

Imperialism: In And Out

EDITORIAL PIECE

CRITIQUE OF DAVID HARVEY'S
POSITION ON IMPERIALISM

A POLEMIC OF PATNAIK'S
IMPERIALISM

ANALYSIS

HOW FASCISM WORKS IN INDIA

INFRASTRUCTURE, RESOURCES
LOOT AND IMPERIALISM

CULTURE IN THE SERVICE
OF FASCISM

CURRENT

NEOLIBERAL ONSLAUGHT
ON EDUCATION

MODERN CITY PLANNING
TO SERVE THE INTEREST OF
IMPERIALISM

STREAMLINING STATE POLICY
IN THE INTEREST OF
IMPERIALISM



NAZARIYA KAL KA

EDITORIAL TEAM

Nishant Anand

Shriram Rishi

Val Varshri

Geet


Mukundan

Devika

Ramnit Kaur

Aditi Kumar

CONTACT US

 +918800424105, +919999945765

 @nazariyamagazine

 @NazariyaMagzine

 nazariyakalka@gmail.com

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INTRODUCTION

Recently we met an activist from Telangana and were talking about the problems of UAPA cases. Suddenly, he told us that "Telangana government is distributing UAPA like *Payassam* (sweet dish made from brown rice which is very popular in Telangana)." UAPA is the so-called 'anti-terror' law under which thousands of activists find themselves imprisoned. The ongoing situation in South Asia is devastating. On one side, resurgence of Brahmanical Hindutva forces in India intensified their attacks on Dalit, Muslim, Adivasi, women, LGBTQ+ and all working class people while on the other hand they are providing multiple safe corridors for the expansion of imperial capital.

This expansion is not uni-dimensional using various tactics for resource loot. One of the means for this is government law regulations in support of monopoly capitalists. There have been a number of amendments in Forest Rights Acts, Land Rehabilitation and Redistribution Act, the revamped four new Labour Law Codes, Foreign Direct Investment deregulation, an open hand and impunity to Special Economic Zones etc., all of it to facilitate the inflow of capital in India. This inflow of capital is cherished and glorified by the Indian government as a hallmark of Indian 'development.'

This so-called development has led to massive displacement throughout Indian territory. People are finding reductions in their savings every day and the burden of education, health and other basic facilities are being increased. Heightened inflation, depressed real wages and historic levels of unemployment plague the territory of India. Homes have become temporary as the oppressed and exploited of India find military camps, bulldozers, paramilitary and police outside their windows some mornings, looking to demolish their houses in the name

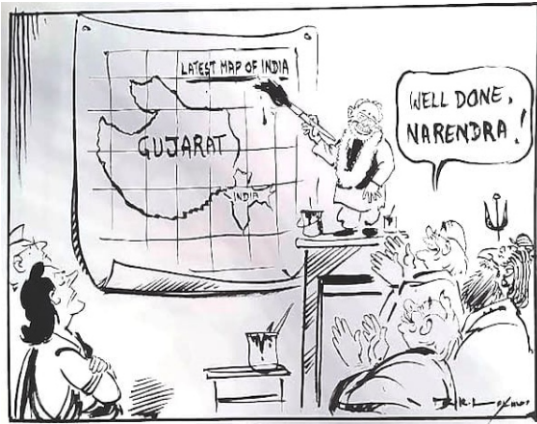
of this development. In some parts of India, it is for making the city beautiful, for building airports and highways. In others, it is for the minerals buried deep in the earth. Blame is pinned on the Russia - Ukraine war or US - China trade war. All errors of the government find their causes abroad as the government itself greedily seeks more imperial capital.

Fascists like Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro, openly claim "deforestation and fires will never end, it's cultural," pinning the blame of imperial capital's ravaging of natural wealth on the indigenous peoples of Brazil. Fascism openly antagonizes the most oppressed and exploited for its own whims and fancies, as it goes hand-in-hand with imperialism, which is evident with the resurgence of right-wing all over the world. This first edition of Nazariya Magazine aims to cover this subject in detail, elaborating on why in India, imperialism needs the dominance of fascism and works in tandem with feudalism to reinforce its presence. Foreign finance capital is giving strong support to the Indian state to sustain this current model of semi-colonial semi-feudal society. Through this model they are constantly creating a small number of petty bourgeoisie section of people, who are serving current model of economy and society. Simultaneously, this system ensures that this section's aspirations of developing into an independent national bourgeoisie never truly materialize.

At the same time, the fascist assault has ensured a violent attack on all democratic and progressive forces, both ideologically and materially. This Nazariya Magazine, aims to highlight the dynamics of what makes India's current regime tick, how fascism assaults the aspirations of the crores of people in India and engages in a terrorist dictatorship of imperial capital against its people. It is in this people's struggle that this magazine situates itself.

SAFFRON TERROR: THE FASCIST NECESSITY

BY Shriram Rishi



The Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, addressing what the central government termed the 'Chintan Shivir', has recently made the declaration that, “every form of Naxalism, be it the one with guns or the one with pens, have to be uprooted to prevent them from misleading the youth of the country” (PIB, 2022). In another speech, given at the inauguration of a bulk drug park in Gujarat's Bharuch district, the Prime Minister stated, “urban Naxals are trying to enter the state [Gujarat] with new appearances. They have changed their costumes. They are misleading our innocent and energetic youth into following them..... Gujarat will destroy them”. The public face of the Indian ruling classes has thus, openly declared all forms of dissent, undertaken in any manner, as an act worthy of state repression and suppression in the most violent manner possible. The rhetoric materializes in the courtrooms, the prisons and the streets of India where thousands of political prisoners continue to see a growth in their numbers for having a critical outlook towards the activities of the ruling classes. The draconian Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 (UAPA) has continuously been used to put in prison thousands of activists. Simultaneously, a rhetoric emerges which claims that these actors are all backed by “foreign agents”

who wish to derail the so-called development occurring in India. The hypocrisy of this rhetoric of the Indian ruling classes is reflected in the entirety of their politics, which boasts the highest foreign direct investment (FDI) on an annual basis, with the fiscal year of 2021-22 recording the highest annual FDI in India's history. India's trade deficit continues to increase, with the deficit from April 2022-January 2023 amounting to USD 232.95 billion, nearly doubling from USD 153.78 billion the previous year. The current regime has rapidly accelerated policies for exploitation of the people in India through foreign finance capital, crushing small and medium industries, the working class and the peasantry for these purposes while presenting the appearances of a state that asserts the identity of an independent Hindu nation, one which aspires to compete with advanced capitalist countries. There is talk of a “New India,” the politics driving these aspirational aesthetics commits to the manufacturing of a Hindu rashtra, one which commits the most heinous forms of violence against those it deems to fall outside the ambit of this manufactured identity as well as against all who oppose this fictitious identity and raise any form of dissent against the imperial agenda that hides behind this charade. This is the politics of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism that rampages across the varying terrain of India, in its purpose of consolidating the polity of India in favour of awashing it with the worst floods of imperialist “development” for the sake of the violent loot of its labour and resources.

Re-Investigating What Fascism Is

Before delving further into the particularities of Brahmanical Hindutva

fascism, it is necessary to re-evaluate what fascism is, so as to conclusively identify the nature of India's ruling classes. George Dimitrov defined fascism as “the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.” Beyond this encapsulation of fascism, Dimitrov further adds, “fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions” (Dimitrov, 2020). Fascism is therefore not merely a phenomenon driven by prejudice, but the prejudices and violence that it pursues is rooted in its class character as that of a terrorist dictatorship towards its masses, at the service of foreign finance capital. It is also not merely a subject of ending the Parliamentary process and the façade of democracy, since that reduces fascism to a dispute between the representative electoral parties of the bourgeoisie. Benito Mussolini's regime made not a single change in the Italian Constitution for the first couple of years, yet Italian fascism fostered under his rule with countless revolutionaries being murdered and imprisoned. The core of this problem lies in the relationship between bourgeois democracy and fascism, both of which are merely two sides of the same coin that is bourgeois class rule (Harrison, 2009). The terrorism waged by the ruling classes under fascism is not reliant on the need to formally end the electoral process, since other parties representing different sections of the bourgeoisie are also not allies of the oppressed and exploited sections of a country. Finally, one of the key aspects of

fascism has been its cause: that of mitigating crisis driven by capitalism to protect the bourgeoisie's rule. This makes periods of fascist rule in all countries inevitable in the crisis-ridden system that is imperialism. It is in this light that the particular character of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism must be recognized.

Particularities of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism

India, like most sections of the underdeveloped world, did not have a bourgeois democratic revolution the way it occurred in the western advanced capitalist countries. Even though claims of the “world's largest democracy” have become part of India's global branding, even prior to its inception it was apparent that there is no rule of a political majority but one that is driven on communal lines. As Dr. Ambedkar pointed out in his address to the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in 1945, Indian democracy does not function on the merits of political majority but one that is driven by a permanent communal majority. It is a majority that is “born, not made,” Ambedkar elaborates, functioning on a permanently fixed political agenda of the community whose interests it serves, that is, the Brahmanical upper castes of India (Ambedkar, 1945). The so-called Indian democracy is thus driven by the logic of feudal relations of production, that is caste, versus the capitalist relations of production as seen commonly in mature bourgeois democracies. India has always displayed fascist tendencies in its political history, starting as early as 1948 when the Telangana peasants' rebellion was crushed by the Indian state in a brutal massacre. In a three year period right after independence, “in more than 2000 villages... 300,000 of people were tortured, about 50,000 were

arrested and kept in (detention) camps for a few days to a few months. More than 5,000 were imprisoned for years” (Mathews, 2011). In 1955, the Indian army was waging war in Nagaland which had been asserting its right to self-determination to establish an independent Nagalim since 1946. In 1960s, the Indian state was dropping bombs from the air in Mizoram for doing the same. In the 1970s and 80s, the Indian state conducted genocidal pogroms like Operation Steeplechase and Operation Blue Star and the subsequent communal riots. India has thus, always been semi-fascist in its politics.

The shift towards fascism becoming the dominant trend stems from the mid 1980s, wherein India adopted the practices of Liberalization-Privatization-Globalization (LPG), with the Indian economy being completely opened to the global trend of neo-liberalization that most underdeveloped countries were being subjected to take, in the garb of mitigating the crisis that their debt-ridden semi-colonial economies were facing. The Indian big bourgeoisie had continuously attempted to liberalize the Indian economy to consolidate their positions through imperialist collaboration and this was actualized with the LPG reforms which created a huge crisis for the Indian peoples. Per the Annual Survey of Industries, real wages declined sharply since 1995-96, and didn't recover to the same point even after a 20 year period. Simultaneously, output per worker only increased along with a parallelly growing amount of contract labour which increased the number of workers who could be fired at will with no losses by the industrialists, drastically to 59.2% in 2011-12. If such conditions had not been imposed with the neoliberalization of the economy, the

working class in the organized manufacturing sector alone would have effectively acquired 13,23,202 crore rupees (RUPE, 2018).

