

Proletarian Era

Volume 52 No. 17 Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (COMMUNIST)
April 15, 2019 Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

10 Pages
Price : Rs. 2.00



Long Live Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought

.... those who claim themselves to be national leaders, while drawing up plans they never reveal to the people that these plans have been designed in the interest of the capitalist class. ...the entire planning system — how to extricate it from the crisis in which it is enmeshed. Whenever it plunges in a crisis, their concern is to find out ways and means to extricate it from that so as to prolong its existence.... Patriotism, true patriotism, if it does not mean love for the people, if it does not uphold the interest of the people, then it is not patriotism. That patriotism which motivates serving capitalism is no patriotism, it is nothing but shameless servility to the monopoly capitalist system. And this is what is being practised in this country. What is being observed is that while talking aloud about defending 'national interest', knowingly or unknowingly, such slavery is being indulged in.... the ideals of the freedom movement, patriotism, love for the motherland to profess which the youth of this country had to go to jail, had to die at the gallows — the ideal of patriotism, nationalism of those days was a progressive revolutionary ideal. That is why this ideology could once imbue the whole nation, instil vitality into the people. Today, that same bourgeois nationalism has been transformed into an instrument of privilege in the hands of the capitalist class. Hence those who speak of nationalism today are in reality simply chewing the cud of privilege and opportunism; and to the people of the country the meaning of nationalism, service to the country has come to exemplify a job, indulging oneself in slavish servitude, flattering to please the masters, acting as they like.

(Selected Works Vol. IV, pp. 62-63,73)

Nationalism-Patriotism of RSS-BJP

Factual position concealed behind frantic bids of self-certification

For long, RSS-BJP have arrogated to themselves the sole custodianship of nationalism and patriotism. Frenzied chest-thumping and backslapping by leaders of the RSS-BJP and their affiliates and relentless propaganda in the subservient bourgeois media are all aimed at creating an impression that only one political party and one man in that party could protect Indians and India. The election manifesto released by the BJP a few days back has also conveniently relegated to the back all the burning problems wreaking havoc in people's life and exacerbated significantly during the last 5 years of the BJP rule. Instead, the focus has been on

'robust nationalism' which the BJP Prime Minister claimed to be their 'inspiration'. In fact, it can be said without the slightest of hesitation that those who had masterminded and executed the Pulwama blast on 14 February last killing 40 CRP personnel on the spot, did render a great service to the RSS-BJP on the eve of parliament election. This ghastly incident helped them to reiterate their self-certified credential of nationalism-patriotism with renewed vigour by talking of "kneejerk reaction." and "immediate retaliation" materializing, as per their claim, in a non-military intervention and a pre-emptive raid in Balakot in Pakistan. Since then, Narendra Modi, the

BJP Prime Minister began to swagger audaciously during his election campaign that those who hate him are speaking against the country, implying thereby that the title of patriotism belongs exclusively to him and his party and mentors. Alongside is fanned up a national jingoism, obviously to rally the electoral support of the people behind the BJP and its allies.

RSS-BJP's doctrine of Hindu nationalism

What have been the antecedents of the RSS-BJP now boasting of holding the sole proprietorship of nationalism and patriotism? Let us flip over the pages of history. According to M S

Golwalkar, the ideologue of the RSS and the saffron brigade, "We must be able to see through the game and revert to the truth of our nationalism as an ancient fact and the Hindus being the national society of Bharat, so clearly restated by our revered founder when he decided the word 'Rashtriya' for our organization. We must once again stand up in our true and full stature and boldly assert that we shall elevate the Hindu National Life in Bharat to the peak of glory and honour which has been its birthright since hoary time."¹ Mark the expression, "nationalism as an ancient fact and the Hindus being

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**Observe 71st Foundation Anniversary of SUCI(C)
on 24 April with due solemnity**

Nationalism-Patriotism of RSS-BJP

Nationalism as a concept emerged at a particular juncture of history

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the national society of Bharat". What he meant was that the nationalism is an ancient concept and there was a national society of the Hindus in Bharat (meaning Bharat during the time of the sages and seers). Incredible indeed! Has there been a single nation which is based solely on religion? If that would have been the case, there would have been one nation in Europe based on Christianity. Similarly, there would have been one Arab nation based on Islam or a singular nation in the entire continent of America. So, it is absurd or an utter falsification of history that the concept of nation was there in Bharat even in the antiquity. The entire territory (now called Indian sub-continent comprising so many different national independent states) was then divided into an endless number of kingdoms or feudal habitations being ruled over by some kings or feudal landlords. These kingdoms were often found to have been engaged in war with each other for expanding or defending their respective territories. In course of that, many kingdoms were destroyed or reconstituted. Often there emerged an emperor which brought several kingdoms under his rule, which disintegrated sooner or later into separate kingdoms or states. The rulers of these kingdoms professed either Hinduism or Buddhism. Later when the Mughals and Pathans invaded the Indian territory, many of these kingdoms either collaborated with or surrendered before them after being defeated in the battles. A good number of the kingdoms who either co-operated or submitted to the invading monarchies were followers of Hinduism. What is more, even though both the Mughals and Pathans were believers in Islam, they fought between themselves to gain territorial hold. Did any concept of Hindu nationalism or Muslim nationalism appear at that time in 'Akhand Bharat' (undivided India) what the RSS-BJP talk of?

Socio-historic context of emergence of nations and nationalism

Why was it not so? Because the very stage of development when nationalism could evolve as a concept had then not arrived in history. The RSS-BJP and their Sangh Parivar have one advantage.

They do not need to prove things. They only say or declare what they need to propagate as truth. But no thinking mind, no human being worth the name can endorse such falsification of history. Truth is to be verified, established on the anvil of history, facts and reason. This is exactly what science has done as hand-maiden of civilization. Mere gospels or unilateral claims have no place in science which ferrets out truth based on experimentation, verification and inference. A scientific analysis of social development has proved beyond doubt that nationalism as an ideological creed and based on it the modern nations had emerged at a particular juncture of human history when capitalism had been growing within the womb of feudalism. The very same process also gave birth to nationalism and nations which developed within the confines of particular geographical territories, during and through their respective people's struggle against the then ruling feudal authority or monarchy or later in the days of colonialism-imperialism, against the ruling imperialist-colonial power. The basic urge of capitalism was to create a common national economy and market based on industrial development, a centralized administration and system of communication, capital accumulation, capitalist relations and profit-making motive of production. As a superstructure of this growth and establishment of a common national capitalist economy, a common national psychological and cultural make-up grew and developed under the aegis of the newly emerging bourgeoisie, that is, the capitalist class. The capitalist class of a particular geographical territory or the national bourgeoisie of a particular country also sought for, among other things, a territorial and cultural unity of the different segments of people of the given territory or country. The very struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism or colonialism-imperialism, termed also the democratic revolution, thus strove for creating a common bond, a common feeling among the fighting people that provided the foundation of nationalism on a given territory among people. This was the process through which nations, that we find today, were born. In

Europe, the various nations have different languages. Again, America, Britain, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand are different nations though they all speak English. The concept of nationalism which grew within feudalism or a colony as a socially derived urge for formation of a nation or national state also spurred on and stimulated the process of nation building.

