

NAZARIYA

THE TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE



HAIL PALESTINIAN
RESISTANCE FORCES
& THE STRUGGLE FOR
LIBERATION!



To welcome a "happy" New Year, adivasis of Bijapur were protesting peacefully against the erection of unnecessary police camps in their villages, at whom the state forces fired indiscriminately due to which a bullet tore through the hands of Mangli Sodi's mother, killing the 6 month-year infant

I did not supply the explosives
Nor ideas for that matter
It was you who trod with iron heels
Upon the anthill
And from the trampled earth
Sprouted the ideas of vengeance
It was you who struck the beehive
With your lathi
The sound of the scattering bees
Exploded in your shaken facade
Blotched red with fear
When the victory drum started beating
In the heart of the masses
You mistook it for a person and trained your
guns
Revolution echoed from all horizons

- Varavara Rao



NAZARIYA MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL TEAM

Nishant Anand

Val Varshri

Ramnit Kaur

Mukundan

Aditi Kumar

FIND US ONLINE:



To contribute to
Nazariya, use:



FOR PRIVATE
CIRCULATION ONLY

Minimum contribution:
Rs. 50

CONTACT US

8800424105

9910452244

nazariyakalka@protonmail.com

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

| | |
|---|---------|
| 1. Introduction..... | 1-3 |
| 2. The Roar of Palestine Will Echo Loud! | 4-20 |
| 3. Nuh: An Attempt at Rewriting Fascism..... | 21-35 |
| 4. Nari Shakti: The Hollow Echo in the Women's Reservation Bill..... | 36-47 |
| 5. Hindi Imposition: Language as Another Link in the Chain..... | 48-57 |
| 6. Ukraine: The Playground for Inter-Imperialist War..... | 58-70 |
| 7. WSF: An Imperialist Trojan Horse for the People..... | 71-78 |
| 8. On The Split Between CPI (ML) New Democracy & CPI (ML) Prajapandha..... | 79-97 |
| 9. Politics of Petting..... | 98-109 |
| 10. Nietzsche: The Messiah of Everything Reactionary..... | 110-122 |

AN INTRODUCTION: A Message to You

Dear readers

It has been almost a year since we released our first issue around the theme of imperialism. In it, we addressed the imperialistic onslaught of foreign capital on a dependent India, which brought with itself an intensified attack on the broad masses of our country for Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism to better consolidate its position. As a group of young students worried about the worsening state of affairs in the country, our question was simple: what is to be done? Nazariya Magazine was then consolidated from a study circle to a website/magazine as the effort of some students concerned about the direction in which Indian society and polity is heading. This onslaught takes the form of an increasing behemoth of fascism which is continuing to mete out terroristic and reactionary violence in the name of “development”. The assault of fascism in India is not merely economic, but one which has weaponized religious and regional chauvinism, caste supremacy and the oppression of minorities, including women and queer people, to foster an anti-revolutionary attitude of petit-bourgeois cynicism. This onslaught has been ideological as well as material, leading to the creation of fear that eats away at people's revolutionary potential. Nazariya Magazine was established as a counter to this combined onslaught of imperialism and fascism, aggravated by feudalism, in order to challenge its ideological and cultural manifestations through rigorous polemical engagement.

Since then, this crisis has only continued to intensify. This assault of the ruling class has seeped into every facet of our lives. As students or professors, we see this in the saffronisation of our university syllabi through NEP. We also see this in the direct assault on dissent and student activism- which has become especially marked in the period following the expression of the power and impact of student politics in the anti-CAA NRC movement and the Farmers’ Protest. Paramilitary presence on campuses- be it DU, JNU or Jamia, is now a common sight. While supporting the Sanghi goons who make the campus unsafe spaces for women and minorities, these state forces harass and brutalise students expressing their dissent to the fascist state of affairs in the country. Education is being made more inaccessible through increasing privatisation, and for the common worker or peasant, a life of

basic dignity remains a distant dream- as their democratic rights, already poorly implemented, are taken away through fascist changes to labour codes and farm laws. Recently, we saw the widespread hysteria and intensifying grip of fascism in India when a genocidal assault on the Babri Masjid and the Muslim community was celebrated through the Pran-Pratishta ceremony across the country. This saw various horrifying hate crimes and marked the vision of Ram Rajya, the Brahmanical Hindutva fascist state wants to establish.

The assault of fascism becomes even more ferocious away from the light of the media. Whether it be the hills of Orissa or the jungles of Bastar, the Adivasi community has seen an attack on its very existence by the brutal state forces in the form of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar (OSP), which is an intensification of the attack of Operation Green Hunt after its failure. Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar is a known unknown. For the oppressed and exploited Adivasi community, death, destruction, displacement and rape has become the everyday reality of their lives. At the same time, Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar continues to function from the shadows amidst a media blackout on the issue. This means that the effect of the brutality of OSP is concealed from civil discourse, making OSP an unpublished genocide by the Indian State. The military operation is clearly used only to make more and more space for corporate loot , at the cost of innocent lives. This was seen when as the world welcomed the New Year on 1st January, in Bijapur- a district in Chhattisgarh- the military, in a drunken frenzy, murdered a six month old suckling baby in its mother's arms and later claimed that this was part of a crossfire with Maoist forces. A few days later, three adivasi civilians were brutally encountered by military forces while they were on their way to a protest. This assault is legitimised under Operation Kagar-under which 3000 BSF personnel from Orissa have been transferred to Chhattisgarh .

Under the Surajkund Offensive, introduced in 2022, the State has declared its intention to clamp down on "Naxalism of both the pen and the gun". This means that the assault of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar is not just limited to Central India, and the open terror of the State will creep into cities and petty bourgeois spaces as well. Any dissent against the State can be targeted under this policy- the policy is not about combatting Maoism, but about combatting people's legitimate resistance. National security is just a farce , as is evident in OSP even targeting Gandhian organisations in the movement in Hasdeo. The fascist State will curb any dissent and resistance with brutality they legalise as being against "terrorists", even if the dissent is merely a blog or magazine article. This is a part of the state's assault on democratisation of space- any voice which advocates for the exploited and oppressed masses is

suppressed under the tag of being a “Maoist”, an “Urban Naxal” or in the name of “national security”.

The creation of a false narrative to coerce consent of the ruled is a tactic also employed by the Zionist, settler-colonial “Israel” which has used imperialist media to attempt to legitimise its genocidal war on Palestine by painting the just resistance of the people as “terrorism”. The people of Palestine have presented strong resistance against the “Israeli” forces under the banner of a United Front composed of Hamas, PFLP, DFLP, Lion’s Den, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Lebanon’s Hezbollah. By uniting, these pro-liberation forces have offered resistance to Israel’s continuous military assault on Palestine using the only means left to them - by offering organised armed resistance. The era of fascism is also the era of strong and just resistance against the fascists. The Palestinian movement has led to the rise of the guerilla, the rise of resistance across the world. National liberation movements such as the Tamil Eelam movement, have declared that they would carry forward the militant struggle which had faced a set-back after the onslaught by the puppet governments backed by imperialism. FLN in Columbia has declared an intensified assault against the imperialist-backed state. The Houthis from Yemen and the Hezbollah from Lebanon, have also intensified their struggle against imperialism while backing Palestine. The Corsican movement against French colonialism has also re-emerged. The Palestine movement has had its impact in India too, and the intensification of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar is due to the threat of people’s resistance intensifying. Taking inspiration from pro-people struggles across the world, all the oppressed and exploited peoples of India too must unite to present a strong resistance to Brahmanical Hindutva fascism. We appeal to the readers to join in on this anti-fascist struggle in their spaces and beyond, and resist the intensifying fascism, from their universities to Bastar, from the cities to the villages and back into the cities marching along with the masses from the villages!

इज़राइल का कुत्ता

by Aditi Kumar

गाजा के एक आदमी की कुत्ते से हुई लड़ाई
कुत्ते की पकड़ में एक तांगथी, हुई उसपर हाथा-पाई
इस ही घटना पर है आज की सुनवाई
आदमी को पेश किया जाये
शहीद हुए एक बच्चे की टांग को मुँह की झाग में लपेटे हुए,
घूम रहा था कुत्ता
क्या उसके ज़ेहन में कोई दया नहीं आई
आखिरी निशानी एक मासूम की जो दफ़न भी हो ना पाई
एक इंकलाबी ख्वाब देखने वाला मासूम,
जिसके ख्वाब आज सिर्फ उसको ही होंगे मालूम
ये कैसा दौर है कि शहीदों को दफ़न करने के लिए बस हड्डियाँ ही बचे
कि वो हड्डियाँ भी कुत्ते के खोदे हुए गद्दों में रहे
कुत्ता घुराता, आग बबूला, जैसा बम फटने को आया
"अपना रोना छोड़ो, मुझ पर आते हैं"
कोर्ट को बताओ कि कैसे खिंची तुमने मेरी टांग
मेरा हिस्सा जो मैं अपने हक्क से लेकर आया
तुम्हारा वो शहीद कौन था, मांगते हो बिना बात कोई पराया
तुम हमारे खजाने पर आये डाका डालने,
हमारी शांति कारी तुमने भंग . सफ़ाई दो !
आदमी क्यों कर रहे हो हमें तंग

आदमी ने देखा था एक रास्ता सामने,
टूटे हुए घरों के बीच एक कोने में
भेड़ियों के झुंड से कुत्ते बैठे हुए शहीदों के शरीर सामने
खोकले पड़े हुए
मिल गया उसको कुत्तों का खजाना, चोरी हुई जो इंसानों से वो यहाँ थे बेचते
आदमी कहने लगा "अरे आखिर कुत्तों को भी कठगरे में पेश किया जाए"
कि ये शहीदों को चुराते हैं, मास से पेट भरते हैं , रूह तक निगल जाते हैं
पर कानून अंधा है इतना कि उसने देखा ही नहीं
जब कुत्ता जज की कुर्सी पर चढ़ कर बैठ गया
कुत्ता ही फैसला सुनाना शुरू हुआ बोला,
"हमारी चोरी तो क्या चोरी है हम तो इसको चोरी नहीं मानते
ये शहीद हमारे चोरो के बाज़ार में बिकते हैं
हम तो वहीं से इनको खरीद कर लाते हैं
पर तुम आखिर ये बताओ,
कि तुम जब हमारे बाज़ार में आये,
हमारा धंधा भ्रष्ट करने, शहीदों को लेने हमसे,
तुम्हारी ये चोरी क्या तुम्हें माफ़ है?
बताओ पहले क्या तुम अपने जुल्म को मनाकर नकार करोगे या फिर हमारी चोरी को माफ़?

The Roar of Palestine Must Echo All Over the World!

A Nazariya Magazine Editorial



On 7th October 2023, a new spate of resistance emerged from the Gaza strip in occupied Palestine which has brought forth the idea of struggle back in discourse in a time when imperialism is propping fascism all over the world in brutal attacks against people. Operation Al-Aqsa Flood by the leading forces of Palestine has created new dimensions to struggle, with Israel waging a brutal war against the people in Gaza since 7th October, leaving more than 18,000 people dead, tens of thousands injured and rendering a majority of the people of Gaza homeless. In a series of the most reactionary form of violence during this war, Israel has bombed multiple hospitals like the Al-Shifa hospital and the Christian hospital al-Ahli Baptist, targeting journalists, women, children and the wounded. Incidents of Zionist Israeli Defense Forces (hereon, Israeli Occupation Forces or IOF) rounding up women and children in school and hospital courtyards; and open firing on them are

alarmingly becoming more and more commonplace.

In this time period, the inter-imperialist conflicts have only intensified over the course of the last year or so, with the onset of the Russia-Ukraine war but amidst this intensifying crisis within the imperialist order a fire has been lit by the brave people of Palestine against the occupying Zionist state of Israel. Since the beginning of the offensive by the joint Palestinian forces of Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Lion's Den and Lebanon's Hezbollah, Mao Tse-tung's adage rings true, "all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

In an era where national liberation movements and organized class struggle overall are suffering brutal offensives and serious setbacks, the intensification of Palestinian people's national liberation war with Israel renews the faith in class struggle and national liberation as essential to complete the democratization of various societies. It is important to therefore first reiterate the people's history of this struggle in brief but also reiterate the importance of the strategy of united front which has been effectively utilized here. Birds of a feather flock together, and in this case, the feathers are tainted with the colours of Hindutva and Zionism, with Narendra Modi's support to Benjamin Netanyahu is also an important factor to look into, with India itself fighting a war on all corners to suppress the right to self-determination of the peoples of Kashmir, Nagalim, Asom and Manipur.



Palestinian Occupation: A Century of Imperialism's Violence

It all began in the First Zionist

Congress of 1897 convened by the Austro-Hungarian journalist Theodor Herzl in Basel, Switzerland, where the Zionist movement organized itself in its modern form. The Congress concluded with the formation of the Zionist Organization (now, World Zionist Organization) as well as the adoption of the Basel Program which states,

“Zionism seeks to establish a home in Palestine for the Jewish people, secured under public law

To achieve this goal, the Congress envisages the following means:

1. The expedient promotion of the settlement of Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and businessmen in Palestine.
2. The organization and bringing together of all Jews through local and general events, according to the laws of the various countries.
3. The strengthening of Jewish feeling and national consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps for obtaining the governmental approval which is necessary to the achievement of the Zionist purpose.”

Zionism's aim to violently colonize via settlement of Jews in Palestine are elaborated clearly by militant Zionist leader Ze'ev Jabotinsky, “A voluntary reconciliation with the Arabs is out of the question either now or in the future. If you wish to colonize a land in which people are already living, you must provide a garrison for the land, or some rich

man or benefactor who will provide a garrison on your behalf. Or else – or else, give up your colonization, for without an armed force which will render physically impossible any attempt to destroy or prevent this colonization, colonization is impossible, not difficult, not dangerous, but IMPOSSIBLE!... Zionism is a colonization adventure and therefore it stands or falls by the question of armed force. It is important... to speak Hebrew, but, unfortunately, it is even more important to be able to shoot – or else I am through with playing at colonizing.”

The inter-imperialist conflict called the First World War led to the winning block of imperialists, the Allies, carving up the colonies of their opponents which led to Palestine becoming a British mandate after being snatched from the erstwhile Ottoman empire. Soon, the Jewish Yishuv was set up with British assistance and support and the overall conclusion of this situation culminated in intensified Zionist settlements in Palestine with the Yishuv becoming a proto-state in the region. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 by the British government outrageously guaranteed a “National Home” to the Jews, which would be created in Palestine, thus bringing the original Zionist objective closer to fruition. As migration to Palestine intensified, the active land-grab by the Zionists transformed the

Jewish settlers into landlords in Palestine. Palestinian resistance to all this was already visible with the 1936 revolt. Even with the Zionists grabbing land at a frantic pace, they only had 5-6% of Palestine but the subsequent immigrations prior to the Second World War led to the United Nations intervening and drawing up a proposal for a partition of Palestine into two separate states, with 56% of Palestinian land being allotted to the Zionists, most of whom were people who had not even spent two decades on the land and the rest to native Palestinians. The audacity of the Zionist settlers was such that even an imperialist organization like the United Nations could not deny that their colonizing objectives were at the cost of Palestinian rights.

“With regard to the principle of self-determination, although international recognition was extended to this principle at the end of the First World War and it was adhered to with regard to the other Arab territories, at the time of the creation of the 'A' Mandates, it was not applied to Palestine, obviously because of the intention to make possible the creation of the Jewish National Home there. Actually, it may well be said that the Jewish National Home and the sui generis Mandate for Palestine run counter to that principle.”

No nation can determine its destiny freely while having to compromise

atleast 56% of its territories. Since the division, the Zionist Israeli state has practiced all forms of war against Palestinians to reduce them to the Gaza strip and West Bank, using genocide, ethnic cleansing, carpet bombing and even committing war crimes like bombing the medical organization Red Crescent and dropping white phosphorus on Palestinians. While Palestinians had always welcomed the Jewish refugees onto their lands, even passing a resolution in 1928 to allow equal representation in the state to them, the Zionist agenda has always sought the eradication of the Palestinians, "In internal discussions, in instructions to his men, the Old Man [Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel] demonstrated a clear position: it would be better that as few a number as possible of Arabs would remain in the territory of the [Jewish] state."

