbari uprising created a revolutionary upheaval, once again thousands of youth joined the revolutionary movement. But influence of sectarian tendencies once again caused setback to this upsurge. The communist revolutionary movement failed to mobilize the youth into a countrywide organization with a revolutionary program. Though there were spurts of progressive activism during and after the internal emergency period, these were short-lived. At all India level the participation of the youth in the left movement went on decreasing.

14.2 In the meantime under increasing neo-colonization, especially after the imposition of neo-liberal policies, the challenges faced by the youths and students have intensified. The commercialization of education system and the neo-liberal syllabi are taking a large section of students undergoing higher education away from

social realities. The commercialization has transformed higher education as an elite sector reserved for mostly the upper caste, upper class students. Unemployment and under-employment have become rampant. Even the already employed have started losing employment. At the same time vested interests are promoting imperialist culture, drug addiction and criminalization among them to prevent the frustrated youth from joining progressive movements. As a result, large sections of youth are influenced by retrogressive thinking and recruited in large numbers by communal, casteist and chauvinist forces on the one hand, and by the ruling classes as their storm troopers and in mafia gangs on the other.

14.3 However, in the new millennium with the rise of mass movements throughout the country once again increasing number of students and youths are coming in revolutionary movements. Starting from many struggles against displacement to the recent peasant movements including movements against the Saffron neo-Fascist forces like anti-NRC movements and in others a good number of students participated. In many electoral struggles also the participation of student, youths are evident. The task of the party is to politicize this whole lot of the young fighting people in the direction of revolution and collective struggle.

15. Combating Fascism

15.1. The ascendance to power of the BJP government today is distinctly different from the NDA coming to power in 1998. Under the backdrop of acute general crisis of capitalism this time it is an ascendance of Corporate-Saffron Fascist rule as a part of global upsurge of neo-Fascism. The slogan of establishing the Hindurashtra actually means to establish the

Fascist India. The dangers involved in this extreme rightist turn of Indian politics should be seen in the present international scenario when the US-led imperialists have succeeded to replace class struggle and national liberation movements against imperialist domination with 'clash of civilizations' in vast regions, promoting religious fundamentalism of all hues, and even Sunni-Shia conflicts in West Asia.

15.2 Developing correct strategy and tactical steps according to the new situation is a challenging factor in front of the Communist Movement as it is the qualitatively new situation which calls for newer and higher understanding on the ongoing class struggle. Since the Communist Movement is not strong enough to resist the neo-Fascist rule and neo-Fascist development in our country the Communist Party must be able to utilize wisely the contradiction between the Fascist section of the ruling class and the non-Fascist one. At the same time the long pending responsibility to develop the Revolutionary Left Alternative before the people must be taken in hand without wasting time. Developing broadest possible anti-Fascist unity on the one hand, and developing revolutionary alternative on the other are twofold task of the communist movement in India at present situation.

16. The Nationality Question

16.1 On the resolution of the nationality question, the Party Program states: "Ensure right of self-determination for all nationalities up to secession. The People's Republic shall strive to unite people of various nationalities not by force, but by their voluntary consent. Settle the Jammu and Kashmir and Northeast questions by withdrawing army from there forthwith and through political means ensuring the right of self-determination." India is a multi-national country, where even for the

reorganization of the provinces which were constituted under British rule and by the princely states on linguistic basis bloody struggles had to be waged by the people in the 1950s. During the last five decades consecutive central governments have taken away many of the Constitutional rights of the states, propagating chauvinistic slogans like 'national integration' or Akhandvada.

16.2 British colonialists who had forcefully 'united' the princely states into a colony for facilitating their plunder had pursued 'divide and rule' policy utilizing religious, caste, racist ideologies and the feudal forces. The unity achieved during the anti-colonial struggles are now subverted by the ruling classes after transfer of power. Fighting against this, the Communist Party should struggle for unity of all nationalities based on their right of self-determination up to secession.

16.3 With the development of capitalist mode of production, especially after imposition of imperialist globalization which speeded up the entry of FDIs, FIIs, MNCs etc. and strengthened the capital-market raj, uneven development, pushing up or pushing down various regions in the ladder of 'development' is becoming a stark reality. Instead of opposing the imperialist dictated 'development' policies implemented by the central and state governments responsible for it, different ruling class parties as well as comprador and petit-bourgeois classes are raising demands for statehood to these backward regions. In spite of the negative experience of these already formed small states where living conditions of the vast masses have not undergone any positive changes, demands for new states are continuously raised.

