

**Nationality Question in India –
The stand of Our Party**

2021 January

**Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

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Note

The Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) wrote the document 'Nationality Question in India – The stand of our Party' and released it on 2019 May 26th. Later the CC received certain suggestions, comments and amendments from few of the CC comrades and comrades of the State Committees. The CC discussed those and is releasing the amended document.

2021 January

Revolutionary Greetings

Central Committee

First edition – 2019 May 26th

Second (Amended) Edition – 2021 January

A document of the

Central Committee

CPI (Maoist)

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Foreword

Nationality movements took place in our country as a part of the anti-British independence movement. With the transfer of power from the British imperialists to the Indian exploitative classes on 15th August 1947 the nationality question in India was left unsolved. All through the time since then the question of nationalities has been continuing in the country. It is now more severe and complex. In several European countries too, where it is said that the nationality question is solved with the formation of nation states it is coming forth in various forms. In this situation we need to enrich the policy of our Party to solve this question in the light of the fundamental understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in the light of our experiences and in the concrete conditions of nationality movements of our country.

The erstwhile CPI (ML) and the MCCI and our united party the CPI (Maoist) have fundamentally clear understanding towards the nationality question in India right from the beginning. Basing on this fundamental understanding we made clear on several occasions our stand towards the nationality question that arose in the country and also lent support to those just movements. We maintained good relations with those organisations of the movement. We led certain movements in the leadership of our Party. Whenever we declared a proper stand and took up practice basing on it we gained positive results and also valuable experiences.

Today struggles are going on in several states against regional discrimination and regional backwardness. Movements are going on for the formation of separate states basing on historical origins of nationalities. Kashmir nationality, Naga, Manipur and Asom nationalities are struggling to separate from India and form independent countries on the basis of nationality. The various nationalities of North-East are fighting for autonomy, separate state, increase in the powers of the states and increase in funds. Demands for separate states are coming forth in many parts and states of the country. Inter-state river water disputes and border disputes are going on.

Regional parties -DMK, Anna DMK, Telugudesam, Akalidal, Sivasena, Samajvadi Party (SP), Janata Dal (U), RJD, Asom Gana Parishat, Biju Janata

Dal, Trinamool Congress, Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS), Jharkhad Mukti Morcha (JMM) and others are demanding to decrease few centralized powers of the central government, increase the powers of the states and to implement the federal rights provided in the Indian Constitution. However all these parties only represent the interests of regional comprador big bourgeois and big landlord classes and serve the interests of the imperialists, the all India comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and feudal classes and so they opportunistically follow one attitude when in power and another when in opposition towards the question to benefit in the electoral politics. The problem of nationalities will not at all be solved with the demands of these parties. They only help to serve the interests of the exploitive classes.

The CPI, CPI (M) and other such revisionist and neo-revisionist parties say that the nationality question will be solved by preserving the present nominal federal character of the Indian Constitution. In reality these opportunist revisionist parties absolutely reject the right to self-determination of the nationalities. There is no fundamental difference between the attitudes of these parties and that of the ruling class parties. These parties mainly strive for the interests of imperialist, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big feudal classes and to aid to suppress all the just struggles of the nationalities.

The Congress party that continued in power in the centre and in various states for most of the period in the past 73 years unleashed bureaucratic rule in the name of 'integrity', 'totality' and 'security' of the country to sustain 'a strong central government' and expansionist policies in South Asia. In the 1950s and the 60s the ruling classes in the leadership of Nehru and Patel not only indulged in various kinds of tricks, machinations and threats but also took 'military action' on many feudatories and brought forth 'Indian Union' and for the first time achieved 'political unification'. Indira Gandhi followed their footsteps and aggressively attacked Sikkim and unified it in India in 1973. The Congress party, the united alliance and the BJP cruelly suppressed the aspirations of the nationalities, implemented expansionist policies and served the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big feudal classes.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh says that India is not a country of different nationalities, that there is only one nationality in India, that it is the 'Hindu' nationality, that Hindu religion has culturally integrated and been

preserving this nationality and that basing on this cultural nationalism India is a single national state and is severely trying to unleash expansionist hegemonic policies on the oppressed nationalities in India and all the countries of South Asia with the objective of establishing 'Akhand Bharat' by bringing together the whole of South Asia. In order to achieve this objective the Bharateeya Janata Party that the RSS formed to work in the political front has been working as and according to the comprador ruling class party since the beginning. After the BJP came to power in the centre in 2014 May as a part of achieving economic uniformity it implemented single tax system with the name of Goods and Services Tax (GST). It gave the slogan of one country – one tax policy. It brought forth the slogan of 'Ek Bharat, sresht Bharat' (one Bharat, best Bharat) towards the foundation of 'Akhand Bharat'. The 'new India' that the utmost reactionary, outdated Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist forces hope to achieve by 2022 is nothing but to transform the country into a centralized fascist one with an absolute unitary character that suppresses all the oppressed nationalities of the country and removes the nominal federal character mentioned in the Constitution. This is aimed to fulfill the interests of the Indian comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big feudal classes in a more aggressive manner.

Exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes intensified all over the tribal areas and tribal communities of the country and their existence fell in danger. In these areas petty bourgeois and national bourgeois sections increased along with a small section of comprador bourgeois class also. The tribal people are demanding autonomy and separate states. These demands are coming forth in the process of the emergence of tribal communities into primitive nationalities. The necessity to adopt a comprehensive program for these demands came forth.

There are two wrong tendencies regarding nationality question in the Marxist-Leninist parties in our country. They are –

The first – The various nationality struggles especially with the demand to separate from the Indian Union are going on with the instigation of imperialism. These are disintegrating the unity the Indian people achieved through a prolonged fight against British imperialism. These are neither class struggles nor struggles under the leadership of the proletariat. So the revolutionaries need not intervene in these.

The second – The bourgeois nationalist perspective of placing nationality struggle in the place of class struggle supporting all the nationality struggles without analyzing the objective and aims of the respective nationality struggles and the line of every nationality to make struggle to separate from India irrespective of the historical development phase of a nationality or of the political consciousness of the people with the development of class struggle.

The policy of our Party as the party of proletarian vanguard towards nationality question in India on contrary to the bourgeois, revisionist, petty bourgeois, Hindutwa fascist policies, attitudes and trends is fundamentally correct.

Our party firmly states that there is an interrelation between wiping out the exploitative system and the comprehensive development of the nationalities. Our party opines that in any backward country that is a place for different nationalities, nationality question is an inseparable part of the ongoing New Democratic Revolution against feudalism and imperialism.

The struggles of various nationalities for their development and the struggles to totally wipe out feudal and imperialist exploitation all over the country are inseparable. Our party understands that they are separate aspects of a single objective and two internal streams going on in one democratic revolution helping for mutual development.

There are three chapters in this document that formulated a comprehensive policy on the nationality question as a part of the Indian New Democratic Revolution. The first chapter explains the proletarian fundamental understanding on nationality question, the second about the nationality question that is an inseparable part of the New Democratic Revolution in the country and the third about our revolutionary program regarding nationality question.

Our party must lead the various nationalities of our country that is a prison of nationalities in the New Democratic Revolution according to their aspirations and also lead the struggles and the movements that come forth in any state, any form and in any level.

Bourgeois, revisionist, petty bourgeois, Hindutwa fascist policies, trends and stands must be politically exposed basing on this policy document in places of the country where the party is strong and also where it is weak. We must

support the ongoing just movements of the nationalities of the country. It is necessary to politically mobilise the people of the oppressed nationalities as per our policy and unite the positive forces in the nationality movements. Only then the two streams of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist class struggle and nationality struggles will unite, strengthen basing on the other and the Indian Revolutionary movement advances. With the success of the Indian Revolution the socially oppressed classes, oppressed social sections and the oppressed nationalities will be liberated from the chains of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. Thus the country and the world shall go forth in the direction of a great society where there is no oppression of class and oppression of nationality.

Chapter I

Fundamental proletarian understanding towards Nationality Question

Emergence of nationalities in the world and the process of their development

We need to know at least briefly the development process of the society in order to understand the emergence of nationalities in the world historically and the process of their development.

For three thousand years from 4000 BC to 1000 BC, there were slave societies in some parts of the world and primitive communist societies in most parts. In India self-sufficient villages emerged from 200 BC to 400 AD that were the foundation stones of feudal society. All through this period the primitive societies have been migrating all over the world. These societies did not confine to specified territories. In that period the development of language and culture of the respective societies was in the initial stage. All the human societies of the world developed in the same manner very slowly until the primary stage of the uncivilized (barbaric) era. In the later period due to the geographical particularities of each area like the natural resources, atmosphere and other such diversities in nature the respective societies developed in an unequal manner. As a result there were inequalities in the development of the forces of production. In addition to this the class struggles that took place internally in the respective societies and the political developments like wars that took place all over the world influenced the process of the formation of the nationalities and the process of their development in the respective countries.

With the decline of the slave societies and the emergence of feudal societies all over the world ancient history came to an end and that of the middle age began. Feudal societies formed and continued all over the world with little difference in time from the 4th and the 5th AD to the 16th AD. During this period of these feudal societies there was relative development in the language, literature and cultures of the respective societies. But due to the constant wars between the kingdoms in the middle ages a society could not stay in only one kingdom. The societies were divided with the victories and

defeats in wars between the monarchs and had to live under separate monarchies. At that time there was no single economy that created the feeling of a single nationality in a society of an area and so it did not give rise to modern nationalities. This consciousness was initially given by capitalism. However there existed many ancient linguistic based nationalities in every feudal state. Thus the societies with a single language and single culture did not to the extent have the psyche that they were all one.

The transformation from the middle age to the modern age means the transformation from feudalism to capitalism. The bourgeois revolution that started in England in 1640 was successful with the hanging of the king of the country in January 1649. Thus the bourgeois revolutions against the feudal societies began in Europe from the 17th century. Industrial revolution took place in the 18th century. The bourgeois revolutions that began in West Europe in the 17th century spread all over and were successful in the East European countries by the end of the 19th century. Modern nationalities also took shape along with the bourgeois revolutions.

The bourgeois revolutions of West European countries led to the ruin of feudalism and formation of capitalism. Since feudal economy was mainly an agrarian economy it had a local and scattered character. Capitalism united the people living separately in the process of its development. It means capitalism liberated the forces of production that were strangulated in the chains of feudal relations of production. Market is one of the utmost essential things for the developing capitalism. The capitalists inculcated national feeling in the people for their necessity as a part of their aim to create such a stable market. They laid road and rail networks all over the country to transport raw material, to sell industrial products and for centralized governance. Basing on this they established a wide domestic market. After the inception of the mode of producing goods that creates an inseparable relation with the market, similar kind of psyche developed among the people living in a domain and speaking a single language and started integrating into a single nationality. Thus those people developed into a self-sufficient nationality. In this process the people of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other such countries of West Europe developed into separate nationalities and also formed independent nation states.

The process of the transformation of the respective societies into self-sufficient nationalities did not take place in a smooth or a similar manner in any place. This development took and is taking place only as a part of the severe struggles with feudalism that is in the way of the development of capitalism. The process of the formation of nationalities takes place in various forms corresponding to the socio-economic conditions of the respective countries.

We can clearly understand the processes of emergence of modern nationalities from what the great Marxist teacher Stalin said analyzing the history of the formation of national states as bourgeois revolutions were going on against feudalism (it means in the period of free trade stage of capitalism) all over Europe starting from the 17th century until the end of the 19th century –

“A nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of elimination of feudalism and development of capitalism is at the same time a process of the constitution of people into nations. Such, for instance, was the case in Western Europe. The British, French, Germans, Italians and others were formed into nations at the time of the victorious advance of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity.

“But the formation of nations in those instances at the same time signified their conversion into independent national states. The British, French and other nations are at the same time British, etc., states. Ireland, which did not participate in this process, does not alter the general picture.

“Matters proceeded somewhat differently in Eastern Europe. Whereas in the West nations developed into states, in the East multi-national states were formed, states consisting of several nationalities. Such are Austria-Hungary and Russia. In Austria, the Germans proved to be politically the most developed, and they took it upon themselves to unite the Austrian nationalities into a state. In Hungary, the most adapted for state organisation were the Magyars—the core of the Hungarian nationalities—and it was they who united Hungary. In Russia, the uniting of the nationalities was undertaken by the Great Russians, who were headed by a historically formed, powerful and well-organised aristocratic military bureaucracy.

“That was how matters proceeded in the East.

“This special method of formation of states could take place only where feudalism had not yet been eliminated, where capitalism was feebly developed, where the nationalities which had been forced into the background had not yet been able to consolidate themselves economically into integral nations.

“But capitalism also began to develop in the Eastern states. Trade and means of communication were developing. Large towns were springing up. The nations were becoming economically consolidated. Capitalism, erupting into the tranquil life of the nationalities which had been pushed into the background, was arousing them and stirring them into action. The development of the press and the theatre, the activity of the Reichstag (Austria) and of the Duma (Russia) were helping to strengthen “national sentiments.” The intelligentsia that had arisen was being imbued with “the national idea” and was acting in the same direction...

“But the nations which had been pushed into the background and had now awakened to independent life, could no longer form themselves into independent national states; they encountered on their path the very powerful resistance of the ruling strata of the dominant nations, which had long ago assumed the control of the state. They were too late! . . .

““In this way the Czechs, Poles, etc., formed themselves into nations in Austria; the Croats, etc., in Hungary; the Letts, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, etc., in Russia. What had been an exception in Western Europe (Ireland) became the rule in the East.

“In the West, Ireland responded to its exceptional position by a national movement. In the East, the awakened nations were bound to respond in the same fashion.

“Thus arose the circumstances which impelled the young nations of Eastern Europe on to the path of struggle.”

(On ‘Marxism and the National Question’ – II. The National Movement, Collected Works, Vol II, P313-315)

From these words of Stalin we understand that the nationality question was not in a single form in all the countries and in all times. Moreover the nature of the nationality question develops according to the conditions of the country, the time and the amount of the destruction of feudalism and development of capitalism.

As a result of speedily developing capitalism outside the European countries America was liberated from the British imperialism in 1776 and established the state of 'American nation'. The nation state of Japan has a particularity. The capitalist class collaborated with the feudal nobles and developed capitalism. Nation state was formed in that country along with capitalism. Thus nation states were formed along with the development of capitalism in the 18th and the 19th centuries in West and East European countries and in America and Japan outside Europe. At that time pre-capitalist relations of production existed in the rest of the countries of the world.

Nationality question in the imperialist era

Capitalism that began in mid-17th century continued as free trade capitalism until the end of 19th century. In this process there arose a situation where domestic market was not enough for its development. It had to try for foreign markets. In this process the free trade capitalism transformed into imperialism in the beginning of the 20th century.

From 1870 onwards export of goods and export of capital to the foreign markets went on at a fast pace. The reason is related to the great depression of 1873-95. The accumulation and concentration of capital and production in a high scale led to the emergence of national monopoly organisations and to a great rise in production. The West Europe national markets were not at all enough to accommodate the production that increased at a large scale. Not only the domestic markets became limited but the rate of profits went on going down. Consequently new means became necessary to invest this capital in the foreign countries that was accumulated in a big way in the hands of the monopoly capitalists. Therefore capitalism followed a way to overcome the crisis in the ending of the 19th century and that is the export of capital.

In the process of export of goods and capital (especially capital) by the capitalist monopoly organisations to foreign markets/foreign countries, Asia, Africa and Latin American countries turned to be colonies, semi-colonies or dependent countries. At that time the main trend was the aggression wars of the imperialist countries on the backward countries and turning them into colonies. Thus the nationality question attained the character of anti-imperialist struggle in those countries.

Merchant capital was taking up activities all through the world even before capitalist mode of production emerged in Europe. Many countries of West Europe such as Britain, France, Germany, Holland (Netherlands), Spain, Portuguese and East European country Russia turned the backward countries of the world into their colonies since the time of bourgeois revolution in England in the 17th century. Capitalist countries have been continuing their activities in the colonial countries along with the development of capitalism (first the stage of merchant capital, later that of industrial capital and lastly that of finance capital). The capitalist countries and imperialist countries turned the backward countries into their colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries through the activities of merchant capital from the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century, through industrial capital from the early 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century and through export of finance capital from the beginning of the 20th century.

The two World Wars that took place for colonies – the re-division of the world

The capitalist countries expanded their colonies in a much bigger scale from the 1870s. They occupied broad territories from the beginning of the 20th century. With the development of capitalism into imperialism contention for colonies intensified. The bourgeois governments occupied the colonies, attained the resources of raw material and markets for industrial goods for their countries and tried to gain monopoly and to establish favorable conditions for the export of capital.

By the ending of the 19th century nearly the whole globe was divided among England, France, Italy, Germany, America and Russia. Small capitalist countries too participated in the division of the world.

The contradictions between the imperialist countries took a severe shape in the early 20th century. With the beginning of the imperialist era the phase of 'peaceful' development of capitalism ended. The series of imperialist wars began for colonies and for re-division of the world. As a part of these wars World War I took place from 1914-18. The World War I ended with the defeat of the Austro-Germany alliance and the success of the friendly alliance (Britain, France and Russia) in 1918 November.

Capitalism fell in general crisis during WW I. The Bolshevik Party in the leadership of Lenin utilized this crisis with correct tactics and accomplished

the great Socialist Revolution in Russia. With the success of the Socialist Revolution in Russia capitalism that spread all over the world as the only economy until then ended and new Socialist system emerged by its side.

Even though World War I came to an end, the old contradictions in the imperialist order did not only not end but new contradictions added to it. Contradictions arose between the states that won the war and those that lost.

By the beginning of the 20th century America and Japan joined Britain and France as great forces. The three imperialist forces such as Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia became extremely weak and thus WW I ended. Four great exploiter forces such as America, Britain, France and Japan emerged from this war. Due to WW I Germany became utterly weak and its territory and colonies were distributed between the great forces that won the war. However Germany recovered soon from those losses and became a great force within a decade of the end of WW I.

Before the onset of WW II six great forces including Italy formed into two military alliances with a desire of war (Britain, France and America formed into one alliance and Germany, Italy and Japan into another. At that time Socialist Russia formed United Front with Britain, France and America to face fascism). Each of these forces rigorously attempted to bring most of the world into its control and this resulted in the devastating WW II. Almost all these forces were severely affected due to this WW. America alone retained as a great force.

World War II initiated the second phase of the general crisis of capitalism. As a result of this Socialism won in several countries and a Socialist camp emerged. The direct rule of the imperialists in the earlier colonies and semi-colonies nearly came to an end and neo-colonial forms of governance replaced it. This severely weakened imperialism.

Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonial policy is a distinct new form of colonialism that imperialism took up to fulfill its interests in the phase of its decay and strategic regression. An important character of neo-colonialism is to follow a new method to continue their colonial rule and exploitation basing on the lackeys of those countries whom they selected and trained, in the inevitable situation to discard direct colonial rule. They retained these countries as markets for their

goods, as resources of raw material and as a means of export of capital in the name of 'financial help', 'loan' and other such forms. Neo-colonial exploitation and control was not confined to the financial sector. They established their own influence, exploitation and authority on military policies also through various forms like military 'aid', 'help' and appointment of advisers. On the whole neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and more sinister form of colonialism.

In 1919 out of the total world population of 1800 million, more than 1200 million (around 70 percent) resided in colonies and semi-colonies. But by 1966 direct colonial rule ended in most parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This severely weakened imperialism. The below mentioned three important political forces together ended the method of direct colonial rule. They are –

1. The powerful Socialist camp that lent total support to nationality liberation struggles; 2. The anti-imperialist nationality liberation struggles going on in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; 3. Working class movements, peace movements and revival of democracy in the imperialist countries.

WW II helped to strengthen these forces. At the same time it weakened imperialism on the whole. The situation forced imperialism to retreat.

Most of the oppressed countries that were under direct colonial rule for many centuries have been liberated from the imperialist direct rule within two decades after WW II. Asia was liberated from the direct rule of imperialism within one decade after WW II. In the second decade direct colonial rule ended in Africa. The various imperialist forces had to take into consideration the national consciousness that developed in a magnificent manner in these countries while formulating future strategies to continue loot and exploitation of these countries.

The imperialists improved and widened their exploitative and hegemonic methods to continue activities in their earlier colonies. They formed new organisations like the United Nations, World Bank, IMF, GATT (this later became the WTO), USAID, IDA and ADB and implemented neo-colonial policies.

TNCs and MNCs came forth as an utmost important instrument for neo-colonial exploitation of the backward countries. According to the report published by the Swiss Federal Institution of Technology of Zurich a few

monopoly organisations are controlling the economy of the whole world. Six super rich persons of the world own property equal to half of the population, i.e., to that of 360 crore people.