Repeated atrocities and the suppression of their right to self-determination have compelled Palestinians to fight for national liberation under the slogan 'From the River to the Sea'. Fearing the end of their staunchest proxy in the Middle East, imperialist powers that prop up Zionist Israel, primarily US Imperialism wage an ideological, economic and military war on the Palestinian people. Proposals such as the "two-state solution" seek to ideologically weaken the revolutionary character of the national liberation

movement and veer it towards reformism and compromise. Labelling of Palestinian armed forces as "terrorist" organizations aim to delegitimise the organised Palestinian resistance to occupation and provide scope for various economic sanctions. Both measures complement the vast quantities of high-tech weapons and funds provided to Zionist forces used to keep Palestinians at bay.

Principle of the Right to Self-Determination

Apart from the United Nations' principle on self-determination, it is important to develop a more holistic understanding on the national question. How did nations come to be and why exactly should one back national liberation? Joseph Stalin in Marxism and the National Question, stated that "a nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of elimination of feudalism and development of capitalism is at the same time a process of the constitution of people into nations. Such, for instance, was the case in Western Europe. The British, French, Germans, Italians and others were formed into nations at the time of the victorious advance of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity." "But the formation of nations in those instances at the same time signified

their conversion into independent national states,” he added while pointing out that, “matters proceeded somewhat differently in Eastern Europe. Whereas in the West, nations developed into states, in the East, multi-national states were formed, states consisting of several nationalities.” States in this situation were formed with one nationality asserting itself on others and uniting them under its banner through brute force and holding them by building a large military-bureaucracy nexus. In the case of countries like India, this occurred not with the presence of one nation in South Asia asserting itself over others but with a colonizing nation from Western Europe, the British, consolidating its various territories in South Asia into one state that was the erstwhile British Raj. It is these junctures, historical points where one nation dominated another, where the kernel of national suppression was born. On why the assertion of one nationality over others to form multi-national states was possible, Stalin stated, “this special method of formation of states could take place only where feudalism had not yet been eliminated, where capitalism was feebly developed, where the nationalities which had been forced into the background had not yet been able to consolidate themselves economically into integral nations.” he question then remains, what of these oppressed nationalities? In their struggle

against feudalism and the transition to capitalism, what happens to these nations subjected to colonial rule by an imperialist nation? Stalin pointed out that the situation had changed: “but the nations which had been pushed into the background and had now awakened to independent life, could no longer form themselves into independent national states; they encountered on their path the very powerful resistance of the ruling strata of the dominant nations, which had long ago assumed the control of the state. They were too late!” This fate of the oppressed nationalities leads to the following conclusion by Stalin, “in the West, Ireland responded to its exceptional position by a national movement. In the East, the awakened nations were bound to respond in the same fashion.....thus arose the circumstances which impelled the young nations on to the path of struggle.”

The victory of Russian Proletariat in the October Revolution, the defeat of Fascism and weakening of several imperialist powers in the Second World War and the victory of the Chinese Proletariat against imperialism, feudalism and comprador capitalism in 1949 gave birth to torrent of national liberation wars across the colonised oppressed nationalities. This forced imperialism to shift from the tactic of direct colonization to neo-colonial rule

propped by select comprador and feudal elements which converted most of the colonies into neo-colonial or semi-colonial countries and nations that are still subject to the political will of one or more imperialist nations. Therefore, the struggle for national liberation of the neo-colonial, semi-colonial and colonial countries is fundamentally anti-imperialist and must be upheld in the larger struggle against imperialism and capitalism, since no true national liberation, either in the social, political or economical sense is possible without coming into conflict with imperialism.

The question then emerges whether oppressed nationalities too follow the trajectory of capitalist countries like England, France or Germany and attempt a bourgeois democratic revolution? Firstly, the epoch of capitalism has changed. From a rising competitive revolutionary capitalism which destroyed feudalism it has become moribund capitalism in the stage of imperialism which allies with feudalism to create semi-feudalism. Secondly, during the period of direct colonial rule, the imperialist serving state scuppered the development of the national bourgeoisie to ensure imperialist control of the domestic market. These policies have continued into the period of indirect colonial rule, rendering the national bourgeoisie incapable of leading the struggle

against imperialism and its feudal and comprador props.

Mao Tse-tung, stated, "the bourgeois-democratic revolution is no longer of the old general type, which is now obsolete, but one of a new special type. We call this type the New Democratic revolution and it is developing in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China. The new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism..... The new-democratic revolution is vastly different from the democratic revolutions of Europe and America in that it results not in a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but in a dictatorship of the united front of all the revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat." Thus, national liberation struggles are part of the general trend of New Democratic revolution in colonial, neo-colonial and semi-colonial countries and an integral part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Therefore, any anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist must necessarily support national liberation struggles, be they in Palestine, Kashmir, Nagalim, Manipur or Asom.

United Front and the Question of "Fundamentalism"

The on-going war has seen an important development in the



A press conference of the Palestinian UF

in Palestinian national liberation struggle, which is the emergence of united action by various forces upholding different ideologies such as the Marxist PFLP and DFLP along with the Islamic forces such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad and nationalists such as Lion's Den. The Communist International defined the united front as, "the united front tactic is simply an initiative whereby the communists propose to join with all workers belonging to other parties and groups and all unaligned workers in a common struggle to defend the immediate, basic interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie." The United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) aptly asks, "how is it that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), an organization of less than 1,100,000 members (approximately 1.8% of the population of China), able to control so effectively non-Communist masses in excess of 60,00,00,000 and to mobilize them in support of its important domestic and foreign programs?" Ironically, the CIA defines the United Front as, "according to the

the traditional Communist concept, a united national front is a coalition of the Communist Party and other political parties having at least some objectives consistent with the immediate aims of the Communist Party... In industrial countries united fronts usually include labour and socialist parties, whereas in agrarian countries the Communist Party allies itself with nationalist and peasant bodies."

The united front's importance cannot be reduced in any struggle. It is the third of the three magic weapons of the proletariat engaged in revolutionary struggle. The aim of the united front is to isolate, weaken and destroy the main enemies one by one and win over the maximum possible forces opposed to the main enemies. In especially a New Democratic or national liberation struggle, revolutionaries have to pay particular attention to build as broad a front as possible by uniting with all those classes, groups, parties, individuals and forces that aspire to achieve the common aim of the united front, however weak and vacillating the constituents may be. In the whole process of building the united front, i.e., building particular united fronts on concrete problems or right from building a united front at local level to finally building a revolutionary united front for establishing peoples power, revolutionaries have to, follow without fail, the

following Leninist principle: In order to properly conduct the revolution towards victory, the Communist Party in every country must, without fail, utilise every smallest opportunity to gain a friend from among the people, however vacillating that friend may be, however unable he may be, however unreliable he may be and even however temporary that opportunity may be.

On a world scale, the significance of the success of the Palestinian forces in forging unity is an example and reminder of the necessity of coming together in anti-fascist united fronts against fascism as the rising tide of fascism grips the world. Narrow approaches and sectarianism as well as chauvinism offer limited recourses when the opposing forces makes no difference between a liberal or a communist in the fascist violence it metes out.

The biggest hurdle faced in including forces upholding Islam in united fronts has been the tag of “fundamentalism” and the equation of Islamic resistance when in political minority with the violence of dominant forces such as Hindutva and Zionism. A perfect example of this is the position of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on the unlawful ban placed on the Popular Front of India by the Indian government, “The Popular Front of India (PFI) is an organisation

which holds extremist views and has been indulging in violent activities against its perceived opponents. The CPI(M) has been strongly opposed to these extremist views and has always condemned the violent activities of the PFI. However, the notification of the PFI as an unlawful association under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) is not the way to tackle this problem. Past experience has shown that bans on organisations like the RSS and the Maoists were not effective. There has to be firm administrative action under the existing laws against the PFI whenever it indulges in illegal or violent activities. Its sectarian and divisive ideology must be exposed and fought politically among the people. The PFI and the RSS have been engaged in killings and retaliatory killings in Kerala and coastal Karnataka, vitiating the atmosphere with a view to create communal polarization. There are also extremist organisations like the Sanatan Sanstha and the Hindu Janajagruti Samiti, elements of whom have been implicated in the killings of noted secular writers and personalities. All these forces, whether they represent extremist majority or minority groups, must be combatted by utilizing the regular laws of the land and by firm administrative action.”

The CPM equates the activities of the PFI and even the Maoists with that of the Brahmanical Hindutva

Hindutva fascist organization RSS which is part of the ruling class apparatus of India. In similar vein, Hamas is labelled a fundamentalist and terrorist organization at the very least equitable to the Zionist Israel. What is Hamas fighting for?



“Here, this strategy of resistance came with the goal of returning our land, and returning our rights, which have been guaranteed by international law. Hence the strategy is very clear; to achieve the liberation of Palestine from the River to the Sea, that is with the available means,” says Dr. Khaled Qadomi, Hamas representative in Iran. He further adds, “see, we are a national liberation organization, with Islam, or Islamic deeds, as a frame of reference to our behaviour. We have participated in the popular and civilian activities against occupation, we entered into local elections, we ran charities, we entered into the Palestinian Authority elections, we won and we have the democratic aspects of any good governance in the world. Having said that I want to bring your attention to the concept that being a national liberation organization does not deny that we are proud of our identity as Muslim, that we are

proud as having Islam as the religion of peace, tolerance, and justice, the religion that accommodates the humanity in all its aspects, the religion that was gifted to humanity by the almighty Allah.”

In light of the situation of Palestine, the principal need of the people is national liberation and Hamas valiantly upholds this struggle as its chief goal. If we recall, Palestine was never allowed to truly and independently democratize itself and function beyond the clutches of imperialists like the British colonizers and then subsequently the Zionist occupiers, which is backed by the US-NATO imperialist block. Further, the bourgeoisie within Palestine is a negligible section unable to independently function and exercise any independent initiative. Without the development of independent capitalism, Palestine has not completed its bourgeois democratic revolution and is still semi-feudal in nature. Friedrich Engels when writing about the struggles of the German peasantry against feudalism, said, “In the so-called religious wars of the Sixteenth Century, very positive material class-interests were at play, and those wars were class wars just as were the later collisions in England and France. If the class struggles of that time appear to bear religious earmarks, if the interests, requirements and

demands of the various classes hid themselves behind a religious screen, it little changes the actual situation, and is to be explained by conditions of the time. The Middle Ages had developed out of raw primitiveness. It had done away with old civilisation, old philosophy, politics and jurisprudence, in order to begin anew in every respect. The only thing which it had retained from the old shattered world was Christianity and a number of half-ruined cities deprived of their civilisation. As a consequence, the clergy retained a monopoly of intellectual education, a phenomenon to be found in every primitive stage of development, and education itself had acquired a predominantly theological nature.”

In simpler terms, Engels recognized that in societies where democratization has not occurred, the principal forms of expression of struggle will be through the existing ideological apparatus, of which religion is the strongest force. In societies which are still semi-feudal, liberal values and stronger resistance to religion will only concretize upon the completion of the process of democratization, not prior. History is rife with such examples, be it Thomas Muenzer in Germany or Birsa Munda in India who led a Millenarian movement against British colonial forces, landlords and big Indian merchants for the

preservation of Adivasi land in the name of resisting Christianity. In fact, Birsa Munda was heralded as a messenger of God and at times, a god himself during the course of his struggle. Hamas upholding Islam does not diminish its struggle but is a natural part of the overall historical development of Palestinian people and the class struggle they wage. As Engels pointed out, under the veil of religion, class struggle is waged in societies democracy has not fully prevailed.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Al Aqsa flood is led by the united front of Palestinian forces of which two Marxist-Leninist forces in PFLP and DFLP are a part. The PFLP very clearly states, “the aim of the Palestinian liberation movement is to establish a democratic national state in Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews will live as citizens with equal rights and obligations and that will constitute an integral part of the progressive democratic Arab national presence living peacefully with all forces of progress in the world.” The PFLP identifies its enemies in the Israeli state, the World Zionist Movement, imperialism and Arab feudalism and capitalism, in its aim to establish a New Democratic state in Palestine. The DFLP reflects the same goal as it strives to “create a people's democratic Palestine, where Arabs and Jews would live without discrimination, a state

classes and national oppression, a state which allows Arabs and Jews to develop their national culture.” Hamas subsequently, is also united with this objective as it both upholds the goal of establishing one state in the region, that of the Palestinian people and also upholds, “the Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.” Therefore, all forces striving for national liberation have few common minimums clear, that is, eradication of the fascistic Zionist state of Israel and establishment of a secular, democratic state of the Palestinian people in the region.

Positions of the Indian Left

The Marxist understanding of the national question is completely negated by so-called communist forces in India, with the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation (hereon, Liberation group), part of the Indian National Congress-led INDIA alliance, stating, “we urge the international community to recognize the establishment of an independent Palestinian state along the 1967 borders in accordance with the UN resolutions.” CPM and CPI are also part of this alliance. This viewpoint is further propagated in a vague statement of the CPM's Central Committee which “called upon all

party units to step up solidarity actions with the Palestinian people's struggle for a homeland and against Israeli genocidal aggression.” What is the definition of this homeland, per CPM? They elaborate, “since the 1967 war, West Bank and Gaza were taken over by the Israeli armed forces and remained under its occupation for the past 56 years. By international law and United Nations' resolutions, these are occupied territories.” The so-called solidarity of the CPM is exposed by the arrests of 6 students by the Kerala police, a state governed by a CPM government, for sticking posters supporting Palestine at a local Starbucks outlet as part of the 'Boycott-Divestment and Sanctions' (BDS) campaign. Similarly, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy states, “despite the original injustice of handing over Palestinian land for establishing state of Israel, solution of the dispute in present times would involve two basic aspects- establishment of Palestinian state in pre-1967 borders and right of return of Palestinians to their homes in Israel. Both of these are covered and guaranteed by relevant UN resolutions and are supported by overwhelming majority of countries.” The right opportunist practices of these so-called communist parties in India should be questioned, with their members of their mass organizations hypocritically

screaming "From the river to the Sea, Palestine will be free..." without understanding that the phrase means the entirety of the region being under the state of the Palestinian people, not the anti-people 'two-state solution' proposed by the UN in 1967 where both the Zionist state of Israel and an supposed independent Palestinian state somehow peacefully coexist, ignoring the entire history of colonization and occupation, the entire political objective of Zionism and the national liberation cause of the Palestinian people. Some, like CPI ML Red Star, have tactically kept silent on the matter of backing only one state in the region, that of the Palestinian people, which in itself is capitulation towards existence of the Israeli state. Although, Red Star has categorically come in support of Hamas and understood the role it plays correctly.

There is a section in India, on the other hand, which opposes the 'two-state solution' and upholds the complete national liberation of Palestine under the aegis of one state. But this section simultaneously finds great discomfort in Hamas being the leading force of the Palestinian national liberation struggle. First among this group is the Proletarian Reorganizing Committee, CPI ML (hereon, PRC, CPIML) which has astonishingly not given a clear open statement on any of its public outlets on the

developments that have taken place since Al-Aqsa flood's beginning. To find anything on the subject from PRC, CPIML's position, one has to go to the magazine 'The Truth,' which is only listed as a fraternal organization by PRC, CPIML. Even so, we give them the benefit of doubt and consider their endorsement of the Truth magazine as an indication of their agreement with their positions. The magazine says, "two nation theory is no solution to this. As long as there is fascist rule by settler colonialist Zionists in Israel, Islamic extremist tendencies will continue to prevail in Palestine as well. Both countries will remain under totalitarian power..... It is important to mention the Islamic fundamentalist tendencies of Hamas, the US-Israeli role in setting up Hamas to break Palestinian unity, the relations of Hamas with US-Israel through Qatar, and the intention of the Netanyahu government to use the attack on Hamas in its own interest, whatever may be the questions about the intentions of Israel and Hamas, this attack and the terrorist campaign of Palestinian ethnic cleansing launched by Israel with Western support in the name of 'retaliation' has created tension between America-Israel, Qatar, UAE, Saudi Arabia and India."