Backdrop of growth of Indian nationalism

The very concept of Indian nationalism grew only in course of the anti-British imperialism freedom movement following growth of Indian national capital and capitalist class and consequent urge for establishment of a national independent Indian state. Had there been no British imperialist rule which, in its own class interest, created a centralized administration and transport system opening scope for various nationalities and sub-nationalities to connect with each other and subsequently share a common cause for integrating into a unified nation, the very concept of Indian nationalism would not have arisen. In that case, all the nationalities having different languages and culture would have developed as different nations just like modern Europe in spite of predominance of Hindu religion. Thus, the British imperialist rule, as tools of history, unconscious though, helped the growth of the concept of unified Indian nationalism. It is true that due to definite historical reasons, the concept of Indian nationalism has developed as half-baked and truncated, with desired cultural unity or wholehearted cultural merger of different nationalities and ethnic-linguistic groups within a nation remaining unaccomplished. That is a separate issue. But politically, a broader sense of Indian nationalism with the common goal of achieving independence was definitely born in the Indian people. If there was anything like Hindu nationalism, how is it that Nepal which hitherto was a Hindu state never sought amalgamation with 'Hindu Bharat' despite being neighbouring landlocked countries? Why did Bangladesh win independence by fighting the Pakistani rulers though Islam is the dominant religion in both the countries?

Mischievous doctrine of Hindu Rashtra and Hindu nationalism

But the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha instead brought to the fore the doctrine of Hindu nationalism. Based on that there developed the political outfits, first the Jana Sangh and then the BJP; presently the RSS-BJP combine is guided by this very same doctrine. They deliberately seek to distort or disown this historical fact and instead believe "that Hindus are a nation. There will also be no difficulty to concede that the Hindus constitute the vast majority of the population. India is therefore pre-eminently a Hindu nation."² Rejecting the scientific concept of territorial nationalism without however giving any cogent reason other than providing irrelevant and unfounded references to epics, myths and Hindu religious scriptures, M S Golwalkar arbitrarily and whimsically concluded that "The theories of territorial nationalism and of common danger, which formed the basis of our concept of a nation, had deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu Nationhood and made many of the 'freedom movements' virtually anti-British movements. Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people."³ But then in the futile attempt to elicit acceptance of a wrong proposition, the RSS did need to create a host of confusions, concoctions and unsubstantiated assertions. So Shri Golwalkar held and his followers uphold today that "knowledge is in the custody of Hindus alone. It is a divine trust, we may say, given to the charge of the Hindus by Destiny."⁴ And then they peddle a show of scholasticism to state: "the underlying idea in all those movements (i.e. Indian freedom movement -P Era) was merely one of ousting the British. And that idea was equated with nationalism. For most of the leading men of those times (meaning the nationalist leaders and freedom fighters—P Era), 'anti-Britishism' and 'nationalism' were interconvertible terms. (this is) superficial kind of thinking...our

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Samjhauta Express Verdict

A shameful instance of travesty of justice

In our country, people, while being deprived, discriminated against, repressed and persecuted daily and hourly, tend to believe that the judiciary would deliver justice to them. What they miss is that in a class divided capitalist society like ours, judiciary is one of the indispensable and permanent pillars of the capitalist state structure which ultimately protects the ruling bourgeois class. But when it happens that a judge passes his verdict on a case of horrendous terror act committed nakedly in the open and at the same time tenders his resignation or laments that he was constrained to acquit all the accused simply as the prosecution could not and did not provide vital evidences or witnesses, it reaches the bottom line of the travesty of justice for even a bourgeois state. A glaring testimony of this has been the recent acquittal of all the accused in the infamous Delhi-Lahore Samjhauta Express blast case, where it has been witnessed how, in the poetic verse of Rabindranath Tagore, “the irreparable crime of the mighty condemned the verdict of justice to shed mute and secret tears”.

The Samjhauta Express blast case took place more than a decade ago on 18 February, 2007. In this massive terror blast 68 people, 10 Indians and 43 citizens of Pakistan on board the Delhi-Lahore Samjhauta Express were killed near Panipat. Connecting major cities of two neighbouring countries, it was not just an Express train to help people travel. As the name Samjhauta signified, it also aimed at building up understanding and cordiality among people of the two countries, their rulers being virtually in constant vicious attrition. The blast was clearly an affront upon that purpose. One Swami Aseemanand (*alias* Naba Kumar Sarkar) and three others (Lokesh Sharma, Kamal Chauhan and Rajinder Chaudhary) were arrested for the heinous crime, who have been recently let off apparently for want of evidence.

Before going into further detail of the case, a few more relevant issues need to be looked at. Incidentally, or rather, not just coincidentally, the Samjhauta express blast was one of a few more blasts which had occurred in a series between 2006 and 2008. In Malegaon, a town in Maharashtra, there were blasts on 8 September 2006 in the vicinity of a mosque killing 40 people, as also on 29

September 2008 killing 9. There was another blast incident in Mecca Masjid (mosque) in Hyderabad on 18 May 2007 leaving sixteen dead and still another major blast in Ajmer Dargah Sharif (another Muslim religious place) in Rajasthan which killed three persons and injured many on 11 October 2007. On 29 September 2008, there was also a blast in Modasa in Gujarat. In all these cases, there was an attempt to link some of the Muslim organizations with the terror acts as the culprits. But ultimately even the court had to admit that those charges were fabricated. All these blasts were found to have been perpetrated by a Hindu fundamentalist group *Abhinav Bharat*, of which Aseemanand was the key figure, the lynchpin or the common brain behind such dastardly acts, as per the charge-sheets. A detailed statement by none other than Aseemanand which he had made in 2010 before a magistrate, elaborated the planning and execution of some key terrorist attacks between 2006 and 2008. These were chalked out by him and his group *Abhinav Bharat* to avenge incidents such as the Akshardham temple massacre of 2002. Undisputedly these were Hindu-fundamentalist counter terror, attesting to the fact that terror knows no religion and fundamentalism of any brand is a deadly enemy of humanity.

But the drama did not end in the happenings. The blasts and arrests took place during the rule of the Congress-led UPA government at the Centre. After the BJP government came to power, the scenario changed distinctly. Gradual and systematic attempts were mooted to dilute the prosecution of these cases. Yet, it must be admitted that the Congress-led UPA government's role was also not beyond question, as it will be indicated later. Be that as it may, the accused who were nabbed, were acquitted and released. Even the master-mind, Aseemanand, who had been accused repeatedly, was acquitted in due course. His confession in the court was brushed aside as he later retracted on the plea of being under pressure in custody. Things came to such a pass that heads of the National Investigation Agency (NIA), India's premier terror investigation body, made public comments that “there was no such thing as Hindu terror”. The CBI, too, was tied in the same rope. Often it initiated the

investigation ending in indecisive, rather misleading cues. It appeared that these agencies as also powers-that-be acted collaboratively to mess up the investigation to reach a pre-determined end of letting the real culprits free.

Even during the Congress rule the Samjhauta Express case was handed over to the NIA in July 2010. Thus there was quite a long gap of time between the blast in February 2007 and the NIA given the charge in 2010. Even according to the bourgeois jurisprudence ‘justice delayed is justice denied’. So why was this delay? Was there any apprehension towards antagonizing majority community vote-bank, by holding the branded Hindu fundamentalists responsible for the blasts? In reality, with this inexplicable delay there was hardly any way for the NIA left to collect evidence even if they had wanted to. With time, most of the vital evidences must have already been hushed up or manipulated by then. Over and above it, instead of putting in required and desired effort to diligently investigate whatever evidence that was left, the NIA apparently moved sluggishly and purposefully without direction. The evidences given in the charge sheet were highly inadequate. For any case of this type, concrete scientific evidence becomes the key, because witnesses are likely to turn hostile under pressure from the lobby of the accused. In this case, with investigation turning wayward and meaningless, politicians were found to be engaged in blame-game. People were left in confusion as well as were befuddled.