With the MNCs starting to dictate all the spheres of the people's lives there was unlimited violation of human rights in the backward countries. In the 21st century 3 crore 20 lakh Muslim people directly or indirectly died in the military coup in Honduras, Ukraine and Egypt that the US Army conspired and directed; the Brazil parliament conspiracy; and due to the military intervention of the US friendly alliance in 20 countries. In Africa secular and rich country Libya was destroyed and more than half of the population of the country that provided maximum shelter to refugees in the world was made homeless. The US put aside the welfare of its people and paid 40 trillion dollars towards the increased expenditure of Israel and spent hundreds of thousands crores of dollars to massacre Muslims in the name of 'war on terror' (war on Muslims) due to which in fact 17 lakh US citizens reeling in poverty are dying every year (*Dr. GidanPolya, 'liar-war criminal Obama, the last speech in the General Body meeting of the UN, 2016 September 24th, P3, 6th point*).

Regarding economic exploitation, the extent of loot and exploitation of the imperialists on the backward countries in the neo-colonial phase was much more than that of the colonial period. Imperialists unleash numerous methods to absolutely exploit the land, labor, property and resources of the backward countries. The important of them are – to pour in imperialist goods, services and capital investments in the name of 'financial aid' and other such names, unequal transaction of goods, high interest rates on loans, transfer of shares for loans, royalties, monopoly prices, reduction of currency value, strategic view of exports, dependence of imports for food material, extreme expenditure on arms, transfer of technical knowledge and intellectual drain.

Neo-colonialism has been extracting utmost monopoly profits from the backward countries through uncountable ways. Large scale people's struggles arose in the backward countries against neo-colonial exploitation and hegemony in the 1950s and 1960s (even until mid-1970s). The oppressed people and nationalities also achieved few considerable victories in these struggles with the strength and support of the Socialist countries, with the

solidarity expressed by the proletariat and people in imperialist countries and with the organized strength of people's liberation struggles. In mid-1970s imperialism indulged in large scale offensive on the backward countries. Since imperialism was neck deep in crisis from the beginning of the 1970s and collaboration and contention between the various imperialist forces for a much bigger share in the world market grew, its offensive on the backward countries intensified. Imperialism brought in a lot of investments in the backward countries basing on their local compradors and puppet governments.

Neo-colonialism gave new opportunities for every imperialist force to exploit. Moreover, it made possible collective colonialism to 'collectively exploit' the backward countries that is expressed through WB, IMF, WTO and other such imperialist organisations. This is a distinct character of neo-colonialism. This collective colonialism indicates the weakening of imperialism. This is reflected in the gradually developing more cruel competition and severe conflicts between the various imperialist forces and their MNCs with the developing crisis all over and falling profit rates.

Globalization

The imperialist countries (mainly West European countries) that lost in WW II achieved better levels of production than those earlier to war by mid-1950s with the aid of the US imperialism that came forth as an unbeatable leader of the imperialist camp after the war. The economies of those countries very speedily spread for nearly two decades and led to partial stability of capitalism. But it could not sustain permanently. With the crisis falling into prolonged depression from 1973, the illusion of constant spread of world economy was shattered. This crisis came forth in the background where America utterly failed in the heroic nationality liberation struggles of the people of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos and the Soviet Social imperialism emerged as a superpower and contender for re-division of the world.

Worldwide financial crisis since 1973 led to a decline in the demand for capital goods in the imperialist countries. As a part of internationalization of production imperialism adopted Globalisation policies since the 1980s and 1990s. This is part of the neo-colonial policy of imperialism since post-World War II. However, there is a difference in the policies that imperialism adopted as a part of neo-colonialism in 1946-80 and the globalisation policies

since the 1980s, especially since the beginning of 1990s when Russia declined as a superpower. The imperialists that adopted Keynesian economic policies until then introduced free trade market policies since the beginning of the 1990s. With this globalisation the fundamental contradictions in the international front are intensifying day by day.

Impact of globalization on the world proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nationalities

Since the beginning of 1990s almost all the governments introduced free trade policies of neo-liberal right like Hake and Milton Friedman in the place of Keynesian policy that proposed government control on economy. The Keynesian policies benefited the monopoly organisations to accumulate enormous surplus in 1950s and 1960s. But this situation changed with the crisis of 1970s. The international corporations and financial speculators felt these policies a hurdle for more accumulation. Any kind of control framework suffocated them and came in the way of their worldwide activities. Moreover the Keynesian policy (though it has limitations) says that total employment must be provided and so it made cheap labor power more difficult. They needed free trade policies to affect the bargaining capability of the workers and create a vast reserve army of unemployed so as to gain cheap labor power.

These free trade market policies, the Structural Adjustment Programs dictated by the IMF and WB spread hunger, poverty, unemployment and diseases among the broad oppressed masses and oppressed nationalities of the world in a large scale.

It became inevitable for the workers of imperialist countries to take up severe struggle against cuts in wages, increase of speed in work, retrenchments, withdrawal of welfare activities and for the revival of their rights.

The living conditions of the middle class people of not only the backward countries but all over the world are declining in a big way. Contract workers and part-time employees have become an ordinary feature of all backward countries and industrial countries.

Due to imperialist globalization the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries; and the contradiction between

imperialism and the oppressed people and oppressed nationalities are intensifying.

The globalization policies that imperialism took up since 1980s created an unprecedented economic, political and social crisis in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. With this several industries were closed and lakhs of workers became unemployed. Lakhs of peasants committed suicide. Imperialist countries are manufacturing capital goods, arms and luxurious goods and selling them to these countries minting extreme profits. Basing on their absolute monopoly on information technology the imperialists intensified cultural offensive in the backward countries. With this the local cultures are destroyed and the impact of imperialist vicious culture is rising. Economic, political, socio-cultural, food, water, oil and environment crises are intensifying all over the world, especially in the backward countries.

The US superpower weakened and Russian superpower collapsed as a result of the heroic struggles of the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people against imperialism since the post WW II period. The nationality liberation struggles of especially Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and those of Afghanistan and Iraq have a distinct place.

All these struggles are contributing to the eruption of proletarian struggles in imperialist countries also. The process of internationalization of capital emphasizes the need to build proletarian struggles in the world level. This strengthens the objective basis of unity between the two streams of World Socialist Revolution – the proletarian movements of imperialist countries and anti-imperialist anti-feudal national democratic revolutions in the backward countries. It is the task of the world proletariat to utilize the favorable revolutionary situation out of internationalization of the world economic system.

Whether in the phase of free competition, the phase of imperialism, in that of colonialism or in that of neo-colonialism capitalism has been exploiting and oppressing the toiling class, backward nationalities and backward countries. The worldwide labor exploitation, exploitation of resources, interventionist policies and aggressive wars of imperialism are not only causing dependence, poverty, hunger deaths, diseases and suicides among the oppressed people and oppressed nationalities but they are also being displaced from their own territories and countries. The oppressed

nationalities and tribal communities are losing their survival, identity and self-respect. In such a situation nationality question in the era of imperialism is nothing but struggle against imperialism.

Since the imperialist era began the great Marxist teachers Lenin, Stalin and Mao identified the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world from time to time and have been formulating the general line of world revolution basing on them, for the liberation of oppressed people, nationalities and oppressed countries. Starting from the 1917 Russian October Revolution to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1973, the great Marxist teachers have been integrating the proletarian struggles that arose from the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries; the nationality liberation movements and national democratic movements that arose from the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and oppressed people, formulated the general line of World Socialist Revolution and worked for its implementation. Thus when Russia and China existed as socialist countries few countries, nationalities and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America achieved liberation from the exploitation and oppression of imperialism.

The teachings of the great Marxist teachers on nationality question

Two new fundamental social classes – the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat emerged from the bourgeois revolution of the 17th century and the industrial revolution of the 18th century in England. Along with these bourgeois revolutions and industrial revolutions, capitalist societies and nation states were formed first in Europe and America. In the process of development of capitalism into imperialism and in the process of expansion of capital all over the world, Asian, African and Latin American countries became colonies and semi-colonies and there too gave rise to bourgeois class and proletariat.

Production is a social process in capitalism. But the capitalists who own the instruments of production enjoy the fruits of workers' labor. This leads to contradiction between the social nature of production and the individual nature of ownership. This is a fundamental, antagonistic contradiction in capitalism. This contradiction makes the capitalist class and the proletariat permanently mutually antagonistic classes. Therefore the world outlook of these two classes will be different.

Since the great proletariat teachers Karl Marx and Frederick Engels handed over the scientific Socialist theory (since the Communist Manifesto was released in 1848 February) the proletariat was armed with scientific Socialist theory.

Since Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels and in the later period Lenin, Stalin and Mao wrote many articles through which they stated that the question of the oppressed nationalities is ultimately class question and that the liberation of nationalities is possible only through the liberation of oppressed classes in the leadership of the proletariat. The teachings of the great teachers starting from Marx and Engels to Mao about the nationality question in the past period, its various forms, its problems and its solution are like this –

It is the rule of Marxist theory that any social problem must be seen in the specific historic framework. Also, if the problem is of a particular country (for example the national program of a country) we must observe the concrete characteristics that separate that country from other countries in the same historic stage and then consider them.

According to this rule the history of nationality question can be divided into three stages.

First stage – The first stage is of the initial stage of capitalism. In this stage, capital gained success only by destroying feudalism. This success was possible only through great revolutions. Nationalities were formed in the process of these revolutions. Moreover in this process nation states also formed into centralized states. The Multi-Nation states formed in East Europe became the birth place of suppression of nationalities.

Second stage – The second stage is of the era of mutual contention of developed capitalism in Western countries to gain colonial states to expand markets and gain hegemony on raw material, fuel, cheap labor power and other such things. This is the era of imperialism that began with the 20th century. All the countries of Asia, Africa and South America turned to be colonial countries of a few developed oppressor countries. From that time onwards nationality question became an inseparable part of the anti-imperialist world movement.

Third stage – The third stage begins with the success of the Socialist revolution in Russia after the imperialist WW I. The revolution wiped out

capitalism in that country. It ended repression on the nationalities. It recognized the right to separate including right to self-determination of every nationality. Thus voluntary union of various nationalities without any kind of repression was formed. We can say that thus a basis for 'voluntary group of people of various nationalities of the world' for genuine independence and free development that Lenin guessed was formed. The nationality question became an inseparable part of World Socialist Revolution from this third stage.

Nationality Question – Marx-Engels

Marx-Engels studied the colonial nationality question in the period of the initial stage of capitalism. The period of 1789-1871 was that of the stage of bourgeois democratic revolutions in West Europe. This is the stage of national movements and formation of nation states. During this time Marx-Engels clearly stated their opinions on colonial and nationality question and specifically on Irish question.

Marx and Engels scientifically explained their views on the liberation struggles of suppressed nations and its bearing on the world revolutionary process, the relationship between the national liberation movement and the international workers movement, the attitude of the proletariat in the metropolitan countries towards the colonial policies of their governments, and the allies of the proletariat in the revolution. They unequivocally opposed the arguments of Bakuninists that the rule of capitalist countries over the colonies will facilitate the spread of culture and civilisation in those backward countries and thus the colonial rule is beneficial to the peoples of the colonies. Marx stated in his debate with Bakuninists, "The nation which oppresses others forges its own chains".

The First International rejected Bernstein's justifying description of colonialism as the "culture spreading mission of capitalism."

Marx and Engels backed the historical right of oppressed peoples to fight for their liberation. They called upon the English working class and the international worker's movement to support the Irish peoples' struggle for their liberation. "For a long-time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy... Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be

applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general” (Marx, MESC, p.218).

Marx and Engels recognised the relationship between the national liberation movements and the socialist revolution. Marx in his article on ‘Revolution in China and in Europe’ stated thus: “It may seem a very strange and very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and the next movement for Republican freedom and Economy or Government may depend more probably on what is now passing in the celestial Empire - the very opposite of Europe - than any other political cause that now exists ...” (Marx, MECW-12 p.98).

Marx, in his January 1858 letter to Engels, observed regarding the revolt in India that “by drawing away people and money” (Marx, Letter to Engels Jan-1858) the rebellion in India became an objective factor contributing to the working class struggle in England.

During the lifetime of Engels itself, the tendency of supporting colonialism had been developing in the social democratic movement. The opinion, that with the profits from the colonies, the entire European working class could develop further, gained support. This tendency had gained strength by the time of Stuttgart Congress of the Second International. The “Socialist Colonial Policy” proposed by Dutch social Democrat Vonkol was rejected. But it is worth noting that this resolution got 108 votes in favor (128 votes against). These Socialist Colonialists argued that capitalist colonialism will advance the revolutionary movements in the backward uncivilized countries.

The First International was formed in a Conference of workers of various countries that took place on 26th September 1864. It stated two tasks for the workers of all countries in its program. One is to end individual ownership on the instruments of production and the second is to build proletarian party with the objective of seizing power through revolutionary methods.

The First International fought for the liberation of Irish peasants from the dominance of English colonialists and for an independent revolutionary democratic Poland. Marx exposed all kinds of colonial exploitation in several articles. The First International firmly opposed colonial wars. It appealed for ending slavery in America. Marx and the English workers fought against the intervention of the English bourgeoisie in the American civil war even before the establishment of the International.

The Second International was formed in the leadership of Engels on 14th July 1889 after the demise of Marx. But Engels died within a short time of its formation in 1895. With this opportunist activities became dominant in the Second International. The bourgeois class started giving a part of the super profits it gained in the stage of imperialism to the higher class of the proletariat and the leaders of Trade Union in the form of bribes and in the form of provision of better living facilities. This led to opportunism in the proletariat. The opportunist parties of the Second International started propagating that instead of general political strike and armed revolt to seize power from the bourgeois class parliamentary methods are the main methods of struggle for the proletariat. With this most of the parties of the Second International lost the character of revolutionary parties and turned to be reformist, revisionist parties. They degenerated into parties advocating imperialism and parties advocating colonial oppression.

Nationality question – Lenin

Lenin and Stalin studied the national colonial question in the era of imperialism and stated the stand of the proletariat. In addition to the stand the proletariat has to take up on the nationality question in the era of imperialism, they also stated how to solve the nationality question in the stage of World Socialist Revolution that began with the success of the October revolution and worked for solving the nationality question in Socialist Russia.

The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the stand of the proletariat on nationality question and on colonies in the era of imperialism, in the stage of World Socialist Revolution shall be a guide to the world proletariat even now. During the time when opportunist and revisionist forces were dominant in the Second International they had a wrong stand on the nationality question like on all political questions. The Bolsheviks alone in the leadership of Lenin made an uncompromising struggle against the opportunism of Bernstein and Milrand in the Second International.

The Basle Conference of the Second International took place in 1912 November in the conditions when the contradictions between the imperialist countries were intensifying. This Conference discussed the role of Social Democrats in the imperialist war. This Conference formulated a manifesto

against war. The manifesto taught the workers of all countries to fight for the prevention of war with all their strength.

Anyhow when the first imperialist war broke most of the leaders of the Second International absolutely betrayed the proletariat and took the stand of supporting the bourgeois class and imperialist governments of their countries. Within a few days of the beginning of the World War the leaders of socialist parties of England, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Belgium took the capitalist stand of 'protection of motherland' in this unjust war. These opportunist parties betrayed proletarian internationalism and allied with the bourgeois class for the reason which they got the name national chauvinist socialists. The Bolshevik party alone in the leadership of Lenin gave a call 'transform the imperialist war into civil war' in order to end imperialism.

Lenin strived a lot to build a new proletarian International without opportunists during the days of WW I. Gradually revolutionary teams formed in the Social Democratic parties of Germany and other countries. These teams fought with the traitorous policy of the national chauvinist socialists and finally dissociated from them.

During the war two Conferences of the internationalists were held in Switzerland. These are the initial actions for building the Third Communist International. After the Russian Socialist Revolution the Third International was formed in its first Congress in the leadership of Lenin on 2nd- 6th March 1919.

Economic and political crises arose in all the countries that got into war by the end of 1916. On this basis the great Socialist Revolution was successful in the leadership of Lenin on 25th October (7th November as per the new calendar) 1917.

The great October Socialist Revolution introduced a new era in human history. It is the era that works to absolutely wipe out the exploitation of a human being by another human being and brings all the exploitive classes to an end.

The strong impact of the great October Socialist Revolution not only showed on the toiling masses of the developed capitalist countries but also shook the entire imperialism. It weakened the imperialist rule not only in the

'motherlands' that are the centers of imperialist dominance but also in the colonial and dependent countries.

In 1913 for the first time Stalin made a Marxist analysis in a regular method on the nationality question. He 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" (Stalin on Marxism-Nationality question, Vol II, Eng. P-307).

After the publication of Stalin's article Lenin started to develop the theory that applies to colonies and semi-colonies. In 1914 February-May Lenin wrote an article on the right to self-determination of nationalities. Later he wrote a primary draft in 1920 June on the main aspects of national and colonial question for the Second Conference of the Third Communist International (Selected writings, Vol,-2, P141-147). This is well known as Lenin thesis on the national colonial question. In August the same year he wrote commission report on nationalities and colonial questions. In addition to these important writings Lenin and Stalin wrote many pieces on the Nationality Question.

Right to self-determination – Firstly speaking about the aspect of formulating its policy by the Communist Party on nationality question Lenin says that the Communist Party that declared itself as the avowed champion of the proletariat fighting for the breaking of bourgeois chains opposing bourgeois democracy and according to the fundamental task of exposing its falseness and deception must not formulate its policy on the nationality question basing on unspecific formal principles and that they have to formulate the policy basing on the concrete historic conditions and economic conditions; basing on the difference between the interests of the proletariat and those of the ruling class and on the difference between the oppressed, dependent nationalities and exploitive, oppressive nationalities.

Lenin clearly said that the correct proletarian attitude is to support the right of the oppressed nationality to separate and rejecting it would only amount to surrendering to the policy of bourgeois policy. Lenin condemned that to comment that the right to self-determination is not only the right to have separate state but also something else is wrong.

Lenin clearly said that anywhere in the world communists must steadfastly support the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities. He said that in any country of the world the proletariat of the two nationalities –

the oppressed nationality and the oppressor nationality must unite and fight against their class enemies and that only then the world proletariat can avoid the impact of bourgeois narrow-minded nationalism and unite and fight with proletarian internationalism.

“In any case the hired worker will be an object of exploitation. Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism, and be absolutely neutral, so to speak, in the fight for supremacy that is going on among the bourgeoisie of the various nations. If the proletariat of any one nation gives the slightest support to the privileges of its “own” national bourgeoisie, that will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of another nation; it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie. Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to secession inevitably means, in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation” (LCW, Vol 20).

Lenin said that following proletarian internationalism the proletariat of the oppressed nationality must wish unity with the proletariat of the oppressor nationality and the proletariat of the oppressor nationality must support the right to separate of the oppressed nationality. He said that there is no contradiction between this attitude of the proletariat of the oppressed nationality and the proletariat of the oppressor nationality and this attitude must be adopted as per proletarian internationalism.

Lenin says that if the proletariat of the oppressor countries is to inculcate internationalism it must pay importance to the demand for freedom to separate to the oppressed countries. If it does not do so it cannot develop internationalism.....

He said that on the other hand the democrat of the oppressed nationality must pay importance to the second aspect of its agitation, i.e. to the various nationalities to ‘integrate on its own’. He shall fulfill his duties as an internationalist and also work for the political freedom of his nationality.... he needs to fight against national narrow-mindedness and sectarianism. He needs to give more importance to the interests of all the nationalities more than those of his own nationality.

He also said that few persons do not comprehensively see this issue and feel there is a ‘contradiction’ between the attitudes of the Social Democrats of

the oppressor countries and the Social Democrats of the oppressed countries. They question that is there no contradiction between the 'agitation' of the Social Democrats of the imperialist countries for the freedom to separate and the 'agitation' of the oppressed countries so that it would be good to stay together? But if we think deeply it will be clear that there is no such contradiction and that there is no chance for it. We will know that there is no other way and there is no chance for it to reach from a particular situation to advance for 'internationalism', the integrity of all the nationalities.

To put Lenin's words in brief –

- * It is the right of a nation to political separation and formation of an independent state.

- * It is not necessarily a question of economic independence.

- * It should be subordinated to the overall interests of the working class.

- * The right of secession belongs merely to the seceding nation and not to the dominating nation.

- * Upholding the right to secede does not mean that the proletariat recognises the right to secede at every instance.

- * While the proletariat of the suppressing nation must uphold the right of the oppressed nation to secede, the proletariat of the oppressed nation must express the desire to unite.

