

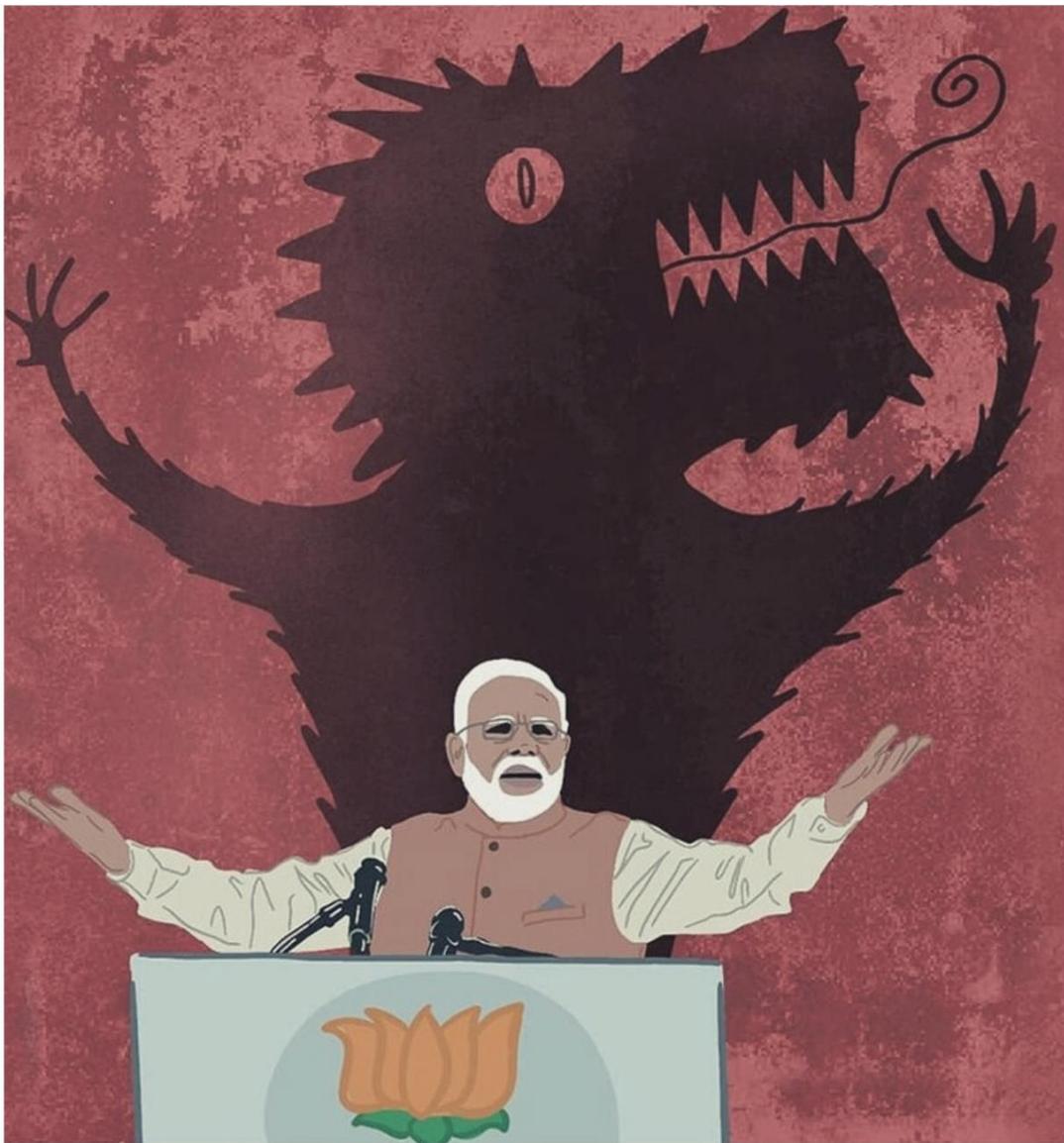
VOL 23 | ISSUE 8 | NOVEMBER 2022

RED STAR

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

RESIST & DEFEAT RSS NEOFASCISM

CPI (ML) RED STAR CALLS FOR
NATION - WIDE CAMPAIGN
FROM 6TH TO 25TH DECEMBER 2022



Central Organ of CPI (ML) Red Star

Vol 23 | Issue 8 | November 2022

RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

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VOL 23 | ISSUE 8 | NOVEMBER 2022

Editorial

Make the National Campaign Against Modi's Intensifying Fascist Offensive a Great Success!



Ever since the ascendance of Modi government in mid-2014, RSS, the longest-running and biggest fascist organisation in the world has been engaged in a systematic and steady offensive towards transforming of India as a Hindurashtra whose ideological basis is Manusmriti that treats both Dalits and women as subhuman and denies Muslims citizenship and human rights. Especially, under Modi.2 since 2019, India is also witnessing a ruthless acceleration of “Modinomics”, the Indian version of crony capitalism today and a multi-dimensional unleashing of full-fledged corporate-saffron fascism at the all India level.

Today under saffron neofascism, the entire social fabric is confronting a frightening disruption. Through extreme divisive policies, and through instigation, an atmosphere of

mutual hatred among people is created leading to feeling of insecurity among Dalits and minorities. Backed by state power, RSS has succeeded its tentacles to every aspect of social life in addition to saffronisation of all Constitutional and administrative institutions in India. Since mid-2019, that is, under Modi.2, the Hindutva offensive got an added momentum. Within three months after his second coming to power, Modi began a series of fascist moves beginning with abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution, thereby breaking up of Kashmir into pieces on the one hand and forcibly integrating it into Indian Union on the other. Violating secularism even in name, Modi himself laid the foundation for construction of Ram Temple at the very site of Babri Masjid, followed by the CAA

discriminating the issue of citizenship rights against Muslims and thus making them second class citizens. The next move was saffronisation and corporatization of education through NEP 2020 and superimposition of Hindi and Sanskrit over the States. No doubt, the agenda was to transform the multinational, multilingual, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious India in to a majoritarian Hindurashtra.

Today, to consolidate Hindu vote-bank in the forthcoming Assembly elections and to prepare the ground for a saffron sweep in the 2024 general election, a no holds barred Hindutva offensive is initiated by RSS and the BJP regime. For instance, in the so called Chintan Shivir of State Home Ministers convened during the last week of October, both Shah and Modi did their maximum to further whip up the majoritarian agenda with their rhetoric on superimposing a pan-Indian policing in violation of the provisions of the State list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution and further strengthening of the draconian NIA and UAPA including the plan of opening NIA Office in each State by 2024. In the name of fighting terror, many ideas such as “one data, one entry”, “one nation, one police uniform” and so on were also put forward, along with systematically spreading Islamophobia and depicting Muslims as enemies.

Now the latest in the series of this saffron offensive are Uniform Civil Code and Economic Reservation. Obviously, the objective of the Constitutionally mandated caste-based reservation as elucidated by Dr. Ambedkar was to protect the oppressed castes from the upper caste onslaught in the public spheres of social life. However, by incorporating Economic Reservation by the

103rd Constitutional amendment which the Supreme Court has recently endorsed, Modi regime has undermined caste-based reservation intended to rectify the historical injustice committed against the untouchable and oppressed castes by the brahmanical upper castes. Along with this, in the context of Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh elections, both BJP and AAP have now entered into a cut-throat competition for votes by creating a Hindu-Muslim polarisation once again pushing Uniform Civil Code as the foremost political issue camouflaging the far-right, pro-corporate policies superimposed by Modi regime making people impossible to subsist.

It is in this context that the Central Committee of CPI (ML) Red Star held in the first week of November, 2022 has decided to initiate a nation-wide political campaign against the intensifying RSS neofascism from December 6 to December 25. Obviously, December 6 marks the demolition of Babri Masjid by saffron goons as well as the death anniversary of Ambedkar, the architect of Indian Constitution, while December 25 is the day when Ambedkar burned Manusmriti, the ideological basis of RSS fascism. Along with the anti-Muslim, anti-Dalit and patriarchal moves, BJP-ruled states like Karnataka are treacherously implementing the draconian Farm Laws which Modi was forced to withdraw at the central level due to the historic Farmers' struggle. Invariably, this political campaign decided by the Party uniting with like-minded forces is in line with the immediate task as outlined in the Political Resolution adopted by the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star. We appeal to the working class, peasants, and all oppressed together with all progressive-democratic sections to make this political campaign against the fascist regime a great success.

Statements

COP27 Ends Ensuring Unabated Corporate Profiteering from Plunder of Nature



Despite UN Secretary General António Guterres' COP27 eve warning that “our planet is fast approaching tipping points that will make climate chaos irreversible”, and that humanity is on a “highway to climate hell”, and as island states are in the threat of being washed off the map, no political decision on this crucial question confronting humanity was taken in this year's UNFCCC meeting held during November 6-18 at Sharm-el-Sheikh, Egypt. That's, at this critical juncture when country leaders and world community are duty-bound to make a giant leap in the realm of climate action, leaders of 196 countries in the presence of more than 35000 participants representing climate activists and various CSOs/NGOs that assembled at COP27 could not rise to the occasion, though the Summit got an apparently progressive posture under corporate media blitz.

In essence, the COP27 failed to move an inch beyond last year's Glasgow Summit. In spite of high sounding deliberations by country heads, the 27th global Climate Conference was a failure in respect of taking any concrete steps regarding the most pressing needs connected with the mounting climate crisis today. Among them the most important was to implement the commitment taken in the Paris Agreement seven years ago to limit-- the limit regarded by climate experts as the “point of no return” -- global warming to less than 1.5 degree Celsius above pre-industrial levels and, in relation to this, to end the use of fossil fuels and stop the emission of greenhouse gases which requires a phase out of coal power in particular in a time-bound manner.

