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## Gujarat Elections

**Rajindar Sachar**

Now that Modi has won Gujarat elections, though with a much smaller margin, will he reflect on how much he lowered politics when he made the wild charge that there was a conspiracy and that Congress and elements in Pakistan may be working in cahoots to prevent BJP victory in Gujarat. All because a dinner was held at Mani Shankar Aiyar's house, where Manmohan Singh, the former Prime Minister, and high ranking former Indian diplomats were present along with the High Commissioner of Pakistan. There is a certain amount of decorum and decency which are never crossed in politics. But this charge without any proof has hit the lowest.

In politics, there certainly takes place banter and a serious dig at the competency of political rivals, but never untrue charges. The banter between Gladstone and Disraeli are classic; the later once said: "If Gladstone fell in the Thames, that would be a misfortune. But if someone fished him out again, that would be a calamity."

Previously such type of low level was never crossed even amongst sworn political rivals in India. It is

well known that Dr Lohia after coming back from Germany had worked in the Central Congress office with Pandit Nehru who was then the President of the Congress Party. When our Socialist Party walked out of the Congress in 1946, Dr Lohia had become the bitterest opponent of Nehru. But their relations never became low.

In May 1949, the Socialist Party under Dr Lohia's leadership held a demonstration before the Nepal embassy at Barakhamba Road, New Delhi to protest against the takeover of the Nepal government by the Rana that forced the King to flee. About 50 of us were arrested, including Dr Lohia, for violating Section 144 CrPC. and we remained in jail for over a month. During that period Nehru sent a basket of mangoes to Dr Lohia in jail. Sardar Patel was very annoyed by this and wrote to Nehru that while the government had arrested Dr Lohia, he was sending mangoes to him. To this Nehru wrote back politely that we should not mix personal relations with politics.

In 1951, Lohia visited the USA. Before that, he came to Delhi. I

remember that we were in the sitting room when someone told him that there was a phone call for him. Dr Lohia went to the other room. When he came back I asked whose phone was it. He said Pt. Nehru. What did he say, I asked. Dr. Lohia in half banter and annoyance repeated the conversation thus:

Nehru: "Ram Manohar, I hear you are going to USA."

Dr Lohia: "Yes."

There was a pause. Then again Nehru asked, "When?"

Dr Lohia: "Next week."

A pause again, and then Pt. Nehru said, "Alright," and switched off.

It was a curious talk and I asked Dr. Lohia what was Nehru's purpose in phoning him. Dr Lohia in half anger said – you know he wanted to tell me, "Ram Manohar, you are going abroad – do not criticise the government when abroad", but did not have the guts to tell me. And then Dr Lohia in a half annoyance said, "What strange behaviour – does he think that I will talk ill of the government when abroad." Such was their closeness, and yet they were so apart.

However when Dr Lohia met Einstein, he could not restrain himself and in answer to the latter's questions, remarked that "politicians are liars". Einstein was all sobriety personified, but he still added warmly "that they were criminals". Would Einstein have been able to find adequate words for the politicians today – I doubt it.

One day before filling the election papers against Nehru in the General

Elections of 1962, Dr Lohia wrote a letter to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru:

Dear President,

You would be surprised to read this letter. When I left the office of the Congress Committee forever I paid regards to that building Aruna was with me. That was our last meeting. In these elections, your victory is certain. But if the certainty is turned into uncertainty and ultimately to your defeat, then I would be extremely happy and it would also be beneficial for the country. Then you would get the opportunity to improve yourself and become a better person. In the end, I pray for your long life so that I may get the opportunity to reform you.

Yours truly,  
Ram Manohar Lohia.

To which Nehru replied the following:

Dear Ram Manohar,

Received your letter without date and address. I am sending the reply at the address of the Socialist Party, Allahabad.

I am happy that a sober person like you is opposing me in the elections. I think in this election the discussion would be centred on political programmes. Be cautious and ensure that the personal discussion is curtailed. On my part I promise that I would not visit my constituency even for a single day.

Yours,  
Jawahar Lal Nehru.

In 1964-65, Dr Lohia was elected to the Parliament. Nehru made it a point to be present in the Parliament on the day when Lohia was sworn in as member. Though Dr Lohia and

Nehru continued to exchange lot of harsh words, it was only on policy matters.

Modi should ruminate seriously the alienation of Muslims. The BP did not put up a single Muslim candidate, even though their population in Gujarat is over 8%.

Can one expect that Prime Minister Modi who took the oath of office to respect the Constitution will treat all communities equally? Is he in agreement with the statement made by Bhagwat, the RSS boss, that "All people born in India are Hindus", which is deliberately provocative and harmful to harmony in the country, or does he believe in the truth of Swami Vivekanand's exhortation that Mankind ought to be taught that religions are but the varied expression of THE RELIGION, which is Oneness, so that each may choose the path that suits him best: "I see in my mind's eye the future perfect India rising out of this chaos and strife, glorious and invincible, with Vedanta brain and Islam body."

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# Brutal Attack by Modi-Yogi Governments on Tea Vendors of Varanasi

Sandeep Pandey

The previous central government brought a Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 for protection of livelihood rights and social security of street vendors. A government press release quoting the Minister for Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation at that time said, 'Vendors try to solve their livelihood issues through their own meagre resources and sweat equity.' It was provided that no street vendor will be evicted until a survey of has been completed and a certificate of vending has been issued to vendors. A Town Vending Committee, comprising of at least 40% vendors, was to carry out the survey and allocate space for vending to vendors. Relocation was to be exercised as the last option only if there was urgent need for the land in question. If the vendors were to be evicted their livelihood and standard of living should improve after eviction compared to their pre-eviction level. The Act was supposed to protect street vendors from harassment by police and ensure they carry on their business without the fear of harassment by the authorities under any other law. No zone was to be declared no-vending zone until such time as the survey had been carried out and a plan for street vending had been formulated. The Act was to create a conducive atmosphere for vendors to do their business with dignity.

