

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND
THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION
IN INDIA**



TAMIL NADU MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN INDIA

Even though the communists in India were working with a programme for democratic revolution, for the past 70 years or more, they have not succeeded so far. Even though various reasons are ascribed to this failure, the basic reason is the fact that they were not fully aware of the complications in the national question in India and its links with the democratic revolution or they rejected it, altogether. Marxism has got clear cut ideological formulations about the relationships between the national question and the democratic revolution. It is only when the communists understand these ideologies and the concrete relations between the national question and the democratic revolution in India, they could recover from their failures.

As we have already seen relationship between the national question and the democratic revolution, we shall now straight away deal with the studies on national-democratic question in India.

1. INDIA: A MULTI-NATIONAL STATE COMMUNITY

A state community is different from a national community. In a national community people have a common language. But in a state community it need not be so. Here, the language spoken by the people and not the language of the state administration which is referred to, as common language.

There could be no quarter for discussion about the fact that India is not a national community. Here there are various nationalities speaking various languages with different cultures and histories. Here the nationality formed two thousand years ago, the nationalities formed during the middle ages and later on, the people's communities recently developed into nationalities, the people's societies in the process of being transformed into nationalities and so on, are all in existence.

For instance, the Tamil nationality is the oldest nationality formed about two thousand years ago. nationalities like Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarathi, Oriya, Bengali, Malayalam, Punjabi, Assami and Kashmiri were formed during the middle ages and later on. Any how, all these are nationalities with rich and developed languages and literatures. Even though they are all divided into linguistic states under the Central government, the central government has not recognised their national status. These languages are mentioned only as regional languages. The central government has got the power to alter the regional boundaries of these states without the consent of those people. Apart from these, the big states in North India like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Bihar are not constituted on the basis of language. In the same way the north east regions of India are not divided into linguistic administrative units. In this, there are innumerable nationalities and people's communities, in the process of being formed into nationalities. Many of them are nationalities with a developed language and literature. Nevertheless, the central government has not allowed even the linguistic state administrative units to them. After the most arduous people's struggles, states like Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram were formed and the regional language status was granted to Manipuri, Nepali and Kongani languages in the constitution. The population of Manipur and Nagaland is eight lakhs each, that of Mizoram is five lakhs. The population speaking Kongani language is fifteen lakhs and Nepali is fourteen lakhs. Out of these, Manipuri and Nepali are developed languages. In Nagaland, only now, a common language (Nagmis) is developing. However, as a result of bitter struggles of these people, they are recognised as separate states. Several peoples communities in North India with several times more population than these and having developed languages and literatures are in the condition

of being denied even the status of a separate state administration.

'Dinamani' (13-09-92) writes that the people of Uttar Pradesh speaking Maithili and Khadiboli languages are eligible to be formed into separate states. There are about 160 lakhs of people speaking Bojpuri, Maithili and Magadha languages in Bihar. Moreover, those speaking Bhili language are 53 lakhs, those speaking Mundari are 12 lakhs, those speaking Gondi are 52 lakhs, Oraons speaking Gurukh language are 17 lakhs, people speaking Khari-boli are 16 lakhs, those speaking Gondhiare 10 lakhs, Bodos are 6 lakhs, Dogris are 13 lakhs, Gorkhalis are 14 lakhs, Tuluvas are 11 lakhs, people speaking Santhal language are 2 crores (I.E. 13-12-92) likewise, there are innumerable people communities in North India with a distinct language and culture. The fact that, Raghul Sankirthyayan once demanded the recognition of atleast 2 dozen languages in North India as national languages, helps us to understand the number of nationalities there. But, several people communities with more population than that of Naga, Mizo and Manipur are neither recognised as nationalities nor offered even the status of a state administration. However, in the name of demanding constitutional status to their languages, status of state administration and national liberation the demands and struggles of these people communities are now breaking out on various scales and intensity.

Thus, with various ancient and developed nationalities, innumerable people communities recently developed into nationalities and those in the process of developing into nationalities, India is not a national community but only a large multi-national state community.

Thus, with different growth levels of history, art, literature and culture, all these nationalities are in the process-in the historical stage-of developing into modern nations. It is only through the completion of this process-this historical stage-the democratic revolution could succeed in India.

2. IS THERE AN OPPRESSING NATIONALITY IN THE INDIAN MULTI-NATIONAL STATE COMMUNITY ?

All the nationalities in India are being denied their national status and sovereign rights. To many of them, even the status of a separate state is denied. All the demands for national rights are dubbed as separatism and anti-national, and severely repressed. Hindi alone is imposed as the sole official language.

All these are severe repressive measures to convert all the nationalities into subjugated nationalities. If so, is there an oppressing nationality here ? Naturally, the question whether Hindi is an oppressing nationality is raised.

As might be expected, this question is raised, also because of the continuous propaganda that, Hindi is a language spoken by about 27% of the people, that Hindi is one of the first five languages spoken by the largest number of people in the world and that the borders of Hindi region extends upto Sindh and Punjab states in the West, Gujarath and Maharashtra states in the South, Orissa and Bengal states in the East and Kashmir and Nepal in the North.

But, the fact is quiet contrary to this. The languages spoken in the so called Hindi region are innumerable. In the Eastern Punjab, Western UP and Western MP regions the languages like Kanauji, Bundeli and Braj Bhasa are in use. The language spoken around Delhi is known as Hanthali or Dlevhi. In west of Delhi, Jatu or Bangaru language is in vogue. The language spoken in Northern UP is called regional Hindustani. Gondi, Bhili etc., are the languages spoken in MP. In the Kosala region Awadhi or

Baiswari, Bagheli and Chattisghari are the three languages in use. In Bihar, Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Maithili known as Magadhan languages are in use. In Rajasthan there is Rajasthani. The language of Haryana is called Haryanvi.

Thus, they mention all the regions speaking different languages as whole, as Hindi speaking region. To facilitate this the languages spoken in Punjab, Western UP, Delhi, North Western UP and Western MP are together called Western Hindi and the languages spoken in Kosala region are together called Eastern Hindi even here the language spoken in the Delhi region is named separately as Hariboli Hindi. Even though no such names are given to the languages spoken in Bihar and Rajasthan states, they are also included in the Hindi region.

They don't stop at that. They have published an history of literature compiling all the literatures written in different languages in this region, ever since the 10th century A.D. as Hindi literature. For instance, Canda Baradai's work 'Prithivi Raj Rasav' was in old Braj-basha, old Punjabi and old Rajasthani languages. The works of Suradasa were written in pure Braj-basha. The famous work of Tulasi Das, a great poet in the middle ages, was mostly written in Awadhi (old Kosalai) language. The works of Kabir are composed in a mixed form of Brajbasha, Kosali and the old Delhi speech. The writings of Mira Bai and many other poets of Rajasthani are in a mixture of Rajasthani with Brajbasha. In the history of literature all these works are categorised as Hindi literature. Moreover the literatures in Bojpuri, Maithili, Garhwali and Kumauni are also shown as Hindi literatures.

