

VOLUME 24 | ISSUE 4 | APRIL 2023

# RED STAR

PLATFORM FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

CENTRAL ORGAN OF CPI(ML) RED STAR

**EDITORIAL**

**APRIL 22: PARTY FORMATION DAY**

**ARTICLE:**

**ENCOUNTERS, BULLDOZERS AND JAI SRIRAM:  
DOWN THE UTTAR PRADESH WAY**

**PARTY SCHOOL PAPERS:**

**IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL LINE OF CPIML RED STAR  
PARTY BUILDING IN NEO-FASCIST SITUATION**

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# April 22: Party Formation Day

CPI (ML) Red Star observes April 22, Lenin's birth date, as Party Formation Day since CPI (ML) was founded on April 22, 1969. Of course, the Communist Party of India was founded in Tashkent in 1920 with Mohammad Shafiq as Secretary, and has a glorious history of many valiant struggles against British colonialism and Indian exploiters. However, on account of its failure to recognise the historically determined integral link between India's inhuman caste system and class formation, the Communist could not carry forward the task of revolution. And though CPM was formed in 1964 following the inner-party struggle against revisionism of CPI leadership, the former also could not make a break from revisionist positions. As a result, the ideological -political struggle against CPM's neo-revisionism led to the Naxalbari Uprising in May 1967 leading to the formation of CPI (ML) on April 22, 1969.

Today, when we are observing the Party Formation Day, in addition to the neoliberal-neocolonial oppression over India, India is already under neofascism led by RSS, the biggest and longest-running fascist organisation in history. As part of RSS' majoritarian Hindurashtra agenda, the religious minorities, especially Muslims and Christians are targeted and wantonly attacked, even as efforts are in full swing to deny even citizenship right to the former. Since Manusmriti, the ideological basis of RSS, treats Dalits and women as subhuman, they are



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also stigmatised taking away even the minimum democratic rights enshrined in the Constitution for them. And RSS that controls both State power and street power, micro and macro spaces, and the entire civil and military spheres of India today, is also engaged in dismantling the present Constitution and replacing it with Manusmriti, it's long-cherished demand since the adoption of the Constitution during the 1949-50 period.

Meanwhile, as we know, due to the influence of sectarian and adventurist positions, the CPI (ML) that formed in 1969 and the Party Program adopted at the 8th Congress in 1970 failed to make an objective evaluation of the postwar neocolonial phase of imperialism and it's concrete manifestations in India. This erroneous evaluation coupled with left adventurist practice that was effectively used by the Indian regime for repression led to a disintegration of the of CPI (ML) formed in

1969. However, after the revocation of Emergency, many efforts were taken up rejecting the sectarian approach on the one hand, and evaluation of the neocolonial transformation at a global level and in India. It was this long drawn-out initiative at the level of ideological-political struggle as well as efforts at reorganization of the revolutionary movement totally abandoning the sectarian line that culminated in the formulation of a Program and Path of Revolution in line with People's Democratic Revolution in India and convening of the 9th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star in 2011.

The 12th Party Congress conducted in September 2022, after taking into consideration the neoliberal-neofascist offensive by imperialism together with the horrific manifestations of mounting RSS fascism in India has updated the Party Documents so as to carry forward the Party's strategic tasks as laid down in the Program and Path of Revolution and the tactical or immediate task of defeating RSS fascism as laid down in the Political Resolution.

Today, when we are observing the Party Day under RSS neofascism, the Party's tasks are at three levels:

1. To speed up party-building, develop class and mass movements and launch struggles integrally linking up with class, caste, gender and ecological issues against the neoliberal ruling system and far-right corporate-saffron fascist policies of RSS/BJP, based on our ideological-political line.

2. In continuation of this, strive for a revolutionary left core of fraternal and communist revolutionary forces with a common minimum program against neoliberal

corporatisation and all its manifestations.

3. The tactical alliance of building up the broadest possible movement of the people against RSS neofascism joining with all anti-fascist and non-fascist forces which also involves electoral struggles to isolate and defeat the fascists. In this immediate and most urgent task of defeating RSS/BJP in the forthcoming General Election in 2024, in which non-fascist ruling classes and social democrats who pursue neoliberal policies are also involved, as communist revolutionaries, we have to uphold our independent position from the perspective of the class interests of the working class and oppressed.

Of course, while taking up these domestic tasks, it is our solemn task to strive for achieving ideological clarity on the working of imperialism according to the concrete situation today, especially in the neofascist global context. Since imperialism is the principal enemy of the world people, under the neofascist global context today, we have to take initiative for building up the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Fascist United Front joining with communist parties and like-minded organisations. To be precise, therefore, while observing the 54th anniversary of the founding of CPI (ML), with our updated Program and other Basic Documents, it is our task to go for an all-out ideological-political offensive against RSS neo-fascism together with consistently upholding our strategic, long-term task of overthrowing the reactionary ruling system as such, and advance towards people's democracy and socialism.



# **On the Ideological-Political Line of CPI (ML) Red Star Based on the 12 th Congress**

**(PAPER PRESENTED BY COM P J JAMES FOR PARTY SCHOOL - 2023)**

## **Introduction**

1. The Organisational Line of CPI (ML) Red Star in the neo-fascist Indian context is explained in the Paper “On Party Building in Neo-fascist Situation”. For a Communist Party, organisational line or party building is a corollary of its ideological-political line or Party Line as laid down in the basic documents of the Party, namely, Program and Path of Revolution explaining Party’s strategic tasks and Political Resolution unfolding its immediate or short- term task. According to the basic documents of the Party from the 9 th Congress to the 12 th Congress, the Stage and Path of Revolution in India remains unchanged, and continue as that of People’s Democratic Revolution.

2. However, if we take the first two decades of the 21 st century, including more than a decade since the 9 th Congress of our Party in 2011, vast changes which are faster than any previous period in history have taken place at a global level and in our country. These changes, among other things, include the advent of a whole set of ‘frontier technologies’ such as Digitization coupled with Artificial Intelligence which are a 21 st century phenomenon, and utilising them corporate capital’s imposition of an intensified super- exploitation of working class through a renewed global division of labour, new forms of oppression and marginalisation through migration and refugee crisis, unprecedented ecological destruction arising from corporate plunder of nature, hitherto unknown levels of wealth concentration, inequality, poverty,

unemployment, etc., and above all, the emergence global neo-fascism with its horrific manifestations and growing inter-imperialist rivalries and sharpening of all inherent contradictions of world imperialism. Linked with this international situation, in India, the most populous country in the world today, RSS, world’s biggest and longest-running fascist organisation with its most inhuman and reactionary ideology of Manuvadi-Hindutva has established a fascist regime with its multi-dimensional impact

## **On Updating the Basic Documents**

3. Properly evaluating these transformations, the 12 th Party Congress has appropriately updated the Basic Documents as adopted at the 9 th Congress and as amended in the 10 th Congress, especially the Program and Path of Revolution from the Marxist-Leninist perspective of ‘concrete analysis of the concrete situation’. Of course, CPI (ML) Red Star from the very beginning has evaluated the post-war period as that of imperialism’s neocolonial phase. Based on that, the Party has been of the firm position that after the 1947 power transfer to Indian ruling classes, the leading sections of whom today are ‘junior partners of imperialism’, India has been continuing as a neocolonially dependent country.