Yet on December 23, 2017, in the Prime Minister's constituency, immediately outside the Banaras

Hindu University, which is PM's favourite landing spot on his visits to his constituency, about 45 vendors in Lanka market were brutally assaulted by the police which swooped down unannounced with JCB machines and destroyed the trolleys, material items and other belongings of vendors who sell tea and other food items to patients admitted to Sir Sunder Lal Hospital and their attendants inside the University campus on the other side of the boundary wall. The vendors used to set up their trolleys on cement slabs covering a drain which goes along the boundary wall of the University. The University used to charge a fee from them for using the space long time back. The vendors have preserved the receipts. So, it is clearly not a land belonging to the Municipal Corporation or the District Administration.

In violation of all the nice provisions of the 2014 Street Vendors Act, the police of Varanasi District Administration bundled out the vendors causing them physical damage, monetary loss and public humiliation. The stoves were broken and wooden carts were burned. This is not the first time that the police has taken such an action. Whenever the PM, who considers it a matter of pride to declare himself a former tea vendor, is in Varanasi, the vendors are told to clear the area. But after PM's visit they were allowed to set up shops again. The brutality of the December 23 attack is inexplicable. It has brought out the anti-poor nature of Bhartiya Janata

Party governments once again and raises questions over PM's claims of ever having sold tea. The action of the local administration is clearly illegal. A number of complaints have been made to the PM's office about the hostile behaviour of the local administration towards vendors but to no avail.

As soon as the vendors were removed the space was occupied by the autorickshaws which take passengers from BHU to Diesel Locomotive Works, a unit of Indian Railways, or Manduhai Railway Station. There is a flourishing extortion racket in Varanasi (and in other cities as well) where about Rs. 18 crores per month is collected from autorickshaws and vehicles which carry patients from nearby areas to the BHU hospital and back to their homes. The actual tender for autorickshaw stands given out by Varanasi Municipal Corporation for different spots in the city is only for Rs. 30 lakhs per month. Huge amount of illegal money is shared among officials, politicians and middlemen. At the BHU stand the contractor for the stand is supposed to take only Rs. 5 per day from an autorickshaw but the actual rate being charged is Rs. 15.

The vendors, more aware about their rights and willing to struggle for them, had refused to pay any extortion money to the police. The contractors managing the autorickshaw stands are too happy to grease their palms. Hence the police carried out the operation

## Why Biometric Aadhaar Database Project Should Be Abandoned

Dr. Gopal Krishna

Biometric databases have given birth to gnawing present and future civil liberties and civil rights concerns. Biometric identification exercise has been in use at least since 19th century. History of biometric profiling is a history of violence and repression. A stolen password can be changed but stolen fingerprints cannot be changed.

Biometric identification is an invitation to violence. A motorist in Germany had a finger chopped off by thieves seeking to steal his exotic car, which used a fingerprint reader instead of a conventional door lock. This has been reported in the October 2010 issue of *The Economist*. Under its science and technology section, it wrote about the fallibility of biometric identification under the title *The Difference Engine: Dubious Security*. It inferred that “Keeping evildoers out is no simple screening matter”, contrary to the belief of the proponents of Central Identities Data Repository (CIDR) of 12–digit biometric Unique Identification (UID)/Aadhaar numbers.

As per Section 2 (g) of Aadhaar (Targeted Delivery of Financial and Other Subsidies, Benefits and Services) Act, 2016, “biometric information’ means photograph, finger print, Iris scan, or such other biological attributes of an individual as may be specified by regulations.” The reference to “such other biological attributes” makes it clear that voice sample and DNA profiling is included under its ambit. It is noteworthy that the Human DNA Profiling Bill, 2015 is aimed at

regulating the use of Deoxyribose Nucleic Acid (DNA) analysis of human body substances profiles and establishing a National DNA Data Bank. The definition of biometric information in the Aadhaar Act seems to make the proposed Human DNA Profiling Bill redundant.

It is germane to recall the role of ‘Task Force for preparation of Policy Document on Identity and Access Management’ under the National e-Governance Programme (NeGP). It submitted a report in April 2007 that revealed that Project Unique ID (UID) whose aim was “to create a central database of resident information and assign a Unique Identification number to each such resident (Citizens and Persons of Indian Origin) in the country” was already under implementation long before the arrival of Nandan Nilekani in July 2009 as Chairman of Unique Identification Authority of India. This report defines biometrics. The report of this Task Force probably makes one of the earliest references to “Biometric authentication”.

Biometric identification and authentication is the foundation on which the entire CIDR of UID/Aadhaar project has been erected. The proponents of the project feign ignorance about a five-year study, *Biometric Recognition: Challenges and Opportunities* published on 24 September 24, 2010 by the National Research Council in Washington, DC. This study concluded that biometric identification and recognition is “inherently fallible” like the discredited science of Eugenics.

against the vendors with vengeance and has clearly taken the side of autorickshaw operators. A reply from Municipal Corporation under the Right to Information Act says that only ten autorickshaws are allowed to be parked in either direction outside BHU main gate at any time. However, hundreds of them are seen to be stationed there waiting for their passengers. Hence the message is clear. Even in the PM’s constituency, who is hailed as possessing zero tolerance for corruption, the local administration will protect the interests of those who pay bribe. It is willing to go to the extent of even flouting a national Act for this purpose. The Modi-Yogi governments, in spite of their tall claims, have not even made a dent on the systemic corruption. If anything the system of favours and commissions has only strengthened, with the rates gone up.

The President of the Vendors’ Welfare Association at Lanka, Chintamani Seth, who is also in court against the government and administration related to previous such eviction many years ago, says he has never felt so humiliated in his life. Chintamani has valiantly fought against the police on previous occasions and has even been to jail. He is a tea vendor himself, without any ambition to become the Prime Minister of this country. He merely expects that he be treated with dignity as the President of his vendors’ association. During Akhilesh Yadav’s regime as Chief Minister he was made a member of the Town Vending Committee of Varanasi. The Committee was wound up as Yogi Government came to power. He not only lost his position but also the respect which is accorded to a citizen in a democracy.

## Indians under US surveillance

J Satyanarayana, the former IT secretary who is currently part-time Chairman of UIDAI since September 6, 2016 was a member of the above mentioned Task Force. There were 34 other members of the Task Force. These members included 11 Technology Solutions Providers, namely, IBM, Microsoft, Oracle, Computer Associates, Novell, Honeywell, HP, Red Hat, ILANTUS Technologies, Mphasis and PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC).

