

JANUARY 2020

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF CPI(ML)

REJECT CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT ACT
REJECT ALL INDIA NPR/ NRC



AGAINST MODI'S DIVIDE AND RULE, **WE UNITE AND RESIST!**

CPIML congratulates the People of Jharkhand

The CPIML congratulates the people of Jharkhand on handing a resounding defeat to the BJP and said that it is our collective responsibility to rid Jharkhand of the mob violence, starvation, migration, unemployment, wrong domicile policy and other disasters inflicted on the State by the BJP. Re-elected CPIML MLA Vinod Singh will take direct initiatives to this end.

The CPIML thanks the people of Giridih District for their support. The victory we have got in Bagodar is a big responsibility for us. We will redouble our efforts to serve the people of Bagodar Assembly constituency and the people of the State of Jharkhand. We shall always be at the forefront of struggles against the fascist attacks perpetrated by the BJP in the country.

Comrade Vinod Singh has said that he will bring a resolution in the Jharkhand Assembly that the National Population Register (NPR), National Register of Citizens (NRC) and Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) should not be implemented in the State.

CPIML in Jharkhand Assembly will demand to the new government for speedy fulfillment of the long-pending demands of migrant workers and all contract workers including para teachers. We will put forth in the Assembly demands for dignity for adivasis and end of state atrocities perpetrated by the BJP, and withdrawal of sedition cases slapped on Pathalgadi and adivasi movement activists. We shall put pressure on the government for employment, ration, pension, and housing. We shall leave no stone unturned for the protection of democratic-constitutional rights of the people.





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Against Modi's Divide and Rule, We Unite and Resist!

As 2019 draws to a close, India today truly finds itself at a crossroads where one road leads towards the RSS dream of a Hindu Rashtra and the other must take us to a higher level of secular democracy. Having been re-elected for a second term, the Modi government has rapidly unleashed the whole artillery of the long-term RSS agenda with a now-or-never kind of desperate aggression and virulence. Even as the economy reels under a massive slowdown, shrinking consumption and mounting unemployment, with millions suffering from acute hunger, the government has gone ahead with its conspiratorial political agenda, first stripping Jammu and Kashmir of its constitutional status and even statehood and then rushing through an amendment to the Citizenship Act that changes the very terms of our citizenship and the character of our Republic.

The Constitution of India begins with the Preamble, which in turn begins with the defining expression 'we, the people of India'. All power flows from and resides in the people who are the bedrock of India's sovereignty. The people elect governments in accordance with the Constitution and governments are duty-bound to uphold the Constitution. In a complete reversal of this relationship of the people holding the government accountable, we now have the government making constant demands on the people. The onus is shifted on the people to prove that their money is legitimate (demonetization), that they are not terrorists or engaged in unlawful activities (UAPA) and now that they are legal citizens of this country (CAA-NRC). And to impose this agenda the BJP governments are resorting not just to massive lies and hate-filled propaganda but to brutal repression and indiscriminate suspension of democracy with 'governance' increasingly acquiring the trappings of a complete police state. In India's largest state the police now look like an organised, official lynch mob carrying out the Chief Minister's orders of revenge.

In August when the Modi-Shah duo carried out the Kashmir coup, many in India still thought it was just an act of bringing about some legal uniformity, an innocent step towards a 'one country, one law' order. The act of bifurcation of the state into two union territories of course raised some eyebrows as did the mass arresting of Kashmiri leaders and ordinary people and the total suspension of communication and democracy in the valley. Yet Kashmir remained remote for most common Indians. When a few weeks later the final NRC left close to two million people excluded in Assam, and reports of deaths in Assam's detention camps started trickling out into the national media, the rest of the country began wondering about what was really happening in Assam. But for many it was still just another state in the North-East.

However, with Amit Shah fast-tracking the BJP agenda of an all-India NRC and rushing through a communal, discriminatory and anti-constitutional amendment to the Citizenship Act in less than 72 hours, the whole of India has begun to wake up to the horrific implications of the entire design. And with frequent internet shutdowns, brutal police invasion of universities and homes and violent attacks on protests across the country, especially in BJP-ruled states and the national capital, experiences in Kashmir and Assam perhaps no longer seem so remote.

In Uttar Pradesh in particular, where the Chief Minister vowed "revenge" against protestors, the police as unleashed terror and plunder in Muslim communities, under cover of an internet shutdown. Gujarat 2002 is being repeated. A BJP MLA from Kaithal, Haryana has made the genocidal intent of his party clear, saying in a speech, "This is not the India of Nehru and Manmohan Singh, it is the India of Modi and Shah. Miyan ji (taunting term for a Muslim) listen up, we can wipe you out in an hour if we get a signal."

For too long the Modi government and the Sangh-BJP brigade have been trying to widen the fault lines of our complex and diverse society and resurrect the worst chapters of our history. But finally we can see the country fighting back and rallying around the finest dreams and values of our freedom movement and the Constitution. The BJP which habitually paints everything with

a communal brush to stoke the fires of communal polarisation is trying to tell us that only sections of 'jehadi Muslims' and 'urban Naxals' are misleading people into unwarranted and uninformed protests over NRC and CAA. But for once the BJP is finding it difficult to hoodwink the people and the protests against NRC and CAA are only spreading further and growing more courageous and determined. The spectre of fascist Hindu Rashtra has finally run into some resolute mass resistance.

The Modi government is trying to suppress the opposition to the CAA-NRC by calling it anti-national and blatantly mobilising Islamophobia, with Modi saying protestors could be 'identified by their dress'. Shah and Yogi are letting loose the police force under their command to target the protestors in all places and in every possible way. Section 144, a colonial-era order restricting human mobility in specific areas to prevent potential violations of law and order, is being clamped down arbitrarily and indefinitely in entire regions and internet is being shut down frequently. Yet defying such open tyranny, protests are breaking out across India, giving words like secularism, democracy and solidarity a new vibrant meaning and spirit.

This spirit of mass protest has also begun to make its presence felt in the electoral arena. After the elections to Haryana and Maharashtra Assemblies, we have now again seen the powerful impact of this spirit in the Jharkhand elections. While the Haryana and Maharashtra election

verdicts dented the BJP's claims to electoral invincibility, Jharkhand has delivered a body blow to the BJP's election machine. Modi, Shah and Yogi all tried every trick in their rhetorical repertoire, played all the trump cards from Kashmir to Ayodhya, and NRC to CAA, and yet could not save the Raghubar government, which had become synonymous with hunger and fear, corruption and repression, from a spectacular defeat.

This combination of spirited popular protests and emphatic electoral rejection must mark our way ahead. Jolted by the mass opposition, the government is pretending to go soft on the NRC, almost to the point of disowning it, hoping to camouflage the thoroughly communal and anti-constitutional CAA as empowerment of refugees. We must continue to expose and challenge the CAA for what it is – a war on the secular character of our republic, a mockery of the basic constitutional principle of equality of all citizens regardless of their religious identity and a negation of Hindu-Muslim fraternity that serves as the biggest bulwark of India's national unity and cultural diversity – till the government is compelled to withdraw this divisive and anti-constitutional CAA-NRC package. 2019 is ending on a high note of mass protests and electoral setbacks for the BJP, let 2020 begin in the same spirit with the power of the 8 January all-India mass strike and another debilitating defeat of the BJP in the elections to the Delhi Assembly. □

Save The Constitution, Citizenship, Democracy:

Resist NPR, NRC, CAA

People all over India are protesting the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), passed by the BJP Government in Parliament in December 2019.

People have recognised that the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) is communal and unconstitutional, and that the CAA + all India National Register of Citizens (NRC) threatens to turn Muslim citizens into “infiltrators” and non-Muslim citizens into “refugees.”

In many places, the internet is banned, road and rail traffic restricted, Section 144 imposed all over India, students and other protestors brutally thrashed, shot at, blinded, maimed, even killed.

The people’s movement against CAA and all-India NRC aims to protect India’s Constitution, democracy, and unity.

Now, under pressure from protests all over India and the world, the Modi-Shah Government in a desperate bid to save the CAA, is lying about the CAA and NRC, and also lying about the protests.

The Government is lying to you.

Most of the media is lying to you.

You have a right to know the truth.

Read on to bust the Government’s lies, and know the facts.

What is Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)?

The CAA amends the Citizenship Act 1955, to allow non-Muslim (i.e Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, Christian) immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan who have entered India before 31 December 2014 a faster route to become Indian citizens, in 6 years rather than 12 years.

How many such immigrants are there in India now? What is their status now?

According to an Intelligence Bureau (IB) statement at a Parliamentary Committee hearing on the CAB in 2016, there are 31,313 non-Muslim immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan who entered India before December 2014.

In 2011, the UPA Government notified a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) in a letter dated 29.12.11, under which any refugee could apply for Long Term Visa (LTV). Those who get LTVs can obtain PAN card, Aadhaar card, driving licences, and even buy property.

Between 2011-2014, UPA granted LTVs to 14,726 (most of them Hindus) from neighbouring countries. Between 2011-2018, some 30,000 persons got LTVs. (See ‘India relaxes rules for long-term visa holders, to grant Pakistani minorities more rights’, India Today, 17 July, 2018).

So – in short – most of the proposed beneficiaries of CAA can and have already got Long Term Visas to stay and earn in India, get PAN cards, Aadhaar cards, driving licences, and buy a house for their family.

Under the Citizenship Act 1955, could immigrants from neighbouring countries get Indian citizenship?

Yes. Under CA 1955, any foreigner of any category could apply for and get Indian citizenship through the Naturalization (Section 6 of the Citizenship Act) or through Registration (Section 5 of the Citizenship Act).

So, if immigrants/refugees can get protection through Long Term Visas already, and apply for citizenship, why is the Government insisting on CAA?

The CAA's only notable feature is that discriminates among refugees based on religion, and offers non-Muslim refugees/immigrants a route to achieve citizenship and voter status via the Naturalization route within 6 years rather than 12 years.

In preparation for the CAA, the Modi-Shah Government amended the LTV rules to create a new category of persons eligible for LTVs through a Gazette of India notification in September 2015. The amended rules allow those from "minority communities in Bangladesh and Pakistan such as Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians, who have entered into India on or before 31st December, 2014," *with or without valid documents, or with documents that have expired*, to get LTVs. In other words, the Modi-Shah Government brought the LTV rules in line with the Citizenship Amendment Bill which they had drafted. (see https://mha.gov.in/PDF_Other/AnnexVI_01022018.pdf)

Note that non-Muslim refugees/immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan who entered India before 2014 already have PAN cards, Aadhaar cards, driving licenses and the right to buy property. What CAA gives them 'extra', is the right to vote, which they are eligible for within 6 years of living in India rather than 12 years. For Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar, Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka, or Ahmadiyas and Hazaras from Pakistan or Afghanistan and other refugees/immigrants like Taslima Nasreen from Bangladesh, there is no fast-track route for citizenship and voting rights under CAA.

So, the CAA's only distinguishing feature is its communal character.

Why does BJP want to hurry up the process of giving non-Muslims from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan citizenship and voting rights, and deny Rohingya, Tamil, Ahmadiya, Hazara and Muslim political refugees the same chance?

BJP is insisting on CAA for three reasons.

1) Because the BJP sees this particular segment of people, especially Hindus from Bangladesh, as a vote bank in Assam and West Bengal. Assam Finance Minister and prominent BJP leader Himanta Biswa Sarma, in an interview to an Assam-based TV channel GPlus in January 2019, explained that, "CAB will allow us to retain 17 seats in Assam for the next 10 years. If you exclude 10,000 Bengali Hindu votes, then such seats will go to UMF or UDF. We are on the verge of losing several seats. If we don't bring CAB, immediately 17 seats will go. These people who entered Assam before 31 December 2014, they are already there, you are not going to physically remove them. What concession you are allowing them? You are allowing them to vote. By giving that concession, you are keeping 17 seats with you for the time being."

2) Even more importantly for the BJP and RSS, CAA weakens the secular character of the Indian Constitution by granting citizenship based on religious identity. Under the pre-CAA laws, any refugee or immigrant could apply for citizenship and the government would reject or grant the request based on an assessment of each individual application. The CAA, for the first time, links Indian citizenship to religion, and therefore punctures the Indian Constitution to allow secularism to leak out of it.

3) The third reason is that by the combined process of NRC and CAA, the Modi-Shah regime wants to strip Muslims of citizenship. Amit Shah's election campaign speeches in West Bengal in April and May 2019 make this clear. In a rally at Kalimpong in Darjeeling district (West Bengal), Amit Shah said, "*Hamne hamare ghoshna*

patra mein wada kiya hain ki dobara Narendra Modi ki sarkar baan ne ke bad deshbbhar ke andar NRC banaya jaye ga. Aur ek ek ghuspetiyon ke chun chun kar nikalne ka kaam eh BJP sarkar karega. Aur jitne bhi Hindu, Buddh sharanartha aye hain sare ko dhund dhund kar Bharat ki nagarikta dene ka kaam bhi BJP sarkar karne wali hain. (We have made a promise in our manifesto that after the Narendra Modi government is formed at the Centre for the second time, we will implement NRC across the country and will weed out every single infiltrator from the country. The BJP government will also seek out and grant Indian citizenship to every Hindu and Buddhist refugee across the country.” (Indian Express, April 12, 2019)

In another rally at Raiganj in North Dinajpur (West Bengal), Shah said, “Illegal migrants are like termites and we will single out every Bangladeshi infiltrator in West Bengal and throw them out. We will give citizenship to all Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Jain refugees.” (Indian Express, April 12, 2019)

In another rally on Bongaon in West Bengal, **Shah made it clear that the CAA is meant to be a “safety net” for non-Muslims who get left out of the all-India NRC list:** “First we will pass the Citizenship Amendment bill and ensure that all the refugees from the neighbouring nations get the Indian citizenship. After that NRC will be made and we will detect and deport every infiltrator from our motherland.”