As indicated above, in the Malegaon blast, the Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) initially tried to implicate activists of the SIMI, a Muslim student organization. But the move was frustrated as it came out that the charges were fabricated and the arrested victims had to be released. The NIA had subverted the prosecution also in the Mecca Masjid blast case in Hyderabad. There too, Aseemanand was a key accused and an important part of the evidence emerged from his meeting with another jail inmate to whom Aseemanand confessed to his role in the blast. In that case, the judge acquitted Aseemanand, partly on the ground that the prosecution could not bring evidence that the other jail inmate was at all present in the jail at that time. All that was needed was the jail register to prove that Aseemanand and the said other

inmate were present in the jail at the same time. But even this elementary evidence was not presented by the NIA. In sequel to these the Judge of the NIA Court K. Ravinder Reddy had to acquit all the accused in the Mecca Masjid bomb blast case. At the same time, within hours after pronouncing the verdict, he submitted his resignation, too. Referring to it, a former judge of the Hyderabad High Court pointed out it was the first instance in the history of the High Court and the resignation spoke for itself. He said that a judge “would not quit from post unless and until he feels guilty about his verdict.”

The Samjhauta Express case represented the culmination of these processes as apprehended. The 160 page judgment from the special judge, Jagdeep Singh, who tried Swami Aseemanand and his accomplices in that case, laid bare the shoddy manner of investigation into the case. It held that the NIA failed to provide logical evidence that would have nailed the perpetrators of the crime. The judgment noted, with surprise, the NIA's failure to produce CCTV footage and railway station dormitory records, and its inability to conduct a relevant test identification parade to tie the accused to the crime. All of these should have been done in normal course, which in turn would have helped in cracking the case one way or another.

Even personalities like N R Wasan, former Special Director General, NIA, or Ranjit Randhawa, retired judge criticized ‘the poor job’ and delaying tactics by the NIA officials. Similar was the reaction of a Senior High Court advocate who underlined that the credibility of investigation agencies was put at stake when such judgments, like that of the Mecca Masjid blast verdict, come out, acquitting all the accused for lack of clinching evidence. Ajai Sahni, Executive director, Institute for Conflict Management, categorically pointed out that the NIA performance in the Samjhauta Express case not only disgraced that organization itself, it even tended to encourage the cycle of hate and retaliation that the pervasive politics of communal polarization feeds into. Obviously these were not simply unprofessional, lack of competence on the part of the country's premier anti-terror agency. These indicated deliberate attempts to weaken the case against the accused. The apprehension gains ground when

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Samjhauta Express Verdict

Samjhauta Express case has disgraced national investigating agencies and shown how pervasive politics of communal polarization has been fed into them

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one recalls that after the BJP came to power in 2014, former special prosecutor Rohini Salian said in 2015 that the NIA had asked her to go soft in the 2008 Malegaon blasts case where people associated with the aforesaid Hindu fundamentalist group were accused. At the same time it attests to the fact that the so-called loud calls for fight against terror by the ruling combine of RSS-BJP were not really against terror, but were selective in pretended opposition, which ultimately levelled the charge against or pointed finger at a particular community for this heinous crime.

On such a background, the special judge, Jagdeep Singh acquitted the accused in the Samjhauta Express case on 20 March 2019. However, his verdict was accompanied by a stringent note in which he expressed that "I have to conclude this judgment with deep pain and anguish as a dastardly act of violence remained

unpunished for want of credible and admissible evidence". In his judgement, he said, that he was constrained to acquit all the accused as the prosecution failed to examine or present, rather even 'withheld' both the 'best evidence' as well as 'key witnesses' from the trial. Some of the independent witnesses were never examined or sought to be declared hostile when they chose to not support the prosecution's case. In consequence, as Judge Jagdeep Singh had to spell out: "There are gaping holes in the prosecution evidence and an act of terrorism has remained unsolved. Terrorism has no religion because no religion in the world preaches violence. A court of law is not supposed to proceed on popular or predominant public perception or the public discourse of the day and ultimately it has to appreciate the evidence on record...". How true Judge Singh's apprehension about the performance of the NIA and the

fate of the case, was, comes out vividly when the Union Home Minister made a public statement even before the full judgment was made public that "the prosecution may not appeal in a higher court". How? Was he aware of what verdict the Judge was supposed to pronounce?

Such a blunt admission and lamentation by the Judge in charge of the Samjhauta Express terrorist case, including the background in which the accused were let free in similar terror acts by the 'Hindutva terror' and last but not the least the comment of the Union Home Minister, only prove the wretched condition to which vital institutions have been brought down. Trampling all norms and values underfoot, these institutions of the Indian capitalist state are used in giving shape to the rabid communal agenda of the ruling RSS- BJP combine. The latter is frantically trying to establish its faithful subservient character to the ruling

monopolists, the capitalist class. In their ulterior effect these shameless acts are designed to save the Hindutva terror, drag toiling people into confusion and vertically cleave them into mutually hating, even warring communities. For that the ruling combine need persons like Aseemanand and his accomplices, all in a gang. They are the devices to breed disunity in people. And it is this precipitated disunity of toiling people that prevents the latter from fighting united against the capitalist system, the root of all these treacheries and travesty of justice. In the long run, it helps run this ruthlessly oppressive and utterly corrupt capitalist system uninterruptedly and keep their subservient forces decorating the parliamentary arena while enjoying power and pelf in their turn. The Samjhauta Express case leaves these lessons in its trail. (Sources: Deccan Chronicle 17-04-19; The Print 29-03-19; The Wire 29-03-19; Times of India 01-04-19)

VOICE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Scientists

A group of over 150 eminent scientists and researchers have issued a statement ahead of the upcoming national elections, urging citizens to vote wisely – "against inequality, intimidation, discrimination, and unreason". They said citizens must "reject those who lynch or assault people" and those who "encourage such practices". "We cannot endorse a politics that divides us, creates fears, and marginalises a large fraction of our society – women, dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, the persons with disabilities or the poor," the statement read. "Diversity is our democracy's greatest strength; discrimination and non-inclusivity strike at its very foundation." The statement also said that there is an "atmosphere in which scientists, activists and rationalists are hounded, harassed, intimidated, censored, jailed, or worse, murdered... We must put an end to the denigration of rational, evidence-based public discourse; only then can we create better resources and opportunities for jobs, education and research."

Filmmakers

Over 100 noted filmmakers in a

joint statement dated 29 March 2019 appealed to people to not vote for the Bharatiya Janata Party in the upcoming Lok Sabha elections. The filmmakers said the mandate should be used to elect a government that "respects the Constitution of India, protects our freedom of speech and expression, and refrains from all kinds of censorship... Fascism threatens to strike us hard with all its might if we don't choose wisely in the coming Lok Sabha election. Any individual or institution that raises the slightest dissent is labelled 'anti-national'. Let us not forget that some of our eminent writers and media persons lost their lives because they dared to dissent." The statement accused the BJP of making the country a "boardroom property of a handful of businessmen". "Flawed economic policies that ended up as extreme disasters are covered up and made to look like successes," the statement said. "All with the help of false propaganda and marketing blitz. This has helped them to create a false optimism in the country. BJP government's strategy is to romanticise and exploit the armed forces, at the risk of 'engaging the

nation in an unnecessary war'... manipulation of statistics and history was one of the government's "fond projects". "Giving them one more term in power will be a grave blunder. It could well be the last nail in the coffin for the biggest democracy in the world."