Fascism simultaneously emerged rabidly during this period of grave crisis, with the BJP's L.K. Advani's Ram Rath Yatra occurring in 1990 and the demolition of the Babri Masjid taking place roughly two years later in December 1992. Fascism emerged to mobilize the growingly discontent masses along the lines of aggressive Brahmanism and on the lines of Hindutva as a manufactured national identity. The LPG policy's first phase began in 1985 and the second in 1991. From 1984 to 1991, the BJP emerged as an electoral party with 2 seats in the Lok Sabha to 120, simultaneously growing in their presence with the deeper penetration of foreign finance capital. Fascism latched onto the growing discontent of the masses, attempting to offer a solution to their dire conditions. The seeds of this form of fascism were planted during the rule of the Indian National Congress (INC) itself, as mentioned with the examples above. But even the endorsement of this form of Brahmanism had roots in the INC's rule, with Rajiv Gandhi having symbolically opened the doors of the Ram Janmabhoomi temple at the sight of the Babri Masjid as well even starting his election campaign from Ayodhya itself. The Sachar Committee report also highlighted the state of destitution of the Muslims in India the cause of whom the INC seemingly championed as a “secular” party. The Mandal Commission's recommendations and the subsequent anti-reservation protests also accentuated the consolidation of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's (RSS) fabrication of a consolidated Hindu identity that would define their aspirations

of the creation of an India-wide Hindu national identity, as the upper castes would consolidate together under the “general” category determined by the state. Therefore, finding unity on the ideological grounds of Brahmanism openly as well as the fabrication of a national Hindu identity in a country which is a prison-house of various oppressed nationalities like Kashmir, became the particular features of fascism in India. The Mandal Commission recommendations also came with the BJP's alliances with brahmanized representatives of the Dalit and Bahun caste sections such as the Bahun Samajwadi Party (BSP). As the BJP soon swept to power in the Indian state for the first time in 1996 and then again in 1998 and 1999, but still reliant on a coalition with other parties, in Gujarat, the laboratory of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism was tested itself out.

The Gujarat Model: Fascism's Laboratory

In late 2001, Narendra Modi was appointed the Chief Minister to the state of Gujarat. Barely three months after his appointment, Gujarat was ravaged with the 2002 pogrom. The incident started with the burning of the Sabarmati Express train, an incident Modi openly attributed on the Muslims of Gujarat, in a manner very similar to the German Reichstag fire which Adolf Hitler attributed to the Communists. As later reports by Ahmedabad Forensic Science Laboratory showed, it was impossible to set the train on fire from the outside, as the fascists in Gujarat claimed (Guruswamy, 2022). The incident was used as an excuse to mobilize the lumpen elements for an genocidal attack on Muslims in the state. The pogrom, which was carried out strategically with all levels of the state involved, as Rana Ayyub's The

Gujarat Files showed, laid the ground for the kind of violence that Brahmanical Hindutva fascism aims to carry out. An year after the pogrom laid the groundwork for BJP's work in Gujarat, Modi collaborated with local rough-cut diamond scammer-turned industrialist Gautam Adani to begin their business platform named 'Vibrant Gujarat,' aimed at attracting large-scale foreign investments to “develop” Gujarat. This was soon joined by Reliance's Mukesh Ambani who championed the Vibrant Gujarat cause to imperialists in the United States openly. Ratan Tata soon joined the mix too in 2008 (Mody, 2023). The comprador big bourgeoisie's shift towards Brahmanical Hindutva fascism as their preferred form of class rule thus finds its embryonic form in the so-called Gujarat model, under which the neoliberalization policies saw their most heinous actualization.

The government closely facilitated the penetration of foreign finance capital, firstly by foregoing 40% of their primary source of revenue, the sales tax. This was followed with massive subsidies on loan interests, infrastructure, land, water supply, access to natural resources along with facilities like 24-hour electricity and sale of protected area land and national parks (Hirway, 2017). “Sales tax incentives, and deferment, Rs 1,253.56 crore per year between 1990-1991 and 1999-2000, jumped by almost five times during the period from 2000-2001 to 2006-2007 — they amounted to Rs 5,966.72 crore per year” (Jaffrelot, 2017). For one example, Tata's Nano car plant received Rs. 30,000 crores through subsidies alone, even though Tata only invested 2900 crores in the project. The focus was pushed on export of resources, with the Gujarat Special Economic Zone Act, 2004 facilitating the

formation of SEZs focused intensely on increasing this export. No natural resource and forest land was safe in the Gujarat model from resource loot, with land being granted on 99-yearslong leases. Despite these massive projects being set up in Gujarat, jobs were highly unavailable, with 94% of the workers in Gujarat stuck in the informal sector.

For the petty bourgeoisie with independent national aspirations, the situation drastically worsened as the MSMEs (Micro, Small and Medium industries), with “the number of sick units jumping from 4,321 in 2010-11 to 20,615 in 2012-13 and 49,382 in 2014-15. Between 2004 and 2014, 60,000 MSMEs shut down in Gujarat” (Jaffrelot, 2017). This crisis further culminated with the state spending less than 2% of its budget on education and 0.8% of it on healthcare, in a region where 45% of its children are malnourished with significantly declining maternal mortality rate. For the peasantry, the situation wasn't any better, with ravaging of natural resources such as water, the gross pollution of the environment caused by these projects factoring into low productivity along with low minimum support prices, one of the lowest coverages of crop insurance as well nationally lowest wages of agricultural labourers. The imperialist model of development also massively displaces the population with no viable recourses. The massive Sardar Sarovar Dam project, for example, has already displaced 2,00,000 persons out of which 56% are Adivasis (Thakkar, 2010).

In semi-colonial conditions, fascism is still the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital, but this is facilitated by the ruling comprador big bourgeoisie and their nexus with the big landlords. The conditions

created in Gujarat are highly similar and on the exact trends which Brahmanical Hindutva fascism has subjected all of India to, with imperialist development taking centre-stage.

Echoes of Spring Thunders

Since 2014, what started in the embryonic form in Gujarat has taken birth and fully matured into the paper tiger that is Brahmanical Hindutva fascism. In its 9 years of rule, Brahmanical Hindutva fascism has displayed itself to be the bourgeoisie's angst towards the collapsing realities of the legitimacy of the Indian state. National liberation movements across India and their sustained struggle directly question the idea of the naturalization of an Indian nationality, which finds no real legitimacy in response. The people's struggles across India's history, such as that of the Naxalbari uprising, further broke down the idea that the “independence” in 1947 was nothing more than a transfer of power to a comprador bourgeoisie and a shift from colonial conditions to semi-colonial conditions. India was continuously wrapped in an internal crisis and the legitimacy of its democracy and its very foundations are brought into question with each imperialist crisis that envelops India. Brahmanical Hindutva fascism then, recasts this crisis with a new approach, by aggressively pushing Hindutva as the idea of an Indian nationality, and with the consistent attack on Muslims serving as the only means to create an 'alien' which legitimizes this Hindu nationality. The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, wherein the Indian state sought to directly alter the idea of who is a citizen of India, that is, only Hindus whether they may be from Afghanistan, Pakistan or Bangladesh

openly displays this anxiety. The issue with this approach is that it is riddled with internal contradictions, particularly the lack of an actual Hindu nationality across history and Hinduism itself being completely disjointed along the lines of caste and actual oppressed nationalities within India. Fascism's policy of Intensification of Brahmanism cannot solve this contradiction, which finds its basis in the semi-feudal base of India. Furthermore, fascism must completely reject the previous semi-fascist Gandhi-Nehruvian rule and its politics to push its neoliberal policies as the more advanced form of class rule. This is visible both in its vehement rejection of those legacies as well as the complete shift in Indian polity from those rhetorics about self-sufficiency during Nehru's time to the present vulgar glorification of the penetration and valorization of finance capital. Furthermore, it converts those anxieties in brutal class war, with the current regime transforming the old fascist Operation Greenhunt into the even more elaborate Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar against the resisting Adivasis in central India, even going so far as to use drones for aerial bombing in their desperation to end all resistance that threatens the legitimacy of this class rule. Thus, the emergence of fascism and its negation of the semi-fascist rule of the past becomes a necessary process for maintaining imperialism and the rule of the comprador bourgeoisie in the wake of continuous crisis and resistance which unmask the very foundations of semi-colonial semi-feudal states.

Dimitrov removed the illusions from early conceptions of fascism by the likes of Leon Trotsky and Clara Zetkin with the clear categorization that fascism is merely a form of bourgeois class rule and that it is not the

petty bourgeoisie but the big bourgeoisie which is truly the driving class behind fascism. The contradictions imposed by fascism are becoming apparent even to the members of the extended RSS family of organizations, with their labour union, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, openly protesting against the current regime for their policies of privatization and the imperialist policies which have led to the rising trade deficits. The petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie with independent national aspirations, the peasantry and proletariat must join in a broad united front against fascism to truly combat the onslaught of imperialism it brings. The Gujarat model's actualization on a pan-India scale has led to multiple pogroms against Muslims, the crushing of the MSMEs, large scale unemployment and informalization of labour, imperialist development which has displaced lakhs of people and plunder of natural resources in an irreversible manner. For the oppressed and exploited sections, only militant struggle against Brahmanical Hindutva fascism under the aegis of a united front is the only solution. As Mao Tse-tung says, "all reactionaries are paper tigers." Their historic role is to fall.

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“The earliest inscription by a foreign traveler, is Megasthenes' Indica, which is 2400 years back. He has said Indian society's biggest feature is that there is no social group that is exploited and oppressed. Come out of the Macaulay and Marx mindset! Everything has started after 12-13th century. For the current state of society, why are we hesitant in blaming the Muslims and the British? You are only reproducing the divisive mindset of Macaulay. Liberation from this colonial mindset is what the Prime Minister has been talking about.”

- Sudhanshu Trivedi, Senior National Spokesperson of the BJP, on a debate regarding the caste system in India

As part of the BJP's “New India” project, the government has initiated what they call “shedding the vestiges of the colonial past.” Speakers like Sudhanshu Trivedi have provided the rhetoric to this “decolonization” process while in action, the state has initiated a process of changing the aesthetics of what it deems its colonial past. Rajpath has become Kartavya Path, India Gate monument now has a statue of Subash Chandra Bose, various military insignia have changed to become more “Indianized” but this superficial attempt at anti-imperialism at a cultural level is unable to truly attack imperialism in this realm, nor

does it meet fascism's own agenda of valorization of foreign finance capital. This attempt at forging a national identity through negation of certain colonial aesthetics also comes from the post-modernist understanding of 'cultural imperialism,' that is, the separation of an economic and social existence of imperialism and the subsequent negation of imperialism at the economic level.

Brahmanism as the Pimp's Ideology

The transition from feudalism to capitalism on a global scale has also led to some negation of feudalism's idealist culture. Instead, the neoliberal policies of capitalism have led to the focus shifting to the individual, the human, as evident with the anthropogenic frameworks implemented in the social sciences. This transition is continuing further, with the shift from the anthropogenic frameworks to attempts to center humans as part of the larger natural environment. There is therefore an attempt at discarding elements of the idealism of feudalism but not a complete shift to materialism. In contrast, the current Indian ruling classes pursue the ideology of aggressive Brahmanism, derived from the caste-based feudal base of Indian society. Brahmanism is firmly an idealist philosophy, upholding the concepts of varnadharma (caste-duty in the present), moksha (liberation of the soul through performance of varnadharma), seeking unity of the atma (soul) through continuous performance of this duty (karma) with the parmatma (absolute god). In semi-colonial semi-feudal societies like India, where capital finds itself in alliance with the feudal base of society, the contrast is sharper than advanced capitalist countries since feudal ideology, such as that of Brahmanism, finds

itself reinforced under fascism in contrast to the negation that occurred in the bourgeois democratic revolutions that occurred in Europe. This is not to say that the expansion of foreign finance capital's space in semi-colonial societies does not bring its own distortion to culture.