Satyanarayana finds mention at page number 46-47 of the report by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Information Technology that examined the work of Department of Electronics and Information Technology (currently named Ministry of Communications and Information Technology). He was asked by this Parliamentary Committee about surveillance by the National Security Agency (NSA) of the US. He informed that, "We have been assured that whatever data has been gathered by them for surveillance relates only to the metadata. It has been reiterated and stated at the highest level of the US President that only the metadata has been accessed, which is, the origin of the message and the receiving point, the destination and the route through which it has gone, but not the actual content itself. This has been reiterated by them, but we expressed that any incursion into the content will not be tolerated and is not tolerable from Indian stand and point of view. That has been mentioned very clearly and firmly by our Government."

In effect, the Government of India has formally communicated to the Government of the USA that India has no problem if they conduct surveillance for metadata. In fact, it

is acceptable and tolerable, but "incursion into the content will not be tolerated and is not tolerable." It must be remembered that the idea of UID was incubated in this very Department. It is evident that Satyanarayana and this Department has no problem in sharing metadata of Indians with foreign agencies.

Contract agreements accessed through RTI reveal unequivocally that personal sensitive data of Indians have been handed over to transnational private enterprises like Accenture, Safran Group and Ernst & Young. It has come to light that companies like 23andMe, a privately held personal genomics and biotechnology company based in California, and Ancestry.com, a US online genealogy company, collect and store DNA data, and that such data can be sold or accessed by third parties. Notably, Election Commission of India on its website has provided an answer to a question about the "system of numbering EVMs", wherein it reveals that "Each Control Unit has a unique ID Number (UID)." The proponents of world's biggest citizen identification scheme aim to converge electoral photo-identity card (EPIC) numbers of our electoral database and the UID/Aadhaar number database called CIDR. Thus, it can subvert the democratic process.

If these provisions are read with Section 23 (2) (g) it is clear that the powers and functions of Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI), Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology include the power of "omitting and deactivating of an Aadhaar number and information relating thereto in such manner as may be specified by regulations" through subordinate legislation as and when they deem it appropriate. It means that Aadhaar Act is worse than the overruled

verdict in ADM Jabalpur case because it has empowered the Central Government to cause the civil death of anyone it does not like and has deprived citizens the right to file a compliant as was done by ADM Jabalpur in pursuance of the Presidential Order dated 27 June, 1975 under Article 359(1). The order had "declared that the right of any person (including a foreigner) to move any court for the enforcement of the rights conferred by Articles 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of the above mentioned rights shall remain suspended."

As per Section 47 (1) of the Aadhaar Act 2016, "No court shall take cognisance of any offence punishable under this Act, save on a complaint made by the Authority or any officer or person authorised by it." This takes away the right of the "residents" and citizens to move any court for the enforcement of the rights conferred by Articles 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution.

Given the fact that biological information of Indians is being colonised by these countries, it is likely to have implications for these "embodied subjects" in international relations because they end up creating biometric borders restricting their mobility.

Human body in India came under assault as a result of forced sterilisation of thousands of men under the infamous family planning initiative of Sanjay Gandhi during the Internal Emergency. Human body is once again under attack through indiscriminate biometric profiling seemingly under patronage of the Prime Minister. Such a project which is aimed at creating an unlimited government not limited by the Constitution must be abandoned in supreme public interest.

# Hinduism, Hindutva and Hindu Rashtra

**Ram Puniyani**

One recalls that way back in 1966 in a case involving Satsangis, who were asking for status of a separate religion, the court had given the opinion that Hinduism is a way of life, so where is the question of Satsangis being given the status of a separate religion? In December 2015 a three Judge Supreme Court bench ruled that “The court came to the conclusion that the words “Hinduism” or “Hindutva” are not necessarily to be understood and construed narrowly, confined only to the strict Hindu religious practices unrelated to the culture and ethos of the People of India depicting the way of life of the Indian people. Unless the context of a speech indicates a contrary meaning or use, in the abstract, these terms are indicative more of a way of life of the Indian people. Unless the context of a speech indicates a contrary meaning or use, in the abstract, these terms are indicative more of a way of life of the Indian people and are not confined merely to describe persons practicing the Hindu religion as a faith” (Emphasis supplied). This clearly means that, by itself, the word “Hinduism” or “Hindutva” indicates the culture of the people of India as a whole, irrespective of whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews etc.”<sup>1</sup> Currently the word Hindu nation is being given lot of respectability and Hindutva is many times confused with Hindu religion.

These three major decisions from court seem to have been inspired by Dr. Radhakrishana’s formulation.<sup>2</sup> Trying to follow the definition of Radhakrishnan, Justice P. B.

Gajendragadkar in Satsangi case pointed out that Hinduism is difficult to define, and so ‘way of life’ seems to be closest definition one can opt for. Again following the lead from the philosopher President he sought to find a subtle indescribable unity within the divergence of Hinduism. As per him the differences amongst Hindu sects are merely on surface and Hindus were a “distinct cultural unit, with common history, a common literature and a common civilization” (Quoted in TOI Ronojoy Sen, June 1, 2005) On slightly parallel but distinct lines Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, in discovery of India writes “Hinduism as a faith is vague, amorphous, many sided, all things to all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word, in its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to or contradicting each other.”<sup>3</sup>

## Hinduism

At surface these definitions seem to be describing the phenomenon in an appealing way. Defining Hinduism in such a way is far from accurate. The reason for the need to refer such matters to the courts seems to be, one, Hinduism is not a prophet based religion, it has no single founder and two, religions developing in this part of the world have been lumped together as Hinduism and three there are so many diversities in the practices of Hinduism that all streams cannot be painted with a single brush. Most of

the judgments delivered by the courts are the ones which do not see caste as the core defining point of Hinduism. Surely Justice Varma while conflating Hinduism and Hindutva displays double naivety. One is at loss to understand as to how he could lump the diverse religious traditions of the country as Hinduism and see Hindutva as a synonym of Hinduism, as per him, the “terms are indicative more of a way of life of the Indian people and are not confined merely to describe persons practicing the Hindu religion as a faith.” This did go against the exclusionary Savarkar/ RSS definition of Hindutva. As such this is the definition which is currently prevalent. Despite that RSS was quick enough to appropriate the same court ruling to buttress its ideology. RSS/BJP started presenting its own politics in the new words, the one’s provided by Justice Varma. Just to recall, Justice Varma’s judgement exonerated the BJP-Shiv Sena candidates whose elections were challenged on the ground of their using corrupt electoral practices. These candidates had used Hindutva and Hindu Rajya in their election speeches and so their elections were challenged.