The PRC, CPIML therefore, find fault in the 'two state solution' out

of fear of Hamas rule and see Hamas as a means of breaking Palestinian unity, completely ignoring that one of the reasons Hamas came to the fore of leading Palestinian national liberation was the compromising and revisionist positions of the Palestinian communist forces at the time, with the DFLP even coming close to recognizing the state of Israel as a legitimate state during the 90s! It was Hamas during this period, who militantly fought against the Israeli state for national liberation and thus won over the struggling people of Palestinian. It is comfortable to establish the positive influences PFLP, DFLP and national liberation war itself have played in democratizing Hamas, but it would be ignorant of dialectical materialism to not look at the staunch militancy of Hamas as a key factor in reviving the PFLP and DFLP back from the mire of defeatism and revisionism.

Apart from PRC, CPIML, the Revolutionary Workers' Party of India (RWPI) is another group which unequivocally opposes the 'two state solution.' The RWPI says, "the revolutionary proletariat supports the Palestinian people's liberation struggle unconditionally and under every circumstance. It is tragic that today the leadership of this liberation struggle that is really fighting and ready to fight, and thus is becoming the political and military leadership for the majority

of the Palestinian people, is not a secular or revolutionary organization. But this cannot be a basis for not supporting the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. Their national liberation is their right..... We consider the unprecedented attack on Israel from Gaza on October 7 as a part of the Palestinian people's struggle for self-defence."

Slightly further than PRC, CPI ML makes essentially the same point in essence; the RWPI while firmer in their understanding of Hamas' role are unable to grasp the unity of Marxist forces with Hamas and their role in this resistance. RWPI also reduces the war being waged by the Palestinian national liberation forces against the Israeli state and imperialism as merely matter of 'self-defence' when in reality, Palestinian forces from the start have seen the route of national liberation through armed struggle. Both the DFLP and PFLP saw much recourse in guerrilla warfare on lines of the Chinese revolution and Mao Tse-tung's theories as the key strategy for Palestinian national liberation and have only advanced their tactics during the course of this struggle, changing the methods given the varied terrain of Palestine with that of China. To RWPI, Hamas has only gained leadership as it is "fighting and really ready to fight," but this is reducing the fact that Hamas is not merely fighting a war for Islam but a war for national liberation

and the right of self-determination for Palestinian people, which is reflected in the changes in its political programme.

In fact, to our best knowledge there is only one communist grouping in India which has categorically upheld the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and their right to resist imperialism by every means, including armed means, and the role of Hamas in this struggle, in a manner that indicates a truly dialectical and historical materialist understanding. Unfortunately, legal niceties restrict us from further divulging on the matter. This grouping, unlike the revisionists and social fascists that sully the name of communism in India, commenced their statement on the current phase of the Palestinian struggle with a bold declaration that they hail the efforts of Hamas to launch its unprecedented but necessary attack against the Zionist "Israel".

India and Israel: Partners in Crime



Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi tweeted in response to this month's developments, "India strongly and unequivocally condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations." All Indian media has blared the same horn again and again, riling Hindutva sympathetic persons to back Israel. Oddly, India's Minister of External Affairs re-iterated India's age-old diplomatic position in support of the establishment of a "sovereign, independent, viable state of Palestine." Yet, these international law positions have no meaning on ground in India, where the ruling establishment of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism has left no stone unturned in using this to intensify their attacks against Muslims, labelling Palestine as Muslim terrorists and finding affinity with Zionism. Rule of law or rule by Modi's edict, which will prevail? K. Murali explains, "The modern ruling classes of the oppressed countries quite often internalise elements of the fascist ideology. It is blended with the autocratic, 'rule by edict' system of rule, commonly seen in the past under feudal regimes all over the world. Imperialist countries too witnessed aspects of the 'rule by edict' system of feudal polity under fascist regimes like those of Hitler and Mussolini. 'Rule by edict' replaced bourgeois democracy's 'rule of law' and 'formal equality.' But there is a qualitative difference between these two types of countries. This stems from persisting semi-feudal

socio-economic and cultural relations seen in the Third world. As a result, even when forms of bourgeois rule like the parliamentary system exist, they are inherently flawed. The seamless makeover from modern forms of bourgeoisie governance to feudal autocratic ones is a permanent feature in these types of countries. However, it manifests differently. In the urban centres, and particularly for the middle classes and upper classes, 'the rule of law' is the norm, mostly. But in the rural areas, and especially for those at the bottommost levels of society, law is given by the local oppressors. They are ably assisted by modern instruments of 'lawful government', like the police and local bodies like the panchayats. More often than not, their raw violence with all of its reactionary in-humanness is a permanent presence. It usually becomes the determining factor."

In light of Modi's statement, the rule of law has been superseded by Modi's farmaan even in urban centres. Four students from Aligarh Muslim University have had police chargesheets filed against them for a pro-Palestine rally. Mohammed Wasim Ali, the Proctor of AMU stated, "the AMU stands by what our country has taken the stand in connection with the ongoing war. We cannot allow any indiscipline on a sensitive international issue on the campus." Modi's tweet has become India's

position, whatever the international law or diplomatic position may be is of no significance on ground. In Jamia Millia Islamia University, which has a historic connection to the struggle for Palestinian liberation, students were detained for a pro-Palestine demonstration. This goes so far as to Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath ordering the police to take action against any pro-Palestine statements, whether physical or online. These actions have no basis in law, but only in the edict passed by Modi's tweet.

India's support towards Israel stems from its lackey position to US Imperialism as well as the active role Israel plays in assisting India in its own suppression of national liberation and class struggle. India has imported the biggest volume of arms in the world since 1950s, of which Israel and United States are the biggest suppliers. "India is now Israel's #1 customer and spends heavily on drones, missile systems, sensors, radar, and electro-optic systems. These sales are mutually beneficial, providing India with high-tech weapons and Israel with cash..... Since 2001, at least eight defense chiefs from Israel and India have visited the other country. The 'national security apparatuses brainstorm together on internal security...' and even have a 'Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism' that was established in 2002. The Indian Navy regularly

conducts port visits to the Israeli city of Haifa and has even conducted 'passage exercises' with the Israeli Navy; 'Centers of Excellence' in various Indian states where the latest Israeli horticultural technologies are on display. Israel also advises India on water management and recycling and has signed a Technical Cooperation Agreement with India for wastewater management. Israel will be setting up two 'Agri Centres of Excellence' in Kashmir. This will mark the first direct presence of Israel on the ground in Kashmir, besides the guns, Israel has also parlayed its growing arms trade with India into other sectors." India has purchased Israel's highly marketed Iron Dome technology, the Pegasus surveillance tool which it has used to target Bhima Koregaon-16 political prisoners and even drones to conduct aerial bombings.



In 1966, Communist leader Charu Majumdar proclaimed, "this era is the era of active resistance movement. Active resistance movement will open up the source of the revolutionary genius of the revolutionary masses." The

bravery of the Palestinian people in their continual struggle for national liberation is a stark reminder to once again proclaim this an era of active resistance. Passivity and post-modernism in light of fascist onslaughts and a growing imperialist crisis are not the answers to our current problem. Only active resistance aimed at New Democracy, national liberation and on class lines can take down oppressive and exploitative regimes who wage wars on the people.

In light of all this, we at Nazariya Magazine hail the Palestinian People in their Struggle for the Right to Self-Determination. We Hail Hamas and the other organisations leading the National Liberation War. We hail Operation Al-Aqsa Flood of October 7th and the cracking of Iron Dome. We condemn Zionism, US Imperialism and the very "Israeli" State. From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be Free!

Nuh: An Attempt at Rewriting Fascism

by Nishant Anand and Val Varshri

The Nuh Incidence: Historical Continuity

Nowadays, India is the new laboratory for the demolition of Muslim property under the current regime of the Modi government. While the Muslim community is facing direct repression from the administration, mob-justice is simultaneously becoming a new normal. The violence against Muslims is not just seen in the process of demolishing houses, shops and mosques but has to be read parallel to the process of trying to erase the past of a community. A similar approach of erasure was taken by the Zionist “Israeli” State after the Nakba of 1948, when they started demolishing the houses of Palestinian people and started settling on the debris of their lost homes. Much like how Israel’s Ben Gurion Airport stands adamantly on the remains of Palestinian communities forced from their homes, thousands of square kilometers of land have been occupied by the Indian state. We can see a clear bias in the demolition drive of the state in which Muslims are targeted directly. We have the cases of Nuh and the North-East Delhi pogrom as examples.



In the North-east Delhi program, there was a “selective targeting” of Muslim houses during the “Pro-CAA-NRC pogrom” led by the RSS and other Hindutva organizations. This targeting of Muslims has been acknowledged by the Delhi Minorities Commission (DMC), who found that the mob “selectively targeted” Muslim homes, businesses and vehicles as well as mosques, madrasas, a shrine and a graveyard. The DMC added that to quell the anti-CAA protests, the “retaliatory plan” of the Hindu mob was devised “with support of the administration and police”. But the houses of the preparators are still intact and the government is following the principle of rule of law for them by imagining these people as not guilty till the court of law has declared them guilty. Ironically, there were a number of perpetrators who were roaming free without any FIR because the administration was reluctant to register any case against the fascist mobs.

Another example of the targeting of Muslim dominated areas is seen in the Jahangirpuri-Delhi case where a shobhayatra was organized by the Hindutva forces on purpose and a similar pattern was repeated in 2022. The Hindutva procession was armed with swords and guns while the fascists chanted anti-Muslim slogans in front of the mosque. After letting the violence erupt by inciting the basic sentiments of the Muslim masses, the Muslims were brutally massacred. In retaliation for the minority defending themselves, the government ordered the demolishment of the “illegal structures” in the area. Here it is noticeable that there were some cases where whole areas were demolished for being “illegal”. After the order, bulldozers razed almost ninety houses of locals. This included a mosque, with most of the other targeted houses having Muslim owners. Surprisingly, the bulldozer stopped demolition only about 50 meters away from a temple in the same row. This method of demolition is a kind of punishment for the Muslims, majorly working-class Muslims. The areas which were targeted by the Delhi Municipal Corporation were majorly located in the Muslim working class basti.

Continuity of the Saga

The story of Muslim repression dates back ages, and we find ourselves watching its state-

sanctioned intensification and expansion since the time of Muslim resistance. The CAA-NRC protests saw the minority community rise in struggle. This struggle persists, not only by the people against the state’s actions, but in the State’s memory and fears- which is continuing to find more and more space to propagate Islamophobia in tandem with the intensification of the fascist assault on the Indian masses.

“Abhishek and Mohseen were very close friends. They ran a shop together without any barrier of different religious beliefs. When Abhishek joined Bajrang Dal, he started joining the ‘Chalisa ceromancy’ every week. After some time, he started asking us to not buy fruits or anything from Muslims shops,” said Abhishek’s sister to a Newsland news reporter. Abhishek was one of the many who died in the communal conflict in Nuh which erupted on 31st July 2023. July 31 was the day that shook the conscience of the country, and Nuh (Mewat) in particular, when during the Jalabhishek Yatra, organized by RSS and Bajrang Dal, had a direct clash with the local Muslim population. During this communal clash, 6 people died, including two home guards. There were a number of vehicles vandalized in the communal clash.

Several different news reports suggest that the whole episode was

“well-engineered”. What does it mean? To know the answer of this question we have to go back some years to the history of Brij Mandal Jalabhishek Yatra, which was started as a practice in 2021. In 2022, this same religious procession had chanted anti-Muslim slogans in front of a mosque and vandalized it. Before this, the normal trend is “Kavad Yatra” from this region. During the yatra, the Muslim population participates equally in helping provide services and provisions for the comfort of pilgrims. But the Jal Abhishek Yatra syndrome is more political and less religious in nature, which has been planned by the “Hindutva-nationalist forces” all around the country. A similar kind of clash happened during a yatra in Madhya Pradesh where stone pelting happened in front of a mosque and after that the whole mob razed the mosque. The administration took the harshest action against the Muslim population and demolished many houses in the name of illegal construction, while the Hindu perpetrators were let off lightly.

In Nuh, the administration turned more violent after the communal clash and the next morning, they started picking random people from their homes. More than 300 persons were arrested by the police in under 60 cases. Family members of the alleged person informed the media that the police have released a wanted list of more a thousand

people and many young boys have left the village to avoid arrest. We remember the case of Mujaffarnagar “riots” where most of the unnamed FIRs were lodged against Muslim working class people and put them behind bars. The demolished structures include 281 temporary settlements and 162 permanent settlements. A riot is something that happens when two communities who are at equal positions unleash violence on each other, but in the case of India, it is not riots that have been happening but outright genocide by the majority Hindu community on the minorities. The Nuh violence is also in continuity of the saga of religious conflicts where almost all those who suffer are from the working class and lower petty-bourgeoisie. This whole process of demolition and arrests was termed as “ethnic cleansing” by the Haryana Court, and the judge who was presiding the case was transferred before he could preside in the next hearing.

The role of the state has been undoubtedly biased and partisan, not just in the aftermath of the genocidal action of the state but even before it started. The first question one must ask is if the administrative forces tried, to control the situation or mitigate the ongoing violence? We can see the hostility of the administration against the Muslim community and a fascisization of the administrative system where police

are also participating in the religious procession and chanting religious slogans. An incident from Hathua, Gopalganj can be cited where a police officer publicly participated in the religious procession by chanting "Jai Shree Ram". The senior administrative officials gave the clarification and said it had to be done to control the situation. Most of the Nuh residents accused the administration of being lax and not trying to restrict the whole procession, despite knowing the dangers of letting it happen. After the statements of Monu Manesar and Bittu Bajrangi, the sentiments of people were running volatile. This was also seen when the Muslim fruit-vendors of Karnataka were attacked, when a supposed priest gave rape threats to Muslim women in Uttar Pradesh or when the arson of Muslim owned shops in Rajasthan, all happened in front of police and they did nothing.



A History of Mixed Socio-Cultural Practice

For any democratically minded individual, fascist state repression cannot be condoned. Therefore, to

manufacture consent and normalise the violence against oppressed communities, historical narratives are falsified and exaggerated to provide a justification and create hatred against a certain community (here, Muslims). For example, the violence of expansion of the Mughal Empire is painted in communal terms, when its nature was not as religious as a territorial question. In this same manner, it is interesting to read the narrative of The Organiser magazine, where Saket Suryesh wrote that Rana Sanga was the "most powerful Hindu king" of the north, and he did not have any need of support from the outside. It's very ironic that the strongest king was never able to defeat the Lodi kings of the Delhi Sultanate. But apart from this, if we look at the map of 1520 A.D.- Malwa, Mewar, Marwar, Gujarat- these are all north Indian states governed by the Rajput rulers, there was no "Hindu King Unity"- just a caste based expansionist project. They are all ruling class Rajputs who were fighting to expand their territories.

Another historical error we can find in that article is that it perceives the nature of conversion of Meos to Islam as forceful. Here, the writer draws their conclusion from a very prejudiced mindset instead of a scientific evaluation of the conditions contributing to the conversion. Most of the historians

can agree that this particular area of Aravali ranges is where a large number of Sufi saints worked, preaching the teachings and religious practice of Islam and putting emphasis on the need for a more humane conduct and brotherhood. It was also a time of the cultural infusion of the Bhakti and Sufi movements, when both these movements influenced each other. Nijamuddin Auliya, a famous Sufi saint from the Delhi region, accepted the yogic practice of breathing. That's why he is popularly known as 'Siddha'.

The Meos were a group of tribal peasantry who are considered the first race to occupy Mewat, and their history is one of staunch resistance to those rulers who tried to subjugate them- whether they be the British, the Mughals or the Arabs. Those who would come to be known as Meos came in from Macedonia with the invading army of Alexander. Initially a part of his army, they settled into Sindh and became its inhabitants wherein they lived alongside the Jat community. The communities took up the profession of agriculturists, and the Meos still continue with agriculture as the main source of their income with dairy being their supplementary income in today's time.