Imperialism has brought with itself its own forms of relations of production and the reproduction of these relations of production stems ideological and cultural frameworks which reinforce them. Brahmanism ignores this, since this is a dialectical materialist understanding that negates idealistic tendencies like Brahmanism. This is visible in the changes it introduces. The BJP's Sudhanshu Trivedi, for example, argues that all was well in Indian society until the 12th-13th century period when the Islamic Delhi sultanate started to become prominent. He further pins the casteism on society on British imperialism, particularly blaming Karl Marx, and Thomas Babington Macaulay (British politician and Euro-supremacist). The idea is that colonialism and Islamic rule ruined Indian society and that no social oppression existed in the golden rule of the Hindus. This is a fascist cry, that of the idea of a pre-existing golden period of Hindu rule, which fascism glorifies as the ideal period it aspires to reach, based on a manufactured unified Hindu national identity. Brahmanism then seeks to attack the aesthetics of colonialism, with construction of monuments like the National War Memorial, the fixation on reviving a dead language like Sanskrit and rapid Hindi-fication through policies like the New Education Policy.

This attempt at tackling imperialism on a cultural level, while materially reinforcing

foreign finance capital through neoliberalization, corporatization and privatization, intensifying the imperialist loot of resources across the country, is contradictory and overall unable to counter imperialism due to its idealist framework. In contrast, Brahmanism has been retooled in the semi-colonial semi-feudal condition to reinforce imperialism. Fascist cultural organizations like Virat Hindustan Sangam (VHS) have openly theorized that dharma and imperialist model of development go hand-in-hand. In a VHS seminar decrying westernization and the colonial mindset of Indian peoples, fascist intelligentsia R.Vaidyanathan, while mocking the advanced capitalist countries for their lowering birth rates and the high amount of credit individuals hold in the United States, argued that economic development in India is fueled by dharma and that Indian society's current trajectory, that is the trajectory of unfettered imperialist loot, will ensure India's supremacy across the globe along with the "two other Dharmic civilizations" (China and Japan). Therefore, the feudal base not only provides space for foreign finance capital's valorization in semi-colonial semi-feudal conditions, but feudal ideology like that of Brahmanism reinforces this process on a cultural level, even if fascism attempts to derive an aesthetical anti-colonial character. It is therefore the perfect ideological framework for the fascist Indian comprador bourgeoisie who act as pimps in selling out India's natural wealth to imperialist interests.

Atomization, Commodification and Anarchy

Imperialism, due to its material presence, actively reproduces culture that reinforces the existing relations of production. The

import of finance capital brings along with itself distortions on a cultural plane, which also differently impacts different spaces disproportionately. The rural space, where feudalism is sharp, functions in contrast to the urban spaces where feudalism, while still prevalent, functions in a more restrained manner. Even so, there are tendencies of imperialist culture which can be clearly drawn, such as the commodification of human personality, the atomization of humans into individuals and anarchy in practice.

As mentioned previously, the culture that developed along the logic of capital is the culture of human as an individual in its center. This leads to the commodification of each aspect of human life. From sexuality, gender, mental well-being, the colour of one's skin, every aspect becomes commodified and repurposed for the appetite of the market. The struggle against repression of homosexuality became transformed into legally approved Pride parades (parties), various iterations of flags to buy and continuous investment into paraphernalia for socially acceptable forms of queerness. The atomization of human lives into individuals is most well represented in the aspect of care and mental health, where the resolution is deemed to be a medical professional who a person will pay to listen to them while they remain alienated from the persons around them. Anarchy pervades how humans engage in social relations, with the example of sex emerging as a common space for anarchic relations. As each person sees the other as an object for self-gratification, seeking multiple sexual relations in an anarchic manner becomes easier for certain sections of society while they can seek sexual gratification through the objectification of the more oppressed and exploited sections.

In a feudal society, this reinforces patriarchal oppression and allows for dehumanization of oppressed sections.

The Myth of “Cultural Imperialism”

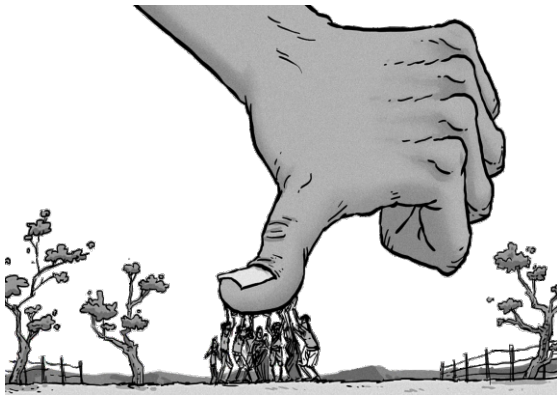
Edward Said, in his text *Culture and Imperialism*, developing onto the arguments of his famous work *Orientalism*, argues that the “age of empire” is over after the phase 'decolonization' on a global scale with what many members of the intelligentsia call the post-colonial period. This post-modernist trend which Said represents, which says that imperialism has lost its economic function, that it does not exist on the material plain, reinforces the idea that imperialism is only cultural, a position that is in harmony with fascism in the underdeveloped world. The turning point in the conceptualization of imperialism was Lenin's understanding of imperialism as a natural progression of capitalism's development. What purpose does imperialism in the culture serve if the colonized world is now free from imperialism? Post-modernism does not provide a concrete response. Imperialism on the other hand, continues to plunder the semi-colonial countries off their natural wealth. Therefore, the only way imperialist culture can be combated is by engaging in a struggle against Brahmanical Hindutva fascism, its local ally, as well as a struggle that aims to ensure changes in the relations of production to attack imperialism both at its base and on a cultural level.

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STATE CENTRALIZATION AND EFFECTS OF IMPERIALISM

BY Aditi Kumar and Ramnit Kaur



Lakshadweep, an archipelago situated in the Arabian Sea, is part of the Indian union territories. It houses a population of around 70,000 people of whom over 90% are Muslims and 96% are part of STs. Lakshadweep's people are also part of the linguistically suppressed Malayali population of India. These people, their age-old land and resources now face a staunch threat under policy proposals being introduced against their cultural and material interests. These proposals came from Lakshadweep Administrator and BJP affiliate, Praful Patel in June 2021. Among these proposals was the infamous Lakshadweep Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Regulation (PASA), an heirloom of the colonial Anti-Goonda Regulations. This regulation is a preventive detention law that allows for the detention of a person for “anti-social activities” from six months to a year, without legal representation. Irony is rife in this imposition as Lakshadweep has reported the least number of violent crimes in India as per a 2019 NCRB report. The smoke and mirrors obscuring the imperialist agenda around the PASA become clear when we zoom into the LDAR. The Lakshadweep Development Authority Regulation (LDAR), a law brought into focus alongside the Goondas Act, allows the government to acquire

“planning areas” for large “developmental projects”. Protests by the residents of the island erupted expressing fear that these infrastructural projects would harm the delicate ecological balance of the island and lead to the removal of landholdings held by the islands mostly Muslim, ST population. The “need” for a preventive detention law as stringent as the Lakshadweep PASA Regulation is clear when contextualised with the Indian State's anti-people “developmental” ambitions for Lakshadweep. The Union Territory Administration's self-proclaimed aims to make Lakshadweep a tourist destination at par with Maldives comes at the cost of the people of the island, a cost the UT Administration is unrightfully willing to pay.

Lakshadweep epitomises the way the state snatches provincial autonomy and consent. This is rooted in the ravaging process of state centralisation that has been replicating itself over the nation. “State centralisation” is the process of disenfranchisement of control from smaller units of governance to transfer and converge control to an all-encompassing, limited centre. This is in direct contravention to the deemed federal nature of the state. For us to understand this contradiction we must understand the reality of federalism and the “Indian Federal Myth”. Federalism as a way of organising government was envisaged in the 1787 United States Constitutional Convention. Here the vision of the US as a federation of several sovereign states willingly coming together to form a nation was materialised. Article 2 of the Confederation limited the central government's power to primarily foreign affairs and did not include the powers to demand access to military and taxation

control. It also included the right to secede for the federal states.

This federal structure is in stark contrast to ours. The Indian model of federalism allows for annexation of States into the territory of India under Article 2 of the Indian Constitution. This was seen in action in 1948 during the annexation of Hyderabad, and then again, in 1974 during the annexation of Sikkim. The powers vested in the States and the Centre are also starkly in contrast. The Union gets power over all important subjects such as defence and taxation (except agricultural tax). Moreover, not only does the centre exercise control over residuary subjects, it can also legislate on any of the matters in the State list with a vote of 2/3rds of those present and voting in the Rajya Sabha. The Governor of the states is not an elected official but is appointed by the Centre. The Governor has wide-ranging power including the right to impose “emergency” over the state at the behest of the Centre. This emergency power has been widely misused by the Union Governments in India, with State emergency having been imposed 95 times until 1990-91. This system can hardly be called “federal”.

The dubious nature of Indian federalism is evident in the situation of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. At the point of its accession to India, the accession was said to be provisional, and was conditional on the free will of the people of Kashmir. Both in front of the Indian Parliament, and to the United Nations, Nehru repeatedly asserted that Kashmir's accession to India was conditional on a referendum of its people. However, when Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference of J and K, declared that Kashmir should be a free nation, he was promptly arrested by the

Nehruvian government. The oppression of Kashmir has been fundamentally growing worse over the years of seize by the Indian State. In 2019, the BJP government, in furtherance of its Hindutva fascist agenda, abrogated Article 370 that had given special powers to the state of Jammu and Kashmir given the unique conditions of its accession to India. This culminated in a worsening of the military repression in the valley, with the longest ever internet shutdown in the world being seen in Kashmir following the abrogation. This goes to show that while the federal nature of the Indian State was always a myth, State centralisation is only worsening in India with the advent of the BJP government.

Raṣhtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, the founding body of the BJP touts “ek chalak anuvaritta” (obedience to one leader). This ideology rings through in the devotional unquestioning obedience of the BJP to their chauvinistic, patriarchal, fascist head. The BJP aims to indoctrinate the entire populus of the country in their cultish umbrella through the guise of beholding “ancient Brahminical science” by Sanskritising the education system. This is evident in the New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 where Sanskrit is given preference in the three-language formula. The Hindutva Brahminical interests of the state are clear through the strategic delegation of Urdu as a foreign language, thereby erasing its historical and cultural significance. The NEP trivialises the identities of SCs, STs, OBCs, and other religious and linguistic minorities by clubbing them all into the category of “Socio-economically disadvantaged groups” (SEDGs). This removes the particularities of their oppression, thus serving the interests of Brahminical hegemony. The rhetoric of cultural preservation in the NEP points in

actuality, to preservation of Brahmanical hegemony. This is exemplified in the sidelining of the legacy of anti-caste movements in India.

However, the interests that the NEP is serving are not merely those of religious fundamentalism. It also serves the very clear economic interests of increasing centralisation and imperialism. This is evident in the fact that the World Bank, that has invested in the STARS (Strengthening Teaching- Learning and Results for States) programme, has been asked to design a programme for quality education in India. This serves imperialist and global capitalist interests as it will lead to greater privatisation of education. The World Bank has, in the past, had a record of persuading governments to withdraw public resources from education and encourage privatisation via “non-state actors”. These imperialist interests go hand-in-hand with the process of centralisation of education. The NEP approach towards centralising all key decision making through the institution of new central educational agencies knocks another nail in the coffin of the Indian Federal myth. These agencies supersede and take upon significant educational roles and responsibilities given to state and UT governments, tribal councils, municipalities, panchayats and *jilla* parishads. These attempts at overcentralisation are not only meaningless displays of national homogeneity but are also dangerous. This is evident in the UGC's overruling of seven state governments' individual decision against carrying out examinations during the COVID-19 pandemic, a decision it had given the state governments freedom to make in the first place.

