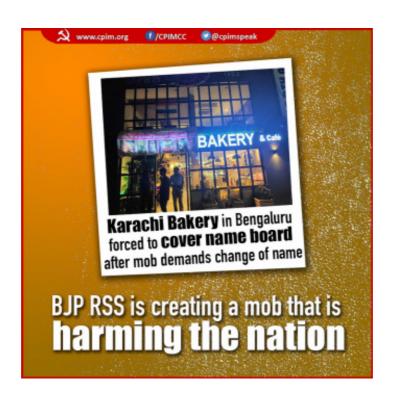
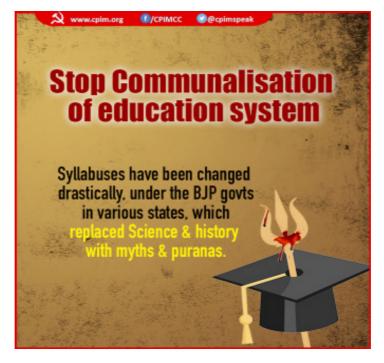
CPI(M) Appeal



For a Secular, United India

17th Lok Sabha 2019





CPI(M)'s Appeal to

Citizens for a Secular United India

Dear Citizens,

The India that we love is under severe attack by those in power who have sought to divide her citizens in the name of religion. Those who hold the reins of power have never accepted the concept of a secular India with equal rights for all its citizens. They have always advocated the Hindu Rashtra as their goal where citizenship is decided on the basis of religion. The obnoxious Citizenship Amendment Bill to change the basis of citizenship to one's religious denomination was the first step towards changing the constitutional framework. It was foiled by the people of the north-east supported by the entire opposition. But the danger is very great.

At the same time India is faced with the threat of terrorist attacks which have taken innocent lives and which threaten India's security. In Kashmir in particular the incidents of terror attacks have seen a rise of 176 per cent in the last five years of the Modi regime. The cross border support for these terror attacks continues, the most recent one being the horrific attack in Pulwama taking the lives of 40 CRPF personnel. The entire country is unified against these terror attacks.

The CPI(M) has been unequivocal in its fight against terror. In Kashmir, the CPIM) cadre has waged an extremely courageous struggle for upholding constitutional values for democracy and against separatist forces, at great risk to their own lives.

The CPI(M) has been in the forefront to uphold the values of secularism. We can proudly state that while some may have compromised with the shift to soft Hindutva politics, the CPI(M) has steadfastly upheld the basic principle to keep religion separate from politics.

The CPI(M) has raised its voice for a comprehensive legislation against communal violence including against hate speech. It has also demanded a law against lynchings, a phenomenon that has increased exponentially during the BJP regime.

This fight against communalism is an intrinsic part of the struggle for a better and stronger india. Secular values must be upheld to have an effective united fight against terror of all hues. But the Modi Government has weakened this unity by its communal approach and its attacks on the minorities.

Attacks Against Minorities

The BJP-RSS and the Sangh Parivar organisations have created new records in communal speech, practice and policy. Among the various "issues" that have been manufactured by the Sangh parivar to spread this poison against Muslims and Christians are "love jihad", forcible conversion, beef, population growth, allegiance to Pakistan or international jihadists, etc.

These five years have seen a series of violent attacks and incidents against minority communities fuelled by incendiary statements from leaders, shielding of criminals from legal action, and a poisonous campaign of lies and hatred carried out amongst the people. Hindu festivals have been turned into armed celebrations that viciously target minority communities, whilereligious observances by minorities have been proscribed or attacked. Hindu fanatic elements have used 'cow protection' as a pretext to attack Muslims and Dalits. The issue of love jihad has been used to make the most provocative speeches in the name of protecting "our women." All elections are vitiated by communal propaganda both overtly in public campaigning and covertly through hate-filled social media messaging.

In many cases local police was reported to be complicit in the violence. In many states under BJP rule, especially UP, Muslim youth have been targeted for arrests and even "encounters" by trigger-happy police. Such is the impunity cultivated among mobs that even police officers were not spared in some cases. As a counterpoint, cases against Hindu terrorists involved in Samjhauta Express, Mecca Masjid, Malegaon and other bomb blasts, as also against some of the key instigators of the Gujarat anti-Muslim pogrom of 2002, have been allowed to peter out due to lack of diligent prosecution. This has sent a clear message to violent Hindu extremists that the govt. is protecting them.

Incidents of Violence

The result of this barrage of Hindu fanatic and supremacist propaganda and violence is that the country's social fabric and harmony is today under severe strain.

• Communal Violence: Incidents of communal violence have increased by 28% between 2014 and 2017 (the last year for which official data is available). In these four years, there have been nearly 3000 communal incidents which have taken the toll of about 400 lives and left nearly 9000 people injured.

Officially registered cases of inciting communal violence have gone up by 41% in this period from 366 in 2014 to 475 in 2017.

In the first four months of 2018, 13 districts of Bihar, 3 of Rajasthan and 3 of W.Bengal were rocked by communal violence directly instigated by armed processions organised and led by Sangh Parivar associates or BJP leaders on the occasion of Hindu festival of Ram Navami.