However, taking advantage of the imperialist proxy war in Ukraine between US-led NATO on the one side and Russia on the other, and the consequent obstructions linked with Nord Stream 1 and 2, and in the guise of spiralling energy prices and the escalating cost of living, many countries of EU, especially Germany, have reversed their earlier commitments on reducing fossil fuel consumption. Now COP27 has resorted only to a limited reduction in coal power and the so called ‘phase out’ is applicable only to ‘inefficient fossil fuel subsidies’. Finally, the Summit could issue only a request for new country pledges, or nationally determined contributions for the forthcoming COP28 in UAE during November-December 2023. Revealingly, amidst the Indian representatives' rhetoric at COP27 that *all fossil fuels* should be phased out, at home, Modi regime has been busy with the decision to auction out 141 coal mines to corporates during the Summit period itself.

Though funding is not a solution to overcome the impending climate catastrophe, the biggest green-house gas emitters, including the number 1 and 2 imperialist economic powers such as US and China, were reluctant to part with any substantial amount even to smoothen the burden borne by the poor Afro-Asian-Latin American countries and island nations. Even the much trumpeted \$100 billion per year promise by US is a paltry sum (the required Loss and Damages Fund--L&D Fund-- is estimated at a minimum of \$ 500 billion). Compare it with \$220 billion that Qatar, a small country which is reported to have spent to host the 2022 World Cup. And there has been no commitment on spending on ‘climate change adaptation’, nor any concrete proposals regarding the allocation and distribution of even this small amount among needy nations. The imperialist powers' attempt was to push the onus of de-carbonisation efforts on to the shoulders of oppressed nations who are at the receiving end of bearing the brunt of climate catastrophe.

In brief, the COP27 sponsored by the notorious global pollutant Coca Cola and managed by world's corporate MNCs could nothing to reverse the unabated climate crisis. On account of its basic corporate orientation, it could not accept the climate crisis as one of the central political questions confronting humanity. Today the horrific levels of wealth appropriation by global corporate capital is accomplished not only through super-exploitation of labour but also through plunder of nature. It is based on this concrete understanding that CPI (ML) Red Star has adopted the contradiction between capital and nature as one of the major contradictions in its Party Program.

Today, the core issue behind climate crisis is systemic; it is inseparably linked up with the

mainstream development paradigm that is being pushed through neoliberal-corporatisation the world over. Climate crisis today can be reversed only through a people-oriented and pro-nature development model. It is up to the working class and oppressed the world over to come forward challenging the hegemony of corporate capital based on a political alternative which alone can overcome the impending climate catastrophe. In that sense we are constrained to call COP27 as a mere window dressing.

P J James
General Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Star
New Delhi
November 23, 2022

Condemn the Demolition of Ambedkar Statue in UP



CPI (ML) Red Star strongly condemns the demolition of the statue of Dr Ambedkar in Sahookara, UP under the fascist saffron regime. This is in continuation of the ongoing, systematic demolition, defacement and vandalism committed on the statues of Ambedkar, the architect of Indian Constitution and leader of the 'untouchable' Dalits, and also inseparable from the ever-mounting atrocities on them by the upper caste elite with the overt and covert patronage of the fascist Yogi government.

While the district administration has interpreted the issue as use of "light force" by police to "respectfully" remove the 'illegal

statue', according to available information, personnel from five police stations were involved in demolishing the statue with bulldozer using brutal police force on the Dalit community. This is not an isolated incident. While the Dalits, as part of their political consciousness against Manuvadi Hindutva, are installing statues of Ambedkar, which is a symbolic assertion too, vandalism on these statues by upper-caste Brahmins with the support of police and administration is a widespread trend in UP nowadays.

CPI (ML) Red Star resolutely condemns BJP government's selective fascist offensives against the Dalits, that too at a time when the upper elite castes are freely erecting their icons all over the country with official patronage. We call upon all democratic forces to come forward opposing this heinous move by the fascists.

P J James
General Secretary
CPI (ML) Red Star

New Delhi
November 21, 2022

Political Resolution

Political Resolution Adopted by The 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star



Introduction

1.1. The 12th Congress of our Party is held at a time when vast changes have taken place in the overall global and national political arena since the 11th Congress in 2018 including the further intensification of world imperialist crisis. The ruling class attempt to shift the burden of this crisis to the shoulders of working class and oppressed peoples has also got new dimensions. It is sharpening all the inherent contradictions in imperialist world system, giving rise to the general global trend towards neo-fascism. In our country too, after the 11th Congress, especially since Modi 2 in 2019, corporate-saffron fascism backed by the arch-reactionary ideology of Manuvad with its multi-dimensional offensive has been advancing at a maddening pace. Hence framing of the political resolution for the 12th Party Congress in the proper perspective calls for concrete evaluation of the major transformations of the past four years, both at the international level and in India.

2. International Situation

2.1. The Covid pandemic that ravaged whole world since the beginning of 2020 which kept the entire political-economic foundations in a frozen state for months has been a historic turning point. Even as production, trade, transportation and consumption collapsed along with a halt in the entire global supply-demand chains, using the fast-emerging

frontier technologies such as digitisation, the ruling classes everywhere used the pandemic as an opportunity to make horrific levels of wealth appropriation including plunder of nature, driving the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere to more unemployment, poverty, inequality, deprivation and ecological devastation. Even as world economic growth rate became negative, the number of global billionaires and concentration of wealth with them have become unprecedented. As a concomitant of far-right neoliberal policies, neo-fascism backed by extreme xenophobic hatred towards racial, ethnic and religious minorities, migrants, refugees and all marginalised and oppressed sections of the people is gathering strength in many countries.

2.2. It has accentuated all inherent crises and contradictions of imperialism in the neoliberal period. While all other imperialist powers including the US faced an absolute decline or negative growth, social imperialist China remained as the only country with a growth rate in the positive territory, though at a lesser rate. During the pandemic days, not only Afro-Asian-Latin American countries, but even western powers had to depend on China for the badly needed medical supplies. Though US still remains as world's biggest military machine, China which is ahead in many spheres of fast advancing technologies including biotechnology, robotisation,

ecommerce, digitisation, etc., especially through its BRI—Belt and Road Initiative-- is engaged in more intensive export of capital effectively challenging US imperialism in political-economic fields.

2.3. In continuation of its leading role in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, BRICS, RCEP, etc., China has succeeded in carving out its spheres of influence and political-economic clout not only in Asia but also in Africa and even in remote Latin America and many poor countries have already become dependent on China. The new wave of neoliberal political-economic crises that are reported from Sri Lanka and Nepal in South Asia, Sudan in Africa, etc. are also related to specific character of Chinese penetration into these countries. China's recent Security Pact with Solomon Islands in the strategically vital South Pacific is another shock to US imperialism. China is also in the process of entering into bilateral economic relations even with members of NATO. For instance, Italy which had to depend on China in the initial days of the Pandemic has already joined the BRI as its member. In the same vein, together with its long-term strategic role in Iran, recently China has entered into a deal with Saudi, Iran's arch-rival in West Asia, for the import of petroleum products with Yuan as the medium of exchange. Latest Chinese effort to design a central bank digital currency (CBDC), a Digital Yuan and project it as an international currency is a serious challenge to the US hegemonic position in the post-War international economic and financial relations. Recent Russian insistence for Rouble payment for import of its oil by countries is also a blow to the global position of dollar.

2.4. This has sharpened the contradiction between US imperialism and social imperialist China more than ever. Immediately after its withdrawal from Afghanistan following which China emerged as a strategic player there, US imperialism has initiated the AUKUS -- a nuclear-based Anglo-Saxon military alliance composed of Australia, UK and US --thereby intensifying its provocative interventions against China in the Asia-Pacific and in East

and South China Sea, projecting Taiwan as a geopolitical hotspot. In signing this nuclear-military pact, it kept members of NATO including France in the dark, the latter already having a submarine deal with Australia, leading to France immediately withdrawing its ambassador from Washington. Though the issue was temporarily settled, it exposed the inherent weakness in NATO. For, after British delinking from the EU through Brexit followed by former's close integration with US imperialism, leading powers of EU have started serious homework for the formation of an European army independent of US led NATO.

2.5. The recent attack on Ukraine by imperialist Russia though condemnable is integrally linked up with US efforts to reinvigorate the 30-member NATO by enlarging its membership further. When the Cold War ended in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the NATO membership was 16, and when NATO was inaugurated by Truman in 1949 as the crucial military institution for leading the Cold War, its membership was only 12. As is obvious, the Russian attack on Ukraine was the outcome of US machinations compelling neo-Nazi Ukraine regime to join the NATO together with US attempt to militarise all countries bordering Russia. Now Ukraine is like a pawn in the hands of US-led NATO forces and what is going on is an inter-imperialist conflict between US and NATO on the one hand, and Russia on the other, where Ukraine is a mere proxy. Ukraine war, while facilitating more wealth flows in to the coffers of world's leading arms manufacturers, especially those from US, and the three biggest agro-multinationals, Cargill, Monsanto and Dupont who have already bought around 17 lakh hectares of highly fertile land in Ukraine, has been another opportunity for crisis-ridden finance capital to shift the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of world's toiling and oppressed people, through rise in the prices of fuel, food and other essential items of sustenance.