Writers and historians

Over 200 writers and historians of national fame issued an appeal to Indians on 1 April 2019 asking Indians to vote out hate politics, vote out the division of our people, vote out inequality, vote against violence, intimidation and censorship, and vote for a "diverse and equal India". The signatories said the country is at a crossroads in the upcoming polls. "Our Constitution guarantees all its citizens equal rights, the freedom to eat, pray and live as they choose, freedom of expression and the right to dissent," they added. "But in the last few years, we have seen citizens being lynched or assaulted or discriminated against because of their community, caste, gender, or the region they come from... Writers, artists, filmmakers, musicians and other cultural practitioners have been hounded, intimidated, and censored," they

alleged. "Anyone who questions the powers-that-be is in danger of being harassed or arrested on false and ridiculous charges.... We want resources and measures for jobs, education, research, healthcare and equal opportunities for all," they said. "Most of all, we want to safeguard our diversity and let democracy flourish."

Artists

Over 600 well-known theatre and film artistes issued a joint statement on 4 April last appealing to citizens to "vote bigotry, hatred, and apathy out of power... to vote to empower the weakest, protect liberty, protect the environment, and foster scientific thinking." The artistes said "the very idea of India" is under threat today. "...song, dance, laughter is under threat," their statement said. "Today, our beloved Constitution is under threat. The institutions that have to nurture argument, debate and dissent have been suffocated. To question, to call out lies, to speak the truth, is branded 'anti-national'." They appealed to citizens to help safeguard India's "syncretic, secular ethos" and to vote to "defeat the forces of darkness and barbarism".

(Source: scroll.in 29-03-19, 01-04-19, 04-04-19 and 05-04-19)

Research guided by National Priority: fresh attack on higher education

According to a circular issued on the 13 March, 2019 by the Vice Chancellor of the Central University of Kerala (CUK), Kasargod, PhD students of the CUK have been directed to choose research topics from a given set of projects, a shelf of PhD topics “in accordance with the national priorities”; they will no longer be allowed to work on “irrelevant research”. The departments have been asked accordingly. The circular came in sequel to and at the directive of a meeting of Secretary Higher Education, of the Union Human Resource Development ministry, Chairman, University Grants Commission and Vice-Chancellors of 11 Central Universities, held on 15 December 2018. The meeting advised the Central Universities to “discourage research in irrelevant areas” and to ensure that PhD topics “should be in accordance with the national priorities”. So in letter and spirit, the CUK circular faithfully followed the Union HRD Ministry. (The Wire 16.3.2019). In April 2016, the Gujarat government had also issued a similar directive, listing 82 topics of ‘relevance’ for PhD research in state universities. (The Wire 19.3.2019) However, the universities there have thus far stayed clear of elaborating on what it considers ‘irrelevant research’. In any case, the Union HRDM’s ‘advice’ and the CUK circular stand out as shameless transgression upon academic autonomy. Let us elaborate.

The purpose of research is to develop knowledge and knowledge has no national boundary. The universities must have the freedom to pursue knowledge regardless of immediate gain or loss; they must be free from external interference. As Albert Einstein, the renowned scientist, spelt it out: Academic freedom is the right to search for truth. Any restriction on academic freedom acts in such a way as to hamper the dissemination of knowledge among people and thereby impedes national judgment and action. Therefore, those who want to limit research on national priorities are either ignorant or motivated. Research has to happen in an atmosphere where one can think freely, dissent and ask question.

The circular which is no better than a diktat is thus totally against freedom of pursuit of knowledge and development of free thinking. Outright, it curbs academic

autonomy of the educational and research institutions which undertake research and is thus naked intervention upon academic freedom of teachers and researchers. On the contrary, it imposes control of administration-bureaucracy over academic affairs. It is the responsibility of the government to see that researches and studies must not face any difficulty from dearth of funds or administrative hazards. But on no plea, can the academic autonomy and freedom of pursuit of knowledge be curtailed.

Besides, the pertinent questions are: what do national priorities mean and how it should be judged? Who is going to determine which topic or issue is nationally significant or not and on what ground? Will it be the government or the market-demand or any other power that be, which will decide the issue, according to their own respective perceptions? Can that be allowed at all in academic world? Will it mean that any academically vital, fundamental and theoretical research without any direct bearing to so-called national issues of day-to-day life, will be deprived from having any grant to support it? It is totally unacceptable for any sane person who may desire to see the country develop in the quest of knowledge and epistemology, which is one of the goals of carrying out researches. Besides, in a class-divided society like ours with a handful of capitalists ruling over overwhelming majority of oppressed and exploited toiling people, both cannot have the same priority. The bourgeois-petty bourgeois parties in power, either at the Centre or in the states, act as the subservient political manager of the ruling capitalist class. Obviously, they tend to choose national priority, to fit the interests of their master, the monopolists and their market economy. With the help of the directives as above, they try to curb the autonomy and academic freedom and streamline education or research in accordance with their need. On the contrary, toiling people need the freedom to continue their quest for truth in unhampered way. Hence, the prime issue is that the freedom to choose topic or issues of research, that is the freedom of pursuit of knowledge and freedom of thoughts must not be guided by any such criterion as “national priority” determined overtly or covertly by any authority. A research student and his or her guide must have the

full freedom to select the topic or issue. For sanctioning the necessary grant, the choice must be judged from the academic point of view and viability in the set-up in which it will be carried out.

Fortunately, as it appears, no university other than the CUK has implemented the directive. Rather, the move has been strongly criticized by academic circle. Dr Meena T. Pillai, Professor at the Institute of English and Director, Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Kerala, has even resigned from the board of studies of English and Comparative Literature protesting against the “suicidal” decisions adopted by the University. She has raised the questions: When you do research on a small tribal community in Attapadi, which is a remote part of Kerala, would that be a national priority? She said, a certain kind of history is being erased because it is not considered by the powers-that-be as a national priority. And on top of that, you have to choose from the shelf project. This is a clear transgression upon academic autonomy of teachers and researchers and suicidal for higher education of the country. Prof Pillai also smells the hand of corporate agenda behind this circular. That may lead up to a scene to produce

what the market demands. So free thought would be destroyed. This is against the spirit of education. We should not be regressing, we should progress.

In the face of protests, in a 25 March Press release, the Ministry of Human Resource Development has denied issuing any directive to restrict choice of subjects for research. It has put the onus on a section of media. But the minutes of the December meeting are there laying emphasis on “national priority” and relevance-irrelevance issue. So the press release is nothing but a damage – control move to make people believe that the Union government stand in favour of freedom in research. Repeated instances of naked attempts at curtailing of autonomy of educational institutions as well as democratic rights of all sections of stakeholders, teachers-students-employees bear enough testimony of how serious the ruling RSS-BJP combine is in upholding freedom of speech and activities. So here too, the Union HRD Ministry cannot evidence of their attempt to push through their agenda of curtailing academic freedom. It remains with education-loving people to keep their vigil and build up effective and strong resistance against this attempt.

SUCI(C) extends support to Shri Prakash Raj in Bangalore Central Constituency

In a statement dated 31 March 2019, the Karnataka State Committee, SUCI(C), said that appreciating the consistent anti-BJP, anti-Congress and pro-people approach of Shri Prakash Raj, noted film personality, the Party would wholeheartedly support him as an independent candidate in Bangalore Central Lok Sabha Constituency.