### **On the Question of ‘Political Independence’ and ‘Formal Independence’**

4. However, though our approach to neocolonialism and characterisation of India as ‘neocolonially dependent’ remains as such, in the minor amendment to the Program adopted in the 10 th Party Congress in 2015 in Lucknow, an erroneous evaluation of 1947 power transfer as ‘political independence, though limited in character’ also was incorporated, as against the conceptualisation of ‘formal independence’ upheld by our basic documents since the Bhopal Special Conference onwards. Obviously, a ‘neocolonial dependence’ and ‘political independence’ are contradictory and inconsistent at the outset.

5. Hence, when the Program was updated in 2022 in accordance with the changes in the concrete situation, after prolonged inner-party debate, the term ‘political independence’ was replaced by ‘formal political independence’. No doubt, the conceptualisation of 1947 power transfer to Indian ruling classes by British colonial masters as ‘political independence’ was also connected with the revisionist perspective of ‘weakening of imperialism’ in the postwar period, as propagated by Khrushchevites. Together with this, another prognosis of India as a ‘new imperialist country’ also appeared in a Seminar paper presented by the MLPD representative during the 10 th Party Congress. Since a country simultaneously remaining ‘neocolonially dependent’ and ‘new imperialist’ being impossible, from the very beginning, our Party had totally rejected this hypothesis of ‘new imperialism’. At the same time, we cannot be

oblivious to the ideological link between proponents of ‘political independence’ and ‘new imperialism’, since the possibility of a ‘politically independent’ country becoming ‘imperialist’ is perfectly in consonance with the laws of motion of capital today.

6. The formulations of ‘political independence’ and ‘new imperialism’ have other ideological-political dimensions, especially in relation to the principal contradiction as elucidated in the Program of CPI (ML) Red Star. For instance, of the five major contradictions adopted by our Party at the international level, the contradiction between imperialism on the one hand, and oppressed peoples and nations on the other, is the principal contradiction. In the same vein, the contradiction between the alliance of imperialist-corporate bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord classes on the one hand, and the broad masses of people on the other, is the principal contradiction with in India.

7. Thus, according to our Party Program, imperialism is the main enemy not only of world people, vast majority of whom are living in Afro-Asian-Latin American countries, but also for the Indian people as a whole. On the other hand, according to the hypothesis of ‘new imperialism’, vast majority of the people are living in imperialist countries, and not in neocolonially dependent countries. This is inconsistent with concrete reality and is an outright violation of the very core (stage and path of revolution) of our Party program. That is why, along with rejecting the new imperialist hypothesis, while updating the Program, we replaced ‘political independence’ with ‘formal political independence’.

## **On Concrete Analysis of Indian Society and Interrelation among Class Struggle, Caste Struggle and Gender Struggle**

8. On understanding class India, since the 9 th Congress itself, CPI (ML) Red Star has taken a clear-cut position against the mechanical or copy-paste method pursued by many 'communist' parties. As such, in analysing class with respect to the specific, historically determined Indian social formation, the Party took the firm position that both class and caste are integral and inseparable. That is, class struggle in India is intertwined and interwoven with the struggle for abolition of the caste system which is a strategic task and not a tactical one. Hence the Path of Revolution adopted by the 9 th Congress opines: "Fighting caste oppression and campaigning for caste annihilation are not in the agenda of many organisations, or even when it is included, no concrete plan of action is put forward. It is the consequence of the reality that even after 150 years of experience of the Communist Movement, the mechanical imposition of the China Wall between revolution in the economic base and revolution in the superstructure is not removed. That is why the close relation between class struggle and struggle against caste system is not correctly understood and the mechanical approach that class struggle will solve all questions like the caste problem is still put forward repeatedly. This mechanical approach should be replaced by the dialectical relation between struggles at these two levels. Or a comprehensive understanding about class struggle itself has to be developed."

9. Based on this Marxist approach of concretely analysing Indian society, we have already rejected the mechanical and reductionist approach to caste -- that caste shall vanish once 'class struggle' becomes victorious or that climbing the economic ladder enables a person to overcome the social stigma associated with caste. On the other hand, caste being intertwined and interwoven with India's mode of production or social formation, according to our Party's position, rather than a super-structural issue, it cuts across both base and superstructure, and caste continues to play its major role in spite of the penetration of capital into the micro spheres of our society and not merely connected with feudalism as claimed by certain parties, or a "meagre role" as claimed by the erstwhile minority section within the party. Today, our Party position is that in spite of leading many heroic struggles of Dalits and other oppressed, the inability on the part of the erstwhile communist leadership to grasp the caste question in the proper perspective has led to the alienation of the oppressed castes from the communist movement. And we also have an understanding that the rift between the Communist Party and the movement of the Dalits and oppressed castes is to be urgently resolved by taking a positive approach towards Ambedkar and the Ambedkarite movement in general.

10. In the other Party Documents and writings pertaining to caste too, we have consistently pointed out that over the decades even after Power Transfer, caste system has been gaining more and more strength without any let up as is manifested in the mounting discrimination,

oppression, atrocities, untouchability and all round alienation and deprivation of the Dalits with region-wise specificity in multi-national, multi cultural, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-religious India. And it is from this perspective that in the context of the 9 th Congress, CPI (ML) Red Star had taken initiative to form the Caste Annihilation Movement (CAM) to carry forward the ideological-political struggle against Brahmanical Manuvadi caste system in all its manifestations and to strive for the ultimate goal of annihilating caste system fully grasping the dialectical link between class struggle and the struggle for the abolition of caste. Along with CAM, over the years the Party has been earnestly engaged in acquiring more ideological and historical clarity on caste question including developing the required practical struggles in this regard.

11. However, when the task of updating the Party Program was taken up, RSS whose ideological basis is Manusmriti, using its political tool BJP, has already transformed India into a neofascist regime. According to Manusmriti, or Manuvadi-Hindutva, vast majority of the workers and toilers who belong to the 'untouchable' and oppressed castes and women are subhuman. And RSS is engaged in converting the Indian Constitution in tune with Manusmriti.

In this context, when the Central Committee resolved to situate RSS neofascism in the historical roots of 'Manuism' in the updated documents, a few members comprising a minority section, despite their anti-caste rhetoric, vehemently opposed Party's clear-cut position on caste and eventually went out of the

Party. For instance, on the eve of the updated Program drafting, the entire pages of 2021 March Issue of 'Marxist-Leninist', theoretical journal of CPI (ML) Red Star were set apart for debate on caste in which this minority's mechanical approach to caste totally disregarding how caste cuts across various modes of production was also published in detail.

12. Today, many self-proclaimed Marxist scholars claim that caste will wither away through the onward march of modernity and penetration of capitalist relations in to India. This they do based on the experience from Europe where the advance of capitalism could strike at the foundations of feudal, pre-capitalist and patriarchal relations. By hoping to repeat the same in India, these scholars are exposing their inability to comprehend how caste could comfortably sit even on the seat of modern science and technology in India. And corporate capital that penetrated in to the countryside has no qualm to integrate itself with the archaic and inhuman practices such as Khap Panchayat like most despicable caste institutions. As manifested in the renowned ongoing case in a California court against untouchability, Brahmanical techies who migrated to US have succeeded to export caste even to the Silicon Valley-the embodiment of the so called most advanced frontier technology today. The City council of Seattle has recently passed a resolution banning the practice of untouchability which was vehemently opposed by expatriate Manuvadis. Thus an economic interpretation of social change alone is incapable to unravel the underlying forces work



ing at the macro level. To reiterate, today caste remains at the very centre of Indian counterrevolution and Communists have to take up the task of overcoming it as integral part of class struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

13. In this context, especially in the critical situation of RSS neo-fascism, our basic documents have emphasised all-out offensive against Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of RSS together with our uncompromising struggle against neoliberal corporatisation. In this regard, the first four paragraphs of Chapter 3 of our Party Program explains how the caste system evolved through the ancient, medieval and modern periods integrating with the changing modes of production and emerging classes, cutting across base and superstructure, assuming new dimensions of oppression and discrimination and adapting itself to political-economic changes.