- * The right of self-determination must be unconditionally upheld. No preconditions must be included in the exercise of this right. For instance, talk of bourgeois leadership, non-participation of the peasantry, etc. only tantamount to the denial of the right to self-determination”.

To understand in brief the guidance of Lenin as to - In which conditions and on which basis should the proletariat support the right of the nationalities to separate –

- The right to secede is an integral part of the right to self-determination of a nation. But when should the proletariat support the exercise of this right, and on what grounds?
- While the proletariat unconditionally upholds the right to secede, it supports the demand for secession only when it serves the interest of advancing the proletarian revolution.

- Even if in a particular instance the secession of a particular nationality was not advantageous to the proletariat of the oppressing nation the latter could only appeal to the proletariat of the oppressed nation to reconsider secession. But any attempt to impose its will on the oppressed nation must be opposed and the proletariat of the oppressing nation, despite such an appeal should, if the oppressed nation is determined to secede, uphold the right of that nation to choose its destiny. It is only such an approach that can ensure the unity of the proletariat.
- The right to secede can therefore be exercised only by the nation seeking secession and not by the others.
- The proletariat of the oppressed nation must safeguard and exercise its independence in fighting for secession or for propagating against it. It should, in other words, retain its independence from the bourgeoisie. Further, the proletariat of the oppressed nation, in the course of fighting for secession should always propagate for unity with the proletariat of the oppressing nation.
- It is only if the proletariat of the oppressed nation has taken an independent stand on the national question and fought against national oppression that its standpoint and struggle on the question of secession can have any practical influence on the people.
- Furthermore, it is only if the proletariat of the oppressing nation has consistently and continuously fought for the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination that it can be said to possess the moral right to appeal to the oppressed nation against secession. It is only then that the proletariat and people of the oppressed nation, can heed to such an appeal without harboring any prejudices.
- Thus the proletariat of the oppressed as well as the oppressing nation have a common policy, a united approach to the national question and on the particular question of secession.

Speaking of the policy of secession, of "dividing now to unite later" in a situation when the oppressed nation has been filled with distrust for the oppressing nation and at a time when the proletariat of the oppressed nation is not in a position to check this sway of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation over the masses, Lenin recommended secession to unity.

Lenin said that in order to abolish national oppression and inequalities all over the world, the workers of all the nationalities and all the countries must unite and struggle – “.....the Communist International's entire policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.....” (*LCW, Vol-4, Eng. ed, Moscow, 1966 – Preliminary draft theses on the national and the colonial questions – for the second congress of the Communist International – from point 4*).

Lenin said that after the success of Socialist Revolution the nationality question must be solved as a part of the World Socialist Revolution and that for this purpose it is necessary to follow the policy so as all the national liberation and colonial liberation movements of the world join Soviet Russia.

“.....one cannot at present confine oneself to a bare recognition or proclamation of the need for closer union between the working people of the various nations; a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance, with Soviet Russia, of all the national and colonial liberation movements.....” (*From the above mentioned article, point 6*).

In order to see that the Soviet Republics that came into existence newly are not affected Lenin said strongly that it is necessary that all the nationality liberation and colonial liberation movements of the world have close association with Soviet Russia.

“.....the Soviet republics, surrounded as they are by the imperialist powers of the whole world -- which from the military standpoint are immeasurably stronger -- cannot possibly continue to exist without the closest alliance; second, that a close economic alliance between the Soviet republics is necessary, otherwise the productive forces which have been ruined by imperialism cannot be restored and the well-being of the working people cannot be ensured” (*from the above mentioned article, point 8*).

Lenin rejected the petty bourgeois national theory that realizes internationalism in words and follows petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism in propaganda, agitation and practice and explained about internationalism to be followed by the Communists. “.....proletarian

internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.

“Thus, in countries that are already fully capitalist and have workers' parties that really act as the vanguard of the proletariat, the struggle against opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism is a primary and cardinal task.” (*From the above mentioned article, point 10*).

Lenin said that since most of the population of the backward countries is peasantry, the communist parties of those countries making national movements must fight against all forms of feudalism, have clear relations with the peasant movement and lend support and strength to those movements. The bourgeois class of colonial countries on one hand strengthens the national movements of those countries and on the other helps the imperialist bourgeois class and so Lenin said that they must cooperate with the reformist bourgeoisie only when the national liberation movements of those countries are revolutionary and also definitely fight with it.

“.....the need, in backward countries, to give special support to the peasant movement against the landowners, against landed proprietorship, and against all manifestations or survivals of feudalism, and to strive to lend the peasant movement the most revolutionary character by establishing the closest possible alliance between the West European communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movement in the East, in the colonies, and in the backward countries generally. It is particularly necessary to exert every effort to apply the basic principles of the Soviet system in countries where pre-capitalist relations predominate – by setting up "working people's Soviets", etc.....” (*From the above mentioned article, 4th paragraph after the 11th point*).

“There has been a certain *rapprochement* between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often—perhaps even in most cases—the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist

bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. This was irrefutably proved in the commission, and we decided that the only correct attitude was to take this distinction into account and, in nearly all cases, substitute the term “national-revolutionary” for the term “bourgeois-democratic”. The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communists in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie” (*The Second Congress of The Communist International – July 10–August 7, 1920 – Report of the Commission on the national and the colonial questions - paragraph-5*).

Lenin said that if the humankind and all the oppressed nationalities must be totally liberated one nationality must not be isolated from another and that nationalities must be unified. Anyhow he said that the unification must be a free one and that the unification of these nationalities cannot be achieved by forcibly unifying them. It is possible only through voluntary union after they gain total independence, he added.

Lenin said that language played a vital role in the development of modern capitalist market and stated that if all the nationalities are to develop equally no single language must be given special status, that all the languages must be provided equal right, all the languages must be developed and that this must be incorporated as a primary right in the constitution of the republic. He said that this shall be established in the stable, comprehensive democratic republic society having a constitution that includes the fundamental act to avoid violation of the rights of any national minority in any way without giving special facilities to only one nationality that – provides guarantee of total equality to all the nationalities and languages; does not recognize only one language as the essential official language; and establishes schools that teach the people in all the local languages.

Lenin analysed the nationality question in the imperialist era and formulated the general line of World Socialist Revolution that the proletarian struggles of the capitalist countries and the anti-colonial and nationality liberation movements of the colonial and dependent countries must form into a United

Front against the common enemy of imperialism and fight to destroy it. This is the vital policy that Lenin formulated in colonial, national question.

Nationality question – Stalin

The great Marxist teachers Lenin and Stalin analysed the nationality question in the era of imperialism and formulated proletarian tactics on the question. They said that the proletariat of the capitalist countries must support the independence movements of the oppressed nationalities and dependent countries with firm determination in order to destroy imperialism that is the common enemy of the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries and the oppressed nationalities of the backward countries. After the success of the 1917 October Russian revolution Stalin stated that the nationality question should be seen as a part of the World Socialist Revolution. Stalin gave the clarity to the proletariat that help should not be given to national movements that strengthen and protect imperialism in order to accomplish World Socialist Revolution. Stalin formulated more clearly in 1925 the attitude the proletariat of the oppressed countries and the proletariat of the oppressor countries should adopt towards the national movements of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries basing on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

“Leninism recognises the existence of revolutionary capacities in the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries, and the possibility of using these for overthrowing the common enemy, for overthrowing imperialism. The mechanics of the development of imperialism, the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia wholly confirm the conclusions of Leninism on this score.....

“This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support *every* national movement, everywhere and always, in every individual concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it. Cases occur when the national movements in certain oppressed countries came into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. In such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question. The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question; it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian

revolution, subordinate to the whole, and must be considered from the point of view of the whole.....”

“The same must be said of the revolutionary character of national movements in general. The unquestionably revolutionary character of the vast majority of national movements is as relative and peculiar as is the possible revolutionary character of certain particular national movements. The revolutionary character of a national movement under the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or a republican program of the movement, the existence of a democratic basis of the movement. The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism; whereas the struggle waged by such "desperate" democrats and "Socialists," "revolutionaries" and republicans as, for example, Kerensky and Tsereteli, Renaudel and Scheidemann, Chernov and Dan, Henderson and Clynes, during the imperialist war was a *reactionary* struggle, for its results was the embellishment, the strengthening, the victory, of imperialism.....”
(*Foundations of Leninism-VI – The National Question – from paragraph – 8, 10 & 13*)

The words of Stalin that gave much more clarity about the principles of Lenin regarding the stand of the proletariat towards national movements in the era of imperialism are a guide for us. Since the nationality question turned to be the question of colonial movement after the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution the proletariat considered this question as a part of the World Socialist Revolution. Therefore let us see what Stalin said about the dealing of nationality question as a part of the World Socialist Revolution in the era of imperialism –

“a) the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilised nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe; and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute the majority;

- b) The colonies and the dependent countries, oppressed and exploited by finance capital, constitute a vast reserve and a very important source of strength for imperialism;
- c) The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation from oppression and exploitation;
- D) the most important colonial and dependent countries have already taken the path of the national liberation movement, which cannot but lead to the crisis of world capitalism;
- e) The interests of the proletarian movement in the developed countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies call for the union of these two forms of the revolutionary movement into a common front against the common enemy, against imperialism;
- f) the victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front....(*Foundations of Leninism – above mentioned chapter, paragraph 15, point 2*)

Mao made the nationality liberation struggles of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries an apart of New Democratic Revolution

The Comintern (Communist International) tried to guide the Communist Parties of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries following the Leninist understanding on the nationality question. However due to the mechanical understanding of the Communist Parties of those countries and also the Comintern leaders and due to lack of clarity in some of the leaders of Comintern about leading revolutions in the imperialist era they could not lead the nationality liberation movements of those countries according to the Leninist understanding. The Communist Party of China in the leadership of Mao alone implemented it creatively and developed it in practice. Mao applied Marxism-Leninism to the colonial, semi-colonial china and developed the theory of 'New Democratic Revolution'.

In 1950 the Cominform (Information Bureau of Communists and Workers Parties) realized the theory of New Democratic Revolution and Protracted People's War that Mao developed as the general line of revolution that the

revolutions of the Eastern countries (colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries) could follow.

It is clear from the Leninist understanding on nationality question that imperialism creates nationalism in colonies and semi-colonies. "There will not be an era of developing capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries. It means there will not be an era of the developing local bourgeois class to be prevalent. The foreign monopolists and the big bourgeois class i.e. the bourgeois class with comprador character dominate.

"In these conditions mainly nationality will not be the result of the struggle against the developing bourgeois class and feudal chains. This will be mainly the result of the struggle of the oppressed classes mainly the vast toiling masses against imperialism. It is a historic necessity to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on this struggle in order to achieve success in this struggle.

"Therefore nationalism and the maturity of nationality liberation in the colonies will not lead to establishment of capitalism but Socialism. So it is not part of the old bourgeois democratic revolution. This is a part of the New Democratic Revolution. The essence of it is the Agrarian Revolution" (*People's War, Vol – 5, 1982 June, P35-36*).

After Lenin these nationality liberation struggles and new kind of democratic revolutions became the main trend. Observing this trend Mao said, "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history." (*In Vol 9 - 'People of the World, Unite and defeat the US aggressors and all their running dogs'*).

In the nationalities of multinational states formed in semi-colonies nationality liberation movements started and arose and this is another aspect of this trend. "After Lenin, especially from the period of WW II, two important developments took place in colonial and semi-colonial countries. One is the nationality liberation became an issue of the present. Secondly, many colonial countries became states economically, financially and militarily totally dependent on the imperialists in the veil of politically independent states instead of becoming independent democratic countries. When we are saying that the national movement became a contemporary issue it means

that nationalities were formed in the colonial, semi-colonial countries constituting backward and several nationalities. Since these colonies turned semi-colonies, the newly emerged nationalities suffered from the domination of the ruling big bourgeois national chauvinists and also the imperialist exploitation and oppression. So the oppressed nationalities newly emerged in semi-colonial countries constituting multi-nationalities are suffering under two kinds of oppression. So in these countries, in addition to the task of liberating the country from imperialism the task of struggling for the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities also comes forth." (*PW, Vol – 5, 1982 June, P 35-36*).

"In the ultimate analysis the nationality struggle is part of class struggle" said Mao and that this is a Marxist-Leninist rule (*Statement Calling on the people of the world to unite to oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against Racial Discrimination, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, P – 5*). The entire oppressed nationality will be affected by the national oppression and suppression of the oppressor nationalities or a few number of exploitive classes of the oppressor nationalities but mainly the large numbers of workers, peasants and other toiling people of the oppressed nationality are oppressed and exploited. In this sense nationality question is class question. In this view national oppression is in fact class oppression. So the struggle going on against the oppression of nationalities is in fact the struggle going on against class oppression. The nationality struggle of the oppressed nationality is against a few exploiters of the oppressor nationality and also the comprador exploiters of their oppressed nationality working as their agents. That is why the Communists do not see the nationality question as a separate question. They see the solution of nationality question as a part of the revolutionary question and as a part of the ordinary questions of revolution.

During the period of democratic revolution, in accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and proceeding from the historical conditions of the Chinese revolution and the relationship among the nationalities obtaining at the time, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-Tung laid down the fundamental principle for solving the national question in China. The Principle is : to practice national equality, lead and unite all nationalities to carry out the revolutionary struggle against the

three great enemies, build after the victory of the revolution a united country, i.e. the People's Republic of China, abolish the system of national oppression, institute regional national autonomy and realise the common development and prosperity of all nationalities in the motherland - a great family based on national equality, solidarity, friendship and co-operation. Centering round this principle the CPC formulated a series of policies with regard to the nationalities and has led the people of the various minority nationalities to unite with the Han people to carry out a heroic revolutionary struggle for many years.

After the success of revolution the CPC in the leadership of Mao took up the efforts of building Socialism uniting the minority nationalities of China with the majority Han nationality.

Under the leadership of the CPC and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of the minority nationalities in China have consistently carried out the party's line and policies with regard to the national question. First of all they carried out democratic reforms and by their own efforts overthrew the rule of the feudal lords and slave-owning class. Then, socialist transformation was put into effect in most of the regions inhabited by the minority nationalities. The broad masses of peasants and herdsmen enthusiastically joined the people's communes and embarked upon the path of collectivisation. Meanwhile, the minority nationality areas, like all other places in the country, have begun a vigorous program of socialist construction. Consequently, the social economy of these areas has undergone a fundamental change and the people have been inspired with a new spirit.

During this whole transitional period CPC has to accomplish a great historical task with regard to the national question, that is, to consolidate the unity of the motherland; to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, national defense, the worker-peasant alliance, and the unity of the nationalities; to safeguard national autonomy; to guide the minority nationalities in completing their democratic revolution and carrying out their socialist revolution and construction; to help the minority nationalities to develop into modern nationalities; to carry through the socialist revolution to the end and solve completely China's national question, thus enabling all the nationalities together to pass over to the stage of communism.

Modern nationalities were formed along with the emergence of capitalism. With capitalism developing into imperialism the nationality struggles all over the world became inseparable parts of the anti-imperialist struggle. With the success of great Socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 nationality struggles became an inseparable part of the World Socialist Revolution. The great Marxist teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao widely studied the nationality question that came into existence as a new phenomenon in the process of social development and made the question part of anti-capitalist, imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle. They combined the two streams of proletarian struggles and the nationality liberation struggles of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries and made it a strong United Front in the anti-imperialist struggle of the world. As a result where the oppressed nationalities strongly fought against imperialism, few oppressed nationalities were liberated from imperialist exploitation. Mao correctly applied the Marxist-Leninist teachings on nationality question and could successfully conduct New Democratic Revolution in China. The great Marxist teachers Lenin, Stalin and Mao handed over new experiences regarding solving the nationality question in the Socialist system.

After the formation of nation states bourgeoisie all through the world lost its progressive character. In addition to its natural exploitive character, after Paris Commune and Russian Socialist Revolution the bourgeoisie all over the world collaborated with feudalism instead of leading the democratic revolutions. So the historic responsibility of destroying feudalism fell on the world proletariat. After capitalism developed into imperialism it collaborated with feudalism and big bourgeoisie (comprador bourgeoisie) in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries all over the world. Thus imperialism, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie became common enemies of the oppressed people and nationalities in these countries. In this situation the world proletariat had to shoulder the historic responsibility of destroying imperialism and feudalism for the liberation of oppressed nationalities. Therefore in the present situation the proletariat has to lead the nationality struggles. The proletariat has to formulate its own policy on contrary to the bourgeois class policy related to all the problems of nationality struggle and must impart leadership to those struggles independently. The proletariat that enters into a tactical United Front with the bourgeoisie in the process of

struggle against common enemies must participate in those activities basing on its own organizational independence. If it deals otherwise the proletariat will lose political initiative and tail the bourgeoisie.

In this chapter we mentioned the fundamental teachings of the great Marxist teachers on – the definition of nationality; the right to self-determination of nationalities; how to understand the right of a nationality to separate; the stand of the proletariat towards nationality question in the era of imperialism; what revolutionary nationality struggle means; the proletarian internationalist stand towards nationality question; the formation of United Front of the proletarian struggles in capitalist countries and nationality liberation movements in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries against the common enemy of imperialism; the unification of nationalities; the nationality question as a part of class struggle and other such things. Now let us creatively apply the fundamental teachings of the great Marxist teachers to the nationality question in India and on its basis analyse the nationality question in India and formulate appropriate program for the nationality struggle.

Chapter II

Nationality question is an inseparable part of Indian New Democratic Revolution

According to the fundamental teachings of the great Marxist teachers on nationality question the nationality struggle question in our country is an indivisible aspect of anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, anti- big feudal New Democratic Revolution; the liberation of nationalities in our country is possible only through anti-imperialist, anti-feudal New Democratic Revolution. Let us link class struggle and nationality liberation struggle and lead them against the common enemies of the people of India, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic big capitalism and big feudalism.

Let us keep in view the positive and negative experiences of our Party - Communist Party of India (Maoist) as the proletariat vanguard of nationality struggle in leading the nationality struggles in India in the past 50 years and provide leadership with initiative to the present nationality struggles. This chapter discusses the nationality question in India, historically and the issues and forms of the struggle.

India in the world political scenario

India never had such a vast territory as now, in the history before the British aggression.

In 2000 B.C. the Aryans migrated from the North Western direction to the surrounding areas of River Sindhu. They defeated the bronze-age civilized Dravidians, meaning the uncivilized stone-age barbarians of ancient Sindhu civilization. The rest of the ancient clan communities entered into conflict but merged with them. The Aryans spread into the Ganga plains of North India. Subsequently the clans developed into tribes. Later by 6th century A.D. the ancient tribal communities came to be the Janapadas. They developed into the proto-feudal states with Brahman hegemonic Varna order. They always mutually fought and underwent several changes. This stage of transformation of cattle rearing, agriculture and clan order to class order began with the migration of Aryans and the collapse of Sindhu civilization and continued until the extensive usage of iron and stable habitation with the main livelihood of agriculture (600 B.C.). By the time of the proto-feudal

state that continued from 600 B.C to 4th century A.D., commerce and big centralized states were developed. Buddhism and Jainism spread.

The development in South India during this period is slightly different from that in the Ganga and Yamuna valleys. When the Aryans were nomadic, stable habitations dependent on relatively stable agriculture were formed in the South. The Mauryan Empire that ruled for 24 years from 322-298 B.C. spread to Afghanistan, North-west India, present Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal until Mysore in South India. Anyhow vast area was yet outside the Mauryan Empire. Few changes occurred in the Mauryan Empire during Binbisara's rule (298-273 B.C.). Later during his son Ashoka's rule (273-232 B.C.) except for small areas in the far South most of the land came under one Empire. But it did not last long. After Emperor Ashoka the Mauryan Empire collapsed. In the later Gupta period (319-412 A.D.) many states came under one Empire. The second of the Guptas was Samudragupta (335-380 A.D.). He won nine states of North India and 12 states of South India and extended the Empire and it further extended after him. It also extended to Bengal in the east, Malwa (Rajasthan) and Gujarat in the West and even to the North-west areas including Sindh. But this finally disintegrated due to the invasions of the Huns and the vast empire divided into 28 small independent states. The beginning of the 4th century A.D. initiated Brahmanic caste based feudalism in the Indian society. Caste order stabilized. This neo-Brahmanism obtained the support of the rulers especially during the Gupta (4th century A.D.) and later. Buddhism and Jainism declined. Brahman religion became prevalent. By 6th century A.D. towns were affected, commerce declined and self-sufficient rural economic society came into existence and neo-Brahmanism and caste order based on Manusmriti became prevalent in majority parts of India. This society continued until the arrival of the British.