SUCI(C) against devastating excise policy of the TMC government of West Bengal

In a statement issued on 31 March last, Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharyya, West Bengal State Secretary of SUCI(C), said that when the Excise Department of the TMC government of West Bengal state government is rejoicing at their success in earning revenues worth ten thousand crore rupees by selling liquor, it does not seem to have any concern as to how this extensive proliferation of liquor addiction has spelt doom for thousands of families, what staggering number of students have been compelled to abandon their studies, how very many mothers have lost their children and how many women have faced outraging of their modesty. Following the footsteps of erstwhile CPI(M) government, the TMC government has gone a step ahead in liberally issuing licenses for liquor trade. Our Party, SUCI(C), vehemently denounces this killing excise policy in the name of revenue augmentation, and for long, has been conducting a sustained organized movement in demand for a ban on liquor trade in the state. Under pressure of the movement, the government, on the eve of election, has temporarily kept on hold the opening of 1200 newly licensed liquor shops. We stand firm in our resolve to intensify the movement in the days to come till the state government is compelled to withdraw this policy.

Media say so on the BJP

BJP has most number of legislators with cases of crime on women against them

A study released by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) shows that the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has the most number of MPs/MLAs with cases of crimes against women. The party has also been giving more tickets to these candidates as compared to others. Mayawati's Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and Mamata Banerjee's All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) also gave tickets to candidates with such criminal cases pending against them. ADR analysed 4,845 out of 4,896 election affidavits of current MPs and MLAs to arrive at these startling figures. These include 768 of 776 affidavits of MPs and 4,077 out of 4,120 MLAs from all states. The study says that of 1,580 (33 per cent) MPs/MLAs analysed with declared criminal cases, 48 have declared cases related to crimes against women. Among various recognized parties, BJP has the highest number of such MPs/MLAs, 12, followed by Shiv Sena with 7 and AITC with 6. Among the major parties in the last 5 years, 47 candidates with declared cases of crimes against women were given tickets by the BJP. The second highest number of candidates, 35, were given tickets by BSP followed by 24 candidates from Indian National Congress (INC) who had contested Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and state Assembly elections. Even leaders who have heinous crime charges against them were preferred for tickets. The study says that in the last 5 years, recognized parties have given tickets to 26 candidates who had declared cases related to rape. (India Today-19-04-2018)

India's debt under Modi govt surges 50% to Rs 82 lakh crore

Compared to the latest data available till September 2018 when the total debt of the Central government stood at Rs 82,03,253 crore, the corresponding amount till June 2014 was Rs 54,90,763 crore, the Finance Ministry's data on government borrowings shows.

The huge surge in government's debt has been propelled by 51.7 per cent growth in public debt from Rs 48 lakh crore to Rs 73 lakh crore in the four-and-half year period, which in turn was driven by 54 per cent rise in internal debt to about Rs 68 lakh crore.

Dependence on market loans show a similar rise of 47.5 per cent to more than Rs 52 lakh crore during the period. While debt raised through gold bonds was nil at the end of June 2014, it stood at Rs 9,089 crore including the gold monetisation scheme.

While the country's debt has been on the rise, little help is expected from the fiscal deficit side in the current financial year. The fiscal deficit in the first eight months till November stands at Rs 7.17 lakh crore, or 114.8 per cent of the Rs 6.24 lakh crore full year's target. (India Today—19-01-2019)

BJP tops in receiving funds from anonymous sources

In a democracy, political power is in theory supposed to flow from popular approval, as measured by results in elections. In practice, this system is often distorted by a number of factors, financial power being the most prominent of them. Political parties often shape policy not as per the desires of their voters but their funders....India's election funding system has glaring

holes, allowing moneyed interest groups to clandestinely influence political parties....According to a report released on January 23 by the Association for Democratic Reforms, for the six national parties, excluding the Communist Party of India (Marxist), 53% of funding or Rs 689.44 crore was from unknown sources in 2017-'18....The election watchdog also analysed donations above Rs 20,000 for national parties in its report. In this, the Bharatiya Janata Party garnered an incredible 93% share or Rs 437.04 crore in 2017-'18. The Congress came a distant second with Rs 26.66 crore or 5.67% of the total known donations to national parties...in the 2017 Union budget the Modi government announced an electoral bond scheme that even allowed large-scale anonymous donations. As a result, more than half of all the income of national parties in India is derived from unknown sources....An electoral bond is a promissory note similar to a bank note. It can be purchased from State Bank of India branches in multiples of Rs 1,000, Rs 10,000, Rs 1 lakh, Rs 10 lakh and Rs 1 crore. Unusually for an instrument that permits such large amounts, electoral bonds can be anonymous...Electoral bonds have been available since January 2018. Their impact was immediate, pushing up the share of income of national parties for 2017-'18 (even though the bonds had been available for only three months of that financial year)...This proportion might rise even further in 2018-'19 given that in the first nine months of the financial year, Rs 834.7 crore worth of electoral bonds have been purchased, nearly four times the amount in 2017-'18....The BJP dominates electoral bonds, garnering 95% of the total value of bonds purchased in 2017-'18...former Chief Election Commissioner Navin Chawla pointed out that the electoral bond scheme has actually emerged as a "greater method of camouflage" when it came to the use of black money in politics. (scroll.in 05-02-19)

'Operation Clean Money', launched after demonetisation, has made no progress, shows RTI

An RTI reply revealed that Reserve Bank of India (RBI) board members were not convinced that demonetisation would be an effective step to curb black

money in India. In response to queries under the RTI Act, regarding the recovery of unaccounted wealth/black money, the Directorate of Income Tax provided the number of two kinds of PANs (Permanent Account Numbers): those that were identified for "online verification" of cash deposits since their "tax profiles were found to be inconsistent with the cash deposits made during the demonetization period" and those which were sent notices for not filing income-tax returns for the assessment year 2017-18. However, the IT department was unable to state the amount of unaccounted money recovered from the bank accounts after such scrutiny. "As on date, various proceedings initiated under relevant sections of the Income-Tax Act in such cases are pending... details/statistics of unexplained cash detected and... amounts recovered... are not available..." it said in response to the RTI.

In response to a specific query on whether notices were sent to any PMJDY (Jan DhanYojna) account holder after December 2016, the IT department stated in its RTI response: "There is no flag received in the accounts reported to ITD which identifies with PMJDY." This is striking since the surge in the volume of deposits in the PMJDY accounts post-demonetisation had prompted the RBI to impose restrictions on withdrawals from such accounts on 29 November 2016. (Huffington Post-15-03-19)

BJP SELLING BEEF

On 26 May 2017, the Centre had issued new rules that require cattle traders to give an undertaking that the animals being sold at markets would only be used for agricultural purposes. Several states have criticised the notification, saying it amounts to a ban on beef-eating and that it will affect the cattle trade business.... The Thrissur district unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party has launched a co-operative society to produce, process and market meat and fish. The venture - Thrissur, Fish and Meat Producing, Processing and Marketing Society - had received approval from the registrar of co-operative societies six months ago. ...BJP Thrissur district president A Nagesh, who has also been elected the president of the society...Nagesh added that..." BJP is not against meat sale or consumption. We oppose only cow slaughter." (scroll.in 05-07-17)

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Nationalism-Patriotism of RSS-BJP

Nowhere in history, nations developed based on religion

Contd. from page 2

*nation and also of other nations ...was not based on antagonism to anyone else. ... slightest distortion in the initial concept of the national goal would... ultimately lead us to irretrievable catastrophic results.*⁵ Again we need to take note of another important proposition—‘nation is not built on antagonism to anyone else’. Why do they say so? Because, *“Another advantage of the Indian view of society (meaning RSS’s doctrine of Hindu nationalism—P Era) is that it eschews class-war. It postulates social harmony as a potentiality, if not as a full actual order of law and custom, observances and enforcements. Indian thought too has sound notions of the role of the State as the agent of common good—‘raja dharma’ which now may be designated ‘rajyaniti’ or ‘rajya dharma’. The State should be above partial interests and should regulate all activities according to ‘dharma’. The State is not a class agent of the upper class, according to Indian shastras or political and social science. Nor it is an exploiting agency. It is an agent of morality or ‘dharma’. It precludes socialism in the sense of adding economy to political power.”*⁶ So, the concept of Hindu nationalism does not believe in ‘class war’ but ‘class harmony’ and also does not view the capitalist state as an agent of the upper class, that is, the capitalist class. They lie and lie squarely when they say that such a falsified notion is in accordance with ‘political and social science’. Cunningly, the expression equates “Indian shastra” with “social and political science” as if both are the same.