16.4 As Marxism teaches, the nationality question and the various movements emerging directly or indirectly linked with it are bourgeois questions.

As many of the demands for new states are raised to divert people from the cardinal issues confronting them, the Communist Party should seriously guard against becoming a tail of these movements. At the same time, an approach of unity and struggle should be pursued, in order to win over the masses of people influenced by these struggles, with the perspective that along with demand for new states the basic issues of the people also must be raised.

17. Utilizing Parliamentary Forms of Struggle

17.1 Elections to provincial and central legislative assemblies were introduced from the colonial days in India. After the transfer of power, under the Constitution adopted in 1950, the parliamentary system was adopted at all levels. Today, elections to Lok Sabha to Panchayat level and even to co-operative societies and various other institutions are held regularly, drawing an ever increasing number of people. Even in pre-revolutionary Russia, experience in participation in the elections was partial and limited. In China and other countries where revolution took place, there were no experiences of utilizing parliamentary system as a form of struggle to develop class struggle. Still drawing from the experience of Second International and of the Communist parties in West European countries, Lenin had pointed out the need to struggle against parliamentary cretinism on the one hand, and the politics of boycotting elections as a strategic line on the other.

17.2 There is a revolutionary way and a reformist way of participating in elections. The CPI and the CPIM have over long decades demonstrated the latter. They have not utilized their governments to advance the class struggle, but rather to impose reactionary ruling class policies on the people. Revolutionary transformation of society has long ceased to be part of their election agenda.

Taking a wrong lesson from this, the CPI(ML) adopted 'boycott of election' as a strategic line after its formation and, later, though many sections of the communist revolutionaries abandoned this line, the Maoist trend continues to practice it. If the CPI-CPIM's reformist way of participating in elections has exposed its ideological bankruptcy and entrenched it in right opportunist positions, the boycott experience, on the other extreme, has proved totally negative. Even after giving the boycott call, the CPI (Maoist) has adopted opportunist tactics like supporting some of the ruling party candidates clandestinely, or openly, as of late. In very few places has it succeeded to 'enforce' its call for boycott. The methods it resorts to enforce boycott only alienate it further from the masses. In recent years the polling percentage in almost all parts of the country has been quite high. In the concrete situation in our country parliamentary struggle is one of the important forms of struggle. Giving primary importance to extra-parliamentary struggles, we must take up parliamentary struggle with due importance. For the development of extra-parliamentary struggles, it is extremely important to properly use the platforms of parliament and assemblies.

17.3 India is a country of more than 130 crores of people with the bourgeois parliamentary system well entrenched in every nook and corner for many decades at all levels. The Communist Party should utilize the bourgeois parliamentary system along with all other forms of struggle to develop class struggle in all fields, to unleash mighty people's upsurges so that it can advance towards the revolutionary seizure of political power and put into practice people's democracy.

18. Tactical and Strategic United Fronts

18.1 While the party always took efforts to

develop United Fronts at different levels, the present neo-Fascist context in our country calls for developing this tactic with renewed vigor. In order to take up the numerous issues confronting the people, issue based joint activities have to be taken up uniting like-minded forces. These joint activities are possible in the working class field, in the agrarian front and in all mass movements uniting with other trade unions or TU centres to struggle for workers' problems, in the agrarian front uniting with other like-minded forces. A broad-based, democratic approach should be developed to take up issues through these joint fronts or forums. Though these are based on issues and may continue only for a brief period, they help to highlight various people's issues. Such joint activities will help the Party and class/mass organizations to spread out their activities to more areas also.

18.2 Experience shows that under slightest provocation the state machinery imposes black laws and uses terror tactics against the people. Democratic rights are taken away. Even peaceful mass movements are brutally suppressed. Functioning of party and class and mass organizations are obstructed. Against such day to day developments united democratic and civil right movements should be developed according to concrete conditions.

18.3 Advancing a step forward from these issue-based joint activities, as these struggles and the strength of the class/mass organizations further increase, possibilities for formation of political platforms for united front at state or country levels, lasting for a longer period, to take up more basic issues can be developed. Possibilities shall emerge to build intermediate level fronts, which shall help the development of class struggle. Every such possibility should be fully utilized.

18.4 In the present situation as the Modi government is intensifying the imposition of neo-Fascist neo-liberal policies combining with its Manuist or Manuvadi ideologies it is an urgent task to develop the Democratic People's Forum or reorganize it as a broader forum of struggling left and democratic forces to take up state level and all India level movements mobilizing the masses. The party will have to take immediate initiative for it at state and all India levels.