14. And, it is in continuation of this historical perspective on caste and in view of the “inherent contradictions and tensions in caste-ridden Indian society” that in Chapter 5 relating to Program of People’s Democracy, the Party opines: “ 5.12 The People’s Democratic State shall take concrete steps for the abolition of the inhuman caste system, eradicate all forms of untouchability, caste-oppression and caste-discrimination from all spheres of life. All caste-practices and reactionary institutions should be suppressed and the perpetrators of such crimes shall be punished. Ensuring caste-based reservation till the wiping out of all caste-discriminations along with required affirmative actions for uplifting the Dalits and oppressed castes and priority to them in land-distribution based on the principle ‘land to the tiller’, along with appropriate administrative and cultural interventions.”

Further, in conformity with this position, 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.

15. In the same vein, along with the caste system, the updated Party Program as adopted by the 12th Congress upheld the question of gender or gender struggle also as inseparable aspect of class struggle. Just as class struggle is directed against the exploiter class, and the struggle for annihilation of caste system is manifested in the form of struggle against the oppressor caste, gender struggle aims at elimination of all forms of gender inequality which is inevitable for democratisation of Indian society where patriarchy based on Manusmriti treats women as subhuman. Party Program says: “5.13 Stop all forms of gender discrimination. Abolish patriarchy in all its manifestations and stop religion and caste-based oppression on women. Stop all forms of discrimination and attacks on women at work places. Stop female infanticide. Ensure women's equality in all fields, property right to women and equal pay for equal work. All women shall have opportunities to engage in socially productive labor with women-specific and genderfriendly working conditions. In the place of the patriarchal, religious-caste-based family system, the People’s State shall ensure conjugal life of partners irrespective of gender, based on mutual love, respect and consent. “5.14 In view of the exploitation, oppression and marginalization suffered by people of different genders and sexualities such as

## **On RSS Neo-fascism and the Anti-Fascist Struggle**

16 . While the strategic task of our Party is to establish a people's democratic state overcoming imperialism and its junior Indian partners, today the immediate task before us is to defeat RSS neo-fascism, which has been comprehensively elucidated in the Political Resolution adopted by the 12 th Party Congress. We have elaborated this task further including understanding of RSS neo-fascism and on the anti-fascist front in the articles published especially in our organ Red Star. What requires is the building up of the broadest possible anti-fascist united front against the RSS/BJP regime joining with all like-minded forces including non-fascist parties and organisations. However, as communists, in doing so, we should not surrender our strategic task of struggling for the class interests of the working class and all oppressed. This is possible only if we are capable to uphold our independent ideological line while being part of the broadest anti-fascist front. To accomplish this, we have to work at three levels.

a. First is to build up the Party based on the Program and Path of Revolution. In this regard, the Political Resolution explains: "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."

b. Second is to build up a Left core of all fraternal and revolutionary parties based on a common minimum program against neoliberal corporatisation in all its manifestations. This all India Left core comprises state-level coordinations composed of like-minded revolutionary-left organisations upholding the interests of the vast majority of the working and oppressed peoples.

c. This Left Coordination shall form the starting point for the tactical alliance against fascism or broadest possible anti-fascist united front in which non-fascist ruling class parties and social democrats are also a part. This alliance with an anti-fascist common agenda against RSS neo-fascism also encompasses appropriate ideological struggle against Manuvadi-Hindutva, ideological base of Indian fascism too. While differentiating from the strategic alliance of working class and oppressed peoples against the ruling system and neoliberalism, this tactical alliance can also effectively utilise the contradictions within ruling classes in the fight against fascism.

17. If we properly pursue this approach, it will

facilitate the strengthening of the anti-fascist movement and creation of the atmosphere for a broad electoral front capable to defeat RSS/BJP in the 2024 election on the one hand, and the presence of a people's movement capable to resist the threat of a fascist come back thereafter, on the other.

#### On Ecological Question and Class Struggle

18. CPI (ML) Red Star's firm position is that ecological issues are inseparable from corporate accumulation and plunder of nature by capital. Hence the struggle for an environmentally sustainable, pro-people development paradigm is inseparably linked with class struggle. Taking the gravity of the ecological question in the proper perspective that it is one of the basis questions to be resolved as part of class struggle, in the 9th Congress itself the Party had incorporated the contradiction between capital and nature as the fifth major contradiction both at the international and national level.

19. Reiterating this position, the Party Program adopted by the 12th Congress states: "3.23. In conformity with the conspicuous international trend towards intensified plunder of nature by corporate-speculative capital under neoliberalism, India also has been witnessing unprecedented ecological devastation during this neoliberal phase. At the instance of global corporates and their Indian junior partners, all laws and regulations in India pertaining to environmental protection are being taken away one by one. The latest EIA amendment, that legalizes the corporate violation of hitherto restrictions on ecologically sensitive and fragile areas and massive displacement of people from their habitat, is the most notorious among them.

An essential component of the so called "ease of doing business" and "investorfriendly" measures taken to attract foreign capital is the import of ecologically harmful and toxic industries and dumping of obsolete nuclear plants in the country. At this critical juncture, when the whole issue of ecology and environment is inseparably linked up with the operation of corporate capital, the initiative for a development paradigm in harmony with nature has become the indispensable component of people's democracy and socialism." Now the task before the Party is to carry forward this ideological-political line through appropriate organisational initiatives.

#### Conclusion

20. The core issues of our Party's ideological-political line highlighted above are that linked with the inner-party struggle leading to the 12th Party Congress. On many important issues such as federal question, our Party has its distinct line. For instance, instead of the superimposed unitary character of the State, the People's Democratic State envisaged in the Party Program is fully in consonance with the multi-national, multi-lingual, multi cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of India. Hence the Program of People's Democracy envisaged by the Party is distinguished by a Constitution based on Federal Principles upholding the linguistic, ethnic, economic and cultural rights of nationalities that constitute India. Including this, to get an overall view of our Party Line, all members have to thoroughly read and comprehend the basic documents in their mother tongue. Hence all State Committees have to take up the task of translating them at the earliest and party study-classes based on them are to be arranged in a time-bound manner.



# On Party Building in Present Neo-Fascist Situation

(PAPER PRESENTED BY COM K N RAMACHANDRAN FOR PARTY SCHOOL - 2023)

## Introduction

1. The CC of CPI(ML) Red Star has repeatedly pointed out that, in the present situation when the working class and the peasantry in general, and the whole people, especially, the women, Dalits, Adivasis and other oppressed sections including the minorities, especially Muslims, are facing unprecedented, targeted fascist onslaughts from the Manuvadi-Hindutva forces, in order to organize resistance and to overthrow it the Party building should be given top priority. At the international level too, in spite of the objective situation when all the contradictions are unprecedentedly sharpening, leading to possibilities for mighty spontaneous people's upsurges breaking out in many countries, there is not a single Communist Party capable of leading them to revolutions to overthrow the imperialists and their junior partners in power and to capture power, leading to advance towards people's democracy and socialism.