Sorry gentlemen! You can sell such a weird story to a few people for some time but cannot make the informed minds gulp such a trash. Political and social science has proved conclusively that in the primitive society, there was no concept of private property. The primitive clan society was completely a classless one. But, at a particular juncture of history, when land appeared as a stable means of production or property, a condition was created for the small section of horde leaders, or chieftains in primitive society, to forcibly establish their ownership over cultivable land and appropriate the fruits of others’ labour by sheer might. Thus, community property was transformed into private property by

flexing of muscle power by a tiny powerful section who by way of having established their ownership over the means of production became the rulers while the others—the majority of the toiling populace bullied into submission of the rulers became the oppressed slaves and constituted the ruled section. From then onwards, the society was class-divided between the exploiters and the exploited with their respective class interests being antagonistic to each other. So, the very origin of private property lies in injustice, coercion and forcible acquisition. In order to protect their right to private property, the slave masters in the first class-divided slave-master society sought to make this right to be perceived as sacred by the ruled slaves. At the same time, to ensure that this perception is accepted without any qualm, the slave-masters needed to develop a slew of coercive instruments like army, invoke a set of laws which were to be compulsorily obeyed by the slaves and thereby put in place a system to serve their class interest under the garb of bringing and sustaining order in the society. This coercive instrument in the hands of the rulers came to be known as the state. And obviously the state was, and still is, nothing but political power of the ruling class in the form of an instrument to perpetrate class exploitation, domination and coercion. The society transitioned from slave-society to feudal-monarchy and then to capitalism in course of intensification of class struggle and development as well as fulfilment of certain definite socio-historic conditions of bringing about the changes. And according to the inexorable law of social development, the society would finally reach classless communist society through a transitory stage of socialism. Hence, the craftily-fangled theory of Hindu Rashtra or Hindu nationalism totally stand against the laws governing the development of human society and is nothing but trash with wrapped in religious fanaticism.

So, it is clearly seen that the propositions of the RSS-BJP about class war, about the state being not a class agent of the upper (meaning ruling) class, not an exploiting agency but a morality and ensuring social harmony are not corroborated by the objective scientific law of social development. Scrutiny will reveal that those are cunning espousals for the deceptive concept of class harmony which the ruling

capitalist class continuously propagate to confound people and stem the intensifying class struggle. They are aware that it is the class struggle which, if allowed to intensify, would accelerate the process of inevitable crumbling of the ruthlessly exploitative capitalist order. And the RSS-BJP and their allied outfits come out as not even covert, but overt agent of the oppressive capitalist rulers.

Bunkum of destiny-bestowed ‘divine trust’

Next point is of ‘divine trust’ that destiny has bestowed on the Hindus. And then Golwalkar further elaborated that *“Hindus have a solution to offer. But our solution is not based on materialism.... on theories or ‘isms’ stemming from materialism... The word Hindu...has a national character. It connotes the entire culture and civilisation of the Indian people from pre-historic times developed on Indian soil through millennia.”*⁷ So, they clearly declare that their version of Hinduism—which they flaunt as Hindutva—is no ‘ism’ based on materialism but is a culture with a national character divinely ordained from “pre-historic” time. Clearly the assertion is against history, science, reasoning and objectivity. We have already seen that nationalism emerged at a particular juncture of history based on objective necessity. So, the question of Hindu nationalism existing from ‘pre-historic’ days is an absurdity par excellence! Like any other thought, even the concept of divinity also arose in human mind only at a given point of human civilization, under particular objective conditions, not the other way round. There was no concept of god among the ancient cave-dwelling nomadic people. Their thinking was based on the material world and nature. To win and overpower natural forces, primitive men worshipped those forces thinking that by doing so, they would be able to propitiate these forces. They never worshipped any super-natural force. Vivekananda himself admitted this fact in his discussion on ‘Adaitya Vedanta’ or ‘scientific religion’. Concept of divinity and religious belief arose at the initial stage of class-divided human society i.e. the slave-master society. Based on the concept of a ruler of human society, concept of a ruler of the world or master of the universe arose through a process of drawing analogy. So, the claim of “divine trust given to the Hindus by

destiny” is really hollow and ill-conceived to blunt rational thinking. Moreover, in ancient India, there were powerful materialist philosophers like Charvaka and Lokayat. Buddhism and Jainism also had powerful influence. So, it would be a travesty of truth if one claims that since ancient time, this land which is now known as India had only Hindu religion.

Question of anti-Britishism and nationalism

Now we come to examine whether it was a folly to presume ‘anti-Britishism to be interconvertible with nationalism’. In the preceding paragraph, we have discussed the historical backdrop of emergence of a nation and the concept of nationalism. The process of and urge for formation of an Indian national state free from the colonial rule of the British imperialists began in the second half of the nineteenth century in tandem with growth and development of Indian national capital and emergence of the Indian national bourgeoisie who took initiative in giving shape to industrial capital. It was on the basis of this urge to develop Indian national capital, an Indian national market on a given territory that a new consciousness of Indian nationalism emerged. And consequently developed the Indian freedom movement against the alien British rule. This freedom movement was spurred on by the newly dawned concept of Indian nationalism. Hence Indian nationalism was inseparably linked with the just struggle to end British colonial rule.

Treacherous role of RSS and Hindu Mahasabha in Indian freedom movement

The RSS-BJP leaders are now championing themselves as true nationalists and patriots, as avowed worshipper of Bharat Mata. But their past history, particularly the role and stand of the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha during the Indian freedom movement had been disgraceful. While the entire country was in ferment, flowering youths charged by nationalist-patriotic fervour were facing bullets and bayonets, embracing gallows and spurning so called comfort and security of conventional life to free their motherland from the stranglehold of British imperialist rule, the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha not only opposed the freedom movement but declared their support

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Nationalism-Patriotism of RSS-BJP**RSS-BJP opposed freedom movement and supported British imperialists***Contd. from page 7*

and allegiance to the Britishers. We have already seen that the ideologues of the RSS-BJP discarded anti-British freedom fighters as reactionary as well as non-patriotic and held it to be counterposing true concept of nationalism meaning Hindu nationalism. So, according to them, all the revered national leaders, freedom fighters and martyrs starting from Netaji Subhas, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen and others were all reactionaries and traitors because they did not talk of Hindu nation. Will the people of the country accept this atrocious view?

