

**NO TO  
CAA  
NRC  
NPR**

**INDIA STANDS UNITED TO  
DEFEAT COMMUNAL POLITICS**



**ALL INDIA DEMOCRATIC  
STUDENTS' ORGANISATION AIDSO**

No to CAA, NRC & NPR  
India stands united to defeat communal politics

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## **PREFACE**

We are living in tumultuous days! The ill conceived Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), National Register of Citizens (NRC) of the BJP-led Central government are the reasons for this chaotic situation. Further, the Central government is contemplating to launch National Population Register (NPR) 2020, which will be ground work for the nation-wide NRC. If this is worst of our times, the best is that the people of our country irrespective of caste, creed and religion have rejected these policies and have come to the streets in thousands and are protesting against CAA-NRC-NPR.

It is the bounden duty of any elected government to give a patient hearing to the opposition and concede to their democratic demands; this is the essence of democracy. It is deplorable that the Central government has taken recourse to inhuman suppression of voice of dissent. Its deplorable that the supporters of the party in power are taking law into their hands and are brutally attacking the peaceful protesters. Besides, RSS-BJP-ABVP and their cohorts are engaged in a vicious communal hatred campaign; and are out to pit one section of people against other. When a large section of people did not fall prey to this conspiracy, the hooligans with the backing of the ruling party and administration, resorted brutal riots in Delhi. The capital of our country was engulfed with the violence leading to the death of more than 42 people and grievous injury of more than 300 people. This violence has destroyed the career of the students and livelihood of common people, shattered the honour and dignity of women.

In our considered opinion, these discriminatory, communal and divisive policies were being thrust upon the people, on the one hand to divert the attention of the common people from the real

problems of their life i.e. unemployment, retrenchment, price rise of essential commodities; privatisation-commercialisation of education, healthcare and other public sectors; increasing atrocities on girls and women; increasing peasants suicides due to distress in agriculture sector; etc. On the other hand, it will also destroy the secular fabric of the country and divide the common people on communal lines and thus serve the interest of monopoly capital and sustain the life of dying capitalism.

In this situation, every sensible and democratic-minded person wants to build united and democratic mass movements to thwart these policies. We hope this booklet will provide a brief idea to serve this purpose. Suggestions for its further improvement is earnestly solicited.

With revolutionary greetings

7 March, 2020  
48, Lenin Sarani,  
Kolkata – 13

**Sourav Ghosh**  
General Secretary  
AIDSO



On 12th December, 2019, through the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), the BJP led central government amended the Citizenship Act of 1955. The manner in which it was hurriedly passed, without conducting adequate nationwide debate involving all political parties and people at large, has raised several questions about the Central government's real intentions. Further, the BJP government's decision to conduct a nationwide NRC (National Register of Citizens) has made the people suspicious and anxious. This is because, the nightmare of the NRC in Assam and its disastrous consequences are fresh in our memory.

### **What is NRC? And why are people anxious?**

NRC means, National Register of Citizens. Is it wrong to have a register of Indian Citizens? No. The Government of India can of course prepare it. Then why are people anxious? People are worried because the Home Minister Mr. Amit Shah in an interview categorically stated that Aadhar, Voter's ID, Ration Card will not be considered as proof of one's citizenship. Instead, to include our names in the NRC the government wants us to produce the following documents: The Date and Place of birth of (a) oneself and (b) one's parents / grandparents! Here lies the problem! How many of us will have the birth certificates / documents of our parents? Is it possible to procure these documents so easily? So, people are becoming worried. Further, in Assam, there were specific targets for the officials to eliminate maximum number of people from the

NRC list! (*see box, page 28*) Those bitter experiences have made people of India suspicious about the government's true intentions. Now the government has declared that as a prelude to the NRC, NPR (National Population Register) will be prepared.

### **What is NPR? Why people are opposing it?**

NPR is National Population Register. The government says that NPR is a regular exercise, done along with the census and it was done earlier too. Yes, that is true. If it will be done in the regular format, as in the past, then why has the government added 6 more questions in the NPR exercise? These questions are related to the place and date of birth of one's parents. These new questions are a clear indication that the NPR is connected with the upcoming NRC. Faced with vehement opposition the Central government is now saying that this provision (that is providing the proof of one's parents' date and place of birth) is optional. If so, why are these questions not being dropped now? But the apprehension of the people is that, for the time being they may keep it optional, but at the next opportune moment it will be made compulsory. A feeling has developed in the country the government is not very transparent about the whole exercise. Every other day contradictory statements are being given by the Ministers about NPR or NRC. All these developments are obviously agitating the people's mind and they are being forced to come to the streets. On the face value, people perceive NPR & NRC to be unfair and discriminatory, so they are not welcoming it.

### **In a Nationwide NRC who will be the sufferers?**

Now, regarding producing of documentary proof, the educated people will somehow be able to provide proof of their date of birth; but not place of birth. In the entire India it is not common to have birth certificates; that is why millions of educated people too do not have the birth certificates of their children. This being the reality, how can we expect them to have documents to prove the date and place of birth of their parents? The fact is, to get these documents will be a herculean task! In a country where maximum people are illiterate, how can the government expect that 80% of its people who are poor will be able to prove their citizenship? In India around 40 crores work

in the unorganised sector; we have 8 crores adivasis and forest dwellers, millions of migrant workers, agricultural labourers, domestic workers, etc. How can we expect them to have 50-year-old documents? The question is, how many people are born in hospitals and get birth certificates? How many are able to preserve the certificates with care? Another important question is, how many people know and remember the birth place and date of their parents? Is it not ridiculous to ask all these as proof? When these poor countrymen fail to produce documents, they will be denied citizenship. Such a decision will be insensitive, cruel and inhuman!