Normally feudal states do not have stable borders. They constantly undergo many changes. Therefore nation states are not formed in feudalism. According to the developments mentioned above the Indian society did not yet emerge into a stable country like in the present time. As Stalin said, at that time there was no 'process of a historic stable community formed on the basis of the nature that expresses as a single language, single territory, single economic life and common culture' and so modern nationalities were not formed.

The Moghuls united a considerable part of India into their Empire by 16th century. However in mid-18th century the Moghul Empire once again disintegrated into several small feudal states due to the feudal wars and peasant revolts. The Moghuls became weak with internal conflicts and with the 1757 Plassey war the Empire came under the aggression of the British. Thus India turned a colony to British imperialism and went into its direct rule. The British came to our country in the ending of the 16th century and in the beginning of the 17th century along with the Dutch and the Portuguese to trade in our country but only the British could make the whole country as their colony except small areas like Goa.

Colonial India – hurdles to the development of the nationalities

Much before the British occupation India witnessed the growth of cities and trade capital. Cities like Dhaka, Ahmedabad, Kambay, Surat, Murshidabad, Bengaluru, Davanagere, Machilipatnam were centres of manufacturing and trading high quality of clothes. Kashmir shawls, carpets of Agra and Lahore, the silk clothes of Murshidabad became very famous. The Indian clothes – Majlin, Calico, Tafeta and others were exported to Europe. By the time the British colonialists arrived almost ten per cent of the population of the country lived in the towns. Robert Clive said that in 1757 the city of Murshidabad was equal to London.

Merchant capitalists developed in various areas. Urban population increased. In addition to the manufacture of clothes metal industry, watches, magnifying glass, ship building, scientific machines, war material, arms, muskets, carbines, paper, glass and many such industries were established and led to positive developments. In the process of development of nationalities and the formation of nation states languages developed to that extent. In such conditions the British seized the authority of the country and the natural development process of the country was affected.

The increasing commerce in the country led to trading classes that controlled area wise market. In the Moghul Empire though there was not yet a single domestic economic system or market and a single corresponding currency, there were regional markets. The merchants earlier limited to a few towns formed area wise commercial markets in the 16th and the 17th centuries. There are people of various 'nationalities' (areas). Mainly the Marwaris of

Rajasthan, the Banias of Gujarat, Tamil Chettiars, and Kannada Banajigas were the prominent merchant capitalists.

The special character of the feudal system in India is the caste based feudalism. Caste system continued unperturbed in the country until the establishment of the British. Though the merchants of various areas of the country mainly belong to the Vysyavarna, the Oswals, Agarwal, Maheswari castes of the Marwaris; the Bania, Modi and Bhatia castes among the Gujaratis; the Banijagas of Karnataka; the Bohra and Khojas of the Muslims developed into a major merchant capitalist class. Many Parsis of Mumbai, the Banias of Gujarat and Marwaris worked as comprador Mukaddams of the East India Company. The process of transformation of the handicraft persons into merchants almost did not take place in India. The merchants never had a part in production. They mainly lent money for interest to the feudal lords and supplied goods to the feudal lords and the foreign markets and so they have more of feudal characteristics than capitalist characteristics. Though they established residences in the ports of the Red Sea and the Gulf ports and traded they never entered into a scuffle with the outdated feudal lords. The merchants became part of their exploitation, oppression and suppression and of the caste system but the merchant class did not play the progressive, revolutionary role like the European merchants who fought against the feudal lords and the Church and established capitalism and formed national states. The Banajigas of Karnataka are an exemption for this. Unlike the Gujarati Banias and Marwaris the Banajigas are not comprador traders but stood as the symbol of the rising 'national bourgeoisie'.

There were many contradictions among the merchant capitalists of our country. There were severe contradictions between the Tamil and the Telugu bourgeoisie and between the South and the powerful Marwari-Gujarati-Parsi comprador capitalists. They also constituted many commercial institutions by that time. The 'South Indian Commercial Organisation' (1909), 'Nattukottai Nagarathhaka Sangham' (1917), 'Indian Trade Organisation', Koyambattore (1929), 'South Indian Industrial Owners Organisation' (1933) were formed. They were under the domination of Nattukottai Chettiars of Tamilnadu. But the Telugu trader's organisations protested their over-hegemony. On the other hand there were 'Bombay Mill Owners Organisation' (1875), 'British Chamber of Commerce' (1923) and others. However all these were auxiliary

to the FICCI (Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) in the leadership of Ghanshyam Das Birla and Sir Purushottam Das Thakur Das of the Marwari and Gujarati merchant bourgeoisie.

Since the early period the Parsis of Mumbai, the Gujarati Baniyas and the Rajasthan Marwaris collaborated with the East India Company that gained monopoly by defeating the Dutch and the Portuguese merchants from the mercantile sector of our country and gained heavy profits in their businesses. They received two per cent commission in every business transaction of the British merchants. So they could easily turn compradors to the imperialists. In their footsteps, right from the beginning they represented the idea of 'Indian nation' with the objective to exploit the entire country. Thus these merchant sections that played the comprador role did not represent the nationalities arising in those areas but collaborated with the British imperialists and played a reactionary role in the independence movement of the country and in the process of the development of the nationalities.

The capitalist relations that developed from the fetus of feudalism were affected with the arrival of the British. British imperialism that came to power in the country became the main obstruction to the development of all the nationalities, tribes, languages and of the national capitalists of the country. The country became a colony of the British and so breaking the chains of colonialism came forth as the main and immediate task of the people of all areas (nationalities) of the country. In spite of a number of contradictions among them all the classes, nationalities, tribes, castes and religions united and actively participated in the anti-imperialist Indian Democratic Revolution in the leadership of the big bourgeoisie/comprador bourgeoisie. The people all over the country – workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and women participated in it and fought heroically. Karl Marx said so about this people's integrity – 'political integrity in India was possible because of the sword of the British'.

The British rulers divided India into five main provinces and directly ruled it as British India. Apart from these areas, the 562 feudatories have been paying tax to the British and stayed under their indirect rule with their own authoritative ruling machinery. However they are vast areas constituting two-fifths of the territory and one-fifth of the population of the country. Most of the feudatories were supporters of the British. The division of the

administration units of the British is a part of the conspiracies to contain the development of nationalities.

In the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. in 1905 during the period of Viceroy Curzon, the British imperialists indulged in 'division of Bengal'. Before the arrival of the British the feeling of India as a country or the consciousness of 'Hindu' samaj did not exist and the division of Bengal initiated the process of bringing together the people of India. The 'feeling of a country' that came forth since the division of Bengal led the people of all nationalities to fight much united than during the independent movement (the 1857 first Indian independent movement). At the same time the Hindu fundamentalists formed organisations like Arya Samaj and Hindu mahasabha and combined their Hindu revivalism with the independence movement. They brought forth 'vandemataram'. This became a powerful slogan in the movement against the division of Bengal.

The British rulers had to withdraw the decision of division of Bengal inevitably with the militant struggles of the people. The nationality conscious that broke from the people's movement against the division of Bengal paved the way to several nationality movements including the Bengali nationality like Telugu, Tamil, Maratha, Kannada, and Gujarati that were developing against British aggression right from the beginning.

The comprador big bourgeois and big landlord classes leading the Congress Party agreed to the formation of linguistic states afraid of the newly developing consciousness of the nationalities in the country so as to keep in their control the people of different nationalities coming into the streets in the independence struggle against British imperialism. The 'Nagpur Congress' of the Congress Party in 1920 decided building its organisation on the same basis. As per this resolution our country was divided into 18 states such as the then Tamilnadu, Andhra, Kerala, Sindh, Gujarat, Mumbai, Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Mahakosala, Azmir-Marwar, United Provinces, Delhi, Bihar, Utkal, Assam, Bengal, Punjab and North-west border states and took up party organisation in 1927. In 1941 the Congress Working Committee once again resolved in its Delhi meeting that 'no area shall be forced to join the Indian Union against its wish'. Thus it could easily mobilise the people of all nationalities against imperialism in its leadership. Anyhow the anger of the people towards the colonial policies worked as oxygen for this. It deceived

the people until political power came into its hands posing to have accepted the aspirations of the people. The comprador big bourgeois class surrendered as a comprador to the British imperialism and allied with the feudal forces and so naturally it played a reactionary role against the interests of the country. With the transfer of power in 1947 to the big bourgeois (comprador bourgeois) class that collaborated with imperialism and feudal forces and to its political representative Congress, it trampled all the promises it gave to the people earlier regarding the development of nationalities.

For the first time in history Britain with its authority united the Indian subcontinent constituting many kingdoms for its exploitive interests. The comprador bourgeois class of India sensed that if after the transfer of power India disintegrates, not only their exploitive interests would be affected but also there is a danger of Communism that was strengthening in the world to penetrate into South Asia and so they wished Akhand Bharat. So they initially wished 'Dominion state' (self-rule in the control of the British).

Situation after the transfer of power – partition

With the transfer of power in 1947 (nominal independence) colonial, semi-feudal India turned to semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The comprador big bourgeois class of our country that served the British imperialists from the beginning became comprador 'bureaucratic' big bourgeois class with the transfer of power. The comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class and the big feudal class together became the main hurdle of the development of various nationalities.

In semi-colonial India the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class is playing the main role on one hand in serving the interests of several imperialist countries and on the other in preserving the caste based feudal society of the country. As a result this class became the main hurdle for the development of worker, peasant and other toiling masses, the national bourgeois forces, for the development of nationalities, for the integrity of nationalities, for the development of all areas, for equality of all languages and for the development of all nationalities, all languages and areas.

As a part of the preparations for transfer of power the three evil forces (Britain, Congress and Muslim League) together split the country on the basis of religion. However mainly the Congress party and its Hindu revivalist

ideology pushed the Muslims on to the other side. The Muslim dominated North-west border area of Punjab (NWFP), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan were called Pakistan on the basis of religion. Tata, Birla and other such representatives of the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie, few leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League followed the 'Mountbatten award' and agreed to 'Dominion statuses' and partition into Bharat and Pakistan on the basis of religion. This split is necessary for the British imperialists and the exploitative ruling comprador classes of India and Pakistan. As a result of this three nationalities – Bengali, Punjabi and Kashmiri nationalities were divided among Bharat and Pakistan. The CPI supported the demand of Pakistan with the wrong idea of 'Muslim nationalities'. But it did not take into consideration that only a minority of those Muslim nationalities wanted Pakistan.

Constitution – strong center that stopped the formation of nation states

In 1948 June the Indian Constitutional Assembly appointed a Commission of linguistic states with three members. The Commission severely opposed the formation of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra on linguistic basis. It said that when the 'Indian nation' is still in the infant stage we cannot form separate states for 'sub-nationalities' on the basis of language. It strictly said that until India emerges as a total nation the re-division of states will not take place. The Commission strongly argues that if self-rule is granted for the states ultimately the 'Indian nation' will become extinct and that strong center will never be formed. It said that in addition to this linguistic states shall be a severe hurdle to a national language and national idea in the country and that at present our only necessity is the emergence of India as a single nation. This reveals its class character.

While this was the attitude of the 'Commission for linguistic based states' that the Constitutional Assembly formed with three members, the Congress party in 1948 December appointed a 'Committee for linguistic based states' constituted with Nehru, Patel and B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya. This committee protested the attitude of the Congress party that supported the formation of linguistic based states before the transfer of power. This committee opined that all kinds of separate and split tendencies be firmly opposed for 'the protection, integrity and economic progress of the country'. It said that 'language not only forms a strong bondage, it also divides' and

said that while Hindi language forms a strong bondage among the people the other regional languages split. The surprising thing is that B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya of this committee was at that time the president of the Congress party. He firmly supported regional languages in his inaugural address in the seminar on 'Language in India – Cultural areas'. He stated that 'non-recognition of regional languages of the respective areas as official languages only a betrayal to regional self-rule and violates federalism'.

While the Constitutional Assembly and the Congress party were severely opposing the formation of linguistic based states the people persisted with their demand for separate states. In fact we must see the formation of separate states as the first action in the development of nationalities after 1947. But the exploitive ruling classes of India firmly opposed this demand.

Since the alliance of the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlords constituting many nationalities in the leadership of mainly Gujarati Banias and Rajasthani Marwaris seized the power the central government kept the states of the country as only administrative units in their interests and concentration the whole economic and political power in its hands. This was necessary for their economic exploitation and political supremacy. So they brought forth non-historic slogans like 'Indian nationality', 'Indian culture', 'Akhand Bharat', 'indivisible Indian nation' before the people. In Pakistan also the ruling classes brought forth slogans like 'Pan-Islamism', 'Pakistani nationalism' and such other things.

The central government in the hands of the alliance of comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlords became a big hurdle for the development of nationalities in our country. They argued that a strong center is a must if India is to be united.

The Indian ruling classes formulated the Constitution according to the ideas of Indian nationalism and strong center. The Indian Constitution that the Constituent Assembly approved on 26th November, 1949 came into practice from 26th January, 1950. The Constitution provided total authority to the center to control the elected Constitutional Assemblies in the states and to dissolve the state governments.

India has federal and unitary characters. The Constitution provided limited rights and powers to the states with the foresight without moving an inch from its stand of a strong center. In fact the Indian Constitution is a 'curse'

for the nationalities. It does not give any opportunity for the nationalities and the people to express their aspirations. The Constitution says thus – ‘Separation from the Indian Union should not be asked. It means demanding the right to separate and right to self-determination is illegal. The articles of the Constitution (87-93, 98-99, 113-114) clearly warn that even the geographical changes member state wishes to take up should not be introduced in any House of the Parliament without the recommendation of the President’. The center took over all the vital powers.

The power of the Parliament of India to make laws relating to all the areas of the country is absolutely against the genuine federal spirit. Moreover the President, in a way the ‘strong central government’ appoints the Governors of the states. The Constitution supports that this has to be done in view of the ‘security, stability and integrity of India’. Many affairs of the states are not concerned to the state governments or the people of the states as per the Constitution. In fact the post of Governor is not at all decorative. It represents the strong center. In fact if the right to self-determination of the nationalities is recognized this post is not needed.

On this occasion let us see what the United Nations said about right to self-determination. The first article in the ‘International agreement of civil political rights’ of the United Nations stated that ‘right to self-determination is the right of all people’s communities’. It explained this as ‘the right of all the people’s communities to freely decide their political status and to freely take up their economic, social and cultural development’. But our Constitution strongly suppresses the right to self-determination. Moreover all the central governments formed in the past 70 years utilized the Article 356 of the Constitution and undemocratically debarred the state governments that did not yield to them. It started in Kerala where the elected ‘Marxist’ government after the transfer of power was debarred in 1956. Until the debarment of the Assembly in Kashmir after the BJP conspiratorially withdrew from the government of PDP (People’s Democratic Party)-BJP coalition government in 2018, the central governments bureaucratically debarred many state governments.

The Constitution closed the doors of various nationalities of the country to fulfill their aspirations stating that the right to self-determination is not lawful. The Constitution on one hand denies the right to self-determination

and on the other Article 2 states that 'the foreign territory that is prepared to become part of the country' can be unified through an act in the Parliament. This only reflects the expansionism of India.

The Nehru government appointed 'Commission for the reorganizing of states' in 1953 owing to the constant demand for separate states from many parts of the country. The commission submitted its report to the government after two years. The commission in a way opposed the reorganization of states and stated that 'the areas should be mobilized on the basis of culture and centering the unification of language'.

Our Constitution is federal namesake and unitary characters are dominant. The Constitution composed the central list, state list, common list and special powers and divided the entire income resources and powers sector/department wise. Article 246 mentions 97 departments in the central list, 66 in the state list and 47 in the common list. The central list includes defense, nuclear power, foreign affairs, Railways, National High Ways, Navy, Ports, Airways, Post and Telegraph, Currency and international business, banking, insurance, heavy industries, mines and ores, high court and Supreme Court, excise and custom duties and corporate taxes. If we analyse this we understand the center's hold on the country's economy and its extraordinary powers. The Supreme Court is given the power of final judgment in the central list.

The Constitution mentioned only those with limited rights in the state list. They are dependent on the mercy of 'strong' center. The common list is nominally common and it serves the interests of the center.

Many issues in the common list mentioned in the Constitution are changed by the centre as per its wish. The 3rd, 7th and 42nd Constitutional amendments made in the 1950s show how the centre gets hold of the states' powers and income resources. The center expanded the common list and included lands and forests in it. The government formed many commissions on the center-state relations like the Sarkaria Commission but the center never implemented the recommendations of any commission. The GST policy of the Modi government provided the centre with more power to seize the incomes of all the states. Power was centralized in the hands of the centre and the states were degraded to the level of Municipalities and federal spirit vanished. All the residuary powers mentioned in the Constitution are in

practice only for the centre. The federal characters mentioned in the Constitution amount to nothing in practice. Unitary characters are dominant and are coming in the way of the development of the nationalities and primitive nationalities of the country in the direction of forming a strong center. The then Communist Party criticized in its manifesto that 'extensive powers are given to the centre in the new Constitution in the name of defense of the country and that this is nothing but providing unquestionable supremacy of the Marwari-Gujarati capitalists on the economic and political sectors of all the nationalities of the country.

The formation of linguistic states is the beginning of the solution of the brewing nationality question but not the end. The actual solution is to achieve self-determination so as to formulate their future on their own. The demands they rise mainly depend on the attitude of the Union government. In our country the people of almost all the states and all the nationalities are going to other states and to areas of other nationalities for education, jobs and lands. This process considerably increased after 1947 especially since the implementation of globalization policies. They are called nationality minorities. They are fighting for their rights in several forms. Although the Indian Constitution provided certain rights to them the implementation is nominal. All the democratic rights of these nationality minorities are just. They might not have the right to self-determination since they reside in the territory of another state/nationality but they must have the right to form administrative units for their development in places where they are in considerable numbers.

Nationality movements that took place in the country

After the transfer of power in 1947 the Congress leadership clogged the formation of linguistic states stating it to be 'balkanisation of India' and so after 'independence' the demand for linguistic states came forth in the form of movements. The people of Kannada, Tamil and other nationalities and also the Santhali tribal people of Jharkhand submitted memorandums to the Simon Commission formed in 1927 demanding separate states. At the same time the Congress Party strongly felt that the country must be divided into 18 states. It also opined that this should immediately be initiated with the reorganization of Madras province. The demands were not fulfilled during

the British rule. They have been submitting memorandums until a decade after the transfer of power.

The leader of 'South Indian liberation federation' E.V.Ramaswamy Naikar (Periyar-saint) of Tamilnadu challenged the idea of 'India a single nation' and brought forth the demand of 'Dravidanad for Dravidians' and 'Tamilnad for the Tamils'. In 1944 he took the initiative to change the name of the federation to 'Dravida Kazagam'. On 16th May 1946 it appealed to the cabinet mission for 'sovereign independence for Dravidians'. Later this became the war slogan for the 'Dravida Kazagam' movement. But the Congress Party that demanded 18 states in 1927 reduced it to 14 within 25 years through the Constitution. The people naturally revolted. They came on to the streets to achieve linguistic states.

The demand of various nationalities was confined to the main slogan of formation of linguistic states. This is the expression of the democratic aspirations of the people. There were large scale people's struggles for this in the country and many people laid down their lives for it. Finally they forced the Congress government to form linguistic states. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and other such states were formed thus. But not all the peoples' movements of the linguistic areas met justice. This is clear from the response of the then PM Nehru to the demand of Punjab 'Sooba' (state) in 1962 – 'I prefer civil war to formation of Punjabi speaking state'.

The nationality movements going on in our country have to be divided into three kinds. The first is those that were never a part of India and were annexed after the transfer of power these are making armed struggle and are demanding the right to separate along with the right to self-determination. Their demand is utmost just. It is because those areas were never a part of India. After 1947 the Indian ruling classes merged them in the country in the heredity of the British in a cruel and undemocratic manner through military actions. The exploitative ruling classes took up ill propoganda against the movements branding them separatist movements that they are encouraged by foreign forces and their actions of armed struggle as border terrorism and is mainly suppressing them militarily. These classes are unceasingly alleging and propogating in the domestic and international forums about those movements. Our party severely condemns the attitude of the Indian ruling classes and supports their struggles.

The second kind is the movements that wish to be a part of the country but ask for the development of the respective areas, recognition to the language, more powers, funds and special status to the states from the centre, that oppose the unequal development of the states, wish the formation of separate states for the development of their areas, wish changes on the borders of the states, for appropriate share in the distribution of river waters and many such democratic movements. These movements are mainly going on 'peacefully' to achieve the development and democratic aspirations of the nationalities. They do not wish to separate from the country.

The third kind is of the primitive nationalities.