Should we not help refugees? I heard that the population of non-Muslims in Pakistan declined from 23% to 3% - surely we should help such persons?

During the debate on the Citizenship Amendment Bill in Parliament, Amit Shah claimed that population of religious minorities in Pakistan has declined from 23% in 1947 to 3.7% in 2011, thanks to ethnic cleansing. This is a lie. He said in Hindi: “1947 main Pakistan ke andar alpasankhyakon ki aabadi 23 pratishat thi, aur 2011 main wog ghat kar 3.7 pratishat ho gayi. Bangladesh

main 1947 main aplsankhyakon ki aabadi 22 pratishat thi aur 2011 main wo kam ho kar 7.8 pratishat ho gayi. Kahan gaye ye log? Ya toh unka dharm parivartan hua. Ya wo maar diye gaye, ya bhaga diye gaye, ya Bharat aa gaye.”

A fact check found that:

“1) Population of non-Muslims was never 23 per cent of Pakistan's total population.

2) Even in undivided Pakistan (i.e before Bangladesh was formed), the share of non-Muslim population never even touched the 15 per cent mark. (The highest was 14.2 per cent in 1951.)

3) When it comes to today's Pakistan (i.e. erstwhile West Pakistan), non-Muslims comprised 3.44 per cent of the region's population in 1951.

4) Census data show that share of non-Muslims in Pakistan has hovered around 3.5 per cent over the decades.” (‘No, Pakistan's non-Muslim population didn't decline from 23% to 3.7% as BJP claims’, India Today, 12 December 2019)

Should India help refugees? Of course. But we should not distinguish between refugees based on religion.

In Pakistan and Afghanistan, Ahmadiyas and Hazaras face persecution though we see them as “Muslim.” Rohingyas of Myanmar, Uighur Muslims of China, Tamils of Sri Lanka, are all oppressed people in our neighbourhood.

But when Partition happened, did Muslims not choose a separate nation, Pakistan? Congress accepted Partition then. If Pakistan is a Muslim nation should India not be a Hindu nation? Should Muslims not go to Pakistan?

This is what Amit Shah said in Parliament to defend CAA. But this is a lie. The two-nation theory (the theory that Hindus and Muslims are separate nations and cannot coexist) was first proposed by Savarkar, of the Hindu Mahasabha,

in his 1923 manifesto, *Hindutva* - 26 years before Jinnah and the Muslim League did.

Later, at the 19th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1937, three years before Jinnah proposed the two-nation theory, Savarkar said:

“There are two antagonistic nations living side by side in India, several infantile politicians commit the serious mistake in supposing that India is already welded into a harmonious nation, or that it could be welded thus for the mere wish to do so. These were well meaning but unthinking friends take their dreams for realities. ...India can not be assumed today to be a Unitarian and homogenous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations in the main : the Hindus and the Moslems, in India.”

- V. D. Savarkar, *Samagra Savarkar Wangmaya* : Hindu Rashtra Darshan, vol.6, Maharashtra Prantik Hindusabha, Poona, 1963, p.296.

The Congress did not accept the two-nation theory though they had to concede to the formation of Pakistan. India was thus formed as a secular nation with a secular Constitution, in which Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc would have the same status as Hindus. Muslims who live in India today *made a choice* not to go to Pakistan, and to embrace India as their motherland.

The RSS never participated in the freedom struggle – but it did participate fully in the large-scale communal violence during the Partition.

Narayan Bhaskar Khare of the Hindu Mahasabha was made prime minister of Alwar on April 18, 1947, as well as adviser to the state of Bharatpur. He presided over a large scale massacre of Meo Muslims, a distinctive Rajput Muslim community with a number of Hindu or Rajput practices.

A historian has noted: “In July 1947, Alwar hosted a Hindu Mahasabha conference for the princely states. Soon, a small arms factory was set up in Alwar by Khare and another one in Bharatpur.

“On June 18, 1947, there was a large-scale flight of Meos from Bharatpur to Alwar, and within Alwar to other tehsils. Mayaram has quoted a captain in the Alwar state army

on the *safaya* (cleansing) as the killings were euphemistically termed, and *shuddhi*, (forced) conversions:

“I was ADC to HH Tej Singh. We were with the RSS. It had been ordered to clear the state of Muslims. I was sent on special duty to Tijara. I went ahead and posted the force on a hill ..” In the valley below were 10,000 Meos. “We killed every man, all of them.”

Thereafter, in village after village, the army, accompanied by a *shuddh* squad, compelled Meos, if they wished to live, to eat a piece of pork and convert from Islam. The last battle was at Naugaonwa, “a large Meo stronghold. We butchered them.” As the Meos fled, they were killed at every place: “It took us more than two months, July, August, to clear the whole bloody area.”

Khare rejoiced: “As a result, today there is not a single Muslim in the whole of the Alwar State... In this way, the Meo problem in the State which was troubling the State for several centuries has been solved at least for the time being.”

This is the same language as Hitler calling the genocide of Jews a “Final Solution.”

When interviewed for the oral histories of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Khare exulted that RSS Moonje leader was pleased at this pogrom:

“But Moonje was damn pleased with what I did to the Muslims of Alwar.... He called me to Nasik and embraced me....More than anything else, what I did in Alwar and the way I broke the back of Muslims there pleased Dr Moonje immensely.”

Gandhi went to Mewat and persuaded 100,000 Meos to return to Alwar and Bharatpur. Nevertheless, census records show how the Muslim population which had been 26.2% of Alwar in 1941 and 19.2% of Bharatpur, dropped after the pogroms, conversions and flight, to 6% in both states. “About two-thirds of their land was taken away.” (See ‘Alwar's Long History of

Hindutva Casts a Shadow Even Today', Kannan Srinivasan, *The Wire*, 29 January 2018. This piece quotes extensively from work by the historian Shail Mayaram)

Today the RSS and the BJP want another bloody Partition of India, more communal violence. Like the British Raj which the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha never opposed, the BJP today wants to divide and rule us.

What is NRC?

PM Modi and Amit Shah have on multiple occasions claimed that the NRC is a tool to identify and evict “illegal immigrants.” PM Modi himself said this in his interview with Times Now in April 2019 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffGW_keVL9A). Amit Shah, of course, said so on multiple occasions, some of which we have cited above.

In the face of protests, the BJP now says “CAA will not affect citizens.” The issue here is: an all-India NRC will put the citizenship of every Indian in doubt! According to NRC, who is a “citizen”? Who is an “illegal immigrant”? The Government has as yet not clarified the criteria for these. But since the Assam NRC has already been conducted, it can give us a clue about what the all-India NRC will be like.

What was the Assam NRC experience?

According to the Assam NRC, only those people would be recognised as citizens who could show documents proving that

- 1) their ancestors entered India before 1971
- 2) they are descended from those same ancestors

Naturally, showing documents to this effect was hugely difficult, especially for the poor, for women, for transgender people, for Dalits, for adivasis, for migrant labourers, and for people from vulnerable communities.

As a result, more than 19 lakh people have been left out of the Assam NRC list. These 19 lakh are not “illegal immigrants” - they are Indians who lack documents linking them with ancestors. So the Assam NRC has resulted in a massive humanitarian crisis and tragedy. Moreover, no one is satisfied with the Assam NRC final list – least of all the BJP. This painful process involving so much suffering has failed to “separate milk and water”, failed to give any clarity or closure on who is an Indian and who is an “illegal immigrant.” When the Assam NRC experience has ended in such a disaster, in spite of being conducted under Supreme Court supervision, why conduct it in the whole of India?

What would the cut-off date for an all-India NRC be?

The cut-off date for Assam was March 24, 1971 because of a special provision created by the Assam Accord, allowing people who entered Assam before the creation of Bangladesh on that date in 1971, to be considered citizens. The corresponding date for the rest of the country is July 19, 1948.

So would the cut-off date for an all-India NRC be July 19, 1948?

That is not clear. The Modi-Shah Government has been vague about the exact dates and details.

But we do know that while rejecting the Assam NRC final list, the central government and the Assam BJP leadership did state that the all-India NRC exercise would mean that a fresh NRC would be conducted in Assam also; that there must be “one nation, one cut-off date”; and this all India cut-off date would be either 1971 or some year prior to 1971, such as 1966, 1961 or 1951.

A news report notes that “Sources in the Union home ministry said the cut-off date for Assam NRC could be preponed from 1971 — the existing cut-off year in the recently concluded NRC. ‘There can't be two separate mechanisms

in one country. If all-India NRC happens then the same cut-off date, same process will be for Assam also,' a government official said." ('Will 1971 Remain Cut-off for Assam? Centre Mulls Advancing Year Before Rolling Out Pan-India NRC', CNN News18, 21 November 2019)

Another report reported that the BJP Government in Assam wants the Centre to reject the final National Register of Citizens published on 31 August 2019, and "to follow the same cut-off date (1951 instead of 1971) applicable to the rest of the country" for drawing up the Register afresh. ('Assam final NRC boomerangs', The Telegraph, 21 November 2019)

But has the Central Government not clarified all-India NRC will not require documents like Assam NRC did?

In the wake of massive protests all over India, the Union Government released an unsigned "clarification" in the form of a Q&A on the CAA and NRC (<https://pibindia.wordpress.com/2019/12/20/q-a-on-nrc-national-register-of-citizens/>).

In this clarification, the Government has claimed that "there is absolutely no compulsion to submit any document by/of the parents" in the NRC, and proof of one's own birth will do. However, they keep an escape route open by adding that "a decision is yet to be taken on the acceptable documents"!

The Government "clarification" is lying. As a journalist noted in a fact-check, "Currently, Indian law is based on citizenship less by birth and more by blood. Even if a person is born in India after December 3, 2004, she will only have Indian citizenship if both his parents are Indian or one is Indian and the other is not an illegal migrant. The criteria for anyone born in India between July 1, 1987, and December 3, 2004, is that at least one parents needs to be Indian. It is only before July 1, 1987, that a person born in India is Indian, irrespective of

the citizenship status of his parents. Thus, for a person born after July 1, 1987, he will have to legally prove the citizenship status of either one or both parents. As a result, the government's clarification makes little sense. In fact, Assam's National Register of Citizens needed people to prove, with documents, their link with their father or grandfather." ('Will NRC only target Muslims? A government clarification directly contradicts Amit Shah', Shoaib Daniyal, Scroll, 21 December 2019)

Moreover, the National Population Register form doing the rounds now has an extra column for date and place of parents' birth. This is precisely so that "doubtful citizens" can be identified based on NPR and asked to furnish documents under NRC. (more on this later)

Will documents like voter cards, passports, Aadhaar be enough for the NRC?

The Government "clarification" claims that the the list of acceptable documents is "likely to include voter cards, passports, Aadhaar, licenses, insurance papers, birth certificates, school leaving certificates, documents relating to land or home or other similar documents issued by government officials."

But the Home Minister Amit Shah himself said in an interview with a news channel on 17 December 2019, that "voter card and other government documents do not decide citizenship, Aadhaar does not decide citizenship *at all*." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNd792HSl_A&t=6s)

So it is clear that the Government is speaking in a forked tongue.

In any case, if voter i-card, Aadhaar card, driving licence etc are enough proof, why do these have to be submitted to the Government, when the Government is the one that has issued these documents?

In other words, why conduct an "NRC" at all, if not to harass people?

So, when the BJP says they will evict “infiltrators”, they mean any Indian who does not have certain documents? They could mean me or my child?

Yes.

In India, the poor do not even have documents to prove they are “below poverty line” - as a result they are excluded from ration cards. Many poor people have been excluded from Aadhaar, as a result of which they have even died for lack of rations or pensions.

Now, the Government is threatening to exclude the poor from their right to belong to India!

In Assam, in the NRC exercise, more than 19 lakh people were left out of the NRC list, not because they are “illegal immigrants” but because they are poor and lack documents. In many cases, wives are excluded while husbands are included, or a child is excluded while parents are included. The fate of those excluded is uncertain. Those excluded comprise a large number of Hindus, Muslims, adivasis, women, and migrant labour from other states.

If you are not on the NRC list, can you be imprisoned in detention camps?

Yes.

In Assam, if you are found to be a “doubtful

voter” by a Foreigners’ Tribunal, you could be detained indefinitely in a detention centre that is far worse than a jail.

The 19 lakh people left out of the NRC list in Assam face that fate, unless they can convince the Foreigners’ Tribunals that they are not illegal immigrants.

How is CAA linked to NRC?

As we saw above, CAA is designed to separate Muslim from non-Muslim immigrants; and treat the former as “infiltrators” and the latter as “refugees” entitled to apply for Indian citizenship.

As Amit Shah has said repeatedly in his speeches, the Citizenship Amendment Act is meant to act as a sieve to separate the Muslims left out of the NRC list from non-Muslims.