• Lynching: Since the ascent of Modi, there have been 122 cases of mob attacks and lynching spread across 19 states. These horrific attacks caused deaths of 46 people and left 294 injured, including 148 seriously injured. Almost all of these attacks were led or egged on by Sangh Parivar associated persons.

Over two thirds of the victims were Muslims and the remaining mostly Dalits. These incidents were sparked off by wild and manufactured rumours of beef eating, cow slaughter, etc. In some cases, like Junaid's lynching in Faridabad, a minor incident in a train turned into lynching by a hate filled mob. In most cases, the killers are either free or the trials are stuck in court. BJP and Sangh parivar leaders have openly sided with the criminals.

 Rape as Communal Weapon: In a barbaric incident in January 2018, an eight year old Bakarwal girl was abducted, kept in a place of worship and repeatedly raped before being murdered in Kathua, Jammu. The reasons motivating the criminals included their desire to get rid of the Bakerwal Muslims who had settled near their village. RSS-BJP and its associates openly sided with the accused. This incident was reminiscent of the rapes and molestations done by Hindu fanatic mobs in Gujarat and elsewhere.

- Attacks on Christians: Another minority community in the country, the Christians, too are facing growing violence from the Sangh Parivar. An estimated 1200 attacks have taken place on churches, clergy, carol singers, Christmas and Easter events and missionaries across the country in the past 5 years. Many such incidents are not reported to the police and go unrecorded because the victims are terrorised.
- Killings of Rationalists: The killings of Kaburgi, Pansare, Dabholkar and Gauri Lankesh by Hindu fanatics shows another facet of the Sangh parivar's diabolic intentions of targeting voices of reason and progressive thought. Investigations by the Karnataka police have clearly established that the Sanatan Sanstha, a Hindutva outfit with connections to the Sangh Parivar, had undertaken these killings, trained the assassins, accumulated arms and set up a hit list of many other progressive persons.

The govt. on its part, has mostly kept silent on all of these issues and the violence that has been perpetrated, barring some hypocritical and anodyne statements. Behind the scenes, however, it is clear that perpetrators of violence are shielded, while BJP leaders become hyper active in case a Muslim person is involved in a crime.

The efforts to communalise society have created mutual friction and tensions in several parts of the country, even in places where there was minimal history of such strife. In all these cases, the handiwork of RSS affiliated groups, that have mushroomed all over, can be seen. This dangerous strategy is also pushing sections of the minority communities into the arms of minority fundamentalists thus further alienating them. This is a very dangerous development as one form of communalism strengthens the other leading to the most serious repercussions.

Using Govt. to Propagate Hate

To force the acceptance of its medieval and imaginary beliefs, the Modi govt. or BJP state govts. have changed many parts of text books in schools,

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the most recent example being dropping three chapters from a Class 8 NCERT text book. Earlier in 2017, the Modi govt. had introduced 1334 changes in 182 text books, many of which reflected the RSS ideology. Such changes have been made by BJP govts. in Gujarat, Maharashtra and the erstwhile BJP govts. in Rajasthan and MP. These are part of the Modi govt. and Sangh parivar's strategy of saffronising curricula so that their anti-Muslim ideology gets incorporated in school children's minds. It also serves the important purpose of hiding the fact that the RSS had no role to play in the National Movement, and that its icons, like VD Savarkar, surrendered to the British. Many changes in text books also propagate the regressive caste system that the Sangh parivar supports.

These changes, seen in the context of efforts by so called scientists to prove that ancient India possessed all modern scientific knowledge (like nuclear weapons, plastic surgery, aviation), which made India the laughing stock of the world, the takeover of several academic institutions by RSS persons of no significant academic record and steering of research towards so called "national" (read Hindu) objectives, are part of the Sangh strategy to further legitimise its communal drive.

The Modi govt. has also unabashedly turned public funded mass media (AIR and DD) into a propaganda machine not only for its so-called achievements but also for live telecast of RSS functions and Hindu festivals, publicity to archaic and regressive ideas through its programmes and glorification of ritualistic Hinduism. The mainstream mass media is also following in its footsteps.

Ram Mandir and Sabrimala

In pursuit of its Hindutva ideology, and in keeping with its practice of using it to mobilise voters, BJP and Sangh parivar affiliates started raising the Ram Mandir issue since last year. A series of religious congregations were convened to issue strident calls for building the Ram Temple at the disputed site in Ayodhya. The Yogi govt. threw its full weight behind this and the RSS leadership actively campaigned for it. They repeatedly asserted that faith is bigger than the Courts. However, since common people did not show much enthusiasm for this attempt, and the Supreme Court did not get pushed into a quick hearing to the pending dispute, the RSS and its

affiliates were forced to "withdraw" the agitation temporarily. But the incendiary campaign is continuing at the ground level, with its only purpose being the polarisation of people on communal lines.