### **Millions of poor will become Stateless through nationwide NRC**

The suffering which our brothers and sisters of Assam underwent in the NRC exercise sends a chill down one's spine. Millions of our countrymen in Assam could not prove the date of birth and place of birth of their parents or grandparents (*They were asked to produce documents prior to 1971, that is according to the Assam Accord*). The painful effect of all this was that, in Assam, 19 lakh people at one stroke went out of the NRC. It is a fact that most of these 'citizens without documents' were poor and women! Most of these terrorised people or their predecessors have been Indian voters since 1951; they have been paying regular taxes and are law-abiding people. According to the People's Representation Act, nobody can be enrolled as a voter without being a citizen. Yet, they have been made homeless and stateless. Cruelty at its peak! What an irony that during the previous State elections, the BJP leaders virtually fell at the feet of these very poor and got their votes. Now, after being saddled in governmental power, the BJP is calling its own voters 'illegal immigrants'. A shame! In a state like Assam where flooding of the mighty Brahmaputra river is a yearly phenomenon, saving a human life is itself a herculean task! Then how can we expect millions of these poor to maintain the documentary proof of their ancestors? So, asking them to produce the documents of themselves and their parents or grandparents is inhuman and anti-poor! Bitter experiences of our brothers and sisters of Assam have come as an eye opener. That is why millions of poor people are coming out against the NRC.

### **NRC is a ploy to divert the attention from real issues**

In independent India none of the governments ever took responsibility of providing job security to these hard-working citizens; providing health or free education to their children. Time and again they are the ones who are crushed under the wheels of price rise, taxation and anti-people policies. This government which has betrayed people on all fronts is now shamelessly asking them to prove their citizenship! It is a fact that whatever documents the government wants are there in its own offices. But now, to procure them, the labouring class will have to remain unproductive for days to stand in long queues to procure those documents. Knowing the Indian bureaucracy, one can well say that for every document, they will be forced to pay a price and a bribe too! Every day to stand in a queue means the families of these workers will be forced to sleep on an empty stomach! So, while we stand in these long queues anxious about our documents, we will be forced to forget about the unprecedented unemployment, price rise, poverty, etc. All Indians will be frantically running around to prove their citizenship, rather than think about these issues which are so real. So, the NRC is an evil design of the ruling class to divert the attention of people from real issues!

A leader who wears a suit worth 10 lakh rupees, an official who stays in an AC room or a Minister who is always flying- can they ever feel the plight of our poor working class? 'Blessed' are the people to have such Netas! So, irrespective of one's religion, it is the millions of poor, the dalits, the adivasis etc. who will be the worst affected by this evil exercise.

#### **Outcome of NRC in Assam and the painful experiences of people**

To know why the NRC was only for the Assamese and all non-conducted in Assam, we should Assamese should be thrown out of briefly know the background of this Assam. There has been an State. The socio-political situation orchestrated campaign that of Assam is distinct and it has its Assamese are not getting jobs own peculiar problems. Many because of Bengalis. While the chauvinist organisations for long reality is that, not only in Assam, have been demanding that Assam is but in the entire country whichever



Party or Front has come to power has miserably failed to solve the problem of unemployment. This is because the exploitative Capitalist system is the root cause not only of unemployment; but also for poverty, price rise, backwardness of some States, all out commercialisation of education or making Indian education a 'global commodity', etc. That is why several bourgeois parties for their own political interest, cunningly used this chauvinist sentiment in Assam. The BJP, to reap political mileage raised the bogey of *'lakhs of illegal 'Bangladeshi' infiltrators entering India through Assam are to be thrown out'*

Against this backdrop, to find out the illegal immigrants, the NRC exercise was carried out in Assam under the supervision of the Supreme Court of India. This enormous exercise went on for 10 long years, involving 52,000 officials and Rs. 1,600 crores of public money was spent on it. All developmental works came to a virtual standstill and the entire 1 crore people in the State got engaged in this futile exercise! It is alarming to imagine what will be the cost of a nationwide NRC! After all this painful exercise, the final NRC list came as shocker to the BJP's agenda. Out of the 19 lakh people (whose names were not found in

NRC list of Assam) 12 Lakhs happened to be non-Muslims; that is, a majority among them are Hindus and only 4 lakhs are Muslims!

Does this mean that these 12 lakhs Hindus or all the 19 lakhs are illegal immigrants? No, these unfortunate people are those who could not produce the documents as demanded by the Government of India to prove their citizenship. Most of them had their voter ID cards or Ration Card or Aadhar Card; yet the government officials said that these are not valid documents to prove one's citizenship! Very cunningly the BJP hatched a conspiracy to give citizenship only to the 12 lakhs Hindu people. So, it hurriedly brought the CAA to appease them and consolidate these Hindu votes for itself. By excluding more than 4 lakh Muslims it intended to divide the people along communal lines. All of us know that these 19 lakh citizens without documents are the artificial creation of communal politics. In the name of solving this problem, the BJP Government now intends to create an Assam like problem in entire India and engage our people in fratricidal blood bath. The people of India have rejected this communal polarisation. It is the aspiration of all Indians that the problem of Assam and the

citizenship issue of our 19 lakh brothers and sisters has to be settled in a humanitarian way; economic progress, peace and tranquillity should be established in Assam and in the entire country.

Every man or woman among these 19 lakh people has a painful story to tell. They were made to run from pillar to post to procure documents. The agony, mental trauma they underwent are heart wrenching. Phelu Das's wife and children are citizens of India, but he was sent to a detention centre since he had no papers. The condition of detention centre is so inhuman that Phelu Das died there. Like thousands of families, his wife

and family members had to undergo such mental trauma that she even refused take the dead body of her husband. Since according to the government Phelu Das was supposed to be a Bangladeshi immigrant, she asked the government of India to handover the body to Bangladesh! It is reported that many women in these detention centres are tortured, raped and molested. These detention centres are virtually turning out to be like the dreaded concentration camps. It is a matter of great anguish that several such detention centres are coming up in different parts of the country.

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### **BJP is determined to implement NPR, NRC & CAA**

Inspite of full knowledge of all these bitter experiences of the people, the central BJP Government is determined to do a nationwide NRC based on the amended CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act). Meanwhile the Prime Minister and Home Minister are giving contradictory statements only to confuse the people. In many speeches of the Home Minister Shri Amit Shah (7 times to be precise), has said that CAA and NRC will be implemented together. Whereas the Prime Minister in his recent speeches has said that NRC was never mentioned at all anywhere! A mere glance at the BJP's 2014 election manifesto shows that nationwide NRC was always in the agenda of the BJP. Further, the Home Minister categorically told people not to forget the chronology of events; first CAA, then NRC based on the NPR (National Population Register). It was a clear message to the Hindus; they need not be anxious since CAA will take care of their citizenship.