If you are a Muslim and not able to show documents proving you belong in the NRC list, you will lose your vote forever and be imprisoned in a detention centre which is worse than a jail.

If you are non-Muslim and are not able to show documents proving you belong in the NRC list, you may also be thrown in a detention centre and lose your vote. But the Modi-Shah Government is telling you that if you are a non-Muslim, CAA will allow you to claim you are a “refugee” from Pakistan, Bangladesh, or Afghanistan, and apply for Indian citizenship,


GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM beta
 Official State Portal of Assam

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India's biggest detention centre to house 'foreigners' by 2020
 The country's biggest detention centre to house foreign convicts and people declared as "foreigners" by tribunals will become operational early next year. This centre is being constructed about 124 km west of Guwahati at an estimated cost of Rs 46.51 cr. The Union govt-funded project has a capacity of housing 3,000 detainees.
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which you or may not be given after 6 years.

But – if I am a worker from Bihar or TN or Karnataka how can I prove that I am a refugee from Pakistan? Moreover, why should I, an Indian, be asked to make such a claim?

But this so called “safety net” or “lifeline” for non-Muslims left out of NRC is a lie.

How will a Bihari migrant worker, an adivasi woman in Chhattisgarh or Gujarat or Rajasthan, or a farmer in Tamil Nadu or Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh claim and prove that they are a persecuted refugee from Bangladesh, Pakistan, or Afghanistan?

And it is an insult for the Government to ask Indians to prove they are Indians, or else claim they are refugees from Bangladesh or Pakistan or Afghanistan!

It is clear that the NRC+CAA has a diabolical anti-Muslim agenda. But if one’s neighbour’s house is on fire, one’s own house is also bound to burn. It is clear that the so-called CAA safety net for non-Muslims also is full of holes.

NRC+CAA makes us all unsafe – and the only way to resist it is to unite across communities and religious identities to protect ourselves and our Constitution. United we stand, divided we fall!

The Government is saying CAA has nothing to do with NRC, and NRC has nothing to do with religion. I am confused, what is the truth?

Amit Shah himself has repeatedly explained how CAA is linked to NRC.

In a YouTube video uploaded on 23 April 2019 by the BJP’s official channel, Amit Shah explained, “First the CAB will come. All refugees will get citizenship. Then NRC will come. This is why refugees should not worry, but infiltrators should. Understand the chronology.” (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z__6E5hPbHg&feature=emb_title)

watch?v=Z__6E5hPbHg&feature=emb_title)

On 1 May 2019, his twitter handle tweeted, “First we will pass the Citizenship Amendment bill and ensure that all the refugees from the neighbouring nations get the Indian citizenship. After that NRC will be made and we will detect and deport every infiltrator from our motherland.”

Tweeting about Amit Shah’s Raiganj (West Bengal) speech, BJP’s official Twitter handle said, “We will ensure implementation of NRC in the entire country. We will remove every single infiltrator from the country, except Buddha (sic), Hindus and Sikhs.” This tweet makes it clear that NRC and CAA are linked to achieve a blatantly communal agenda. The BJP handle has now deleted this tweet!



But the Prime Minister Modi has made a speech in Delhi claiming that his Government has no NRC plans, that India has no detention centres and all this is fear-mongering by Urban Naxals?

At Ramlila Maidan in Delhi on 22 December 2019, Prime Minister Modi made a speech in which he spoke about the Citizenship Amendment Act, the National Register of Citizens and the ongoing protests against CAA-NRC. But what he claimed in his speech is disproved by his own statements, and those of his Minister, Amit Shah.

In his December 2019 speech Modi said:

“After my government came into power, since 2014 till today, I want to tell the 130 crore countrymen that NRC word has not been discussed anywhere. We had to implement it in Assam only under the Supreme Court’s direction.”

This is a lie. Modi himself has spoken about NRC several times during the 2019 Parliamentary elections, while the BJP manifesto also promised to conduct an NRC.

On 19 April 2019, in an interview to Times Now, Modi was asked about all-India NRC.

naxals’ are propagating a lie that the country has detention camps. The truth, he said, is that “India has no detention centres.”

This, too, is a lie.

The Home Ministry of the Modi-Shah Government has framed a ‘Model Detention Centre/Holding Centre/Camp Manual’, which was circulated to all States and Union Territories on 9 January, 2019. Minister of State for Home Nityanand Rai informed the Lok Sabha on 2 July 2018 that State governments have been instructed to set up detention centres. (‘Detention centre manual’, Telegraph, 24 December 2019)

Combating Infiltration

07 There has been a huge change in the cultural and linguistic identity of some areas due to illegal immigration, resulting in an adverse impact on local people’s livelihood and employment. We will expeditiously complete the National Register of Citizens process in these areas on priority. In future we will implement the NRC in a phased manner in other parts of the country.

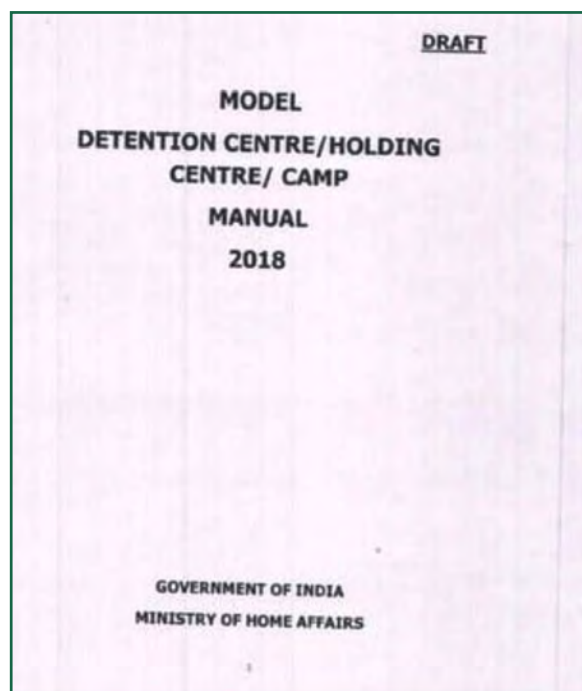
-- from the BJP Manifesto.

He replied, “Congress did Assam Accord and promised NRC, but did not fulfil the promise, they fooled Assam’s people. Then Supreme Court gave orders, and we implemented those orders honestly. The experience of the NRC presents a very worrying picture. We should discuss NRC. Can a country be a dharmashala? Should we have an NRC or not? Ask those who have not held an NRC for 70 years – they are the sinners.” (See minute 47:00 onwards https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffGW_keVL9A&t=2994s)

At an election rally at Ranaghat, West Bengal, on 24 April 2019, Narendra Modi linked NRC with CAA, and said, “We are going to take another big step. We are going to pass a Citizenship law. The TMC, Congress, Communists who stopped the Citizenship Amendment Bill in Parliament are going to be defeated. Once we win we will bring this law. And with this, through NRC, we will start the work of identifying infiltrators, so that they can be sent where they belong.” (Minute 16:53 onwards here <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vG2n3vZcXg>)

Modi claimed that Congress and ‘urban

Rai also admitted in a written reply in the Rajya Sabha that 988 persons are imprisoned in 6 detention camps in Assam, and that 28 such detainees had died in the camps. (‘28 deaths in Assam’s detention camps, minister tells Rajya



<p style="text-align: center;">GOVERNMENT OF INDIA MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RAJYA SABHA STARRED QUESTION NO. *103</p> <p>TO BE ANSWERED ON THE 27TH NOVEMBER, 2019/ AGRAHAYANA 6, 1941 (SAKA)</p> <p>LACK OF FACILITIES IN DETENTION CENTRES</p> <p>*103. DR. SANTANU SEN:</p> <p>Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:</p> <p>(a) the total number of people currently living in detention camps in the State of Assam;</p> <p>(b) the total number of people who have died in the detention camps due to medical or any other conditions;</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">-2-</p> <p>STATEMENT REFERRED TO IN THE REPLY TO PARTS (a) to (d) OF THE RAJYA SABHA STARRED QUESTION NO.103 FOR 27TH NOVEMBER, 2019 REGARDING LACK OF FACILITIES IN DETENTION CENTRES.</p> <p>(a): As informed by the state Government of Assam, <u>as on 22.11.2019, 988 foreigners were lodged in 06(six) Detention Centres in Assam.</u></p> <p>(b) From the year 2016 up to 13.10.2019, <u>28 detainees have died either in the detention centres or in hospitals where they were referred.</u></p>
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Sabha', Telegraph, 27 November 2019)

The Assam Government's own website announces that the country's biggest detention centre, capable of housing 3000 detainees, is nearly ready in Goalpara, Assam. Apart from this, detention centres are also being built in Nerul (Navi Mumbai, Maharashtra), near Bengaluru in Karnataka, and New Town and Bongaon in West Bengal.

Who is Modi hoping to fool, with his lies in Ramlila Maidan?

I heard on TV that Muslim rioters alone are protesting CAA and NRC, and they are being violent, burning buses and pelting stones. Is that true?

PM Modi himself made a speech during Jharkhand elections saying violent protestors could be "identified by their clothes." He clearly meant that Muslims in caps and beards are the only ones protesting and being violent.

In reality, it is the police in BJP-ruled states, and BJP's own thugs, who are indulging in violence, and even posing as Muslims so that the latter are blamed.

1. In Murshidabad, West Bengal, for example, five men including one identified BJP cadre, were detained by Murshidabad police after local people caught them dressed in lungi and skullcap, throwing stones at a train engine. ('Stone gang in fake skullcap held by Murshidabad police', Telegraph, 20 December 2019)

2. In Gorakhpur, two RSS members — Vikas Jalan and Satya Prakash — were seen among the mob, damaging shops and throwing stones at the police. ('Blood stains Uttar Pradesh streets', Telegraph, 21 December 2019)

3. In Delhi, police can be seen flinging stones on people in Mayapuri (<https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1116999443226578944>)

4. Police in Daryaganj, Delhi were caught on camera breaking off bricks from a building, to pelt from above and blame the protestors (https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video/1208033108156567552/pu/vid/352x640/tfGuWAKq9UGeNcVr.mp4?tag=10)

But India has refused to let Muslims be isolated, profiled, and scapegoated by the PM. The "divide and rule" game is up for BJP. All over the country, students of every college and university have come out in solidarity with students of Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University, to protest the CAA and NRC and also to protest the brutality unleashed by the police on the students in these campuses. The police brutality against Muslims in Uttar Pradesh is also being protested all over India.

24 protestors, as we go to press have died in police violence — not a single police personnel's life has been lost. Countless people are grievously injured.

The South Asian Students Against Fascism have compiled evidence that a "vast majority of the violence has been committed by the police


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DIA & DIRECTORY
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 NEWS
 100 rescue boats deployed

[Home](#) / [India's biggest detention centre](#)
India's biggest detention centre to house 'foreigners' by 2020
 The country's biggest detention centre to house foreign convicts and people declared as "foreigners" by tribunals will become operational early next year. This centre is being constructed about 124 km west of Guwahati at an estimated cost of Rs 46.51 cr. The Union govt-funded project has a capacity of housing 3,000 detainees.
[Read more](#)

and by organized political thugs". We borrow from and expand on their list below:

1. "Desh ke gaddaron ko, goli maro saalon ko" (shoot the traitors) slogans led by BJP leader Kapil Mishra in Delhi (https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video/1208031600564490242/pu/vid/720x720/2N1UsKMZgeGvGMMa.mp4?tag=10)

2. Police firing on unarmed people in Mangaluru, killing two (https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video/1208049855609757696/pu/vid/1280x720/HOvsVG8YHUXYrv3W.mp4?tag=10)

Later, when people gathered at a hospital where the two dead bodies were brought, police charged into the hospital, using tear gas inside it and damaging the ICU doors. A doctor at the hospital said, "Police had resorted to lathi charge on patients' relatives inside the hospital, spreading fear among the patients, doctors and staff." ('Mangaluru police used tear gas inside hospital, damaged ICU doors', The Week, 20 December, 2019)

3. Turning a peaceful protest into a violent one - https://video.twimg.com/amplify_video/1208104071996952576/vid/480x848/P1axKpTK64LEAQkl.mp4?tag=13

4. Police damaging a car in Bulandshahr, UP: https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video/1208032669851881472/pu/vid/352x640/Jeus4AC0oqJhvs5D.mp4?tag=10

5. Police damaging vehicles in Aurangabad (Bihar) (this is typically done as part of a standard procedure to then later blame protesters for property damage, except unfortunately for them, nowadays people have smartphone cameras): <https://twitter.com/alishakhan102/status/1208461878646542336?s=20>

6. CT Ravi, Karnataka BJP, threatening protesters with another Godhra. ('Godhra-like situation if majority lose patience over CAA: Karnataka minister CT Ravi stirs controversy', PTI, 21 December 2019)

7. BJP from Haryana's Kaithal, Leela Ram Gurjar made a speech threatening to "wipe out" Muslims: "Jo log jhooth faila rahe hai main in logon ko batana chahta hu ki Miya ji ye jo aaj ka Hindustan hai woh Gandhi aur Nehru ka nahi Narendra Modi aur Amit Shah ji ka Hindustan hai. Agar ishara ho gaya to ek ghante me safaya kar denge, aur aapki yeh galatfemi door ho jayegi (Those who are

spreading lies, I want to tell them that Miya ji (Miya is a form of address for Muslim elders, also used as a slur - ed/), this is not the India of Gandhi or Nehru. It is the India of Narendra Modi and Amit Shah. We will wipe out within an hour if asked to)." ('On citizenship law protesters, BJP MLA says can finish them off in one hour', Hindustan Times, 24 December 2019)