2. It is a Marxist-Leninist Understanding that based on the concrete analysis of the concrete conditions, once the ideological-political line, and based on it, the Program and Path of Revolution are developed, then the most important task is the Party building. There can be no revolution without a revolutionary party capable of analyzing every change in the situation, developing the Party line appropriately, and leading the whole

organization for mobilization of the masses to seize the political power.

3. When the neo-fascist Modi government is consolidating its domination in every field very fast, launching various attacks on the working class and oppressed people as a whole, especially on the Muslim minority, dalits, Adivasis, women and other oppressed classes and sections, the expectation was that, if not all, at least major section of the CR organizations shall come forward to unite in to a stronger party or at least join the Revolutionary Left Coordination with a common program to challenge the fascist forces with the approach. But, many are in old rigid frames even after vast socio-economic, political changes in all fields linked with the emergence of fascism have taken place.

4. So, in order to take up the party building by winning over the communist forces and attracting the new generation, intensive ideological political struggle has to be launched. How the new forces can be attracted to the communist party is a big challenge. The new generation is not familiar with Marxist literature. Mainstream media that project the parliamentary left as communists have degenerated to ruling class positions and implementing neoliberal policies wherever in power.

5. In the context of the severe setbacks suffered by the communist movement all over the world with all former socialist countries abandoning

the socialist path, in the atmosphere of powerful anti-communist onslaughts by the imperialists and their lackeys, the new generation will give credibility to the communist vision, and be attracted to it, only if we take up the struggle for gender equality, caste annihilation, ecological issues, and for an alternative development path against the mainstream capitalist development paradigm. These issues are to be taken up as integral part of class struggle. This should be the Marxist approach to party building.

6. The party building also calls for a vigorous campaign against the majoritarian Manuvadi-Hindutva, the theoretical base of RSS neo-fascism. Along with developing struggles against increasing anti-people policies of Modi government, and developing united movements, a powerful campaign to expose and defeat Manuvadi Hindutva is needed. Today, except a small section of revolutionary intellectuals and Communist Revolutionary(CR) forces, others are not attacking the Hindutva-Manuvad of RSS/BJP. Even when the 2024 general election is near, the opposition parties including social democrats are not yet prepared to unitedly move against RSS/BJP.

7. It is in this context, the significance of the call given by the CC to launch a powerful campaign against Manuvadi-Hindutva immediately after the 12 th Party Congress and in conformity with the immediate task as laid down in the adopted Political Resolution. Accordingly, we are engaged in building up the broadest possible anti-fascist front uniting with all those who oppose RSS neo-fascism, while,

at the same time, upholding our independent political position of fighting for the class interests of the working class and all oppressed. Regarding the latter, which is linked with our strategic and long-term tasks, the Party has to work among toiling masses, women, youth, students, in the cultural and caste annihilation fronts and develop organisations and movements through launching campaigns and struggles.

8. Today, Party building is intertwined with waging ideological struggle at two levels: firstly, we shall carry forward the theoretical/ideological attack on the Manuvadi-Hindutva which is the base of RSS neo-fascism with the help of revolutionary intellectuals, and trying to mobilize Dalit, Adivasi, women organizations and other progressive forces, writers, cultural activists etc., trying to mobilize the youth and student organizations also. Secondly, we shall wage ideological struggle against all alien trends in the communist movement, putting forward our ideological political line. These campaigns as well as our involvement in the struggle against the anti-people, neo-fascist policies shall provide a favourable atmosphere for recruiting new comrades from all fields and to strengthen the task of party building.

### **12th Party Congress on Party Building**

9. The Political Resolution adopted by the 12th Party Congress says: “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.”

Thus, only under the leadership of an ideologically, politically and organizationally equipped communist party, surrounded by class/mass organizations/movements, the task of development of class struggle and people's movements can, be effectively carried forward, and the united front activities according to the demand of the present situation can be initiated and developed. It is evident that unless the task of party building is taken up as primary, all other tasks shall remain unfulfilled.

10. The Political Organizational Report (POR) adopted by the 12th Congress explained the various aspects of party building thus:

“6.1. In the present international and national situation, when the objective situation is becoming increasingly favorable for a new wave of revolutionary upsurges, right and left deviations and eclectic, opportunist positions among communist forces, only create frustration among the people who are faced with unprecedented deprivation under neoliberal imperialism, and impending danger of ecological catastrophe. Our approach to ...Party building in this complex situation is to launch a healthy ideological-political struggle and win over all genuine communist forces for building a Party capable of giving leadership to revolutionary upheaval in the present neoliberal, corporate phase of imperialism...”

Unification of Communist Revolutionaries

11. Regarding the criteria of Communist unity, the POR continues: “6.2... Firstly, a positive approach to proletarian internationalism, and for uniting the ML forces at international level for joint campaigns and struggles wherever possible. Secondly, recognizing that in the concrete conditions of our country, the class struggle, caste struggle and gender struggle are integrally related to each other and should be taken up accordingly, waging the caste annihilation movement and gender equality struggle along with the class struggle. Thirdly, recognizing the significance of protecting ecology with a now or never approach, when the imperialist system has pushed humanity to the verge of ecological catastrophe. Fourthly, continuing struggles to complete remaining tasks of agrarian revolution including land to the tiller, and completing anti-imperialist tasks to create conditions for

advancing to the stage of socialist revolution. Based on these, the process of uniting the CR forces should be speeded up with the aim of building a powerful communist party at all India level.”

12. This question of winning over the communist forces to the party should be taken up at three levels: Firstly, though their number may vary considerably from state to state, there are many former members of organizations belonging to the ‘communist spectrum’ who can be won over and enrolled after convincing them about our party line; Secondly, there are many groups of comrades, especially in states where the left movement had good influence, who have left their previous organizations due to ideological or political or organizational differences. For winning over them also initiative should be taken; Thirdly, active efforts should be made to find out organizations who are nearer to our party line and to win over them through protracted discussions and, if necessary working together with them for some time forming coordination committees.

#### Increasing Party Membership

13. Over the past few years, there has only been nominal increase in the membership of our Party. Even among these existing members, many are not fulfilling the responsibilities of party members as explained in the Party Constitution. Below central committee level, levy system is yet to be implemented properly. This is to be rectified at the earliest. Considering the enormous tasks the Party has to take up, the existing membership is absolutely insufficient. Urgent steps should be taken to increase the membership. The following steps are proposed to accomplish this task:

a. We have formed Party Sub-Committees in all class/mass organizations and people’s movements at central level. They are constituted at state level also at least in few states or in few fields. Make these committees active and through them take steps to politicize the members of these class/mass organizations and for their enrolment as party members from all fields, especially from among the trade union members, agricultural workers and peasantry.

b. Though 65 percent of India’s population is below the age of 35, our membership among youth and students is very limited. This is because of our weakness in building the student and youth organizations in spite of repeated decisions. Hence more emphasis is to be given for recruiting large number of candidate members from students and youth.

c. Women constitute half of our population. Without giving emphasis to women’s liberation, party cannot advance the revolutionary movement. But proportion of women among our party members and their presence in party committees are much less. Attention should be given for recruiting large number of women as party members, politicize and activate them, and create healthy conditions in the party committees for their active involvement.

d. An active campaign should be organized to hold continuous discussions to win over politically advanced elements from other communist organisations/groups including those who are disgusted with the political-ideological line of these parties or are inactive because of many reasons.

e. The most important source of recruitment to

Party is peoples movements and struggles. Basti Suraksha Manch in Odisha, land struggles in other parts of the country, etc. are examples. If we can politicise such cadres who are active in such struggles, large number of cadres may be recruited from landless /homeless poor and oppressed sections.