### **What is the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)?**

Across the country people are asking very honest questions: “I was born in this country, is it not sufficient to proclaim that I am a citizen of this country? Why should I prove my parents’ place of birth?” No, the amended Citizenship Act says that henceforth, one will be given citizenship by birth only if one proves that one’s parents were born the citizens of India! Before going into the Amendments made to the Citizenship Act, let us see what was there in our Citizenship Act of 1955. This Act gave Citizenship to any person born in India on or after 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1950! It was a progressive step; in spirit it reflected the glorious democratic and secular aspirations of renaissance thinkers and revolutionary freedom fighters. All civilized modern nations gave citizenship by birth without any discrimination. Under the powerful impact of this practice worldwide, the founding architects of our Constitution decided to give citizenship by birth; thus, India proudly joined the batch of modern nation States of the world!

The Citizenship Amendment Act passed on 12<sup>th</sup> December 2019, amended the Citizenship Act 1955. The amendment to Section 2 is: “in sub-section (1), in clause (b), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely”:

“Provided that any person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, who entered into India on or before the 31st day of December, 2014 and who has been exempted by the Central Government by or under clause (c) of sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920 or from the application of the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 or any rule or order made thereunder, shall not be treated as illegal migrant for the purposes of this Act;”

Firstly, if we see the series of amendments (*See Box, page 28*) it is amply clear that the spirit of the Constitution regarding giving citizenship has been constantly diluted by successive governments. Hence, 130 crore Indians have to go through the NRC & CAA, and prove the citizenship of their parents and themselves. This means, virtually **our citizenship is no more our birth right; it will be henceforth determined by descent!** What a tragedy!

Secondly, the CAA goes against the International citizenship

guidelines set by the UNO which says ***“There shall be no arbitrariness (Selection/Choice) in granting citizenship”***. Hence UN Human Rights Commissioner has issued a statement terming CAA as ***“Fundamentally discriminatory in nature!”***.

### **Should we not give citizenship to Hindus from outside India?**

No one can oppose giving citizenship to a fellow human being. What people are saying is that Citizenship shall be extended to people belonging to all religious faiths. We want that citizenship should be given to all the 19 lakh people (those who have been excluded in the NRC of Assam). Whereas the BJP wants to give citizenship to all except Muslims. It wants to make 4 lakh Muslim brethren stateless! Any democrat's heart is much broader. We proclaim that Citizenship shall not be based on religion and it shall never be exclusionary or discriminatory.

Let us recall the painful history of partition. The partition of our country on the basis of religion was the demand of the RSS-Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League backed by British imperialists and which was later accepted by the power hungry Congress Leaders. After the partition of the country, the then Prime Minister Nehru had given a national commitment that Hindu & Sikh refugees from Pakistan would be given citizenship in India without any conditionalities. Accordingly, there is no bar in providing citizenship to these refugees coming from Pakistan and Bangladesh. From that point of view the CAA is totally unnecessary. The government can as well grant citizenship to them as per the provisions of the Citizenship Act, 1955.

Then what is the motive of bringing in this Amendment? More than giving citizenship, it is aimed at eliminating a few. It is being done in order to create apprehensions and panic among Indian Muslims and fuel Hindu jingoism. So, the CAA, NPR and NRC – these schemes are ill motivated and a deliberate attack upon the common people, irrespective of religion, caste and nationality differences. They will make millions of people non-citizens, and stateless to languish in Hitlerite detention camps. Millions of people will become beggars pray BJP leaders, ministers and their chosen officials for being given citizenship. To what a subhuman level the BJP Government has gone? To be in power, they are out to make the life of people miserable.

Muslims are excluded because Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan are Muslim majority countries. They are not minorities there.

Firstly, our neighbours are not only three countries. China, Sri Lanka, Myanmar(Burma) are also neighbouring countries of India; Muslims are minorities even in these countries and are oppressed there too. In Pakistan Ahmadiya Muslims and Shia Muslims who are minorities, were butchered and tortured by Sunni Muslims who are the majority. The ethnic and religious minorities are also suppressed and oppressed in neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka and Myanmar. Shall we not take care of Tamil minorities of Sri Lanka and Rohingyas in Myanmar? Why are these 'persecuted' left out of the list?

Secondly, is the nature of persecution only religious? According to the UN Charter a Refugee and persecution are declared as follows: "*A refugee is, a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion...*" The Acts (CAA, Passport Act (Entry into India) Act 1920 and Foreigners Act, 1946) go against this because, in these Acts there is no provision for any other persecution other than religious persecution.

Further, it is to be noted that in many countries the exploitative capitalist regimes create ethnic strife and disturbances only to divert the attention of the people from burning problems of their life. Even in India under the BJP rule, in many states there have been mob attacks, lynching of Muslims. So, more than religious, these persecutions are political and economic. The rulers who indulge in it themselves hardly practice or believe in religion; religion is a tool for them to create fanaticism in the people. Henceforth, for all those who will be out of the NRC, there is only one option left to get citizenship. That is, that one has to declare that he / she had faced religious persecution in one of the above mentioned three countries- Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan !

### **CAA will in no way affect the Citizenship of Indian Muslims - is it so?**

There is a great hue and cry by the rulers that the CAA will not affect the citizenship of Indian Muslims. What to speak of Muslims, as a matter of fact, merely the CAA will not affect any

citizen of India at all. Then what is the problem? The Central government is repeatedly saying that it will implement NPR & NRC, and CAA will take care of only immigrant Hindus, which is making the people anxious. Since it is a fact that the CAA is only a backup for the NPR & NRC, people across the country have become alert and they are taking the words of the government with a pinch of salt. There are reports from Assam that, the officials were promised rewards for eliminating people from the NRC; they were even given specific targets to be met! Despite the Government's assurances the fact is that the moment any State has an ill intended or questionable law in its arsenal, the citizens remain vulnerable to its potential misuse. Recently in South Bangalore (at an area near Belandur) based on a Whatsapp video that claimed that there are Bangladeshi immigrants, the BBMP officials without giving any prior notice bulldozed the huts of poor workers. What is to be noted is after the demolition of their dwellings, it was found that none of them were Bangladeshis. Most of them were migrant labourers from north Karnataka and some were from other States! It is reported that they pleaded the officials showing their documents; the officials cared two hoots for these hapless downtrodden!. Such are the officials who will be coming to us for collecting data for this gigantic NPR or NRC exercise! It's horrifying to even imagine the plight and hardship of millions of people in this country.