8. A journalist from The Hindu arrested in UP or no reason because he was Kashmiri. ('A first-person account by 'The Hindu' correspondent Omar Rashid of how he was picked up, threatened and released by cops', 20 December, 2019)

9. Woman school teacher, actress, and activist Sadaf Jafar arrested and beaten brutally. (Indian Express, 23 December 2019)

10. Police use blows to the head on protestors (the usual method is blows to the legs): (<https://twitter.com/CNNnews18/status/1208046028479352832>)

11. Police on a rampage in Gorakhpur (Ajay Singh Bisht's seat), beating up unarmed protestors: (<https://twitter.com/azaadindiacol/status/1208488755473993728?s=20>)

12. Video of police forces beating up people and vandalising vehicles in Daryaganj, Delhi: (https://video.twimg.com/ext_tw_video/1208029889346957312/pu/vid/480x848/XqE5vsYyjn1rXGdW.mp4?tag=10)

13. Delhi police quoting the PM on "we know what they look like" to randomly pick up someone who looks Muslim (<https://twitter.com/saahilmenghani/status/1208062858669350912?s=20>)

14. Delhi police fired illegally on students inside the Jamia campus: ('New Videos Suggest Delhi Police May Have Fired At Jamia Protesters', NDTV, 18 December, 2019)

15. Jamia student Mohammad Minhajuddin, dragged from the library and blinded by Delhi police, speaks of his ordeal: (<https://www.indiatoday.in/india/video/watch-jamia-student-who-lost-an-eye-in-police-action-narrates-his-ordeal-1630220-2019-12-20>)

16. Students at AMU have needed medical amputation of hands, thanks to injuries by stun grenades used by police: ('Security forces committed 'unbridled rights violations' in AMU: fact-finding team', The Hindu, 24 December 2019)

17. Images of police brutality on students: (<https://twitter.com>



Police pelting stones at Jamia, Delhi

com/MaskoorUsmani/status/1206258211679948800)

18. Children being held and beaten with belts by the police - (https://twitter.com/thewire_in/status/1208099148148264960?s=20)

19. More minors being thrashed by the police in UP - (<https://twitter.com/imMAK02/status/1208428070425649157?s=20>)

20. An 8-year old was killed in a stampede caused by police violence in UP (<https://twitter.com/MirrorNow/status/1208315524486254592?s=20>)

21. Police firing in UP has cost at least 18 lives. Police claim it is the protestors who opened fire, forcing them to fire in "self-defence." But evidence points otherwise: ('Video Suggests UP Cop Opened Fire In Kanpur, Contrary To "No Police Firing" Claim', NDTV 22 December, 2019)

While the protests in BJP-ruled states have been met with horrific brutality, and the police are waging a brutal war on Muslim communities irrespective of whether or not they are protesting, there are innumerable instances of massive peaceful protest gatherings of lakhs of people in non-BJP ruled states. Clearly it is the BJP Governments and police that are indulging in the violence – not protestors.

Here are links for evidence of peaceful

protests:

1. Nagpur, Maharashtra: <https://twitter.com/shraddhs/status/1208215489157054464>

2. Pune, Maharashtra: <https://twitter.com/CPPuneCity/status/1208057982929391616>

3. Mumbai, Maharashtra: <https://twitter.com/AzmiShabana/status/1207698719115808768>

4. Vaniyambadi, Tamil Nadu: <https://twitter.com/itssinghswati/status/1207995229455839233?s=20>

5. Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu: <https://twitter.com/Akshayanath/status/1208084321480761345?s=20>

6. Hyderabad, Telangana: <https://twitter.com/bemusedlawyer/status/1208439278541295618?s=20>

7. Dharavi, Mumbai: <https://twitter.com/advsanwar/status/1208728309623873538?s=20>

8. Thousands of women in Assam protest CAA <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/thousands-of-assam-women-hit-the-streets-to-voice-opposition-to-caa/articleshow/72921123.cms>



Shri Rajnath Singh directed to take NPR project to its logical conclusion which is creation of National Register of Indian Citizens.

3:15 PM · Jun 18, 2014 · Twitter for Android

The Cabinet has approved funds for the National Population Register (NPR). Shah says NPR has nothing to do with NRC. Is that true?

Amit Shah and Modi are lying that NRC has not begun, and that NPR has nothing to do with NRC. In fact, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shah's own Ministry, has many times clarified that NPR is the first step towards NRC.

On 18 June 2014, the official Press Information Bureau handle of the Modi Government tweeted about the then Home Minister: "Shri Rajnath Singh directed to take NPR project to its logical conclusion, which is the creation of National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC)."

A Home Ministry press release dated 26 November 2014 stated clearly that "The NPR is the first step towards creation of National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC), by verifying the citizenship status of every usual residents (sic)."

On 21 April 2015, Minister of State for Home Affairs Haribhai Parathibhai Chaudhary

Press Information Bureau
Government of India
Ministry of Home Affairs
26-November-2014 17:09:15

Identifying Citizens While Preparing NPR

The National Population Register (NPR) is a register of all the usual residents which include citizens and non-citizens as well. The NPR is the first step towards creation of National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC) by verifying the citizenship status of every usual residents.

There is no proposal to merge the existing Aadhar database to the NPR under consideration of the Government.

The biometrics enrolment in the 12 NPR States/UTs, namely: J&K, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Arunachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep, Tamil Nadu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli will be completed by June, 2015.

This was stated by Minister of State for Home Affairs Shri Kiren Rijiju in a written reply to Dr. T.N.Seema in the Rajya Sabha today.

KSD/YKB/PK/RS/sk

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

LOK SABHA
UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 4380
TO BE ANSWERED ON THE 21ST APRIL, 2015/VAISAKHA 1, 1937 (SAKA)

ISSUANCE of MNIC

4380. SHRI RAMSINH RATHWA:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government has decided to prepare the National Population Register (NPR) and to issue a nationwide Multipurpose National Identity Card (MNIC) on the basis of NPR;

(b) whether a process of 'social vetting' by Gram Sabhas and Ward Committees will be used for MNIC and that no other document of proof will be required for the process and if so, the details thereof; and

(c) the steps taken by the Government to ensure that the process of issuing MNIC is foolproof and the card is not misused as a proof of Indian Citizenship?

ANSWER

MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI HARIBHAI PARATHIBHAI CHAUDHARY)

(a): The Citizenship Act, 1955 provides the Central Government to compulsorily register every citizen of India and issue National Identity Card to him. It has been decided that National Population Register (NPR) should be completed and taken to its logical conclusion, which is the creation of National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC) and National Identity Cards would be issued to Citizens by verification of citizenship status of every usual resident in the NPR. The proposals for the same are under consideration of the Government.

(b): No, Madam. The process of social vetting by Gram Sabha and Ward Committees is one of the steps in the creation of National Population Register (NPR) in the country. The first step involves the collection of information on specific characteristics of all usual residents by Government servants duly designated for this purpose. The second step involves the creation of a digitised database of each resident. Next, photographs, 10 finger prints and IRIS of all usual residents who are of age 5 years and above is collected with reference to the digitised database and in the presence of designated Government servants. After this, the

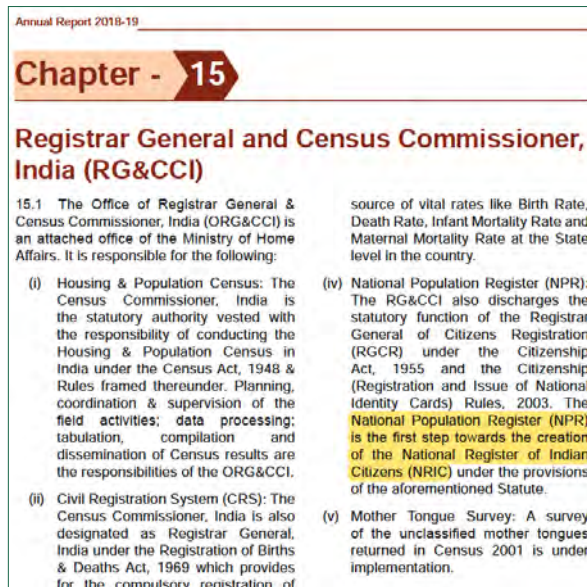
replied to a question in the Rajya Sabha, stating clearly that "It has been decided that National Population Register (NPR) should be completed and taken to its logical conclusion, which is the creation of National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC)."

The 2018-19 Annual Report of the Union Home Ministry on page 262 states that "NPR is first step towards creation of NRIC".

Why is the Government now lying? Because the NRC+CAA communal design is exposed, and Hindus, Muslims, and others are afraid of the NRC threat to their citizenship, the Modi-Shah Government now hope to hide the NRC plans and save the CAA first, only to roll out the NPR secretly and then the NRC later.

As journalist Shivam Vij said, "The reason why Modi-Shah are endlessly lying about CAA,

NPR, NRC/NRIC is to neutralise the objections and apprehensions. But the plan is on. It's like a doctor telling a child the injection won't hurt."



But the NPR has been conducted before by previous Governments? How is it different this time?

This time, the NPR form has an extra column for date and place of parents' birth. This is precisely so that "doubtful citizens" can be identified based on NPR and asked to furnish documents under NRC. As we saw above, the Government's "clarification" is lying that parents' birth documents will not be sought. If parents' birthplace and date details are not required, why is the NPR suddenly collecting this data?

There are conflicting reports in papers about Banks requiring religion to be disclosed in KYC documents. The Government has denied this. What is the truth?

The Times of India reported that "Eerily similar to the Citizen (Amendment) Act, the amendments by the Reserve Bank of India to the Foreign Exchange Management Regulations, issued in 2018 are limited to migrants who are

from minority communities — Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians — from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan and hold long-term visas (LTVs). These LTV holders can buy residential property and open bank accounts in India. The rules exclude atheists, Muslim migrants as well as those from other neighbouring countries such as Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Tibet." ('Bank KYC forms may seek details of clients' religion', 21 December 2019)

The Government promptly issued a denial claiming that "no Indian citizen has to mention religion for opening an account in banks." ('No Need To Mention Religion For Bank A/C, KYC: Finance Secretary', NDTV, 22 December 2019)

But here again, the Government is trying to fool us (as Yudhisthir did when he said "Ashwatthama (the elephant) is dead" to Drona in the epic Mahabharata!

Who is a "citizen"? Under NRC+CAA, as we have seen, there is a bid to strip many of citizenship. Of those who stand to lose citizenship, the non-Muslims can apply for citizenship under CAA. And *till* they get citizenship again, the Government has acted to ensure that only non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh can get Long Term Visas (LTVs) to avail of various rights including the right to open a bank account!

As we saw above, in 2011, the UPA Government notified a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) in a letter dated 29.12.11, under which any refugee could apply for Long Term Visa (LTV). Those who get LTVs can open a bank account, obtain PAN card, Aadhaar card, driving licences, and even buy property.

In 2015 the Modi-Shah Government started an LTV category for non-Muslims from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh. This is why the religion column has been introduced in the KYC.

How much will the NRIC cost?

The Assam NRC cost Rs 1,600 crore, took 10 years and a staff of 52,000 people, not to mention

untold suffering and pain for innocent, poor people. An all-India NRC will cost at least Rs 50,000 crore. India's people will spend the next decade scrambling desperately to find documents to prove citizenship in this unnecessary and cruel exercise.

Why waste money on NRC+CAA? Instead, why does the Government not prepare a register of unemployed people – and give them unemployment allowance or jobs?

Clearly, the Modi-Shah Government has already begun the process of jeopardising citizenship and communally discriminating against Muslims. What can I do to stop this?

The Constitution drafted by Dr Ambedkar held Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Jews, everyone to be equal. The RSS always hated this Constitution. The BJP wants to poison our minds and divide India into Hindu and Muslim. Such division can only weaken the country and harm everyone. If someone sets fire to our neighbours' house, our house will also burn. We must unite to save our house.

Demonetization of notes destroyed our jobs and economy. We must all prevent the government from unleashing this new disaster on the country, which threatens to destroy the Constitution and divide the country.

India's people are all protesting – Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, people speaking every language and belonging to every faith. They are all united to save India's democracy and Constitution.

Is Modi Copying Hitler's Citizenship Laws?

Just two years after Adolf Hitler of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) came to power in Germany, he made good on his promises - he introduced laws to redefine citizenship of Germany. The Nuremberg Laws may have started with the segregation of Jews from non Jews, but there were further supplementations to these laws that included all manner of 'undesirables', and finally paved the

way for the mass murder of not only Jews, but indigenous peoples, homosexuals, the disabled, anyone who criticised the Nazi establishment, Communists, and anyone the German State saw as *Staatsfeind*, an enemy of the State. Nazi propaganda, through print and radio had already prepared the ground that then saw the construction of ghettos and concentration camps.

Remember, the RSS has always hated India's Constitution and admired Hitler's divisive policies instead.

Golwalkar said:

"German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races - the Jews. ...Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by"

(M. S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, 1938, p. 35)

He also said: "... the foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights."