When the Arabs invaded India through Sindh, the Meos were the ones who defended the Sindh region. However, the continued

Invasions wore them down, and the conflict drove them away from the region. They then moved and settled into the Aravali ranges from where they sourced fuel-wood for warmth. Due to insecurity in terms of their identity and safety after their displacement and continuous conflict, the Meos organized themselves into 12 gotras and 52 pals. They also claim descent from Ram and Krishna to prove their ancient link to India. The fact that marriage in between gotras was not permitted implies that the warring Meos had a functional caste system which always proves itself oppressive to most marginalized people. Under the influence of Sufi saints and a culture of "religious innovation", the Meos converted to Islam. There were also a number of Rajputs and Yadav community people who also converted to Islam during this time.

This was not a forceful conversion- Muhammad bin Qasim was known to punish those at war with him. This means that he did not target the Meos because they were not Muslims, but because they opposed his rule and were occupying the territory he was ruling. During the Ghaznavi invasion of India, the nephew of Muhammad Ghaznavi (Sufi saint Syed Salar Masud Ghazi) is known to have introduced Islam to the Mewat region.

The Meos are markedly unique in their practice of Islam,

synthesizing customs from both Islam and Hinduism. For example, they are Musalmans in name, but they retain the same village deities as Hindu Zamindars. Meos celebrate Hindu festivals as well with Holi being as important as Muharram or Eid. They are also known for their reverence of the cow- standing with their Hindu brethren against cow slaughter. At the same time, the Tablighi Movement in 1926 was started in Mewat in which Muslim clerics preached the basic tenets of Islamic principles. This was in response to the Arya Samaj's Shudhi and Sangathan Movement in which the Arya Samaj was roaming in the villages to preach that their forefathers were Hindu, and they should adopt Hinduism again. It may be argued that this blend of Hinduism and Islam was due to adopting the culture and traditions of Hindus in the region due to the absence of any religious preachers during the later Mughal and the British period. This is reflective of how the Meos interacted with their surroundings- willing to learn from each other and adopting the good without prejudice, showing an unbiased and open mindset.



Narrative of Forty Percent and Islamic State

Consent for fascist repression is not just a matter of manipulating history, but also of imagining a “brighter future”. By creating the ideal of Ram Rajya, the fascist forces are simultaneously creating an army who will be ready to defend this future. If you were born and brought up in a Hindu dominant caste family, you will have come across the narrative that, “if they (Muslims) gain 40% of population, they will declare it an Islamic state and will do jihad” or “All Muslim community is kattar” or that “all terrorists are of this community”. Similarly, if any district or state has more Muslim population than Hindu, then the place is declared a “Mini-Pakistan”. Kishanganj is the only district of Bihar where the Muslim population exceeds the Hindu population. Recently, TFI News wrote a column on the Kishanganj DM's strict actions on Muslim migrants from outside of this country, when he said that “Kishanganj in Bihar has become Mini-Pakistan”. Nuh is also not a separate case. The same section of people call the Mewati region as mini-Pakistan.

Recently, we have seen a news article where a few media outlets were propagating that Mewati people are getting arms training from Tablighi Jamaat, and that they are a terrorist outfit. This is a

popular rhetoric used by the fascist forces in India to reduce and connect any matter concerning the Muslim community to Pakistan or Jihad. This is a very established model to spread fascist propaganda. But one very interesting thing which we must note is that UAE, a Muslim dominated country, is the single largest contributor of foreign remittance in India. There are a huge number of employees and workers who are functioning in the Gulf countries, dominated by Muslim population. Here, we need to check the consciousness of the middle class, who talk about the “kattar Muslims” and getting maximum foreign currency from the Muslim majority countries. Another irony is that while they refer to foreign funding for “Islamic terrorism”, forex reserves coming from these countries are happily accepted by the same class. The same class never questions what the Buddhist majoritarian state of Myanmar and Sri Lanka is doing against its minorities, which includes Hindus? What had Hitler done against the Jewish people? What had America done against the whole world? Their rhetoric is seeped in Islamophobia, not humanitarian concern, as they try to paint it out to be.

The upper middle class of this country has some bourgeoisie class aspirations, and they have some direct class interest aligning with fascism. The nature of their class

makes them reluctant to take part in the class struggle directly. Some “progressive” liberals of this country are deeply idealistic as they believe in the spiritual version of Brahmanism. By the spiritual version of Brahmanism we mean Advaita Vedanta, or absolute monism, this is the idea that there are no separate things or phenomena and that the differences in the universe are not different things but manifestations of the same thing. This leads to complacency, with Advaita serving to justify the obfuscation of the differences as something “minor”. However, this approach then justifies the norm (violent repression of the differences in society) and ignores the material, social reality of things that give rise to these differences in the first place. Therefore, people are discouraged from joining the struggle of the people, not seeing its relevance. This attitude of complacency is also seen in the posts of upper petty bourgeoisie, who never criticize fascism from its economic or cultural base, but just as a compensatory criticism to justify their progressiveness. Along with the targets of Hindutva nationalism, we have to talk about the class base of fascism in India.

Class Nature of Fascism

It is very important to understand the class nature of fascism. Without knowing this, it is hard to propose a plan to any party or organization.

Most of the bourgeois philosophers have tried to disorient the functioning of the ideology of fascism from its class nature and often they try to project it as reactionary and opposed to “liberal democracy”. Bourgeois philosophers call fascism “illiberalism”. They usually discuss the administrative and cultural aspect of the functioning of fascism but try to avoid discussion on the reactionary and chauvinistic tendencies. These tendencies are a reproduction of and a necessity for imperialism to sustain, and more precisely, arise for the expansion of finance capital.

The crisis-ridden system of imperialism requires the state to commit outright terrorism to sustain itself. This trend can be seen in how the intensification of fascism in India can be traced back to the Liberalisation-Globalisation-Privatisation policies of India. Foreign funding was accepted by India due to an impending debt crisis and rising unemployment which the masses were arising against. To suppress their discontent, fascist measures were undertaken to allow a tighter hold of foreign direct investments over the Indian economy at the expense of the people. Consider how the proliferation of SEZs through the LPG policy led to a destructive model of development which sustained itself through fascist measures of the forceful

dispossession, displacement and violent repression of the Indian masses in order to extract Indian resources for abroad. To look at how bourgeois philosophers theorise fascism in a way that hides its class interests, we can look at the work of Roger Griffin, who is an often-cited expert of fascist history. He demonstrates his ingenious insight by theorising that fascism is essentially an attempt at some national “palingenesis” (or, rebirth) to eliminate degenerate elements of modern life. The development of fascism, as Griffin describes it, is analogous to cultural, political, and economic modernism. This is an analysis that entirely ignores the core reasons behind the rise of fascism. We also need to understand the ideological derailment of Don Hamerquist who finds fascism to be the resistance of the petty-bourgeoisie class against the political and cultural aspects of the monopoly capitalist class. He does not stop there and moves further and calls fascism a revolution. He criticised the position of Dimitrov in his writing “Fascism and Anti-Fascism (2002)” and called the Communist International’s position orthodox. D.Z Shaw, in his writing proposes that, “fascism is a social movement involving a relatively autonomous and insurgent mass base, driven by an authoritarian vision of collective rebirth, that challenges bourgeois institutional and cultural power, while re-entrenching economic and social

or benefactor who will provide a garrison on your behalf. Or else-or else, give up your colonization, for without an armed force which will render physically impossible any attempt to destroy or prevent this colonization, colonization is impossible, not difficult, not dangerous, but IMPOSSIBLE!... Zionism is a colonization adventure and therefore it stands or falls by the question of armed force. It is important... to speak Hebrew, but, unfortunately, it is even more important to be able to shoot – or else I am through with playing at colonizing.” The inter-imperialist conflict called the First World War led to the winning block of imperialists, the Allies, carving up the colonies of their opposition which led to Palestine becoming a British mandate after being snatched from the erstwhile Ottoman empire. Soon, the Jewish Yishuv was set up with British assistance and support and the overall conclusion of this situation culminated in intensified Zionist settlements in Palestine with the Yishuv becoming a proto-state in the region. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 by the British government outrageously guaranteed a “National Home” to the Jews, which would be created in Palestine, thus bringing the original Zionist objective closer to fruition. As migration to Palestine intensified, the active land-grab by the Zionists transformed the Jewish settlers into landlords in Palestine. Palestinian resistance to

all this was already visible with the 1936 revolt.

Even with the Zionists grabbing land at a frantic pace, they only had 5-6% of Palestine but the subsequent immigrations prior to the Second World War led to the United Nations intervening and drawing up a proposal for a partition of Palestine into two separate states, with 56% of Palestinian land being allotted to the Zionists and the rest to Palestinians who actually belonged to the land. Meanwhile most of the Jewish immigrants in Palestine who were demanding this land were people who had not even spent two decades on the land. The audacity of these Zionist settlers was such that even an imperialist organization like the United Nations had to expose their colonizing objectives, “With regard to the principle of self-determination, although international recognition was extended to this principle at the end of the First World War and it was adhered to with regard to the other Arab territories, at the time of the creation of the ‘A’ Mandates, it was not applied to Palestine, obviously because of the intention to make possible the creation of the Jewish National Home there. Actually, it may well be said that the Jewish National Home and the sui generis Mandate for Palestine run counter to that principle.”

As mentioned above, the UN

hierarchies.”

The Communist International and Dimitroff defined the accession to power of fascism as not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie -- bourgeois democracy -- by another form -- open terrorist dictatorship. D.Z. Shaw must go through the tenure of Donald Trump in the USA, where Trump evolved as a representative of imperialist forces. Along with this, the labour aristocracy (those labourers who benefit from the exploitation of labour in an oppressed country, by improved work conditions and wages for themselves as maximum exploitative surplus can be extracted from the labour of the semi-colonies) and unemployed youth of the USA came in support of fascism. The larger section of the petty- bourgeoisie was against the regime of Trump- disproving Shaw's analysis.

Growth of fascism in the US in this degenerate era of imperialist expansion, was based on the exploitation of the semi-colonies, and materially affected even its supportive mass base through the increasing financial crisis it arose to distract from. The only people benefitting from this fascism were the imperialist ruling classes. Again, when we see the condition of France under the regime of

Emmanuel Macron, the fascist tendencies increased with the rising crisis of imperialism and it's a direct attack on the working class and petty- bourgeoisie section. Again, the section of labour aristocrats is taking the side of fascism. But we can't equate the situation of developed capitalist countries with semi-colonial spaces where feudalism is still in existence alongside the development of capital production and foreign finance capital penetration. Here, to sustain fascism, direct support of imperialist forces is needed.



Fascism is not all about changing the government or establishing some reforms. It is a full-fledged ideology to establish the full dictatorship of the bourgeoisie- the ruling class of the society. But when we talk about the class character of fascism in India and its class base, we must understand the ruling class in India are big

landlords and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the bourgeois dependent on foreign capital for its existence). This means that the crisis of the overall advanced capitalist countries and imperialism are aggravating the tendencies of fascism. The Indian ruling class is not independent. For their functioning, this class has to depend on the imperialist countries for capital and technological support. But we often confuse the petty bourgeoisie as the base of fascist ideology. In the current situation, we can see many Hindu youth joining fascist forces because of the rising crisis and no immediate alternative. The class nature of the petty-bourgeoisie is such that it wants a sudden and complete change within a short span of time. Due to the crisis of rising unemployment and lack of correct political ideology, these young sections are being used by the fascist ruling class as foot soldiers of fascism. But all petty bourgeoisie are not on the same ladder- for example, there is a distinction between the lower petty bourgeois, who is barely able to sustain, and the upper petty bourgeois-on the edge of achieving the status of bourgeoisie. This section can also be differentiated according to their caste privilege in this country. This means that those who serve fascism have different class interests and aspirations. Therefore, they're not united on the basis of class, which is the basic unit determining the

the organisation of any society.



If we can take the example of Bajrang Dal, the major organisers are basically coming from the ruling class but most of the cadres are coming from the lower middle class and working class of the country- made to join under the myth of nationalism. Another example of class preservation inherent in fascist organisations is from Ayodhya. Thousands of karsevaks were travelling on a train from Ajmer yet the important functionaries of RSS (mostly Brahmins and Baniyas) were nowhere to be found amongst them. While the leaders who called for the movement slid underground to evade arrest, the karsevaks (composed largely of oppressed castes) were arrested and detained by the authorities.

The RSS is an organisation made on the principles of Brahmanical Hindutva, which is inherently unequal and exclusionary in nature. While RSS claims to be a nationalist organisation for

societal good, it is important to understand that their idea of the same is through “Ram Rajya”, or a “Hindu Rashtra”. A Hindu Rashtra is the organisation of society in such a way that the “upper caste” occupies positions of power through the amassment of resources, while the minorities i.e., the Muslims, Dalits, Adivasis and women remain on the fringes of society. The fact that its leadership is composed mostly of male Brahmins and Baniyas (who tend to be in positions managing the funds for the organisation) is a testament to the same.

RSS also claims to be striving for a casteless society. However, it is important to expose their true casteist nature. While the RSS condemns jati, they insist on going back to the old Varna system, as confirmed by a 2014 Caravan interview in which (ex-RSS member) Bhanawar Meghwanshi says, “In the eyes of the Sangh, the Hindu Rashtra is a Brahmin nation with the varna system, the four vedas and the Manusmriti. The Sangh wants to run the nation on this very base.” The story of Dalit karsevaks like Bhanwar Meghwanshi tells us that no matter the extent of one’s dedication to the organisation or its principles, it looks at one’s caste before anything else. In his autobiography, he cites an example of how he was subtly told that he would never be allowed to become a high-ranking officer (due to his status as a “lower” caste

person). For questioning the Sangh on how it would bring about a society without caste hierarchy, he was shunned and deemed someone who asked too many questions.

The fact of the matter is that fascist organisations in India want to retain caste, a society organised on caste lines contributes to their ruling class hegemony. In a confidential letter to the “high caste members” of the Sangh accessed by Meghwanshi, he cites how its content encouraged the maintenance of caste since it was the reason for the survival of Hindu society. Therefore, the true nature of fascism is exposed- under the guise of samarsata (harmony), the inclusion of Dalits, Adivasis and oppressed castes is encouraged so that they can be maintained as the foot soldiers of RSS. This shows that the nature of fascism in India is inherently casteist and exclusionary, pushing those oppressed castes and groups to face the brunt of the actions while the ruling classes in the organisation push the Hindutva agenda with little to no harm to themselves.

Delhi Master Plan: In the service of Imperialism

If we closely read the Delhi-Master plan 2041, it is very evident from its perspective that workers of Delhi who are residing in the inner area of the cities will be displaced

to the outer periphery of the city. The State has applied different justifications to displace the bastis in the name of cleaning cities- using the excuse of “beautification” of cities, and hygiene concerns such as cleaning drains and even reasons as transparent as the government’s need to make way for capital by clearing way for industries.

These are the kinds of constructions we usually find in ghettos and working class bastis. This shows that these bastis are going to be targeted, as these bastis are not good aesthetics for investment and other stakeholders of this development model. The urban middle class (the upper and middle section of petty-bourgeois) demands a clean city to live in and this section is important for foreign finance capital for the investment in real-estate and services. The urban working class and the ghettos they are forced to live in are aesthetically and environmentally unclean for these classes.

We have to give heed to the American City planning and development in the 1960s, when the welfare model got exposed and unemployment increased rampantly. The American state knew very well that they would not be able to cater to the rising anger of the masses. So, they started pushing the working class, especially black people, outside

of the city where the working-class housing system was developed by the state. The whole area was surrounded by walls and a number of police check posts. Before this whole episode of working-class displacement, we can see a shift in the social security schemes. They snatched all school facilities and health programs from the black people, and forcefully pushed them outside. In this process, “redlining” occurred- black people and ethnic minorities were deliberately denied social welfare schemes, insurance and health services and other basic facilities required for a healthy life- in order to deliberately disenfranchise them and drive them out. This is similar to Delhi’s attempt at targeting Dalit and Muslim minorities to create space for a small, wealthy section to have a more ‘beautified’, ‘hygienic’ lifestyle where they don’t even have to see the poverty and sections of society they aesthetically despise.