BJP picked up from where RSS had shown the way and in the vision document released before the 2004 elections, it stated, “Contrary to what its detractors say, and as the Supreme court itself has decreed Hindutva is not a religious or exclusivist concept. It is inclusive, integrative and abhors any kind of discrimination against any

section of people of India on the basis of their faith.”<sup>4</sup>

Where is the problem? Does RSS/BJP concept of Hindusim, Hindutva and so the Hindu- nation, correctly describe the phenomenon? Does Radhakrishnan-Nehru-the popular discourse on Hinduism/Hindutva correctly describe these terms? Something is seriously amiss in the whole gamut of expressions and definitions as put forward by the giants of the Indian politics and accepted by the judiciary. We have witnessed in practice that since the time the notions, words Hindutva/Hindu rashtra came up as assertive phenomenon in the political scene during the decade of 1980s the divisiveness has gone up by leaps and bounds and the polarization of communities has gone up. The religious minorities have been intimidated around this politics and they have taken a mortal fear of Hindutva and Hindu Rashtra. Their intimidation has a lot to do with the politics of RSS/BJP under the flag of Hindutva, Hindu Rashtra. While Radhakrishnan/Nehru/Judiciary have in simple-mindedness tried to project the diversity of Hindu sects, the understanding of Savarkar/RSS/BJP politics of Hindutva is based on a particular version of Hinduism which is exclusionary to the core, and serves the political goals of an elite section of society. The Hindu stream they pick up for constructing Hindutva is the Brahmanical stream of Hinduism.

Before we deal with the definition of Hinduism it is important to note that there are particular markers, which characterise any religion. The religions are associated with particular sentiment and emotions. Holy books, communitarian functions, rituals, ethical norms and

authority of clergy are the major visible symbols of a religion.<sup>5</sup> We have to see whether what is called Hinduism has these traits or not. At another level, way of life is a very broad term; it encompasses not only religion but other factors related to region, language, food habits, literary and cultural aspects of life, which may not have anything to do with religion. In a way the ‘way of life’ characterization of Hinduism-Hindutva is a fatigued response because of its diversity. It is an attempt to avoid the bother to oneself of understanding the definitive religious aspect of this phenomenon, Hinduism. It tries to define the phenomenon without going into its genesis and role in society. Can a religion be called as ‘way of life’ just because it is too diverse? On the other hand there may be people with narrow and monolithic way of life and calling it as religion. The litmus test for a religion is the existence of the parameters listed above. Does Hinduism have these parameters or not? Are emotions associated with holy deities, holy books, present in Hinduism or not?

The emotive content and other factors listed above are crucial markers for a religion. In that sense right in the beginning we can say that Hinduism with its multiple streams is a religion without any doubt. Reducing all facets of life, the meaning, which is communicated by the phrase ‘way of life’, the multiple dimensions of human social life to religion, is invalid in itself. Religion is not and cannot be the sole content of the phrase ‘way of life’.

Two major points of departure for Hinduism are the absence of a founding prophet and the presence of the imprint of caste system on major aspects of what is regarded

as Hinduism today that is Brahmanism. The religious sanctity for social inequality, caste system is the soul of its scriptures and practices. The conditions under which the terms came into being also tell a lot about the real meaning of those terms. Aryans who came in a series of migrations were pastorals and were polytheists. During the early period we see the coming into being of Vedas, which give the glimpse of value system of that period and also the number of gods with diverse portfolios, the prevalence of polytheism. Laws of Manu were the guiding principles of society. This Vedic phase merged into Brahmanic phase. During this phase elite of the society remained insulated from the all and sundry. At this point of time caste system provided a mechanism for this insulation of elite. Buddhism’s challenge to caste system forced Brahmanism to come up with a phase, which can be called Hinduism.<sup>6</sup> During this phase the cultic practices were broadened and public ceremonies and rituals were devised to influence the broad masses to wean them away from Buddhism.

### **The Word Hindu**

It is interesting to note that till 8<sup>th</sup> century the so called Hindu texts do not have the word Hindu itself. This word came into being with the Arabs and Middle East Muslims coming to this side.<sup>7</sup> They called the people living on this side of Sindhu as Hindus. The word Hindu began as a geographical category. It was a bit later that religions developing in this part started being called as Hindu religions. Due to caste system there was no question of proselytization. On the contrary the victims of caste system made all the efforts to

convert to other religions, Buddhism, Islam and partly Christianity and later to Sikhism.

Within Hindu religion two streams ran parallel, Brahmanism and Shramanism. Shramans defied the Brahminical control and rejected caste system. While Brahmanism remained dominant, other streams of Hinduism also prevailed at social level, Tantra, Bhakti, Shaiva, Siddhanta etc. Shramans did not conform to the Vedic norms and values. Brahmanism categorized religious practices by caste while Shramanism rejected caste distinctions. Brahminical Hinduism was the most dominant tendency as it was associated with rulers. Sidetracking the traditions of lower castes, Brahmanism came to be recognised as Hinduism in due course of time. "This phenomenon began with Magadh-Mauryan Empire after subjugating Buddhism and Jainism in particular. Later with coming of British who were trying to understand Indian society, Hindu identity, based on Brahmanical norms was constructed for all non Muslims and non Christians. Vedas and other Brahminical texts were projected as the Hindu texts. Thus the diversity of Hinduism was put under the carpet and Brahmanism came to be recognized as Hinduism.<sup>8</sup> So Hinduism as understood as a religion is based on Brahminical rituals, texts and authority of Brahmins.

The victory of Brahmanism over the Shramanic traditions is visible all through as Brahmanism was associated with social ruling classes the Landlord-traders. This was reaffirmed in not very distant past when Dr. Bhimrao Babsaheb Ambedkar tried to get an equal place in Hindu fold. He led the agitations for public drinking water for dalits

(Chavdar talab), temple entry (Kalaram Mandir) and saw both these being beaten back by the traditional Hindu society. Its' due to Brahminical domination of Hinduism, which made him realize that Hinduism is basically Brahminic theology, based on Manusmriti. That's what led to his decision to burn Manusmriti and to decide to convert away from Hinduism.