(M. S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined*, 1938, p. 47-48)

Today the Modi-Shah regime and the RSS want to bring Golwalkar's dreams to life. In the process they want to bring Ambedkar's nightmare into existence. **Dr. Ambedkar warned in 1940: "If Hindu Raj becomes a reality then it would be greatest menace to this country."**

Today that menace is close to becoming a reality. Remember, Hindu Raj will be a menace not only for Muslims but for Dalits, adivasis, women, poor workers, farmers – everyone. It will be a dictatorship, a *tanashahi*.

Today, in India, we still have a chance to prevent this menace, this *tanashahi*, this *Hitlershabi* from becoming a reality.

We can honour the common legacy of sacrifice bequeathed to us by Ashfaqullah Khan and Ram Prasad Bismil – and defend our common citizenship.

What can I do to stop this disaster and save my country and Constitution?

Learn the facts, be prepared, and get your friends and family to join peaceful protests.

In every street, lane, locality, colony, village, town and city, organise people to:

1) demand that the Central Government scrap CAA

2) demand that your state

government immediately halt the NPR exercise and refuse to implement NRC. Approach your local MLA and ask them to make sure the state Assembly passed a resolution to this effect. Remember, making statements against NRC is not enough – the said state government must immediately halt the NPR process which is already underway.

3) demand that the central and state governments immediately halt construction of detention centres.

4) Do a ‘darwaaza band’ (close the door, kadavai moodu, talupu mūsivēyandi, baagilu moochu, kabat banda kara, dawrja bawndo, dorja bondho korok, inghap ingkir non, and in every other language in India) satyagraha when officials come to collect your family data under NPR. Remember, they are not making a register to give you a house or a job – they are making a register to steal your citizenship and divide our country on religious lines. So

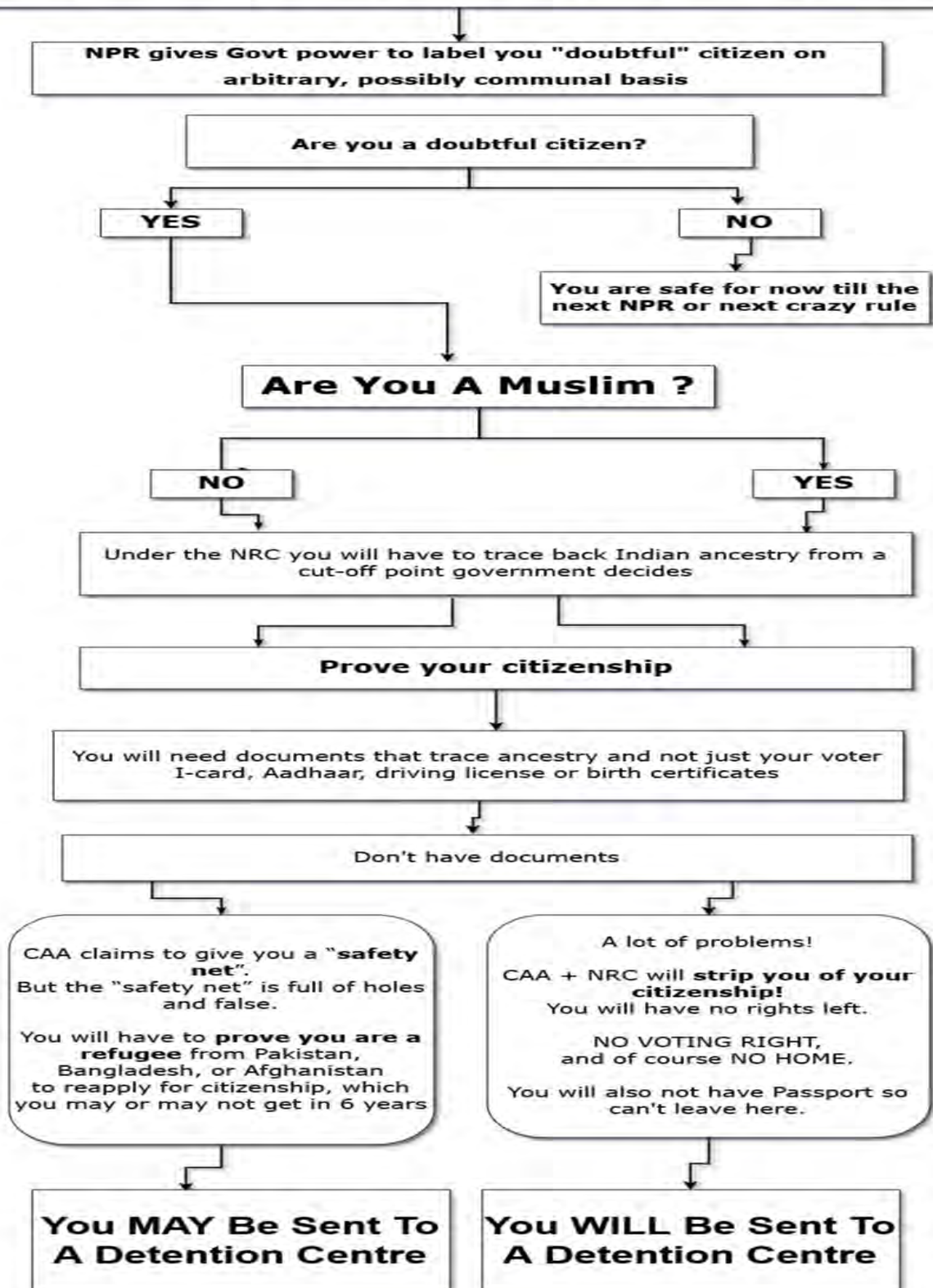
like the freedom fighters did satyagraha (civil disobedience) during the freedom struggle, we the people of India need to conduct satyagraha now to save our country and Constitution. By closing the door on NPR, we are closing the door on fascism, on tyranny (tanashahi).

5) If you are non-Muslim, reach out to help and keep safe those Muslim neighbours who are facing violence from the police and communal elements. Offer to accompany Muslim neighbours to public places, offer your phone number as an emergency contact in case they face harassment or violence. Calmly confront and raise your voice against every single act of hate that you see. Do not be silent, do not be violent. Speak up for love and truth.

6) Above all – stay united. If anyone tries to come and spread hatred or violence against some other community, tell them – united we stand, divided we fall. Be united to defend the Constitution. □



How NPR + NRC + CAA Works



Countrywide Protests Against NPR-NRC-CAA

The very next day after the CAA was passed, CPIML observed 10 December, International Human Rights Day, as an all India protest day against NPR, NRC, and CAA. There were spontaneous protests all over India, especially among students and youth, on 9th and 10th December, where copies of the CAA were burnt.

On December 9, the day CAB was introduced and passed by the Lok Sabha, a anti-NRC anti-CAB rally was held in Kolkata by the Joint Forum against NRC which was addressed by CPIML Politburo member Kavita Krishnan, former IAS officer Kannan Gopinathan who had resigned in protest against removal of special status of Kashmir in Article 370 and is campaigning now against all India NRC, and ex-JNUSU President Kanhiya Kumar among others.

A torchlight procession was held against CAB-NRC-NPR at Konnagar of Hooghly where

copies of CAA were burnt. A huge gathering of people in Kadapa town of Andhra Pradesh protested terming NRC as anti-poor and CAA as anti-Constitution. In Siliguri Revolutionary Youth Association and AISA held a rally. A protest was held in Kakinada of AP opposing NRC and CAA. A huge rally was held in Dehradun of Uttarakhand which pledged to save the syncretic and pluralistic polity and culture of India from the communal CAA-NRC conspiracy. In Garhwal University, Shrinagar, AISA organized a protest march. Massive protests were organized in Jaipur and Udaipur in Rajasthan.

Thousands of citizens assembled at the India Gate on 16 December to take oath of defending the Constitution. Protests broke out in Seelampur-Jafraabad area of Delhi on 17 December which again faced a brutal lathi charge by police. The highway remained blocked for hours due to this protest.

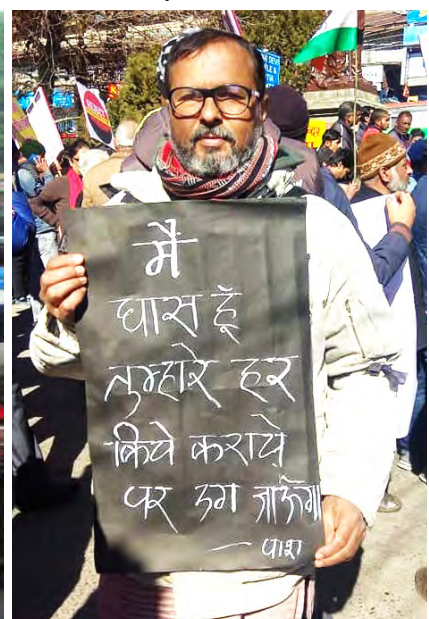
A protest meeting and march against CAA-NRC was organized on 18 December at Haryana in Mewat from Nooh to Ghasi Heda. Speakers at the meeting recollected that on 19 December 1947 Mahatma Gandhi had come to Ghasi Heda and assured the people of Mewat that they would be given full protection in India.

Five left parties including CPIML, CPIM, CPI, AIFB and RSP gave a call for all India protests on 19 December.

Student Protests

The movement intensified following the brutal police attack on Jamia students. Students of JNU, Delhi University and Ambedkar University all rushed to the Delhi Police Headquarters the same night to protest against the crackdown and now every university and institute of higher education is joining in.

Continuing the student protests, gold medallists and scholars of Pondicherry University, Jadavpur University and BHU protested during convocation ceremonies in various ways.



Police Killings in BJP Ruled States and Arrests of Activists

In Assam, police have shot dead five young people - Dipanjal Das, Sam Stafford, Dwijendra Panjing, Iswar Nayak and Abdul Alim.

So far, nearly two dozen killings of activists have been reported, mostly by police bullets and maximum number is from UP.

Activist Akhil Gogoi in Assam has been arrested and charged with sedition and UAPA for resisting the CAA. Bhim Army leader Chandrashekhar Azad Raavan has been arrested in Delhi. Large numbers of students have been arrested or named in FIRs, while courts have refused anticipatory bail for them.

All over UP, leading activists including SR Darapuri, Md Shoaib of Rihai Manch, Manish Sharma, CC Member of CPIML, veteran employees' leader Shri Prakash Rai, AISA activists Ashutosh, Vivek, Vikram, Rajesh, Nitesh, Arjun Kharwar and others have been arrested. In the PM's constituency alone, 76 people have been

arrested. They were picked up while assembling peacefully and were charged with serious criminal sections of rioting and arson. Police have issued "wanted" notices for AIPWA UP Secretary Kusum Verma and other activists in Varanasi newspapers. Similar wanted notices have also been issued by UP police in other towns. The police is collecting photographs published in media reports and CCTV footage for this purpose.

The Internet shutdown is becoming another tool of suppression by the BJP Gov as in most of Assam and many districts of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh internet remained closed. Even Metro stations were closed in Delhi though nothing could stop the protesters and thousands still managed to reach to the Police Headquarters at ITO in the night of Dec 15 against the brutalities let loose in the Jamia campus by Delhi Police and RSS goons in civil cloths wearing police's bullet proof vests illegally assisted the former in brutalising innocent students, just like storm troopers of Hitler's days!

Bihar Bandh

On 19 December, India observed the 92nd anniversary of the shared martyrdom and shared legacy of three of India's brave freedom fighters - Ashfaqulla Khan, Ramprasad Bismil and Roshan Singh, with massive protests celebrating the shared legacy of anti colonial struggle, martyrdom, and citizenship. On 19 December, responding to a call by Left parties, Bihar observed a Bandh against NPR, NRC, and CAA. Bihar Bandh against CAA and NRC

The Bihar Bandh against CAA and NRC started on 19 December 2019 as part of the National Protest called by Left parties. Braving the intense cold, people came out in huge numbers to raise their voice against the Modi-Shah autocracy. Rail and road traffic was obstructed at various places in the State.

The Janaki Express and Jainagar-Patna Kamal Ganga Inter-City Express were obstructed in the early morning by CPIML activists at Darbhanga. Local trains were blocked at Islampur in Nalanda. At Jehanabad, thousands of ML activists swarmed the tracks and blocked the Bhabhua-Patna Inter-City and 5 PG



passenger trains. The Patna-Gaya main road was also jammed. Most shops remained closed. The Bandh was led by Srinivas Sharma, Rambali Singh Yadav and leaders from CPI and CPIM.

Main roads in the State have also been blocked. CC member Manoj Manzil led the blockade of the Ara-Sasaram main road which jammed traffic for hours. A rally was organized at Ara city which culminated in a meeting at Ara Bus Stand. Roads were fully blocked in Jagdishpur at Bhadsara Bazaar, Pavna Bazaar, Isadhi Bazaar, Arwal, resulting in full traffic jams on the Arwal-Jehanabad and Patna-Aurangabad roads. Roads were blocked in Motihari, Mainatand (Western Champaran), Rahika (Madhubani), Siwan, Gopalganj, Mairwa, Darauli, Katihar, Bhabhua, Rohtas, Gaya, Nawada, Bhagalpur, Araria and other places.