To understand the falsifications being spread about the population of the Hindi speaking people and about its antiquity, it will be more helpful to know the genesis and history of that language.

The language which is now called Hindi, was nowhere in use in India till the end of 19th century. The present day Hindi, is the language developed by 'Sanskritising' Hindustani, from the last quarters of the 19th century, along with the religious movement which came up to reinstate Hindu religion against the domination of Islam and Christianity which spread under the regime of Moguls and Britishers.

As the Persian language was the judicial and administrative language during the Moguls regime, Mogul nobles and higher caste Hindus willingly learnt Persian language. Due to this, Persian and Sanskrit words got mixed up with the local languages and a new language called Hindustani came into being. And this language came to be used in Delhi region. The Hindustani, with a greater admixture of Persian words and written in Persian script, was termed as Urdu and that with more of Sanskrit words and written in Sanskrit script was termed as Hindi (Nehru says that Hindi is the name for the Sanskrit script). Therefore, for the Hindustani language which was in use in two different names called Hindi and Urdu, in spite of the differences in the type of words mixed and in the script, there was no difference in the grammatical form. During 18th and 19th centuries the Hindustani which was in use as Hindi and Urdu spread from the Delhi region to several north Indian cities as a spoken language. This spread took place, after the establishment of the judicial and administrative organs of the Muguls in several north Indian cities.

After the rule of Muguls, the Persian language lost its place as a judicial language and Urdu replaced it. After the Britishers captured power, Urdu continued along with English as an educational and judicial language. At that time, both Hindus and Muslims learnt Urdu without any difference. Learning Urdu is nothing but learning Hindustani in Persian script.

But writing in Persian script became an issue of religious prestige for the Hidnu-brahmin-kayastha

higher caste intellectuals. Therefore Hindu higher caste intellectuals began to propagate Sanskrit script. In 1872, the arya samajists who had the objective of vedic society as their principle and the brahmo samajists who demanded reforms in the Hindu religion, resolved to have Hindi in Devanagiri script as the language for their religious preachings. In 1901 Hindi in Devanagiri script became the judicial language and the language of instruction in educational institutions as a result of struggles by its protagonists. The arya samjists created new Hindi by totally removing the Arab and Persian words from the Hindustani in Devanagiri script, (that is, from Hindi) and mixing maximum number of Sanskrit words in it and they name it as Arya Basha. Thus, apart from making the new Sanskritised Hindi as the official language of their organisation, they also established educational institutions and published text books for it. The new Hindi found an important place in the Banaras Hindu University established in 1905. The Banaras university was an assembling place for the educated sections of the brahmin-kayastha higher castes in the urban cities of MP, UP, Rajasthan and Bihar states (These regions were under the domination of Brahmins in olden days and was called Arya-vartha, is worth mentioning here). Thus the present Hindi language is the language created by the arya samjists, the Hindu upper castes and the educated classes as a religious language by completely Sanskritising Hindustani. It is this language which is imposed as the only official language of India, through the Indian constitution.

The demands of certain people for the acceptance of Hindustani as an official language, which will also serve as a language of unity between Hindus and Muslims was rejected on the pretext that, it is a language of the laymen and hence unfit to be an official language and this proves that, Hindustani and the present Hindi are different languages. Hindi is the language of the educated sections of the caste Hindus belonging to the upper strata.

It is an utter criminal deception to say that, there are 14 crores of Hindi-speaking people in India according to the 1961 census and that they account for 27% of the total population. The gazetter of India Vol-I published in 1973 by the Government of India provides the statistics that of this 14 crores of people only 4 crores speak Hindustani and out of this 4 crores about 2 crores speak Urdu. As such, how many persons there could be, who speak the Hindi created by Sanskritised Hindustani ?

Having notified Hindi as the only official language in the constitution, the dominant Hindu upper caste-upper class-people by taking advantage of the backward conditions of the masses, imposed Hindi as the official language of the State, the medium of instructions and the administrative language throughout north India. They are now providing statistics, to show Hindi as the language spoken throughout North India. But the fact is that, in all the states like Haryana, UP, MP, Rajasthan and Bihar where Hindi was made the official language, which is not the people's language but only the language of an handful of upper class-upper caste people.

In these conditions, can it be said that there is a Hindi nationality and it is an oppressing nationality?

3. THE INDIAN 'NATION' AND THE COMPRADOR-CAPITALIST-BRAHMINICAL FORCES

The incessant noise raised about the Indian nation, the Indian national integration and Bharath Desh are rending our ears.

In an effort to project India, which is a multi-national state community as an ancient nation, they named the country as Bharath in the name of an Aryan tribal leader, who lived 3500 years ago in the plains of Sindh and inscribed it in the constitution also.

But the historical fact is that, India is neither a national community nor was a state community before 1947 with present borders.

The biggest empires in India before the British colonial period were the Ashoka empire, Thuglak empire and the Aurangazeb empire. Even these empires did not include all the regions of the present India. Assam and north eastern regions and certain parts of south India had never been under these empires. Even these empires lasted only for a very short period in the Indian history. The other empires were either in certain parts of North India or in certain parts of South India only. Under the British regime along with the parts of present day India, countries like Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim all together formed India. Afghanistan was also included in the empires of Ashoka, Aurangazeb, Babar, Akbar and Kushanas. In none of the empires before the Britishers, Assam and north east regions were included. Even under the British regime, those under their direct rule were called British India, the princely states were called princely India and the parts which were under other imperialist countries were called French India, Dutch India and Portuguese India.

Therefore, the present Indian country which came into being after 1947 never existed before, even as a state community with the present borders. While these are the facts, the comprador capitalist-brahminical forces are jointly engaged in the efforts to show India as an ancient state community. For them, to project India as a national community is necessary for various obvious reasons.

As far as the comprador capitalists are concerned they are hand in glove with imperialism. For them it is always the interests of their money bags which is more important than the interests of the country and the interests of the people.

In 1857, in the great uprising against imperialism called the first war of Indian Independence, the peasants and soldiers took part in great numbers. With them, the feudal kings also participated in the anti-imperialist struggle. But the rich traders and money lenders not only not participated in it but also were actually assisting the imperialists financially. History explains the intimate relations the seths and thakkurs had with the imperialist companies at that time.