### **Are illegal emigrants or refugees cause of the growing unemployment in our country?**

“Indian borders are not safe. Lakhs of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants are entering India and Islamic terrorists are also crossing Indian borders”- this has been the election plan of the BJP. In spite of being in power for 5 full years, how did the Central government fail to check this influx or infiltration as per its claims-is a million-dollar question. The Central government has till now not been able to provide any authentic data about the number of persecuted Hindus or illegal immigrants or terrorists! Without any data how did the government decide to pass the CAA? Or even start the exorbitant NRC exercise? The BJP Government will never answer these questions.

It is reported that 2 lakh refugees have come to India, from

countries other than the 3 mentioned in the CAA (*Source - The Hindu, 18/12/2019*). Even if we assume that the number has doubled in one year, it would be 4 lakhs. It clearly indicates the fact that more refugees have fled to India from the countries not mentioned in the CAA! Further, the argument that the refugees are eating into our employment opportunities and benefits of government does not hold water. For the past 6 years, the BJP led government has failed to provide jobs to crores of Indians. As per government reports the government has been able to created only 8 lakh jobs per annum as opposed to the required 1.7 crore jobs! (*Source: NSS 2019 Data*). So, the blame for rising unemployment should be borne by the government and not the hapless refugees.

**The infiltrators are involving in terrorist and disruptive activities and thereby posing great threat to the security of the country, is it not so?**

Branding all those who are coming without valid documents as infiltrators or terrorists is something unacceptable. This is because it is known that downtrodden people, irrespective of religious identity cross borders risking their lives when attacks are unleashed on them on ethnic or religious grounds or in the event of foreign aggression or escalation of an internal strife or when the means of survival become impossible to find. In such cases those who migrate to other countries are called immigrants or refugees. The latest example is the Rohingyas who ran away for survival when they were attacked by the Burmese army and the Buddhist militants. It is heinous to term them as infiltrators or terrorists just because they belong to a particular religious faith. Can anybody show a single instance of terrorist attacks in which refugees and immigrants are involved? On the contrary, all terrorist attacks are planned and executed with the support of imperialist forces like America and overt or covert patronization by respective governments. The most modern weapons or explosives used by the terrorists cannot be manufactured on their own or in a cottage industry but only in large-scale industries with high-end technology. Then, who are supplying arms and ammunition to the terrorists? Take the case of Pulwama attack where nearly 3 tons of explosive material and 80 kilograms of RDX were used. How come the terrorists entered with it

escaping Border Security surveillance? 43 CRPF Jawans lost their lives. Yet, no charge sheet has been filed till date over such a ghastly attack. A terrorist is a terrorist, he has no religion. To attribute a particular religion of breeding terrorism means maligning that religion. It means not only that, but also dehumanizes mankind.

**Is it not the responsibility of the government to stop the inflow of infiltrators who are threatening the security of our country?**

Yes, people entering from neighboring countries without any valid documents should be stopped. But why are the Border Security Forces, which have been deployed at the expense of hard-earned taxpayers' money, not preventing infiltration? Why is the internal security network comprising of so many intelligence wings and information branches not in a position to identify the infiltrators? Nevertheless, if at all there has been any infiltration, then the problem should be tackled with the existing laws of the land or international agreements. Instead of doing this, the Central government wants 130 crore people to stand in queues for a decade and show their papers. Will not the infiltrators who could deceive our powerful security, now not deceive the government officials? Will they not procure fake documents to prove their citizenship? The Central government is out to make a mountain out of a molehill!

**The real essence of Hindu Religion as upheld by Vivekananda has been betrayed**

Let us recall the famed address of Vivekananda at the conference of world religions at Chicago. With pride he had proclaimed, **"I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal tolerance, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth.** If the CAA is implemented, a true Hindu can no more feel proud about the rich legacy of Hindu religion! Several religious leaders like Chaitanya, Ramakrishna, Kabir, Gurunanak, Sufi saints, etc. strived to unite people irrespective of religion and caste. The BJP is out to destroy this rich legacy of Communal harmony created for centuries by these great men in our



country. If the BJP leaders have any real respect for Vivekananda or for the Hindu religion, they would not have resorted to passing of this Act. Yes, they are not the real representatives of Hindu religion. None of them truly follows the essence of Hindu religion, that is universal tolerance and the principle that the whole world is a family (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*).

In total variance of this, the BJP was created on the basis of a communal political ideology, that is intolerance and hatred towards Muslims and Christians. Thus, by sowing the seeds of communal hatred, right from its inception it has been trying to create 'Hindu Jingoism' among the people. By and large the people of India have not yielded to this design. In the current historic movement against the CAA & NRC, a very large section of Hindus is joining their Muslim brethren; they are condemning the BJP's move and are demanding to provide Jobs and Education! This gigantic mass movement once again reiterates the truth that entire India can never become communal. This is the soul of India, and this is the hope! Crushed by severe poverty, hunger and sufferings, ignorant people find solace in religion. They go to a temple or mosque or church only to get peace of mind. For the BJP and its parivar organisations, religion is not a personal belief. They wield it as a political weapon to keep people in blindness; also distort its essence to spread communal hatred. By dividing the people on the basis of religion, they attempt divert their attention from real issues and destroy their united struggle. So, by bringing the CAA, the BJP has turned out to be the enemy of Hindu religious ideals and has betrayed the dreams of great Vivekananda.

**Muslims have 50 countries, whereas Hindus have only  
2 countries. So, if we don't give them citizenship  
where can they go?**

There is a fallacy in the arguments itself. Muslims have 50 countries itself shows that Religion cannot be the basis for the formation of any Nation. If religion was the basis for the formation of a nation then why are they 50? Shouldn't they have been one single country? If Islam religion was the basis for the formation of Nation States, then the entire Arab world would have become One Nation. Similarly, entire Europe or both the American Continents

should become One Nation, because majority of the people in these countries practice Christianity! Anyone who has studied history even at high school level knows that one of the important basis for the formation of Nation States was the need for one centralised Capitalist market and they had to fight against feudal rule to achieve it. A great Marxist thinker and internationally acclaimed authority on the Nationality Question Comrade Stalin had said **“A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”**

So, to say that just because one is a Muslim or Christian one can go to any country; and that they will give citizenship based on one's religion is next to impossible. After the partition, the Indian government was ready to give citizenship to Hindus or Sikhs residing in Pakistan. It is to be noted that thousands of Hindus wished to stay back in Pakistan, they rejected India's offer! What does it mean? One's belonging to a Nation, is not proved by a piece of paper. For any Indian, his/her nation means the place he/she is born and brought up, one is emotionally attached to it. For a person living in Punjab/Chennai/a remote village in West Bengal or Gujarat- the place where he/she resides is his/her India! That is the concrete expression of Nation for him/her. He/she has an emotional bondage and sense of belonging to the surrounding where he was brought up; that is where he has relatives, friends, etc. A Renaissance personality from Andhra, Gurujada Apparaao rightly said *“Nation does not means a piece of land, Nation means people.”* Without people there is no Nation! Alas! The RSS-BJP want to build a Nation, by killing people whom they don't want! Displacing a person forcibly from his place is an inhuman crime, it is anti-civilization! So, this argument is being propagated by the BJP only to validate the theory of making India a “Hindu Rastra.”