2.6. The Russian attack on Ukraine and the continuing war there without any let-up have given rise to far-reaching repercussions of global importance. It has further sharpened the inter-imperialist contradictions between US and its allies on the one hand and China and Russia on the other. As a direct outcome of the increasing US focus in the Asia-Pacific directed against China, the latter has taken initiative for a ‘Global Security Initiative’ particularly targeting at the AUKUS pact—the foundation on which the US is envisaging an “Asian NATO”. Of late, US House of Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan followed by China’s military exercises encircling Taiwan and surrounding areas in retaliation followed by US deployment of its Seventh Fleet to South China Sea has further heightened Sino-US tensions. The latest Chinese assertion in the 20th Congress of CPC of a “rock-hard and unshakable approach” towards “completion of Chinese unification” by resolving the “Taiwan question” is certainly going to make the situation from bad to worse. As US is spreading its tentacles towards the East, China together with its allies particularly Russia, is moving towards the West encroaching areas formerly monopolised by the US and its allies, leading to a “new cold war”.

2.7. A noticeable global trend related to US targeting of China is the latter’s growing involvement in Africa and Latin America where China had little sway before the 2008 World Economic Crisis. Now China is African continent’s biggest trading partner and China’s latest backing of the military junta in Sudan is already acknowledged. China has already established its political-economic clout in countries like Algeria, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo, Kenya Angola, etc. in addition to its declared military base in Djibouti since 2016 along with that of other imperialist powers. Covid Pandemic has been an opportune moment for China to accelerate its investments in Africa. Today China is the leading bilateral lender in 32 African countries and the top infrastructural financier and international lender to the African continent as a whole. With 46 African countries signing into BRI,

Africa has become its largest regional component.

2.8. China’s political-economic role in Latin America is also growing fast. It has developed close economic and security ties with Venezuela and Brazil, the largest country in the South American continent. Revealingly, though Latin America was once considered the backyard of US imperialism, China has already surpassed US as Latin America’s largest trading partner. With 19 Latin American countries already signed up to BRI, Chinese state firms and financial institutions play a major role in infrastructural development there. Recently, along with US and other imperialist powers, China also has become a member of Inter-American Development Bank. Obviously, Chinese capital investment in Latin America will have its concomitant political, diplomatic, security and cultural ramifications.

2.9. Even as this ‘westward’ expansion in Chinese capital and commodity exports is creating acute inter-imperialist contradiction between US and China, Latin America today is witnessing the rise of a “second pink tide” marked by the advance of left-wing and progressive movements in many countries. This progressive political shift in Latin America is mainly attributed to the people’s simmering discontent and resistance against Covid mismanagement and consequent aggravation in economic crisis on account of IMF-World Bank backed neoliberal policies, corruption, extreme poverty, unemployment and ecological devastation across Latin America during the past two years. As estimated by the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, during 2020, Latin America had a pandemic-induced catastrophic growth contraction of 6.8 percent. Recent electoral victories of Gabriel Boric in Chile, Luis Arce in Bolivia, Pedro Castillo in Peru, Xiomara Castro in Honduras, Gustavo Petro in Columbia and Rodrigo Chaves in Costa Rica are manifestations of people’s growing resentment against neoliberal-neo-fascist regimes serving imperialism.

2.10. In Western Asia (Middle East), in view of the advance of China and the trend towards decline of the dollar-empire and consequent impact on petro-dollar, US imperialism is planning to have a reconfiguration of the geopolitics there. This was manifested in the Abraham Accords signed in December 2020 that claimed to normalise relations between Zionist Israel and a grouping of Arab countries led by UAE. Almost a year later in October 2021, in a virtual meet led by the US, foreign ministers of US, Israel, UAE and India decided to strengthen cooperation and partnerships on the back of Abraham Accords. Though the political dynamics in West Asia is different from that in Indo-Pacific, the new US initiative has been characterised as ‘Middle East Quad’ akin to Quad or Quadrilateral composed of US, India, Australia and Japan in the Asia-Pacific designed to deal with China.

2.11. Meanwhile, under the cover of Abraham Accords, human rights violations on Palestinians by Zionists are mounting. In occupied West Bank and besieged Gaza strip, along with Israeli police and official security apparatus, Zionist terrorist groups are also unleashed against Palestinian people to instill fear among them and weaken their struggle for survival. The agenda behind this renewed approach by US is to create the political atmosphere for deliberate neglect of the Palestinian cause and cover up the mounting repression on them that amounts to crimes against humanity. The impact of pandemic on the Zionist occupied areas has been the most disastrous as the Zionist security forces used it as a golden opportunity to put horrific restrictions, socio-economic miseries and burdens on the Palestinians in the guise of implementing Covid protocols.

2.12. In our neighbourhood, Sri Lanka is now in an unprecedented economic collapse and socio-political crisis, typifying the case of a neo-colonially dependent country pursuing neoliberal-corporatisation trajectory at the diktats of imperialist centres. Though Sri Lanka had the highest ‘Human Development Indicators’ in South Asia until the onset of the crisis, its major earnings came primarily from

tourism and export of primary products. The entire debt-financed infrastructures built up there were oriented to attracting tourists. The basis of economic and social crises was already laid down through the configuration of many factors such as steep reduction in corporate taxes, total economic mismanagement including lop-sided and short-sighted policies, extreme corruption and crony capitalism integrally linked up with the Rajapakse family holding the entire reins of administration backed by the ideology of Sinhala Buddhism. In this background, almost two years of pandemic preceded by Easter Bombing and followed by the Ukraine war have completely dried out foreign tourist inflows on the one hand, and skyrocketed fuel, food and medicine prices that wiped out both private and government savings on the other. Various infrastructures and social overheads built-up in Sri Lanka including those connected with China’s BRI have become huge debt-liabilities for the country without yielding any substantial income on a regular basis. Today, the bankrupt Sri Lankan regime is knocking at the doors of neocolonial financial institutions and various imperialist powers for a bail-out program with its concomitant stringent conditionalities.

2.13. Thus, today the international situation in general is marked by horrific levels of wealth accumulation in the hands of a few corporate billionaires, unprecedented levels of extreme poverty, ecological destruction of catastrophic proportions and shifting of the burden of imperialist crisis to the shoulders of working class and the oppressed. Along with sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions, exploited and oppressed peoples are rising up in different forms in many parts of the world against the ruling system. The ruling classes of a few countries like India have also utilized this deepening imperialist crisis to strengthen their bargaining position with imperialist powers. However, in the absence of communist parties capable to lead these struggles and movements, the ruling classes and their imperialist masters are diverting people’s fury to safe channels.

2.14. Taking advantage of the deepening crises of imperialism, neo-fascist forces have come to the fore all over the world. In many countries, like Hungary, Turkey, India, Russia and others, fascist regimes have already come in to existence whereas even leading imperialist countries like the UK and US are part of this trend towards neo-fascism.

3. Our Tasks at the International Level

3.1. In today's crisis-ridden context where the objective international situation for revolutionary transformation is favourable, while the subjective factor essential for social change is weak, what is required is coordinated action among Communist parties and revolutionary organisations against imperialism and neo-fascism. The Political Resolution adopted by the 11th Congress held in 2018 had pointed out: "As the reactionary essence of imperialism is becoming more and more catastrophic, a worldwide anti-imperialist movement that can effectively challenge the threat of aggression, resist corporatisation and fascistisation and all forms of reaction and moving towards democracy and socialism has become an urgent necessity." Today after four years, our analysis of the international situation makes this task all the more significant.

3.2. To fulfil this task, ideological clarity on imperialism and on neoliberal corporatisation both at the global level and in the concrete conditions of particular countries is of utmost significance. So, while taking an active role in ICOR and its campaigns as one of its leading members, one of our urgent international tasks is to carry forward the ideological-theoretical debate in ICOR and among Marxist-Leninist forces in general to arrive at clarity on the basic understanding of imperialism today and related issues like the characterization of the neo-colonial dependent countries under the impact of neoliberal globalization, corporatization policies

3.3. We have to develop bilateral relations with revolutionary parties and like-minded organisations especially in neo-colonially dependent countries for achieving ideological

clarity pertaining to anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggles and for arriving at practical cooperation at the international level.

4. National Situation

4.1. The 10th Congress of the Party was held in 2015 when the Modi regime had completed just 8 months of its tenure. Summing up the far-right turn in policies, the Political Resolution adopted then noted: "2.9 Modi's ascendancy to power has been followed by a ruthless acceleration of Manmohanomics as is manifested in the extrapolation of former's 'Gujarat model' to the whole of India with the corporate-friendly catchwords such as 'minimum government,' 'good governance', 'development friendly', etc. The 'road map' for Modi regime's economic policy in the coming years containing transparent policy environment for business including reforms to enhance "ease of doing business", liberal tax regime, full liberalization of FDI regime even in strategic sectors such as defense and railways, ... outsourcing of public sector banking operations to MNCs and corporate giants such as Reliance, building up of 100 cities equipped with world class amenities, etc. based on PPP, a euphemism for privatization, attracting private investment in coal sector, completion of nuclear power projects and operationalization of international nuclear agreements, modernization and corporatization of agriculture, time-bound forest and environmental clearance for projects, and so on are fully in conformity with the diktats and requirements of crisis-ridden international finance capital." Of course, superimposed Demonetisation and GST that took away state governments' Constitutional Federal rights of resource mobilization have acted as catalysts to this far-right neoliberal process.

4.2. By the time the 11th Congress was held in 2018, Modi government had completed four years. The Political Resolution adopted by it stated: "2.i. More than four years of Modi regime has brought India to a frightening disruption of its socio-economic and political fabric. In a situation of RSS led extreme divisive policies, instigation of mutual hatred

among people, and in an atmosphere of increasing feeling of insecurity among Dalits and minorities, BJP government has brought every aspect of social life under the firm grip of corporate capital. Strengthening India's position as the junior partner of US imperialism and entering in to strategic alliance with it, Modi has destroyed to a great extent the erstwhile non-aligned position that India had in international relations. All institutions of parliamentary democracy are degraded so as to facilitate the corporate, saffron fascist offensive."