### **Hindutva**

In the political changes which occurred during the British rule, modern education and industrialization, the landlord and priestly classes felt threatened and resorted to religion as a savior for their declining dominance as social power. In parallel to the Muslim declining classes, who used Islam for their politics, Hindu landlords/kings resorted to the use of Hindu religion for their political goals. It is from here that the concept of Hindutva started taking shape and later came to be articulated by Savarkar in his book, 'Hindutva or who is a Hindu'. Since there was no uniform marker for Hindus and since politically 'foreign born religions', Islam and Christianity were to be opposed, a new definition of Hindu came into being which was based on exclusion, as per this definition all those who regard this land from Sindhu to seas as their holy land and father land are Hindus.

This was a strange mix of religion and politics. Like the political elaboration of Muslim League, Savarkar's formulations were meant to oppose the values of freedom movement and that of Indian National Congress, those of Gandhi, in particular, "Mere geographical independence of the bit of earth called India should not be confused

with real 'swarajya'. To the Hindus, the independence of Hindustan could only be worth having if it ensured 'their Hindutva-their religious, racial and cultural identity'. Swarajya to the Hindus must mean only that 'Rajya' in which their 'Swatva', their Hindutva could assert itself without being overloaded by non-Hindu people, whether they be Indian territorial or extra territorials..." He summarized his Hindutva and Hindu nation in one of his presidential speeches at Hindu Mahasabha, "Yes, we Hindus are a nation by ourselves, because religious, racial, cultural and historical affinities bind us intimately into a homogenous nation and added to it we are most pre eminently gifted with a territorial unity as well. Our racial being is identified with India-our beloved fatherland and our holy land above all and irrespective of it all we Hindus will to be a nation, and therefore we are a Nation".<sup>9</sup>

The first confusion occurs when the term Hindu's origin as a geographical meaning are considered. Hindus are those who live on this side of Sindhu! This is how M.M. Joshi called Muslims as Ahmadiya Hindus and Christians as Christi Hindus<sup>10</sup>. Sudarshan also goes on to subscribe to this assertive trick. In this the first step is Hindu because they live here; in the second step since they are Hindus they must worship Lord Ram, cow and Vedas. The second confusion is that all non Christian-non Muslims are Hindus. VHP has been opposing Jains being given minority status on the ground that Jainism is not a separate religion. Also RSS chief Sudarshan's statement that Sikhism is a mere sect of Hinduism created huge opposition from amongst Sikhs all over. The Jains have struggled against Hindutva forces to get minority status for themselves, as an

independent religion and not just a sect of Hinduism. Sudarshan's 'Sikhism as sect of Hindu religion' was thoroughly opposed. The third point pertains to Hinduism not being a religion per se. What-ever the historical origins of the word Hindu, Brahmanism is Hinduism of the day. It has Brahmanical rituals, holy books, holy deities (Lord Ram+ others). The Ram Temple movement was propped up by using the emotive aspect related to a religious deity. Even now the campaign for cow slaughter ban is revived when the time permits, despite the fact that many of those who are dictated to be Hindus eat beef as a part of way of life.

Than what is Hindutva, is it a synonym of Hinduism? No way. Hindutva is a synthesis of religion and politics. It is a politics opposed to the values, which came to be associated with India's freedom movement, the secular democratic principles. It is the parallel and supplement to Islamism, the politics of Muslim League. Both these are based on similar principles. Both these are subtly opposed to the transformation of social relations, both these did not participate in freedom movement and were not the subject of wrath by the British. Both these spread hatred against the people of other religions and sowed the seeds of divisiveness. Both these are exclusionary and so both these were rejected by the Indian people at the electoral level in pre-independence India time and over again. Both these are against the concept of gender and caste class equality in subtle and not so subtle form. And interestingly these formulations began with Nawabs-Rajas (kings) and were later on joined by the ideologues. While national movement had the

participation of all religions, castes and both genders, these had mainly elite males of their community as the members of their politics. They both claimed to be representatives of their religious communities but were rejected thoroughly at electoral level. When time permitted they did collaborate with each other in forming Governments in Sindh and Bengal and were mortally opposed to land reforms.

Hinduism as it prevails today is religion in all sense of the sociological characteristics. That it is dominated by Brahmanism is another matter. Hindutva is the politics based on the values of Brahmanism. One wonders as to why repeatedly judiciary has to fall back on 'way of life' formulation. One also wonders why RSS etc. are opposed to Satsangis or Jains or Sikhs to have a full status of religion. One wonders a bit more how this 'way of life', which can be very libratory, can be 'successfully' used for the opposite end, as witnessed currently. Nothing can be worse than the fact that 'way of life' formulation has been picked up by the most orthodox elements, who dictate and assert a particular way as *the* way, a particular book as *the* book and a particular deity as *the* deity.

### **Hindu Nation**

During freedom movement while the majority of the people who subscribed to the concept of India, participated in the freedom movement, the followers of Hindutva (and also Muslim League) kept aloof from it as they followed the politics of Religious nationalism. Hindutva strove for Hindu Nation, Hindu Rashtra. The freedom movement was based on the concept of Indian Nationalism, India as a nation in the

making. The concept of Hindu nation was parallel to Islamic Nationalism, and was based on the political ideology of Hindutva. While Indian nationalism had been all inclusive of different religions, castes Hindu nationalism holds that this is Hindu nation, where Christians and Muslims are foreigners, and so should be treated accordingly. RSS ideologue Golwalkar points out, "From this stand point sanctioned by experience of shrew old nations, the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and revere Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of Hindu nation i.e. they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ingratitude towards this land and its age old traditions, but must also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead; in one word, they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in this country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation claiming nothing, deserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment, not even citizen's rights."<sup>11</sup>

The vehicle of Hindu Nationalism currently is RSS, which through its multiple progeny, like BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram and a large number of offshoots formed by RSS, its Pracharaks (propagators). At the same time many swayamsevak (the volunteer of RSS, trained in ideology of Hindu nationalism) are working in different facets of society, education, media, police bureaucracy are trying to work for the goal of Hindu nation.