A great majority of big traders and money lenders who served as brokers for the British imperialists were Banias, Marwaris and Nattukottai chettiars. They served as agents and brokers for the imperialists not only in the native country but also in the regions like Arabia, Africa, China, Ceylon, Burma, South East Asian countries, Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim. Everybody knows that Tata who is a comprador capitalist engaged in opium trade in China as a broker for British imperialism and served as an agent to buy and sell arms for the British army in Ehiophia.

It is only the compradors among these money lending and trading gangs who later on entered into the industrial sphere with the partnership of imperialists. Since the industries they started by depending up on imperialists, have earned enormous profits for the imperialists in another way, their comprador nature has not changed. Their interests were always tied with the imperialists and not with the interests of the country and the people.

Jeejibais and Tatas were the first kind of people to enter into the industrial sphere. They started the industries with the machines imported from the British imperialism. Marwaris were spread all over the country as traders, money lenders and bankers. The second kind of people to enter into the industrial sphere were the Marwaris like Birlas, Singanias and Thapars. These people had no foreign trade

connections to the extent the former group had. At the same time, it is only these people who were the small and big traders all over the northern states. The third kind of group to enter into the industrial sphere includes those who emerged from the feudal and money lending classes like Goenkas and Bankoors. A great majority of the comprador capitalists who emerged in this way also belonged to the Hindu upper castes. None of them were having a market tied with any one of the nationalities. On the contrary they had an all India market. To protect the interests of their markets it was necessary for them to protect the unity of India.

On the contrary, the brahminical forces through the brahmin-shatria partnership for the past two thousand years or more, preserved and protected the social system of caste, their predominance and their parasitic life in it throughout India.

All the kings who ruled so far, whether they were kings or emperors, whether they belonged to the Hindu religion or to some other religion; whether they belonged to this country or invaded and captured power in this country; invariably colluded with the brahmins and continued to protect Hindu varna-caste dharma and the preeminence and parasitism of brahmins. The kings who took up the responsibility of protecting varna-caste dharma, whether they came from Sudhras or foreigners, were made shatrias by the brahmins. Right from the Mauria Kingdom, the Kingdoms of Guptas, Kushanas, Satavahanas, Sultans, Mughals, Marattas, Vijayanagar Kings, Cheras, Cholas, Pandias and upto the British rulers- none of them-were an exception in protecting the varna-caste dharma.

Even though the Muguls and the Britishers belonged to a different religion, they were not less interested in preserving Hindu varna caste system.

During the regime of Sultans, the sudhras who were converted to Islamic religion were continued to be treated as sudhras. Shajahan said that Vedas and Geetha are the gospels bestowed by God just like Kuron, translated them in Persian and spread it. During his regime he appointed one fourth of his officials from among the high caste Hindus. In the regime of Aurangazeb this number rose to one in three.

The British regime in no way lagged behind them. Warren Hastings established caste courts in 1767. Manu dharma was accepted as Hindu Law in 1794.

All the dharma sastras-Hindu law books-which were in Sanskrit were translated in English and provided to the judges and lawyers as guide books. Brahmin intellectuals were appointed in the courts to implement brahmin laws. Except the high ranking officials who were Britishers all the second ranking officials were appointed mostly from the brahmin caste.

Thus, for the brahmin forces who, far more than 2 thousand years continued to preserve the caste dominated social system and their preeminent parasitic life by colluding with the rulers it was necessary to preserve the Hindu religion and on that basis the unity of India in order to preserve and perpetuate their interest.

If the linguistically formed people's communities, the nationalities are aroused and they establish themselves as sovereign modern nations, then, not only the unified Indian constitution but also the Hindu brahminical religion will be consigned to the graveyard. It will also consign the comprador capitalist class having an all India market and the Hindu brahminical forces to the graveyard. That is

why the comprador capitalist forces and the brahminical forces are jointly and unremittingly shouting about the Indian nation, the Indian national integration and about the great ancient Bharath, etc.

But, they cannot openly admit their aspirations of exploitation and preeminence which lie behind their hubbub. That is why they talk about the unity of India in diversity. They also say that, even though people in India differ in innumerable languages, race and culture from times immemorial, all of them are bound together by the same culture, continue to exist as one nation and one nationality and this is what we call the Indian nation and the Indian culture or the Bharath nation and the Bharath culture.

What is that unified culture and cultural integration, which keeps the people of India bound together, as told by them ?

The sum and substance of all this is nothing but the hierarchical caste dominated social system with the brahmin caste at its head. In India this caste ridden social system is spread from head to foot. Likewise, vedas, upanishads, dharma shastras, epics, puranas and geetha which bestow Holiness and sacredness to this caste ridden social system spread all over India. These are the sources of culture which bind the people of India together.

It is the caste dominated social system under the leadership of brahmins which is called the brahminical social system. The dogmas that this social system possess divine nature that it cannot be and should not be violated are taught by the dharma shastras written on the basis of vedas by the persons like Manu and Narada. These dharmasastras themselves are the social laws. The puranas and epics preach that the brahmins, who occupy a preeminent position in the social laws that preach the doctrine of caste domination, are the living Gods on this earth and the Kings who implement these laws are the incarnation of Gods. These are the the Hindu religious scriptures.

These scriptures divide people into four varnas as brahmins, shatrias, vaisias sudhras and as chandalas who have no varna and also into innumerable castes. Brahmins are superior to all. Sudhras and chandalas are the lowest of all. The first three varnas are twice born. Sudhras are the low-born, born to serve as slaves to them. The yet more low-born are the chandalas. In other words, the parasites of the society are high-born. The toiling masses are the low-born. All these are the doctrines preached by the Hindu scriptures.

These brahminical varna-caste doctrines preached by the Hindu scriptures constitute the Hindu culture. This is the cultural oneness which binds the people of India and all that is called cultural unity. This is the so called Indian culture, the Indian national culture, the Bharathia national culture etc.

The Indian 'national' leaders openly acknowledge this.

The 'father' of 'Indian nation', Gandhi said: "I am an orthodox Hindu. Because, in the first place, I believe in vedas, I believe in Upanishads, I believe in puranas and also I believe in all the basic texts of Hindu religion. Hence, I believe in incarnation and rebirth. Secondly, I believe in varnashrama dharma, not in its present form but as said in vedas. Thirdly, I believe in the ban on cow slaughter. Fourthly, I am not an unbeliever of image worship" (Young India, Oct. 1921).

A nation cannot shape itself contrary to the wishes and faiths of the 'father of nation'. All the national leaders of India have acknowledged the fact that the essence of Indian nation is Hindu brahminism.