4.3. Now, when the 12th Congress is held, the corporate-saffron fascist regime under Modi.1 and Modi.2 has completed more than 8 years in power. Backed by the ideology of Manuvadi Hindutva that serves corporate capital, the most reactionary fascist regime of Modi has become a facilitator of both corporatisation and saffronisation. By now, RSS, the world's biggest fascist organisation has spread its tentacles to every aspect of social life leading to the saffronisation of all Constitutional and administrative institutions in India. Under Modi.2 since mid-2019, unleashing a series of fascist offensives such as abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution by breaking up of Kashmir into pieces on the one hand and forcible integration into Indian Union on the other, construction of Ram Temple at the very site of Babri Masjid, making Muslims second class citizens and even denying citizenship to them by amending the Citizenship Act, saffronisation and corporatization of education through NEP 2020, move towards a Uniform Civil Code, etc., RSS is now using the Modi regime to move towards super imposition of a majoritarian Hindurashtra over the multinational, multilingual, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious India. To facilitate this, cult of tradition and obscurantism are fostered and values of modernity and rational-scientific thinking are rejected. While minorities are suppressed in general, Muslims are particularly targeted through spreading Islamophobia. And the RSS-controlled saffron regime integrating itself with the reactionary corporate-finance

capital has turned India in to a typical neofascist regime. Under neofascism, unhindered corporate plunder of nature facilitated through amendments to EIA, etc., has resulted in an unprecedented ecological devastation too.

4.4. On the eve of Covid pandemic itself, on account of demonetization, GST and outright loot of national assets and huge wealth accumulation by MNCs and Indian corporates, India had been in the firm grip of an economic contraction, record unemployment and mass pauperization. With his second coming in 2019 Modi has been more vigorous in the process of completing total disinvestment of the remaining public sector units such as Railway Stations, Airports, LIC, Arms Factories, etc. In continuation of this, the Modi regime used the pandemic as an added opportunity for its corporate-fascist agenda. Without even consulting the parliament, and without any preparation, the neofascist regime superimposed world's most stringent and most coercive lockdown for months abruptly collapsing industry, freezing trade and transportation, and even impacting agriculture and above all making administration more oppressive, especially targeting migrants and unorganized workers, denying them even minimum food and livelihood, in the guise of enforcing pandemic regulations. As a result, while pandemic-triggered global contraction by mid-2020 hovered around an average of 6 percent, in India it was around 24 percent. Thus Covid can only be a partial explanation for India's unparalleled economic breakdown; the main reason has been the far-right neofascist policies of Modi government serving corporate capital.

4.5. The CAA was an ingenious RSS move towards Hindurashtra by stamping Muslims second class citizens. The country-wide anti-CAA agitations including the historic Shahinbagh movement put the neofascist regime on the defensive. But with the advent of the pandemic and in conformity with Covid protocols, suppression was mounted and conditions were created compelling the withdrawal of the movement.

4.6. However, even when the country was reeling under the burden of the pandemic, using Covid as an opportunity, Modi regime imposed the three Farm Laws aimed at agricultural corporatisation at the behest of WTO in September 2020 without even subjecting them to scrutiny by regular parliamentary committees. Against which a more serious historic struggle led by farmers emerged months after the withdrawal of the anti-CAA movement. The historic Farmers' Movement continued for more than a year. It compelled the regime to withdraw the Farm laws. It was a great victory in the context of the inability of the depoliticized mainstream trade union leadership to initiate a similar offensive against the pro-corporate Labour Codes that the neofascist regime is planning to push through replacing the existing 44 labour regulations in the country. More importantly, experience from the prolonged farmers' struggle has shown the extent of the penetration of the Green Revolution induced changes in the agricultural sector, and opened up new possibilities for a broad alliance among working class, peasantry and all oppressed against corporatization and neofascism.

4.7. At the same time, the farmers' movement has brought forward the urgent need for specific organizational initiatives capable of properly handling the emerging tasks in the context of intensifying agricultural corporatization. Though the Party has concrete understanding of the agricultural transformation brought under neoliberal-corporatization policies, there is lot of unevenness in our work in the agricultural front in different states. In many areas it is mainly confined to organizing landless poor peasants for their demands. Against the GR induced changes also some campaigns and struggles have taken place, especially after the farmers' movement reached the Delhi borders. Struggle for protecting farmers' land, to ensure remunerative prices for agricultural products through establishment APMCs with legal backing for MSP, etc. are indispensable for the sustenance of peasant based agriculture. According to the demands of the

present situation, and based on our own experience, appropriate steps have to be taken, including developing programmatic and organizational changes to carry forward these two inter-related, but at same time different tasks, for the overall development of the peasant movement.

4.8. After BJP's success in the recent Assembly elections, especially after its return to power in four states ruled by it, a frightening situation is developing all over the country. Starting with Ram Navami and Hanuman Jayanthi, within a few weeks, innumerable communal attacks led by RSS goons directed at Muslims which are reminiscent of the 'partition days' have taken place in various parts of the country. The entire administration and police remained as spectators, and cases are charged on the victims while perpetrators of the crimes are left scot-free. In BJP-ruled states such as UP, MP, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, etc., a literal 'bulldozer raj' is imposed, i.e., razing down houses and properties of Muslims by the fascist regime using its police and security forces.

4.9. Most horrific was the situation in Jehangirpuri in national capital like areas, where armed saffron goons marched to the masjids with provocative slogans and attacked and destroyed Muslim houses and establishments branding the residents as Rohingyan and Bangladeshi encroachers, followed by bulldozer raj by the administration. Even after the intervention of the apex court, the demolition continued backed by rumours of illegal migrants continuously relayed by corporate- Sanghi media. Comparable to what happened during the days of Hitlerite fascism, hatred towards Muslims is created in a systematic and planned way creating conditions for genocides, setting the stage for extreme communal polarisation during the 2024 general election and move towards the Hindutva-fascist agenda of declaring India a Hindurashtra on the occasion of the centenary celebration of RSS.

4.10. In this planned move towards Hindurashtra, the condition of the oppressed

Dalits and women, who are 'subhuman' according to Manusmriti, is becoming worse. Casteist oppression, discrimination, attacks and even murders are regularly reported. With the open and secret, official and non-official patronage from the Manuvadi-Hindutva regime, Brahmanical caste system is well entrenched in the entire ruling system, in polity, economy, culture, science and research and so on. By guaranteeing economic reservation through the 124th amendment to the Constitution, BJP government has diluted caste-based reservation. It is leading to further monopolisation of government jobs by the upper castes with whom the country's wealth and political power are concentrated. Along with this, RSS and BJP are also engaged in dividing and deconstructing organisations and parties of Dalits and lower castes. As its manifestation, with the offer of power-sharing, Hindutva forces have succeeded to make allies among 'neo-Ambedkerite parties and sections who uphold identity politics, who discard Ambedkar's program on caste annihilation. In view of the integral link among class, caste and gender, this critical situation calls for urgent ideological and political initiatives by the Party together with vigorous revitalisation of the Caste Annihilation Movement and women's movement.

4.11. In continuation of the anti-federal GST, true to its fascist character, the Modi regime is systematically engaged in undermining the country's federal character through the imposition of Hindi, misusing post of governor, reluctance to share revenue with states, keeping states in the dark regarding pan-Indian policy formulations and so on. This has its ramifications in different regions of the country. As already noted, repeal of Article 370 has totally alienated the Kashmiri people and the J&K issue has become irresolvable now. In the entire north-east like Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram and even in Tripura, Fascist Modi Government is playing the dirty game of pitting different nationalities, ethnicities and religious sections each other. Of late, though rhetoric on repealing AFSPA is there with piecemeal withdrawals from some regions, it seems to be selective and intended

to serve the reactionary interests of Hindutva regime for diverting attention from the ever-intensifying persecution of the victims. Imposition of NRC and CAA had already done immense damage to the minorities and oppressed sections in the north-eastern states. This critical situation calls for sustained people's struggles for the reconstitution of India as a Union of States based on federal principles and recognizing the linguistic, ethnic and cultural rights of different nationalities.

4.12. Covid pandemic, global economic crisis, fluctuations in oil prices, etc. have made life unsustainable for the more than 6 million Indian expatriates still working in Gulf. Over the past several years, they have been playing a significant role in maintaining India's foreign exchange reserve. On account of the pandemic, many of them were forced to return to India. This necessitates urgent political interventions regarding their rehabilitation and appropriate policy initiatives in relation to Gulf countries where majority of Indian migrant workers are concentrated.

4.13. Since Modi government's ascension to power in 2014, relations with India's neighbours have been continuously worsening. On account of its big-brotherly approach to Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, the SAARC has already become defunct. Modi regime's erstwhile effort to thwart the formation of a secular government in Nepal is already known. The Hindutva attitude towards the Rohingya refugees, the most persecuted minority according to UN, has further alienated Bangladesh. Modi's expansionist designs including strategic alliance with US against China in the Indo-Pacific, has prompted Sri Lanka and other to move closer to China. And in the border question with China, Modi government's inability to handle imperialist China is already exposed. The Indian regime's role as a junior partner of US is sharpening its contradiction with China, which is hindering any amicable solution to the border issue.

4.14. On the other hand, being a big market for international capital, India's bargaining

position between Russia and US is self-evident in its approach to Russian attack on Ukraine. Historically and politically incapable to take an anti-imperialist position on the Ukraine question, Indian government's dependence on Russian weapons and cheap oil has come out in the open right from the very beginning. To balance this, an all-out effort is also in full swing on the part of the government not to antagonise the US by faithfully remaining as a strategic partner in Quad and in US' indo-pacific machinations targeted at China.