Their major loyalty is to the concept of Hindu nationalism, in contrast to the Indian nationalism, the

nationalism which emerged through freedom movement and is inherent in Indian Constitution. True to its ideology the RSS trained Narendra Modi recently declared in 2014 that he is a Hindu Nationalist.<sup>12</sup> This is the hidden agenda of RSS combine, popularly known as Sangh Parivar. Religious nationalism, in any garb is opposed to the values of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It uses the cover of religion for bringing in the values of birth based inequality.

### Summing Up

The confusion in the terms Hindu and Hindutva is the root of many misunderstandings about the politics of Hindu Rashtra, Hindu nationalism. Word Hindu began as a geographical category and later all the religious traditions prevalent in subcontinent were lumped under the umbrella of Hinduism. In this the Brahminical stream remained a dominant one. The term Hindutva began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was brought to

forefront by Savarkar in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This term stands for politics based on Aryan race, language and culture. This became the political ideology of Hindu landlords, upper caste, who were opposed to the social changes accompanying the freedom movement. This section of people opposed the emerging Indian nationalism and projected Hindu Nationalism as their goal. Currently 'RSS-BJP-Modi' combine is the main proponent of this variety of Nationalism.

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*Letter to the Editor*

## A \$500,000,000 house in L.A.

Sir,

At the close of the year 2017 the New York Times on December 24, 2017 brought out 11 top stories of best weekend reads. The 10th story is about a house in Los Angeles costing \$500,000,000 (**INR 32,00,00,00,000**). This in a country that boasts of democracy. Compared to this mind-boggling figure the money spent by poor MukeshAmbani, the bosom friend of our blessed Prime Minister NarendraModi, on his 27-storey mansion in Mumbai seems to be peanuts. Ambani did not live even for one night in this mansion because some joker vaastushastri told him that this mansion did not conform to the principles of the mumbo—jumbo that goes by the name of vaastushastra and so it would prove inauspicious for Ambani and his family. India too claims to be a democratic country.

How long do the rulers and the nexus between crooked politicians and their capitalist exploitative chums expect the toiling masses of India to tolerate such vulgar display of wealth? Enough of sham socialism, sham democracy and sham Hindutva.

– C. B. Tripathi

# Intolerance through the Years: 1934 to 1975 to 2015

Anil Nauriya

## I. Day Against Fascist Intolerance: June 25, 2015

The 25th and 26th of June mark the declaration of internal Emergency at the behest of the Indira Gandhi regime in 1975. June 25 is also the day in 1934 when a lethal bomb was aimed at Mahatma Gandhi and his cavalcade by Hindu conservative and orthodox elements in Pune when he was on his anti-untouchability tour. For some years after 1977, June 25 was observed as a day of protest against the Emergency of 1975-77. It was sometimes formulated as a constitutional transgression which it certainly was. Yet it was more than that. It reflected a tendency towards authoritarianism and political intolerance. A former Deputy Prime Minister some time ago registered his apprehensions regarding the possibility of the Emergency being imposed again. He was referring to the constitutional phenomenon only. But if we were to see the issue in its wider generic terms, he might see the connection between the Emergency and such events as the anti-Sikh pogrom of 1984, the Meerut-Maliana-Hashimpura massacre of 1987, the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992, the Gujarat massacres of 2002, the Muzaffarnagar events of 2014 and the Ballabhgarh events of 2015.

Constitutional excesses, political intolerance and social fascism mutate seamlessly from one to the other. The connection between the bombs aimed at Gandhi during his anti-untouchability tour of 1934 and many of the phenomena listed above

becomes clearer when we move from considering political intolerance to social intolerance, from the political fascist tendency to the social fascist tendency.

Some political parties are brazenly laying down the law for who may reside where, making nonsense of the constitutional right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India as we have known it over the years. Feeding into the support base of many of these political parties are rural cabals like khap panchayats and urban mafiosi on which the electoral machine of several political parties, both national and regional, now appears to run. Emboldened by political patronage, these cabals and mafiosi then lay down the law for their rural and urban communities, intruding into the individual and social rights of the common people.

The Emergency of 1975-77 saw the imposition of press censorship. Today this has advanced to the increasingly frequent targeted killing of journalists, especially in the smaller towns, to say nothing of the widespread harassment of those exercising their right of expression. Such killings are as sure an indicator of creeping fascism as the advance notice of a coming plague by the fauna that it devours. Such killings of members of the intelligentsia had become common in the Italy of the 1920s where fascism first arose in its classical form.

It is this persistent and growing tendency towards intolerance, of which the Emergency was only a constitutionally crystallised form, that

needs to be combated. Therefore, it is important to observe June 25 as a Day Against Intolerance, and observe it nationwide. Indeed, it ought to be observed as a Day against Political and Social Fascism.

## II. Role of Capital

The growth of financial and industrial capital is ordinarily expected to have a modernising role. It is expected to promote the dissemination of liberal ideas, and the elimination of such endemic features as child labour.

In the early years when the public sector was being built up, the constant refrain of Indian capital was that it wished to be free of state restraints such as licensing. It favoured the opening up of the economy. However, when this started happening from the 1980s onwards, it was non-entrepreneurial capital that took the centre-stage. Since then, Indian capital has tended, in its short-sightedness, to support the growth of the forces that have bred intolerance. Non-entrepreneurial capital depends not on research and development but on state concessions, especially transfer of natural resources to it at concessional rates, purchase of profitable public sector assets at nominal rates, and the appropriate bending of rules when desired.

Indian capital today has a peculiar concept of freedom. It claims to stand for a free economy but is not prepared for an extension of this concept to land. Here it wants the state to continue the colonial system

of the state acquiring land and handing it over to it at nominal rates. With some modifications, it wants the same colonial concessionaire system to continue in respect of mining leases for coal, iron ore, zinc and other such natural resources. The idea that these resources belong to the entire people, including the poor, is anathema to it.

Indian capital has developed a similar notion with respect to finance capital. Today, it believes that it has the first right on the financial resources of the country available in the banking system. When, therefore, a national level statutory rural employment generation scheme in the form of MGNREGA came up as a competing charge on the banking resources, neither Indian capital nor the media owned by it took kindly to it.

With the primary concern of Indian capital today being to seize control over India's land and financial resources, and reverse or dilute all laws that obstruct this, the growth of intolerance and social fascism has been of little concern to it.