While a massive rally against CAA-NRC was organized from Gandhi Maidan in Patna, Patna University students' organizations ensured the resounding success of the Bandh in the University area. The issues of women's safety and eviction of the poor were also raised. Led by Kunal, Meena Tiwari, Dharendra Jha and leaders from CPI, CPIM, Forward Bloc, RSP and Hindustani Awam Morcha, the rally marched through various places in the city and culminated in a meeting at

the Dak Bangla Chowk addressed by Kanhaiya Kumar and other leaders. The Bandh was made a huge success by the participation of AISA, AISF, SFI, Bhim Army and many other student organizations. Leaders speaking at the rally said that the people of India would not tolerate this attack by Modi-Shah on India and our Constitution and would fight till this hate-mongering divisive government is defeated. They called on workers and farmers, including rural workers to make the workers-farmers strike on 8 January 2020 a resounding success.

Hundreds of protesters courted arrest across the State at Nawada and other Districts during the anti-CAA-NRC Bandh. NH 28 and 31 were fully jammed at Muzaffarpur and Beguserai. AISA led students in the total Bandh at Magadh University. Thousands of people came out on the streets to ensure the Bandh at Nalanda. Gayaghat-Muzaffarpur and Bandara-Muzaffarpur NH were blocked.

Violence by BJP-Bajrang Dal Goons in Phulwarisharif

Bihar again observed a Bandh called by the RJD and supported by CPIML on 21 December. On that day, communal forces unleashed violence at Phulwarisharif in A high level CPIML team enquired

into the incident at Phulwarisharif and found that the hand of RSS-Bajrang Dal was responsible for the incident. They tried to disrupt the Bandh by firing and stone-pelting, injuring many protesters. The rioters deliberately targeted Muslim protesters. Of the injured, 10 are being treated at AIIMS Patna and one at PMCH. Speaking to the victims' families and other locals, the team found that the incident at Tamtam Padav occurred near the Saraswati Shishu Mandir, an RSS-dominated area. The administration accepted that they were aware of the danger of rioting, and yet they took no proper precautions. They told the team that they have prepared a list of 100 people of whom 23 Hindus and 17 Muslims have been arrested. The team said that instead of arresting the masterminds behind the attack, the administration is raiding the villages of minorities. The team members met the injured, including Mohd Shahnawaz, Mohd Ashraf, Mohd Alam, Mohd Sabir Alam, Mohd Faizal, MOhd Anas, Mohd Tausif, Mohd Akbar, and Shailendra Kumar.

The CPIML demanded action against the erring local administrative officials, stopping raids on minority community, arresting the ring leaders of the attack, and Rs 2 lakhs each as compensation for the injured. □



Vinod Mishra Memorial Day observed as Sankalp Diwas

CPIML observes 18 December, death anniversary of former General Secretary and leader Comrade Vinod Mishra, as Sankalp Diwas every year. In the light of Modi government disasters like demonetization, GST, and now CAA-NRC and the politics of communal fascism and hate-mongering divisiveness played by the BJP, it is by walking on the path shown by Comrade Vinod Mishra that we can give a befitting and resounding reply to the evil conspiracies of the RSS/BJP.

CPIML General Secretary Dipankar Bhattacharya addressed a People's Rights rally organized in Pudukottai, Tamil Nadu on 18 December 2019 against CAA, NRC and NPR. The rally was marked by massive enthusiasm and participation by the large numbers of people.

The Sankalp Diwas program in Uttarakhand was organized at the party office in Lalkuan. State Secretary Raja Bahuguna and other leaders said that the Modi government is walking on Hitler's

path, as is clear by their fascist actions in Kashmir, atrocities on Jamia, AMU and other students. It was decided at the meeting to make the dharna on 19 December against CAA-NRC and the all India workers' strike on 8 January 2020 a resounding success.

A meeting was organized in Jaipur against CAA_NRC and it was decided to ensure the success of 19 December as Protest Day. Sankalp Diwas programs were also organized in Jharkhand at Ranchi, Ramgarh, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Garhwa, Giridih, Bagodar, Palamu, Devghar, Bokaro and other places.

Sankalp Diwas was observed in Uttar Pradesh at various places including Lucknow, Allahabad, Ghazipur, Ballia, Banaras, Pilibhit, Sitapur, Sonbhadra, Gorakhpur, Maharajganj, Lakhimpur Kheeri, Nighasan, and Palia. Tributes were paid to the memory of Comrade Vinod Mishra and the Party's Sankalp Patra was read out.

18 December was observed in Durg, Chhattisgarh as Sankalp Diwas in memory of Comrade Vinod



Mishra.

Sankalp Diwas was observed across the state of Bihar in hundreds of villages and Panchayats with flag hoisting, reading of Sankalp Patra, and garlanding of Comrade Vinod Mishra's portrait. Meetings were organized at Patna, Bhojpur, Nalanda, Jehanabad, Patna Rural, Darbhanga, Gaya, Arwal, Western Champaran, Saharsa, Muzaffarpur, Madhubani, Siwan, Samastipur, Kaimur, Buxar, Rohtas, Aurangabad, Gopalganj, Purnea, Bhagalpur and other districts.

In Bhubhaneshwar and Rayagada in Odisha Meetings were held in which hundreds of cadres took the pledge to defeat fascism and intensify the movement against CAA and attacks on institutions. □



Stop Military Repression In Assam

The CPIML condemns the imposition of curfew and internet ban, and the deployment of military and paramilitary forces in Assam against the popular movement against the unconstitutional and communal Citizenship Amendment Bill.

The Modi-Shah Government used brute majority to pass the CAA in both houses of Parliament, fully knowing that there have already been long-standing protests against CAA in Assam and the North East, and that it is fast spurring widespread alarm and protests all over India.

Now, instead of immediately withdrawing the CAA, it is instead seeking to do in Assam what it has already done in Kashmir: ban protests, impose curfews, ban the internet, and unleash the Army and paramilitary forces against unarmed

civilians. It has also sought to crack down on media coverage of anti-CAA protests, deeming such protests to be anti-national.

The Modi-Shah regime's all-India NRC and CAA package is a war on India's Constitution, threatening to strip the poor and the country's Muslim minorities of citizenship, and divide the country on religious lines. And the deployment of Army and paramilitary makes it clear that the Modi-Shah regime is now waging war on Assam, where the CAA is facing universal opposition.

The Modi-Shah Government is squarely responsible for stoking tensions and creating a volatile and explosive situation in Assam. The CPIML had written to the President of India asking him to refuse assent to the CAA, and avert the calamity that looms ahead in Assam and India. □

Arrests in UP and Tripura for protesting Babri Masjid demolition

CPIML observed 6 December as the day of countrywide protests to demand that the guilty in the Babri Masjid demolition should be punished without any further delay.

Even though the court verdict is being delayed, the entire country knows which persons were involved in demolishing the Babri Masjid and thus attacking the democratic secular fabric of India. There are many names which do not appear in the charge-sheet but they have themselves declared openly in public that they were involved in the demolition. All such BJP leaders should receive punishment. BJP MP Sakshi Maharaj is an accused named in the charge-sheet; admirer of Nathuram Godse MP, Pragya Thakur has been openly declaring

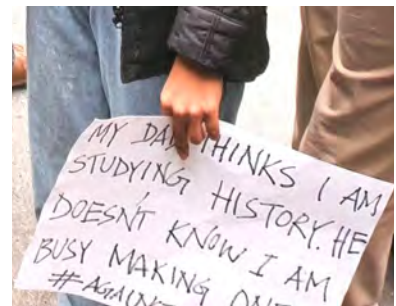
that she was part of the Babri demolition. Both these MPs should be immediately dismissed from Parliament in the interest of justice.

Countrywide protests were organised on these two demands involving lakhs of people. At many places demonstrations were held in spite of many hindrances posed by the administration favouring ruling BJP governments. In Chennai the protest was held even after the district authorities denied permission to hold any programme on this issue.

CPIML activists were holding a peaceful dharna on 6 December at Robertsganj Tahsil and preparing to submit to the SDM a memorandum addressed to the President. As they were making preparations,

the police led by the local Chowki in-charge snatched away the memorandum, separated the women, and arrested 7 Party activists. They were taken to the Thana and beaten up there. Earlier, two Party leaders—State Standing Committee member Shashikant Kushwaha and District Secretary Shankar Kol—had been arrested in the morning from the Robertsganj Party office in order to prevent them from attending the protest. The two leaders were detained for the whole day and released in the evening, while the 5 Party workers were sent to jail.

The Gomati District Party committee holding protest demanding punishment to the perpetrators of Babri demolition and dismissal of MPs, Sakshi Maharaj and Pragya from Parliament, in Udaipur district of Tripura. An organised mob of RSS-BJP suddenly started attacking the leaders which was resisted by the people present. The goons retreated and again came back to set the CPIML party office on fire while the police and other officials took no action against them. The miscreants also attacked Party's Tripura state secretary comrade Partha Karmakar injuring him. The RSS goons again came in night to attack the house of comrade Karmakar and other party supporters. An FIR has been filed against this incident but so far no satisfactory action was taken by the administration. □



No Custodial Murder In Our Name: AIPWA Statement on Hyderabad Fake Encounter

The four suspects in the Hyderabad rape and murder case have been killed by the police in an early morning “encounter”. This “encounter” has all the hallmarks of a custodial murder, dressed up to look like an “encounter”. Since the suspects were in police custody, and thus unarmed, it is clear that the police is lying when it claims they were killed when “attacking the police” at the crime scene where they had been taken to “recreate” the events of the night the rape-murder occurred.

We, as a country, will now be told that “justice” has been done, the victim avenged. And now we can all go back to business as usual, reassured that our police, our government, our society are righteous, and the evil rapists are no more. But this justice is counterfeit. A system that offers murder as “justice” is a system that is telling women – we can’t ensure the streets are safe, can’t investigate crimes against women to ensure there’s enough evidence to prove guilt, can’t protect rape survivors (one was burnt alive yesterday in UP), can’t ensure that survivors get dignity in Court. All they can do is act like a lynch mob and ask us, the people, to accept lynching as the only possible justice.

We must also remember that these four men were suspects. We do not know if there was a shred of evidence proving their guilt, beyond the custodial confessions which police in India routinely obtain through torture. Torture does not reveal truth. Tortured men will say anything the torturers want to hear. So we do not even know whether the four men killed are really the ones

who raped and killed the doctor in Hyderabad.

The same Hyderabad police which mocked the desperate attempts of the victim’s parents to find their daughter, which is issuing “Dos and Dents for women”, i.e. telling women to stay home after 8 pm because the police can’t/won’t do their job of keeping streets safe, is now telling us to believe they caught and “punished” the rapists, and acted as Judge, jury and executioner. This is a cruel joke.

Women’s movement groups will be the first to say – this is not justice. This is a ploy to shut down our demand for accountability from the police, judiciary, governments, and justice and dignity for women. Instead of being accountable to his job and answering our questions about his Government’s failures to safeguard women’s rights, the Telangana CM and his police have acted as leaders of a lynch mob.

For those arguing this kind of custodial killing is a “deterrent”, think again. The Hyderabad and Telangana police are notorious for this kind of custodial murder. In 2008, the Hyderabad police committed the custodial murder of three men accused in an acid attack case. That murder didn’t deter crimes against women in Hyderabad, Telangana, or India. Acid attacks, rapes, murders of women continue to happen with impunity.

We demand a thorough investigation into the alleged “encounter”. The police personnel responsible must be arrested and prosecuted, and must be asked to prove in court that all four men were killed in self defence. Why is this important, not only for human

rights but for women’s rights? Because a police force that can kill with impunity, no questions asked, can also rape and kill women with impunity, confident that no questions will be asked. Remember the case of teenage Meena Khalkho in Chhattisgarh, gang raped and killed by Chhattisgarh police who then dressed up the killing as an encounter, branding Meena a Maoist. A judicial enquiry found that the encounter was staged to cover up a gang rape and murder by the police. That gang of rapists and killers are yet to face trial, yet to face any kind of justice.

Many TV channels and right wing social media armies will tell you that we, the women’s movement activists, are the enemy because we do not accept custodial murder and lynching as justice. These channels and armies are the same who defended the rallies held to protect the accused in the Kathua case, the same who defend the Kathua rapists even after they were convicted in a court of law! They are the same who brand the complainant in the CJI Gogoi sexual harassment case as a liar, the same who slut-shame JNU and Jadavpur women students who complain of sexual harassment, the same who defend the gang rape accused MLA Kuldeep Sengar.

We, activists of the women’s movement, continue to demand substantive justice for women. We want the police to do its job, and protect women’s rights, not act as Judge and executioner. We do not want a mythical “collective conscience” appeased by the murder of men the police declare to be rapists. We want society’s conscience to change and be more respectful and supportive of women complainants in rape and sexual harassment cases, and more alert and active in rejecting victim blaming and rape culture. □

March for Climate Justice and Land Rights in Madrid

The Social Climate Summit, a meet parallel to COP25, also organised a Climate Justice March in Madrid to highlight the environmental devastation brought out by forest fires and displacement of indigenous people by the big capital particularly in Brazil. Half a million people attended this march. Marchers demanded to include land rights and indigenous people's rights an integral part of climate policy framework.