Tilak said: "Hindu consciousness is the common aspect for the Indian society". Lala lajpat Rai said: "The spiritual aspect of the present national movement in India is derived entirely from the Vedantta thought". Aurobindo said: "the spirituality which the Indian nationality strives to develop is basically the Hindu spirituality". Bibin chandra pal said: "the national movement which existed so far in India is basically a Hindu movement only". Nehru said: "Brahminism, which is called as Hindu religion, is the Indian national culture-that itself became the basis for national conscience-it is only the age old brahminical thoughts and beliefs which became the symbol of the Indian national renaissance".

It is not only an open acknowledgement by the congress party and its leaders, about the Hindu brahminical basis of the Indian nationalism, but also a fact that they operated entirely with the finance of the comprador capitalists was acknowledge by Gandhi himself. This was exposed by Ambedkar in his book "Gandhi and Gandhism".

Gandhi was residing in the place of comprador capitalist Birla, with Geetha in hand and Rama Rajya and Bande matharam on lips. Is it not a fact that, Gandhi who lived there and became the father of Indian nation, throw light on the comprador-brahminical basis of the Indian nation ?

Also it was this alliance of the comprador capitalist-brahminical domination which imposed Hindi language as the only official language of India.

A common language is necessary for the comprador capitalists to safeguard the economic interests of their all-India market. At the same time, that common language should necessarily be able to preserve the Hindu brahminical culture.

For the past two thousand years or more the Sanskrit language existed as a language of the Hindu brahminical culture. That language was created by the brahmins to preserve the brahminical society. Sanskrit means created. This language created exclusively for the twice-born, was at no time a people's language.

Just as the brahmins called themselves to be the earthly gods and shatrias as the incarnation of gods, they named the Sanskrit language which they created for themselves, as the language of 'Devas' and named its script as 'Devanagari'; similarly they degraded and oppressed the toiling masses as sudhras and chandalas, and the languages spoken by them as 'Sudhra Basha' and 'Neecha basha'.

Only such a language is a suitable language for the Hindu brahminical culture. Since Sanskrit is the language of Gods which continued to remain merely as a language of the dominating class throughout history, and since it cannot be directly notified as an official language in the constitution as it is done in a monarchy, the Hindi which is the language (called arya basha by the brahmins) of Hindu culture and created by the Hindu upper caste, upper class educated sections in the arya vartha, by Sanskritising Hindustani, was imposed as the only official language of India. Their plan is that, if the Sanskritised Hindi is made acceptable to all, then latter on, it will be easy to make the Sanskrit acceptable to all.

Even though the comprador capitalists belong to various regions speaking various languages, the motive behind their unanimous acceptance of Hindi as the only official language, was that was the language created and proposed by the Hindu brahminical forces as a language of the Hindu brahminical culture which was the basis for the Indian national integration, so vital to them.

4. INDIAN NATION IS THE IMPERIALISM OF THE COMPRADOR-BRAHMINICAL FORCES

It is important to note that the Indian nationalism and Indian national integration are not merely a policy of the comprador capitalists to safeguard their broad interests of exploitation and of the brahminical forces to safeguard their caste dominated social system and their preeminence in it; but even more than that, it is an imperialist policy for national oppression.

Imperialism is the policy of establishing an empire by forcefully annexing territories after capturing them and denying their sovereignty. This is followed by the imperialists ever since the class society emerged till the present period of domination of finance capital. Even though the great Rome and the great Britain pursued essentially different colonial policies, they were all imperialists of the same type. They followed only the colonial policy (See: Lenin, Imperialism-the highest stage of capitalism). In India all the empires which existed so far-from the Mauria empire till the British empire-are empires created by annexing territories after capturing them and denying their sovereignty. The differences in their colonial policies won't refute the fact that they were imperialist regimes.

The empire which exists today in India, as a continuation of the British empire is the imperialist empire of the comprador brahminical forces. It is a sub-imperialist state formed as a result of the British imperialism relinquishing its political power in favour of the comprador-brahminical forces-which would safeguard the British imperialist interests-under the conditions in which it could no longer continue its imperialist regime maintaining in India, as its direct colony, due to the crises it encountered. It was the colonial empire created by the British imperialism, by capturing and integrating regions by force at the point of gun, which after 1947 was converted into the present comprador brahminical imperialism.

To-day the comprador brahminical forces, in the name of Indian nation and Indian national integration deny sovereignty to various nationalities in India and impose hindi as the sole official language. They oppress and suppress the opposition to these policies and the national demands of the people of various nationalities by branding them as anti national and separatism. Thus, it is nothing but imperialist policy to preserve by force alone, the integration of India, brought about by force by the British imperialism.

The imperialist policy of the comprador-brahminical forces has national oppression as its main basis. This imperialism functions only by totally crushing the growth of the nationalities in political, economic and cultural fields.

In the first place: Comprador capitalism is the capitalism imposed from above; the capitalism which is hand in glove with imperialism and the feudal forces in every nationality. At the same time, it is a capitalism having a market on an all India scale without subjecting itself to any one of the nationalities. Due to this, the industries of the national capitalists of different nationalities are crushed, as comprador capitalism is unable to compete with them. This is the reason for the continuous, utter backwardness of the people and the country since it prevents the growth of industries on national scale from the grass roots level and a great majority of the toiling masses from being attracted to the modern industries. This the reason for a microscopic minority of the population to obtain a prosperous parasitic life by depending upon the comprador capitalist-feudal forces, and for the great majority of working masses to toil in poverty and in most backward conditions of life as poor vagrants and unlettered laymen.

Secondly: since the sovereignty of the nationalities-right to self determination-will pave the path for the independent national industrial development of the nationalities, it is being totally denied. Since

the path of independent industrial development of the nationalities will cripple the comprador economy and the feudal economy and send those classes to the grave, the denial of sovereign rights-Right to self-determination-of the nationalities is a vital necessity for these classes. Moreover, the denial of the national (nationality) sovereignty has the objective of oppressing and preventing the people from raising unitedly on the basis of nationalities. Since the demands for the linguistic equality, anti-hindi struggles and the demand for separate state by the tribal people's communities will kindle people's national thinking and integrate them on the basis of nationality and since it is against the Indian national imperialist dreams of the comprador-brahminical forces, even these national demands which are short of national liberation are nipped in the bud. Thus, the liberty of the nationalities and the people's communities developing into nationalities in India, to blossom into modern nations through independent growth is totally curbed and they are kept in a backward slavish conditions.

Thirdly: brahminism is successfully serving to protect the comprador-feudal classes by dividing people on caste lines, and they are left behind in backward conditions in the feudal and semi-feudal relations by the comprador economy and thereby preventing them from uniting on class lines. The comprador brahminical imperialism further simplifies this success of brahminism by making unremitting propaganda about the sacredness of the Hindu preachings and institutions. It is beneficial to keep the people perpetually divided on caste basis and to prevent them from uniting either on caste basis or on nationality basis; at the same time, it is forcefully feeding the false consciousness about India, Indian nationalism and Indian national integration.