### **Does India belongs only to Hindus?**

Never should we forget our history, our roots and legacy are deeply embedded there. In our prolonged struggle against British Imperialism and local feudalism, the feeling of Nationhood developed in this vast land and India became independent on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. In this glorious struggle, lakhs of people participated and thousands

laid down their lives. In terms of their religious faith, they might have been Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, etc. They all gave their lives to establish a Democratic and Secular Nation; but not for a religious country. None of our freedom fighters wanted independent India to be a 'Hindu Rashtra'! This aspiration and spirit of the people got reflected in the thoughts and ideas of Netaji Subhashchandra Bose, Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad, Asfaqulla Khan, Ramprasad Bismil, Preetilatha Vaddedar, Subramanya Bharati and others. This is very clearly reflected in Netaji's talk **"There (in independent India) shall be no state religion. In matters of political and economic rights there shall be perfect unity among the whole population....the government of India should have an absolutely neutral and impartial attitude towards all religions and leave it to the choice of every individual to follow a particular religious faith."** (Source: *The Indian Struggle*).

### **National Bourgeoisie took a compromising role due to mortal fear of revolution**

When there were leaders like Bhagat Singh and Netaji, how could communalism raise its ugly head? Why did India get divided on the basis of religion? The cause for it lies in the fact that the democratisation of Indian society through social and cultural revolutions was not taken up by the national bourgeoisie and its leader Gandhiji. Great Stalin, the leader of the international communist movement, while addressing the South Asian students way back in 1925 had said: **"The fundamental and new feature of the conditions of life of colonies like India is not only that the national bourgeoisie has split up into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but primarily that the compromising section of this bourgeoisie has already managed, in the main to strike a deal with imperialism. Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism... It is forming a bloc with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country....The Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie in order, after isolating the compromising national bourgeoisie, to lead the vast masses of the urban and**

**rural petty-bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism.”**

(Source: *Political Task of the University of the People of the East, Stalin Collected Works, Vol. – VII*).

As mentioned by Comrade Stalin, in our freedom movement, Gandhiji was the representative of the compromising national bourgeoisie and the uncompromising fighters like Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh and others who came from the petty-bourgeois or middle-class families were the representatives of the revolutionary section. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the great Marxist philosophers of this era; on whose thoughts our organisation AIDS was formed, in his brilliant analysis of our freedom struggle showed that there were two trends in our freedom movement. The two trends in our freedom movement were ‘the compromising trend of Gandhiji’ and ‘the uncompromising trend represented by the revolutionaries.’ The compromising trend of Gandhiji’s on the one hand had a reformist opposition to British imperialism and on the other hand it compromised with feudalism.

**Only Democratization of society can fight Communalism**

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, showed us “...The result of compromise with feudalism was that the Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions essential for the democratization of the society and a complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions, into a nation. In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of social and cultural revolutions for democratization of the society against feudalism, feudal disunity and religious bondage, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, race, etc.” (Source: “*On Communal Problem*”, *Shibdas Ghosh Selected Works, Vol II*)

Not only this, the Gandhian leadership took religion as a vehicle of propagating nationalistic ideas. The nationalism propagated by this

section of leaders was religion-oriented nationalism which manifested itself in the form of Hindu religious revivalism. They honestly tried to unite Muslims or the Dalits on the basis of tolerance and broadness of the Hindu religion. Leaders of the compromising trend never realised that this was an unscientific approach. It is painful that this approach of Gandhi and his followers created a psychological fear among minorities and Dalits; so, a vast section of them remained away from the mainstream of the freedom movement. In his heart, Mahatma Gandhiji wanted that Hindus and Muslims should be like brothers. But he never understood that his political line would ultimately lead to their separation. A section of Muslim capitalists, to carve a market for themselves raised the slogan of a separate country for Muslims, Pakistan. It is to be noted that 14 years before the Muslim league raised this slogan, Savarkar had floated the 'Two Nation theory'! In 1947 this vast land was divided on the basis of religion, much against the wishes of vast masses of its people. People of both countries underwent the horror and emotional turmoil of one of the largest ever migrations in human history. That religion cannot be the basis for uniting the people or for the formation of a Nation got vindicated in 1971. The people East Pakistan fought against West Pakistan for a separate country which would give them their true identity- they Bangladesh. All these painful lessons from history once again reiterate the truth that real integration of different communities into a nation can be achieved only by making religion completely powerless, in so far as the social activities of individuals are concerned. We have to take up the unfinished task of democratisation of Indian society through social and cultural revolutions. This is the call of the hour.

### **Distorted concept of Secularism responsible for the growth of communal forces**

The tragedy is that, in free India, this true concept of Secularism was never practised. In India Secularism officially came to mean equal encouragement to all religions! Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, sarcastically remarked that, since Islam is the state religion of Pakistan, we call it an 'Islamic theocratic State.' In India if the government encourages all religions, then India can at best become a multi-theocratic State, but never a Secular State. He also warned

that if the State starts encouraging all religions then its effect would be: firstly it creates blindness, since the culture practised by all religions is to submit to the authority without any question; it is unquestionable submission. Secondly, in a multi religious country like India instead of uniting people, this policy will cause division among people of various religious faiths. This distorted concept of secularism was pursued by all parties which came to power; whether it was the Congress or any other party which ruled us at the Centre or in various States. In the name of equal encouragement to all religions, to make petty electoral gains, the Congress at one time used to appease the minorities; in another changed condition it resorted to appeasing the Hindus. Thus, the unity of people always remained at stake. Taking full advantage of this policy the Jana Sangh and its later version, the BJP raised the bogey of 'Hindu Rashtra.' In the name of fighting the policy of 'Muslim appeasement' by the Congress, the BJP aggressively advocated 'appeasement of Hindus.' To satisfy the political hunger of these parties, innocent people were butchered in heinous communal riots. The hands of all parties which came to power are stained with the blood of poor workers and peasants!