Eighty-one years separate June 25, 1934 and June 25, 2015. But social fascism has remained; though weakened in certain respects, it has tended to reappear and often assume new and virulent forms.

### III. Learning from Experience

There is yet another aspect of June observance that requires attention. The internal Emergency of 1975-77 was preceded by various significant events, including the Navnirman movement in Gujarat in 1973 and thereafter the JP-led movement against corruption. After

that there have been two other movements which have focused on corruption in the polity, the V.P. Singh-led Jan Morcha in the late 1980s and the recent Anna Hazare movement in the years immediately preceding the Lok Sabha elections of 2014.

It is important that we go beyond the June observance and try to derive some lessons from the JP movement and the later movements and the political cycles which the country has undergone as a result. Anti-corruption movements in India have suffered from an incomplete understanding of the meaning and implications of corruption.

In India the main internal issues that need to be grappled with are:

- a) the need to eradicate corruption;
- b) the prevention of religion-based and caste-based sectarianism; and
- c) the need to provide for the basic needs of the people, that is, food security, health, education, and cultivable land for those progressively or arbitrarily deprived of it.

The Indian experience is that issue (a) has been by movements only as a means for coming to come to power. After coming to power, they did little about issues (b) and (c). These movements, whether led by JP or by V.P. Singh, or as organised in recent months by Hazare, have been marked by a narrow understanding of corruption. Even though JP personally may well have had a wider understanding, he did not seek to build an independent cadre of volunteers or pay adequate attention to their ideological training. He was not sufficiently cognisant of the dangers posed by sectarian

forces like the RSS which played a major role in his movement. In fact, he argued erroneously that these forces had changed their character. That the issue around which his movement had been built was not a straightforward one of totalitarianism versus "democratic" forces became subsequently even clearer. For during the Emergency, and particularly after the Turkman Gate firing in April 1976, the RSS and the then Prime Minister's younger son even appeared to arrive at a rapprochement. The shortcomings that characterised JP's movement were repeated in some or the other form by the later movements.

Corruption is simply a subset of the wider issue of abuse of political and social power and authority. Recent anti-corruption movements have understood corruption primarily in financial and monetary terms. But corruption is not limited to bribery-related conduct. A studied and deliberate withdrawal on the part of the state authorities and of dominant political parties from the performance of their duty to protect the lives and property of citizens is also corruption. It is in fact a grave form of malfeasance that seems to cut across political parties and regimes. In recent memory such malfeasance has been reflected, for example, in the role of the state in the face of violence against Sikhs in Delhi, Muslims in Ahmedabad, Christians in Odisha, non-Maharashtrians in Maharashtra and Dalits in Haryana. Anti-corruption movements that not only do not raise such issues but appear instead to offer good conduct certificates to certain delinquent forces and regimes cannot inspire as much confidence as they might otherwise do. The ideological stance here cannot be concealed: such

movements would go after a police constable for, say, taking a traffic-challan-related bribe (indeed in the last round of the Lok Pal movement its major focus was on subordinate government employees), but wink at a senior police official or a Minister for organising a pogrom or looking the other way while human beings are killed or beaten up as part of a concerted and inbuilt bias against a community or a section of the people. Thus the struggle against corruption and the struggle against intolerance cannot be separated.

Constitutional excesses, political and social intolerance, and corruption need to be fought together as part of national renewal and of a re-affirmation of the highest values of our struggle for freedom that are also enshrined in our Constitution. Though every movement will have its specific and particular focus, these issues cannot be dealt with by a method of pick and choose that leaves the worst traits in our politics and society untouched and in fact strengthened by opportunistic non-condemnation, direct certification or affirmation by association.

*Appendix 1: Mahatma Gandhi's Statement on Bomb Incident<sup>1</sup> (Harijan, 29 June 1934)*

I have had so many narrow escapes in my life that this newest one does not surprise me. God be thanked that no one was fatally injured by the bomb, and I hope that those who were more or less seriously injured, will be soon discharged from hospital.<sup>2</sup>

I cannot believe that any sane sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated this evening. But I would like sanatanist friends to control the language that

is being used by speakers and writers claiming to speak on their behalf. The sorrowful incident has undoubtedly advanced the Harijan cause. It is easy to see that causes prosper by the martyrdom of those who stand for them. I am not aching for martyrdom, but if it comes in my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be the supreme duty in defence of the faith I hold in common with millions of Hindus, I shall have well earned it, and it will be possible for the historian of the future to say that the vow I had taken before Harijans that I would, if need be, die in the attempt to remove untouchability was literally fulfilled.

Let those who grudge me what yet remains to me of this earthly existence know that it is the easiest thing to do away with my body. Why then put in jeopardy many innocent lives in order to take mine which they hold to be sinful? What would the world have said of us if the bomb had dropped on me and the party, which included my wife and three girls, who are as dear to me as daughters and are entrusted to me by their parents? I am sure that no harm to them could have been intended by the bomb-thrower.

I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb-thrower was known, I should certainly ask for his discharge, even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who successfully assaulted me.<sup>3</sup> Let the reformers not be incensed against the bomb-thrower or those who may be behind him. What I should like them to do is to redouble their efforts to rid the country of the deadly evil of untouchability.

## References:

1. A bomb was thrown on what the assailant believed was the car carrying Gandhiji on his way to the Municipal Building. Gandhiji arrived at 7.30 p.m. little knowing what had occurred. When informed of the incident, he received the news calmly and agreed to the suggestion that the programme should be carried out. Accordingly the address was presented and Gandhiji left the hall at 8.30 p.m. This appeared under the title "Providence Again".
2. This paragraph has been reproduced from *The Hindu*, 26-6-1934.
3. *Vide* "My Reward".

*Appendix 2: Thoughts upon the Conclusion of National Week (April 6 -13), by Anil Nauriya, 13 April 2017*

The week April 6-13 used to be observed in the course of India's freedom movement and for many years thereafter as National Week in memory of the nationwide protest hartal on April 6, 1919 against the draconian colonial Rowlatt legislation and in memory of the massacre of unarmed people that occurred a week later at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13, 1919. The hartal on April 6, 1919 marked the first all-India level protest on a democratic rights issue. Mahatma Gandhi had looked upon April 6 to 13 as the week of India's awakening. It is to be hoped that the country would not forget the continuing significance of this occasion, not least for its caution against the arbitrary use and abuse of state power.