### **Strengthening State Committees**

14. In a multi-national/multi-lingual/multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country like India, the state committees have to play a very important role if we have to build up party and lead the revolutionary movement. But many of our state committees are very weak. Many of them have no proper office or office functioning. Many of them do not bring out the state party organ or issue statements on important developments. We have to wage consistent struggle against the influence of liberalism on the one hand and sectarianism on the other to strengthen the state committee functioning, taking following practical steps:

- a. Give maximum emphasis to get a regular office, however small it is and start its functioning with one whole-timer comrade in charge for it.
- b. Give importance to bring out state party organ; make effective use of social media and online publications for party and class/mass organizations.
- c. Start regular practice of issuing press statements on all important state issues, along with issuing CC statements on important issues; organize a library and organize political education to party members on a regular basis.
- d. Central, state, district fund collections should be systematically organized at appropriate time according to local conditions;

- e. Give emphasis to regularize levy system at all levels, maintain levy and account registers;
- f. In line with the Central Committee, the SC/SOC should send Party Circulars regularly to District Committees and state reports to CC regularly.

Strengthen the District Committee functioning:

15. The district committees link the state committee with the grass root party committees, and in the party structure of the communist party it has to play an important role. It should have an office and regular office functioning, including the practice of issuing press statements on important developments. It should coordinate the working of area committees and the grass root functioning below them. It should collect the levy regularly and ensure the propagation of party organs and literature. It should maintain levy register and account register. It should send circulars to lower level committees on the one hand, and send regular written reports to state committee.

### **Importance of Party Education:**

16. In spite of repeated decisions, necessary emphasis is not given to party education at state and district levels and below. Though Central Party Schools are regularly conducted from 2010, Party Schools are not organized at lower levels including translation of all Central Party School papers in most of the states. All the state committees should ensure that immediate steps are taken to overcome this weakness. In the present fascist situation, the importance of party education by organizing regular party classes has further increased. It also calls for



making necessary basic Marxist classics available to the comrades. The state committees should give increasing attention to these points. Party education should be taken up at following three levels:

a. Central Party Schools organized by the CC every year based on papers prepared and distributed earlier on important currently relevant subjects. It is regularly taking place.

b. Party classes organized by the state committees at district and areal levels to impart education on Party documents, basics of Marxism and classes on various issues which are connected with developing class struggle.

c. Self study by Party members: It is very important. The practice of reading party documents, statements, basic Marxist books, daily newspapers, weeklies and documents and statements of other organizations should be developed. The central, state, district, area committee leaders attending the party committees should give emphasis to this subject.

d. In order to help the members and sympathisers to develop ideological, political understanding, the Party should make available basic Marxist books, Party documents, relevant books on current developments, Party organ, etc in their mother tongue. For this publication centres are needed.

### **Building Grass-root level Party Committees linking with 3- tier Panchayat System and Capture of Political Power at Local Level**

17. CC has been repeatedly emphasizing the importance of organizing and strengthening party committees at the grass root level, that is, party committees at Branch, Local and Area

levels and Party Sympathizers' Groups. Decline in the strength of our mobilization and our poor performance in the elections even in the districts where we have waged many struggles are due to the weakness of our party at grass root level. Since the time of the introduction of 3-tier Panchayat system, all ruling class parties have started giving lot of importance to actively participate in the activities of the Gram, Block and District Panchayats, deploying even their senior cadres for it. Since enormous funds are available for local bodies, to control them and to create mass base for Assembly and LS elections, these main-stream parties use corruption and create caste and communal vote banks at grass root level. So, without fighting them we cannot maintain our mass support achieved through the people's struggles.

18. However, our state committees are not giving importance to grass root level party building, Due to negligence or inactivity of district and area level work, we are losing party members and large number of class/mass organizations members in many areas. Besides, as our state committees are not giving necessary attention to grass root level party committees and to provide party education and political guidance to them, even many of our own comrades elected to these panchayat system became corrupt and left the party.

19. The issue is also linked to developing Party's understanding on the link between parliamentary struggle and class struggle, along with fighting all influences of parliamentary cretinism. Unlike the revisionist approach, this question of putting forward an alternative approach to development and democracy at grass root level and fighting for it cannot be postponed to be settled after revolution.

We should give political and organizational importance to strengthening grass root level party committees. In districts and taluks/blocks where our district and area committees are functioning, select gram and block panchayats where our party presence is there; strengthen the branch committees at village/town/municipal ward level and Local Committees at Gram/Town panchayat levels; chalk out people's programs based on our approach to development and democratization and form people's committees to capture panchayats. By striving to make these panchayats to function according to our political and organizational line, consistently strengthening the direct participation of the people in its activities through strengthening the functioning of the neighborhood committees we can take class struggle to the grass root levels.

20. While giving emphasis to party building, along with the emphasis to grass root level party building at Area, Local and Branch committees, their activities should be linked to our active participation in the numerous struggles of the people, and with the functioning of the 3-tier panchayat system. In the Central Party School in 2013, though a paper on **OUR APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS** was presented and discussed, still we could not make any advances in this field. Not only that, almost all our comrades elected to local bodies so far, by and large either got influenced by corrupt practices or left our party.

21. According to our experience, if the gains from people's struggles are not used for

consolidating our mass base and effectively utilised at the local body elections very soon the gains would be lost. Further, many decades of parliamentary experience of traditional communist parties also teaches that if the parliamentary institutions including the 3-tier panchayat system are not used in a revolutionary manner as part of the class struggle, they can lead to negative results.

22. Presently, under neo-liberal corporatisation, both imperialism and its junior partners, the ruling classes, are effectively utilizing local self governments for their far-right agenda. In this context, it is imperative on the part of the struggling left forces to put forward a class approach to local body elections, and the continuation of it even if our comrades get elected to only one seat. In this way the so called top-down decentralization imposed under the labels like "participatory democracy", "participatory development", and "empowerment", etc. as advocated by the imperialist agencies can be exposed. Such decentralization is not intended for genuine people's political power at the local level. On the contrary, it leads to making local bodies as appendages of global corporate capital.

23. At the behest of neo-colonial agencies such as the World Bank and IMF, as part of rolling back the state, almost all of the erstwhile social welfare and developmental tasks of the central and state governments are put on the shoulders of fund-starved local bodies, who are made direct dependencies of WB, ADB and other funding agencies. In spite of the economic burden imposed on them, the right to collect land revenue, which is now with the State government, is not set apart for local bodies.

The bureaucratic set up of the local bodies has also changed little in the midst of many talks on decentralization. Even today, the elected representatives of the Panchayat system are not vested with any real powers. All the financial and executive powers are vested with the executive officer or secretary of the Panchayat system at village, bloc and district levels. More precisely, the elected local bodies still lack autonomy regarding local planning, resource mobilization and executive powers of implementation.