Now let us see in brief about the three kinds of movements. Let us first see the movements that demand right to separate and right to self-determination.

The nationality movements going on for the right to separate and right to self-determination

People's movements are going on for decades in Kashmir and North East areas that have been unified in the Indian Union by force and through the strength of the gun. Since the beginning petty bourgeois forces have been leading these movements. Initially during the independence movement the CPI spoke of Lenin's teachings but gradually it divorced revolutionary politics and turned to be revisionist and took up bourgeois attitude towards the nationality movements the CPI (M) that split from it and came into existence too took the same path.

Those movements that are in the leadership of petty bourgeois forces are facing ebb and flows and are being betrayed. The betrayal of Shek Abdullah of Kashmir, Lal Denga of the heroic struggle of the Mizoram people, Visweswara Singh of Manipur struggle, Fizo of the Naga struggle, a section of the leadership of the ULFA and AGP in Asom struggle is a part of it. Our Party that came into existence since the outbreak of the Naxalbari armed peasant struggle in 1967 took up a correct stand towards the nationality movements. But due to various reasons to a large extent it could not lead those movements. However it is the historical responsibility of our party to lead and unite those movements.

Kashmir

The people of Kashmir to the North of India are fighting heroically for a long time for their right to separate and for right to self-determination.

During the colonial period Kashmir continued to be an independent state. After the transfer of power in 1947 the ruling classes of India and Pakistan split and shared Kashmir. Nearly two-thirds of it is Indian occupied Kashmir (IOK) and one-third is Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). The people of Kashmir are fighting for a united Kashmir. Since the British went backstage of the Indian sub-continent the US came forth. The US established its military base in the utmost vital Gilgit area of Pakistan on the border of four countries (China, Russia, India and Pakistan). Let us see the history of Kashmir that was formed by the Nehru government through the bayonet of the gun in 1947 October in brief.

The people of Kashmir have been struggling for their 'independence' since Gulab Singh Dogra came to power in Kashmir in 1846. The Dogra rule in Kashmir ended with the surrender of the King of Dogra Raja Hari Singh to the Indian Union in 1947. Kashmir unified in the Indian Union on 26th October 1947 with the agreement to 'solve the problem through plebiscite' and became part of the fascist rule of the Indian exploitive rulers.

When communal riots broke in Kashmir in 1947 October nearly two and a half lakh Muslim people died and Raja Hari Singh fled to Jammu. Later the Indian rulers forged a letter with back date of appointment of the leader of National Conference Shek Abdullah as the Prime Minister of Kashmir and brought him to power. Elections were held in Kashmir in 1951 in which the National Conference was elected to 73 seats out of the 75 without contention. Shek Abdullah made an agreement with Nehru to provide special powers to Jammu-Kashmir. According to it the powers of the centre were limited in Kashmir. Article 370 was formulated in the Constitution overnight to cool down the burning problem of Kashmir. The Article gave special status to Kashmir. They agreed that India shall not interfere except for foreign affairs, defense, currency and other such issues. According to this agreement the acts of the Indian Parliament do not apply to Kashmir. The leader of the state was provided the status of Prime Minister. They were provided self-rule authority to make their own acts. This is the character of a genuine federal society. But none of them came into practice.

Discontent started brewing up in Delhi towards the government rule in Srinagar formed by the National Conference. Shek Abdulla government made agrarian reforms and distributed the lands of the King Dogra to the farmers and gained their affection. Congress party that was still until then could not digest the land reforms that it never imagined. Unable to digest these actions the Nehru government trampled all the earlier promises given to him in the name that he is trying for independence of Kashmir and removed him from the post of Prime Minister. He was detained in Indian jails for 14 years with the false allegation of betrayal.

Although he spent 14 years in prison Shek Abdullah surrendered to the Indian ruling classes in 1977. In fact Shek Abdullah never fought for the right to self-determination of Kashmir depending on the people. Abdullah promised the people through 'naya (new) Kashmir' document that his independent Kashmir shall be like 'East Switzerland'. But he expected from the US imperialists for it and dreamt of 'right to self-determination' of Kashmir depending on the mercy of the ruling classes of India and Pak that are in the hands of US.

None of the other leaders who came to power in Kashmir after him also did not take the side of the people and are on the side of the exploiting ruling classes of India. All the political parties in the parliamentary politics too are with the same attitude. On the other hand the Indian rulers are persistently propagating to instill the utopian idea that 'Kashmir in integral to Indian Union' among the people through various conspiracies.

The movement of the Kashmir people never stopped. Since the second phase movement came forth in 1989 until the end of 2018 more than one lakh people died in the movement out of gunshots of the Indian Army, central Para-military forces and the State police. Now Kashmir in India means murders of people wishing Aazadi, mass atrocities, kidnaps, mass burials, arrests, shooting pellets, rigorous jail imprisonments and hangings. These are the facts that the whole world speaks of except the exploitive ruling classes of India. The people of Kashmir continue to fight with the Indian Army amidst daily gun shots making invaluable sacrifices with the slogan of 'Freedom for Kashmir'.

The Indian rulers deployed one soldier for every 17 people in Kashmir making it the utmost militarized area in the world. In spite of active RAW, IB, NIA,

Mossad, CIA, FBI, BND and other such domestic and foreign infamous intelligence agencies and murderous acts like AFSPA the Indian rulers are unable to rule Kashmir assuredly.

The Indian rulers are drowning the nationality liberation struggle of the Kashmir people in blood and belittling it in the domestic and international forums as separatism, that the activists of Kashmir are instigated by Pakistan, that the movement is cross border terrorism and is disruptive. They are conspiring in many ways to demean the struggle of the people fighting for the survival of their nationality, for their right to separate and right to self-determination and to gain validity for their repressive measures.

Our party supports the movement of the Kashmir nationality. Our party makes it clear that in the 'Indian People's Democratic Republic' that would be formed in the leadership of revolutionary proletariat all the nationalities of the country shall have the right to separate and right to self-determination, that they shall have proper solution for their problems and that the way for their permanent liberation shall be facilitated.

Manipur

The people of Manipur nationality have a long history of heroic struggle among the North East nationality liberation struggles.

Manipur is mainly constituted with the non-tribal Meithei that turned Hindus and the Naga and Kuki tribes living in the mountains that turned Christians. The history of the people all over North East mainly includes the mention of Bengal and Assam. It is because the British rulers ruled the whole of the North East in their direct rule first as a part of the Bengal state and after the formation of Asom state in 1874 as a part of Asom. After the transfer of power all those areas were initially part of Asom and separated into states as a result of the struggles that initiated there. But the British never ruled Manipur directly. It was never a part of either Bengal or Asom. After 1947 the center forcibly unified it as a state in India through military action.

After the transfer of power in 1947 the Indian rulers brought severe pressure on Manipur and made them agree the unification with 'autonomy'. So they held elections in 1948 irrespective of the Indian Election Commission and became an autonomous region. Anyhow as per the wish of India they left defense, foreign affairs and broadcasting sectors to Delhi. But the Prime

Minister Nehru and Home Minister Patel did not like this. They decided to totally unify Manipur in India.

In 1947 VK Krishna Menon tried in vain to convince the king of Manipur to become part of India. Finally on 21st September the King was kidnapped by the Indian Army and Nehru and Patel made him sign on trigger point that it is a part of the Indian Union. The result was that the people of Manipur had to fight with the Indian rulers for their right to separate and right to self-determination. Initially Manipur was not even considered as a state and was under central rule for 20 years. It was recognized as a state in 1972.

The people of Manipur, mainly the Miythees formed liberation armies in the leadership of national revolutionary organisations and have been fighting with the Indian Army for the past seven decades. They are fighting against cruel laws like the AFSPA of 1958. They shall fight until their aspirations are fulfilled. Our party supports the movement of the people and states that it will fight united against the expansionism of India.

Nagaland

Nagaland is one more movement of nationality liberation in the North East. Naga is not the name of a tribe. It is the common name of few tribes that are mutually close in language and culture. All these tribes call themselves as 'Naga tribes'. Angami, Tangkul, Mao and Aao are the important among them. The Nagas are in large number not only in the state of the then Asom but also in Manipur. The Baptist missionaries transformed half of the 15 lakh Naga population and 15 important tribes speaking 30 languages of Asom into Christianity during the colonial period. The organisation representing the Naga people, the Naga National Council (NNC) made an agreement with the Asom Governor Akbar Haidari in 1947 June.

According to this agreement Nagaland shall be part of India for 10 years and later the agreement should be discussed one again. It means the Nagas had the power to decide whether they continue in India or not. Meanwhile one day before Britain handed over power to India the people of Naga declared independence in the leadership of Fizo. In 1952 March Fizo met Nehru in Delhi. The PM Nehru said 'there is no question of giving independence to the Nagas' and revealed his expansionist attitude. The Nehru government cancelled the recognition to the 'Naga National Council' in 1953. Police and military attacks intensified on the Naga activists. Then the Nagas held a

secret meeting in the hills and took decision to make armed struggle. They declared Naga federal government in the ending of 1955. On the other hand the Indian Union changed Nagaland into its state through military suppression in 1963.

The people of Nagas are making armed struggle for right to separate and right to self-determination for the past seven decades fighting with the Indian Army. The exploitive rulers of India are indulging in military attacks and conspiring in many ways to liquidate the struggle organisations of the Naga people. The Indian government has been continuing 'ceasefire' agreement with the main struggle organisations of the Naga people for the past more than 20 years. Few years back an organisation withdrew from talks with the Indian government and is making armed struggle. They are continuing the fiasco of unceasing talks to liquidate the struggle spirit of the Nagas and are formulating many evil schemes. In fact the demand for 'the right to separate and right to self-determination' will not be solved through talks with the Indian expansionists. Armed struggle is the only path for the liberation of the Naga nationality.

Our party firmly supports the right of the Naga people to separate and their right to self-determination and their armed struggle. It declares clearly its stand to fight against the Indian expansionism united.

Asom

Asom was occupied by the British in 1826 and became part of Bengal province by 1874. After 44 years Asom was made part of East Bengal and continued to be so for 31 years until 1905. As a result 60 percent of the population of Asom speaks Assamese while the rest 40 percent are others. Nearly half of this 40 percent became workers in the tea plantations after 1826 with their forcible shifting. Most of them are Bengalis. The class that worked as employees for the British was mainly Bengalis. Some of them went there for livelihood. In 1837 the British forced Bangla as the official language in the schools instead of Asomes language. This continued for 60 years. The middle class people of Asom in need of jobs had to learn English and compete with the Bengalis.

Half of the people are 'refugees' who came from East Pakistan to Asom after partition in 1947. There were communal riots after the partition of the country and later there were Indo-Pak wars in 1965 and 1971. With this

people migrated in large numbers and the population increased in a big way. Migration from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) for lands to Asom continued all through the 20th century. The discriminative policies followed by the ruling classes towards the minorities, the terrible poverty and the attacks of the Muslim fundamentalists on the minorities in the neighboring East Pakistan after 1947 contributed to the growth of migration and population in Asom. As the problems of the Asom people rose the changes in the ratio of population severely worried the Assamese. Marwari traders propped by the British reached the North East. The British and these comprador bourgeoisie looted the valuable resources of the area. After 1947 the Indian comprador ruling classes collaborated with the British and they did nothing but exploitation. The exploitive ruling classes exploited valuable resources like tea, timber and crude oil but did not pay least attention to the development of the people of Asom. Except for the petroleum, tea and timber industries that started during the British rule there was not a single modern industry until the end of the 20th century. The construction of Railways was nominal.

Like the British the central government also indulged in increasing the conflicts between the Assamese and the Bengalis that were in large numbers among the non-Assamese posing contradictions regarding language, culture and other such things in order to divert the discontent among the people of Asom to not be consolidated against it. The Bengali bureaucracy, traders and other Bengali national chauvinists enough supported such conspiracies of the central government. The central government was successful to a large extent in sustaining the Bengalis against the just struggles of Asom people that took place in 1950, 1960, 1968 and 1972.

The ruling classes in the centre and the leaders of the revisionist Marxist party made a false propaganda about the spate of people's struggle that rose in the leadership of ULFA in 1980s in Asom and its program as that of a separatist trend. Moreover they also rigorously propagated that the struggle of the Asom people is not confined to Asom and that it is an inseparable part of the 'disruptive' movement that is spreading in a planned manner in joint leadership all over North East. They also made a false propaganda that some time the whole of North East including Asom shall separate from the rest of India and some foreign forces are encouraging the people of that area.

They allege all those who support the struggle of Asom people or the nationality struggles of the North East as that disrupting the integrity of the country and that all of them are foreign agents.

The CPI (Marxist) published a 35 point program in their magazine of that time 'Peoples' democracy' about the secret program of the student organisation in the North East – 'The program of the Asom activists is against the minorities and has the trend to separate from the country'. Anyhow there is not a single aspect that speaks about separation from the country as they propagated. It neither spoke about Bengali settlers. Moreover it said clearly about the settlers in the 10th point – 'we must not disturb those who have settles for a long time'.

The Indira Gandhi government and the Marxist party leaders together planned to pose the just struggle of Asom as civil war between the people of Asom and non-Asom people mainly the Bengali people residing in Asom for which they instigated the All Asom minority youth council against the people's movement of Asom. They brought forth reactionary organisations like SULFA to give a blow to ULFA, their main struggle organisation. They indulged in many such conspiracies. They indulged in military suppression. As a result a section of the petty bourgeois leadership of the Asom movement finally left the just demands of the people and joined the Indian exploitive ruling classes. They entered parliamentary politics and are cashing the prestige of the movement.

With the implementation of imperialist neo-liberal economic policies in the country the Indian ruling classes intensified the exploitation of natural resources of the North East. The earlier UPA rule in the leadership of the Congress party took up 'look east' and the present NDA in the leadership of BJP took up 'act east'. This is unleashing its fascist exploitive policies in a very aggressive manner. At present the BJP is unleashing power together with the regional ruling cliques in almost all the states of North East. NRC and 'Citizenship Amendment Act' (CAA) formulated by the Mod government is a part of it. With its anti-indigenous-tribal people, anti-Muslim, anti-Christian, anti-Dalit Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist policies the old problem is not solved but new problems are arising. With this there is severe insecurity feeling among lakhs of people in Asom and the conditions are giving rise to conflicts among the people.

We must remember that the main enemy of the nationality movements of the North East is the central government, the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord classes that collaborated with the imperialists and controlling the government and their lackeys, especially now the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist RSS and BJP.

The 'great Bengal' slogan is as reactionary as the progressive nature of the North East nationality struggles. Revolutionary proletariat will have to lead the struggles of the North East. This alone shall assure the victory of the people.

Only if the proletariat leads the nationality struggles in the North East democracy will be established and every nationality will develop in a comprehensive manner. Only thus these struggles will ultimately be successful as a part of the present World Socialist Revolution and as a stream of the Indian New Democratic Revolution.

Movements for separate states

Any movement arises from economic, political, social and historical reasons. The movements for separate state also have similar reasons. In conditions in India the movements for separate state are coming forth as a reflection of the aspirations of the nationality due to regional inequalities and the anti-nationalities policies of the central and the state governments. Therefore the movements for separate state must be considered as democratic movements going on as a part of the nationality question and must be supported. Our party must work with the immediate program of the movement for separate state and combine it with the New Democratic Revolutionary program and lead the movements for separate state.

There are 7 central ruled areas out of the 29 states in the country. Sikkim is the state with the lowest population. According to the 2011 census the population is only 61 lakhs. Uttar Pradesh is the state with highest population with nearly 20 crores.

Let us see in brief certain important movements for separate states in various parts of the country.

Jharkhand

Separate state for Jharkhand has been a long time demand. Chota Nagpur, SanthalParagana (17 districts constituting Dhanbad, Bokaro, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Chatra, Palamau, Latehar, Gadhwa, Lohardaga, Gumla, Ranchi,

Singhbhum, Jamshedpur, Dumka, Devghar, Godda, Sahebganj) of old Bihar; 4 districts of Orissa, Sundargarh, Kyomjhur, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur; 2 district, Raigarh and Sarguja of Madhya Pradesh (present Chhattisgarh); 3 districts of West Bengal, Medinipur, Purulia and Bankura – on the whole the demand was to form separate Jharkhand state with 26 districts of 4 states.

In fact the above mentioned area had been a single area until 1912 before Bihar separated from Bengal. Bihar separated from Bengal, the above mentioned four districts of Orissa separated from Bihar and a little area separated from Madhya Pradesh and the tribal dominated area became pieces. The British rulers conspired to divide this land with the evil motive of affecting the integrity of the tribal people and strength of their struggle. This was the area that stood as the centre of many historic revolts against the British such as Kol revolt, Santhal revolt, Bhumij revolt, Chouvad revolt and Birsa Munda revolt. The colonial rulers indulged in splits among the people so that these revolts that inspired the people and scared the British would not spread.

In this background for the first time the 'Chota Nagpur Unnathi (development) Samaj (society)' formed in 1915 in Jharkhand demanded separate state through a memorandum to the 'Simon Commission' formed by the British government in 1927. Later in 1937 'Adivasi Mahasabha' was formed. After the transfer of power 'Jharkhand party' was formed with the demand for separate state in 1950 in the leadership of Jaypal Singh. This is new appearance of the Adivasi Mahasabha formed in 1937. The 'Jharkhand party' won all the 32 seats in the first general elections in 1952 and stepped into the Lok Sabha.

The scores of organisations that took birth in the later period divorced the tradition of armed rebellions of the heroic tribal people and took up reformism. The 'Jharkhand Mukti (liberation) Morcha (forum)' formed in the leadership of Vinol Bihari Mahato and Sibiu Soren in 1973 was different from these.

Initially the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha put forth many slogans of war before the people. 'Maro Mahajanko' (kill the trader), 'Maro Daroga ko' (kill the policeman), 'Kaise loge Jharkhand, lad ke lenge Jharkhand' (how shall we gain Jharkhand, we shall gain Jharkhand with struggle), 'Kaise lenge Jharkhand, vote se nahi, chot se' (how shall we gain Jharkhand, not with vote, with

fight), 'Jharkhand kolalkhand me badaldalo' (turn Jharkhand into red area) and other such were its slogans of people's struggle. The party gained the confidence of the Jharkhand people and fought with the landlords and the police-military forces. Several activists laid their lives in this militant struggle. They were also successful in some struggles on people's issues. But with the state violence and police attacks within no time the leadership was afraid. It left armed struggle and took up reformist politics supporting the 20 point formula that Indira Gandhi brought forth during 'emergency' of 1975. Since the movement was affected with vote politics it split within three years of its formation.

The mushrooming of various kinds of parties and affecting them with vested interests have become a normal affair in Jharkhand. In this process 'All Jharkhand students' organisation' was formed in 1986. The organisation gave the slogan of 'no Jharkhand, no election' to boycott elections. The band call it gave against the murder of the president of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (Sibu group) Nirmal Mahato was successful all over the area. Although this organisation led the movement in a militant manner for some time finally it fell into the mire of elections. At the same time the 'Jharkhand coordination council' was formed with 50 organisations in 1987. But disputes arose regarding boycott of elections and it finally split. All the parties and organisations including the 'Jharkhand people's party' formed by persons like Ram Dayal Munda and Surya Sinh were exposed to be corrupt organisations among the people and were immersed in elections to come to power. This is the result of lack of proletarian leadership for the fulfillment of the democratic aspirations of the people.

The Delhi rulers formed 'Jharkhand self-rule organisation' to cool the anger of the Jharkhand people and to capitulate the parties that took up electoral politics. That organisation left the movement and fell for power and in corruption.

The practice of the several organisations formed in Jharkhand shows that none of the people's demands for which the organisations arose and for which the movement started one hundred years ago were fundamentally solved. As the people were militantly fighting for separate Jharkhand several revolutionary organisations started their programs with Naxalbari politics since 1969. They started organizing the people with anti-feudal struggles. Our

Party at that time started consolidating armed resistance against the exploitive ruling classes of India and their state. The movement for separate state of Jharkhand broke in this process. 'Jharkhand Mukti Manch' (Jharkhand Liberation Forum) was formed in the leadership of our party. The 'Jharkhand Mukti Manch' that was formed to support the right of the people of Jharkhand to self-determination against the imperialist exploitation with the program of transforming Jharkhand into exploitation-free Lalkhand (red area) (democratic Jharkhand) identified itself with the people, linked its programs with agrarian revolutionary programs and advanced the revolution. But the ruling classes formed Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand into separate states with the foresight to loot the enormous natural resources in the areas and to totally wipe out the revolutionary movement. However the demand for the right to self-determination found a strong place in the minds of the people. The achievement of this demand is inseparably linked with the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our Party.