### **Communal hatred and divisive politics ideological basis of BJP**

It would be a mistake if we think that the BJP took up communal politics only to get electoral dividends. The ideological basis for the formation of Jana Sangh or BJP has been hatred, divisive and communal politics. It is to be noted that its leading members were trained and nurtured ideologically in the 'Shakas' of RSS (Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh) and the Hindu Mahasabha. If we recollect the role played by these organisations during our historic freedom struggle, the truth becomes crystal clear. The Sangha Parivar and the BJP totally discard our rich renaissance movement and great freedom struggle. They not only glorified the communal interpretation of history by the British, they also admired British rule and considered it be a friendly government. It is still fresh in the memory of people that the Sangha Parivar never participated in our freedom movement or the "Quit India Movement." There are instances wherein the RSS and their parivar leaders and activists even acted as police informers

and betrayed the revolutionaries and helped oppressive British rulers. If we go through some of the statements of their leaders, the truth becomes amply clear to us.

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> World war, Subhashchandra Bose had issued a clarion call for developing the struggle against the British. M S Golwalkar (the second Sarasanghachalak of RSS) criticised any anti-British stance. In his own words : “...*The theories of territorial Nationalism and of common danger... have deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu nationhood and has made many of the freedom movements, anti-British movements...*” (Source: *We or our nationhood defined by Golwalkar*). Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, (President of Hindu Mahasabha and founder of Jana Sangh / BJP) wrote to the British Governor in Bengal on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1942 “...*Anybody who during the war plans to stir up mass feelings... must be resisted.... The administration of the province must be carried on in such a manner that in spite of the best efforts of the Congress this movement will fail to take root in the province. It should be possible for us especially the responsible ministers to be able to tell the public that the freedom for which the Congress has started the movement already belongs to the representatives of the people.... Indians have to trust the British.*” Vinayak D Savarkar, the Mahasabha President, issued a whip in September 1942 : “*I issue this definite instruction to all Hindu Sabhaities in particular and to all sanghaities in general....holding any post or position of vantage in the government services must stick to them and continue to perform their regular duties.*” The British therefore were quite pleased with the Sanghaities. The Bombay Home Department observed in 1942; “*The Sangh has scrupulously kept itself within law and has refrained from taking part in the political disturbances that broke out in 1942.*” Let us not forget that the RSS backed Hindu Mahasabha had formed a Coalition Ministry with the Muslim League in undivided Bengal, Sindh & North Western Province at the time of British rule. This is the dark side of history! Their history. What a tragedy! When great men like Bhagat Singh, Netaji and others were talking of communal harmony and boldly sacrificed their lives; here are the so-called leaders who were conspiring with the British;

planning to instigate communal clashes! Shame on them! Now that very Sangha Parivar and the BJP talk of Nationalism! They do not have any ethical or moral right to talk on nationalism. People, who deserted our freedom struggle, conspired with the British and engaged in communal politics are now using governmental power to implement their agenda of establishing a 'Hindu Rashtra.' This divisive ideology could never attract the vast section of our people during India's independence movement. During those days their icons were those who upheld secular and democratic ideas.

### **Concept of 'Hindu Rastra' vehemently opposed by Netaji**

Let us recall what Netaji had to say about Communalism : **“Communalism has raised its ugly head in all out nakedness...even the oppressed, the poor and the 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 organisations solve any of the problems confronted by the working class? Do any such organisations have any answer to unemployment, to illiteracy, to poverty? Can they show any direction?”**

It is to be noted that the concept of nationalism upheld by Bhagat Singh, Netaji and others were based on Secular Democratic principles. These uncompromising fighters took up the task of democratization of the society. Their progressive ideas were so powerful that they could draw the best sons and daughters of our soil into the vortex of freedom struggle. Then what happened to this legacy? How could communalism raise its ugly head again in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Worldwide Capitalism has become totally reactionary. Huge capital is getting accumulated in the hands of a very few rich; on the other side vast masses of people do not have enough money to eat even two square meals a day! The recent Oxfam report says: *“the richest 1% of the world has more than double the wealth of 6.9 billion people. Among that 1% are the world's 2,153 billionaires, who in 2019 had more wealth than 4.6 billion people.”* So cruel is the system! What is the condition in India? *“India's richest 1% holds more than 4 times the wealth held by 953 Million people, who make up the bottom 70% of our country's population!”* Day light plunder of millions of poor! Every passing day people are



becoming destitute, while the surplus and profits of the capitalists are accumulating in arithmetic progression. This exploitative capitalism cannot create jobs; can no more build newer schools, colleges or hospitals. Bygone are the days of rapid industrialisation. To suppress people's revolt against such inequality, all capitalist countries are resorting to fascistic measures.

### **Fascism has become the feature of all Capitalist countries**

Hitler's Fascism was defeated in World War II. The mighty patriotic army of Soviet Russia could accomplish it due to the leadership of a great Marxist thinker Stalin. Nowadays, the word 'fascist' is often used by many while condemning the BJP-RSS. It is to be reminded that when fascist Germany and Italy were defeated in the 2nd World War, worldwide a conclusion was drawn that fascism had been finished once for all. But a single voice differed. That was the voice of great Marxist thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He declared in 1948 that fascism had become the general feature in diverse forms in all advanced and backward capitalist countries. He had shown three characteristics of fascism i.e. a) economically- concentration of capital, b) politically- centralization of power in the hands of executives and bureaucracy and c) ideologically, fusion of spiritualism and technical aspects of science to develop blind faith and regimentation of thought. Further he had shown that whichever party comes to power is bound to follow the fascistic line, because it is the general feature of modern capitalism, not merely of this or that party. He had shown that Gandhism, as it followed a spiritualistic approach, was the ideological prop of fascism in India. At that time, no other party including the undivided CPI had accepted this analysis. Now, many are talking about fascist danger, but of course without understanding its class character and economic, political, ideological, cultural features.