Explaining further as to what does their version of Hindu nationalism mean and how it would be operationalized, Golwalkar wrote: "...foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e. of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights."⁸ It meant that those who do not profess Hinduism would have to compulsorily respect Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu language i.e. Sanskrit. Otherwise, they would have no right in this country and, as elaborated by Golwalkar elsewhere, they would have to live as second grade citizens. Golwalkar also was effusive in praise for Hitler and his wanton racist thoughts, when the entire world and democratic minded people branded Hitler as the worst enemy of humanity. To quote from his open declaration: "To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races - the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifest here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in

Hindustan to learn and profit by"⁹, Dindayal Upadhyaya, another RSS man having "complete unison with the thoughts of his Guruji (Golwalkar), was a front-ranking Muslim-basher and hater. He never shied away from using fiery rhetoric and incite mass hysteria against the Muslim community. He even went to the extent of saying that, "it is observed that Hindus even if they are rascals in individual life, when they come together in a group, they always think of good things. On the other hand when two Muslims come together, they propose and approve of things which they themselves in their individual capacity would not even think of. They start thinking in an altogether different way. This is an everyday experience."¹⁰ All these bear eloquent testimony as to how Hindu nationalism of the RSS-BJP find in Hitlerite fascism a unity of thought. Obviously, can an apologist of fascism be a protagonist of nationalism or patriotism by any stretch of imagination?

Mere acquaintance with certain more facts and evidences would be further revealing. In 2003, the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance government installed a portrait of V D Savarkar in Parliament's central hall, right opposite Mahatma Gandhi's portrait. Of late, BJP Prime Minister Modi has renamed the Port Blair Airport in the Andamans as Veer Savarkar Viann Bandar. Savarkar was another protagonist of arch communal Hindutva and so called Hindu nationalism. He was associated with the Hindu Mahasabha. He wrote a book on Hindutva and Hindu nationalism which was profusely praised by Golwalkar and others. Way back in the 1920s, the title veer (gallant) was bestowed on Savarkar by the Hindutva zealots. But how 'veer' was he?

In his early life, he was associated with the revolutionary current of freedom movement. Once arrested, he was sent to the Andamans cellular jail. But his 'famed fortitude' was rarely on display during his years of imprisonment in the Andamans. He tendered craven apologies to the British, willing to bargain for his own freedom, not the freedom of his country. In 1911 itself, Savarkar petitioned the British authorities for clemency. Savarkar referred to this first petition in his second petition to

the British on 14 November 1913. In its concluding part, he wrote: "I am ready to serve the Government in any capacity they like... The mighty alone can afford to be merciful, and therefore where else can the prodigal son return but to the parental doors of the Government?"¹¹ In his third mercy petition in 1914, he said, "I most humbly beg to offer myself as a volunteer to do any service in the present war, that the Indian government think fit to demand from me... I know that a Kingdom does not depend on the help of an insignificant individual like me, but then I know also that every individual, however insignificant, is duty-bound to volunteer his or her best for the defence of that Kingdom."¹² He also declared that he no longer believed in violence, justifying his conversion to constitutionalism because of the reforms the British government had introduced. Savarkar said his conversion to the constitutional line would bring back "all those misled young men in India and abroad who were once looking up to me as their guide".¹³ Thus, at one stroke, he himself disowned his past association with the Indian revolutionary movement. In his mercy petition personally submitted to Sir Reginald Craddock, the then home member of the Government of British India, read thus: "I had to pass [a] full six months in solitary confinement... From that time to this day, I have tried to keep my behaviour as good as possible... I have 50 years staring me in the face! How can I pull up the moral energy to pass them in close confinement?"¹⁴ Even his treacherous behaviour in the jail is evidenced in another incident. Once he encouraged other inmates of the jail, mostly freedom fighters, to go on hunger strike. But when everyone including those older than him participated in the strike, neither he nor his brother joined it. Trailokya Nath Chakravarti, one of the venerated leader of the revolutionary trend of Indian freedom movement, narrated this incident to the historian R C Majumdar. In his final petition to the British rulers, he categorically said, "I heartily abhor methods of violence resorted to in days gone by, and I feel myself duty bound to uphold Law and the

constitution..."¹⁵ Finally, he was released by the British government on conditions that he would be staying in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra and not engage himself in any political activities, publicly or privately. Savarkar accepted these terms, shattering the myth spun around his much-serenaded bravery and immediately landed in the service of the British rulers. In reciprocation, the British government allowed K B Hedgewar, the founding *sarsanghchalak* of the RSS, and his mentor B.S. Moonje to meet him in Ratnagiri and he was even allowed to revive the Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar was elected President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1937. During the Quit India movement in 1942, when a large section of Indian people and the freedom movement leaders were repressed and jailed, Savarkar chose to cooperate with the tyrannical British rulers. Addressing the 24th session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Kanpur in 1942, Savarkar justified his support to the British by saying that "The Hindu Mahasabha holds that the leading principle of all practical politics is the policy of responsive cooperation...(and) breaking so-called united front against British imperialism."¹⁶ He also asked the Hindus to cooperate with the British. Abhorring the arch communal-fundamentalist stand of the RSS and the venomous admixture of politics with religion, Netaji Subhaschandra had long before cautioned the countrymen in 1938 that, "Communalism has raised its ugly head in an all-out nakedness... Even the oppressed, the poor and ignorant long for independence. We hear voices of Hindu Raj in India owing to a majority of Hindu population. These are all useless thoughts. Do the communal organizations solve any of the problems confronted by the working class? Do any such organizations have any answer to unemployment and poverty?... The ideas of Savarkar and Hindu Mahasabha of anti-Muslim propaganda in practice means full collaboration with British!"¹⁷ He once again sounded the caution in 1940 that "Hindu Mahasabha has sent sannayasis and sannayasinis to solicit votes with tridents in hand. Every Hindu bends his head by seeing

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Nationalism-Patriotism of RSS-BJP

Mischievous doctrine of RSS-BJP must be squarely defeated ideologically

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saffron cloth and trident. Hindu Mahasabha has appeared in the scene by taking advantage of and defiling religion.... isolate these traitors from the national life. Do not listen to them. We want that all freedom-loving men and women of the country serve the country unitedly and intently."¹⁷ RSS often talks of *vyaktinirman* (man making) through a number of disciplined practices and conduct like drills, yoga, spiritual learnings etc. The RSS Sakhas (i.e., units) are claimed to have been built up for that. Noteworthy fact is that for being familiarized with an archetypal of the *vyaktinirman* the RSS had conceived, its leader A B S Munje visited Mussolini's Italy to learn their fascist methods of training youth with regimentation and military training. The RSS units were thus based on fruits of Munje's mission.

The RSS-BJP have been projecting these Golwalkar-Savarkar-Hedgewar-Munje-Dindayal and their ilk as nationalists and patriots while branding the death-defying freedom fighters and leaders in our country as reactionaries. Now it is upto the people to decide whether the persons on whom the RSS-BJP have been putting a label of nationalists were patriots or Netaji, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekar Azad, Surya Sen and a host of other valiant freedom fighters who fought the British imperialists and courted martyrdom were patriots.