Chhattisgarh

The demand for a separate state of Chhattisgarh came to discussion in the Legislative Assembly of Madhya Pradesh on 21st November 1955. The tribal population of Chhattisgarh is 32 percent. 44 percent of the land is forest. Like Jharkhand this is also a tribal dominated area and so the demand started here too. In the initial period the name of the movement 'Gondwana' was proposed by the Panabaras king of Rajnandgaon district and Member of Legislative Assembly Lal Shyam Shah. In his speech on the occasion he stated that this area was called Gondwana before and after the Moghul period and that there are lakhs of tribal and Dalit people in this area. Later memorandum was submitted to the SRC but they did not pay attention. On the other hand Madhya Pradesh came into existence as a state including the Chhattisgarh area on the 1st of November 1956.

The President of 'Adivasi Sena Mandal' Lal Shyam Shah went as padayatra (rally by foot) along 30 thousand tribal people to meet the President of the Congress Party Neelam Sanjivreddy and the Prime Minister of the country Nehru on 30th October 1960 when they came to Raipur for the first time to attend the meeting of 'All India Congress Committee'. He brought forth the concrete demand for a separate state constituting 9 districts of Raipur, Durg, Bilaspur, Sarguja, Raigarh, Balaghat, Sahadol, Bhandara and a part of

Chandrapur (the last two are presently in Vidarbha of Maharashtra. Only a part of the Chandrapur district was added to this) with the name of Gondwana. But his demand was left unattended. Shah resigned to Lok Sabha in 1962 in protest to the decision of the 'National Development Council' to provide permanent shelter to the East Pakistan refugees in Dandakaranya the central part of the country. There have been some or the other kind of problems between the tribal people and the Bengalis for the past 62 years in this area. The demand for separate state of Chhattisgarh came forth during this time. But it did not step forward. The demand came forth once again in the end of 1980s with the initiative of our party. Several parties responded on the demand. Anyhow it did not take the form of a struggle.

In 1999 May a prominent leader of Congress party and big landlord Vidyacharan Sukla founded the 'Chhattisgarh State Struggle Organisation' in his political interest with the foresight that separate state of Chhattisgarh will be definitely formed. He toured all over the state on the demand for Chhattisgarh state. Some more of such organisations were formed in the final months. Within a year on 31st August 2000 the 'Madhya Pradesh State reorganizing bill' was passed in the Lok Sabha. On 9th September the Rajya Sabha gave its approval for the formation of Chhattisgarh. The new state of Chhattisgarh emerged as the 26th state on the 1st of November the same year. The exploitive ruling classes formed separate Chhattisgarh state with the bi-pronged objective of exploiting the enormous and valuable natural resources in Chhattisgarh and to totally wipe out the developing revolutionary movement. 34 years after Punjab was formed as a separate state in the country Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand formed as separate states in a period of one year.

There were no major changes in the lives of the people with the formation of the state. The exploitive comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord classes are benefiting from the formation of the state. They now became more accessible to indiscriminately loot the natural resources of the area. They also established a favorable bureaucratic rule to wipe out the revolutionary movement that has been going on for past four decades by then. Our party initially demanded a separate state of Bastar that dominantly had tribal people. It invited the formation of separate Chhattisgarh state and called upon the people to militantly fight for the development of the state in

all sectors including language and made it clear that genuine development is not possible with the formation of territorial state without wiping out the exploitive classes and without attaining democratic Chhattisgarh.

Telangana

In the 1950s the Delhi rulers felt irksome with Telangana because Communists had good influence in the state. The bourgeois, landlord classes of Andhra Pradesh wanted to see that the Communists do not increase their hold in Telangana. So they joined the bourgeois landlord classes of Telangana, fought with the centre together and attained the state of Andhra Pradesh in November 1956 as a part of the demand of the Andhra bourgeois class to bring all the Telugu speaking people together in the name of formation of linguistic states. They made an 'elders' agreement' in order to surrender the bourgeois landlord classes of Telangana. The aspects of the agreement were not implemented. Telangana was highly discriminated and lagged behind in all aspects in the new Andhra Pradesh. Since the formation of the state of AP discontent is brewing up among the people of Telangana against discrimination in some or the other form. As a result militant movement broke in 1969 opposing regional inequalities with the demand for separate state. The petty bourgeois class that took up Mulki agitation since the formation of Andhra Pradesh stood in the forefront in the movement for separate state that broke in 1969 which was led by bourgeois and landlord classes. Students and employees played a militant role in this agitation. In the repression unleashed by the central and the state governments 370 students and youth laid their lives in the police firing. At the same time the Telangana Armed peasant struggle began in the leadership of our party as a continuation of the Telangana Armed peasant struggle with the impact of Naxalbari and Srikakulam revolutionary movements as a part of the Indian New Democratic Revolution. The revolutionary movement took place in the Telangana society for the solution of fundamental contradictions. The AP State Committee of our party considered the movement for separate Telangana state as a democratic movement and as a part of the nationality struggle and immediately expressed support to it and also decided to lead it. However the revolutionary movement in Telangana at that time was very weak.

After the betrayal of Chennareddy a leader of the Congress Party to the movement for separate Telangana the movement was latent for nearly 30 years. On the other hand revolutionary peasant struggles broke in mid-1978 in the leadership of our party in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. By 1980 the revolutionary movement spread all over Andhra Pradesh and continued in a spate until 2000. The movement continued in Telangana in a relatively strong manner. This movement showed a deep impact in all the sectors of not only Telangana but also the entire state of Andhra Pradesh.

After 1995 the 'the demand for separate state of Telangana 'came forth once again as the last stage. This gradually strengthened, spread and advanced. Our party adopted a comprehensive program to lead the movement. It participated in the movement actively, led and placed a proper immediate and protracted democratic program before the people to conduct it in the correct path. It formed political people's organisations and other mass organisations necessary to provide direct leadership for the movement, guided it and made distinct efforts.

In the last stage of the movement also petty bourgeois class – the students, youth and employees were in the forefront but the regional bourgeois, feudal forces were dominant. It spread among the intellectuals, poets, artists, workers, Dalits, tribal people, women and to an extent among the peasantry. In the last stage thousands of people faced brutal repression of the government and hundreds of youth emotionally committed suicide. As a result of the militant movement of the united Telangana people the Parliament approved the bill in 2014 February and Telangana emerged as the 29th territorial state of the country. 16 out of the 29 states of the country are smaller to Telangana in size and population. All the bourgeois landlord class parties including the TRS, various ML parties including our party, revisionist parties and various mass organisations, democratic forces led the movement and thus the territorial Telangana was formed.

The TRS that came to power cashing on the aspirations of the Telangana people is a party in the leadership of regional comprador bureaucratic big capitalists and big landlords. It is working in the interests of the imperialists, comprador big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes as per its character. It is greatly encouraging feudal culture and Hindu religion. It did not implement the promises that it gave to the people during the movement. The people of

Telangana are fighting for the solution of their fundamental problems against the imperialists and their agents the comprador ruling classes for 'democratic Telangana' and for New Democratic Revolution. The revolutionary movement in Telangana in the leadership of our party is in temporary setback but it is making efforts to mobilise the vast masses linking these two important programs.

Punjab

While linguistic states were formed all over India in 1956 the state of Punjab was not formed until 1966. This was mainly the result of the stand of the central government against the formation of separate states. We understand from Punjab that the centre-state relations are absolutely not democratic. Punjab has been demanding the centre for its share of water resources as per the Anandpur Saheb resolution. But the Indian ruling classes were very bureaucratic and so Punjab brought forth the issue of right to separate. In Punjab the nationality liberation movement and religion are inseparably entwined. It is because although there are Hindus in Punjab most of the peasants are of Sikh religion and many felt it was a Sikh movement. On the other hand the Indian ruling classes neck deep in Hindu religious nature imposed Sikh religious color to the just demands of the people of Punjab nationality. This gave way to a split in the people of Punjab.

Punjab achieved higher growth than all the other states of the country in the agrarian sector. Distorted capitalist forces of production also gained momentum in a very fast manner. But the reason for this form of nationality question is the repressive attitude of the Indian ruling classes towards the question. The formation of linguistic states pushed back the main problems of the nationalities temporarily but the movements came forth once again on the unsolved problems. The central government made agreements with the IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organisation, put all the resources in its hands and unleashed authority on the states. This gave rise to the Punjab movement.

The green revolution that was initiated in Punjab in the 1960s was meant only for the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes. With this Punjab could achieve considerable growth in the agricultural sector. Agriculture surplus was accumulated. The imperialists and the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois classes ate it away. The yield improved through the agriculture

implements imported from the imperialists. But the farmers did not have any control on the agricultural products. As a result those resources benefited only big traders. They were shifted to other sectors. The capital markets, LIC and several insurance organisations began exploiting the farmers. Farmers lacked capital to develop agriculture. The development of trade organisations affected the development of agricultural sector.

The peasantry of Punjab faced acute water problem. All the necessary fertilisers, seeds, pesticides and agricultural implements were in the hands of the centre and so the state of Punjab had to live on the mercy of the centre. Big wave of people's struggle broke in 1980s on peasant problems. On the other hand centre ill propagated the people's struggle of Punjab as disruptive and separatist. Thousands of people laid their lives in this struggle due to the policies of the central government and in police firing.

Power and resources were centralized in the hands of the centre and so the aspirations of the people of Punjab were not fulfilled. The movement strongly brought forth the right to separate only due to the policies of the center against the people of Punjab and repressive policies. Many revolutionary forces lacked correct, clear attitude and understanding towards the movement. Few revolutionary organisations opposed it too. Our Party had a critical outlook towards this movement with Leninist understanding and supported it.

Punjab movement or the issues that the movement raised are yet unsolved. It is the responsibility of the Party to mobilise the people of Punjab in a new path to solve these problems the movement temporarily setback due to the repressive policies of the domestic and local ruling classes that branded it as terrorists and separatists.

Primitive nationalities

The population of our country constitutes more than 8 percent tribal people and above 400 tribes. When compared with the ratio the area they reside is many times more than the population. They are in almost all the states of the country but are in high numbers in the broad mountainous areas, forests and relatively backward plain areas especially in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa. All these areas have plenty of ores, forests, water and other such natural wealth. In the history of the Indian

society the tribes have been constantly attacked by the feudal kingdoms and they especially faced severe attacks from the British imperialists.

These areas have been facing utmost severe exploitation, oppression and discrimination from the central and the state governments since 1947. Imperialists, comprador bureaucratic big capitalists, big contractors, landlords, money lenders, traders and government officials have been unceasingly looting the natural wealth of these areas, exploiting the labor power of the tribal people in various forms and making them homeless. The tribal people are continuing the great tradition of struggles with their unrelenting fight against the earlier and present attacks, the exploitation, oppression and discrimination. Therefore they must be assured of right to self-determination/autonomy and must be organized on political, economic, social, cultural, language and educational issues. We must lead their struggles so as they achieve total liberation. In the strategic view of the achievement of liberation of the various tribes of the country or in the strategic view of founding a voluntary federation of republics of nationalities in the country these areas have utmost importance.

The mode of production is in different stages in the tribal areas. In some places it is dependent on podu (hill slope) cultivation and production-consumption. The British declared few tribes as criminals. The tribes are living in a vast uniformed territory to a large extent. Almost all the tribes have their own languages. The style of living, customs, culture and psyche of the people of the respective tribes are similar. They must be identified as the indigenous people of our country. But the centre is not recognising the existence of the indigenous. The Hindutwa forces deny the existence of the indigenous. Many ancient tribal languages are speedily becoming extinct due to the negligence of the ruling classes and hegemony of the regional languages. The tribal people of a certain tribe in a broad area are divided among various states and become people of minority tribe of a state, are gradually losing their existence and are getting merged into those nationalities.

There is almost no tribe in the country that did not oppose the British in an armed way. All these rebellions are the expression of their democratic aspirations.

Majority of the tribes of our country are primitive nationalities. They are in various stages of development. Earlier the people of Santhali tribe fought for decades with the demand for a separate Jharkhand state. The centre trampled the demand of the Santhali tribal people and formed Jharkhand state with borders favoring it and splintering the people. The one third tribal people of the population of Chhattisgarh and the Gond tribal people of the neighboring states are fighting for separate Gondwana state for the past decades. But their just aspirations were not fulfilled. Our Party immediately needs to support their demand and lead their struggle going on with the objective of democratic Gondwana.

On the occasion of formation of linguistic states the tribal communities were merged with the respective linguistic states against their aspirations. They were not provided considerable special rights in these states. One of the tribes with high population the 'Koyatur' (Gond) were divided in more than 50 districts of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra. None of the states established 'autonomous' areas for them. They brought forth the just demand of forming a special Gondwana state bringing all the people of their tribe in a single territory. But the Indian exploitive ruling class lured a section of the tribal gentry, coopted and bourgeoisied them and are terribly exploiting and oppressing those areas so as to serve their interest. They are suppressing the people under iron heel. However the people are still bringing forth their demands in various forms. On the other hand the revolutionary movement that has been taking place for decades in the leadership of our party in many tribal areas of our country has been supporting and leading the just demands of the people. Our party is committed to the comprehensive development of the present primitive nationalities.

We have to build strong movements in the leadership of our party with the demands for right to self-determination to all the primitive nationalities and for the formation of autonomous areas and separate states according to their democratic aspirations. Since 1990s the Indian ruling classes took up imperialist globalization policies and are indiscriminately looting all the natural resources, human labor power and the markets. In this changed situation the issue of primitive nationalities will be properly solved by fighting

against the comprador bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism and imperialism that supports them and accomplish New Democratic Revolution.

The Indian Constitution provided the Sixth schedule for the tribes of the North East and the Fifth schedule for the tribes of the rest of the areas. The Sixth schedule facilitated the formation of 'autonomous' areas. These areas were annexed into the country and so they provided 'autonomous' status to liquidate the demand for right to separate. It is clear that these are nothing but to deceive them. That is why the Nagas boycotted the Sixth schedule.

The advancing revolutionary struggles of the tribal people in the country made the ruling classes formulate the new 'PESA' (Panchayat Extension of Scheduled Areas) for the Fifth schedule areas. According to it they said that the tribal people have all the rights on the forests. They lie that the tribal people can effectively utilize the PESA for self-rule. They are unleashing lathis and arms on the tribal people struggling for its implementation. In fact they brought it only to deceive the tribal people. All the acts the governments made regarding the tribal people are confined to papers and the tribal people living in the forest areas did not obtain any right to the lands and forests. They will get them only through revolutionary movement.

The forests of the country are depleting due to the anti-tribal, anti-people policies of the government. The rulers of the country are giving away the enormous natural wealth of the country to the Multi-National Corporations and the comprador big capitalists at dead chap rate. All the people must firmly fight together with the tribal people against the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord forces and their security forces to preserve the entire natural wealth including the forests and the environment of the country.

Before the transfer of power the British converted the tribal people into Christianity in a big way. The British recognized 'nature' as their religion in the census. Even now the Hindu, Christian and Islam religions are indulging in various kinds of conspiracies and attacks to merge the tribal people of the country. The rulers of the country are utilizing their power and are acting very aggressively to spread Hindu religion among them. There is a need to develop a scientific understanding and enlighten them politically against all these.

Reservations were provided in the Indian Constitution in the name of development of the tribal people. But in practice only a small section of the tribal people is able to utilize them. Without the right to forest for the tribal people and without proper policies for their comprehensive development and sincere efforts for its implementation reservations alone will not help for their overall development begin this system. It is possible only by changing the exploitive system.

Language question

Language plays a vital role in the development and unity of a nationality. The political survival of a nationality in any area is possible if the people of the area speak a single language. Language has a distinct place for the growth of trade and commerce, development of production and extension of market. In our country during the proto-feudal period Brahman pundits wrote in Sanskrit language. The bhakti movements that took place in the country in the later period initiated the development of regional languages.

India was not a uniform country before the arrival of the British and similarly there was never a common language of the people before or after the British.

Language is one important instrument that forms the people of an area into a nationality acting as a medium. There are various languages in various areas of the country. Many of the ancient indigenous people's communities do not have scripts. The ruling classes do not recognize the languages without script as languages. They are heckled as speaking languages. Until now no script was prepared for the language that one of the biggest tribal community Koya (Gond) people speaks. There are no standard scripts for Bhil, Uraov, Kuvvi and many such broad tribal people's communities. The utmost reactionary Hindutwa Golwalkar distorts history and says so regarding language – 'We do not have any other language. What we have is Sanskrit. The present many languages are born from that mother tongue'. The BJP and Hindutwa forces in power follow his teachings. Their 'one language, one theory, one country' is part of diehard Hindutwa ideology.

If the regional languages develop and the nationalities develop much more the wish of the exploitive classes of Indian nation (utopian) shall fall in danger. This shall become a dangerous development for their conspiracies to make the nationalities of other areas as sub-nationalities of the Indian

nation. This shall disturb the profit mongering of the comprador bureaucratic big capitalists and the interests of investments. Therefore they are suppressing all other languages except Hindi with Hindutwa hegemonic ideology.

By the Magadh rule the language of the ordinary people was the administrative language, during the Moghul period Hindustani was the official language and during the British period English was the official language. All the Congress leaders who stood in the forefront of the Indian independence movement started imposing Hindi on the languages of the respective nationalities in the interests of the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie.

Constitution validates all the conspiracies of the exploitive ruling classes. The 8th schedule of the Constitution recognized 22 languages along with Urdu. In fact many of these languages did not find place in the first draft of the Constitution. With the people's struggles that came forth in the later period there were Constitutional amendments and some more languages were added. The Indian Constitution recognized Assami, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Odiya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu languages. The languages of several more developed nationalities of the country are not recognized by the central government. This attitude is a part of the suppression of those nationalities. On the other hand Article 343 of the Constitution says that Hindi is the central official language and the script is Devnagari. September 14th is celebrated as the day of national official language Hindi. The prominence given to Hindi is nothing but putting the rest of the languages in the secondary grade.

Although Articles 345-7 of the Constitution said that the local languages can be the official languages even now Hindi continues to be the official language in many states. Language is playing a vital role in the relations between the centre and the states. The centre is imposing Hindi as the national language with its bureaucratic policies of one nation one national language. In places said to be Hindi areas also Hindi is not the mother tongue of the people. It is being forcibly imposed on the people. According to the Indian Constitution the children must be taught in their mother tongue only. But the children of many states, especially of the backward tribal areas are deprived of this right.

In the states where trilingual principle is implemented the school children are burdened with alien languages. In this process the regional languages are lagging behind and English language is speedily expanding. This is first the vicious outcome of the colonial rule. Now it is the outcome of imperialist globalization. The rulers of the country are creating many illusions about English. They create an atmosphere that without English one cannot obtain jobs in big corporate organisations. Now English and Hindi are pushing back the languages of all the nationalities. That is the reason the people speaking various languages in the various areas of the country, especially South India are opposing the hegemony and chauvinism of Hindi language that is being imposed. Burning copies of Indian Constitution came forth as a tradition in South India in severe protest to the pro-Hindi attitude of the central government.

The government must encourage in all sectors and in all levels to prepare script for the mother tongues of the people of the respective areas and to those that do not have scripts in order to develop the languages. Education must be in mother tongue and there must be 'common school' system. Trilingual formula must be withdrawn. The people must be given opportunities to select language and script that is necessary and of interest. Only regional language must be used in the respective areas, judiciary and administration. In some places the government must give equal status to the language of small tribal communities also. The language problem will be properly solved only when there is equality among the languages of all the nationalities. The center must not impose any language as a common language in the name of coordination among the people of the country.

The hurdle of caste order in the development of the nationalities

Brahmanic caste based, semi-feudal, semi-colonial system is a big hurdle for the brotherhood among the people, the development, equality and the liberation of nationalities of our country. Caste system is oppressing the society in all the sectors of semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. The exploitive ruling classes are utilizing caste and religious differences, splitting the people and are serving their vested interests. The caste differences are creating many hurdles to organizing the people against caste oppression, suppression and discrimination and the just demands of the oppressed people and in various struggles.

We have to integrate the people of all castes especially the people of the oppressed castes on class basis against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism with the objective of destroying Brahmanic caste based system to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in our country. Thus the path for national liberation will be facilitated and we can destroy the three 'great mountains' that are the main targets of Indian New Democratic Revolution.

River water disputes between states

The population of India is 19 percent of the world population. It is said that only 4 percent water is available on the earth. But our country has 70 thousand TMC of water. Every acre can be given water. Forty crore acres of land is favorable for cultivation. But the states have been conflicting for water for the past 70 years. Yet the crisis of drinking water is not solved. The Indian exploitive ruling classes with their vested politics are not utilizing the available water of the country for the people. There are scores of good rivers in our country. Those rivers flow through several states and reach the sea. There are unceasing disputes on the utilization of river waters that flow through many states. The reason for these disputes being the vested politics of the central and the state ruling cliques.