This will also create space for more investment by presenting a more “cosmopolitan” city, the reality of poverty, misery, unemployment and disease will be pushed to the margins- and the populations will still be used as cheap labour power. In Delhi, or any big city of this country, this new urban planning has a clearly fascist motive, which has a clear purpose to destroy the local production mechanism and throw the working class and lower middle-class in the hands of

capitalists. Here, in India, religion and the idea of the nation function as a tool to distract the masses from the real economic and political distress of this country- distress that will gravely impact their life soon enough under this Delhi Master plan.

Conclusion

Comrade Marx says that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle". This is particularly important to note in the trend of reduction of issues to one of "communalism" i.e. the reduction of the attack on Muslims as a mere religious divide between Hindus and Muslims. A careful analysis of the intensification of the fascist attacks on Muslims would reveal its class nature. Whether it be the working-class dominated Muslim bastis in urban areas or the peasant-class Mewatis or the Panchayat ban on trading with Muslims, the attack against Muslims is particularly targeted against the oppressed classes amongst the Muslims. This is to the advantage of the traitor Indian state as the communalisation of the issues in India helps the state to hide its true nature. The economic crisis in India, which is propped up by foreign capital and investment and aided by the state-corporate-landlord nexus, is visible in the struggle for land, forest and resource, the rising debt crisis, increasing farmer suicides, the

looming threat of unemployment over the students and high inflation rates.

This is particularly noteworthy in how most of the media outlets, who are talking about the Nuh genocide, are talking through the lens of victimhood and a very vague and simplified idea of fascism. Their analysis of fascism, which is the tool to help defend capital through violence and terror, restricts its analysis to the functioning of RSS-BJP and to a cultural attack on Muslims, therefore hiding the economic nature of the problem. Fascism is the ruling class ideology. It is not merely a cultural, national, or religious program of state repression, though it is important to analyse how these factors contribute to and help in the formation of the ruling class hegemony. From this article, we can conclude that fascism's primary aim is the maintenance of class, of the preservation of the accumulation of resources in those considered the elite in society, via violent repression.

The violent nature of fascism may make it seem intimidating, and cause people to feel hopeless. However, the resistance shown in Nuh itself is an example of the way forward, towards a society which is truly egalitarian and democratic. The Meos did not back down in the face of struggle. Instead, they retaliated for their existence and

dignity. They tried to fight against the perpetrators, which has given energy to other sections of the people too. This resistance has reiterated that fascism is not undefeatable. If you dare to challenge and be organised, it's not an impossible force to defeat.



Nari Shakti: The Hollow Echo in the Women's Reservation Bill

by Ramnit Kaur and Val Varshri



On September 20, 2023, the Lok Sabha passed The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Amendment) Bill 2023, also known as The Women's Reservation Bill or the "Naari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam". The Bill has three main provisions. First, 1/3rd representation for women in the Lok Sabha, state legislative assemblies as well as the Legislative Assembly of the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Second, horizontal representation in the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, rotation of the reserved constituencies and last, delayed implementation till after the census and delimitation exercise due in 2026. Having gotten approval from the President, the Bill has been lauded as a "progressive legislation" by most political parties.

The PM has gone as far as to

proclaim that he was chosen by God for women empowerment and other sacred tasks during Lok Sabha discussions tabling this Bill. Divine Sanctity is something that a feudal state would seek, a prime minister in a 'democratic country' making such statements brings into question the very democracy of a country like India. Warped in the rhetoric of empowerment and progress, the "Statement of Objects and Reasons" of the Bill states that inclusion and empowerment of women is essential for achieving the vision of "Vikasit Bharat" by 2047. Meanwhile, the opposition, while supporting the Bill in substance, has criticised the extended period for its actual implementation. The lack of provisions for OBC and Muslim reservations has been opposed by some Opposition parties with them calling the Bill "exclusionary".

The debate and discussion around the Bill has brought to fore certain important questions such as the role of representation in parliamentary politics, and the importance of reservation- both vertical and horizontal in implementing this representation. The need for provisions such as reservations to ensure representation for women in a

parliamentary structure that reflects the patriarchal nature of the society cannot be negated on any grounds. However, the debate around the Women's Reservation Bill has led to questions surrounding its effectiveness in achieving true "empowerment" and "equality" for women, as the political parties in support of the Bill claim that it will. It is important to ponder on these questions and engage with the effectiveness of the "empowerment through representation" model this Bill seeks to implement, and relate the rhetoric around empowerment to the ground reality of the masses of women in India. This begs the question of whether the interests and empowerment of women can be accomplished through implementing reservation for women in a society that remains seeped in Brahmanical Patriarchy and a parliament that protects the interests of the big corporates and landlords who are essentially against the interests of the broad masses in the country?

R e p r e s e n t a t i o n a s "Empowerment": Efficacy

The representation of women in India's parliament has never crossed the 15% mark. The State Assemblies on an average currently have a 9% representation of women. In such a case, it is clear-India has a crisis with respect to representation of its women, who

are essential stakeholders in the political process, in the legislative bodies of our country. These figures show us that women are thus being denied their fair share in decision making in a country that boasts to be the world's largest democracy. Various studies have shown that the participation of women in the political process and their presence in legislative bodies helps bring to the table concerns that are specific to the well-being and interests of women, questions that would generally be ignored. India is a country that has been ranked the most dangerous country for women by various research surveys (Guardian, July 2018) and also ranks poorly on global health safety indices for women (GHN, Jan 2019). This is also a country where the fetters of feudal patriarchal oppression live on- the need for greater representation of women in the decision making process cannot be ignored. However, it is important to question the nature of this representation.

Looking at the current state of the Indian Parliament is an apt example. A report by the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR) revealed that a total of 113 MLAs and 21 MPs have declared cases of crimes against women, with the Bharatiya Janata Party leading the statistics, followed by the Congress party.

The legislative assemblies in India

are known to be a safe space for anti-women remarks- a place where not only does patriarchy thrive in the actual lawmaking, but also in the process of lawmaking. Legislators, be they from any political party or even, from any gender, have been infamous for making the space unsafe for fellow women MPs and MLAs. Women MLAs are targeted on appearance, clothing, manner of speaking, more so if they are from an oppressed caste or community. In a feudal society where the “character” or sexual chastity of a woman is seen to be the centre of her identity as a social being, women parliamentarians face intense gender harassment in the form of comments by colleagues, media and in general discourse, that question their character. Brahmanical religious comparisons, lewd, demeaning judgements on their looks and personal life (and not on their policy-making and political participation) are made by other members of the Assembly towards them. Women MPs such as Supriya Sule have been told to “go home and cook” by a male MP. The abuse got worse for the Dalit Chief Minister Mayawati who was likened to a “prostitute” and “transgender” by both male and female MPs.

These examples clearly indicate that women in the Indian Parliament and Legislative Assemblies face a blatantly unsafe

environment. This is not surprising given the feudal nature of the Indian Parliament. Dr. Ambedkar predicted that the domination of certain castes in Indian society would lead to a permanent “communal majority” in the Parliament which would be different from a political majority. He theorised that while a political majority is changing and dependant on the voters, the Brahmanical nature of Indian society would create a “communal” majority which is unchanging, dominant castes will dominate the parliament - those elected would have the same feudal interests.

This reflects in the Brahmanical patriarchy that women elected to the Parliament experience. Moreover, even if they get past these hurdles to still participate in these spaces, they are not allowed to have an equal position to their male counterparts. They are given “softer” portfolios, even within political parties they are expected to raise “softer” issues within the parliament. Defense, external affairs, and the budget are issues political parties prefer to leave to their male representatives to bring up, as various studies have shown. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) 2023 press release shows that women have high representation in portfolios like women and gender equality, family and children affairs, social inclusion and development, indigenous and minority affairs. To add to this, it is

clear that parties themselves prefer not to field women as candidates. Even in the recent assembly elections in five States- neither of the two major parties at the Centre- the BJP or Congress has fielded more than 15-20% of female candidates in any State. In Telangana, out of 119 Assembly seats, the Congress gave tickets to 12 women candidates while the BJP fielded 15 women. The condition in the other 4 states having elections was similarly dismal. This was despite both parties harping on about women's reservations just weeks ago in the Central Legislative Assembly. When asked for the reason behind this gap between rhetoric and reality, both parties cited the excuse of winnability, saying that voters are less likely to vote for women candidates. Such a bias of the population against having women representatives is indeed true in a society seeped in notions of Brahmanical patriarchy and the superiority of men. This reality does further stress the need for a legal requirement for the minimum number of women required to be in parliament- reservations would help with that.

Despite this need for some kind of legal measure, the nature and actual impact of reservations for women needs to be examined. A pertinent question that comes up is how similar provisions for reservations have worked in the context of Panchayat elections. The

73rd Amendment in 1992 introduced 1/3rd reservations for women in village panchayats and local bodies, with reservations even for posts such as sarpanch. Several research studies have indicated (Carnegie, September 2023) that having women in village level local bodies has helped better represent women's interests, has helped bring women's concerns forward, and that women elected under this reservation policy invest closely in public goods linked to women's concerns. However, the ground reality remains that most often, women elected into positions as local representatives are actually just proxies for their sons and husbands (mukhiya-pati). They perform the representative "on-paper" role, but the husband, son or other male family member exercises power on their behalf. A study found that in Haryana's villages, women sarpanchs were in fact, elected just in name- their work was done by a male member of their family (The Hindu, August 2022). Far from empowering the interests of women in a collective sense, the policy of reservation in the panchayats has actually failed to empower even the individual women elected under this policy.

The people of the particular village with such a proxy female sarpanch reported that the local population of women did not feel more ease of access in approaching a woman representative- lines of caste and class still blocked them from

having any access to their elected representative. The man actually exercising power in place of the woman, or the woman exercising power in the limited way she gets the chance to, still represents the ruling class interests. A similar analysis of elected representatives representing ruling class interests, rather than the interests of the oppressed caste they were elected as representatives of, has been observed with respect to caste-based reservations. This stresses the need for social change at the grassroots, in the consciousness of the people, to enable a change in the hegemonic consensus.

A simultaneous question that emerges from this case study is what interests will the women elected as representatives serve once they come into power? Will merely having “women in power” ensure the representation of anti-feudal, anti-patriarchal interests? Is representation of women in parliament going to be equivalent to representation that is against Brahmanical patriarchy, against the State’s anti-women policies that uphold this hegemony? The answer lies in the question of what class interests will the women in the legislative assemblies serve? Whether they will have the ruling class, hegemonic class-caste interests in mind, or if they will actually advocate laws and reforms that ensure true empowerment of women, the interests of their liberation from the oppressive,

feudal structures that bind them? The answer lies that in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country like

India, women who gain representation are likely to serve the same class interests as the ruling class, they will end up being proponents and upholders of ruling class ideology, they will support and enable anti-people, anti-women measures. This is because to contest and win in elections in India, even at the local level, a legitimacy in voters and false consensus can only be created by the feudal influence of local landlords and the money derived from big industrialists dependent on foreign capital helps in creating this consensus. Once in power, since their parties derive their continued existence from the support of these comprador industrialists and feudal landlords, the elected representatives- be they women or men, cannot toot a horn that goes against the anti-people interests of these forces. At best, they can introduce moderate reform that will positively impact a small section of a population, but will not materially change the conditions that make the oppression of women a systematic fact. Hence, it is apparent that merely giving women “a seat at the table” will not solve anything. The road to the true liberation of women lies in battling anti-women laws and rules, in fighting the system that oppresses women and places them in a secondary position

that denies them equal opportunities and even basic human rights.



Nari Shakti, or Nahi Rahi Shakti?

The Hindi name for the Women's Reservation Bill is "Naari Shakti Vandan Adhiniyam". The Hindutva fascists claim that the policy with respect to women is part of the shift from women's development to women-led development, which this Bill aims to do. However, this idea of development is interesting, as it begs the question - what development looks like for a woman in a Brahmanical patriarchal societal structure? The Indian variety of patriarchy is one which comes from its particular conditions i.e. the way in which resources are distributed so as to affect social relationships of production. In India, the feudal value system dominates, therefore leading to Brahmanical patriarchy. This is because when the transfer of power happened in 1947, foreign capital continued to penetrate into the Indian society only through aligning itself with the local feudal landlords and the middlemen who

served as agents of foreign capital, including the state. Feudalism in India is caste- feudalism. The feudal elements in India are those who came from dominant castes, as wealth was concentrated in their hands to the exclusion of oppressed castes as a part of the varna system, which over time transformed into jatis. Certain jatis had access to land, resources and local power, while other jatis were subordinate to these. This system continued after the transfer of power as it was essentially a transfer to the hands of local landlords and comprador forces who would be subservient to imperialism. Therefore, the transition of power ensured that the landlord class continued to dominate the economy and could therefore perpetuate the feudal ideology (wherein women are considered the property of men). This feudal mindset also has a role in restricting equal distribution of wealth since it mandates that wealth will be concentrated in the hands of the male patriarch. This structuring of society does not allow for the democratisation of society, pushing women into a subservient position both socially and economically.

In this system, women are considered subordinate to men. In the "historical course correction" of this unequal position of women, PM Modi has deemed this Bill as an "Agni Pareeksha to restore the traditional glory of Bharat which stood for equality and balance".

The notion of agni pareeksha is itself a misogynistic, anti-women and casteist notion. In the story of Ramayana, Sita was forced to prove her chastity, after being kidnapped by the tribal chief Ravana, to ensure her purity. To prove to her husband that she had remained faithful and was untouched by the “rakshasas” (a derogatory term to describe those communities that existed outside of the varna system), Sita was forced into a trial by fire. This system is one which degenerates the position of women to that of her husband’s property, and this is the “glorious Bharat” that the reactionary fascist classes want India to revert into.

Brahmanical Hindutva forces claim that the Women Reservation Bill is a part of the “Shakti Tradition” in which women are celebrated as embodiments of Shakti. They claim that the Vedic period empowered women through education and women actively participated through philosophy and religion, it was a period which provided equal opportunity to women which would allow women to reach their full potential. Hindutva fascists want society to go back to Vedic times. They uphold Sita, Draupadi and Kunti as strong and influential models, revered in their role in the family setting. The practice of Niyoga was one followed in the times the nostalgic vision of the fascists wishes to revert to, under this practice, a widow was remarried to her brother-in-law in

in case of her husband’s death. This shows that women were regarded as mere cattle to be traded from one hand to another, their sexual autonomy reduced to a resource in the hands of the family in order to retain control over the resources a woman might “gain” on the death of her husband.

It is important here to note that the claim that women were equal in the Vedic times is a hollow claim. For example, an analysis of the hymns in the Family Book- Mandalas II to VII (regarded as earlier segments of the Rig Veda) shows that 22 hymns are addressed to Goddesses while 407 are addressed to Gods. Under Brahmanical Hindutva, women are not equal to men. In fact, they are regarded as property for the family to control, disallowed from autonomous thinking and face sexual, emotional and verbal abuse in the name of duty as “good wives”. The fact that marital rape is not considered an offense in India is reflective of how Brahmanical Hindutva doesn’t consider women as individuals worth recognising, denying them their individual existence and undemocratically coercing their “consent”. Women are in fact exploited, oppressed, and subjugated in order to maintain the ruling class hegemony of the elite. In his quest for Nari Shakti, the PM has launched numerous schemes like Ujjwal Yojana, Beti Bachao Beti Padhao etc. but have the lives of women in India qualitatively

improved? The question here is that in a class and caste society like India under semi-colonial, semi-feudal conditions- is it possible to find emancipation of women? Can a mere increase in representation be equated to empowerment?

The Path Forward: Towards a New Culture!

The question of women's liberation cannot be restricted by the limitations of reformism as their oppression is directly related to societal structures. For women to be truly liberated, it will never be enough to look for answers within a system which curbs their questions. The limits of legal reformism are succinctly elaborated by Kollontai, who states, "To grant the woman worker the same rights as the man would be to put in the hands of the working class a new and dangerous weapon, to double the active army of the militant opponent; the bourgeoisie is too intelligent to agree to such a dangerous experiment". For true liberation and empowerment of women, women will have to be enabled to hold up half of the skies even more staunchly. To complete this task, it is pertinent for women to participate in class struggle, which also includes within it the struggle for national liberation.