RSS-Hindu Mahasabha's connivance in partition of the country

V D Savarkar went full-throttle in spewing communal venom and hatred against the minorities right from the days he announced his allegiance to the British imperialists. In 1923, he wrote a book titled *Essentials of Hindutva*, under the pseudonym of A Maratha. There he declared that "Our Mohammedan or Christian countrymen... are not and cannot be recognised as Hindus. For, though Hindustan to them is fatherland as to any other Hindu, yet it is not to them a holy land, too. Their holy land is far off in Arabia or Palestine."¹⁸ In 1924, Savarkar also started holding 'shuddhi' (purification) ceremonies, or the reconversion of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold. In 1925, after a Hindu-

Muslim riot broke out over *Rangeela Rasool*, a scurrilous booklet on Prophet Mohammad, Savarkar wrote an inflammatory article in the English newspaper, *Mahratta*, following which the communal conflagration soon spread to parts of Punjab. And most importantly, he and his fellow-travellers were staunch protagonists of so called religion-based nationalism and hence endorsed the most atrocious two nation theory based on which the country was divided. While addressing the 19th session of the Mahasabha in Ahmedabad in 1937, he declared: "There are two antagonistic nations living side by side in India. Several infantile politicians commit the serious mistake in supposing that India is already welded into a harmonious nation, or that it could be welded thus for the mere wish to do so... India cannot be assumed today to be a unitarian and homogenous nation. On the contrary, there are two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Muslims, in India."¹⁹ Thus, the theory of two nations, first proposed in the 'Essentials of Hindutva', was passed as a resolution of the Mahasabha in 1937. Three years later, the All-India Muslim League, led by Jinnah, adopted the concept in its Lahore session. After a meeting with Savarkar in Bombay on 9 October 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the then viceroy of India, in his report to Lord Zetland, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote that "The situation, he [Savarkar] said, was that His Majesty's government must now turn to the Hindus and work with their support... Our interests were now the same and we must therefore work together... Our interests are so closely bound together, the essential thing is for Hinduism and Great Britain to be friends and the old antagonism was no longer necessary."²⁰ On 15 August 1943, Savarkar said in Nagpur, "I have no quarrel with Mr Jinnah's two-nation theory. We, Hindus, are a nation by ourselves and it is a historical fact that Hindus and Muslims are two nations."²¹ Savarkar's theory of "responsive cooperation" enabled the Mahasabha to combine with the Muslim League and form coalition governments in Bengal, Sind and

North-West Frontier Province. Fazlul Huq of the Muslim League became the Chief Minister of Bengal, while Shyama Prasad Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasabha, was the deputy chief minister in that coalition government in 1941. It is pertinent to mention here that Fazlul Huq, then public prosecutor of the British government, had sent Trailokya Nath Chakraborty to the Cellular Jail.

The veneer is coming out

This is just a synopsis of the kind nationalism and patriotism that the RSS-BJP have been practising and pursuing since long ostensibly in subservience of bourgeois class interest. That is why, when the Vajpayee-led BJP government installed a portrait of Savarkar in the central hall of the parliament building in 2003, Vishwanath Mathur, a freedom fighter from Bhagat Singh's party who had also served a sentence in the cellular jail, was furious. Describing Savarkar as a "coward being portrayed as a revolutionary", he said in protest that "This government is determined to legitimise a symbol of national shame. Not only did he beg for mercy from the British and was an accused in the Mahatma Gandhi assassination case, he was also a proponent of the two nation theory."²² Goebbels, the infamous propaganda minister, once remarked that "with sufficient repetition, it would not be impossible to prove... that a square is in fact a circle." Again, RSS-BJP are holding Hitler-Goebbels as well as Mussolini, role models to paint communalism-fundamentalism as nationalism, collaboration with the colonial government as fighting for freedom, going to any length to divide people along communal line as patriotism, cowardice as courage and traitors as national heroes.

What is clear is that when there was need to promote nationalism and true patriotism by wholeheartedly participating in the anti-British freedom struggle, RSS-Hindu Mahasabha flaunted their outright anti-national non-patriotic character. But today, the ruling Indian national bourgeoisie who assumed state power from the British rulers through compromise and as an inalienable part of the decadent moribund utterly corrupt and reactionary world imperialism-

capitalism is bent upon prolonging its ruthlessly oppressive worn-out class rule by squeezing out even the last drop of blood of the toiling countrymen and fooling them with deceptive slogan of nationalism and patriotism. This present slogan of nationalism and patriotism is in fact national jingoism supporting which is akin to plunging into servile servitude of ruling capitalism and thus militates against the imperative task of overthrowing capitalism by revolution. Hitler also camouflaged his fascist face under the catchphrase of national socialism. By championing themselves as self-styled votaries of nationalism and patriotism which they are twisting into their old and pure fascist ideological connotation, whereby any criticism of their rabid communal stand, actions and abject failures is decreed as anti-national the RSS-BJP have also been playing the role of trusted political managers of the ruling bourgeoisie. How could they dare to hoodwink people with all these falsified notions of nationalism and patriotism? Because most of the countrymen are illiterate and are not aware of history and truth. On the other hand, a sizeable section of the intelligentsia has become oblivious of history. But it is heartening to note that a good number of right thinking conscientious intellectuals, scientists, artistes and writers have shown courage to openly oppose the 'unreason and lies' propagated by the RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar and sought their electoral defeat. It is hoped that a greater number of democratic-minded people would join and strengthen this voice of protest. What is needed is not just an electoral defeat but a complete ideological routing of such falsified doctrine of Hindutva, Hindu nationalism or Hindu Rashtra.

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- 17—Ananda Bazar Patrika, 14 May, 1940
- 18—Essentials of Hindutva

SUCI (Communist) has put up 119 candidates in 23 states and union territories in the ongoing Parliamentary election 2019. In contrast to all parliamentary parties and as the revolutionary party of the country, SUCI (C) views this parliamentary battle as a part of people's movement that the Party has been continuing all through and everywhere across the country. On this occasion of the election, Comrade Provas Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party, has elaborated this approach in a booklet titled "From the perspective of people's interest, how should election be viewed". The booklet is available in nine languages. While massively selling this booklet to the people and collecting fighting fund, the SUCI(C) candidates and workers are campaigning at every nook and corner of the country with this distinctive approach. Response among the people is tremendous. Below are given a few examples of that campaign, how people are liberally supporting us with funds, how keen they are to know our views. Because of shortage of space, we had to be selective.



Comrade Satyawan, Member, Polit Bureau, releasing the election publication at Rohtak , Haryana



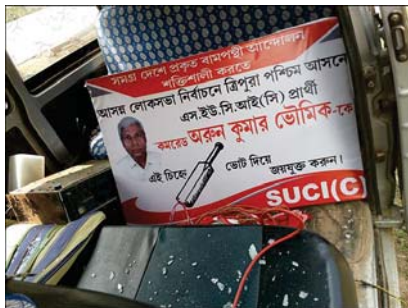
At Ramtek, Maharashtra, Comrade Sailesh Janabandhu, Party candidate, during his campaign trail



People donating liberally to the candidate Comrade Rama in Bangalore Rural Constituency, Karnataka



Election meeting for Comrade Mukesh Semwal contesting from Garhwal Constituency, Uttarakhand



Goons under the fold of the BJP vandalised the campaign car and attacked the candidate Comrade Arun Kumar Bhowmik from Tripura Paschim Constituency



Comrade U Muthu, Party candidate, campaigning in Puducherry



At Navsari, Gujarat, candidate Comrade Kanubhai Khadadiya and other comrades after filing nomination



Comrade Swratjaman Mondal, Party candidate from Dhubri, Assam, addressing a public meeting



People reading our publication in train in Andhra Pradesh



The booklet on election is being received extensively ; a scene in Kolkata South Constituency



Comrade Sunil Gopal, Party candidate, campaigning in Gwalior, MP



In Bellary, Karnataka, Comrade Devdas, Party candidate, among agricultural labourers

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