4.15. Abandoning yesteryears' non-alignment traditions, the neofascist Modi regime is taking conspicuously antagonistic position towards all oppressed nations and peoples while siding with the oppressor nations. In particular, the RSS that leads the Indian regime, is engaged in a global Hindutva campaign joining with Zionists against Muslims using Islamophobia through its innumerable international affiliates mainly located in US. The Hindutva-Republican coalition modelled after Republican-Jewish coalition in the US is active in lobbying work in conformity with RSS international tasks. The latter is having the same relationship with many neo-Nazi and neofascist groups and movements in Europe too.

5. Our Immediate Task in the Context of RSS Neofascism

5.1. Regarding our immediate task, the Political Resolution adopted in the 11th Party Congress in 2018 noted: '3. ix ...we have to urgently engage in building up Party, strengthening class/mass organisations and peoples' movements and developing class struggle. Together with this, using all available means we should go for a resolute ideological-political campaign against imperialism and ruling system, against corporate-saffron fascism, on the need of developing Marxism-Leninism according to the concrete condition of our country. In this background, our party should actively strive for discussion with all revolutionary, democratic forces along with other struggling forces for a national coordination seeking the possibility of drafting

a common manifesto to resist and defeat the corporate communal fascist threat.'

5.2. Under Modi.2, and following the recent Assembly elections, as briefly analysed above, RSS is engaged in the final push towards Hindurashtra. It shows India is in a neofascist situation with the threat assuming multidimensional character. Acknowledging this transformation, the Political Organisational Report adopted by the 12th Congress concludes thus: "We are passing through the most dangerous days of fascist offensive. To take up this challenge, we have to relentlessly continue to wage uncompromising ideological struggle against all alien trends, and continue to strive for building the broadest possible united front against fascist Modi raj. We should pursue the line of independent left assertion. We should speed up party building uniting with all the communists who based on the draft Program and Path documents put forward. We should strive for forging the revolutionary left core based on the program for people's democracy and socialism, combining with launching of revolutionary struggles in the coming days. In this way we can definitely overcome the present stagnation of the communist movement, intensify the fight against the growing fascist offensive of RSS, complete remaining tasks of democratic revolution and advance towards socialist revolution.'

5.3. Thus, as outlined, "building the broadest possible united front against fascist Modi raj" based on "uncompromising ideological struggle", pursuing "the line of independent left assertion" and speeding up "party building uniting with all communists" are inseparable and intertwined components of the immediate political task of resisting and defeating fascism. In spite of our organisational weakness, though in a limited form, it was based on this political clarity that we organized the 'Defeat BJP, Save Democracy' campaign in UP which is RSS' laboratory of corporate-Hindutva fascism today.

5.4. In the case of the non-fascist ruling class political spectrum, none of the parties or fronts among them have so far taken a clear-cut anti-

fascist position. The non-BJP ruling class opposition parties including the Congress that has already become weak, and the state-level and regional parties with caste-communal orientation, with their close adherence to neoliberal corporatization, are mainly interested in forging opportunist alliances for power sharing so far. Though some of them may utilize people's resentment against the most corrupt, majoritarian, saffron fascist danger, due to their class line and ideological-political bankruptcy, none of them has so far taken the initiative for fighting neofascism.

5.5. Coming to the broad Left spectrum, as proved time and again, the left adventurist political line has little role to play in the fascist situation. The left adventurists do not make a distinction between fascist and non-fascist sections of the ruling classes, and due to this sectarian approach, the ascendancy of neofascism is a mere change of regime for them. On the other hand, the CPI (M) that leads the social democratic stream has not acknowledged the Indian regime as a fascist one. Obviously, being adherents of neoliberal corporatization when in government, the CPI (M) has already exposed themselves as incapable of leading political struggles against corporate capital, the material basis of fascism. Following Singur and Nandigram, the CPI (M) has decimated in Bengal and Tripura. Its present policy of superimposition of pro-corporate policies and ruthless suppression of people who oppose them together with wanton use of fascist weapons like UAPA in Kerala is alienating it further from the working class and the oppressed.

5.6. At the same time, this is a critical situation where a communist movement which is politically and organizationally capable to lead the anti-fascist movement uniting all non-fascist, secular, democratic and progressive forces is yet to emerge. However, mere acknowledgement of this fact shall not be a justification for refraining from the immediate and urgent task of building up an anti-fascist movement for defeating RSS neofascism. This is a complex task which calls for our interrelated involvement at various levels.

5.7. Of course, as laid down in our basic documents, we have to speed up party-building, develop class and mass movements, and launch people's struggles against the ruling system and far-right neoliberal policies based on our ideological-political line. According to the concrete manifestations of neoliberal imperialism, this task of party building has two components- international and country specific. The first is already mentioned in the International Tasks explained earlier.

5.8. In building up the Party with country-wide influence and for leading democratic and revolutionary struggles in the concrete Indian context, while assimilating lessons from erstwhile people's democratic and socialist experiences, the integral link among class, caste and gender struggles and struggle for ecological protection should be taken up. That is, the party building process needs to assimilate the comprehensive inter-relationship among class struggle, struggle for caste annihilation, for gender equality and for ecological protection. Thus a party equipped with revolutionary theory and having practical experience from leading different struggles of workers, peasants, and all oppressed including women and the entire spectrum of genders, adivasis and dalits and that of environmental protection is the urgent need today.

5.9. Such a unity of the workers and all oppressed achieved through struggles against neoliberal-corporatisation in all its manifestations is also indispensable to bring about a revolutionary left core of all fraternal and communist revolutionary forces with a common minimum program. This foundation that upholds the interests of the vast majority of the working and oppressed peoples shall be the starting point for a broadest possible anti-fascist front capable of challenging and defeating RSS-led neofascism.

5.10. In a neofascist context as is the case with India now, the fascists will not tolerate even the minimum basic political right for organisation, assembling, freedom of speech and so on that are essential for taking up essential political tasks. Under fascism,

therefore, the task of building up party and revolutionary left core and that of antifascist movement cannot be put in a 'one after another' order. Rather, both tasks are interdependent and need to be approached dialectically, and it is the resolute struggles against fascism that set the stage for building party by winning over progressive and democratic sections who will be joining the anti-fascist movement in a big way. And even for overcoming the present stagnation in communist movement and for advancing towards democratic and revolutionary tasks, building up the anti-fascist movement is indispensable.

5.11. To reiterate, in the fascist context, both class struggle and anti-fascist struggle are interlinked and inseparable. For instance, elements of both were involved in the anti-CAA movement and in the historic Farmers' Movement, directed against Hindutva fascism and neoliberal corporatization. This experience provides ample scope for developing sustained and uncompromising struggles against saffron-corporate fascism joining with all anti-fascist and non-fascist sections.

5.12. While engaging in such resistance struggles of people, conscious political interventions are needed to build up a people's alternative against corporate-neofascism. In a vast country like India with many diversities, such initiatives can take the form of state-level coordination joining with revolutionary left, democratic and struggling forces leading to the emergence of a national coordination against Corporate-Hindutva fascism based on an anti-fascist common agenda, which also involve electoral struggles for isolating and defeating RSS neofascism. Of crucial relevance here is appropriate ideological-political interventions against Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of Indian fascism.

5.13. While being part of such broad anti-fascist movement in which non-fascist ruling classes along with social democrats who even do not acknowledge the advent of fascism in India are involved, there should not be any laxity on the part of communists to untiringly uphold their ideological position from the perspective of the class interests of the working class and oppressed. That is, the 'tactical alliance' in the antifascist struggle that also aims at effectively utilizing the contradictions within ruling classes shall be differentiated from the 'strategic alliance' of the working class and oppressed against the ruling system, against neoliberalism and corporate capital today. Otherwise, opportunist alliances in the name of 'anti-fascist unity' surrendering proletarian independence and the ideological-political line of communists will result in altogether abandoning of class struggle itself and will be detrimental to the interests of working class and oppressed.

5.14. With this clear-cut perception, while moving forward with the fundamental tasks of class struggle including the strive for initiating a revolutionary left core starting from the effort to build up party, class and mass organisations and people's movements, we have to engage ourselves in the immediate task of overthrowing RSS neofascism by building up the broadest possible antifascist front comprising non-fascist sections which involve electoral struggles too. While engaging in this interrelated task, communists have to take up uncompromising ideological struggle of upholding the independent line that always identifies with the toilers and all oppressed. Only such an approach can avoid both sectarian and opportunist deviations.

Resist Manuvadi-Hindutva Fascism; Build-up Anti-Fascist Movement!

Build up Party Based on Proletarian Internationalism!

Fight against Imperialist Proxy War and War Mongering!

March towards People's Democracy and Socialism!

Articles / Comments

On Some Striking Ideological-Political and Organisational Issues Behind the Boycott of a Minority from Party Congress

[Com. KNR's Letter to the Central Committee (CC) Comrades dated July 6 and Com. Sankar's detailed 12-page evaluation entitled "Our Differences" dated October 16, 2022 had already thrown light on the facts connected with the organisational issues in CPI (ML) Red Star in the context of Party's 12th Congress. Most of the issues involved in the untoward developments are already being taken up by them. This brief note is only a recollection of certain issues shared by the two PB comrades which needs striking emphasis- Editorial Board]

The 12th Party Congress of CPIML (Red Star) that held during September 24-29, 2022 has successfully completed with great enthusiasm. Party Congress has unanimously adopted all the draft documents and also elected Comrade PJ as its new General Secretary, as Comrade KN stepped down. Comrade KN led our party for decades and built a nationwide party from a small group which started its journey from Kerala in the seventies of the last century. Now it is the responsibility of the next generation to make further progress towards developing a united party of the communist revolutionaries in our country in order to take up the immediate task of anti-Fascist struggle and to go forward to build a socialist India. The Party Congress (PC) had elected a 34-member Central Committee (CC) and a 3-member Central Control Commission (CCC).