The struggle for national liberation is tied deeply with the question of women in an oppressed

country like India. Take the example of the appointment of Lt. General Punita Arora, the first female to occupy this military post for Indians. The Indian Army is a repressive force for the vast majority of Indian females- whether it be the subjugation of the people of Kashmir, the aerial bombing in central India or the apathy of the state towards the rape of Kuki women in Manipur. Now, Lt. General Punita Arora will be responsible for greenlighting operations against the interest of adivasi women. She will be the one to then turn a blind eye towards their rape by the nexus between the feudal forces of the landlords as well as daalal forces of the state machinery and corporates. They will come and grab their land, destroy their livelihood and impoverish the women, often forcing them into work involving sexual exploitation. Instead of a man, a woman will now be responsible for the patriarchal repression of women.

The Kunan Pushpora mass rape is an apt example of how deeply tied the question of women's liberation is with national struggle. For three continuous days in March 1991, the people of the middle-class Batamaloo took to the streets in militant outrage against the rape of 23 women. The District Magistrate in his report, writes: "A large number of armed personnel entered into the houses of villagers, and at gunpoint, they

gang-raped 23 ladies, without any consideration of their age, married, unmarried, pregnancy etc.. There was a hue and cry in the whole village." Local people say that as many as 100 women were molested in some way. Women's bodies are considered a site of shame, and such behaviour is reflective of a feudal mentality which thinks it can break resistance by sexually violating women as an instrument of war. The purpose of the Army in Kashmir was simple: quell resistance to Indian occupation of the land.

Through foreign finance, imperialism has propped up governments which will aid in its agenda of resource extraction through the displacement, rape and destruction of the Indian people. A government which is thus subservient to imperialism is therefore complicit in the exploitation of women. This begs a simple question- is the fact that there is greater representation of women translating into their liberation? Can elections resolve the contradiction which plays a determining role in curbing women's emancipation?

There is a need for an opposing culture to patriarchy, of the economic systems, which propel and sustain them to aid the capitalist agenda. This new culture has to be one which is of a pro-woman character, which is

revolutionary in nature, and this new culture is one which must confront the centrality of genocide. For the creation of a new culture to be truly liberatory, this culture must emerge from raising the political consciousness of women to join in the national struggle against oppressor nations; against the parasitic leeching off of imperialism. Women must wage militant action against the clutches of imperialism, against Brahmanical patriarchy and against feudal trends in society.

The new culture which is necessary to enable women's liberation is one in which women are independent, courageous and self-reliant. Women are made subservient to patriarchal norms, reduced to being property (of men, of state, of imperialism) without any autonomy, their individual suppressed to serve the needs of the family and the nation. "Bharat Mata ki jai" is the fascist slogan which chains women to the role determined for them- a loyal wife to the nation first, and then her family.

However, women are more than that. Women are individuals with thoughts, strength and revolutionary potential. For her to reach her potential, we must contribute to changing society to embrace the true potential of women as fighters, as comrades and as equals. The question then becomes how can we bring about

this cultural change? Does legal reformism not play any role in women's liberation? The Great October Revolution in Soviet Russia propped up a pro-people socialist government which enabled the emergence of the "new woman", supported by their Constitution with its provisions for gender equality.



The Impact of the October Revolution and Legal Reforms

The Soviet state was one which actively worked towards legal reforms in the direction of revolutionary social change, therefore creating the base for true women's liberation and serves as an example of how legal reform can aid liberation of women. At the same time, it is important to remember that the success of the October Revolution in bringing this change was deeply connected to changes in the economic base, and without the simultaneous reform in both the production process and socio-political consciousness raising, the objectives of legal reform would have been incomplete.

To understand the impact of the October Revolution and the

potential of legal reforms under a socialist regime, we must first briefly talk about the condition of women under Tsarist Russia. Most women were forced into arranged marriages in which they were regarded as the property of men, with no rights to divorce or abortion. Their presence in the Duma was nil, in which they didn't even have the right to vote. Simultaneously subjugated by their economic dependency on their husbands, they did not have much choice outside of marriage—due to having virtually no social welfare system, women with children out of wedlock were likely to end up as prostitutes in order to sustain.

The October Revolution itself saw immense class struggle in women, who slowly transformed from mothers and wives to activists, fighters and decision makers as they got drawn into the civic and political life of the masses. Alexandra Kollontai, a Central Committee member of the Bolshevik Party by October 1917, is credited with being the first woman in history to occupy a ministerial post in her appointment as the People's Commissar of Social Welfare.

The efforts of the people's government under the Bolsheviks led to immense changes in the lives of women, propelled and pushed under the Soviet legal system. Understanding the central role that

that family plays in the subjugation of women through reducing their role to the domestic sphere under the patriarchal culture of capitalism, the Bolsheviks introduced numerous measures to aid their liberation. Within 6 months of the Revolution, the church's control over marriage was ended and within a year complete legal equality of rights was established. Instead of being a means of control of private property by the ruling class men, marriage simply became a mutual agreement between two partners and was easily dissolvable. Moreover, the Decree on Insurance in Case of Sickness, of December 1917, meant that an insurance fund was set up without deductions from wages. In January 1918, the Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy was set up as the result of Kollontai's earlier work. From the dependent women of Tsarist Russia, the liberated Soviet "new woman" was independent, self-reliant and had dignity. This impact was achieved with legal reforms as a measure, but they could only be successful due to corresponding changes in people's consciousness and changes in the economic base that further enabled them to improve the material condition of women.

Conclusion

Reform measures like the women's reservations in parliament do not in any way change the patriarchal

structure of Indian society. The inherent nature of the Indian parliament is feudal and therefore, Brahminical patriarchy as an ideology is inherent to the nature of the parliament. More representation of women in an inherently undemocratic and patriarchal structure is mere tokenism. While the interests of the women from the ruling class can be better represented in limited degrees, the women from the broad masses will continue to face patriarchal oppression. Women from the peasantry will continue to be raped and exploited by landlords. The fascist CrPF and DRG will continue to rape Adivasi women in an attempt to push them out of their own land. At the same time, this does not change the inherent nature of brahmanical patriarchy. This ideology is maintained and enforced through both the economic structure of society as well as through social institutions like law, culture and politics.

Brahmanical Patriarchy finds itself rooted in the very arrangement of social production relations- in wage disparity for equal work, in how domestic work is neither valued nor paid. This puts the burden of the household solely on the woman (and women from oppressed classes would have to additionally work as helpers or in the fields to sustain their families). Women are not valued, reduced to their role in families as a baby-

-factory for the production of a more youthful and stronger generation of labour. Her work is undervalued and this allows for greater exploitation. To sustain this economic exploitation of women, they are reduced to being treated like cattle, as weak and dependent beings. When the woman goes to work in the fields, it would often be where her husband is working or under the same landlord, which allows the landlord to justify the woman's labour as a "supplement" to her husband, thereby leading to unequal wages and greater exploitation. This attitude of seeing women as the family's property (over which the male patriarch rules), of economic exploitation of women and their subjugation to unequals, is the basis for women's exploitation. Without smashing these unequal social relations, it is not possible for women to be liberated from the chains of Brahmanical Patriarchy.

The only solution towards women's liberation is revolution. A revolution to end feudalism and bring in a New Democratic Society and then socialism-communism is the only way to ensure women's liberation. This was seen in Russia and also in China, where women were liberated from the drudgery of the domestic sphere to be an active part of social production and the public sphere. For women to not just be wives and mothers but be an active and equal participants in society.



Hindi Imposition: Language As Another Link in the Chain

by Mukundan



The home minister Amit Shah, had recently said that Hindi should be accepted by all states. He wanted India to be a Hindi- India. This led to an uproar against Hindi imposition across the country, especially in the South and the North East. The South Indian and North Eastern states claim this move to be a means to erase their independent culture. Historically, we can see that the ruling class has been attempting to impose Hindi upon the people of the country. The British colonial authorities and their agents had started this policy even before the transfer of power and this continued after the transfer of power. The constitution of the Indian state has these biases within it and in every way possible we can see that the Indian state promotes Hindi. The only reason it did not become the 'national' language was because of the resistance of the masses in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu. Even after this, Hindi became one

of the official languages of the state of India. The history of Hindi imposition and the popular opposition against this along with the ideology and the interests behind this imposition needs to be looked into to understand this properly.

A History of Erasure: How was the Linguistic Link in the Chain Forged

During the colonial era we can see that the landlord class that had emerged as the agents of colonial authority, changed itself and the Brahminical ideology that was dominant at that time to maintain its authority. Unlike Western Europe, in India, we can see that the capitalism that entered through colonialism had formed a nexus with feudalism. Therefore, proper capitalist relations did not emerge in society, feudalism continued to sustain through imperialism. The mercantile capital that came to India in the form of the British East India company established a state here to drain the wealth. They allied with the landlord class that existed here. As capitalism in Europe developed into monopoly capitalism, there was a concentration of capital. The

industrial capital merged with banking capital to form finance capital. This finance capital would ally with the local landlords to create a space for itself. This development of capitalist relations beyond a certain point would have led to greater democratization and this would translate into decreased space for exploitation. Therefore, it was in the interests of the imperialists who invested capital here to sustain feudalism and the landlord class to ensure greater exploitation through which they could gain greater profits. Thus, unlike Europe, where the emergence of capitalist relations led to the erasure of feudalism, in India it was moribund form of capitalism that emerged and this led to the sustenance of imperialism. In this scenario of colonial 'modernity', due to a change in production relations, there emerged a need to maintain the hegemonic consensus. This was done through reform movements which created a category called the Hindu to maintain this hegemony.

The colonial authorities also helped in establishing this category. Until then, most of the oppressed castes in India didn't follow traditional 'Hindu' texts like the Shashtra for marriage. During the colonial era, the British authorities developed the Anglo-Hindu law based on Manu Smriti and the Shastras, to govern the non-Muslim sections of Indian s

society, thus creating a rigid and separate category called the Hindu. Warren Hastings expressed this colonial policy clearly when he said the Quran would be the law for the Muslims and the Shastras for the Hindus. Through this Hindu majority, the elite class tried to maintain their hegemony. The movements like those of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and MK Gandhi had emerged to create and maintain this Brahminical hegemony by reforming Brahmanism and to consolidate the Hindu as a category. The Hindu as an identity would become the root of the cultural nationalist Brahmanical conception of Bharatiyata. The basis of this Bharatiyata is the common 'Hindu' way of life that people across the country have. There is a focus on the Hindu cultural unity as a way to integrate the different sections of the Indian population into this one 'nation'. This idea of Bharatiyata as a cultural nationalism that could integrate the different sections of the country does not even have a clear basis. The Hindu in Keralam doesn't know about Holi or Raksha Bandhan, similarly, the North Indian Hindu does not celebrate Pongal, Onam or Vishu, which is something closely connected to the culture of the people of Tamil Nadu and Keralam respectively. There is an absence of a common language that binds these different 'Hindus' and even the religious traditions are completely different, many of the local deities of Keralam are

offered meat, while meat is something that is banned in the temples of North India. Therefore, there was always an attempt to impose the cultural practices of Vaishnavite Brahminism from North India as a way to create a homogenous Hindu identity.

Language became another method through which this identity came to be maintained. In the late 19th century, we can see that a Hindi movement emerged in Bihar and United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Madan Mohan Malviya who later became the founder of Hindu Mahasabha, a Hindutva organization, was one of the driving forces of the movement; Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi utilized his newspaper Sarasvati to spread the idea that Hindi is the *nij-bhasha* and that this needs to be the *rashtrabhasha*. The claim was that Hindus across India spoke Hindi before 'Muslim invasion' was pushed by these forces. Therefore, for a united Hindu India there needed to be one Hindi. We can clearly see that here, Hindi was to serve the agenda of creating a Hindu cultural nationalist consciousness. Landlords across Bihar spread the idea that Hindi in Devanagari is the language of the people and that it's the patriotic duty of the Hindu to remove Urdu as the official language. The movement had a communal tone to it and categorized Urdu as the language of the Muslims. This became one of the movements that

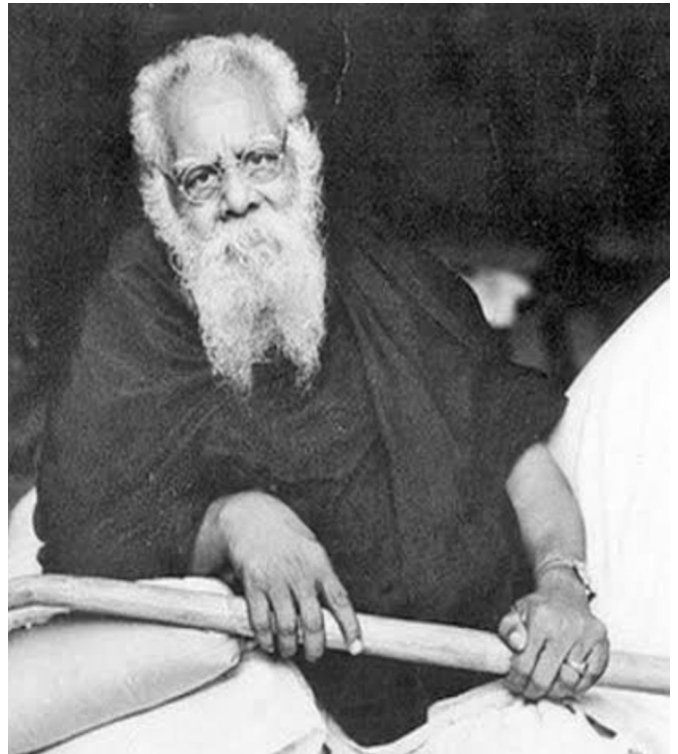
tried to propagate this idea of cultural nationalism in India. Here, the standard Hindi was considered to be Dehlavi with Devanagari script. Up until now it was Brajbasha that was the dominant language that was written in Devnagari. The Dehlavi that was considered to be Shudh Hindi, was actually a more Sanskritised version of the language.

The Orientalist linguists that came to India, believed in a 'purer' form of Hindi which did not have Persian root words. To develop this Shudh Hindi, they replaced many of the Persian origin words with Sanskrit words. The Indian writers who backed the Hindi movement carried forward this program of replacing Persian root words with Sanskrit. The idea of other languages which had already existed in North India, continuing to exist as independent languages, was a threat to this idea that Hindi is the language of the Hindus. Thus, there was an attempt to categorize languages like Bhojpuri, Magadhi, Angika etc to be dialects of Hindi.

These languages are completely different from the standardized Hindi that had existed in North India. Even the root languages that they developed from are very different: Hindi developed from Shauraseni Prakriti while Bhojpuri, Angika Magadi etc developed from Magadi Prakriti. The standardized Hindi was

foreign to Bihar, but due to this Hindi movement led by the landlords, Hindi in Devnagari and Kaithi scripts along with English became the official language of Bihar, in the year 1881. Here, the local languages of Bihar like Bhojpuri or Angika, which were spoken by the masses were abandoned to serve the agenda of the ruling class. Thus, from the beginning this policy of Hindi imposition was anti-people in nature. Those languages which were in the hearts of the masses, which were rooted in the soil of Bihar, which echoed the lullabies of several mothers as they tried to calm their babies, were abandoned for another one so that the landlords could continue to maintain their hegemony over the people. This movement would later lead to Hindi becoming the official language of United Provinces too, which just like Bihar had its own languages. This became the stepping stone to Hindi becoming a tool to forcefully integrate different sections to create a false Hindu nationalist consciousness. Hindi was used as a means to barricade government jobs by the upper caste men in the Gangetic plains. The masses that did not know Hindi would not be able to be part of the Government services. The Orientalist method of categorizing those languages without scripts as dialects, developed by Grierson, helped this agenda. This would mean that many tribal languages and other

languages without scripts would be considered to be dialects of Hindi. Even the soft Brahmanical Congress, which is not as aggressive and outrightly fascist in its Brahminism like the Sangh Parivar, used Hindi as a tool to artificially integrate different national minorities and groups into one unit.