### **Only a mighty people's movement can defeat BJP ideologically and politically**

The BJP Government has been a total failure on every front. The economy is in a terrible mess; the GDP is at its lowest, huge are job losses, thousands of small and medium scale industries have been shut down. Unemployment has reached a 50-year high. Unbridled

price rise, steep hike in the price of cooking gas (LPG), rising cost of onion and other vegetables. The situation is so critical that everyday 35 unemployed and 36 self-employed youth are committing suicide for economic reasons! Unable to payback their debts, every year thousands of pauperised peasants are committing suicide; there are no measures to save them from the burden of debts. Meanwhile big loans borrowed by the big capitalists are waived off; many of them are even allowed to escape from India. Shame on the governments! Even at this critical juncture the Central government is aggressively going ahead with privatization of Public Sector Units including profit-making BPCL and others; it is infusing forced sickness into BSNL to gift the Telecom sector to private operators. Day and night the BJP is striving hard to prove itself as the worthiest servant of the Corporate houses. Escalating crimes against women as evidenced in the recent gruesome rape and killing in Hyderabad, Unnao and other places have become a cause of deep concern. Let alone protesting against these, the Central government does not want the people to even have time to think or talk about their misery. So, to divert the attention of the people it is out to prepare the NPR and NRC. The Central government wanted the people to stand in a line; but the people of India have decided to sit on the streets! The CAA was brought in, so as to create apprehensions and panic among Indian Muslims and fuel Hindu jingoism. It wanted to divide the people, but sadly for the rulers, instead of their plan to divide us, we multiplied. The uniqueness of the ongoing movement is that entire India has shed its identities of religion or caste and stands united!

When the CAA was passed, there were protests all over the country. Most unpredictably all of a sudden like a volcanic eruption a student protest movement burst out in Jamiya Miliya Islamia, Delhi. The Central government at once deployed police forces to brutally suppress this movement. Students studying in the library were beaten-up. Girls were brutally attacked in their hostels and even in toilets. Hundreds of students were injured and many were arrested. The news of this movement and police brutality spread throughout the country like a fire. It galvanized the entire country. Protests began to gather steam in many reputed universities and institutions, almost in all states. The entire student community with direct support from teachers, intellectuals, scientists, doctors, lawyers, guardians, people

from different sections has come out in the streets in a heroic battle braving tear gas, police batons, water cannon and even bullets. More than 50 persons have been killed so far, hundreds have been injured and imprisoned, many are being hounded by the police, but the students battling the CAA, NPR and NRC have remained undaunted and determined.

Another historic addition to this movement has been the involvement of women. This remains unprecedented and unparalleled not only in India but also all over the world. Women are coming out in thousands. Girl students of course have been involved and even led the movement, but what is astonishing is the movement set off by ordinary housewives, mostly Muslim women who have shed their veil and broken off all shackles to start a unique form of movement. Thousands of women, mostly housewives, mostly from Muslim families have come out in the streets in Shaheen Bagh in Delhi. They have been sitting, sleeping, literally living on the street, whole day and night, even ignoring the biting cold of one of the severest winters, some mothers with babies in their arms, continuously shouting slogans against CAA, NPR, NRC. Shaheen Bagh is no more a mere locality, it has become a symbol, an icon. It has been over 70 days now since their peaceful protest began. They have been joined by people of different faiths. Now there are hundreds of Shaheen Bags in many cities, towns and important public places involving thousands of women all over the country. These Shaheen Baghs are only increasing by the day. In Shaheen Bagh, the night bitter cold of Delhi took away a three-month-old child. But the mother of the child was not deterred. She is back in protest. She wants to save the nation and future generations. The entire nation has stood up in tears to salute this brave fighter and Motherhood! A middle aged woman protesting in Kolkata Park Circus too died of the cold. That women would come out like this in such large numbers braving everything, even the police was unimaginable. But such is the power of a mass movement, a just one at that. When it comes to the point of life and death, it creates miracles as we now witness. A man from Sikh community sold his flat to provide food for the fighting mothers and sisters of Shaheen Bagh! Irrespective of religion, caste, language etc people are thronging and helping the fighters everywhere. The river of humanity and a fighting spirit is flowing most prominently on the streets of India.

Democracy is alive and it is living in streets of our beloved country!

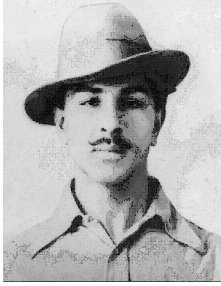
Across the country the All India Democratic Students' Organisation (AIDSO) with its thousands of activists is seriously involved in this movement. Alongside opposing the CAA, NRC & NPR we should also take up the problems of fee hike, commercialisation of Education, the disastrous National Education Policy 2019, unemployment, atrocities on women and other problems of the people. To take these struggles to their logical culmination, we need to form grass root level People's Committees. If we can do it, victory is ours. Ongoing struggles have already shaken the seat of power in Delhi. The aggressive tone of the ministers is mellowing down. We still have a long long way to go. We carry with us the hope that the people of India, the real India will win!

### **Chronology of Amendments to the Citizenship Act — which now denies Right to “Citizenship by Birth”**

**The Citizenship Act of 1955 :** It declared, *“Except as provided in sub-section (2) of this section, every person born in India on or after the 26th January, 1950, shall be a citizen of India by birth.”* (under “Acquisition of Citizenship” - Section 3)

**The Citizenship Act of 1955 amended in 1986 Read :** *“every person born in India on or after 26th January, 1950 but before the commencement of the Act (1st day of July, 1987) and on or after such commencement and either of whose parents was a citizen in India at the time of his birth, shall be a citizen of India by birth.”* (under “Acquisition of Citizenship” - Section 3).