18.5 For overthrowing the Indian state of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord classes serving imperialism and to create conditions for establishing people's democratic power, protracted efforts should be made according to concrete situation and level of development of people's struggles by the Party to build up the strategic united front based on worker-peasant alliance and uniting with all genuine anti-imperialist, patriotic, democratic classes and sections.

19. The Path of Indian Revolution

19.1 India is a very vast country of 1.3 billion people. It has extreme diversities and unevenness. Therefore, a combination of all means and methods of struggle is extremely necessary. Our Party Programme says: "Upholding the path of revolutionary mass line, and utilizing all forms of struggle and organizations, the party should take initiative to mobilize the working class and all revolutionary classes and sections for a massive countrywide people's uprising to overthrow the India state and to seize political power."

19.2 While CPI CPIM like Social-Democratic Parties have abandoned the idea of revolution as a whole and completely drowned in parliamentary cretinism in one hand, the CPI (Maoist) like formations are advocating the path of "area wise seizure of power".

We reject both of these understandings as far as the path is concerned. However, it does not mean that we reject the possibility of seizing of local power in opportune moment. We strongly feel a combination of many different tactics is necessary and quite natural in a vast and diverse country like India. The understanding of establishing the “area wise seizure of power” as a line came from the false and erroneous concept that a pan-India revolutionary struggle is not natural in a country like India. However, many pan-India struggles including the present farmers’ movement show that pan-India revolutionary movements can be developed and must be developed to overthrow the Indian state. However, under the situation of countrywide upsurge the insurrection may take place or it also cannot be ruled out that the seizure of political power is first consolidated in a region and thereafter the whole country will be liberated.

19.3 The communist movement has weakened so much during the last few decades that even if the difficult but obligatory task of uniting all the Marxist-Leninist forces who advocate mass line and who have apparent identity of views on many issues is achieved, the Marxist-Leninist Party will not be strong enough to take up the gigantic task of completing PDR in a vast country like India. There is almost the same condition all over the world. These challenges have to be boldly faced and the subjective forces of revolution have to be strengthened, in which building up a powerful Bolshevik model party with all India influence is the most cardinal task. The Party has to build up a revolutionary people's alternative challenging the ruling class alternatives, which are basically united in serving the existing ruling system. The Party has to utilize all forms of struggle effectively, with the perspective of seizure of political power, to complete the tasks of the People's Democratic Revolution.

19.4 The great Telangana Struggle of 1946-51, in continuation to other anti-feudal struggles in different parts of the country, the naval revolt and Punappra-Vayalar uprising and numerous working class struggles of these years were the largest and most advanced revolutionary upsurges in the country. Telangana struggle taught how revolutionary agrarian struggles focusing on land to the tiller slogan led by the Communist Party and with the landless, poor peasants and agricultural workers at the helm, along with middle peasants and other sections of the peasantry, can lead toward the formation of village committees, organization of volunteer squads, development of resistance to landlords-police-goonda violence, and to the beginning of armed struggle against the reactionary state. The great Naxalbari uprising led to revolutionary uprising of landless, poor peasants and agricultural workers, including adivasis, dalits and other oppressed sections, in Midnapore, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri and Srikakulam. Though these struggles spread to the plains of AP and Bihar later, due to the domination of the sectarian line the movement could not be carried forward. The cardinal problem before the revolutionary movement was, and is, that while assimilating the revolutionary experience of all these struggles, how to develop a Path of Revolution conforming to the present conditions when it is under neo-colonial domination.

19.5 The ICM has the glorious history of the victory of October Revolution in Russia, the victories of revolutions in East European countries during 1944-45 with the defeat of fascist forces, the victory of the great Chinese Revolution in 1949. The Marxist-Leninist forces should take appropriate lessons from these revolutions as well as from their setbacks. But taking their experiences does not mean mechanically copying the experience of any of

them or pursuing an eclectic mixture of their experiences. Taking experience from them means studying their experience, taking lessons from them and applying them according to the conditions in our country. The history of the ICM shows that in all these countries where revolution took place, there was no mechanical application of the path of other revolutions, and each revolution took its own course according to conditions of each country. The theory and practice of Indian revolution should be developed entirely based on the present conditions of India, assimilating whatever experiences can be taken from all hitherto revolutions.