As reported in the October Issue of Red Star, based on a concrete evaluation of the international and national situation, the Congress has adopted the updated Party Program and Path of Revolution explaining the strategic steps for advancing towards democracy and socialism along with the Political Resolution that put forward the immediate tactical steps required for resisting and

defeating RSS neo-fascism, firmly linking up with the moving towards people's democracy. Along with the updating of the basic documents which were adopted in the 9th Congress in 2011 and amended in the 10th and 11th Congresses in 2015 and 2018 respectively, the 12th Congress adopted the necessary amendments to the Constitution too.



However, it is also a fact that 53 delegates (out of total 260 registered party delegates from 16 State Conferences starting from May 20 in Kerala and ending with Maharashtra on August 21, 2022) walked out of the delegate session that started at 5 PM on September 25 and declined to rejoin in spite of repeated attempts taken by the Party leadership at various levels, including the adoption of a resolution by Delegate Session requesting them to come back. And when Central and State Committees of CPI (ML) Red Star have

started initiating disciplinary proceedings against this section comprising 7 erstwhile CC (including two Polit Bureau (PB) members for indulging in anti-party activities including the coning of a parallel state conference of the party in Tamil Nadu, some of them are reportedly in the process of forming a separate group/organisation. Hence this issue is no more an inner-party organisational issue but have wider ideological-political dimensions and a brief information on the whole issue needs to be passed to Party's sympathisers, friends and fraternal organisations together with Party members.



At the outset, it should be stressed that over the past two years, there has been an intense ideological-political debate on many questions of international and national importance within the CC. Of course, there was no unanimity on them among those 7 who had basic ideological persuasions on many questions during inner-party debates. Hence the unity among them against Party position is to be seen as adhoc and that of an opportunist alliance devoid of any ideological-political cohesion.

Take, for instance, the question of the approach to Indian fascism. Even before the second coming of Modi with the most heinous Hindutva-fascist offensive, the Political Resolution adopted at the 11th Party Congress in 2018 itself, the Party

had called for building up the broadest anti-fascist movement clearly upholding the independent ideological position of the communists in relation to the class interests of the workers and all oppressed. Hence, along with the anti-fascist task, the 2018 Political Resolution of the Party Congress called for building up Party and class/mass organisations, unity among Communist revolutionary forces and developing of a Left Core. Fully knowing the tactical nature of the anti-fascist front with 'non-fascist' forces, this approach of the Political Resolution adopted by the Congress implies the Party's ideological-political independence to criticise and expose the neoliberal policies against working class and oppressed pursued by the 'non-fascist' parties. But those who walked out opposed this correct approach argued that such an independent position upholding the class interests of the workers and oppressed would weaken the anti-fascist movement. During the drafting stage of the Political Resolution, one erstwhile PB comrade from Bengal who from a sectarian position vehemently opposed the building up of an anti-fascist front, also took the opportunist position of abandoning the Communist Party's relevance altogether. On the other hand, earlier he had even characterised the fascist take-over in India as an exaggeration only.

Another basic difference that emerged at the time of document drafting has been caste question. Obviously, the decision to update the Party Program was taken in the context of the emergence of saffron-fascism whose ideological basis is Manuvadi-Hindutva according to which vast majority of the workers and toilers who belong to the untouchable and oppressed castes are subhuman. In the Program adopted in 2019 at the 9th Congress itself, based on a concrete evaluation, and fully

comprehending the inseparable and integral relation between class and caste, the Party adopted Caste as a strategic question and put forward the position that people's democracy can be achieved only through the annihilation of caste system for which appropriate political-organisational interventions are required. The Caste Annihilation Movement was initiated with this perspective. Since then, this issue has been a hotly debated one within the Party. The basic difference on this question became known even outside the Party as the articles written by CC members published in the March 2021 Issue of Marxist-Leninist, theoretical journal of CPI (ML) Red Star, in which the entire 112 pages of that Issue were set apart for debate on Caste. Again, in a CC meeting in 2021, regarding certain Party members' soft approach to the inhuman caste system and their reluctance to uphold Party's accepted position on caste, heated debates took place, following which it was decided to move a Resolution on this issue in the 12th Congress. Accordingly, the 12th Party Congress unanimously adopted two resolutions in relation to caste: one, on the need of a code of conduct for Party Comrades' approach to caste and, two, on giving up caste surnames by Central Committee comrades.

Similarly, on the approach to the transformation of colonialism into neocolonialism, on evaluating postwar imperialism, on the character of power transfer, and on the analysis of neocolonialism, etc., those who went out had differences, though at different levels. For instance, CPI (ML) Red Star upholds the evaluation of neocolonialism as "more pernicious and sinister" than colonialism put forward by CPC in the beginning of 1960s. But the other section upheld the Krushchevite prognosis of postwar situation as a "weakening of imperialism",

and when the updated Party Program, based on a concrete evaluation of the international and Indian situation accepted the formulation "formal political independence", the minority demanded to replace it with "political independence." And when the CC finalised the draft of the updated Program, the dissenting section resorted to a negative approach altogether.



Another strange argument was regarding the size and number of pages of the Party Program. For, quoting the Erfurt Program that could fit in 3 pages of A4 and advocating Lenin's comments on the structure of a Program in a totally different historical context, it was demanded in a mechanical way that the updated Program of the Party should not be more than 4 pages. Interestingly, the existing Program of CPI (ML) Red Star comes to 21 pages, and the updated Program less than 30 pages. Actually, if one goes through the Programs of various parties ranging from the adventurists to the right opportunists, there is no hard and fast rule regarding the number of pages in a Program. For instance, the CPI(M) program is composed of 41 pages; that of RCP, USA more than 100 pages, that of CPSU 1960) more than 60 pages, etc. In connection with the

pages, another criticism raised was regarding the Introductory Chapter introducing the Party before the people. In this part, the development of Party Line since the formation of CRC in 1979 to the 12th Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star (in which Comrade KN Ramchandran played the decisive role in uniting many revolutionary groups in to a nation-wide Party) is briefly put along with mentioning the names of various parties that merged with the mainstream over a period of four decades. The dissident group objected to this.



In spite of such serious differences, when the Central Committee meeting finalised all the documents, none of the above-mentioned erstwhile 7 CC members, in spite of serious ideological-political differences on core questions, objected to the adoption of them as Central Committee's draft documents for the Party Congress, nor they gave even hint on their plan to prepare 'alternative documents' for the Congress against the adopted documents. It was only towards the end of June when State Conferences were proceeding as scheduled that they informed their intention to move

alternative documents. And the alternative documents actually reached Party Centre on August 22, just one month before the Congress, when all State Conferences were finished in time. Following this, the CC that met on August 25-26, had no option other than to reject them, as it is mandatory as per Article XIV, subsection 1 of the Party Constitution according to which among other things, it is mandatory to "release the draft documents for discussion by all party members/candidate members three months before the All India Party Congress."

However, taking into consideration, the need of carrying forward healthy ideological debate within the Party, a practice that we were pursuing since 9th Party Congress, the CC requested the dissident section to put their 'alternative documents', though rejected by the CC, as amendments to the adopted draft documents. And by September 14, they, in fact, send them as amendments, and on appropriately incorporating them, the Congress began as scheduled. The outgoing CC that put forward the proposal for the new CC panel, all those 7 were also incorporated as members of the new CC with the expectation that a healthy discussion would take place in the Congress. However, as pre-planned, they tried to have control over the organisational proceedings of the Party Congress which the August 25-26 CC has approved, and were not prepared to accept majority decision on organisational matters based on the principle of democratic centralism. Their walk-out from delegate session, followed by many anti-party moves including the convening of a parallel state conference are already in the public domain. We appeal to all comrades to rise to the occasion and rally round with the Party to implement the decisions of the 12th Congress.

SC Verdict on EWS: A Paradigm Shift in Reservation and a Strategic Manuvadi Leap Towards Hindurashtra

P J James



Supreme Court's split verdict on EWS that upholds the 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act of January 2019 brought out by Modi government providing 10% economic reservation to the economically backward upper castes (Economically Weaker Sections-EWS) excluding the 'backward classes' among SC/ST/OBC is a violation of the very conceptualisation on caste-based reservation as conceived in the Constitution. Revealingly, while the Hindutva forces of all hues, including "hard Hindutva" represented by BJP and AAP on the one hand and "soft Hindutva" primarily symbolised by the Congress on the other, have started vying with one another to celebrate the SC ruling, it needs to be stated at the outset that this judgement is arbitrary and 'unconstitutional'. It goes against the very principle of equality enshrined in the Constitution, as EWS reservation now adopted has totally excluded all the oppressed and backward castes—SCs, STs and OBCs—from this new quota. In essence, this paradigm shift in reservation is not purely economic, but wholly upper caste-oriented and is in conformity with Manusmriti, which forms the ideological basis of RSS neofascism in India today.