The economic effects of state centralisation

are very evident in the case of the Goods and Services Tax (GST). GST is a centralised taxation policy aimed at eliminating cascading taxation, reducing tax distortions, improving general tax administration, and creating a unified national market. This policy has been used as a way for the centre to take away state taxation control with false promises of higher revenue returns, more central investment in public functions, an increase in the GDP as well as compensation of shortfall caused by the implementation of a special cess. A way the centre pushed GDP as a federal institution was through the introduction of a GDP council, a body consisting of state and UT finance ministers voting on decisions around the GDP. The problem arises when we realise the looseness of this institution- the GDP council's decisions are not binding to the State. This has been used strategically during the COVID-19 economic recession by the state to forgo their previous commitments to compensate the shortfall caused by the introduction of the GST policy. Multiple state finance ministers have termed this a great betrayal.

The Centre has been steadily increasing the collection of cesses and surcharges that are not divisible with the states, squeezing their resources dry and siphoning all their fiscal autonomy and tax sovereignty. The foretold returns have yet to trickle to the public. We can see that the centre has pulled out of public schemes to reduce its fiscal deficit, simultaneously asking states to contribute up to 50 percent more. Curiously, we see the centre collaborating with the comprador bourgeois class including the Adanis and Ambanis under the BJP regime. This is seen in the government's response to the fall in shares experienced by Adani's company post the

Hindenburg report revealing them to be guilty of fraudulent inflation of their stocks in the market. LIC and SBI, which are government banks, have invested around 625 crores in total, into Adani post the Hindenburg disaster. Such a huge investment could not have been made without government approval. Hence, Adani's crime is being met with support from the government, rather than penal consequences. The imperialist backing of the comprador bourgeoisie such as Ambani and Adani is exemplified in the fact that British Petroleum, a foreign company, owns 30% stakes in Reliance. As pointed out by Manish Azad, Ambani and Adani's companies act as a "conveyer belt" through which the wealth of India is transferred to foreign countries. This symbiotic relationship of bureaucratic capitalism is parasitic to public interests.

This pattern of the state colluding with foreign imperialist interests is long running. It is a departure from the goals of self-sustaining, state-led national-capitalist economic growth. This increased with the onset of Indian "neo-liberalism" in 1991 when the state obtained IMF support, making a deal with devil, thus trading off the growth of home-grown industries for full integration into the world capitalist market. This led to the lifting of regulations on the business class as well as heavy incentivisation. Welfare schemes were also cut as the state cleared the path for foreign imperialism to privatise and exploit the cheap labour force and readily available natural resources of the country. This has led to a heavy dependency on foreign investments. Now that India is losing its footing as an attractive option for the perforation of foreign capital, the state is scrambling to make up for its underdeveloped capital and productive

forces by tightening a fascist noose around the states through overcentralisation of control. All of this is exemplified in Lakshadweep's new laws that have been discussed earlier. We see in Lakshadweep, the materialisation of the Hindu-Brahmanical fascist interests in the specific targeting of the largely Muslim ST population. The bureaucratic capitalist interests of the state are evident in the ripping apart of the cultural fabric of the UT by the State's laws aimed at the inflow of imperial capital into Lakshadweep.

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Development of urban areas throughout history has been a question of the development of productive forces. It is related to the advancement of production relations with time. In simpler terms, history of urbanization is directly connected to the development of human civilization, not just in cultural or social terms but also in economic ways. Harappan civilization had about 10% of its area covered by urban spaces. The primary determining factor for this urban development was the technological development in agriculture and the surplus created through it. During the period of the second urban revolution, history experienced an advancement in production relations from pre-feudal to feudal mode of production. New forms of technology in the fields of crafts production, communication, metal science and instruments of agriculture developed through human labour. Through this practice, society experienced a new contradiction which hampered the development of productive forces and technology, that of Brahmanism. It reduced the shudra community to servants of the society during pre-feudal times. But after the change in mode of production, shudras became more involved in agrarian practice and Vaishyas became involved in trading and crafting, which also means the development of Buddhism and

Jainism during this period were not sudden and detached from the social formation. These were ideological assaults combating the spread of Brahmanism in society. These were systems in which the productive forces saw greater involvement in agrarian and trade practice, a feature which was abandoned by the Brahmanical ruling class. More precisely, we understand that the development of ancient urbanization actually occurs with the help of native surplus generation and technological advancement of the society.

Delhi is going to host the G20 countries summit in 2023. Massive investment has been made for the Indian ruling class to beautify the cities in light of the upcoming summit. More than 230 places have been identified by the Delhi Municipal Corporation for demolition as part of this beautification process. Most of these areas are working class residencies and Muslim basties. Sangeeta Geet, an activist from Delhi, wrote “in the Kathputali Colony, which was demolished in 2016, the inhabitants have not been settled yet and the state has forced them to live in a renbasera (shelter homes). First, they were shifted to transit camps near Yamuna river bank area but after few days they were removed by the local municipal authority.” Even these renbaseras themselves are not safe from demolition, as the state recently demolished a night shelter in the Sarai Kale Khan area of Delhi, another predominantly Muslim working class locality. This whole process is reminiscent of the beautification of Mumbai city in 2012. The dreams of the jhuggi residents were shattered by the authorities in service of the interests of the rich. A senior officer in-charge of the demolition in Mumbai publicly announced through a British Broadcasting Company

(BBC) interview, "we want to put the fear of the consequences of migration into these people. We have to restrain them from coming to Mumbai."

Fear and Migration

These two words, fear and migration, appear every single day in the minds of migrant workers in India, who have been abandoned from their land rights historically. How shamelessly, the police personnel carry out brutalities against the people without giving care or concern regarding their day-to-day struggles and problems. Few pertinent questions should arise in our minds. Why do people leave their beloved's company? What do they possess to actually build something new? Why do these demolition drives always come to the doorsteps of working class, the oppressed communities or the resisting masses only? Is it for development of the people or for the interests of certain sections of people? Destruction for development has its historical significance in class struggle but the most important question is development for what and destruction of whom.

We usually understand that during the era of imperialism, capital seeks space for penetration and expansion. But recreation of space is one of the most important features of capital on the eve of imperialism or neo-liberalism (a distorted word for imperialism!). It changes the imagination of space through propaganda mediums like media, state apparatus and other legitimizing agencies (film actors, tele-gurus, athletes etc.). What is this new imagination of development in India? India should be urbanize, it states. The country should achieve great rankings in the international investors list and by credit

rating bodies, it states. For development, we must sacrifice somethings to achieve many things, it states. Big dams. Big broadways. New aesthetics. Basically, such are the aspirations of big landlords and big capitalists of India, completely maligned to the aspirations and interests of the common masses of India. These ruling class aspirations are thus naturalized on a country-wide scale through propaganda and culture. Realistically, revisiting the government data shows us that the raising disparity of wealth between upper strata of ruling class and vast toiling masses is rampant, with the top 10% of people holding more than 70% of India's wealth.

Therefore, where do these imaginations come from? From those who are in the position to construct our ideas and imagination, from a certain class of people, who actually want this kind of development for the fulfilment of their class interests. "You will have to make sacrifices to save the planet" was the cry of Jay Inslee, a liberal-democrat from the USA who ran for President. What is the meaning of sacrifices in neo-liberal political economy? It is the sacrifices of oppressed and exploited for the sake of ruling class. More than 2,00,000 people of Nigeria was forcefully evacuated in 2022 to give large spaces for an oil-producing company. Who made sacrifices for this project? According to a recent report of Amnesty International, Nigerian working class and native community is facing double oppression from both direct penetration of imperial capital and the local militant group and Al Qaeda offshoot, Boko Haram. With the excuse of curbing the militancy, Nigerian armed forces suppress the democratic rights of people and create spaces for foreign capital for new investment. Similarly, before the G20 summit in Bali in 2020, Indonesian

government had launched a massive slum demolition drive. To muzzle the voice of the masses, the Indonesian government amended their criminal procedure code to prevent any kind of dissenting voice from the masses. The new urban model, therefore, is oriented to serve the urban rich elites and rising upper layer of petty-bourgeoisie.

“Who forced us to migrate?”

It is very common in the discussions between urban elite people that “slums are causing pollution in the city, slums are the hub of drug rackets, migrants are taking our jobs, slums ruin the appearances of the city etc.” How did this crisis emerge, is the interesting question for the analysis. Without dealing with this question, we cannot answer the rising urban crisis in India. Emphasizing on the housing question, Engels exposed a similar petty-bourgeoisie cry that “modern natural science has proved that the so-called 'poor districts' in which the workers are crowded together are the breeding places of all those epidemics which from time to time afflict our towns. Cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, small-pox and other ravaging diseases spread their germs in the pestilential air and the poisoned water of these working-class quarters.” Engels took the example of Dr. Sax, a bourgeoisie scientist, who suggested that “we should try to develop all the propertyless workers and must raise them up to the limit of the capitalist class. We need to maintain the base of mode of production, which is capitalism.” This means that Dr. Sax, a bourgeoisie philanthropist, tried to solve the problem of the housing question and epidemic cycle by using the cause of those issues itself. The story is going to repeat itself with different manifestations in the current era of

imperialism. In India, most of the migrated population has been forcefully pushed from the villages. The necessary aid from the government to improve agrarian economy swiftly shifted towards imperial capital facilitation. Continued withdrawal of government assistance from loans, irrigation facilities, seed production, fertilizer production made agriculture a business of heavy loss.

Modern Urbanization or Intensification of Exploitation of Working Class

Nowadays, in the age of imperialism, The bourgeoisie philanthropy converted into foreign aid. Means the engine of the growth is finance capital. This finance capital is coming in India through the aid of Asian Development Bank (ADB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO) and G20-like multilateral summits. These massive funds are being utilized for the infrastructure work to develop new cities and to create Special Economic Zones. But if they are supposedly developing our economy and infrastructure, then why are we opposing this model? The answer is very clear, infrastructure for whom and housing security for whom? Not for the rickshaw puller who earns Rs. 600 daily while paying Rs. 300 to the owner of the rickshaw itself. The remaining money is mathematically insufficient for their sustenance. They are paying heavy interest money to the same owner of rickshaw because they are taking loans to sustain their family. After the demolition drives, the central government has claimed that the new buildings already have been prepared for the migrants, which is a completely flawed and sheer mockery of their economic and social condition. On one side, there is complete neglect of their

living conditions, but on the other side, the new vacated spaces are being given to the new builders and big real estate companies who already take a heavy loan from the foreign financial institutions. These building are being provided to the new rising petty-bourgeoisie and the big corporate of the cities.