Fourthly: the comprador-brahminical forces, by establishing the hegemony of the western imperialist-brahminical culture, are crushing and destroying the language, arts, literature and culture of the people of different nationalities.

Comprador-brahminical culture is the culture of a very small percentage of the upper strata comprising the comprador capitalist-feudal classes. "The civilization, history, culture, language and the way of living of the western imperialism are superior and scientific; the brahminical way of living, gods, language, arts, literature, civilization and culture are superior and sacred; they should be acclaimed and followed; at the same time, the language, arts, literature, history and culture of the great majority of the (toiling) people of the nationalities are disgraceful; and they should be abandoned". This is the essence of the comprador-brahminical culture. The doctrines of comprador-brahminism by establishing its cultural domination over the people of the nationalities created ignorance about their own national history, philosophy, culture, language and literature and an inferior mentality about their own national culture and thereby converted them into their cultural slaves.

The history and the culture of the people of the nationalities is made inferior and a part of the brahminical vedic history and culture. The language of the nationalities are made inferior to the brahminical 'sacred' language. All the working masses were divided into casts below the brahmins. In living standard they were turned into poor vagrants and unlettered laymen.

The sovereign national borders were obliterated by the borders of the Hindu brahminical state; while English and Hindi languages are in a dominating position, the languages of the nationalities are crushed as regional languages. The destruction of languages, art and literature of the nationalities by the Anglo-brahminical language, art and literature and adopting the way of living of the Britishers and brahmins were made honourable.

By imposing the Hindu brahminical culture and Hindi language on the tribal people's communities which are developing into nationalities, they are destroying their language and culture and turning them into a part of Indian nationalism.

On the whole, through Indian nationalism, the comprador-brahminical forces are gradually swallowing the people's communities of nationalities. By destroying the national individuality and the consciousness of the people of the nationalities and by crippling their self-development and self confidence, they are enslaving them.

Thus, the Indian nationalism of the comprador-brahminical forces is nothing but an imperialist policy based on national oppression which politically enslave, economically subject to poverty as poor vagrants and culturally degrade the people's communities of the nationalities.

This imperialist policy apart from being an obstacle to the self-reliant national economic development of the nationalities, to the development of nationalities into the fulfilled nations and to the development of their language, arts and literature; this policy is also an obstacle for the people to establish themselves as independent and extensive classes. Thus, it is an obstacle even for the immediate democracy and for the future socialism.

5. THE TWO TYPES OF POLITICAL TRENDS IN INDIA; NATIONAL LIBERATION IS THE ONLY PATH FOR THE SUCCESS OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

In India the comprador-brahminical forces are hand in glove on one hand with imperialism and on the other hand with the feudal forces in every nationality. Therefore, it is only by completely overthrowing these forces the democratic revolution could be completed here. This is linked with the process of development of every nationality into fulfilled modern nations. But, for every nationality to develop into fulfilled modern nation, it is necessary to establish their own national states. Without a national state, the language and literature of a nationality cannot develop fully in all fields. On the contrary it will only lead to be ignored and to be considered as inferior by its own people. In India a nationality cannot establish its own national state without liberating itself from the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism. Therefore, democratic revolution could succeed in India only when the anti-imperialist anti-feudal democratic revolution in every nationality is linked with the national liberation to liberate itself from the comprador-brahminical imperialism. There is no other alternative for the success of democratic revolution in India, in the absence of either an oppressing nationality or a powerful proletarian movement in it.

In Russia which was a multi-national country, since the proletariat in the oppressing nationality had grown into a decisive force capable of leading the revolution under the leadership of Lenin, the other oppressed nationalities, with sovereign rights, could fight and overthrow the Czar regime together with the proletariat of the oppressing nationality and form a union of independent republics on the basis of equality. But the Indian conditions are quite different. Here the comprador-brahminical forces are exercising the national oppression. This force is not a separate nationality. Therefore, in India there is no question of a powerful proletarian party in the oppressing nationality and of the oppressed nationalities struggling together with the oppressing nationality on the basis of equality. In addition, since the liberation of any one of the oppressed nationality cannot be the ground for the liberation of the other oppressed nationalities, like the liberation of the oppressing nationality; there is no ground for the oppressed nationalities to fight together.

It is a fact that, the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialists are engaged in efforts to create a privileged majority nationality called hindi nationality in support of their national oppression. They are trying to prove that there is a great Hindi nationality by pointing out some of the states in North India to be hindi speaking states. They expect us to believe that, those states have become hindi speaking states by imposing hindi (which was created during the beginning of this century, by sanskritising Hindustani which was in use among the upper strata castes in the urban areas of North India) as an official language and an academic language at the centre and in the states referred to by them. They are trying to show the antiquity of the hindi language by cataloging all the literatures in the languages of the people living in those states as the literature of the hindi language. But, all these are nothing but an attempt to crush and destroy all the people's languages in the north Indian states and to create a privileged majority nationality called Hindi nationality.

Along with this, in the name of Indian nation and national integration, they are engaged in the efforts to make all the nationalities in India into a monolithic Indian nationality by denying their rights and continuously unleashing repressive measures against the individuality of the other developed nationalities. But, the history marches on, only against their wishes.

For the past two thousand years and more, due to the brahminical casteist and sanskrit domination not only the people were divided and oppressed but also the languages spoken by them were crushed. In this manner, Pali and Prakrit were wiped out. However, it could not wipe out Tamil which is a language spoken by the people of Tamil nationality. In the middle ages followed by the Bakthi movement, it could not prevent the coming into being of Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Bengali, Gujarathi, Rajasthani and such other nationalities, their languages and their literatures. Even though the Persian language during the Moguls rule and the English during the British rule dominated along with the brahminical casteist sanskrit domination, these dominations could not prevent various nationalities from putting forward the demand for linguistic states and struggling for it during the period of anti-colonial struggle. As a result of continuous, unremitting, militant struggles of the people of the nationalities linguistic states have been formed, contrary to the wishes of the comprador brahminical-imperialists. Even while minor national demands are branded as anti-national and oppression is unleashed, ever newer struggles for the establishment of linguistic states and for protecting their language and nationality rights are breaking out with national liberation slogans. Nowadays even in the states, called 'hindi region', people of various languages raising more and more demands for their linguistic and national rights has become a daily news.

All these things clearly point out the existence of two diametrically opposite trends in the current Indian history. In present day India numerous nationalities are existing with various levels of development and history, viz., the nationality which took shape two thousand years ago, the nationalities which took shape in the middle ages and latter on and the nationalities which took shape recently or just taking shape. Whether these nationalities will be prevented by the comprador-brahminical imperialism in the name of Indian nationalism, from developing into fullfledged nations and crushed and destroyed or they will destroy the comprador-brahminical imperialism and develop into fullfledged nations and advance? In this struggle which trend will succeed?