As intellectual critiques of the notion of nation grew, it became increasingly unfashionable for opinion-leaders to engage in defining the nation. Yet when non-sectarian forces or civil society lose interest in defining the nation, the field is left free for a narrow-minded understanding of nation to grow and to spread. It appears that this process has been underway for some years now. Almost every year after 1919, Gandhi had reminded the country during National Week of how several persons belonging to diverse communities and vocations had died together in the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar. He stressed the importance of the incident in educating the people and uniting them in a common nationhood. Maulana Mohamed Ali referred to the massacre to stress that Hindus and Muslims and others had come together in a common nationhood which would “fear no

man on earth”. The incident has acquired the same decisive importance in India’s history as the Easter Rising of 1916 in Ireland, although the two are not, strictly speaking, comparable. April 6-13 was observed as National Week right up to the 1960s in Indian schools and colleges. Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi traditionally observed Qaumi Hafta (National Week) at least until Dr Zakir Husain and Prof Mujeeb remained actively associated with the University. Old Jamia hands still remember how National Week was an occasion jointly to take over and perform civic service in classrooms, bathrooms, latrines and the villages around Jamia, shed distinctions of high and low, break barriers of caste and religion and inculcate a sense of dignity of labour. At several places in the country the week would be observed to encourage hand-craft, mass plying of the charkha and the performance of other kinds of

manual work. It was, as Gandhi saw it, an occasion for all to introspect, shed hatred, carry out constructive activities, spin, promote the sale of hand-spun cloth (Khadi), and perhaps occasionally even to fast jointly. National Week united Indians across communities and across classes. Why, then, has National Week (April 6 to 13) been virtually forgotten? Gradually, as a composite culture and a secular understanding of Indian nationhood came to be taken for granted in independent India by the end of the 1960s, National Week began to pass without much notice and was even forgotten. Yet it remains a defining moment for India, certainly a moment of awakening; an occasion to reassert India’s composite nationhood; and a salutary reminder in independent India of the critique which Indian nationalists had made of violations of the democratic rights of the people.

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**Invitation**

***National Campaign to Create Awareness About the Indian Constitution***

***National Meeting of Activists Interested in this Campaign***

***Date: January 20, 2018, Venue: Mumbai***

It was after a long struggle, in which the vast multitudes of our country participated and made innumerable sacrifices, that the country won freedom in 1947. The Indian Constitution embodies the dreams and values that inspired our people in this heroic fight. The drafting of the Constitution was done by the leaders of our freedom struggle, and included some of the finest minds of that time, including Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, who was the chairperson of the drafting committee, Jawaharlal Nehru,

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to name a few. It took them as many as 2 years, 11 months and 18 days to finalise the Constitution. It was unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly on November 26, 1949, and came into effect on January 26, 1950. The Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. It grants to people the fundamental right to equality, freedom, freedom of religion, as well as cultural and educational rights.

The Supreme Court has ruled that these basic features of our Constitution are inalienable, and cannot be altered or destroyed even by the Parliament of India.

Article 51A of the Constitution calls upon all citizens to cherish and follow the noble ideals that inspired India’s freedom struggle and are enshrined in the Constitution. It exhorts citizens to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious,

linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; and also asks them to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture. It asks people to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. It thus defines what are the values that constitute true nationalism.

The Constitution also outlines in unambiguous terms the orientation of economic policies that future governments should pursue. This is contained in the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Dr Ambedkar made it very clear that these Principles are to be fundamental to governance, and that all future governments have to strive to implement them. The Directive Principles direct the State to ensure that there is no concentration of wealth in the country. The ownership and control of the country's resources should be such that they benefit the common good, implying that they should not be used for private enrichment. They call upon the State to strive to make available education, healthcare and nutrition to all people of the country. They say that the State should direct its policy to secure for all people an adequate means of livelihood. It should endeavour to secure the right to work, and ensure that people get a decent wage that enables them to have a decent standard of living and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

Unfortunately, today, these principles contained in the Constitution are being violated with impunity. A false nationalism is being propagated, that attacks the very conception of India as a socialist, secular and democratic republic. Minorities are being attacked and even killed; atrocities on Dalits are increasing by the day; crime against

women is increasing. The fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution are themselves under threat. The economic policies are leading to an enormous concentration of wealth in a very few hands; and on the other hand, there are simply no jobs for the youth. Agriculture has been pushed into such deep crisis that more than 3.5 lakh farmers have committed suicide in the last two decades – something which did not happen even during the days of the British Raj. Our natural resources, including land, forests and even water, as well as the mineral wealth of the country, are being transferred to corporate houses for their naked profiteering. Despite the dismal state of our essential services such as education, health and ration system, the government is making sharp cuts in allocations for these public services, because of which they are in serious crisis. And all those who are questioning this deliberate trashing of our Constitution are being attacked as anti-nationals.

Friends, our country is passing through deep crisis. At such a critical time, it is important to reach out to the common people and educate them about our Constitution – its principles, its values, about the true concept of nationalism enshrined in it, about the Constitutional directive that all future governments should strive to guarantee to all citizens all the basic necessities required for people to live like human beings— healthy food, best possible health care, invigorating education, decent shelter, security in old age and clean pollution-free environment.

We are proposing to launch a nationwide campaign to educate the people regarding the Constitution. To launch this campaign, we propose

that a series of seminars be organised across the country where eminent speakers give talks on the various issues outlined above. For each of these seminars, all the local activist groups working in that area should be invited, which will create an atmosphere for this campaign to be launched in that area.

We would like to invite all those activists who are interested in launching this campaign in their respective areas, and for that, are willing to organise an initial seminar in their area, to join us for a meeting in Mumbai on January 20, 2018. In this meeting, we can plan out the details of how to take this campaign ahead. After this meeting, you can launch this campaign in your area for the next three months. We are then proposing to organise a national seminar in Pune on April 22, 2018 where you can present a report of the campaign in your area, and we can then plan together how to advance this campaign further.

If you would like to join us for this meeting, do contact us at the phone number below.

***-We the Socialist Institution  
Contact :Guddi 07738082170***

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