Delhi Master Plan 2041 has proposed a similar plan to make a slum free city and provide housing for all people who are residing inside Delhi. Giving special emphasis on the environmental question, the master plan has no unique plan to curb the urban pollution. Why will this new master plan not work? Because once again, the aggressor of this model plan is foreign finance capital. Currently, Delhi is the net importer of water and other resources, but new Delhi Master Plan has proposed a gloomy image of sustainable development without any fundamental change in the production nature of country. A similar dream was sold by the BJP led government when they launched AMRUT Mission in 2015 for the rejuvenation of 500 cities in India. If we see the caricature that is the Delhi Master Plan, we can find similar perspectives inside with same enthusiasm with no intention. The website of AMRUT placed very striking figures of water condition's improvement in Indian cities. But the reality is distinct from the government claim. Ministry of Agriculture showed their concern regarding depleting ground water level in cities and claimed that till 2030 the demand of water will be twice of the demand of current time. The report found that most states scored below 50% on the index and that 21 cities are likely to run out of groundwater by 2020. If current trends continue, in the upcoming 20 years, an estimated 50% of all of India's aquifers will be at critical or at over-

exploited levels. A substantial portion of the city's water is being exploited by the industries, real estate and in treatment of wastage. Here it is very clear from the above analysis that majority of exploited and oppressed masses have none or very marginal claim on city.

If we desire for the inclusive development of the city, we have to frame a people centric perspective, where right to the city must be distributed according to the collective need of the society and orientation of industry should focus on the regional demands and requirements of people of that area. The homogenization of the spaces according to the interest of imperial capital should be condemned and must expose the comprador allies (Indian ruling class).

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A POLEMIC AGAINST NEO-KAUTSKYITE THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

BY Nishant Anand



Comrade Jose Maria Sison advanced his solidarity to the People's Resistance Forum Against Imperialist Globalization and said that "we must expose the imperialist nature of World Trade Organization (WTO) and stand with the people's resistance." Under the guise of free trade, WTO has promoted the interests of monopoly capitalist countries, more precisely we can say, that of American Imperialism. In a repeating manner, imperialist colonizers have claimed that there is only one solution to the current economic situation which is neoliberalism, where the market will be the major factor of life around the world and will ultimately reduce the role of state, nation and country. Based on the false glorious past of liberalism, imperialist countries and monopoly capitalists have successfully completed their panification. Against the articulation and phrase mongering of neoliberalism by different intellectuals including Marxists, N. Venugopal has sharply criticised the word liberal and has said that "even as the multinational corporations, international finance capital and compradors in various countries wanted to get out of state controls going on for four or five decades, but they did not want a general liberalisation of the

society and relation of production. They strictly sought liberalisation of those government regulations that they thought as hindrances to their unbridled exploitation." The new Labour Codes, the amendment to the Forest Rights Act, 2006, the bill to amend the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (LARR Act), are some evident examples through which the Indian ruling class broadened its base of exploitation and gave an easy way to the foreign finance capital. Historically, the topic of imperialism has been in dispute. Even in the Marxist circles, there have been many opinions and positions about imperialism. So, in this article we would try to trace the basic arguments and discussion on imperialism and its nature from its historicities.

Karl Marx never used the term imperialism. When we engage with *Grundrisse* (1858), he anticipated the emergence of imperialism. Marx in his theory of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall was considered important for the later phase of imperialism where capitalist countries sought colonies for the export of capital and expansion of market. Marx took the example of Ireland and proposed his study regarding the nature of British colonial intervention. He said that British colonialism had restricted the development of Ireland and it remained a pre-capitalist society. This example also applied in the Indian subcontinent too.

Every individual is the product of their materiality, and every revolutionary idea comes from a particular material condition where dominating opposing forces also do exist. Lenin had improvised the theory of capitalism to imperialism because he was

was facing the contradiction of monopoly capitalism. He was the first one who theorised imperialism through its class nature. Five most essential factors for the development of monopoly capitalism was proposed by Lenin as, 1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies; 2) merger of banking capital and industrial capital called finance capital; 3) division of world between imperialist forces; 4) conflicts between imperialist power raised in the era of imperialism and 5) import of finance capital to colonies and semi-colonies (like India).

A contemporary of Lenin, Karl Kautsky had proposed the theory of ultra-imperialism and defined imperialism in a different way as was explained by Lenin. Here, it is really important to understand why Kautsky's present in the current discourses on imperialism, with no obfuscation of imperialism through "globalization" kind-of terminology. So, my answer is to clarify the correct Marxist position and its contrast with the social-democratic position on imperialism, to expose the apologists of imperialist and those who are waging war against imperialism, those who are peddling petit-bourgeoisie class aspirations under the garb of Marxism and to those who fight against imperialism to establish the dictatorship of proletariat. The ghost of Karl Kautsky is coming in the modern form through Patnaiks, who are directly denying the use of the word imperialism. First, we will examine the position of Kautsky on imperialism.

Defining the meaning of imperialism, Kautsky said that "imperialism is the product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists of the striving of

every industrial capitalist nation to bring under control or to annex all large areas of agrarian territory, irrespective of what nation inhabits it." The definition clearly pointed out the importance of industrial capital in the era of imperialism whereas imperialism is the era of finance capital, and the position of industrial capital was deteriorating rapidly. Big banks and big financing companies backed by different imperialist powers supported the conditioning of finance capital's oligarchy.

On the other side, Kautsky picked a controversial aspect of annexation of agrarian land, but the process of annexation was not limited upto agrarian land, but it spread in mining, science technology, medicine, and other fields. In the book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin through statistics tried to prove that imperialism was just not striving for agrarian land but even the most highly industrialised region (German appetite for Belgium). Kautsky's position may also fall against the national question of self-determination where he tried to justify the expansion of "global" finance capital which ultimately eliminates competition with the whole world free for trade. But against this social-democratic petty bourgeoisie cry of Karl Kautsky, Yash Tandon opposes the position and re-established the question of national liberation and reasserted that national bourgeoisie will be the allies against the anti-imperialist struggle in semi-colonies of the world at large and global south in particular.

Kautsky showed indifference to the use of the word finance capital or imperialism, meaning these words do not change the essence of the matter. But here we need to point out the incorrect economic position

of Kautsky about imperialism, where he speaks of the process of annexation as being merely a policy of imperialism. Unapologetically, Kautsky termed imperialism as policy, which could be changed by the bourgeoisie of imperialism in nature but negated the tendency of free capital concept and the development of accumulation of capital through it. Meaning, the development of imperialism was not sudden and through the policy of monopoly capital, but it was a stage of development of capitalism where it lost its basic progressive character of competition. Through the excess accumulation of capital and wealth in the hands of imperial capitalists ultimately functioned to eliminate the small and national bourgeoisie (in semi-colonial countries). The process was important to sustain capitalism.

Recalling Prabhat Patnaik's speech in 2019 "how fascism can be defeated?" Patnaik glaringly said that now we are in the era of global finance capital which is really different from the 1920s-30s situation, where many imperialist countries had directly conflicting interest. Maybe it's time to open your eyes and see the world through objective reality and the perspective of the proletariat! It's possible that the imagination of conflict between imperialist nations in the eyes of Patnaik is only something similar to World War. But the situation has changed on the same base which was laid down by Comrade Lenin. There are many examples in this era of imperialism which justifies the position of conflicts and war like the Korean War (1950s), Vietnam War (1950s-1970s), Gulf War, American invasion in Palestine, contras issue in Columbia, Brexit, trade war between China and US, Ukraine and Russia's war.

Patnaik is coming from a more economical but less political argument, where he directly relies upon the fake justification of free trade and open market for capital intervention as claimed by the imperialists. We need to go through the subsidy policy of WTO. On one hand, WTO has been continuously trying to open up the semi-colonies and imposing extra responsibilities. But, on the other side they formulated imperialist friendly subsidy laws to promote their subsidy. Likewise, the functioning of geographical indicators of intellectual property rights hamper the development of semi-colonies' productive forces and give an open hand for imperialist forces to exploit the resources.

When Patnaik argues that the wages of the Indian working class has been increasing and the metropolitan working class has a stagnant wage increment rate, it is something which we need to check from the basic economic data. In the last 49 years, the average wage of India has shifted from Rs. 149 to Rs. 273. But the food inflation in India had increased by 157% in between 2004 to 2013-14, which means the average increment of annual wages is cancelled out by inflationary trends in India. And if we look at the latest figures of US wage increment rate, we find that the average increment of wages is between 3-5% with Cost-of-Living Adjustment. Glaringly, Patnaik's superficial model and hypothesis is not objectively true. No doubt, there is a shift of industries and finance capital investment from metropolitan countries to semi-colonies, but not for the development of semi-colonies' productive forces.

When Patnaik compares the position of imperialist bourgeoisie and Indian

comprador bourgeoisie, he concludes that in third world country, the big bourgeoisies are coming up rapidly and making common cause with the capitalist of advanced countries, to a point where even the distinction between the two bourgeoisies is getting obliterated. At every cost, Patnaik is adamant at protecting the theorization that capitalism, as a dominating mode of production relation in India and global south at large. Does this have an actual basis or is it just a petty bourgeoisie cry from Patnaik to defend the Indian ruling class who forcefully restricted Indian productive forces and made them dependent on foreign finance capital. Against this argument, Yash Tandon, correctly theorizes the position of bourgeoisie in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries. Where he demarcated two kinds of bourgeoisie development in semi colonial states: comprador bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. Comprador bourgeoisie is a class of bourgeoisie that has emerged under the special condition of semi-colonies which actually facilitate the foreign finance capital to penetrate inside their countries. They get technology and financial aid and support from imperial capitalists. And they provide land, cheap labour, resources and a big emerging market for them. Manish Aazad has correctly pointed out the nature of two Indian big capitalist developments in his recent article, Polyester Prince and Coal King in the magazine Towards a New Dawn. He pointed out that ONGC alleged Reliance Petrochemicals for the theft of large amounts of gas from its block. When the investigating team found the allegation correct, the case was tried in the international arbitration Tribunal. Experts said that the Indian government went to the tribunal to lose the case against Ambani.

On the other hand, national capitalists have an aspiration to develop independent capitalist development from imperial capital because with the help of comprador capitalists, the imperial capital suppresses their material base and helps to monopolise the market, production and other services. When professor Patnaik explains and compares the condition of Indian working class and western working class, he takes a position that Indian working-class conditions are advancing and after some time it will be in a position of western working class. The party which has been supported by Prabhat, has never tried to requisition houses of the rich in their about 30 years tenure. The question of class and caste struggle have almost disappeared in the analysis of the solution of imperialism, signifying the class-collaborationist approach of the professor. Regarding foreign imperial capital Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) and other revisionist parties have fewer clear positions through their documents but are pretty coherent through their functioning. The question of land distribution and independent national capitalistic development are not the cries of these parties and repetitively they have proven this point in Bengal, where they distributed only 7-8% of land to the landless and left them on their fate. Ultimately, because of lack of resources and weaker productive force they had to give up their lands. Actualization of ownership of land and the development of productive forces are two essential and parallel developments are the necessity of this time.

Against the bourgeois apologetic tide of Kautsky and Patnaik, Lenin still stands firm and clear. In the current era of imperialism, the strategy to demolish the base of imperialism, should come from class

struggle only. It is also pertinent to understand how imperialism fuels fascism with the close ties of the comprador ruling class and aggravates the exploitation of working class, petty bourgeoisie, and national capitalists. National liberation question is yet unresolved and it would become the direct struggle against imperialism. Whether it is Kashmir or Manipur or Philippines, the national struggle will be against the comprador ruling class of semi-colonies and direct supporters of it (imperial capitalist countries). The transformation from capitalism to imperialism is not bloodless. So, when we talk about the economic transition, we cannot skip the political and social implications of it, which actually has been done by the imperialist apologists.