The success of the second trend, that is, the destruction of the comprador-brahminical imperialism and the development of all nationalities into fullfledged modern nations and their advance is a historical law which nobody could alter. It is with the success of the second trend that the success of the democratic revolution in India and the success of the proletariat are interlinked.

6. IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM AND THE DAMAGES IT CAUSED

Marxism elucidated the difference between a state community and a national community. Marxism has also elucidated the relationship between a nationality (that is a national community taking shape into a modern nation) and the democratic revolution.

However, whether it is the pre-1947 multi-national state community of colonial India or the multi-national state community of India of the later period, the Indian communist party devised and practiced its programme only by considering them as a national community. Even after the split in the Indian communist movement into CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(ML), there was no basic difference on this question amongst these sections.

It was only in 1942-43. that the Indian communist movement came to know the Marxist principles about nation and nationality and recognised the existence of various nationalities-national communities in India. However, it did not realise till today that, the democratic revolution could be completed in India only in a combined form with the national liberation revolution. Because, it did not free itself till today from the concept that India is a national community.

It is imperialism to identify a multi-national state community as a national community. Because, it denies the sovereign rights of various nationalities in that state community and enslaves them. It is only because of this reason, the comprador-brahminical force in India which identifies India as a nation, is imperialism.

Since, even the Indian communist movement and all its sections, has got the concept of Indian nation from the very beginning to this day, they too do not differ from the imperialist forces. The united Indian communist party from 1942 onwards and later on the CPI(ML) have accepted the right to self-determination of the nationalities and all the sections of CPI(ML) have accepted the existence of various nationalities in India. However these facts did not alter the imperialistic nature of the Indian communist movement. To talk about the right to self-determination of the nationalities while holding the concept of Indian nation, is contradictory and a mere non-Marxian opportunistic decision.

Even by putting forward the objective of anti-imperialist anti-feudal Indian nation, the Indian communist movement has in no way absolved itself from imperialism. Whatever be the form, in which the concept of Indian nation is put forward, it will be nothing but a concept of Imperialism which denies the sovereign rights of various nationalities in India. Since the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Indian nationalism of the Indian communist parties mentions about Indian nationalism on the basis of new-democratic production system, it is merely an imperialist economism and not Marxism. To talk about the right to self-determination of nationalities along with this, is contradictory and it is only a sheer opportunism which sacrifice marxism to imperialist economism.

Imperialist economism is an acute disease which has completely crippled the Indian communist movement. The damages it caused to the Indian revolutionary movement were innumerable. As long as it remains unrecovered from this disease the communist movement in India cannot be a revolutionary movement; it cannot even lead the democratic revolution successfully.

Even though the Indian Communist movement is functioning with a programme for a democratic revolution for the past seventy years or more and though there are many reasons for its inability to

succeed till now, it is only the imperialist economism of the Indian communist movement which is the basic reason. i) The imperialist economism has isolated the party from large majority of the working masses of the nationalities. ii) It has alienated communism and communists from the people. iii) It has diluted the revolutionary essence of the communists and turned them into mere economists, parliamentarianists, extremists, revisionists and dogmatists. iv) It has become a reason for the great majority of the working people to be left behind the parliamentarian, casteist and religionist institutions. v) It was also a reason for the national liberation struggle to become a prey to the religious minoritism and petit bourgeoisie extremist trends.

The imperialist economic outlook called the Indian nationalism, influenced the Marxist historians also and sacrificed them to the brahminical outlook about the Indian history. The imperialists, in order to control and to permanently rule India, have studied and written its history. In that, they stressed that, the Indian history is stagnant without any movement for quite a long time, its people have no sense of pride in political and economic fields and it consists of people without national consciousness. On the contrary, the hindu-brahminical Indian national historians while discussing the Indian history have emphasised that the Hindu brahminism with its ancient reputation, continues to be the basis for Indian nationalism. These people, who have simply compiled the history of Kings, did not touch the history of people's society at all. They recited all that they considered to be the greatness of brahminism and concealed all its negative-oppressive-aspects. On the contrary, the historians of Marxist tradition, engaged themselves in the efforts to compile the history of the Indian society on the basis of Marxian historical materialism. They devoted more attention to the history of the people's society than to the biography of kings. They tried to identify classes and class struggle in the social history. They tried to find out class essence in the varna caste system, in the relationships and contradictions of religion, class essence of caste and religious oppression of the Hindu brahminism which pervades throughout India. But, none of them took any efforts to identify either the national oppression which is another aspect of Hindu brahminism or its class essence. Those who tried to understand the genesis, change and growth of varnas, castes and religions in India along with their class relations, did not make any attempt to understand the genesis and growth of national communities, nationalities and modern nations, its class essence and the brahminical oppression in it. It is not something accidental. This is the consequence of imperialist economism, that is, the concept of Indian nation, maintained by the Indian communist movement which has infected these historian also. After India itself has become a nation in their views, there is no wonder that the studies about various national communities in India has become meaningless to these historians. As a result of this, the Indian history written by these people, just like the histories written by the Indian brahminical national historians has principally become a history of the brahminical society of the Sindh-Gangetic plains and this history is based on their literatures. Histories of great majority of the people of different nationalities were pushed to the background or were subjected to the brahminical history. The Indian history written by E.M.S.Namboodripad is an example for this. Even though caste, varna, class, religions, empires, Aryan and Dravidian races and several similar subjects are discussed, problems about nationalities and modern nations did not find a place in his work.

The main reason for these problems not finding a place in the views of the Indian communists and Marxist intellectuals is nothing but the imperialist economism of the Indian communist parties which gave them a brahminical outlook about the nation.

The imperialist economism has not only sacrificed the views on Indian history to brahminism, but also as a result of it, has become a reason for the genesis of pseudo-intellectuals, who lament about the inadequacy of Marxism and the amalgamationist ideological trends endeavouring to create revolutionary

ideology suitable for the Indian conditions by patching up the concepts of Periyar and Ambedkar with Marxism.

Due to the imperialist economism, the CPI(ML) groups are trapped into an irrecoverable opportunistic slush. The opportunism of CPI(ML) which sacrificed Marxism to the imperialist economism by recognising the right to self-determination of the nationalities without retracting from the concept of Indian nationalism has entangled the CPI(ML) groups in severe crisis.

The 'Munnodi' group has put forward the slogan of Independent Tamilnadu instead of the right to self-determination. They say that after revolution every nationality will form themselves into separate republics and on basis of the their own free will, a union of republics will be formed. Even though it looks to be something new, it is nothing but the old wine in a new bottle. This does not redeem them from the imperialist economism. On the contrary it only proves how strongly they are sticking on to it.