The attempt to impose Hindi upon all the people of India continued across the colonial period. In 1937, C Rajagopalachari, who was the Congress Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, passed an order making Hindi compulsory across 125 schools in what was then the Madras Presidency. The Anti-Brahmanical Dravidian movement led by 'Periyar' E.V Ramasamy was strong in Tamil Nadu at that point of time. Periyar spearheaded a

movement against the imposition of Hindi. The movement saw the arrest of more than a thousand people and death of one person. The strong resistance of the masses in Tamil Nadu led to the state having to go back on their policy. In South India, we can see that there were already movements that had emerged which questioned the Brahmanical hold over the languages. For example, the Pacha Malayalam movement, tried to move towards a more pure form of Malayalam with less Sanskrit loan words. Literature was mostly written in Manipravalam, which is the construction of Sanskrit vocabulary to a base of Malayalam. Manipravalam was the language of the elite landlord Brahmin caste and the masses could not understand this language. The masses could not even pronounce most of the words in Manipravalam. The Pacha Malayalam movement emerged to ensure that a standardized Malayalam which did not have the Sanskrit loan words could emerge so that the people of Kerala could understand the literature. Similarly, a movement to liberate Tamil from the clutches of the Brahmanical elite also happened under the time of Periyar's movement.

After the transfer of power, the new constitution continued to represent the interest of the Indian ruling class to impose Hindi upon

the people of India. It was in the interests of the imperialists to ensure that India continued as one single unit.

This would offer one integrated market with several nationalities and developing nationalities under a state. The transfer of power was done to a friendly ruling class consisting of landlords and big bourgeoisie. The nature of the big bourgeoisie was such that they were nothing more than glorified managers of the imperialists, since they didn't possess their own capital and were dependent on foreign capital for their survival. The integration of India through a Brahminical conception of a nation was important for the imperialists and their servants. So, it was natural that the constitution would have provisions giving Hindi a special status, to ensure this forceful integration of the different nationalities and cultures into one.

Article 351 of the Constitution provides that "it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its

vocabulary, primarily, on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.” Here, we can see that a sanskritised version of the Hindi language was to be propagated across the country. The state wanted Hindi to be the primary form of communication across the country and wanted to ensure that a composite Indian culture was developed based on this language. To further fulfill this agenda, the state attempted to make Hindi the national language of the country.

In 1952, the Central Government first attempted to impose Hindi by making the Osmania University, a University in Hyderabad in South India, one with Hindi as the major language for teaching and instruction. This was protested by the students of Andhra Pradesh, forcing the government to reverse this plan. On January 26 1965, the Official Languages Act gave the status of national language to Hindi. A circular from the government which gave Hindi precedence was also passed at the same time. This led to widespread protests in South India especially in Tamil Nadu which resulted in 5 people setting themselves on fire. This resulted in the government declaring that the documents would continue to be bilingual indefinitely. The protests also resulted in the amendment of the Official Language Act according to which English would continue to be the official language until all the state governments are in a position

to pass a resolution declaring the official language to be Hindi, based on the public sentiment. Even after the protests, the status of Hindi as the official language continued, the only change was the assurance that English would also be another official language. The agenda of the state to impose Hindi across the country continued in different ways. Under the Rajiv Gandhi government, there was an attempt to open Navodaya schools, with Hindi as the primary form of instruction, in Tamil Nadu. This led to riots across Tamil Nadu, with the government reversing this policy as a result. In the North-Eastern part of the country the state imposed the Devnagari, script which is associated with Hindi, upon the different tribes.



Several tribes in the North East like the Bodos, did not have a script for their language. The Bodo Sahithya Samithi was started to protect the Bodo language and to develop it further, and one of the first steps taken by the committee was to ensure a common script for the language. In the late 1960's, the

Samithi tried to look into the feasibility of the Roman Script for this purpose. The Roman Script was more of a match for the Bodo language than the East Nagari or the Devnagari script.

This was resisted by the Assamese language chauvinists and the Central Government. The Assamese language chauvinists wanted the East Nagari script which was used for the Bengali and Assamese language to be used and the Central Government tried to impose Devnagari. Both of these languages were not ideal for the Bodo scripts. The attempts to make Roman Script the official one for the Bodo language was called separatist and 'anti-national'. Eventually, the Bodo community was forced to accept the Devnagari script on the assurance that the Central Government would add the language to the Eight Schedule, to get more protection and funding for the development of the language. The Bodos were able to ensure some protection of their language due to their numbers and also have Bodo medium schools in areas where they reside. The funding for this came from the state and the government had stopped the funding for these schools. So, for the sake of the education of the members and protection of the language, the Bodos had to accept Devnagari. As compared to the Bodos other tribes like the Misings, which are numerically smaller, do not even

this respite. They are forced to educate their children in an alien language, due to which there is a higher number of people dropping out of schools. This injustice towards the communities continues and now the fascist regime has tried to impose Hindi upon the different communities in the North East. They have made Hindi compulsory up to the tenth standard. This is the first step to ensure that Hindi hegemony is constructed in the North East too like Bihar or other North Indian states. This is to create the Hindi-Hindu Rashtra that they dream of. This is primarily through the New Education Policy of the government, which has introduced the three language formula to achieve this.

Hindu Imposition under Fascism

The current Brahminical Hindutva fascist government, which is aggressively pushing Brahminism in the interests of the ruling class using open terrorism, has pushed for Hindi imposition with a greater fervour. The current ruling class has reintroduced the three-language formula to ensure the imposition of Hindi across the country. The three-language formula would make it compulsory for people to learn Hindi along with their mother tongue and English. This read along with the statement made by the Home Minister declaring the government's aim to create a Hindi-India, clearly shows

the anti-people agenda of the state to create an India based on a Hindi-Hindu identity. This was widely opposed by all the South Indian states. Protests had followed in South Indian and North East Indian states against this decision of the government which led to the government making the three-language formula option. The South Indian and North Eastern people are still dissatisfied with this formula but their protests had abated after this. In the South, Tamil Nadu was the epicentre of the anti-Hindi imposition movement, but now we can see that this movement has been gaining an impetus in other South Indian states too, especially Karnataka, because of the Hindutva fascist government increasing its push for a Hindi-India. There were widespread protests across Karnataka after the government tried to push Hindi imposition through Hindi Diwas celebrations. Many of the banks in the state refused to do services in Kannada until there were protests in the state against this.

In those states where the three-language policy was implemented it ignored the mother tongue although the Centre claimed that mother tongue will be one of the languages that would be part of this three-language formula. When we look at Bihar, we can see that instructions continue to be done in Hindi in schools and not in Bhojpuri, Angika or any of the

languages that the masses speak in Bihar. It has been conclusively proven that instructions and teaching in the mother tongue in schools are very important. Moreover, dropout rates are higher when the mother tongue is not the means of instruction in schools. The children in schools are forced to learn an alien language which is not the one that their family has been speaking till now. This has been a major factor for the increased dropout rates in states like Bihar and Rajasthan. If this is the same three language policy that the government aims to implement across the country, then we can clearly see that it's a one language imposition formula in the guise of a three-language policy.

Conclusion

During the colonial period, the hegemonic consensus needed to be rethought by the Indian agents of imperialism to ensure their continued dominance. One way to ensure this dominance was through the imposition of Hindi. Hindi was used to carve a homogenous Hindu identity in North India. Brahminism as an ideology always worked by assimilating different groups under their order. This assimilation and integration in the Brahmanical order never meant equality with the dominant sections and always meant that the culture of the other would be attacked. Hindi with the Devnagari

script became the language that was adopted by Brahmanism to spread this agenda. Hindi became a tool to integrate the different groups further into Brahmanism so as to retain the hegemonic consensus of the Indian ruling class.

This Brahmanical agenda of Hindi-imposition is clearly anti-people and needs to be countered. Social inequalities have been fostered by this Hindi imposition in the different states where this process has already been done. The schools have become more inaccessible because the means of instruction is not the mother tongue. Moreover, the culture of a particular population, the folk songs, the orally transferred stories are all closely related to the language. The imposition of a particular language would mean the erasure of this culture and it's clear that this destruction of different cultures, is the goal of the Brahmanical ruling class, to ensure the assimilation of the masses under one banner. The histories of the masses have always been strongly linked to the language of the masses. If the ruling class is successful in its agenda these histories would be wiped out. Stories about the Birsa Munda, the Bhojpur movement and how the Ranvir Sena was defeated by people's resistance will be deleted, the story of Punnappra-Wayalar in Kerala and Naxalbari may be lost. The masses will be losing their entire cultural identity

through this process. This attack on the different cultures that exist in India needs to be countered.

We can also see that Hindi was earlier put as a counter to Urdu. While the opposition and the propaganda associating Urdu with Muslims has continued on, we can see that now Hindi has been put as an opposition against English. The question we need to ask here is, whether the ruling class has adopted Hindi and abandoned English? This has not happened.

English has meant greater economic opportunities and has become the language of the ruling class in a country like India. This attempt to ensure that the people do not learn English, is a means to ensure hegemony and further exclude the masses. Hindi imposition is against the interest of all the masses of India and is a policy that needs to be countered. The people's language should be allowed to flourish and this would lead to the development of a people's culture. When the need arises for a common link language across India, the production process itself will provide a solution. An example of this is the Fiji Baath that developed as a link language among the indentured laborers working in Fiji. People from across India were put together on an island by the colonialists to work in their plantations. This led to the development of Fiji Baath which had vocabulary from different

parts of India. Such a language had organically emerged due to the needs of the working class to speak with each other. Similarly, in India we may see the emergence of link languages as the workers across the country interact with each other while being part of the production process. Let a link language develop organically and until then counter the forcible imposition of Hindi across the country by the ruling class.



Ukraine: The Playground for Inter-Imperialist War

by Ramnit Kaur



The war on Ukraine is wreaking havoc across the World. While the Western imperialist powers have presented this war as a result of aggression by the authoritarian Putin regime in Russia, Russia has presented it as a just war for the national liberation of Donbass and against NATO aggression. As in any war, the ordinary masses of Ukraine and Russia are suffering in agony as a result of the conflict, while both inter-imperialist powers heading this War (Russia and the US-led NATO bloc) are trying to use this War as a means of maintaining, retaining and expanding their control over the economically alluring soils and

industries of Ukraine. Ukraine is but a ploy in their militarily despotic power-games, and the general masses face the brunt as the imperialist fight for gain. In the case of the US bloc, the imperialist is supported by the Ukrainian ruling class that cannot speak independently due to dependence fostered by the semi-colonial relations of production. As the worldwide conflict intensifies, with the Palestine Liberation War also taking the forefront in world events, an analysis of the situation in Russia-Ukraine is eminent.

History of Ukraine

Before the emergence of Soviet power, Ukraine was a country under the domination of Tsarist Russia. Ukraine as a nationality within the Russian Empire faced oppression and economic exploitation. The development of Ukraine was stunted and uneven due to the domination of this Empire. An improper form of capitalist development had occurred in Ukraine in a slow manner, this did not favour Ukraine but Tsarist Russia and the imperialist powers outside. Russia had teamed up with France, Germany and other powers to exploit the resources of Ukraine.

Production happened due to the capital coming from these foreign countries and Russia. The profits that were developed in Ukraine were not invested back inside Ukraine for the development of agriculture or industry, but were taken away by foreign imperialists, or had gone to the treasury of the Tsars. This meant a distorted kind of economic growth in Ukraine. The ruling class had also denied the people of Ukraine the right to self-determination as a nationality, thus denying the Ukrainians their democratic rights. The Tsarist push towards Russification, through which the government tried to impose Russian culture and language upon the Ukrainian people was another way in which the democratic rights of the Ukrainians were denied within the Russian Empire. The establishment of Soviet power meant the end of this national oppression faced by the people of Ukraine.

The revolution of 1905 led to the abolition of Tsarist rule and the development of bourgeoisie national governments. Here, the bourgeois government within Russia continued its attempt to oppress the other nationalities including the Ukrainians. The national governments which were set up within these nationalities were also oppressive and proved to be traitorous to the masses and did not work towards the liberation of the masses in these countries. The

peasantry and the proletariat of nationalities such as Ukraine wanted the establishment of socialist rule in these countries. As the threat of socialism became too real, the national governments of the bourgeoisie in Ukraine sold out to foreign forces. They invited the Germans to occupy the Ukrainians. Thus, we can see that national liberation cannot happen under bourgeois rule, that real national liberation will only occur through the struggle of the proletariat. The national liberation of the oppressed nationalities within the Russian Empire can only happen through the establishment of the Soviet government. The establishment of Soviet power led to the real liberation of the people of Ukraine. The Ukrainian people had their right to self-determination protected under the new Soviet rule. The economic exploitation of Ukraine also ended as socialism meant the establishment of economic power under the proletariat, for the proletariat and the peasantry. The land reforms and democratised union-led labour codes under the Soviet ensured the participation and leadership of the masses in economic questions that most deeply affect their lives. Thus, development started happening for the masses of Ukrainians.

Under Soviet socialism, Ukraine was able to further develop its industries and agriculture. Industries were developed under

the vanguard class and the process of collectivisation of land also started ensuring the development of agriculture for the peasantry. Under Stalin, we can see that the CPSU overthrew the Kulaks and collectivized land. This meant that the toiling masses had control over land in which they worked. Thus true democratization and national liberation happened under Soviet Socialism. This ended with the arrival of revisionism during the Khrushchevite period. Ukraine went back to being a subjugated nation.

Socialism, being a transition stage, will be one which can either move forward towards communism or backwards towards capitalism. Elements of both social orders will be present in socialism. Class struggle will continue throughout socialism and the communist party itself will have a new bourgeoisie emerging within it. Struggle needs to be done with these capitalist r o a d e r s t o e n s u r e t h e establishment of socialism. If revisionism succeeds in this struggle, there will be a reestablishment of capitalism and this is exactly what happened when the revisionists represented by Khrushchev gained power.

The reestablishment of capitalism meant fascism within the Soviet Union and imperialism outside the Soviet Union. In Ukraine, we can see that the reestablishment of capitalist relations meant that the autonomy that the toiling masses



had was slowly lost. For example, instead of the workers having control over the collectivized farms, it was experts appointed by the administration that controlled these farms. Wage slavery was reestablished since the managers had the right to hire and fire workers in the factories. Although the state continued to own the factories this in no way translated to socialism. The owners of the production represented by the state monopoly capitalist continued to exploit labour to acquire surplus value. The people who protested against the system faced brutal repression, with millions of people being sent to Siberia. Thus, revisionism in the Soviet Union translated to fascism within the country.

The international policy of a particular country also represents the interests of the ruling class. When the Soviet Union was a socialist country, the international policy of the country was motivated by proletarian internationalism, but the reestablishment of capitalist relations led to the

the emergence of soviet social imperialism. Brezhnev developed the theory of 'developed socialism' to justify this imperialism. The theory said that the Soviet Union could intervene in any socialist country since it is the most developed socialist country in the world. This resulted in greater militarisation of the Soviet Union with the military activity of the Soviet Union rising in the eastern European countries. The subjugation of nationalities within the Soviet Union emerged as a result of this too. This was marked by the increasing unrest and riots that emerged in Georgia as a result of Krushevite 'de-Stalinization'. Riots and protests emerged in Georgia right when Krushevite revisionism attempted to impose capitalism, but the unrest reached its zenith in 1978 as the ruling class tried to impose Russian as another official language in Georgia.

There was an increased centralisation within the Soviet Union, which meant decreasing autonomy for the national minorities within the Soviet Union. The national minorities within the country lost their autonomy in decision making. This included the Ukrainian republic. The Ukrainian people lost the autonomy that they had over their basic resources. The increased centralisation meant that the experts appointed by the bureaucracy under the bureaucratic bourgeoisie within

Russia appointed the managers who controlled the factories and the 'experts' who controlled the farms which were earlier collectivized. The Ukrainian people were exploited for greater surplus value by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie from Russia that controlled the Soviet Union. In the cultural sphere there was a policy of increasing Russification, this affected the Ukrainian masses too. The autonomy of the Ukrainian masses ended with the arrival of capitalist relations this continues after the fall of the Soviet Union too.