To justify the inevitability of imperialism, the professor proposed an argument that because of the temperate climate, there were certain goods which could not be produced in western countries. For this, western imperialist forces advanced for imperialism." If Alexander did not know about bananas before he invaded India, it does not mean that he attacked India because of bananas." Imperialism is the stage of monopoly capitalism with the help of export of capitals. The ghost of Kautsky is somewhere running parallel to the professor's claim that imperialism was just the policy and not the stage of capitalism.

Again, I should go back to the speech of the professor to defeat fascism. Here, the professor suggested two major steps for the broad-based united front, one is free health services and second is free education. But are they sufficient for the defeat of fascism which is backed by imperialism and Brahmanical forces? What kind of education and health care infrastructure are

required for the development of productive forces? Is it enough to change the nature of state and restrict the intensification of fascism in India? I doubt it. On the other hand, the professor did not talk about the scrapping of draconian laws, formalisation of workers etc.

Conclusion

The above arguments of Prabhat Patnaik and Karl Kautsky regarding imperialism are insufficient and anti-Marxist. Through these narratives the state will get the ultimate benefit and the nature of class struggle will deteriorate. More importantly, we need to focus on strengthening the working-class movement in more militant terms. The actual nature of the united front must take its shape and the class collaborationist approach should tone down. Under the leadership of the proletariat, all oppressed and exploited classes and sections must unite to defeat the fascist forces.

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David Harvey is a renowned geographer based in USA, often called a Marxist geographer. Harvey holds significant renown in various forms of media, being of the most cited authors of our time, speaking on political economy and capitalism, appearing on Richard Wolff's supposedly-Marxist 'Democracy at Work' YouTube channel. His work, 'New Imperialism' has been cited 14701 times. He is popular for his theorization on space-time compression and spatial-temporal fixture of capital. Harvey even proposed that dialectical historical materialism concept be changed to dialectical geographical materialism. With this philosophical ground, and through his Euro-centric conception of capital flow, he confers a progressive character to capital exported in the oppressed and exploited nations and envisages that the export of capital produces capitalist social conditions in the oppressed countries and nations. Accumulation by dispossession is the theory to which he is profoundly associated with. He brings in Marx's theory of primitive accumulation and substitutes it with the phrase: accumulation by dispossession. Railing on the lines of Plekhanov, Wittfogel and Lefebvre, Harvey is the new face of the geographical deviation in Marxism leading into Hegelian idealism in philosophy, neo-revisionism in politics and represents petty bourgeois class interest in political economy. In his most recent work on imperialism, he said that the concept of "empire," as propagated by Tony Negri, is praiseworthy and Bill Warren's notion of the progressive character of imperialism needs warm reception by the left. Recently in a panel discussion, Harvey has denied the relevancy of imperialism as a concept to understand the political economy of the

world. The debate on the question of imperialism with regard to David Harvey is reminiscent of debates around the subject during Lenin's time.

To fully dissect Harvey's understanding of imperialism, one needs to evaluate the historical developments that led to Stalin's writing of the document Dialectical and Historical Materialism as well as Mao Tse-tung's conceptualization of imperialism in what was semi-feudal semi-colonial China prior to 1949. Dialectical Historical Materialism or Historical-Geographical Materialism Before going into the political economic perspective of David Harvey, it is important to point out the philosophical perspective which he takes in order to reach to his political economic formulation. Dialectical historical materialism is the kernel of Marxism. Lenin developed this tool by defending it from vulgar materialists of the 20th century. Stalin defended this from the geographical and environmental determinists of his time. Mao developed it further through his work On Contradiction and On Practice. In his work On Contradiction, Mao categorically mentioned that one divides into two and the unity and struggle of the opposites defines the identity of an object or phenomenon. Every object or phenomenon exists due to contradictions and there are two aspects of contradictions within an object or phenomenon. Mao said that in the transformation of a thing or a process, a particular aspect of the contradiction dominates at one time over the other aspect. This dominating aspect of the contradiction, called the principle aspect, determines the nature of transformation and the new form which the object or the process is to undertake. Contradiction is present in the form of every motion. It is

present in process of development of all things. Mao said “there are many contradiction in the process of development of a complex thing, and one among them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of other contradiction” (Collective, 2019). This is particularly important in our analysis of the theory of imperialism.

For Harvey, geographical materialism is the philosophical outlook and with this philosophical tool he reaches to a political economic condition where “uneven geographical development becomes the key means through which capital periodically re-invents itself” (Harvey, 2014) the uneven geographical development refers to uneven growth of capital in the geographical regions of the world. The uneven growth, contends Harvey, is the key feature of capitalism. He says that it is through uneven geographical development that capitalism resolves its crisis. With this, he prioritizes geography over the production relations of the society. In the process of capital inflow into a region, there are several factors that affect the valorization of capital, that is, the process by which capital re-invents itself, one among them being geographical differentiation. But Harvey marks uneven geographical development as the key element in valorization of capital. The contradiction between the flow of capital and the production relations which it encounters when it flows into a region is another contradiction but Harvey overemphasizes geography; this is not just anti-dialectical but is contrary to materialism. At this point, he lies on the idealist side of Hegelian dialectics. It was to check such errors in judgment, related to

complex processes, that Mao said that “the fundamental cause of the development of thing is not external but internal” (Collective, 2019). Hence for a dialectical historical materialist, the fundamental way in which capital resolves its contradiction is the process which is created by the interaction of finance capital with the pre-capitalist mode of production. It is important to analyze the mode of production of the society into which the finance capital flows in order to understand the process of valorization of finance capital. But Harvey in his self-styled rebellious manner tries to privilege geography over mode of production.

On this, Raju J. Das has also criticized Harvey, saying, “geography cannot be the only important in terms of resolution of contradiction due to over accumulation in capitalism” (Das, 2017). The concept of uneven geographical development as expressed in Harvey aligns him with the post-modernist Edward Soja, who said that “I put space first before seeing things historically, socially or politically” (Soja, 2008). Before Harvey or Soja, Henri Lefebvre has put forth the spatial dimension in the political economy of capitalism. In fact, to correctly point out the root of the trends of deviation from the class analysis to geographical analysis we must visit the works of Antonio Gramsci. In his concept of organic intellectuals, Gramsci has placed space as the most important constituent in determining the intellectual’s political inclinations. For example, without explaining the mode of production specific to a society and the superstructure’s influences on intellectuals coming from different geographical locations, he distinguishes between the social function of the intellectuals coming from North and Southern parts of Italy.

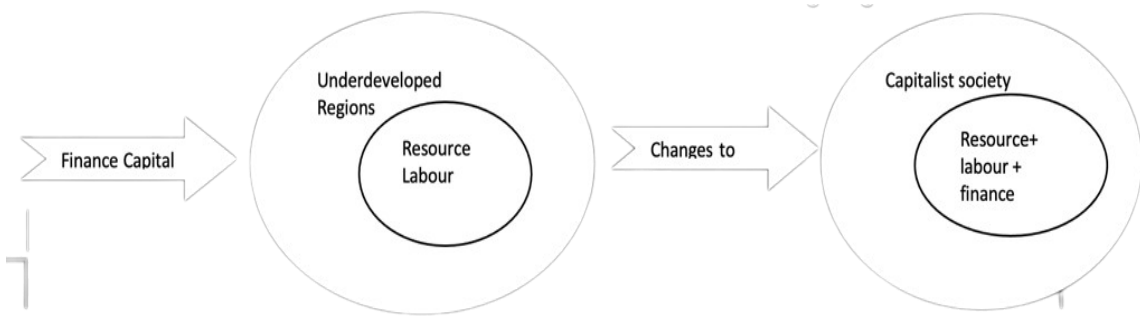
Gramsci was the point after which Marxist intellectuals shifted toward post modernism and the result was the amalgamation of Marxism with metaphysics and the spatial paradigms. Gramsci had established intellectual relations with the Frankfurt school and this relationship influenced the writings of Foucault (Holub, 1992). Gramsci represented the petty bourgeoisie's aversion towards the politics of the dictatorship of proletariat, for him revolution was hegemony, he sought to replace the ruling class ideological hegemony by the proletariat ideological hegemony and this he was to do by providing a leading role to intellectuals. This is in contradiction to the vanguard role of proletariat in communist revolution. While Mao said 'Serve the People' Gramsci relied on 'Educate the People' (Tabugon, 2016). Gramsci said that "it is the intellectuals who modify and alter the mode of thinking and behavior of the masses. They are the purveyors of consciousness" (Bellamy & Cox, 1994). Gramsci replaced class struggle with the reformist perspective of educating the masses in order to create good consciousness. This removal of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of communist party from Marxism creates fissure and to fill this gap, different shades of post modernism fuse in. Theorization on space and place through a Marxist perspective created one such fusion. Building on the theorization of Gramsci, Henri Lefebvre propounded the theory of production space. For this, he developed a philosophy by fusing Marxism with the Nietzsche's philosophy. Nietzsche as a precursor to fascist German imperialist ideology, propounded that objectivity does not exist. His negation of objective reality and his propounding of modern sophism

impresses upon Lefebvre and he uses this tool to attack Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist theoretician and defender of the socialist state from the bourgeoisie's fascist onslaught. The root of the debate with regard to the role of geography lies in the debate which took place in the USSR during the time of Stalin. Geographical determinism had been a key issue of struggle at the times of Stalin. He fought fiercely with the geographical determinist deviation within Marxism. It was to address this deviation that he wrote "geographical environment is unquestionably one of the constant and indispensable component of the development of society and of course influences the development of society, accelerates or retard its development. But its influence is not the determining influence" (Stalin, 1938). Even many years before Stalin, Marx said that "Nature...taken abstractly, for itself and rigidly separated from man is nothing for the man" (Marx, 1988). To place geography above class struggle in a class society is non Marxist. Philosophically, Harvey contradicts some of the basic tenants of Marxism. The philosophical roots of the attempt to replace Dialectical Historical Materialism by Geographical Historical Materialism lies in Hegel. This is clearly expressed in Harvey's 'Introduction' to the book titled 'Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism'. There he writes on contradiction without referring Mao. To understand contradiction as a philosophical tool without reading Mao is impossible and Harvey has slipped into this mistake. Without Mao's framework, he converts contradiction into a meaningless abstract metaphysical mechanical tool of petty bourgeoisie for the study of opposites within the political economy of capitalism. He goes on to say

“one way out of contradiction is innovation”, this ultimately leads us to the point where there is no contradiction. This is the metaphysics in his work. Innovation is not the resolution of contradiction within capitalism rather it is contradiction in itself. There cannot be any process without contradiction; as Mao explains, contradiction is the cause of all existence. In his book *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, Harvey uses Hegelian dialectics and misrepresents contradiction with opposites and constantly tries to present a caricature of contradiction that is against the dialectical conception of Marxism. A careful reading of the introduction will suggest that he is interested in the processes through which one tries to resolve the contradiction and not in the process that intensify the contradiction to the level where new and progressive stage is reached; the resolution of the contradiction is an act desirous to end the contradiction. Moving ahead with this logic he states that “contradictions have this nasty habit of not being resolved but merely being moved around” (Harvey, *Seventeen Contradiction and the End of Capitalism* P.4, 2014). In this sense the contradiction never creates a new stage in the object or the process but only turns it around infinitely. This is the spiral logic in his argument. He uses dialectics of the Hegelian type and not in the Marxist sense as used and developed further by Mao. For him two merges into one and not as Mao states, “one divides into two.” The Political Economy in Harvey As the philosophy of any individual lies in the material basis, Harvey's philosophy reflects the political economy of a particular social material relation. Every philosophy is the philosophy of a particular class. The presence of the class and the relationship between the different classes gets

manifested in the ideologies. David Harvey manifests the class ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. True to his class character, he presents a lamentation of what is evil in capitalism but is unable to build a radical rapture from the present conditions in order to move towards a communist society. But despite this, he has a romance for socialism and looks toward Marx in order to comprehend the objectivity in capitalism of the present phase. Having his vision blurred from the post modern influences, Harvey fails to understand the present form of capitalism. Harvey has kept aside the tool of dialectical historical materialism.