24. Focusing on these aspects, according to concrete conditions, a people's alternative of bottom-up decentralization inseparably linked with the development of class struggle aimed at basically altering the existing property relations and power structure can be put forward. In continuation to the active functioning of the grass root level party committees, and the people's struggles taken up by them, the Party should actively participate in the local body elections and utilize the panchayat raj for the political program of transforming the local bodies as primary centers of people's political power. The participation in local bodies elections should be linked with the struggle for redistribution of land on the basis of land to the tiller, confiscation of land held by land mafia, distribution of such lands and surplus land among landless, agitation against displacement, against all super-imposed neocolonial-neoliberal projects, etc. The Party should reject the neo-liberal decentralization experiments pursued in different states. To develop this orientation, lessons from the positive experience of socialist construction in former socialist countries should be assimilated

according to our situation. All State Committees should prepare a model manifesto specifying Party's program including specific demands for land, shelter, food, drinking water, healthcare, education, employment, etc. as part of the people-oriented and 'sustainable development' perspective. Based on it, the party committees or people's committees responsible for the gram/block/district panchayats can draft their program according to concrete demands of the people. In this way, the parliamentary struggle for panchayat boards can be made part of the revolutionary alternative we put forward at state and national levels.

25. Taking up this challenge of party building at the grass root level where we have party's presence and some mass contacts through local struggles means coming in to contradiction with the already well—entrenched mainstream parties as well as vested interests. It will politically educate the party as a whole not only to develop grass root level mass base, but to get invaluable lessons for developing the class struggle for people's political power at the grass root level also. The theoretical/ideological questions connected with the transformation of communist parties to bureaucratic parties in erstwhile socialist countries are also associated with the abandoning of people's power centres established during the initial stages of revolution. So, our work in the 3-tier Panchayat System should be seriously taken up recognizing the fact that not only for immediate purpose of developing our mass base, but also for long term revolutionary socialist transformation of the society and for establishing people's political power at the grass root level also.

26. From a communist perspective, the question of 'communes' which is linked up with people's political power, in the present context, needs to be discussed in relation to our participation in local bodies. The People's Communes in China which was the basic unit of holding political-economic power was based on the slogan 'power to the people'. All party committees have to seriously understand the ideological-political-organisational ramifications of communes as the centres of people's political power based on the experiences of 'Paris Commune', the 'Soviets' in the Soviet Union, and the 'People's Communes' in China. Therefore, instead of waiting for revolution, from the pre-revolutionary period onward, we have to seriously take up the task of developing communes where ever we have mass base and local political power taking into account the concrete social formation in our country.

#### Party Finance

27. The Party has to depend on the people entirely for its finance. It is against any form of extortion or forcible collection, any form of 'money actions', collection of contributions from mafia, anti-people and corrupt forces. The money collected by every committee and the expenses should be fully accounted for. Every functioning committee from the CC to the Branch Committee, there should be an Account Book, in which all receipts and expenses are recorded. Except in the case of bucket collections in the streets, receipts should be given for collections, and an accounting system, including the auditing of the accounts should be developed. Based on the experience of the communist movement from its inception and our own experience, the Party has

developed a fund raising method and levy collection from Party members as follows:

a. Central Fund collection: For helping the functioning of the CC, a Central Fund collection should be organized and coordinated CC and by all SCs and SOCs every year at a stipulated time as by CC. There should be publicity through party publications, posters, handbills and through social media.

b. State Fund Collection: Every State Committees should decide the best period for the state fund collection. Giving good publicity through social media, posters, hand bills etc, the state fund collection should be organized for two weeks with all the party members participating in it compulsorily. A quota may be decided for the District Committees and total quota for the state. Out of the amount collected, the SCs may give 10% for the CC. The SCs should see that completion of fund collection should be followed by proper auditing and closing of accounts.

c. District Fund Collection: As decided by the SC, all the DCs should plan fund collection for one or two weeks with the participation of all party members and sympathisers. The DCs can decide the quota. From this collection, 75% is for the DCs and grass root level committees, and 25% for the SC or as decided.

d. Party membership fee for an year is Rs 20, which should be paid at the time of renewal of membership or recruitment. This entire amount should be sent to Party Centre along with the district-wise membership list.

e. Party Levy Collection: According to Party Constitution, every Party member/candidate member should pay levy every month which ranges from 2 to 8 % of his/her income. For



whole timers, unless otherwise decided, it shall be Rs 20 per month. Every party committee should decide the levy for its members and collect it regularly. Out of the total levy collected in a state, 50% goes to DCs and below, 40% to the SC and 10% to the CC. Every functioning committee should have a levy register and collection should be recorded in it. The SCs should organize fixing and collection of levy's through party committees and report it which should be followed by DCs. A party member who without valid reason fails to give levy continuously for three months, may be issued a notice by the concerned committee, and if the explanation is not satisfactory may be removed from Party roll and should be reported to the next higher committee.

f. Apart from these regular fund collection, contributions can be collected from party sympathisers and friends by the party committees. For struggles, campaigns, etc., also funds are needed and should be collected. The basic principle to be followed is except in the case of bucket collections, all other collections should be made giving receipts in which the contact no and address of the concerned committees are given.

g. Reflecting the vast unevenness in our SCs and SOCs, there are vast differences in the collections also. In spite of all difficulties proper procedures are to be followed in all cases of fund collections.

## Conclusion

28. Comrades, Our aim is to build a Bolshevik style Communist Party surrounded by class/mass organizations and various people's movements which is capable of facing any changes in the political situation in the country. Under RSS Neo-Fascism today where even dissent and difference are treated as treason, the 'democratic space' for work is shrinking fast.

All party committees should be aware of this and be prepared to face any eventuality. At the same time, we shall strive to utilize the the existing situation for open work to link the party with the masses as long as possible. Our party committee system and organizational functioning should be properly streamlined so that it is capable of confronting all eventualities by making the party committees capable of utilizing all open and secret, parliamentary and non-parliamentary means to make the party safe, while developing class struggle continuously. Let us strengthen our party building with all our might, overcoming all past mistakes and present weaknesses.



# Encounters, Bulldozers and Jai Sriram: Down the Uttar Pradesh Way

## Sankar

In the year of 2014, BJP's slogan was 'development'. However, that 'development' had a special model which they coined as 'Gujarat model'. A huge mass propaganda was developed through 'Modi media' to convince the people that Modiji was going to make the dream come true. A dream land was going to be built where the people who wear hawaii slippers would travel in airplanes (hawaii chappal-bale hawaii jahaj mein chareng). Almost after ten years of Modi's ascendancy in power the slogan of Gujarat model is hardly being heard. Now, in that place, a new model is emerging. It is the 'Uttar Pradesh model'. However this time this new model is coming into being without much advertisement. No mass propaganda is going on. The corporate mass media is not propagating it through day and night in electronic channels. Front page headlines highlighting the significance of this new model are neither visible in leading newspapers. On the contrary, this model is evolving through day to day administration in Uttar Pradesh under the Chief Ministership of Adityanath Yogi.

According to the latest claim by the Uttar Pradesh police, since March, 2017, when Yogi became the Chief Minister of the state, an amazing sum total of 10,900 encounters took place. In those encounters the police killed 183 'criminals' and more than five thousands

persons were left injured who were portrayed as criminals by the police. At the same time as per the official data 1443 police persons were also Injured and 13 cops were killed in those encounters.