The politics of the exploitive classes regarding the place of the necessary projects for the utilization of river waters, the height of the projects, the share of the states and other such issues and the people's agitations, the conflicts, contradictions and murders that arise from it are taking place in some or the other place in our country always. All the exploitive political parties are competing to politically benefit from the disputes. The 'big' parties that became popular as national parties follow one policy in one state and another policy in another state and are creating scuttles among the people of different states. They are forming tribunals to postpone these scuttles for a long time and to benefit whenever necessary during that time. Imperialist globalization policies not only intensified these disputes but have opened roads for new disputes.

The states of our country formulate development schemes on the rivers on their borders and send to the central water board. The centre formulated comprehensive development schemes for the river basin but did not formulate the system of implementation. There are unequal relations

between the centre and the states. These two things are leading to many disputes.

The inter-state river water prevention policy was formulated under Article 262 during the reorganization of states in 1956. As a part of it 5 tribunals for the prevention of river water disputes were formed in the country. They are the Krishna, Godavari, Narmada, Kaveri, Ravi-Bias river water tribunals. However the disputes for the distribution of water among the states continue.

In 1987 they made another act with amendments to the 1956 act to establish a judicial bench within one year to solve the water disputes as a part of implementing the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission. But the inter-state river water disputes are yet not solved immediately. The Kaveri river water dispute between the then Madras and Mysore governments started in 1907 and it was dragged until 1956. In 1956 states were divided into Tamilnad, Kerala, Pondicherry and Karnataka and along with it the dispute of distribution of river waters too was shared between them. The Kaveri river water dispute is not yet solved. The people of those states have been losing in all ways due to the vested politics of the ruling classes all this period.

The Ravi-Bias river water dispute also has a long history. When India and Pakistan reached to an agreement regarding the waters of River Sindh in 1960, there were discussions and agreement among Punjab, Haryana, Jammu-Kashmir and Rajasthan on the distribution of the waters of the river. But the dispute did not end for the past 60 years. One important reason for the Punjab movement of 1980s was the issue of distribution of Ravi-Bias river waters.

There are several interstate disputes regarding distribution of river waters in our country. Conflicts continued for years regarding the height of the Almatti dam that the Karnataka government took up. The water disputes between Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh regarding Telugu Ganga, Bheema, and SLBC did not end even after the division of the states. There are disputes between Tamilnad and Karnataka regarding the Kaveri river waters. Tamilnad has a dispute with Kerala also regarding the Mulla Periyar dam. Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh are disputing for the distribution of Narmada river waters. The distribution of Indravati and Mahanadi river waters became a

dispute between Chhattisgarh and Orissa. There are disputes between Andhra Pradesh and Telangana regarding distribution of waters of River Godavari and Krishna. Such interstate river water disputes are going on between many states of the country due to the dragging attitude of the centre.

The river water resource council formed in 1987, its new document or the Constitutional amendments are not able to solve the interstate river water disputes. The only reason is the water politics of the exploitive ruling classes in their vested interest. One important reason for the separate Telangana movement is the distribution of river waters. The construction of Polavaram project is going on a fast pace in the interests of the ruling classes. In fact the mega projects being constructed in the country are leading to many kinds of destruction. Small and medium kind projects that do not largely harm the people and environment but be built in its place.

While the interstate river water disputes are going on for years the political parties and leaders start discussions on the linking of rivers in their interests. They formulated the Himalaya river development scheme, the Dweepakalpa river development scheme for the linking of rivers.

The main intention of the Himalaya river development scheme is to construct water reservoirs on Ganga, Brahmaputra Rivers in our country and on the tributaries of the rivers in Nepal to store rain water and to achieve irrigation, power generation and control of floods. It plans to build canals from the additional waters of the sub-rivers of Ganga, the Kosi, Gandak and Ghagra and divert them to the Western areas through linking system. The Dweepakalpa river development scheme is meant to link Mahanadi-Godavari-Krishna-Kaveri Rivers.

In fact none of the schemes were taken up with the objective to serve the interests of the people. The Hindutwa forces are spending lakhs of crores of rupees with the name of Sagarmala since they came to power in the center. Moreover they are adopting river water political policies that take the lives of the people to threaten Pakistan. In order to solve the interstate water disputes with people's interests as the central point, the exploitive ruling classes must be brought down from power. Our party needs to adopt a policy in the interest of the conditions of the respective areas and the people.

The river water disputes must be solved with primary importance to drinking water followed by irrigation, electricity, water transport and lastly industrial and other interests. They must be formulated without creating heavy losses to environment and the living of the people.

The stand of various ruling class parties on nationality question

The names and flags of the main parliamentary political parties of the country differ but there are no fundamental differences in their economic and political policies. All of those parties represent comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord classes. Let us see the stands of Congress and BJP that lead the political alliances of several parties and also that of the revisionist parties and regional parties regarding the right to self-determination including right to secession.

The stand of the Congress Party

The Congress party approved the formation of linguistic states during the independence movement but after the transfer of power in 1947 it fundamentally changed its attitude. Congress asked for recognition of various cultures in terms of language and states and federal constitutional system in India but rejected all of them with the transfer of power in 1947. The Congress party went on saying and deceiving that the states that join the federal union shall have 95 percent rights to self-determination and 5 percent common rights for aspects like defense and foreign affairs to states that joined the federal union by 1946.

Comprador bureaucratic big capitalists like Tata and Birla of the country opposed the reorganization of linguistic states and the formation of new states. They easily understood that their monopoly shall fall in danger by doing so. So the Congress party representing them deceived the people that the economic growth of the country shall slow down with the reorganization of the states.

Not only Congress but the parties that branched from it also shall not approve the right to separate and the right to self-determination of the nationalities. All of them are pieces of a single bundle. All the bourgeois parties including Congress serving imperialism are against the development of nationalities, the development of languages and that of all the regions. All of them bear the same attitude. In fact the problems of the nationalities arose from the undemocratic and bureaucratic policies of the Congress. They

represent bourgeois national chauvinism in the leadership of Congress. It is expressed in the form of Indian nation.

The stand of RSS and BJP

Initially RSS was seen as the organisation with Brahman-Bania character. It claims to have national culturalism. In his book 'We are our nationhood defined' in 1939 a founder leader of RSS who worked as Sir Sangh Chalak for more than three decades rejected the right to separate and the right to self-determination of the nationalities of the country. In his view 'Hindus and only Hindus are the residents of India'. He also says, 'We are Hindus, we have been living on the Indian territory indisputably since the days of no aggression of any foreign race. That is why it came into existence as Hindustan and Hindutwa land'.

Article 3 of the Constitution that RSS formulated says – 'the objective and intention of keeping together different communities of the Hindutwa society is to revive them on the basis of religion and culture and strengthen them. Only thus India shall attain comprehensive development'. The BJP propagates a stronger idea that the Indian nation was formed basing on Hindi language, Hindu religion and Brahmanic Hindu culture. This is the stand of the Brahmanic Hindu fundamentalists.

BJP is the parliamentary party formed to work in the political sphere to achieve the objectives of RSS. BJP has a clear outlook regarding Kashmir. All the forces working with the Hindutwa agenda felt that Article 370 is a hurdle for national feeling and the formation of Indian nation state. They portray the Kashmir problem as Hindu-Muslim problem and Pakistan sponsored riots. They openly state that those who do not say 'Bharat maataki jai' and 'Vandemataram' should leave the country to Pakistan.

They are working in the direction of forming 'new India' saying 'Ek Bharat, Sresht Bharat' (single India, best India). The 'Goods and Services Tax' that they brought forth saying 'one nation – one tax' tramples the interests of the states (nationalities). They brought forth the discussion to hold elections to the centre and the states at a time saying 'one nation – one poll'. The 'Sagarmala', 'Bharatmala', 'one country, one theory, one leader' and other such things are part of Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism. They are hinduising many towns, prominent places and the names of people's institutions of the country.

The vicious allegation that the nationality movements of Kashmir and the North East are separatists is a part of the Akhand Bharat theory. According to Golwalkar the country constitutes of five kinds of unity – 1. Territorial unity, 2.Racial unity, 3.Spiritual unity, 4.Cultural unity, 5.Linguistic unity. The Manuists wishing so many kinds of unity cannot digest different nationalities, different cultures, different languages and different religions. They deny the right to self-determination of the nationalities, their independent growth and their freedom to once again merge on a democratic basis.

The stand of the revisionist parties

CPI never understood the nationality question in India or the importance of the nationality question in Indian democratic revolution. It did not recognize that India is a centre of many nationalities for a long time. In 1940 March the Muslim League brought forth the demand of Pakistan. CPI had to think about the nationality question to decide its stand on the demand for Pakistan. Its central plenum on 19th September 1942 approved a resolution 'on Pakistan and national unity'. This resolution explained the stand of the CPI towards the nationality question in India.

In 1943 it mentioned the right to self-determination for the first time in a 'draft platform'. This was only a mention about the formation of states in view of the future voluntary federation of nationalities after revolution. It did not state anything concretely about the nature of nationality question in India, the stand of a proletarian party towards the question of self-determination of the nationalities that was coming forth in different forms.

The first party Congress in 1943 ratified the 'draft platform' document. On that occasion it admitted its failure in recognizing India as a multi-nationality centre. It demanded the right to separate and the right to self-determination for the nationalities. Right to self-determination of the nationalities was one of the main political slogans of the CPI during and after the war. Since then until 1960 the right to self-determination happened to be a part of the program of CPI. But it did not bring forth the demand in practice.

CPI tried to adjust its understanding towards the nationality question from 1953 according to its changing attitude towards the Nehru government. CPI self-criticised in 1964 that the demand for 'right to self-determination of nationalities' contributed to the partition of the country and took up the stand of the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie highlighting the

'national integrity' of India. In 1972 the CPM (9th Congress) conceptualized that the 'right to separate and the right to self-determination of nationalities does not apply to the concrete conditions of India'. The CPI says that the Congress made a great struggle against the British imperialists and that the Indian nation came into being in the process of these struggles; the CPM says that in addition to the formation of Indian nation in the modern times in India, some more nationalities too were formed and that these nationalities became part of the Indian nation calling it 'progressive amalgamation'. Both the revisionist parties ultimately betrayed the nationality movements in the country with the same attitude.

The stand of regional parties

Regional political parties came into existence representing the aspirations of the people of various nationalities of the country much before the transfer of power. First a regional party 'Tamila Kazagam' came into existence in Tamilnad. Later regional parties were formed in many states mostly in Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Punjab, Bengal, South India and the North East. The regional parties were formed concretely against the center or with the negative attitude of the center towards the problems of the respective states. In Punjab they have mainly the water problem, the problem of non-Assamese in Asom, regional inequalities in Telangana and Vidarbha, sentiment of the Telugu nationality in Andhra Pradesh and similar issues of the people of the respective nationalities led to the formation of regional parties. The process is going on still.

All the parties that were formed taking up people's issues are in the forefront of serving their vested interests by utilising the aspirations of the people of the nationality. They are mobilizing and organizing the people on various problems against the centre and taking up movements in bourgeois method. The center sees in all ways that the people's militancy does not raise. They severely try to bargain and benefit through lobbying with the center. The solution for those problems depends on their attitude with the centre.

Whatever the issues that arose in the various states of our country might be, until now their nature is that they arose as a part of the development of the respective nationalities. They came forth because of the repressive policies of the centre towards the nationalities. The centre indulges in suppressing the

mass movements in liquidating the demands of the respective movements and is trying to mold them in its favor.

There are nearly no experiences in our country where the regional comprador bourgeois, landlord, petty bourgeois and national bourgeois forces that led those people's movements fought until the end for the solution of their demands resisting the repression of the centre. This is the nature of the classes that lead those movements. The regional comprador bourgeois, landlord forces that lead those movements are a part of the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord classes. So they neither take up movements in the interest of the people nor try to solve them.

Anti-people Citizenship bill in the direction of formation of Hindu state

In 1951 for the first time 'NRC' was prepared. The All Asom Student's Organisation (AASU) took up agitation in 1979 to return those residing illegally in Asom. The movement continued for nearly 6 years. The people participated militantly in this movement. The call of AASU for boycott of parliamentary elections was totally successful. Nearly one thousand people laid down their lives in the state violence and attacks brutally unleashed on the movement.

Apart from AASU, organisations such as 'Asom Gana Parishat', 'United Liberation Front of Asom' (ULFA) came into existence and provided leadership to the movement. The movement that was led by petty bourgeois forces was prepared for talks with the centre in 1985 and made an agreement on 15th August in the presence of the PM Rajiv Gandhi. So this agreement is called 'Rajiv Gandhi agreement'. According to the agreement it was decided to identify the Hindu and Muslim people that went to Asom and send them away. But that did not come into practice in any form until 2014.

Since the actual origin of the Asom problem is migration the dispute reached the Supreme Court also along with the people's movement and so the Court directed to update the 1951 NRC list and confirm the actual citizens. The Modi government also gave directions in 2015 to identify all the Bangladeshis as foreigners on the basis of the date of the agreement. But the next year it proposed a citizenship (amendment) bill against this to give Indian citizenship to the Hindus who migrated from the neighboring countries and this led to agitations in Asom.

On the 1st of January 2018 Asom government released the first draft of NRC. Only 1.9 crores of the 3.29 crore population of Asom were said to the Asomese in this draft. This made the people angry. The draft created conflict in lakhs of families. Apart from those who came from Bangladesh without proper official documents (they do not consider Aadhar card, ration card) the draft also cunts the Indians who went to Asom decades ago as foreigners. Hindus, Muslims and people of other religions come under foreigners according to the list. All of them have to prove that they have been residing in Asom before 1971 and if not they will have to leave Asom.

If lakhs of Bangladeshi poor Muslims who went to Asom are sent to Bangladesh now after half a century as per the decision of the Indian government the Bangladesh government should receive and recognize them as the citizens of the country. If it rehabilitates them they would not have become 'refugees'. After the release of NRC draft the Bangladesh government out rightly denied them as the citizens of its country. We must oppose the non-recognition of those residing here for five decades as citizens. Nearly 15 lakh people were declared as foreign citizens as per the final NRC released in 2019 August. Nearly above 10 lakhs of them were Hindus. They kept aside the Rajiv agreement for the past 35 years and are bringing lakhs of Muslim people into the streets. This is the conspiracy of Brahmanic Hindutwa fascists and nothing else. We must severely condemn the government calling them aggressors. There are people's agitations in Asom condemning the attitude of the Indian government. On the other hand people all over the country came on to the roads saying that application of NRC to the entire country is part of forming 'Hindu state'. Students, intellectuals, democrats, secularists and religious minorities, especially the Muslims of the country are agitating against the preparation of National Population Register (NPR) along with NRC. Our party is demanding the withdrawal of the same.

While Asom was boiling with the opposition to NRC the centre introduced the citizenship amendment bill in both houses of the Parliament and obtained approval. According to it the majority Hindus of Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan and minority Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, people of Jainism and Parsi religions will be recognized as the citizens of the country. Muslim people of those countries will be boycotted from the country. It is

the need of the hour of the people of the entire North East to take up militant struggle uniting with the Muslim people against the expansionist policies of the Hindutwa fascists seated in the centre against the oppressed nationalities and on this occasion especially against the Citizenship Amendment Act. The actual reason for the problems of Asom people lies in the exploitive policies of the central government. Without firm struggle against them and without putting an end to the exploitation of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes the genuine demands of the people of the North East will not be solved.

Fighting the wrong political idea of Indian nationhood

The Indian comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlord exploitive ruling classes are representing the 'Indian nation'. They strongly wish that the rest of the nationalities must be in their control and are trying to confine them to the level of sub-nationalities. They created the idea of 'Indian nationalism' in a planned manner. First the Congress party created this idea and could convince the people. Apart from the revisionist and neo-revisionist CPI, and CPI (M), few Marxist-Leninist parties too agreed with this idea. These parties categorized Indian comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie has been as the Northern bourgeoisie. The Indian ruling classes created a tale that Hindi is the speaking language in the north and central India and that it contributes to the integrity of 'Indian nation' and that 'Indian nation' formed based on 'Indian culture'. Since they brought forth false 'Indian nation' and tried to stabilize it now a serious contradiction is going on between the strong centre of the country and all the states and nationalities of the country. This in fact arose due to the anti-nationality policies of the exploitive ruling classes.

India was never the country of a nationality. Our party makes it clear that there is unequal development between the nationalities of the country, that none of them are sub-nationalities and that there is neither a big nationality as 'Indian nation' nor any sub-nationalities under it. Our party firmly condemns the bourgeois national chauvinism and bourgeois nationality narrow-mindedness propped by the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big landlord forces to serve their vested interests.

In order to properly lead the nationality struggle in India we must firstly continuously expose that the idea of 'Indian nation' created by the exploitive

ruling classes of India and their political parties the Congress and BJP and the revisionist parties CPI and the CPI (M) is false and conspiratorial and that it is a theory that justifies the suppression of the nationalities of India. We must also expose the wrong theory that the Northern bourgeoisie is the Indian big bourgeoisie. We must propagate and enlighten the oppressed nationalities that the Indian comprador big bourgeois class developed from the big trading classes of all the areas of the country along with the Gujarati Banias, Marwari traders and the Parsi business classes, that it seized power through the transfer of power in 1947, that it is developed as the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class of India and that it is the common enemy of all the oppressed nationalities of India. We have to take up proper forms of struggle and organisation according to the conditions of our party and lead with an initiative against all forms of suppression of the nationalities.

Wrong tendencies arising in the nationality movements

One who wants to lead the nationality struggles in the country have to first identify their friends and foes. Imperialism, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class, big landlord class are the enemies of all the nationalities of India. Without fighting against these three forces and against the Indian state representing them one cannot achieve success in the nationality liberation movements. The petty bourgeois forces leading the nationality liberation movements of the country are not able to realize this objective fact. As a result they are being carried away with reformism. Or else they are prepared to partially solve their problems through bargaining. They are failing in accomplishing the movements by taking up the aspirations of the people of the nationality to the end.

Religion is attaining importance in the nationality liberation movements in some places. Earlier Sikh religion came forth in Punjab and in Kashmir Islam religion is being brought forth. The exploitive ruling classes of the country are instigating Hindutwa religious chauvinism and making attacks on the rest of the religions and this is leading to such conditions. The communalists are instigating contradictions between the people of different religions of the areas. The issue of Kashmir Pandits is part of it. The attacks of the Hindu communal forces are on the rise on Kashmiris all over the country and on the people of the North East. Such attacks lead to enmity among the people of

various religions and nationalities of one nationality and country and are violating the integrity of the nationality/nationalities.

The exploitive forces in the nationality liberation movements are instigating national chauvinism. The Bodos are facing national chauvinism of the Asom nationality, the other nationalities from the Marathi nationality and the people of the North East nationalities from the Bengali national chauvinism. Normally the national chauvinists are creating conflicts only between the toiling people of various nationalities or among the toiling people of a nationality in the nationality movements.

In places where the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big landlord, petty bourgeois forces are leading the nationality movements they are utilizing the nationality movements for their vested interests more than the interests of the nationality. They make them surrender to Indian Constitution, nullify the active role of the people and drown them in reformism. These forces are leading the several nationality issues that came up in the country until now and severely betrayed the interests of the people. They are forming regional parties to cash the aspirations of the people and coming to power. Sivasena, DMK, Anna DMK, Akalidal, Telugudesam, Trinamool Congress, Asom Gana Parishat, Telangana Rashtra Samiti are a few examples.

Postmodernism is affecting the various sectional movements going on in our country. As a part of it, it is also affecting the tribal movements. A section of the petty bourgeois leadership is trying to mold the movement into a separate, non-political, reformist movement. The NGOs of the domestic and foreign big corporates, various kinds of government organisations and the state are supporting and organizing them. They are coming forth in the areas where the tribal people are taking up class struggle united and in a militant manner in the leadership of our Party and mainly in the strong holds of the movement. This wrong trend in the identity movements is a severe hurdle to advance the New Democratic Revolution going on for the total change in the society.

In the Communist Revolutionaries also in the name of supporting the nationality struggles they are mainly falling in reformism or taking a sectarian attitude. Instead of supporting and leading them with a proletarian revolutionary outlook they are opposing them.

Our Party must firmly fight against all kinds of wrong trends mentioned above. Our Party must lead the three kinds of nationality movements of our country. When nationality movements come forth our party must clearly state its stand and work actively. We have to condemn the wrong trends arising in the movements in the leadership of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois or the comprador big bourgeois big landlord forces and must constantly alert the people against them. We have to lead the people's movements abiding by our policy.