The theory for which Harvey is known to the world is the theory of 'Accumulation by Dispossession' which is expressed in his book titled 'New Imperialism' (Harvey, *The New Imperialism* P.137-183, 2003). The name of the book 'New Imperialism' does not mean that Harvey is arguing for a new definition of Imperialism rather he uses this term only to assert that imperialism is not the relevant concept in the world today. In a round table discussion, he held that imperialism in his book is just a metaphor (School, 2017). For him, the global political economy is the result of the contradiction within the capitalist economy. The contradiction of over-accumulation leads capital to move both spatially and temporally, and the uneven geographical condition which capital creates is a means to resolve the contradiction within the capitalism. Building on Marx's analysis of the initial stage of capitalism, Harvey develops the theory of accumulation by dispossession. Marx, while analyzing the transition of capitalism from feudalism, wrote about the primitive methods of accumulations. Marx had clearly mentioned that this method of primitive accumulation was operational

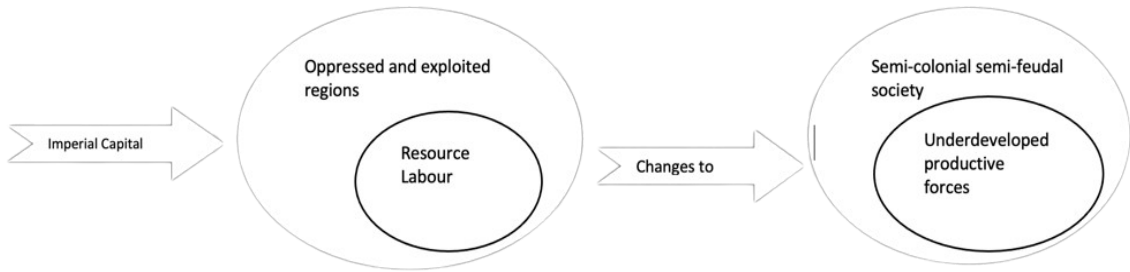


in the pre-capitalist society and it is through the appropriation of the resources and labor power of the pre-capitalist society that capital formation was initiated. To clear all misunderstanding about the accumulation, Marx said in Capital Volume 1 that “primitive accumulation is not the result of the capitalist mode of production but its starting point. This primitive accumulation plays the same role in political economy as original sin in theology” (Marx, Capital Vol.1 P.873, 1976). But Harvey confuses this with the present era of monopoly capital. He asserts that the theory of primitive accumulation is still relevant. This mechanical reading of Marx leads him to say that “all the features of primitive accumulation have remained powerfully present within capitalism historical geography up until now. Displacement of peasant population and the formation of a landless proletariat have accelerated in countries such as Mexico and India in last three decades” (Harvey, *The New Imperialism : Accumulation by Dispossession*, 2004). The theory of primitive accumulation was developed by Marx in order to understand the accumulation process in pre-capitalist society and on the basis of this accumulation, modern proletariat was born. In this process of proletariat formation, a class was made free from the bondage that held them to the land and the natural superiors. The underlying process in formation of proletariat as a class is the

transition from feudalism to capitalism. In the era of imperialism, distorted capitalist development in a semi-colonial semi-feudal society also creates proletarian class. But unless this transition is complete, progressive capitalism cannot exist. The destruction of the bondages which hold the labor forces to feudal powers “is the essential aspect of primitive accumulation” (Marx, Capital Vol.1 P.900, 1976). Harvey says that formation of proletariat in countries like India is a result of capital inflow into India. He also says that the incoming capital in a society like India produces capitalism. In all his writings, he has assumed without any enquiry that capital flow from USA to the world creates capitalism everywhere in the world. He even said that contrary to positions held by many Marxists, the flow of capital and labor is from west to east, that is the drain of wealth and labor is from the developed region of US and European countries to the eastern regions (Smith, 2018). This is what makes him an apologist of imperial capital and imperialism. Harvey’s accumulation by dispossession is the process in which capital occupies the geographical space in order to valorize itself. By so doing it dispossess the masses’ rights and also cause environment issues. This can be illustrated through the above diagram. Harvey presents a progressive character to finance capital. The penetration of finance capital in an ‘underdeveloped’ society has led to production of capitalist space and for that a

a capitalist social relation is produced (Harvey, *The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession*, 2004). This characterization of finance capital is not new in the realm of political economy. Before Lenin, Karl Kautsky had given the theory of ultra-imperialism under which war would cease and the industrial capital would dominate the agrarian society. Further he had opined that the industrial capitalist countries would find way to collaborate and war would not follow. Building on this premise, David Harvey proposes a more progressive character to finance capital. Without directly referring to the agrarian societies, he proposes that the present world is capitalist. Similarly in line with the Kautskian model, he proposes an amicable solution to the problems related monopoly capital. Lenin had termed the theory of ultra-imperialism 'ultra-nonsense' (Lenin, *Imperialism* P.85, 1916). The theory of accumulation by dispossession is treading the same line as that of the Kautsky, hence it has only increased the pile of academic material on the subject which is in contravention with reality. The flow of capital into the spaces of India or other oppressed regions in the present times cannot be compared with the times when the capital was rebelling against the feudal mode of production in Europe. At the cost of prioritizing geography, Harvey has miserably missed out on history. The period of transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe was the progressive period of capitalism. Through our reading of Lenin we know that the formation of capitalist society created a contradiction between free market competition and the monopolizing nature of capital. This contradiction lead to the formation of the highest stage of capitalism, imperialism. Lenin said that "if it were necessary to give the briefest

definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism" (Lenin, 1963). In the era of imperialism, capitalism that has rebelled against the feudalism of Europe has lost its progressive character and has been converted into a reactionary entity. Lenin made this quite clear in the article titled 'Under a False Flag' written in 1915. He said that "today it would be ridiculous to even imagine a progressive bourgeoisie....the bourgeoisie has changed from a rising, progressive class into a descending, decaying, internally weak reactionary class" (Lenin, *Lenin Collected Works* Vol.21 P.134-157, 1917). Mao, while waging class struggle in the concrete conditions of oppressed countries like China was back then, developed this understanding on imperialism. He said that in the countries oppressed by imperialism like China, a semi-colonial, semi-feudal condition prevails. In this condition, the ruling class of comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the big landlords were formed. Thus on one hand, a distorted capitalist development subservient to imperialism was formed and simultaneously, the feudal ruling classes were consolidated as the ruling class in tandem with the big comprador bourgeoisie. After the end of the direct imperialist occupation in the oppressed countries, imperialism persisted the exploitation and oppression in the region through the neo-colonial tactics but for Harvey "India gained independence from imperialist forces on 1947". But in reality, just after the so-called independence, the imperialist exploitation of the Indian people has not only remained uninterrupted but has also tremendously increased in the past years. Imperialism halted the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism that was underway in India and converted



it into a semi-colonial semi-feudal society. This can be illustrated through above diagram. In order to exploit maximum profit, imperialism forged an alliance with the local ruling feudal powers and thus ensured that decline of feudalism through class struggle is halted. Instead of destroying feudalism based on the interest of imperialist capital, semi-feudal conditions with a distorted form of capitalist development persisted in India. After the economic crisis due to the Second World War, imperialist powers changed their form of exploitation; they developed neo-colonial forms of oppression and exploitation. In accordance with their neo-colonial policies and methods throughout the world, the imperialists have, in collaboration with the 'Indian' comprador capitalists, invested capital amounting to thousands of crores of rupees in various industries of the private sector, state sector and trapped the entire Indian economy in their financial web through so-called 'aid', 'debt' and 'loan'. By appointing their so-called advisers and experts, the imperialists have tightened their stranglehold over the various government departments in reality. With the help of their Indian compradors, the imperialists are preserving India as the market for their commodities, source of cheap capital export, and are plundering India's wealth, sucking its lifeblood and retarding its development. In a nutshell, the Indian economy is semi-colonial semi-feudal and the exploitation pattern of the imperialist is that of the neo-colonial form.

Conclusion

Harvey presents a uni-linear picture of flow of capital. The best program which Harvey has to offer to the people is to fight for the right to cities, which is reformist in nature and remains confined to spontaneous movement of the people without the role of an organized leadership, a party and the need for the proletarian dictatorship. To achieve the right to cities, the strategy for Harvey is "to occupy the parks, squares and streets of our cities until our opinions are heard and our needs attended to" (Harvey 2012, 147-8). Marx, whom Harvey frequently quotes, had famously said that point of study of society, is to change it, not to adjust with the given conditions. The question of change is about the radical rupture from the present era of imperialism and the reactionary social relations which it preserves. Marx said "the communists disdain to conceal their views and aims, they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions" (Marx & Engels 1987, 34). Clearly Harvey is not a communist. The era of imperialism, said Mao, is the era of proletariat revolution. To complete the task of the proletariat revolution, we must be able to recognize the weakest link in the chain of imperialism and inflict the most severe blow on it in order to break the whole chain of imperialism.

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Odisha is one of the poorest states in India with 32.59% of its population below the poverty line. Simultaneously, it is amongst the most resource rich states in India. The solution seems simple- extract minerals, develop infrastructural projects. However, this development leads to resentment among the population. The corporate Vedanta setting up their mine in Niyamgiri hills for bauxite has lead to the Niyamgiri movement against this project. Since Jindal Steel tried to set up their plant in Jagdishpur Village in Dinkia, there has large scale protests and violence. Such instances are not just an issue of Odisha but an issue for the entire country.

Where is the money coming from?

It should come as no surprise that the Indian economy is unable to stand on its own two feet, considering the low level of productive forces in the country. It is at this point that our friends abroad lend us a hand in the form of foreign capital, with foreign direct investment (FDIs) being the preferred form to funnel money into the Indian economy.

Foreign companies and countries only invest when the return is profitable, in countries with a high credit score, which implies that no investment is free. For example, SEZs are industrial areas offered by the government which provides foreign capital a space unencumbered from the country's stringent labour laws, thereby enabling cheap labour due to which foreign capital may maximise its return at the cost of the people of the domestic country.

To address why the government tilts towards a strong industrial base for India's development, the conditions of the society need to be understood. The caste-land question in India cannot be separated,

intertwined in the class structure of society as it is, reflected by the fact that development happens by the usurpation of the land of the oppressed castes. This isn't in isolation- not only does imperial capital invade to gain super profits for itself but is aided by the comprador bourgeoisie and its lackeys to help secure a foothold in the domestic economy. Rona argues that attempts to theorise post-1947 Indian development story cannot be in isolation with the "larger structural and casual elements within India". In his article, Wilson accuses Manmohar Singh of justifying the LPG policy, and SEZs, as "development through industrialisation that India badly needs". Through this, Wilson opines that it officialises the fact that development may not happen with agriculture being the main provider of employment (Wilson, 2019). However, the question becomes one of development for whom, at what cost?