They say that, after revolution independent republics will be formed and on their own free will a union of Indian peoples republic will be formed. Revolution is not yet completed; independent republics are not yet formed and certainly their choice is not yet known. But, the 'Munnodi' group has already defined in their programme, that, they will jointly form a union of republics and it will only be a union of Indian people's republics.

Is it new-democracy to put forward a programme, in a dictatorial way without knowing their choice and deciding in advance, about a union state in which they will remain united and about its borders, after giving assurance about independent republics? No. On the contrary it is only imperialism. It is only the imperialist economism of the CPI(ML) which prevents them from realising this.

The 'Samaran' group, while supporting the national liberation in Eelam, is upholding the programme of new democratic revolution in Tamilnadu. That is, they assert that, only when the national oppression becomes intolerable, the national liberation will be a correct proposition. According to the concept of these people, the denial of rights of national sovereignty, the imposition of hindi as an official language and so on and so forth, are all tolerable national oppressions. The economism of the CPI(ML) has made them the supporters of colonial policy which is what remains of them.

The 'Puthia Jananayagam' group does not want to be trapped by offering this kind of explanations. They are unadulterated imperialist economists who consider that, it is sufficient to unendingly and monotonously harp about the new democratic revolution alone to be the correct proposition in India. Their conscience does not prick them while passing the Indian national programme or publishing documents regarding the Indian "national revolution" on the one hand and at the same time supporting the right to self-determination of the nationalities on the other hand.

The CPI(ML) groups, immersed in this imperialist economism are not only creating a broader opinion that, the communists and Marxism are incapable of handling the caste, religious and national contradictions which are gripping India but also turned themselves into organisations of national voidism and ideological poverty. As a result of this, these groups are trapped in irrecoverable sectarianism, empiricism and opportunism.

7. THE ANTI-BRAHMINISM OF AMBEDKAR AND PERIYAR AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION.

In the Indian history we could rarely find any one else like Dr. Ambedkar who exposed and fought against varna-caste oppression of brahminism. Like him, no one could have exposed Gandhi who stood as a sentinel of Hindu religion, brahminism and varna-caste system and also the Congress party.

Dr. Ambedkar sacrificed himself for the liberation of the backward community. He declared his objective to be the democratic society with liberty, fraternity and equality, devoid of varna-caste system. He, who identified varna-caste system itself to be the Hindu religion, profoundly put forward that, to wipe out caste atrocities and the untouchability existing in India, the Hindu religion which is a caste religion-brahminism, the other form of the caste-should be wiped out. For that purpose, he advocated the rejection of the sacredness and divinity of the Hindu religious scriptures like vedas, puranas, ithihasas and dharma sastras which preach Hindu religion. He wrote a number of books exposing the Hindu religious literatures. At the same time, for the progress of the backward community he put forward the policy of reservation and fought for it.

As a result of the reservation policy a small section of the backward community is transformed into an upper class social section, which has isolated itself from a great majority of the backward community. Due to this policy no change or progress has occurred in the overall condition of the backward community. To this day caste atrocities have not disappeared.

What is the reason for the failure of Ambedkar path? The Hindu brahminical oppression has got two faces. The first one is the varna-caste oppression; the second one is the national oppression. Ambedkar identified and exposed the face of varna-caste oppression of brahminism. But he failed to identify its national oppression face, wherein lies the reason for his failure.

From the very beginning brahminism continued to degrade the working people as Sudhras and chandalas, divided them into varnas and castes and oppressed and suppressed them. Its casteist division continued to be an obstruction for the people to unite into classes and hence an obstruction to the progress of the society. At the same time, apart from degrading the languages of the working people as 'Sudhra basha' and 'Neecha basha' and continuing to obstruct the development of arts and literature in those languages it (brahminism) continued to impose the brahmin language, that is the sanskrit as the official language, the language of prayer and the language of literature. Due to this the people's language and the dominating language were different and it continued to be an obstruction for the people to unite and to develop on the basis of language. It continues even today. There is a continuation of the brahminical national oppression in making sanskritised hindi language as the dominating language and in denying the right to self-determination of the nationalities.

But, Ambedkar, who stood against the caste oppression of brahminism, was in favour of this national oppression of brahminism. Like the comprador-brahminical forces, he also insisted that hindi alone should be the official language of India. He wished the whole of India to remain as one nation and that it should be a democratic society without any caste distinctions and enjoying liberty, equality and fraternity.

During the discussions on linguistic states he said "we like linguistic states expressly for two reasons, to simplify the path for democracy and to root out cultural and racial hostilities... while referring to the positive aspects of the linguistic states, I should refer to its dangers also. If a linguistic state has

got its own language as its official language, it will easily develop into an independent nationality. The gap between an independent nationality and an independent state is very narrow. If it happens like that, India will not transform into a modern India. On the contrary like the middle ages it will become an India of several states with hostilities and enmity. How to avoid this danger? The only alternative is that, the Constitution should not allow the regional languages to become the official languages of the states. If the Indians don't accept this, the linguistic states will be very easily subjected to danger".

"One language will unite the people; two languages will certainly split. This is an inevitable Law. Culture is protected by the language. If the Indians are to unite in one common culture and want to develop it, it is the duty of all Indians to accept hindi as their own language. If any Indian refuses to accept this advice as a part of the linguistic state, he has no right to be an Indian. He may be a hundred percent Marathian, Gujarathi or Tamilian. However not in the sense of land borders but in true sense he cannot be an Indian" (Vol.I Page 145-6).

Ambedkar wished that a modern India should be formed with one single culture to be developed by hindi language by depriving the independence of various nationalities and rooting out their culture. This is the desire of the comprador-brahminical forces also. Ambedkar, while opposing Gandhi who supported varna-caste system, exposed and opposed the bania-brahmin (comprador capitalist-brahmin) alliance also and stood solidly behind them in the policy of shaping modern India through national oppression. This is not only against the democratic rights of nationalities, but also against the democratic society he desired.

The shaping of a democratic society is linked with the nationality achieving sovereign right-that is, with the shaping of a modern nation. By linking the reservation policy with the policy of national oppression a democratic society cannot be established. The failure of Ambedkar should teach one to understand this truth.

The anti-brahminism of Periyar had certain slightly differing aspects with that of Ambedkar. He opposed the varna-caste oppression of brahminism. For that, he exposed brahminism and Hindu religion to be the reasons. He said, to root out caste, the Hindu religion should be rooted out. He exposed and rejected the authority of Hindu vedas, puranas and inthihasas believed to bestow sacredness-Holiness-to it. He exposed the Hindu Gods and Hindu institutions. Along with this, like Ambedkar, he also fought for the reservation policy for the betterment of the oppressed castes.