Imperialism will not allow the genuine development and liberation of oppressed nationalities

Capitalism trampled all the progressive policies that it followed in its development process in its highest stage, the stage of imperialism. The capitalist class in imperialist country collaborated with the reactionary feudal classes of the colonial, semi-colonial countries and became utmost reactionary. Whatever slogans the era of imperialism that started from the beginning of the 20th century brought forth to preserve its existence and to sustain its hegemony on the world, in essence they are to intensify its exploitation but nothing else.

The mutual dependence of the economies of various countries increased to an unprecedented level. However this development started in the phase of merchant capital in the 17th and the 18th centuries. The slave trade in Africa, the plantation economy of the American continents that depended on the labor of slaves and the industrial capitals of West Europe developed with mutual dependence. This mutual dependence led to the large scale accumulation of capital in the 18th century and the formation of a single world market in the second half of the 19th century. The imperialist countries depended upon the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries for cheaply available raw material resources and for sectors to invest capital for markets until mid-20th century. Colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries depended upon the imperialist countries for manufacturing goods, technology, capital and arms. A condition came in which a country had to helplessly depend on the aggregate economic trends and on the policies that came from outside its territory. Thus a country lost strength to deal economically as per its wish or to conduct its gross economic system. The crisis in a country led to crisis in other countries. The spread of the activities

of international corporations all over the world globalized production and contributed to rise in mutual dependence of various economies. International corporations and service conglomerates need to open the doors of the economies of semi-colonies and neo-colonies for the flow of their goods, services and capital investments so as to take up their activities freely. The Structural Adjustment Programs, export oriented strategies meant to achieve this objective made them more dependent on the world market. This is the actual essence of globalization.

Imperialist globalization means indiscriminately looting the world. They will mercilessly suppress any voice that disturbs the interests of the imperialists. They never permit the independence of the oppressed countries, the liberation of the oppressed nationalities and the people's revolution. The comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big landlord classes that dream of establishing India as a big economic Empire in the world deny the right to separate and the right to self-determination of the nationalities of the country. The people must achieve it through struggle in the leadership of the proletariat. Without the proletariat leadership we cannot defeat imperialism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlord classes in its collaboration. Without this the nationalities will not obtain the right to separate and right to self-determination in the genuine sense. No petty bourgeois forces lead such struggles until the end. Our party the vanguard of proletariat alone can provide leadership. Only thus the nationalities will obtain genuine liberation.

Basis for the unity of nationalities

It is clear that the three enemies of Indian people, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism and their state are the origin and are unleashing oppression on the nationalities in India. Therefore correct basis for the unity of nationalities will be formed only by eliminating the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord government in the guidance of imperialism, totally wipe out the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism and establish New Democratic government in a federal manner where the various nationalities participate voluntarily in equal status, but it is not formed by continuing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of the country as it is in the control of imperialism. It shall permanently keep our country as a

centre of class exploitation and oppression and national oppression and as a prison of nationalities. One who wishes genuine liberation of nationalities never tolerates such a condition. There is one task before such people – It is to organize the vast masses of various nationalities of the country against the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois and big landlord classes that collaborated with the imperialists in the New Democratic Revolution and accomplish the revolution. For this purpose we must have the economic, political program - to wipe out imperialist exploitation, seize monopoly capital, industrialise the country, totally wipe out feudalism, implement all the necessary methods to utilize all the modern knowledge and develop agricultural production to the maximum extent. In addition to this we have to mobilise the people of various nationalities into this revolution with the following understanding –

Since India is a centre of various nationalities after revolution every nationality shall form a republic; the people's republics of various nationalities shall form into a 'Union of people's republics of India' in the form of a federation in equal status and voluntarily; such a federal government shall be the centre to coordinate according to their objective; since every nationality has right to self-determination whenever it feels it is being affected by staying in the government any republic shall have the right to separate; the nationalities that are yet in the primitive stage can exist as an integral part of the above said republic in autonomous status; the national minorities shall have all the guarantees for cultural development, education in their language and other such things. On this basis integrity, good relations, mutual cooperation and confidence shall develop among the people of all nationalities and the nationalities shall go forward to merge.

In the present conditions of our country the above understanding alone can mobilise the people of various nationalities and the vast masses of various classes that oppose imperialism, comprador bureaucratic big capitalist and big feudal classes in New Democratic Revolution. The nationality movements of our country have a long history. The nationalities that have been aggressed by the Indian exploitive ruling classes and forcibly merged into the country have been making just struggles for decades for their right to self-determination. Along with them the people of various nationalities of the country are fighting on various issues against the comprador bureaucratic big

bourgeois big landlord classes in the center as a part of the development of their nationality. The primitive nationalities of the country are fighting on their problems. The central government, the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois big landlord classes leading it, their local comprador ruling classes is the common enemy of all the struggles. The oppressed nationalities and the people must fight united against them.

We must mobilise the people of all nationalities into a United Front against the common enemies. We must fight against the bourgeois nationalism, meaning on one hand with the reactionaries that instigate national chauvinism. On the other we must fight against narrow minded sectarianism and nationalism. We must fight against every conspiracy of the imperialists and their agents to create disunity and split among the various nationalities.

The proletariat can liberate the people from bourgeois national chauvinism and sectarian nationalism and lead them only by abiding to its politics, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and by sustaining its own political and organizational independence. The various nationalities of the country can develop comprehensively only by accomplishing New Democratic Revolution and 'Union of People's Republics' is formed in the proletarian leadership. Only thus as Lenin hoped the path 'for the formation of a universal humankind with the amalgamation of all the nationalities of the world on the basis of a society where there is no way for a human to exploit another human' shall be facilitated.

Chapter III

Nationality Question – Our revolutionary program

Until now we discussed about the proletarian general understanding towards the nationality question in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also basing on it our stand towards the nationality question in India. As mentioned above it is clear that since democratic revolution is incomplete in our country the nationality question is left fundamentally unsolved, that the nationality movements shall definitely continue until the democratic aspirations of the nationalities are fulfilled and that the historic task of solving this question lies with the proletarian Party (our Party). India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and so the country and the people do not have genuine independence or democracy. The various nationalities, national minorities and primitive nationalities do not have genuine independence and are being oppressed by the Indian ruling class state that collaborated with the imperialists. That is why the country is boiling like a prison of nationalities. It is possible to achieve national independence by rooting out the imperialist slavery, its exploitation and hegemony and to achieve people's democracy by destroying feudal bureaucracy only through accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in the country. Both these national and democratic tasks are mutually closely entwined. Our Party firmly believes that we can lay a correct, strong foundation to this question only by following a stable democratic path with proletarian outlook. Our Party leading the revolution of the country took up the special task to solve this question in a proper manner.

In order to correctly and actively fight against the suppression and oppression of nationalities like we fight against all kinds of social oppression and suppression we must first realize this question as a part of the World Socialist Revolution and as a part of the New Democratic Revolution of the country. If we do not properly realize the origins of nationality question we fall in wrong ideas that the question comes under the purview of bourgeois democratic revolution and that the capitalist class leads this question or else we will mistake that if we take up nationality struggles class struggle will

weaken. We will fail in fighting against the wrong trends that arise in the nationality liberation movement and in uniting the democratic movements. If the proletarian leadership takes up nationality question it contributes to advance the agrarian revolution/class struggle. The advancement of agrarian revolution/class struggle will develop the consciousness of liberation among the oppressed nationalities. That is why there is no contradiction between these two. Therefore let us consider the nationality question an inseparable part of New Democratic Revolution and take up struggles on all the issues related to nationalities, let us unite the democratic nationality movements and let ourselves lead them.

Like in Russia in India a particular nationality is not unleashing repression on nationalities. The suppression of nationalities by the Indian state is a distinct character of oppression of nationalities in the country. The three mountains of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism are depressing the nationalities of our country and are coming in the way of their social, economic, political, language and cultural development. Without the elimination of oppression of nationalities in the country - it is not possible to achieve nationality liberation; all the nationalities in various stages of historical development will not obtain genuine right to self-determination, equal rights and wide democracy; and peaceful coexistence with mutual benefits and mutual help and cooperation are not possible. None of these are possible without destroying these three great mountains. Immediately after abolishing these three oppressors we can establish a voluntary federation of India constituting democratic republics of various nationalities. This voluntary federation constitutionally guarantees the democratic right to self-determination along with the right to separate for all the nationalities. Therefore our Party took up the great task of leading the New Democratic Revolution going on with the objective of establishing a voluntary federal democratic republic that recognizes the equality of all the nationalities and all languages and the right to self-determination and that based on the equality of nationalities.

Our Party definitely stands first in highlighting every democratic demand regarding nationalities. It stands in the forefront for equal status for all nationalities and all languages, for separate state, for autonomy and against the political, economic, social, cultural and other such forms of oppression

and discrimination of a nationality on another nationality. It formulates appropriate forms of struggle and organisation to fight against every manifestation regarding oppression of nationality. At the same time it also brings out the people of various nationalities from nationality-wise isolation and works for inculcating the sense of unity of nationalities and the spirit of international solidarity.

In the place of the present Indian ruling class political system it establishes a voluntary federation of republics of various nationalities having a right to self-determination along with the right to separate for every nationality. It abolishes oppression of nationalities in the country and provides the legal right to equality to all nationalities and languages and right to self-determination in order to establish genuine equality of nationalities and to establish free unity of nationalities. It bans the violation of the rights of minority nationalities by any nationality. It assures comprehensive economic, political, language and cultural development of all the nationalities including the primitive nationalities. It incorporates an appropriate democratic method in the Constitution, for example referendum so that the nationalities utilize their right to self-determination according to their democratic aspirations. It firmly steps forward in this path in which the humankind achieves liberation from nationality, class and all other kinds of oppression. As mentioned above this is the essence of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand our Party is following towards the nationality question in India.

At present our Party, the All India Democratic Organisation and the Revolutionary People's Committees work on the nationality question in India basing on the following program. They propagate this program among all the nationalities and primitive nationalities all over the country. They mobilise the people and build struggles. They stand in the forefront of all the democratic movements of the nationalities and lead them. They link and lead these with the Agrarian Revolution as a part of the New Democratic Revolution with the objective of total emancipation of nationalities. The People's Democratic Federal Republic that will be formed after the success of New Democratic Revolution shall comprehensively develop and implement the program given below –

1. We must support the just struggles of the people of Kashmir nationality and the Naga, Manipuri, Assam and the various nationalities of North

East against the aggression and cruel suppression of the Indian state for their right to self-determination. We must build movements in solidarity to those movements. We must fight against the repression being unleashed on them. We must expose the conspiracies of the Indian expansionist state describing them as separatist movements and to instigate bourgeois nationalist chauvinism and Brahmanic Hindu communalism among the Indian people against those movements.

Our Party Committees working in these areas must focus on the nationality question and make efforts to lead those movements. We must coordinate the nationality liberation movements with class struggle. We must work with organisations working on this question in the respective areas on the basis of common program in the United Front organisations and at the same time maintain our independence. We must adopt a friendly and critical attitude on the wrong tendencies in the organisations that fight on the nationality question. We must expose the conspiracies of the Indian exploitive ruling classes creating disunity among the several nationalities, primitive nationalities and national minorities in these areas and must strive to unite them for common objective.

2. We must fight for guarantee to genuine autonomy for nationality minorities and primitive nationalities according to their democratic aspirations in the form of separate state and in the form of autonomy. We must mobilise the people to demand that the local people must decide the form of self-rule and its boundaries basing on the geographical, social, economic, language, culture, life style aspects and histories of the concerned people and the disputes that arise while forming them must be solved through mutual consultations without the mutual interests of the people being harmed. We must fight with the demand for guarantee for democratic rights such as cultural development, education facilities in their language for the national minorities.

Due to the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois, big feudal exploitation and oppression, the oppressed nationalities of several states are demanding separate states. We must direct and support those struggles so that they fight for the formation of 'democratic nationality states'. As a part of this we have to support the demand of Gondwana state, formation of

separate states of Vidarbha, Kosala, Gorkhaland, Bundelkhand, Purvanchal and other such. We must place the program of struggle for 'Democratic Autonomous Councils' before the small nationalities of the North East.

3. We must fight with the political demand for guarantee of political self-determination/autonomy of various tribes of the country. We must organize them on political, economic, social, cultural, language and education related issues. We must lead their struggles with the objective to achieve their complete liberation. In the strategic view of achieving their genuine liberation or in the strategic view of establishing a voluntary federation of the republics of nationalities of the country, these areas are utmost important. So we must mobilise the tribal people with the slogans like 'power on jal-jungle-zameen to tribal/local people', 'political autonomy to tribal areas', 'don't separate, stay united', unite genuine friends against genuine enemies', 'the tribal/local people have the right to preserve their own culture, language and resources and the right to formulate development programs'. We must justify the struggles for the formation of autonomous areas, to utilize their legal right and for power in autonomous areas. We must support the demands for the implementation of the Fifth schedule, PESA and the Sixth schedule. We must place the limitations before the people, tell them the experiences of the North-East where even though the Sixth schedule was implemented the aspirations of the tribal communities were not fulfilled and prepare the people to fight for democratic autonomous councils.
4. We must mobilise the people with the demands for equal status to the languages of all nationalities and tribes, to add this aspect in the fundamental rights, to not impose any language in the name of national language, link language or in any other name on other languages and to abolish the present trilingual principle. We must mobilise the people with the demands for free education in mother tongue of the respective nationalities in all levels by the central, state and autonomous governments, for the right to take up the entire official activities of the central, state and autonomous regional Legislative Assemblies, the judiciary and administration and other such things in the languages of the respective nationalities, that the central, state and autonomous governments must make efforts to develop script for the languages

people speak and those that do not have script and that these governments must help the people of the concerned nationalities in all ways to develop their script.

Education and medical fields have much importance in the development of nationalities. Since the educational and medical sectors are being privatized due to imperialist globalization and the development of the communities of the oppressed nationalities is lagging behind we must fight against the privatization of the two sectors. We must support, participate and lead the struggles for 'common school policy' in the country.

5. We must demand that legal rules must be formulated so that India survives as a genuine, voluntary federation of republics of various nationalities and to contribute to achieve comprehensive development of the entire country and that the central government must maintain democratic relations with the states and autonomous areas regarding political, economic resources, language, culture and all such issues. We must mobilise the people against the monopoly and bureaucratic decisions of the central government that acts on contrary to these.

We must support the demands of the bourgeoisie of the respective states for abolishing the unequal relations between the centre and the state. We must support the demand to raise the share of the states and local organisations in collection of taxes and that for the development of backward areas, for special status and for special development packages. We must demand for full-fledged status of a state for Delhi.

6. Due to the anti-people, reactionary policies of the central and the state governments certain areas of many states of the country are facing discrimination for a long time and are backward. We must support the just struggles of the people of such areas for their rights. We must fight to solve them. We must fight with the demand that the central and the state governments must take decisions according to the aspirations of the people to eliminate regional inequalities and for the formulation and implementation of long-term and immediate plans for this purpose.

7. In view of the disputes that arise regarding border disputes between various states, nationalities and tribes and regarding river waters, other natural resources and environment and the mutual benefits, we must propagate that they must solve them in harmony, with mutual help and

mutual consultation. We must form people's tribunals constituting people's representatives and experts of water resources to solve the disputes regarding river waters on the basis of natural justice, rationale and mutual interest so as to weaken imperialism and comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie. We must oppose, expose and fight back the bureaucratic intervention of the centre and the conspiracies of the political parties/governments of the concerned areas to instigate the people one against another in their vested interests and must work to sustain the unity of the people.

8. As a result of the imperialist and comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois exploitation and due to the discriminative policies of the central government lakhs of cottage, small and medium scale industries of the oppressed nationalities and national bourgeoisie are being closed and getting bankrupt. We have to demand to provide electricity free of cost or at a subsidy rate, free water and other such basic infrastructure and exemptions of taxes for the cottage, small and medium scale industries of the national bourgeoisie.
9. In a conspiracy to establish Hindu nation in the country and in the name of preventing illegal migration the BJP government recently brought forth National Citizenship Register (NCR). This bill/act provides citizenship to the Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians coming to India from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh for economic, political and social reasons. The dangerous motives behind the act are to chase away the migrant Muslims and other religious minorities who came to India from Bangladesh and other such countries in the name of illegal migrants or to pressurise them to transform as Hindus. This act is going to severely affect the economic, political and cultural interests of the oppressed nationalities of India, especially the North East and East India and the survival of these nationalities is going to fall in great danger. We have to propagate in a large scale that through this act Hindutwa fascism is going to become dangerous to all the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people and work against it. We have to fight for the abolition of this act. We have to mobilise the people with the demand to solve the problem of migration in South Asia basing on the charter of the United Nations. We have to also mobilise the people of South Asia along with the people of

India and fight against the ruling classes of South Asia and especially the Indian expansionists that caused the problem of migration in South Asia.

10. We must oppose bourgeois national chauvinism, bourgeois national narrow-mindedness especially bourgeois national chauvinism. We must fight against these. We must develop the sense of equality of nationalities.
11. We must fight against the expansionism, fake patriotism and false integrity of the country that the reactionary Indian ruling classes instigate. We must expose the Brahmanic Hindu fundamentalist, communal chauvinist conspiracies of these classes being brought forth to establish Hindu state destroying the rich culture and languages of the various nationalities in various stages of development, making unceasing attacks on the religious minorities to impose Brahmanic culture, Hindu religion and Hindu and Sanskrit languages and to establish fascist rule in the country. We must unite and fight against these forces.
12. We must form special organisations in the areas of the respective nationalities with the objective of national, democratic revolution. These organisations must mobilise the people on each issue related to the respective nationalities as a part of the building of nationality liberation movement. These organisations must fight against the divide and rule policies of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes and also lend support and build solidarity movements for all the nationality movements. We must expose the betrayers of the nationality who backstab these movements.

We must form a strategic United Front against the common enemies with the objective of the foundation of a genuine democratic federal republic based on the equality of nationalities and has a right to self-determination, with the various revolutionary parties, with the armed organisations of the various nationality liberation movements and the various democratic organisations and individuals that support these movements basing on a common program. In its leadership we must lead the people of various nationalities of the country on nationality question towards national democratic revolution. Depending on the preparation of the people of the respective nationalities we must build forums of tactical United Front with concrete slogans and take

up struggles. All these forums of United Front must fight for common cause of the nationalities.

13. We must form an alliance with the liberation movements of the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people of the world crushed under the imperialist oppression and with the proletariat and other democratic movements in the capitalist, imperialist countries. We must strive to the best of our strength to build anti-imperialist front on the world scale and united movements of the people of the world. All these efforts must be in the direction of the success of New Democratic Revolution of the country and in the direction of the success of the World Socialist Revolution. Only thus the entire proletariat, the oppressed people and the oppressed nationalities of the world will be liberated from class, nationality and other all such inequalities and oppression and go forward in the direction of emergence of a single world human nationality.

We must take up struggles with initiative basing on the above mentioned program of nationality question taking into consideration the political conditions of the states during the respective periods and the strength of the movement. We must form appropriate forms of organisation. We have to take up these struggles so as to weaken the enemy and to contribute for the development of the revolutionary movement.

In our country the nationality movements also are going through waves of ebb and flows like the New Democratic Revolution. Right from the beginning the stand of our Party towards nationality question is fundamentally correct according to MLM. It stood in support of the nationality liberation movements of Kashmir and the North East and gathered solidarity. It also maintained close relations with these movements. It made this effort with the strategic outlook of forming a broad front. It worked to not only strengthen the movements for separate state that arose on the basis of nationality question in certain areas of the country but also to provide leadership to them. Above all it has been facing the severe multipronged offensive of the counter revolutionary ruling classes for a long time making enormous sacrifices, mobilizing lakhs and crores of tribal and non-tribal people of several vast tribal areas of the country and is making agrarian revolutionary war. Our correct stand towards the nationality question totally

different from that of the reactionary ruling classes, their lackeys, fake nationalists and revisionists and the prolonged practice prepared the ground to form a front of revolutionary Maoist forces and nationality movements not only across the country but also in South Asia. We have the utmost important task to make efforts with a firm will to go forward in this direction depending on this. Lastly, let us once more recollect the great guiding theory that our great teachers Marx and Engels stated with a great foresight in the Communist Manifesto about the permanent solution of nationality question: “In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another will also be put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end”.

Let us go forward in this direction with the objective of accomplishing the ongoing New Democratic Revolution for the liberation of oppressed classes and oppressed nationalities of the country and establish Socialism-Communism and with the objective to liberate the humankind from all kinds of oppressions.