As per a latest report by 'The Hindu' the Uttar Pradesh government officially said the following:

“U.P. worked in a phased manner to curb crime and crack down on criminals. Encounter was the top strategy, which created fear among the criminals, after which they started fleeing from the State. Due to police actions, the State which was once known for poor law and order situation and atrocities of mafias today is being known not only in the country but abroad as a crime- and fear-free State,”



Therefore, it can be seen that the UP government openly and clearly stated that encounters are the top strategy of UP police to handle the criminal and 'mafia raj'. For them the role of Judiciary is absolutely unnecessary and superfluous to punish the criminals. It is the police who suspect the criminals, identify the criminals, judge the criminals and punish the criminals. And, very interestingly, they described it as the 'rule of law'.

The latest murder of Atiq Ahmed and his brother Ashraf in front of media persons and running cameras within the police cordon is shocking to the many democratic and liberal people of the country. There is no doubt that Atiq has a long criminal record and more than one hundred criminal cases were lodged against him, however, police encounters cannot be accepted as the method to get rid of the criminals. If the police can judge and give punishment to the offenders then what is the need of the system of judiciary in the country? Actually, Yogi Adityanath is developing a police raj based on an out and out Fascist system which is gaining public support from one section of the population. That is the most worrisome aspect of the whole development.



Here lies the potency of emergence of a reactionary mass movement which is a very clear sign of Fascism.

In the last couple of years another tool of Adityanath's Fascist rule has been the bulldozers. Here, we see that the bulldozers are increasingly used as the agency for maintaining the law and order in Uttarpradesh. Generally, according to the bourgeois democratic system it is the police which is responsible to maintain the law and order. However, when the police is increasingly used to replace the system of judiciary in order to punish the criminals, the municipal corporation and bulldozers are used to replace the police in order to maintain the law and order of the state.

In the previous years the houses of many agitators were demolished and the members of the minority community mainly became targets of this. In the last year after the Prayagraj demonstration many agitators' houses were demolished by bulldozers and Brajesh Pathak, the deputy CM of the state, said openly that using bulldozers would continue to punish the 'troublemakers'. Here also we see that



Adityanath's this notorious and sinister step to use bulldozers is getting some kind of mass support. A very popular Bhojpuri song goes like this: "when baba's bulldozer starts to move the bad elements of the society hide, and the powerful and musclemen run away (jab baba ke bulldozer chamak ke chale...). Yogi Adityanath has become " bulldozer baba", in the eyes of a section of poor, downtrodden people, who punishes the criminals and musclemen.

If one thinks that it is only a matter of the Uttar Pradesh government, it would be wrong. Prime Minister Narendra Modi many times praised Yogi for these steps and very clearly endorsed them as effective measures to handle the "offenders" of law. Bharat Bushan wrote in Deccan Herald the following: "Recall that even Prime Minister Narendra Modi had endorsed Adityanath's use of bulldozers in the run-up to the state assembly elections. Laying the foundation stone of the Ganga Expressway on December 18, 2021, he had said, "When the bulldozer runs over the mafia ... the bulldozer runs over the illegal building but the person who is nurturing it feels the pain. That is why the people of UP are saying, 'UP plus Yogi, bahut hain upyogi (UP plus Yogi is most useful)'." No court has ever ordered the demolition of the home or even a convicted criminal as a form of punishment. This is because there is no law in India which prescribes the demolition of a convicted person's house as the penalty for any offence. The votaries of a 'strong' law-and-order state,

therefore, need to hide their use of brute force in the shadow of violation of municipal planning laws."

And all these horrific Fascist reconstruction works are taking place under a general slogan: Jay Sriram! Presently even the school-children know that religion has no connection with this slogan. This is a profound political slogan of right wing Brahmanist Fascist forces related to Sangh Paribar which is based on majoritarian communal propaganda now targeting the Muslims but has a potency to spread gradually toward the other section of the masses including the dalits and democratic, and communist forces and the toiling masses. In India Manuism-Brahmanism is the base of Fascist power. Now, it is the duty of all democratic and communist forces to stand unitedly against this venomous force in order to uproot the Fascist rule in India.



**CPI(ML) RED STAR**

*Official Website Relunched*

[www.redstaronline.in](http://www.redstaronline.in)

(also [www.cpiml.in](http://www.cpiml.in))

Inagurated by: Com. K N Ramachandran

On 5th April 2023



# 132nd Birth Anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar

Today, India is commemorating the 132nd birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, one of the greatest figures in Indian history.

Meanwhile, RSS which controls the Indian regime today and which vehemently opposed Ambedkar during his lifetime, is now engaged in a historical falsification and misappropriation of the legacy of Ambedkar, even as latter's program of caste annihilation is antithetical to the prognosis of cultural nationalism of the former.

In 1927, Ambedkar burnt Manusmriti, the ideological basis of RSS within 2 years of latter's formation. On the other hand, led by Ambedkar, when the Draft of Indian Constitution was presented to the Constituent Assembly and the latter adopted it, RSS mouth piece Organiser (November 30, 1949), upholding "the unique constitutional developments in ancient Bharat" as enunciated in "Manu's laws" or Manusmriti was proposing it as Constitution of India.

Today, while apparently garlanding and worshipping Ambedkar on the one hand, RSS and BJP are again working overtime to erode his principles and demolishing the very structure of the Constitution drafted by Ambedkar. The strategy of BJP is to hero-worship Ambedkar and simultaneously destroy his principles and strengthen oppression and violence against Dalits.



Ambedkar firmly upheld that "Great Indian Democracy" is incompatible with caste-ridden Indian society, and for him democracy was "quite different from a Republic as well as from Parliamentary Government." Democracy, according to Ambedkar is not merely a form of Government, Parliamentary or otherwise. " A democracy is more than a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society."

As long as caste system is there, according to Ambedkar, the Indian people will "have no common experience to share and have no bond of sympathy... The existence of the Caste System is a standing denial of the existence... of democracy."

## STATEMENTS

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The "ascending scale of hatred and descending scale of contempt" implicit in caste system has "most pernicious consequences" destroying any kind of "willing and helpful co-operation among people." Ambedkar's evaluation that "political tyranny is nothing compared to social tyranny" enforced by caste system is proved absolutely true from the experience of the past several decades after Power Transfer.

Hence, at this critical juncture, when the fascist forces are engaged in transforming India into a Hindurashtra based on Manusmriti, it is the solemn duty of all who stand for a basic democratization of society to uphold Dr Ambedkar's perspective on democracy and strive hard for annihilation of caste, the most inhuman institution in history.

The Program of CPI (ML) Red Star self-critically admits the failure of Communist movement in India "to recognise the historically determined integral link of India's inhuman caste system with the class formation in Indian sub-continent. Hence the Communist

Party could not carry forward class struggle and struggle for abolition of caste as interrelated processes." Chapter 5, Program of People's Democracy, among other things says: "The People's Democratic State shall take concrete steps for the abolition of the inhuman caste system. Eradicate all forms of untouchability, caste oppression, and caste discrimination from all spheres of life. All caste-practices and reactionary institutions should be suppressed and the perpetrators of such crimes shall be punished." It was with this perspective that CPI (ML) Red Star had taken initiative to form Caste Annihilation Movement (CAM) in 2011.