Of course, the political context of this judgement is very important. For, the Rao-led Congress regime, in tune with its abandoning of Nehruvian State-led development and embracing of neoliberalism, through an executive order had resorted to a 10% economic reservation in 1991. Prior to that, the social democratic CPI (M), with its mechanical approach of ignoring the inseparable link between caste and class, thereby characterising caste as a mere super-structural phenomenon, and hence already being part of the ruling system, in its November 4 1990 Central Committee Resolution had demanded 10% economic reservation in government jobs. However, the 9-member

Constitution Bench of the SC in 1993 without any second thought struck down that move on the ground that the Constitution does not provide for reservation based on economic criterion. On the other hand, when the far-right, neofascist Modi regime through the 103rd Constitutional Amendment had brought back the so called economic reservation with clear-cut upper caste, "Manuist" orientation, totally barring SC/STs and OBCs from the category of EWS which is a clear violation of the character of the Constitution, the 5-member SC bench, though in a split verdict, has no qualms to come forward upholding it. This judicial somersault, no doubt, is a clear manifestation of how, along with other administrative institutions, Manuvad, the ideology of Hindutva fascism has established its firm grip over all spheres of the ruling system with its horrific dimensions in India today.

According to the Indian Constitution, reservation has never been a 'poverty alleviation scheme' or a means of removing economic inequalities in the society. Like similar "affirmative actions" prevailing in other countries, reservation in India where vast majority of the working and toiling people belong to the historically oppressed 'untouchable' and oppressed castes, caste-based reservation was incorporated to ensure representation and protection of the oppressed peoples from the monopolisation of public spaces by the upper elite castes who control the entire economic resources, political power and cultural/intellectual spheres. In caste-ridden India, it is to compensate for this historical oppression committed on the Dalits and oppressed castes who have been treated as subhuman by the Brahmanical upper castes that the Indian Constitution adopted reservation as one of its striking features. Thus, the purpose of reservation has been to facilitate the entry of the oppressed castes into the administration, education and public spheres.

However, the systematic and steady undermining of this accepted position on caste-based reservation began in public discourses with the ascendance of far-right neoliberal-neofascism under the Modi regime since 2014. At a time when the inhuman caste system that cuts across both 'base and superstructure' is getting new-found justification and respectability under saffron-neofascism, and is

safely seated even in higher institutions of learning and scientific research and in the entire administration, and when caste atrocities and discrimination are bouncing back with intensified vigour, the SC judgement denigrating reservation to the lower castes and eulogising 10% upper caste-oriented reservation under the cover of reservation to EWS is to be seen as highly reactionary and brahmanical in essence, and in conformity with ongoing corporatisation snatching away all rights of the workers and oppressed people hard-earned through struggles of yesteryears.

In such a caste-ridden situation, the observation by Justice Bela Trivedi, who was a member of the majority judgement that upheld the EWS reservation seems revealing. Arguing for a time span regarding the existing reservation, she opines: “At the end of 75 years of our Independence, we need to revisit the system of reservation in the larger interest of the society as a whole, as a step forward towards transformative constitutionalism.” She also observed that prescription for a time limit in respect of the reservations and representations provided in Article 15 and Article 16 of the Constitution could be a “way forward leading to an egalitarian, casteless and classless society”. Obviously, implicit in this approach is a gross disregard of the seriousness of the deeply entrenched and all-pervading caste system in India. This belittling of caste is not an all of a sudden trend, but a long drawn-out process with the judiciary in India. For instance, a belittling or treating of caste, one of the most inhuman institutions in the entire history, as one among the other evils was visible earlier also. For instance, Justices Gogoi and Nariman in a 2015 judgement has proposed “new practices, methods and yardsticks” for “easy determination of backwardness”, and asked to think of a “matrix” of differently weighted categories, ranging from income, family situation, disability, education, level, etc. in addition to caste, all of which can form the criteria for reservation.

Obviously, the Indian Constitution had incorporated reservation to rectify the historical injustices committed against the 'untouchables' and oppressed castes by the brahmanical upper castes, and to ensure the representation of the oppressed castes in the administration and public institutions. But when the Constituent Assembly was drafting the Indian Constitution, RSS was vehemently opposing it and instead suggested 'Manusmriti', the 'sacred book' of chaturvarnya or varna system that

identified women and Dalits as subhuman, as India's Constitution, on the ground that a Republican Constitution would give equality to all castes against the interest of the elite castes. This was in accordance with Golwalkar's postulate that casteism was synonymous with 'Hindu Nation'. It was in accordance with that 'Organiser', the RSS mouthpiece in an editorial on November 30, 1949, which was repeated in January 1950, proposed fascist Manusmriti as Constitution. Of course, after waiting for many decades, today the situation has become favourable for RSS to move forward with its agenda. Thus the adoption of the 103rd Constitutional amendment by Modi regime followed by the SC's recent endorsement should be seen in the context when Manuvadi Hindutva has established full-fledged control over the Indian state. As such, undermining of the oppressed caste-oriented constitutionally mandated reservation through upper caste-based economic reservation through Constitutional amendment today should be seen as inalienable component of Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of RSS neofascism in India.

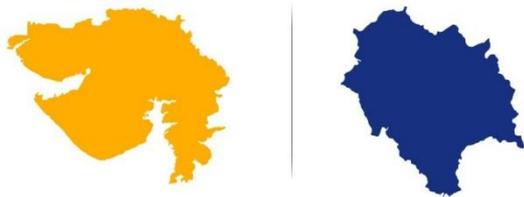
At this critical juncture when all oppressed sections and progressive-democratic forces allying with all non-fascist forces are duty-bound to come forward for an all-out offensive against this Manuvadi move against reservation, what we see today is the shameless spectacle of Congress, which claims to oppose BJP/RSS fascism striving hard to take the credit for being the progenitor of EWS reservation. Accordingly, while whole heartedly supporting this reactionary-fascist move by fascist regime, Congress spokesperson has also criticised the Modi government on account of its delay in implementing the EWS which was initiated by Congress regimes years ago. Without much elaboration, suffice it to say here that the line of demarcation between “soft Hindutva” and “hard Hindutva” is too thin and that the former is paving the way for and ultimately flowing into the latter.

To be precise, while the Supreme upholds the validity of this 'anti-Constitutional', and an openly upper caste-oriented move, it is not a mere blow to the oppressed peoples of India, but to be evaluated as a prelude to the systematic abolition of caste-based reservation enshrined in the Indian Constitution, as part of the heinous move towards Hindurashtra with Manusmriti as its basis.

(Originally published in Couuter currents.org on November 12, 2022)

On Himachal and Gujarat Elections

GUJARAT, HIMACHAL ELECTION 2022



Elections to Himachal Pradesh assembly took place on November 12 with a voter turn-out of around 74 percent and the 2-phase Gujarat election is scheduled for the first week of December, 2022. And in the first half of 2023, four more States-Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura and Karnataka- are going to polls.

Himachal is beset with a series struggles based on issues ranging from unemployment and crisis of apple farmers to the Agnipath. Though AAP which is engaged in proving itself as more 'hard Hindutva' than BJP is also there, the Congress is the main opposition to the BJP in Himachal. Today, Himachal Pradesh is in a full-blown climate crisis with its pollution concentration, in spite of hilly area being 1.3 times above the recommended limit, while landslides, flash floods, snow avalanches, intermittent droughts, and acute drinking water shortage have been recurring without any let up. All these are the direct outcome of reckless corporate-induced development pattern and due to unscientific infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, bridges and buildings in order to facilitate no holds barred tourism. To be precise, Himachal Pradesh is now going through an unprecedented socio-economic and ecological crisis, which none of the main contestants has taken care of. On the other hand, both BJP and AAP (though still has little clout in Himachal Pradesh) are engaged in capturing maximum seats through whipping up communal polarization by pushing forward the Hindutva

agenda such as Uniform Civil Code, Economic Reservation and CAA on which the Congress, the main opposition there, on account of its 'soft Hindutva' is taking a defeatist position. Other minor players like CPI (M) which due its political bankruptcy, is unable to put forward an anti-fascist, anti-corporate political alternative.

Worst is the situation in Gujarat where both the ruling BJP, the principal political tool of RSS, and the AAP that is engaged in a cut-throat competition with BJP for proving its Hindutva credentials and enter into the good books of RSS are saffronising the whole election situation there. Kejriwal started the election campaign by seeking the resignation of his minister Rajendra Pal Gautam who participated in a Buddhist pledge at an event that allegedly denounced Hindu deities. When the BJP government in tune with its Hindutva agenda announced a committee to explore the implementation of Uniform Civil Code (UCC), Kejriwal challenged the BJP to roll out UCC across the country. And, as usual the Congress is a mere spectator while this struggle is going on among BJP and AAP for gathering votes, in spite of Rahul Gandhi's rhetoric against the BJP regime throughout his bharat jodo yatra.

To be precise, while unemployment, price rise, corporate plunder of workers and nature and all round misery of people are mounting, and the country is in the grip of Manuvadi-Hindutva fascism with ever-intensifying attacks on minorities and Dalits, none of these issues are taken in the proper perspective by any of the parties engaged in election. The only way forward is a political intervention with a people's alternative to counter corporate-saffron fascism, which is totally lacking in the ongoing elections in these states.

On UGC's Post-Truth Campaign on Indian Democracy

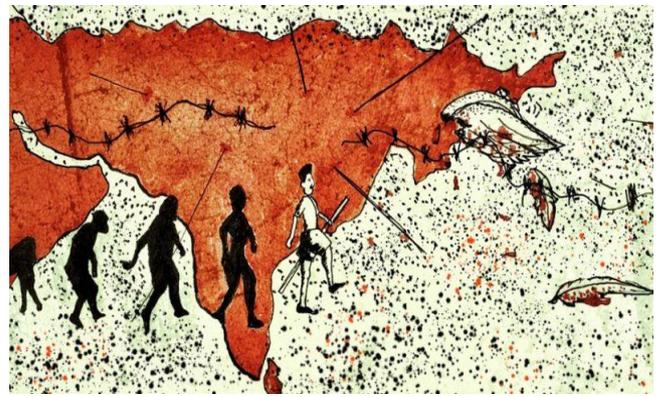


The University Grants Commission (UGC) on November 15, 2022 has issued a notification regarding the celebration of Constitution Day of India on November 26 on the theme "India: The Mother of Democracy". It is to push the idea across the country that democracy was prevalent in the region since the time of the Vedas.