**The Citizenship Act of 1955 as amended in 2003 Read:** *(1) Except as provided in sub-section (2), every person born in India — (a) on or after the 26th day of January, 1950, but before the 1st day of July, 1987; (b) on or after the 1st day of July, 1987, but before the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003 and either of whose parents is a citizen of India at the time of his birth; (c) on or after the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003, where—(i) both of his parents are citizens of India; or (ii) one of whose parents is a citizen of India and the other is not an illegal migrant at the time of his birth, shall be a citizen of India by birth”* (under “Acquisition of Citizenship” - Section 3)



## COMMUNAL RIOTS AND THEIR SOLUTION

*This invaluable article written by **Shaheed-E-Azam Bhagat Singh** was published at 'Kirti' magazine in 1926. In the background of sustained efforts by the Governments to foment communal disunity among the common people, this article assumes greater meaning today. -Ed.*

India, at present, is in a very pitiable condition. The followers of one religion have become sworn enemies of those of the other. These days, being a follower of one religion is to be the enemy of other; if one doesn't agree with this view, then one merely has to look at the latest incident of riots in Lahore: how Muslims murdered innocent Sikhs and Hindus and how Sikhs also did not leave any stone unturned in murdering Muslims vengefully. This was not done because the other was guilty, but because the other was a Hindu, a Sikh or a Muslim. Being a Sikh or Hindu was sufficient reason for Muslims to kill him. Similarly, it seemed enough for a Hindu or a Sikh to kill a Muslim for his being Muslim alone. Only God can save India in such a situation. Indeed, under such circumstances, the future of India looks very dark.

These religions have left the country in a lurch. And we don't know when these communal riots will leave Bharat alone. These riots have hurled notoriety upon the clean image of India, and we have seen that every blind faith-filled person starts drifting with the flow. There is hardly any Hindu, Sikh or Muslim who keep his mind cool. On the contrary, all these people having blind faith in one or the other religion pick up batons, swords and daggers to smash the heads of others. And after doing so, some kiss the noise while others are lodged in jails. And with the bloodshed of these religious people, the English also start suppressing them mercilessly which in turn, makes the former even more determined.

On the face of it, communal leaders and newspapers are behind all these riots. Today, the leaders in India have come to that blind end where it is better to keep quiet. The same leaders who had wielded the responsibility of liberating the country and those who were crying out 'common nationality' and 'swaraj-swaraj', the same have remained hidden with their heads between their knees or begun drifting

in the same flow. There is no dearth of leaders hiding their heads. But too many leaders have also joined the communal wave. Look at any corner and hundreds would come out from under it. There was a time when the leaders who wanted a common welfare plan were very few, and the wave of religion was so strong that they felt unable to prevent the accompanying bloodshed. The leaders in India have become politically bankrupt.

The second factor which added fuel to fire were the newspapers. The profession of journalism which was once regarded as a very noble one, now it has become evil. These people arouse public sentiment by writing bold headlines in the newspapers against one or the other and compel people to start fighting with one another. Not limited to just one or two places, riots started in many locations just because of the fact that local newspapers had written articles that stoked passions. Very few writers maintained their cool in such situations. The actual duty of newspapers is to educate, to liberate people from narrow-mindedness, eradicate fundamentalism, to help in creating a sense of fraternity among people, and build a common nationalism in India, but these papers behaved in a manner entirely antithetical to their duties. Their sole motive was to spread hysteria, preach narrow-mindedness, fundamentalism, instigate clashes and destroy the common heritage of India. That is why one is so pained to see the present condition of the country and one wonders what will happen to our country.

The people who remember the enthusiasm of the period of non-cooperation feel like crying on seeing this present condition of the country. Those were the days when freedom seemed very near but now *Swaraj* has become just a dream. And this was the third advantage that has been achieved by party partisanship. The same bureaucracy which saw a great danger to its existence and seemed it would perish within days, has strengthened its roots so much that it is not a simple task now to shake it off. If we wish to know the moot reason for these riots, we will find that it is an economic one. During the period of non-cooperation leaders and journalists had sacrificed a lot. Their economic condition had deteriorated. After the non-cooperation movement became weak, the leaders of the movement also became irrelevant. The business of many communal leaders thus came to an end. Any activity that starts in this world has at its

base the question of livelihood. It is the foremost principle among the three basic principles of Marx. Because of this principle Tableeque, Takzeem and reformist organisations developed and this marked the beginnings of the state we now find ourselves in. Any improvement in the matter of these riots is only possible if there is an improvement in the economic conditions of India. Bharat's economic condition is so bad that someone can pay the other (a bribe) of 4 *annas* in order to get him defamed. When suffering from hunger and strife everybody is prepared to shun all principles. One is ready to do anything when confronted with the question of life or death. But it is very difficult to have economic improvement in such a state of affairs as the present. Because the government is an alien one and it doesn't let the conditions of the Indians improve. We must therefore change it at any cost and till it is changed we should not rest.

We need to inculcate class consciousness prevent people from fighting. The poor workers and peasants should be clearly told that their foremost enemies are the capitalist and they should keep aloof from their maneuverings, and not be instigated by them. People all over the world have similar rights, whether they belongs to any race, caste or creed. Your welfare lies in becoming united and trying to snatch the power from the Government to take it in your hands. You would lose nothing by doing so, instead, one day you would be liberated from your shackles and achieve economic freedom. The people who are well versed with Russian history know that in the days of Czar, the condition of Russia was even worse than India's present condition; there were so many communities in the country and they were all fighting among themselves. And when workers' rule got established in Russia, the position changed altogether. Now no riots occur there, and everybody is considered a human being first and not a religious entity. During the period of Czar, the financial condition of the people of Russia was very bad. This was the main reason behind the riots. But now the economic condition of the Russians has improved and class consciousness has become prevalent among them, so they don't have any riots.

Riots are always replete with disheartening news but during the riots in Calcutta one good thing happened as well. The workers did not take any part in the riots and the trade unions even try to pacify the violent mob. These people had become class conscious and knew



to look out for their class interests. Class consciousness is the main tool which can help in preventing riots.

The happy news has come to us that Indian youths are shunning fanaticism, which preaches that one should fight another; the youth have learnt to see a person as a human being and Indian first before anything else. It shows that the future of India is very bright and people should not dread these riots, rather they should create an atmosphere in which there would be no possibility of riots.

The martyrs of 1914-15 had separated religion from politics. They felt that religious people had their own obligations and no one could interfere with that. They also felt that religion should not intrude on politics because it does not allow people to work jointly for a common cause. This is why they could stick together during the *Ghadar* movement, and Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims all sacrifice everything in that movement. Some Indian leaders have now emerged at the forefront who also wish to separate religion from politics. It is a very apt solution to avert all the clashes (that have been happening) and we too approve of this. If religion is separated from politics, then all of us can jointly initiate political activities, even though in matter of religion we might have many differences with each other. We feel that the true well-wishers of India would follow these principles and save India from the suicidal path it is on at present.