They criticised Brazil's Bolsonaro government and its representatives for keeping silent about the recent forest fires and forest land encroachments. An indigenous peoples' representative Sonia Guajajara said that the Bolsonaro government is murdering the defenders of Amazon forests as well as snatching their livelihoods.

Another Brazilian activist criticised the governments of Latin America for refusing to hold dialogue with the indigenous peoples and for violating their own constitutional norms and international treaties.

Governments all over are making laws to benefit mining, agribusiness and other big corporations at the expense of rights and livelihood of indigenous peoples. In Brazil the current right wing government of Bolsonaro has made a provision of 'self declaration' of land ownerships which will benefit land grabbers and cronies of big capital. In the global liberalised policy framework terms like Self Declaration and Ease of Doing Business are euphemisms to mask attacks on the rights of the poor. In India too the recent change in Labour Laws has also given a self certification clause undermining industrial safety, where hundreds of workers die at workplaces. □



Lakhs of climate protesters took to the streets of Madrid while national delegations held COP25.

COP25 : World Leaders Betray Victims of Climate Change

Radhika Krishnan

"How dare you! You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words...People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction. And all you can talk about is money and fairytales of eternal economic growth. You are failing us!"

— Environmental activist Greta Thunberg addressing the UN Climate Action Summit in September 2019

The year 2019 saw unprecedented attention being paid to the burning question of global warming and the concomitant climate crisis. 16-year old Greta Thunberg spearheaded a global school strike to demand for immediate and effective action to counter the ongoing crisis, following which she was invited to the UN Climate Action Summit in September. It was at this summit that Thunberg thundered at world leaders, "You are failing us... the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you. And if you choose to fail us, I say: We will never forgive you". It is in the backdrop of this extraordinary global attention that the latest round of climate negotiations (Conference of the Parties, COP25) took place in Madrid, Spain in early December.

Unfortunately, it does look as if world leaders did indeed fail Thunberg and millions like her who are worried about the planet's future, despite the intense spotlight on the negotiations this time around. After participating in a rally of an estimated half a million protestors outside the venue of the climate talks, Thunberg described the COP talks as having turned "into some kind of opportunity for countries to negotiate loopholes".

The attention garnered by the COP25 talks in Madrid is hardly surprising. Several scientific reports, such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) latest report released last year (which Liberation had covered), have highlighted the extent and urgency of the crisis. The 2018 IPCC report informed us that the world cannot afford to let global warming exceed

1.5°C, thus revising its previous estimate of 2°C. Climate science now tells us that overshooting the 1.5°C threshold could trigger events which would literally finish off humankind. The world is already 1.1°C warmer than it was at the onset of the industrial revolution. If current trends persist, then global temperatures can be expected to rise by 3.2 to 3.9°C this century. And yet, world leaders in summit after summit have been remarkably reluctant to acknowledge and address these chilling figures. In fact, one point of contention at the COP24 summit last year was that a host of countries, including the US, Saudi Arabia, Russia and Kuwait, even refused to welcome the internationally recognised findings of the IPCC report. As the need greenhouse emission targets get tougher and more difficult to meet (according to the UN Environment Programme's 2019 Emissions Gap Report, we now need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions at the rate of 7.6% per cent per year from 2020 to 2030), this is tragically being met by indifference by the powers-that-be.

COP25 was mandated to resolve several outstanding issues, including deciding provisions under Article 6 (which will be discussed later in this piece) of the Paris Agreement which would allow countries to meet, in part, domestic mitigation goals through market mechanisms such as carbon markets; public registries for Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) to address greenhouse gas emissions; and technological adaptation efforts under the Paris Agreement. The focus, in short, was on to get countries to commit to more ambitious targets for greenhouse gas emissions. COP25 was also supposed to discuss a just international mechanism to deal with loss and damage associated with climate change impacts as well

as international climate finance in particular.

Let us first look at the positives achieved at the COP25 in Madrid. More than seventy countries committed to net zero carbon emissions by 2050, even if major emitters such as the US, UK, India, China and Russia have not yet done so. More than 100 cities did the same, including several of the world's largest. Small island states together committed to achieve carbon neutrality and to move to 100 per cent renewable energy by 2030. There was a commitment (at least on paper) from more than a 100 businesses to push for greener technologies and to move towards carbon-neutral investment portfolios by 2050. There were moves to raise emission control and investment targets by some non-state actors. However, overall, the Madrid talks ended in a compromise deal which left a lot to be desired, something that even the UN Secretary General admitted. A range of countries, including the US, Australia, Brazil (and India and China to a certain extent) stalled efforts by the European Union (EU) and small island states to push for higher greenhouse gas reduction targets.

Just 80 countries (representing a mere 10.5% of total emissions) – primarily, small and developing nations – have stated their intention to enhance their emission reduction targets by 2020. All the biggest emitters failed to do so. Mohamed Adow, director of Power Shift Africa, claimed that most countries were “giving us a copy-paste of what was agreed four years ago”. The EU was in some senses an exception. It has promised to make itself “climate neutral” by 2050, and has published the “European Green Deal”, which, if it becomes law, will commit at least 25% of the EU's long-term budget to climate action. It has also proposed

to increase its emission reduction targets from 40% to 50-55%. One might ask, what was India's role in all this? India did not declare any further reduction in its emission targets, and along with others in the “Like-Minded group of Developing Countries” (LMDCs), argued that the richer countries must provide more for financing global action towards reducing emissions. Poor global financing, combined with the poor track record of the richer countries in meeting their own stipulated targets in the pre-2020 period, argued the LMDCs, was the main obstacle in the climate negotiations. The lack of interest in declaring more ambitious targets and strategies left small island states and African countries highly disappointed. The Association of Small Island States in fact called out Brazil, India and China as parties “actively blocking” better emission reductions.

As mentioned earlier, Article 6 was a major bone of contention in COP25. Article 6 deals with “voluntary cooperation” towards increasing climate goals. It looks at both market-based as well as non-market approaches to do so, based on the belief that international cooperation could spread finance, technology and expertise around the world. Just as discussions over emission reduction targets left island nations and African countries underwhelmed, discussions over Article 6 left indigenous groups angry. The proposed draft texts released during the talks removed a requirement for parties to “respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights”. This deliberate removal of human rights from the ambit of deliberations was seen as a clear prioritisation of profits and corporate greed. It was pointed out by various groups that Kyoto Protocol's market-based “Clean Development Mechanism”

for international carbon trading has been linked with human-rights violations. Projects under it, such as large hydropower dams, have led to large-scale human displacement and destruction of livelihoods. This dissent apart, references to respecting human rights were removed from the final draft too. Parties only agreed vaguely to address “negative social and environmental impacts”.

On the question of adaption and provision of financial support for climate action by the rich countries, the final version of the agreement signed was notably weak. It just “encouraged” these countries to support adaption. The question of how to support countries affected by the irreversible impacts of climate change has been a long-running debate at COPs over recent years. How does one support the poorest countries from managing climate-related disasters such as extreme weather events and climatic disasters such as cyclones? Once again, COP25 failed to impress. Rich nations led by the US ensured that no concrete proposal be reached; no concrete financial allocations were made. Neither was there any concrete assurance of additional money, nor were countries urged to move beyond voluntary donations.

Essentially, important decisions have been delayed at COP25 and simply pushed forward to the next COP scheduled to be held at Glasgow in Scotland next year. And what became painfully clear was that there was a growing divide to be seen in the climate talks – a divide between smaller, developing countries and major powers and emitters. It is indeed sad that India placed itself on the side of the major powers, thus missing an important opportunity to forge an international solidarity of the poor and the marginalised from across ‘national’ borders. □

Corbyn, the Hindu far-right and Israel's partisans

Amrit Wilson

Israel is rarely mentioned openly in the context of interventions into the British elections. It is the elephant in the room which has now been joined by one of its followers – Modi’s ‘New India’. Significantly, the links between the two in the UK have been forged after Corbyn became the leader of the Labour Party by Hindu Far-Right groups in the UK, Israel’s supporters in this country and the Tory party.

On the face of it, the events which have unfolded over the last six weeks or so appear spontaneous: First Whats App messages started circulating urging UK’s Hindus to vote Tory because the Labour Party Conference’s Emergency Motion had criticised Modi’s policies in Kashmir, and hence Labour is anti-Indian. Then in the Gujarati Hindu heartlands of Leicester, Harrow and Brent there were leaflets through people’s doors pressing this message home. Then finally, with just over two weeks left till election day, a spokesperson for the Hindu Council made a statement in support of Rabbi Mirvis’ claim that Labour Party is anti-Semitic adding that it is ‘anti-Hindu’ too.

None of this, however, is spontaneous. The ground was fertile, because over decades the Hindu Far-Right in this country had systematically spread the Islamophobic, upper caste, misogynistic and militaristic political ideology known as Hindutva .

These organisations include the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS), the overseas wing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), an organisation modelled

on Mussolini’s Blackshirts (which in India is the driving force behind the lynchings and rapes of Muslims, Christians and Dalits); charities like Sewa International, which together with the HSS was found to have channelled millions of pounds raised from the British public to RSS front organisations in India; the Hindu Forum of Britain; the National Council for Hindu Temples (NCHT), and linked to these organisations, a large number of cultural groups from Hindu faith schools to meditation centres to Yoga clubs.

In the community the Hindu Far-Right forces claim to be ‘traditional’, but in the world of finance and business they are represented by suave, westernised men, like Manoj Ladwa, Narendra Modi’s chief strategist, himself a HSS member, and Alpesh Shah, hedge fund manager and columnist for the pro-Modi Asian Voice newspaper. Shah recently wrote, an open letter to Narendra Modi urging him to follow Israel’s example: “the first determinant of your relations with any foreign government should be their treatment of their Hindu population within their borders. It has to be the business of this [India’s] government how Hindus are treated worldwide...This doctrine is not novel in International Relations. The people of Israel provide protection for Jews wherever they are in the world, of whichever nationality. We shall extend no less protection to Hindus”.

While in Britain the Islamophobia of the Hindutva forces has been

normalised and invisibilised by the anti-Muslim racism of the state, their caste-based discrimination and abuse has been constantly confronted within the community. Dalit organisations have, since 2000, campaigned for a law against caste-based discrimination, with the support of Jeremy Corbyn, then a backbench MP. In 2010, such a law was effectively passed by the outgoing Labour government and eventually the Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act 2013 imposed a 'duty' on the government to make caste an aspect of race in the Equality Act of 2010. This 'duty' has not yet been met and the Tories have all but scuppered the law in response to the Hindu Far-Right's claim that it would stigmatise the Hindu community. However, the struggle to end caste-based discrimination continues and so does the Hindu Far-Right's angry opposition to it. In a recent BBC film by YouTuber Parle Patel, blatant caste-based exclusion was exposed, but Satish Sharma, the Chair of NCHT, claimed on camera that it does not happen and said that even the word caste should not be mentioned 'it is as toxic for us' as the n-word.

Despite the tensions over caste, until 2015, the Hindutva groups had continued to hedge their bets and tried to cosy up to both Blairite Labour as well as the Tories, with Manoj Ladwa organising receptions for the Labour Friends of India, and gushing about the 'deep relationship' between the Labour Party and India... A veritable 'Labour of Love we should all feel proud of. This love faded away, however, after Jeremy Corbyn was elected leader and the Hindu Far-Right began to strengthen their links to Israel's partisans in Britain.

Remarkably, it was in the context of caste, in 2018, that these links

first surfaced. At a meeting in the House of Commons about the Caste law, attended among others by Satish Sharma and Conservative Party donor Lord Jitesh Gadhia. Bob Blackman (the rabidly pro-Hindutva Tory MP from Harrow East) welcomed Gideon Falter the CEO of the Campaign Against Anti-Semitism (CAA). Falter responded by assuring the meeting that he and his supporters would do all they could to help eradicate the 'duty' on the government to make Caste an aspect of race in the Equality Act of 2010. Lord Jitesh Gadhia and Bob Blackman then called for the need to learn from the way the CAA had got the International Holocaust

This article was written just before the UK elections. While it did not predict a Tory landslide, it did indicate, correctly, that the BJP's campaign for Johnson was not likely to have much impact in Harrow, Brent North, Southall and in Leicester East which are key areas with Gujarati populations. In each case, MPs from the same party as before were returned. However the Leicester East election where ex-Labour MP Keith Vaz's seat was being contested was a remarkable struggle. (Vaz had been forced to resign to avoid suspension, not for his notorious corruption, but for having purchased cocaine from sex workers). Corbyn ally, Claudia Webbe, a black woman whose family live in the area, won despite a vicious and well-funded campaign of lies and anti-Black racism against her by Bhupen Dave the Tory candidate who had the full support of Hindutva forces. Her victory was a ray of sunshine in the depressing days following the election.

Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism passed in the Labour Party. The IHRA definition is worded in such a way that people who want to criticise the behaviour of Israel against the Palestinians would be classed as anti-Semitic. Clearly Blackman and Gadhia were seeking something similar to prevent criticism of the BJP government in Britain.

However, the Hindu Far-Right's support for the Tories must also be seen against the reality of India under the BJP with its on-going Tsunami of hate and violence against Muslims, Christians and Dalits and attacks and assassinations of human rights activists, journalists, lawyers and dissenter who are so-often dubbed 'Urban Naxals'. Through all this the Hindutva forces have continued to glorify Modi in the communities of Indian origin in Britain and justify everything he did

The violence against minorities and critics of the regime in India has gone hand in hand with a politics of extreme neoliberalism which is selling India to corporate robber barons, particularly Modi's cronies and nurturing a hatred for the Left expressed by Modi's acolytes, on social media and in public spaces in the virulent language of fascism. This too has been echoed in Britain with Modi's supporters viciously abusing critics of the Modi regime in Britain.