Among the 15 themes on which the universities can hold lectures are the "concept of the 'ideal king (rajarsi or seer king or philosopher king)' according to Kautilya as well as Bhagavad Gita, India's 'loktantra' (self-governance), democratic traditions in "Kingly Democracies of Ancient India: Examining Democratic Trends in Sanskrit Literature", the "khap panchayats" and so on.

Ironically, his campaign on "India: The Mother of Democracy" by UGC is envisaged at a critical juncture when the neofascist regime led by BJP, the political tool of RSS, the longest running and biggest fascist organisation in the world is engaged in a maddening rush towards Hindurashtra through a series of moves targeting Muslims and Dalits such as Uniform Civil Code and revival and implementation of CAA/NRC by BJP-ruled

States, saffronisation of education through NEP 2020, superimposing 'one nation, one language', one uniform, etc. on multilingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious India, and above all through the upper caste-oriented Economic Reservation undermining the very structure of Constitution, drafted by the Constituent Assembly led by Dr. Ambedkar.



In this context, instead of the above mentioned topics, which form the basis of the intensification of Manuvadi-Hindutva, it would have been in order, if the UGC desists from its proposed post-truth campaign on Indian democracy and takes initiative for celebrating the Constitution Day with the following Radio Speech given to Voice of America by Dr. Ambedkar on May 20, 1956, regarding the true essence of Indian Democracy. Under the main title "Essential Ambedkar", and subtitle 'Prospect of Democracy in India', the VOA had uploaded this speech on September 27, 2016.

See the attachment below:-

https://in.docworkspace.com/d/sIPbc_6u8Af6E3JsG?sa=00&st=0t

Reports / News from States

Kerala:

Success of popular agitation against corporate development policy.

The Pinarayi government's decision to temporarily abandon the Silverline project and recall the revenue officials is a victory for the popular agitation against the corporate development policy. The strong support of progressive and democratic forces also played a major role in making this people's struggle a success. Pinarayi Vijayan, who tried to subjugate the nature and economy of Kerala to the interests of corporate capital by saying that it is essential for the development of Kerala, needs to apologize to the people. Before the consistent and stubborn struggle of common people were made Pinarayi's daydreams of implementing an anti-people development policy by showing up and bringing in hired thugs and party workers had to kneel before the will of the people. Not only the officers

appointed for the K.Rail project should be withdrawn, but all the false cases against the protesting people should be immediately withdrawn and compensation should be given to those who suffered heavy losses due to police repression. CPI and CPM leaders who are corporate worshipers and foot servants should apologize to the people. It is good for such leaders and administrators to understand that if they try to impose the rail project again, they will get a strong backlash from the people. The environmental awareness and struggle that has grown in the people regarding the K. Rail project needs to be converted into the energy of the struggle to tie all the corporate projects including the Vizhinjam project and build a popular development alternative. We salute all the people who made the anti-Krail struggle a success.

CPI (ML) Red Star
Kerala State Committee,



March led by CPI (ML) Red Star Kerala state Committee against government policies that lead to genocide of the tribal peoples, demanding tens of thousands of acres of alienated land of the tribal be taken back from the hands of the land mafias in Attappadi, Palakkad District, Kerala

Odisha:



Meeting of slum committee concluded at Nakaget Chala Sahi. Santosh Nayak is the president. Hail slum protection platform.



Tribal rally and protest at Bhanjanagar Odisha

MP:

Farmers will demonstrate at Rajbhavan on 26th November on nationwide call of United Kisan Morcha

Bhopal. Madhya Pradesh's farmers will also perform at the Rajbhavan of MP on November 26 under the nationwide challenge of United Kisan Morcha. Before the demonstration, the farmers will gather at the heart place of Bhopal Yadgar-e-Shahjahan Park and will go to Rajbhavan by making a procession. Today a meeting of constituency organizations of United Kisan Morcha of Madhya Pradesh was held at AIKS (Ajay Bhawan) office Shakir Sadan to discuss the preparation of this demonstration and decided to make this demonstration successful.

Along with this demonstration, memorandums related to the major issues of farmers of different districts along with the country and state level demands of the United Kisan Morcha will also be handed over. Dr. Sunilam of Kisan Sangharsh Samiti, MP Kisan Sabha President Badal Saroj, State President of Bharatiya Kisan Union (Tikait), Manish Srivastav of AIKMS, Kisan Jagrati San Irfan Jafri of formation, awakened tribal Dalit organization In addition to Madhuri Krishnaswamy, Buddhasen Singh Gond of MP Tribal Unity Mahasabha, Ashok Tiwari of MP Kisan Sabha, Ramnarayan Kurria, Premnarayan Mahor, Arun Chauhan, Surendra Jain, AIKS (Ajay Bhawan) father Rathore, Indian farmer labor Janashak Sandeep Thakur of T Union, All India Revolutionary Kisan Sabha (AIKKS) K Rajmani Prasad Mishra, Guruprasad Kol, Advocate of OBC Mahasabha Vishwajit Ratounia, Lokendra Gurjar, Subhash Malhotra of BKU (Tiket) were present. As solidarity, Atak's State General Secretary SS Maurya and Senior Leader of Situ Girijesh Singh Sengar also joined.

From United Kisan Morcha, Madhya Pradesh

Karnataka:

Nov 18: Karnataka Health workers' state-level Dharna successfully held in 27 districts!



Nov 18: Karnataka Health workers' state-level Dharna successfully held in 27 districts!

A protest strike was held in 27 districts including Bengaluru, Belagavi, Kalaburagi, Dharwad and other districts of today. The call was issued by the All Karnataka Community Health Employees Union (TUCI) demanding the regularization of 6182 Community Health Officers and the abolition of the contractual labour system. The Top officials of the state government came to the dharna site of Bangalore Freedom Park and promised to hold a joint meeting soon and take action. The strike was led by TUCI State President and Honorary President of Employees' Union R. Manasaiah, state President Mamita Gayakwada, Vice

President Basavananda, secretary Channappa Naik, organising secretary Shashi kumar Hulikanthi Math, Bangalor urban president Navyashree along with various office bearers are participated.

AP:**Go back Modi! Andhra Pradesh should be given special status!****Eluru District:**

On 12-11-22 visiting Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi came to Visakhapatnam and other areas of Andhra Pradesh State to lay the foundation stone of various programs.

On the occasion of the division of United Andhra Pradesh State as Andhra Pradesh and Telangana States parliament enacted an act. The Left Parties, Marxist-Leninists parties of Andhra Pradesh State have requested to implement the Andhra Pradesh Reorganization Act-2014, to complete the Polavaram project, to give funds to the capital of Andhra Pradesh, Amaravati, and to hold protest programs

that the right of Andhras cannot be sold to Visakhapatnam Steel Factory to Korea POSCO Company, etc. As part of this call On the 11th, Comrade DhanaKudaram Ranganatham, District Secretary of CPI (ML) Red Star, participated and gave a speech in Chintalapudi town, Eluru district. CPI senior leaders Ram Vasantha Rao, CPI (M) leaders, Guravaiah, Surya Kumar, RV Satyanarayana, Vajram and others participated in this programme. Chintalapudi raised slogans like Go Back Modi, Down Down Ambani Adani, Visakha steel is the right of Andhras.

Guntur District:

On November 12, the left parties held a demonstration in Guntur city demanding special status to Andhra Pradesh state, Visakha steel factory not to POSCO company, funding for Amaravati capital and Polavaram project. CPI (ML) Red Star District Secretary Comrade Pili Chennakesavulu spoke about this demonstration. New Democracy leader N Krishna, CPI State Assistant Secretary Comrade Muppalla Nageswara Rao, District Secretary Jangala Ajay

Kumar, Kota Malyadri, CPM leader Nalini Kant and others participated in this program.

Delhi:**Discussion on SC Verdict on Reservation**

Dear Friends,

On the eve of 74th Constitution Day , you are cordially invited to participate in a discussion on the very recent judgement of the Honourable Supreme Court for the 10% reservation of the Economic weaker section which raised the questions about the principles of the Basic structure and preamble of the Constitution particularly Justice (Social Economic and Political) and Equality.

Venue: Gandhi Peace Foundation, ITO, New Delhi.

On 25th November 2022 Friday Afternoon from 1 PM to 5 PM

The eminent persons have given their consent to participate in this discussion:
Mr. N.D.Pancholi, Mr. Sheo Mangal Siddhatkar, Mr. Kamal Kishore Katheria
Dr.S.N.Gautam, Dr.P.J.James, Mr. Ashok Bharti, Mr.S.S.Nehera

Your participation is highly solicited.

Arun Maji Advocate Supreme Court Convenor and Coordinator of the meeting.

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RESIST & DEFEAT RSS-NEOFASCISM

**CPI (ML) RED STAR CALLS FOR
NATION - WIDE CAMPAIGN
FROM DEC.6 TO DEC. 25, 2022**

**RESIST ANTI-DALIT, ANTI-MINORITY,
ANTI-ADIVASI AND ANTI-POOR
OFFENSIVE BY RSS/BJP**

**OPPOSE: ECONOMIC RESERVATION,
ONE NATION ONE POLICE,
UNIFORM CIVIL CODE, CAA/NPR/NRC**

BUILD BROADEST ANTI-FASCIST UNITED FRONT

**RED STAR MONTHLY
(ENGLISH)
NOVEMBER 2022**