Development through foreign capital follows a certain pattern – to attract foreign capital, domestic economies front policies in favour of imperialists to make the process more attractive. Through this, imperialists establish industries at low costs which results in a disparity between export and import prices. Not only those people who become targets of these schemes are dehumanised to be worked upon to be uplifted, even the irresponsibility of the state becomes the people's responsibility. For example, it becomes easy for the cabinet minister to dismiss the shocking instance of tribals consuming poisonous plants to keep them alive as a 'natural' and 'cultural' attribute of these people not in the habit of eating rice which is being provided to them by the government. Thus, moribund capital leaves the imprints of its parasitic

nature on those people who are easy targets of its logic of surplus maximisation.

The loot is also exacerbated by the cheap labour that works in such projects after the development. In a study, it was found that the money spent for each soap produced in India by Uniliver including the labour costs was \$1, while in U.K the same soap would cost \$3. The worker in U.K and the worker in India do the same amount of work but the remunerations that the worker in U.K gets is 3 times that of his Indian counterpart. Therefore, we can clearly see that the exploitation that the Indian worker has to face is unimaginable. The super-profits that the imperialist powers gain from India is through the brutal exploitation of the worker and the state encourages such imperialist powers. The state which is supposed to support these workers end up supporting the exploitation of these workers.

As reliant as the Indian economy is on foreign capital for its development, foreign capital is not the only source of income for infrastructural development. One may even argue that it is the people who pay for their development but are never able to reap its benefit. S.K. Ghosh explains how money for the infrastructural development is mostly sourced from the common man and not the capitalists (Ghosh, 2002). The direct tax paid by the common person is greater than the indirect tax paid by compradors. Reliance did not pay any tax for the first 25 years after its inception. The state governments also compete for foreign investment and investment from large Indian companies by giving them capital subsidies and sales tax exemptions. This cash assistance is often disproportionate to the foreign exchange that is earned. These are the legal ways through which the large corporations pay less tax (Ghosh, 2002).

How is land acquired?

It is always the oppressed and exploited section such as the peasantry, the Adivasi, the Dalits and the urban poor of the country who lose land for the imperialist loot when the state collaborates with the comprador by exploiting feudal relations. In Azamgarh, the land slated for acquisition for the purpose of airports is occupied in such a manner that 90% of the people getting displaced belong to Dalit/OBC communities (Savyasachi, 2023). An example of such an incident is the land taken away from the Adivasis for mining in Silger in Chhattisgarh.

The landlords are part of the state structure across the country since they are often big politicians in rural areas. The peasantry in the area is often indebted to the landlord since agriculture is not very profitable in India and landlords indirectly control these lands by using exorbitant interests to ensure that they retain control over the land for generations. The militia is often used by the landlords as they force the peasants out of their own land. These land relations are rooted in caste, with most landlords being from dominant castes. Thus, most of the people who get alienated from their land is the lower caste sections. Such is the Brahmanism of the state.

This is tangent with the way that imperialist development in India has developed. Industrial development is preferred over an agrarian base of development as it is posited that agrarian labour will find jobs in the industries, yet India's industries are not capable of absorbing this excess labour. Here, imperial capital intervenes to help develop industries- foreign capital is needed for income generation which will generate jobs needed for development of

economy (Wilson, 2019). This argument for development can be seen as the reason why land is losing value- the imperialist-bourgeoisie collaborated to acquire it at cheaper rates. However, it must be noted that the resulting imbalance between agriculture and industry puts the economy under severe strain. This shows us that surplus generated by agriculture is extracted to redirect it towards the development of industries, yet the benefit of such development is never reaped by the people, the farmers who lost their name in the name of development.

Infrastructural projects across the country are developed using migrant labourers which comes from the agricultural sector and the seasonality of agriculture leads to migration. Many of them migrate because of the imperialist powers and their lackeys, that is the bureaucratic comprador class, ensuring that agriculture is not profitable in India. Since these migrant labourers come from different parts of the country, it is harder for them to unionise due to the caste differences. Moreover, lack of documents makes their exploitation easier. They will never be able to utilise these infrastructural facilities even though they play a part in developing them.

How is loot protected?

Imperialist loot in the country is protected by the state using the police force and even through militarisation. This can be clearly seen through the example of Silger. In Silger, a large paramilitary camp was set up on an 10-acre agricultural field. Such camps are set up across Central India and are called forward operational base against left wing extremism. The Gram Sabha had not given approval for these camps and they were set up in an undemocratic manner without following due process. There were protests in Silger against these

camps. The district police have been detaining Adivasis as part of their 'area domination operation' and many of them have been sent to quarantine centres. The C.r.PF opened fire on these peaceful protests, which has triggered a protest movement of four years and counting (Shivhare, 2022). This is not an isolated incident. Half a dozen such camps are established in Bastar last year as the Kuvvi tribals have been protesting the mines of Vedanta. There were even incidents of aerial bombings in Adivasi areas. This shows how the state is committing genocide against its own people.

The compradors and the state together want to remove all the Adivasis from their land. This is not limited to a particular area in India. The villagers in Dhinkia, Odisha have been protesting the JSW steel plant in the village wherein the police had used brute force to put down the protests. The police violence against the protesters in Nandigram is another example of police brutality for imperialist loot. The villagers were protesting the establishment of a chemical hub in the village. The police fired against the unarmed villagers. 14 farmers were declared killed, hundred were reported as 'missing' (Senapati, 2021). The state ensures that the 'jal', 'janganl' and 'zameen' of these people are taken away from them so that foreign powers can make more money. Militarisation and police brutality are not the only way through which the state protects imperial loot through infrastructural development. The state also ensures that this betrayal against the people of the country is backed by legislation. The latest amendment to the Forest Conservation Act ,1980 called the Forest Conservation Rules is one method through which the state ensures legal backing to this loot. The people's struggle

in Niyamgiri and other Adivasi dominated areas had forced the state to amend the Forest Rights Act. The approval of the Gram Sabha in areas dominated by Adivasi farmers were necessary to acquire land for development which has been exposed as a mere distraction to betray the Adivasi community. The law is not one made to protect their democratic rights, but to lure them into a false sense of security before they revoke the provision. The Gram Sabha in Silger had not given consent for the infrastructure development done in this area. The change in this provision would mean that the undemocratic act in Silger is legitimised.

The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 is another legislation that is being used to provide a façade of legitimacy to imperial loot. This legislation brings into question even the semblance of democracy that we have achieved after the transfer of power since it is the same colonial land acquisition act of 1894 with a democratic rhetoric added to it. Only 80% of the people must consent for the land to be taken away and in the case of public private partnership projects only 70% of the people must consent (Mukundan, 2022).

The Aftermath of Infrastructural Development

The nexus between development and displacement, between ecology and development, is one for the books- an undeniable connection between the two shows that the imperialist model of development is a cruel mistress, with the environment often being subject to its cruelty. Each year sees the displacement of millions of people at the hands of the

development projects- the infrastructural development of arms, roads, reservoirs, or oil, gas, and mining projects are inevitably tied with destitution under imperialism.

Consider the case of Joshimath in Uttarakhand; Down to Earth reports how the National Remote Sensing Centre released images of Joshimath, showing that the area sank 5.4 cm between over 12 days. Since then, this report has been taken down. Further, an on-ground report conducted by the team speculates that land subsidence is result of the construction process of the Tapovan-Vishnugad tunnel, showing how the process of development of infrastructure is an inherently insidious process. As a result of this destruction, the people of Joshimath have been displaced, with unofficial accounts saying the damage to Joshimath is so extensive that it has become unsalvageable (Down to Earth, 2023). Development through dispossession, development through displacement- this seems to be the unrelenting slogan of the ruling class, despite whatever false lies their words propagate.

Displacement is not merely an economic issue, though the two cannot be looked at in isolation- it leads to larger ramifications on the lives of people-economic insecurity, alienation and poor quality of life being the most visible examples. Nonetheless, displacement cannot be said to be the only consequences of development. Beyond displacement, people's rights are violated, there is an increase in disasters, the local economy suffers as the gap between FDI and GDP increases, with loans and debt being the base of development while imperial forces and their compradors continue to plunder India's resources. The consequences are manifold, not to mention disastrous.

Concluding the Story: What does Development Mean for India?

India's story of development is one of death, destitution, and displacement, but such words must be put in context. Development, which is occurring under an imperialist capitalism that is aided by India's traitor ruling class is but out of historical material conditions.

In analysing India, it is important to understand a few things- in our system, class is driven by caste which gives birth to a Hindu, Brahmanical state. This stems from the fact that the transfer of power in 1947 meant that India never had a bourgeois revolution, never overthrew its feudal landlords. Instead, India is a country made from the dialectics, the interaction, between feudalism and capitalism. It is a system in which profit is driven by the interest of the ruling (upper caste) class, sustained through the help of fascist suppression and imperialist aid. Such is the origin of the Hindu Brahmanical Fascist state in India; such is the development of the contradictions between a self-sustainable, striving India and the super profit accumulated in the hands of the compradors and imperialists made on the bloodied backs of the masses.

Those ruling us will be benevolent, make promises of “acche din” which will never come for the people. While the ruling class may be shrouded in benevolence, the people must be sharp. They must strip the cloaks which hide the ugly truth behind infrastructural development in India; the people must question and ask- is this what development looks like? If yes, who is this development for?

According to IBEF data (IBEF) the government's infrastructure activities accounted for 13% of the total share of FDI inflows in the FY 2021. Between FY 2021-

2026, India's overall infrastructure is expected to grow at a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) (the mean annual growth rate of an investment over a specified period longer than one year) of 11.4%, with it driven by its spending on water supply, urban infrastructure and transport. What seems like a means to cheer for the Indian economy needs to be read with other facts. Consider the chilling story which is told when we compare this accelerated growth in infrastructure with the fact that 54% states in India are struggling to meet their basic water needs, despite water supply being one of the holy trinities driving infrastructure. If India's GDP is growing, ask yourself two questions- firstly, who is it growing for? Secondly, at whose expense is it growing?

Here, it is to be understood that the imperialist model of development is not a policy decision, while we may point our fingers at Congress, at BJP, at CPI(M)- it needs to be understood they too are the pawns of the material base, complicit but complicit to the circumstances which history sets for them. It is when we make this distinction, when we understand why development happens in the way it does, when we recognise the problem for what it is instead of what it seems, that we can begin to address the problem of development. It is not development which is the problem. The real problem is the mode of production driving such development; it is rooted in capitalist accumulation- the insatiable hunger for more, inherent in the capitalist mode due to which capital keeps reproducing itself, first in the domestic economy and then in its semi-colonies. The enemy is not the people, it is capitalism, it is imperialism- the highest stage of capitalism!

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ANTI-IMPERIALISM

KA JOMA (JOSE MARIA SISON)

In the era of imperialism, the works of Ka Joma is essential to end the exploitation and oppression of working class and vast masses of the world. Reestablishing the correct understanding of imperialism, Joma waged a struggle against the revisionist political line of understanding regarding imperialism. He dedicated his whole life to the Philippine national liberation movement against US imperialism.

KA JOMA LIVES IN THE DREAMS OF REVOLUTIONARIES!



BHAGAT SINGH

Bhagat Singh is the revolutionary figure who has to be remembered in this current crisis time of BRAHMANICAL HINDUTVA FASCISM. His lessons of communal harmony and intensification of class struggle must be the base of every revolutionary. Presently when, fascism is using the tactic of dividing the masses on the communal line and looting the resources of the country, we have to internalize the teachings of Bhagat.

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