19.6 Presently, though Indian revolution is in the People's Democratic stage, what happened in the post-revolutionary situation in the erstwhile socialist countries, especially in Soviet Union and China, has to be evaluated and its lessons taken. For example, the experience in areas like party building, in developing the concept of democratic centralism, in developing appropriate methods for inner-party struggle, in guarding against emergence of bureaucratic tendencies, in organically developing concepts of building mass line and class/mass organizations, in avoiding the mistakes of mechanically de-linking the class struggle in economic base from that in the superstructure, in avoiding, for example in India's context, the de-linking of anti-caste like movements from class struggle, in correctly dealing with the contradictions among the people, and in drawing appropriate lessons from the Cultural Revolution, etc have to be given cognizance.

20. Conclusion

20.1 The Path of Indian Revolution is put forward by our Party when the objective situation at the international level is once again becoming favourable for advancement of the revolutionary forces, and anti-imperialist resistance struggles are taking place around the world. In India, a very vast country with extreme diversities and unevenness, in spite of ten decades of Communist activities with a history of many historic struggles involving tens of millions of people, presently the strength of our Party is still not considerable. The challenge posed by right opportunist and anarchist trends is still very serious. Though Naxalbari uprising once again brought back PDR to the forefront of the people's agenda, the Marxist-Leninist movement during the last four decades has not made any significant advances in this direction yet.

20.2 Fighting against all alien trends, the CPI(ML) Red Star is putting forward the Path of Indian Revolution according to present conditions. It stresses the great significance of building a communist party based on the Bolshevik model, surrounded by class/mass organizations at all India level, utilization of all forms of struggle to develop class struggle, and an advance towards the capture of political power starting from mass upsurges to mass uprisings and countrywide insurrections. Victory of the PDR is possible by developing the path of Indian revolution according to the different conditions of the neo-colonial phase of imperialist onslaught, assimilating the experience of all hitherto revolutionary struggles at the international level and in our country.

Reports:

FIRST PHASE OF NATIONAL POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST RSS NEO-FASCISM CONCLUDED ON MANUSMRITI BURNING MEMORIAL DAY



On the occasions of Commemoration of Manusmriti Burning Day by Dr Ambedkar and concluding day of National Political Campaign started on 6th December by CPI (ML) Redstar against RSS Neo-Fascism, on 25th December, CPI (ML) Red Star organized public meeting programs at various centers of the country. As a part of it, a massive public meeting was organized at Raichur, Karnataka. Party General Secretary Com P J James inaugurated the program. Party PB Member, Com. R Manasayya, Karnataka State Secretary Com B Rudrayya, CC member Com Ameer Ali and other leaders addressed the meeting. At Nerala, Delhi, senior leader and PB Member Com K N Ramachandran delivered keynote speech at Nerala, Delhi. AIRSO leaders Com Shishuranjan, Niranjana and other leaders also addressed. At Manier, Ballia, UP. CPI (ML) Red

Star Politburo members Com Shankar and Tuhin, UP State Committee members Com. Kanhaiya and Anju and other revolutionaries delivered their speeches at Anti RSS Manuvadi Hindutva

Fascists on the 95th occasion of Manusmriti Burning Day. In Maharashtra, PB members Com Arun and Akshay attended. Similar programs organized at other states including Tamil Nadu, AP, Telengana, Chhattisgarh and Punjab.