As for Israel, Modi is the first Indian Prime Minister to visit the country. He has engaged in a series of massive arms deals. India is now the world's largest purchaser of Israeli weapons accounting for some 50% of Israel's arms sales and providing a huge boost to the Israeli economy. These weapons which are projected as 'tried and tested' (on Palestinians)

include Heron surveillance aircraft, a variety of missile systems, drones modified (by Elbit) for use in Kashmir's climate, and much more. In addition, India copies Israeli strategies of occupation and land grab. It may even attempt to build Israelis style settlements in the Kashmir valley. These developments too are projected in the Indian communities in the UK as entirely positive and peaceful moves, essential for the defence of India on the one hand, and signs of the friendship between Indians and Israelis. In fact they reflect a growing similarity between the ideologies of Zionism and Hindutva. Perhaps only faintly separated by the BJP leaders' misogynistic and patriarchal rhetoric in India of finally allowing Indian men to go to Kashmir to marry light-skinned Kashmiris after they revoked Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Modi has now strengthened himself within a circle of repressive far-right regimes. His closeness to Trump was demonstrated most recently by Trump's attendance of the Howdy Modi event in Houston, Texas and Jair Bolsonaro is to be the chief guest at India's Republic Day celebrations in January. Boris Johnson, who has declared recently that he would partner Modi in building 'New India', would clearly fit comfortably into this club.

The BJP's influence on the Conservatives government has also increased in recent years. In 2016, Priti Patel, Modi's ardent admirer was appointed International Development Secretary by Theresa May. Patel has been close to the RSS for a considerable time; in September 2014, as MP for Witham, she congratulated the HSS for inviting RSS leader Dattatreya Hosabale to the UK to attend an event titled 'RSS, a vision in action – a new dawn'.

Although she was forced to resign over a secret visit to Israel with a lobbyist to meet Israeli officials, Patel is back as Home Secretary and has now been joined in government by a new admirer of Modi, Rishi Sunak the Chief Secretary to the Treasury. Sunak is the son-in-law of Infosys founder NR Narayana Murthy – who warmly backed Modi for his second term.

The BJP want the Tories to remain in power, to ensure, if nothing else, that there are no criticisms from the UK on the future actions it is planning. These are likely to include not only further repression in Kashmir but the imposition of second class citizenship and possible ethnic cleansing of Muslims through a National Register of Citizens and Citizenship Amendment laws. The changes of law will be part of the process of tearing up of India's secular Constitution to turn the country into a fascistic Hindu state, something RSS Chief Mohan Bhagwat has already said is 'non-negotiable'.

Will the Hindu far-right's interventions in the election actually succeed? It is not the first time they have supported the Tories. In the run up to the 2017 election too, the NCHT was eulogising Theresa May and condemning the Labour Party as 'grandeers... determined to foist Caste labels upon British Hindus'. May was welcomed to the Swaminarayan Temple in Neasden by representatives of a range of Hindu Far-Right organisations including the HSS. Manoj Ladwa was quoted saying 'Labour has lost its way to the point that the relationship between Labour and the British Indian community often feels adversarial'.

Will the Whats App campaign, which has been used to sway the vote in the Indian elections, have

an impact in the UK elections too? As Satpal Muman of Caste Watch UK, Britain's largest Dalit organisations explains 'We know how the Hindutva groups have campaigned over caste to shore up the power of the so-called upper-castes, now Kashmir is the latest drum they want to beat because Labour has stood up to them! But it is not really going to make much difference, the well-off upper caste Hindu businessmen always voted Conservative anyway. One in four Hindus are Dalits and the vast majority of them are likely to vote Labour.'

Anjona Roy, the founder of Dostiyo (an Asian women's organisation which seeks to relieve social isolation and has three different centres in Northampton and Wellingborough, serving several hundred women) tells me 'Many of the women at Dostiyo are Gujarati, they have seen the Hindu-Right's propaganda. But when they come to the centres and meet others like themselves who have been affected by benefits sanctions - women being sanctioned for 52 weeks for missing an appointment - they understand the stark reality of a Tory government. So I am optimistic about Labour's chances.'

There are also communities of Indian origin in places like Southall, where the Labour vote is likely to be as solid as it has always been. At the same time many Labour policies have a particular appeal for Indians like the pledge to end the 'rip off' visa fees, the fair taxation structure, the end to tuition fees, the plans to discuss colonialism in school curricula and much more, and many young people, particularly, inspired by Labour's radical manifesto are rejecting the Whats App messages received by their parents and are eager to vote Labour on 12 December. □

UK General Election 2019: Reflections on the Labour Defeat

Ananya W-B, South Asia Solidarity Group

The recent UK general election on 12 December saw the Labour Party lose 59 seats, securing only 203 seats, the least it has held since 1935. While the party actually polled more votes than in elections in 2005, 2010 and 2015, and the Conservatives overall 14 million votes were not significantly higher than when they lost their majority in 2017, the significant swing to the Tories in the previously impregnable so-called 'red wall' of Labour seats in the ex-industrial Midlands and North of England led to a dramatic Labour collapse. But to understand how such a result came about in the current political climate, several crucial factors must be considered.

The Labour Party has sought to re-promote its core social democratic values, which had been lost in recent decades, over the past four years since veteran leftwing MP and staunch anti-racist and anti-imperialist campaigner, Jeremy Corbyn, became leader in 2015. The Party's 'For the Many Not the Few' Manifesto sought to reverse the effects of austerity and tackle chronic poverty, inequality and climate change through taxing the super-rich and revitalizing state provision. Many commentators are seeing this defeat as a historic defeat for the left in the UK, as a sign that such policies, despite being far from radical in relation to existing policies in many European countries, are not viable, or not palatable to the British public. But the reality is inevitably more complex.

An unprecedented media campaign against Corbyn, spearheaded by select right-wing

newspapers owned by corporations allied to the Conservative Party, and taken up enthusiastically across the mainstream media and notably by the BBC, had been going on since the start of his leadership and intensified severely in the six-week election campaigning period. Corbyn was targeted on a number of levels, but one of the most insidious, and ultimately most powerful, media narratives against him, and one in which the Labour right also colluded, was of his alleged anti-semitism. This was despite his long history of defending the Jewish community against racist attacks. This notion arose solely from his explicit support for Palestine, a central aspect of his anti-imperialist politics which has consistently set him apart from other progressive politicians in the UK. Corbyn's long-term advocacy for Palestinian rights ensured that the Israeli state was determined to prevent him ever becoming Prime Minister and it played a central role in the campaign against him.

This media smear campaign worked alongside the Conservatives' own campaign, which focussed heavily on personal demonisation of Corbyn, whilst simultaneously attempting to win voters over with an empty promise to 'Get Brexit done'. As far-fetched as this tagline may have been, it served the Conservatives surprisingly well in Northern seats which had historically voted Labour, many of which swung to the Conservatives in this election for the first time in decades. Many of these seats had also been heavily 'Leave'-voting constituencies in the 2016 EU referendum. The far-right Brexit

party, led by Nigel Farage, in fact won a significant proportion of the vote in several constituencies, increasing their vote share and mainly attracting previously Labour voters, thus facilitating Tory gains. In some Remain-voting areas, the Liberal Democrats also made gains to the advantage of Conservatives, as seen in the deeply economically polarized constituency of Kensington, where the 2017 Grenfell Tower fire took 72 lives, which swung from Labour to the Conservatives in 2019 by just 150 votes.

This has led to a focus on Labour's Brexit policy as its major weakness, with some on the left arguing that a straightforward Leave position would have been preferable to the belatedly adopted and somewhat complex Labour policy of negotiating a deal to leave the EU which preserved workers' and environmental protections and freedom of movement and then holding a 'Final Say' second referendum based on a choice of this deal or remaining in the EU. Many on the Left, including Corbyn, had historically opposed membership of the EU as a neoliberal institution which constrains radical transformation of the economies of its members. However, pre-Referendum the Left argument for Brexit (or Lexit) became very rapidly sidelined and rendered untenable as the right successfully mobilised a wave of anti-migrant, racist and xenophobic sentiments and objectives which became inextricable from the notion of Brexit. Brexit became an almost insoluble issue for Labour, but not because, as some commentators suggested, it divided relatively affluent middle class Labour voters in big cities, particularly London from working class Labour voters in the deindustrialised poverty-stricken

smaller towns in the Midlands and North. In reality, whilst there was undeniably a North/South divide in the referendum voting patterns, this was not primarily along class lines. Labour strongholds in London like Corbyn's own constituency, Islington North, are some of the poorest in the country while also being some of the most diverse. The urban, significantly Black, Asian and minority ethnic working class in such areas are strongly pro-Remain, less because of any particular attachment to the EU and more because they recognise correctly that Leave from the outset became a proxy and conduit for far-right racist and anti-migrant ideologies. These groups, as well as the youth from all communities across the country who were inspired by the Corbyn campaign, (figures show that young people aged 18-24 voted would have almost exclusively elected Labour MPs across England had they been the only voters) had begun to be alienated by the earlier perceived Leave position of the Party.

There is also a need to recognise the very deep seams of British racism which have been mined in the last few years. The response in white working class communities of blaming migrants and other working class people of colour rather than those responsible for the suffering brought on by austerity is not only a result of desperation or even the very real decline of collective organisations such as trade unions. The fertile ground for today's far-right message has been created by a very long history going back to the very construction of imperial Britishness and the inclusion of working class people within it. Boris Johnson's apparent personal popularity reflects this deeply entrenched racism within many communities across the country,

particularly in largely white areas. His comparison of Muslim women to letterboxes, description of Africans as 'piccaninnies with watermelon smiles' and numerous other racist, misogynistic and homophobic remarks in recent months have legitimised - and thus directly fuelled - the rise of far-right activity, particularly racist hate crimes. Aside from this appeal amongst sections of the white working-class, Johnson's campaign was consistent with the 'post-truth' approach of far-right leaders across the



world, making entirely false claims around Labour's manifesto. Most prominently, the Conservatives claimed falsely that the majority of voters would be worse off under Labour's plans to increase taxes, which in fact were concerned only with the top income bracket (those earning above £80k a year). This scaremongering took the form of highly personal attacks on Corbyn, including a campaign poster with his picture and the words 'would you trust this man with your children?' referring to Labour's alleged plans to increase inheritance taxes for the population at large. These tactics inevitably contributed towards swaying those not well-informed - across the class spectrum - as to the details of each party's manifesto and wider political approach.

One common thread in political

analysis, in the wake of the result, of the reasons behind Labour's defeat has been the notion that UK working-class affiliations have shifted away from the left, and that socialism is now the domain of the metropolitan (London) elites - an idea often weaponised by the far-right in their claims to represent the working class. But this argument is deeply misleading. Whilst Labour has sustained their hold on the majority of London constituencies - London undoubtedly remaining a Labour 'heartland' - this is not largely due to the votes of the 'metropolitan elites'. Rather, a large proportion of Labour voters in London are working class - but not necessarily white, or British. Many are from Black and other ethnic minority communities, including South Asians - many being Muslims - and migrants from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. As is the case with Brexit discussions, these voters are largely ignored by commentators on all sides of the political spectrum, and are generally not included in dominant narratives around the British working class, despite being among the most exploited.

Moving forward, it is crucial to bear in mind the roles of racism and anti-racism in this election. Corbyn's anti-imperialist and anti-racist commitment, which is unique even within the Labour Party leadership, prompted many on the left to join the Labour Party for the first time in 2015 with hopes of bringing anti-racism to the forefront of the ongoing fight against the Tories. As Labour activists reflect on the need to rebuild long-term left-led grassroots movements, it is critical that they keep the fight against structural and 'common sense' racism at their centre and elect a new leader committed to these goals. □

TADA Victim Comrade Tribhuvan Sharma Released from Jail

Comrade Tribhuvan Sharma was released from jail after being incarcerated for 17 years under a TADA case.

Immediately on hearing of his release, CPIML State Secretary Kunal, Magadh Zone in-charge Amar, Arwal, Jehanabad and Gaya District Secretaries and other senior leaders went to the Central Jail to welcome Comrade Tribhuvan Sharma. Hundreds of people from many villages welcomed back their beloved leader Tribhuvan Sharma with garlands and flowers.

Comrade Tribhuvan was incarcerated on 21 July 2003 and has been released after a prolonged legal battle. Many party leaders, farmers, workers, women, and shopkeepers went to the jail to welcome their beloved leader Comrade Tribhuvan and accompanied him back from Gaya Central Jail to his ancestral village Ahiyarpur.

CPIML Jahanabad Secretary Mahanand said that 14 people have been incarcerated in jail since 21 July 2003, of whom 5 have died, including Comrade Shah Chand. Comrade Shah Chand died after spending 12 years in jail. 7 people are still in jail, of whom 5 are in Gaya Central Jail and 2 in Bhagalpur Central Jail. He demanded that these 7 should also be released by the government.





Bihar Bandh against NPR-NRC-CAA, 19 December

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