Similarly, the BJP and RSS violently opposed the Supreme Court judgement on allowing women of all ages to enter the Sabrimala shrine in Kerala. They claimed that the Court cannot interfere with Hindu customs and launched an aggressive agitation against the LDF govt. in Kerala which was upholding the SC order. This too was an attempt to gain electoral mileage by pretending to be guardians of Hindu customs, even if against the Court. Like the Ram temple issue, it was meant to divide society, bypass the rule of law and mobilise people for a regressive cause.

Citizenship Bill

Another blatant display of the Modi govt.'s communal agenda took place when they tried to pass the Citizenship Amendment Bill which allowed all refugees from neighbouring countries barring Muslims to become Indian citizens. This stirred up a hornets nest in the north eastern states with sustained protests because it violated the Assam Accord of 1985, and threatened to tear apart the fragile relations between various ethnic groups in the region.

Failure of policies in Kashmir

The siuation in Jammu and Kashmir Kashmir has sharply deteriorated during the last five years. 66 per cent of people in this State had voted in the Assembly elections in 2014. But why is it that today almost the entire valley is aliented? Pakistan has undoubtedly played a role in funding and supporting separatist militancy, but that cannot explain the deep frustration of the youth in particular and their desperation. In fact more people have been killed in these five years, an increase of 35.71 per cent as far as civilians are concerned and an increase of 93 per cent as far as security personnel are concerned. These figures given to Parliament also include the 133 per cent increase in the killing of terrorists in the wake of a 176 per cent increase in terrorist attacks. Thus, far from being able to fight terror, the policies of the Modi Government in Kashmir have actually helped those forces who want to intensify the turmoil, violence and

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instability in the region.

Besides the blind use of force to suppress Kashmiri people and refusal to open a dialogue or even offer a plan for economic uplift, the BJP has driven a deep communal wedge in the state and used the Kashmir issue to portray itself as acting tough on separatists emphsasing their religion. This strategy has backfired. Instead of isoltaing the extremists, it has strengthened their popular support among the youth especially. At the same time, the communal approach has also led to an increase in Islamic fundamentalist forces who are hellbent on destroying the pluralistic basis of Kashmiriyat. Thus communal politis has had a disatrous impact in Kashmir.

The Modi govt. and the Sangh parivar has used Kashmir to create further hostility towards not just Kashmiris but also Muslims. This became evident when, after the heinous Pulwama terrorist attack on CRPF convoy, Kashmiri students and traders were attacked in many states by Sangh parivar affiliated groups. This is doing a great disservice to the requirements of national unity and is against national interests.

Fight Against terror

The fight against terror in the context it is manifested in Kashmir, along with the measures to protect security, requires a political intervention. It requires dialogue. It requires commitment to the constitutional provisions of special staus for Kashmir. The people of Kashmir have seen the BJP and RSS aggressively pusuing their goal of removal of Sec 370 and in addition even other laws such as Sec 35 A which provides protection to permanent residents. A policy that is based on an approach that while Kashmir is an integral part of India, the people of Kashmir are not—as the BJP-RSS are pursuing-is not in the national interest.

Budgetary Discrimination

The hypocrisy of the "sab ka saath, sab ka vikas" policy is also visible in its Budget allocation for the Ministry of Minority Affairs which continues to be meagre, making up just 0.19% of the total expenditure budget for 2018-19. It has been kept at this low level throughout the Modi regime although minorities make up over 21% of India's population. Funds

utilisation of the ministry has declined from about 97% in 2015-16 to 74% last year. Although public sector bank loans for minorities has increased to 16%, Muslims accounted for only about 45% of this although they make up 72% of the minority population. Many of the Sachar Commission recommendations remain unimplemented or are being hollowed out.

Defeat Modi to Save India

Never before has India seen such openly partisan and communal governments as those run by the BJP at the Centre and in States. It exposes the slogan of sabka sath, sabka vikas as a total lie, just like all the other lies this govt. and its leader Narendra Modi is fond of peddling. But more than that, the Modi govt. is representing the poisonous ideology of the RSS which aims to destroy the unique diversity of India, tear apart the social fabric through lies and religious bigotry and cause violence. It seeks to push India into medieval darkness even as its disastrous economic policies have reduced India to one of the world's most unequal countries.

The only way out of this dire situation is for the people to reject the BJP and its allies in the forthcoming elections. The fight against the BJP-RSS requires the strengthening of the Left forces in Parliament. When the left has a strong voice in Parliament, it acts as a bulwark against communal and sectarian politics.

The CPI(M) appeals to you

Save India defeat the BJP and its allies Strengthen the left and the CPI(M) Ensure a secular Government.

Attacks on Secularism

Aggressively sharpening communal polarisation over contentious issues like temple construction, renaming of public spaces by removing Muslim names, generating an atmosphere of hatred and violence targeting the minorities.

Patronising *private armies* in the guise of cow protection or moral policing. Murderously attacking Dalits and Muslims. Private armies' unrestricted activities leading to incidents of mob lynching.

(from the CPI(M) Election Manifesto, 17th Lok Sabha 2019)

Vote CPI(M)



Defeat the BJP alliance

Increase the Strength of the CPI(M) and the Left

For an Alternative Secular Government

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