Brainstroming session on Anti-Fascist United Front organized by Bharat Bachao

Mazdoor Adkhikar Andolan Meeting



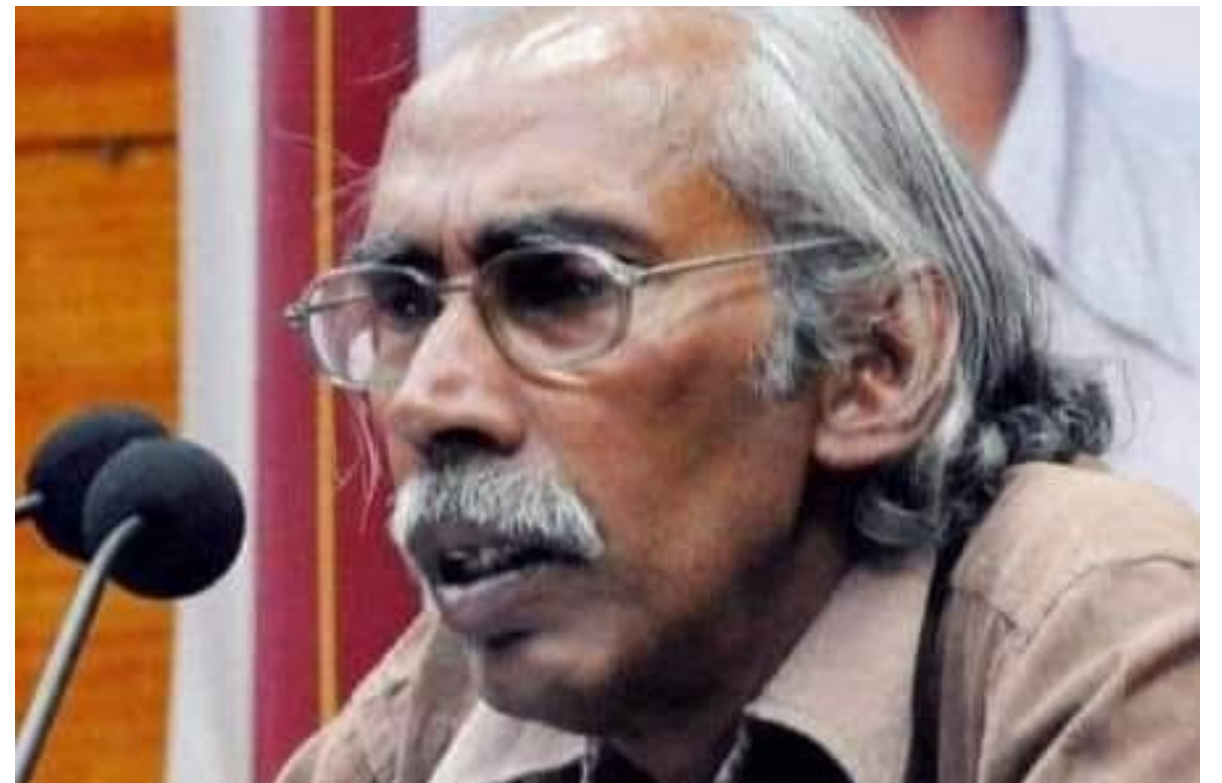
Comrade P J James, G S. of CPI(M-L) Red Star presented approach paper on building political alternative against RSS neo fascists on the occasion of Brainstorm programme of Bharat Bachao at Gandhi Peace Foundation hall, New Delhi on 22nd December 2023. Politburo members Comrades K N Ramchandran, Shankar, Kabeer and Tuhin also attended in this session. AIRSO General Secretary Com. Shishu Ranjan also presented the role of students movement against RSS neo fascism along with Com Lenina in the program.

Mazdoor Adhikar Andolan Punjab organised a meeting in village pukho kallan (in Barnala District) with the participation of MNREGA and agrarian workers on 24th December. Rural workers demanding for 365 working days, @ Rs. 700/- wages, housing, loan waiver and land for rural landless people and implementation of land ceiling act. The meeting addressed by Com. Kewal Aklia from Mazdoor Adhikar Andolan Punjab, Com. Labh Singh Aklia State Secretary CPI (ML) Red Star, Com. Harpreet Kaur, Com. Karmjit Kaur and Com. Gurmail Singh.

Obituary

Red Salute to Com T G Jacob

Red Salute to Com. T.G. Jacob, who was with the CRC (CPI) ML in the 1980s. His scholarly writings and association with 'Massline' contributed much in the development of the theoretical clarity on postwar imperialism and its impact on India.



Though Com. Jacob dissociated with the Party organisationally since the 1990s, he continued with his revolutionary orientation in his many works published since then. CPI (ML) Red Star extends its revolutionary greetings in memory of Comrade.

P J James

General Secretary

CPI (ML) Red Star

New Delhi

25th December 2022

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The background of the entire page is a vibrant red. Overlaid on this is a large, semi-transparent white graphic of a hammer and sickle, a symbol of the Communist Party of India. To the right of the hammer and sickle, there is a vertical column of five white, five-pointed stars of varying sizes, reminiscent of the flag of the People's Republic of China. The text is centered and written in a bold, black, sans-serif font.

**REVOLUTIONARY NEW YEAR
GREETINGS!**

**FIGHT AGAINST RSS NEO-
FASCISM!**

THROW OUT IMPERIALISM!

**INTENSIFY CLASS STRUGGLE,
FIGHT FOR CASTE
ANNIHILATION, GENDER
EQUALITY AND ECOLOGICAL
PROTECTION!**

**RED STAR MONTHLY
JANUARY 2023**