But, the anti-brahminism of Periyar did not stop at this point, merely as an opposition to varna-caste oppression. He was aware of the national oppression of brahminism. It was because of this he opposed the sanskrit, hindi domination and the concept of Indian nation. He who exposed the Indian nation to be a brahminical nation, raised his voice in favour of achieving a separate state and for the liberation from its oppression. This is the significant aspect which differentiates Periyar from Ambedkar.

Periyar understood, exposed and opposed the two faces-varna caste oppression and national oppression-of the brahminical oppression. However, he did not establish himself either as a democratic revolutionary or as a fighter for national liberation. His weakness is contained in the fact that, he restricted himself merely as a social reformer with an organisational-movement-activities for that purpose only (this is definitely a compromise).

Periyar, who opposed the varna caste system of brahminism, in practice, followed the same reformist ways and means put forward by Ambedkar, such as fighting for the reservation policy and exposing the Hindu religious literatures and institutions. Even though he advanced the demand for a separate state in opposing the national oppression of brahminism, he remained confused in putting it forward as a clear-cut demand (in deciding Dravida Nadu or Tamilnadu). Moreover, for achieving those demands he did not possess an organisation with continuity and a practical movement. Even the struggle to oppose the domination of hindi language was not pushed by him to the end till it was removed from the status of an official language.

Out of the two aspects of brahminism, the varna-caste oppression and the national oppression, Ambedkar who opposed its varna-caste oppression, joined hands with it in its national oppression. Periyar who opposed both the oppressions was neither a fighter for national liberation nor a democratic revolutionary. However, for the success of the struggle to overthrow the comprador-brahminism it is necessary that, one should be a democratic revolutionary as well as a fighter for national liberation against both the oppressions of brahminism.

8. THE SELF-DETERMINATION SLOGAN: LEGALISM AND OPPORTUNISM

To-day the slogan-right to self-determination is being raised widely by many people in Tamilnadu. This is a matter of democratic rights of the nationalities; it is a matter concerning the rights of an oppressed nationality to secede from a multi-national state and to establish its own national state.

This right has got two kinds of possibilities. The first one, a nationality seceding from a multi-national state and establishing a separate national state; the second one, remaining with the other nationalities on the basis of equality in the form of a federation with the right to secede.

In a multi-national country, when there is a revolutionary movement capable of leading the revolution in the oppressing nationality, the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities will be a part of the revolutionary democratic programme of that country. This is a programme for a federation on the basis of equality.

Unlike this, in the absence of neither a strong revolutionary movement in the oppressing nationality nor even an oppressing nationality, the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities could be nothing other than the national liberation programme.

What is the condition in India? Here, there is neither an oppressing nationality, nor a strong revolutionary movement in it. In these conditions the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, is nothing other than the national liberation programme.

But, those who put forward the slogan of right to self-determination, do so only to make it an alternative to the slogan national liberation. At the same time, it is not even a part of a revolutionary democratic federation programme. In the Indian conditions this is neither Marxism nor revolution but only imperialist economism. The CPI(ML) itself is such an imperialist economist organisation.

In the Indian situation, what is the meaning of shouting only the slogan of right to self-determination at the roof tops? It is nothing but pleading with the ruling classes to make amendments in the present Indian constitution, to recognise the right to self-determination of the nationalities. It is mere legalism!

Parties like PMK openly acknowledge this. The others by saying now and then that they are not opposed to the Indian integration and they are not the supporters of separatism, acknowledge this legalism. However, some others wish to demonstrate it by combining the legalist slogan of right to self-determination with the national liberation and the stage of revolution.

Whatever it may be, all these are totally opportunism. It will only lead to the spreading of false notions about the ruling classes and the Indian state and misguiding the people.

9. THE CASTE AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION

The national liberation revolution is a class revolution. It has got two objectives. First, establishing a national state, secondly, completing the democratic revolution. This could be fulfilled only through a people's revolution, which will overthrow imperialism, comprador-brahminical imperialism and feudalism. To achieve this, it is necessary primarily to rally the workers, peasants and all the other working people.

But the working people are subjected to the caste and religious divisions, particularly to the caste oppression. In these conditions, how to rally them for a national liberation revolution?

This is a question about the relationship between the struggle against caste oppression and the struggle against national oppression.

National liberation, above all, is primarily a demand of the working people—all the national demands are primarily working people's demands. Therefore these demands, are capable of uniting the working people overlooking their cast differences. This could strengthen their unity against caste domination and weaken the forces of caste domination.

For instance, it is the working people toiling in poverty who are affected, more than anybody else, by the domination of the alien languages like Hindi and English. Since the alien languages are flourishing as state language, official language and academic language, the working people who know only their mother tongue are degraded, insulted and subjected to inferiority complex and slavery. They are treated as second rate citizens in the society. Since these people, don't have an opportunity like the other classes, to learn the dominating languages and to become a part of the institutions of the dominating classes, the ruling right of the mother tongue (this is not possible without establishing a national state) is, more than anything else, the primary necessity for the working people. This, will relegate the caste and religious differences among the working people to the secondary position and put the unity on national scale to the primary position. Apart from this, it will bring the comprador-brahminical forces and their supporting and dependent forces benefited by them, to the antagonistic position.

Religious oppression is the oppression of the Hindu fundamentalists over the minority religious sections. This is nothing but the Hindu fundamentalist's Indian national comprador imperialist oppression. Therefore, the religious rights of the minority religion and the problem of right to worship could be solved only when it is linked with the national liberation struggle against the comprador-brahminical Indian imperialism. As long as the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism exists, there is no protection for the rights of the people belonging to the minority religion.

Since, its destruction is linked with the national liberation revolution, the protection of the rights of the minority religious sections or in other words, their liberation from the religious oppression depends upon the success of the national liberation struggle. But, the comprador forces in the minority religion will try only for a compromise with the Hindu comprador forces for Indian integration. Therefore, even in the contradictions based on religion, national demands will rally the working people irrespective of religion in the national liberation camp and the comprador forces desirous of Indian integration in the opposite camp.

Thus, it is clear, that the national liberation and all the national demands connected with it, serve as a coupling link to carry forward the class struggle by dividing the people and the enemies into two camps on class lines, without any caste and religious distinctions.

Contrary to this, the policy of giving priority to the struggle against caste and religious oppression or putting the struggle against national oppression on equal footing will be a policy of splitting the working people on caste and religious lines and cause damage to their class unity and national unity, thereby helping the camp of the enemy class.

**(This article appeared in Tamil Nadu Marxist-Leninist party organ "PURATCHI KANAL"
March 1993 issue)**