Let's commemorate Ambedkar Jayanti paying rich tributes to Great Ambedkar on his 132nd birth anniversary.

**P J James**  
**General Secretary**  
**CPI (ML) Red Star**

**14th April 2023**

## **Removal of Mughal History from Textbooks is "Historical Negationism"**

It is a generally accepted historical fact that during the Mughal period ranging from Babur to Aurangzeb, India's share of world "GDP" was around 25% which dropped to around 2% during the 1950s on account of colonial plunder. During this period, India had been the great workshop of cotton manufacture for the world, and it was the British-imposed

deindustrialization that destroyed the once celebrated cotton fabrics among other things. By the beginning of the 17th century when Mughal Empire had expanded to include almost 90% of South Asia, it had a uniform customs and tax administration, and Indian Subcontinent had become the largest and richest economy in the world.

## STATEMENTS

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The Mughal rule lasting for two centuries was a prolonged period of political stability. The philosophical, cultural and linguistic advancement under the Mughal rule and the intermingling among people of different faiths and cultures especially among Hindus and Muslims were unparalleled. And often their religious practices were also intermingled.

In this context the NCERT decision to drop the Chapter on Mughals from Class 12 textbooks is solely 'saffron' in orientation. It should also be viewed in the broader context of the emergence of "historical negationism" and "falsification" of history according to which history is revisited to negate the validity of factual and

documentary records so as to reframe explanations and interpretations for deceiving people. This "new history writing" as propaganda tool is widely used by European neo-fascists today.

Therefore, the removal of the Chapter on Mughal rule, a "glorious" period in Indian history from Class 12 textbooks is perfectly in consonance with the ideological-political requirements of RSS neofascism today, and it is in tune with the saffronisation agenda implicit in NEP-2020.

**P J James**

**General Secretary**

**CPI (ML) Red Star**

## **Removing Lessons like Mughal History, Gandhiji's Assassination from Textbooks is a Fast Implementation of the Project of Hindu Rashtra**

### **Strongly Resist the Distortion and Communalization of Indian History**

The lessons related to the Mughal period, mass movements, Gandhiji's assassination, emergency and secularism have been removed by changing the NCERT textbooks by the fascist BJP government. Talking about the pressure of the curriculum on the students at the time of Covid, they first reduced the syllabus by 30 percent. Now these already removed lessons are removed from the new books forever. In June 2022 itself, many lessons were removed from the textbooks on a large scale.

The director of NCERT says that there is nothing new in this. All the changes were made last year itself as per the recommendation of experts. But they try to hide it cleverly that the Political Science lessons of class 12th students Removed from the above text is a well-planned part of the "Hindurashtra Project" of the world's oldest and biggest fascist organization RSS.

In this context, the decision of NCERT to remove the above lessons from class 12 textbooks is completely under the policy of

## STATEMENTS

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"saffronisation". It should also be seen in the wider context of the emergence of "historical distortion/denialism" and the "falsification" of history, whereby history is rewritten to deny the validity of the factual and documentary record. This is an old pastime of fascists in Europe. Which is now adopted by the Sanghi Manuwadi neofascist forces of India.

Therefore, deleting the above chapter from class 12 textbooks is in line with the ideological-political requirements of RSS neo-fascism today, and is in line with the saffronisation agenda enshrined in the National Education

Policy-2020. We appeal to all progressive cultural organisations, teachers' organizations and students' organizations to unitedly resist the campaign of distortion and communalization of India's history under the project of Hindu Rashtra.

**Tuhin( 9425560952)**

**General Secretary**

**Revolutionary Cultural Forum (RCF)**

**10 April 2023**

## REPORTS

On the 132 th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar a programme was organised in Barnala Punjab.Com. Labh Singh of Caste Annihilation Movement ( CAM) addressed the gathering.



## REPORTS

On 17th April, 2023, a massive demonstration was organised by Chhattisgarh Anganvadi Joint Front at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi against Manuvadi Fascist Anti People Anti Worker Anti Women Modi Govt. Near about 100000 AWWs are organised under the joint front for regularisation of their job under government system, for gratuity and pension, for minimum monthly wage of Rs 21000, equal pay for equal work and for group insurance of AWWs. In this militant demonstration Comrades Tuhin ( G.S. of RCF), Neerja ( AIRWO Delhi Convener) and Niranjana ( Convener of AIRSO) delivered speech and mass songs to solidarity with AWW Joint Front



CPI(ML) Red Star, as part of "Wakeup Karnataka" Campaign, is taking part in the upcoming Karnataka Legislative Assembly elections with the slogan, "Defeat Fascist BJP, Save Democracy"



**ಸಿಪಿಐ ರೆಡ್ ಸ್ಟಾರ್: ಉಮೇಶ್ ಕಣಕ್ಕೆ**

ಕೊಪ್ಪ: ಶೃಂಗೇರಿ ವಿಧಾನಸಭಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಪಿಐ(ಎಂ.ಎಲ್) ರೆಡ್ ಸ್ಟಾರ್ ವತಿಯಿಂದ ಗುರುವಾರ ಬೊಗಸೆಯ ಉಮೇಶ್ ಅವರು ಚುನಾವಣಾಧಿಕಾರಿ ಟಿ.ಆರ್.ವೇದಮೂರ್ತಿ ಅವರಿಗೆ ನಾಮಪತ್ರ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಸಹಾಯಕ ಚುನಾವಣಾಧಿಕಾರಿ ವಿಮಲ ಸುಪ್ರಿಯಾ ಇದ್ದರು.

ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಸಮಿತಿ ಸದಸ್ಯರಾದ ಕಾಂ. ನಾಗೇಶ್, ಕಾಂ.ಸಂದೀಪ್, ಕಾಂ.ರವಿ, ಕಾಂ.ಶೇಖರ್ ಇದ್ದರು. ನಾಮಪತ್ರ ಸಲ್ಲಿಕೆ ಬಳಿಕ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮಾತನಾಡಿದ ಉಮೇಶ್ 'ಕುಡ ಕುಡಿಯುವ ನೀರು ಆರೋಗ್ಯ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯ, ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ನಾ ಥ ನ್ ಆ ಯೋ ಗ ದ ಶಿ ಫಾ ರ ಸ್ಸಿ ನಂ ತ ರೈತರ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ನಿಗಧಿ, ಸದಾಶಿವ ಆ ಯೋ ಗ ದ ವರದಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಾಚರ ಆಯೋಗದ ವರದಿ ಜಾರಿಗೆ ಶ್ರಮಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು. ಲಂಚ ಮುಕ್ತ, ಮದ್ಯಪಾನ ಮುಕ್ತ ಸಮಾಜ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ, ಉಚಿತ ಕಡಾಯಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ, ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಗೆ ಆದತೆ ನೀಡಲಾಗುವುದು'



ಉಮೇಶ್

From Shringeri Constituency, Chikkamagalur District, Com. Umesh and from Shindanur Constituency, Raichur District, Com. Mabusab are contesting in the elections. We appeal to all the people of Karnataka to support the candidates and make this campaign a success. More reports yet to come.

April 22 1969

**CPI (ML)**

**FORMATION DAY**

*Uphold the Legacy  
of CPI (ML) and  
Fight for a People's  
Democratic and  
Socialist India*



**REDSTAR MONTHLY  
APRIL 2023**