Imperialist Clutch on Ukraine

After the fall of the Soviet Union, we can see the influx of Western foreign finance capital into Ukraine. For the sustenance of their power in Ukraine, the ruling class took loans from the IMF and World Bank, increasing its dependence on these imperialist institutions. The state was asked to change its policies according to the demands of the imperialists and it promptly started doing this. The government was asked to reduce welfare measures which were essential for the people of Ukraine and a refusal to do so meant penalties from the IMF. When the people demanded increased pensions and an increase in minimum wage and the government was forced to do this, the IMF restricted their loans. To get more money from IMF, these

policies would then be changed for the sake of imperialists. Apart from a reduction of welfare measures as demanded by the imperialists, we can see an increased marketisation and liberalization after the 90's to increase the ravages of the imperialists.

The government owned industries which were developed using the money from the people of the country, after the fall of the USSR, were privatized. For example, the coal sector was now under the control of big businesses like SCM Holdings. Selling these resources to industrialists like SCM Holdings is again in service of the imperialist powers, for SCM Holdings, like the country itself, is in debt. The big bourgeoisie in Ukraine do not have their own capital, big corporations like SCM Holdings have borrowed money from foreign finance institutions to sustain themselves. This would mean that most of the profits of these corporations would again go abroad to imperialist countries.

The nature of the Ukrainian state will be more clear upon analysing the land reforms that the government passed. These land reforms are being pushed by the US government, IMF, World Bank and other imperialist institutions. After the 90's, land which was formerly collectivized and was later under state control during the time of the revisionists was redistributed among the people of

Ukraine. This has led to a fragmentation of land due to which agriculture has not been developing properly in the country. To ensure that the land continues to be in the hands of the people of Ukraine, there was a moratorium on the sale of this land. This was to prevent the development of monopolies as the small farmer would not be in a position to compete with these monopolies. The law has not prevented the emergence of monopolies as agriculture in smaller land holdings remained poorly developed, paving way for corporatisation. However, the existence of the moratorium had meant some relief to the farmers at least in the form of rent. Even while the moratorium existed there was a shadow market for the land. People did transfer their ownership to the big monopolies through semi-legal means. This happened at very low prices, with the moratorium removed, the prices will be even lower. This is because the said land reforms shall provide incentives to foreign investment- paving way for more exploitation of small peasants with fragmented land holdings. The removal of the moratorium is again an anti-people measure, land is being "reformed" to ensure the development of monopolies, so that the land can be sold to foreign forces.

Clearly, the Ukrainian state again does not represent the interests of the people but the imperialists, the

people. It is this comprador state that is waging a war against Russia, again not in the interests of the people, but the imperialist powers. Ukraine being under Russian control will lead to the subjugation of Ukrainian masses, but the fact is, it is already under the subjugation of imperialist powers which control the laws through the Ukrainian state.

The Contradiction between the Imperialists that Led to the War

In neo-colonial countries like Ukraine, we can see the governments serving the interests of several imperialist powers with opposing interests. This is the situation in Ukraine too. The government, while being stooges of IMF and other Western imperialist institutions, continues to serve the interests of the Russian imperialists too. During President Leonid Kuchma's time we can see that the Ukrainian state ended up serving the Russian imperialist interests. Both the imperialist powers wanted further control of Ukraine, this has resulted in internal disturbances within Ukraine. The US led foundations created an Orange 'Revolution' in Ukraine, in an attempt to have a President that backs their interests- the National Endowment for Democracy, an institution, funded by the US government, actively gave monetary contributions to aid the



organizations that led the colour revolution. The elections resulted in Viktor Yanukovych, a candidate that was amicable to both the imperialist powers winning. Yanukovich had promised to serve the interests of Western imperialism and integrate Ukraine into the EU. This was again something that was in contravention to the interests of the Russian imperialists. As Yanukovich's government increased its leanings towards Russia, another colour revolution in the form of the Euromaidan Movement was unleashed in Ukraine by the Western imperialists, to ensure their complete hegemony over Ukraine. The Euromaidan Protest was again funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and other Yankee imperialist institutions. The Yanukovich government had refused to sign the agreement with the European Union due to pressure from Russia, this led to the Euromaidan protests and a coup that resulted in the power being in hands of a ruling class that was completely subservient to Western interests. This led to Russian imperialist aggression on Ukrainian soil and the annexation of Crimea by Russia.

The US actively tried to ensure that the military of Ukraine was further controlled by US imperialism by ensuring that it was part of NATO. This was again against the interests of the Russian imperialists. Crimea was completely annexed by Russia, along with this, the areas in Ukraine where people of Russian nationalities are dominant, Donetsk and Lugansk, came under the control of separatists. The minority Russian nation within Ukraine does have a right to self determination, but the separatists do not stand for true independence but back the interests of the Russian imperialists. The push to ensure that Ukraine was part of NATO continued. Russia threatened military action if this policy was continued by it. US and Western imperialists wanted the creation of this war to profit out of - considering that Ukraine as a semi-colony is a site for imperialist loot of resources, a ground for growing their monopolies and a strategic location that can militarily threaten their rival, Russia. Thus, they continued to raise the heat until the invasion eventually occurred by Russia. The war is clearly one between two imperialist powers, the Ukrainian government being the proxy of Western imperialism; this becomes more clear by analysing the policies of the Ukrainian government during the war.

NATO's War Against Russia on Ukrainian Soil

The nature of the war being one where the lives of Ukrainians are sacrificed for the interests of the Western powers becomes clear when we look at the nature of the relationship between the Ukrainian army and USA. According to a leaked document from the Pentagon, the NATO troops, the Ukrainian army and US army troops are considered to be interoperable, the US Army trains the Ukrainian forces and controls how they function. It is the US Army that has created the strategy for cutting off the Crimean Peninsula from Russia, the Ukrainian forces follow the directions of the US Army. A total of 100 US personnel are deployed in Ukraine. This includes 71 US military personnel. Along with this we can see that about 97 NATO special operation troops are deployed in Ukraine. It is clear from this that the Ukrainian Army is directly under the control of the US. The war is being directed according to the needs and urges of this imperialist power. Ukrainian lives are being sacrificed for the sake of the USA.

While the Ukrainian people are dying and suffering, Lockheed Martin, the company developing HIMARS for the Ukraine war, and Camden where their factory exists and is prospering. Lockheed

is planning on expanding further because of the increased demands and the profits that they gain from it. The war in Ukraine has meant more demand for US-made weapons. The war industry in the US is expanding even further. War has become a good business for the imperialists. They are gaining more profits while the blood of the Ukrainians is being spilled. The war by NATO where the imperialists are gaining greater profits and the colonised people are suffering because of this, is a warning for other countries including India, which is now being a part of anti-China military organizations like the QUAD.

QUAD is a military organization consisting of US, UK, India and Japan. The increasing influence of China in the Indian Ocean has been setting warning bells off in the headquarters of the western imperialists. The imperialist countries want to ward off this expansion of Chinese imperialism and for this, they have tried to make India the sacrificial goat just like Ukraine in Eastern Europe. Along with this, several treaties like LEMOA and COMCASA has been signed by the USA and India, increasing the control that the US Army will have over India. This would mean that when an inter-imperialist contradiction emerges between US and China, the Indian people will be the foot soldiers, fighting the war for the imperialists just like how the

Indian troops were utilized by Britain in the first and second world wars. The fate of the Indian people will be similar to that of Ukraine, becoming a battleground for the spats of the imperialists, and the conditions of the Ukraine people will worsen. The Palestinian liberation war has meant decreasing funding for Ukrainians, this will ravage the people of Ukraine.

Palestine Liberation War

The recent offensive of the Palestinian people to ensure their liberation has led to a panic across the headquarters of the imperialist forces. The Palestine people strongly resisted imperialism manifested by the Zionist state of "Israel". This has come as a huge blow to the imperialist, for the freedom of Palestine from river to the sea would mean the end of Israel as a satellite state which is important for the preservation of the hegemony of Western imperialism in the Middle East. Palestine has also inspired people's struggles across the world, and has given a greater impetus to the fight against imperialism. This is a huge threat to the survival of imperialism as such. The imperialist powers give more importance to the quelling of national liberation struggle and people's movements over inter-imperialist conflicts since the success of these struggles would mean the end of imperialism. This

has meant decreasing support for Ukraine during the war. The western powers may even have to eventually pull out of the war, this would be a huge disaster for Ukraine since imperialism has meant the dependence of Ukraine on other countries. Ukraine alone cannot sustain this war.

Why is the War Important for the US with Respect to Retaining its Sole Hegemony and Combatting Russia

The Russian hegemony over Ukraine has meant that the US could not go ahead with its plans to increase foreign finance capital into the country. The Russian imperialists had ensured that during the time of Yanukovich that the integration of Ukraine into the EU's market did not happen, greatly impairing the plans of US imperialists. The US wants to ensure its hegemony in Ukraine, to ensure that they can gain greater profits through the exploitation of the Ukrainian people. Along with this, Ukraine is an ideal strategic outpost for NATO due to its proximity with Russia. The entry of the Ukrainian military into NATO would mean that the military of Ukraine will be under the complete control of the USA. This will be used by the US to check the expansion of Russia. Beyond this, Ukraine has become an ideal way to resolve the inter-imperialist contradictions between the different countries in the Western

Block.

There was an inter-imperialist contradiction between the different countries in the Western Block due to the need of the European countries for Russian oil. Germany had planned to create a pipeline with Russia, the Nord Stream 1, to ensure easier access to the oil from Russia. This was against the interests of the USA as it challenged the hegemony of the USA over the Western block. The declaration of war in Ukraine has led to unity among the different countries in the Western block, since Ukraine being a neo-colony of Western imperialism was more important for them. The prospect of being able to ravage Ukraine was more appealing than the oil from Russia

Increased Imperialist Control Over the Ukrainian Government



The war has also resulted in any facade of independence that the Ukrainian people have been removed completely. The Ukrainian government directly follows the 'farmans' of their imperialist masters without any

questions. The US government has demanded certain reforms from the Ukrainian government which would virtually ensure that all the pillars of the government structure are directly under the control of the imperialists. The imperialists want judges, anti-corruption officials and heads of state enterprises to be decided by experts. These experts would be the representatives of foreign capital. This would ensure the judiciary is also now directly controlled by the US imperialism. The US has also sought an increase in the gas and electricity tariffs, the ruling class had promised a freeze on these tariffs, since the people had demanded this- even this demand has been betrayed by the ruling class. All of these reforms would ensure complete control of the Ukrainian government by Yankee imperialism. The official government of Ukraine will be a mere figurehead, any kind of little autonomy that it had will be removed.

The Ukrainian government has also followed the dictates of the US government to completely overhaul the existing social welfare system. The Ukrainian government will be completely overhauling disability support, this is in a time when the number of people who have lost their limbs have skyrocketed due to the imperialist war. The government has also increased the taxes for the common people too, this is happening while they are in a huge

economic crisis. The state has basically abandoned the people in Ukraine.

The NATO forces and the Ukrainian ruling class claim that this war is to protect the people of Ukraine from losing their freedom. The US imperialist propaganda claims that the war is to protect the sovereignty of the people of Ukraine. It is ironic that while these claims are being made, there has been an increased control of the Ukraine by US imperialism. Any facade of sovereignty that Ukraine seems to have has been removed by US imperialism. This again proves that the war is not for the sake of Ukrainian people but to ensure the complete control of Ukraine by Western imperialists.



Post War Reconstruction

In 2023, Zelensky invited foreign capital to exploit his country when he virtually opened the New York Stock Exchange by ringing the bell through a video stream. He said that he was committed to creating a favourable environment for investment that would make Ukraine the greatest growth opportunity in Europe since the end of the second World War. For this purpose, the Ukrainian

government has tied up with a asset management corporation called BlackRock. BlackRock is a corporation that has faced protests across the world. It faced protests in Paris due to the French pension funds coming under its control. Similarly, it is mired in controversy in Mexico for monopolizing the pension funds. BlackRock and JP Morgan Chase have set up a seed bank to acquire hundreds of billions of dollars in private investment. This initial seed capital is to absorb any risks that could occur and ensure larger capital flow into the country. Vultures have already arrived to feast on the flesh of Ukraine, about 500 global businesses have signed the Ukraine Business Compact. Most of the companies are waiting for the war to get over, but a few of them are on the brink of moving in.

The World Bank has declared that Ukraine would need \$411 billion to rebuild after the war. The increased attacks by Russia would mean that there will be more money required for rebuilding Ukraine. The greater the intensity of the damage to Ukraine, the more profits can be gained from Ukraine. With the moratorium on land removed, the black soil which is essential for wheat, sunflower and other crops will now be fully under the control of foreign finance capital especially after this new deal made with the imperialists.

Call for Global Unity of the

Oppressed and Exploited Against this Anti-People War

The Russian forces invaded Ukraine under the farce of liberating the oppressed nations of Luhansk and Donetsk. It also declared an intention to free Ukraine of neo-Nazi influence. Hence, it presented itself as a protector of democratic values and the oppressed peoples in Ukraine. Simultaneously, Russia's army moved towards Kiev, revealing its true intentions of ravaging Ukraine to counter the US backed NATO push in Ukraine. The interests of neither of the imperialist powers backing the war on Ukraine's soil represents the interests of the people of Ukraine.

The oppressed nationality in Donbas, which is part of the 17% of Ukrainian population that is ethnically Russian, is oppressed under the US backed Zelensky government. Under the influence of US imperialism, the Ukrainian rulers post-USSR have promoted national chauvinism on the oppressed nationalities in Ukraine-going so far as to ban the use of Russian language, cultural acts, music etc. A Ukrainian Nazi leader who had actively collaborated with Hitler's forces against the Soviet Union, during the 2nd World War, was acclaimed as a national hero. All of this naturally fuelled the nationality struggle in Donbas, but its appropriation by Russian imperialist forces does not serve

the oppressed peoples in Donbas. It only exposes them to death, destruction and strife- for the interests of the imperialist power that will not ensure the liberation of its people from national oppression. The people of Donbas have been reduced to stooges in Russia's war, when their just resistance deserves to be waged free of imperialist influence- under their own independent banner and for the interests of their oppressed people.

The Ukrainian peoples have been reduced to living in subhuman conditions due to the war. The Ukrainian regime has banned all men between the ages of 18 to 60 from leaving the country, as well as banned women in certain professions. Free internal movement for citizens is also banned. Forced military conscription is sending men to brutal deaths in a war that does not serve their soil. The current US-backed government has banned all left-wing political parties in Ukraine. The war has been used as an excuse to ban protests and street demonstrations and curtail the rights of trade unions. The loot of neoliberalism is intensifying openly under this crisis situation in Ukraine- and the victims are the common citizens of Ukraine- the proletariat and the working-age population-who suffer under increased exploitative conditions, wage reduction, reduction in the right to resist and a new bill that

can conscript any non-military citizen into forced labour; the peasantry of Ukraine, whose land will now be more susceptible to monopoly loot; and all other common citizens who suffer under food and resource shortage caused by the war. With wages being cut and inflation on the rise, wages in Ukraine barely cover the basic costs of food. As of August 2023, as a result of these conditions, eight million Ukrainian citizens had fled from the country.

Simultaneously, anti-war demonstrations, though they are being brutally suppressed in Russia, continue unabated. This shows the true sentiments of the Russian people, and the understanding that the war fought by Putin's regime does not serve their interests. Neither does it serve the interests of Ukrainian people or the oppressed people of Donbass.



Globally, the working class and oppressed and exploited persons in all countries ruled by imperialists or their stooges, are affected negatively by this war- as shown in the analysis of QUAD's role in India and the recent call by US-backed "Israel" to send Indian workers there to cover the shortage caused by the Palestinian Liberation War. The interests of the global oppressed and exploited are against imperialist backed war. In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution showed the power and capabilities of the oppressed and exploited uniting under the banner of a proletarian party to turn an imperialist World War into a civil war that establishes proletarian rule. As the inter-imperialist conflict intensifies across the World, the oppressed and exploited across the World must unite to turn inter-imperialist war to civil war in their respective territories and gain liberation from the imperialists and their stooges across the world.



WSF: An Imperialist Trojan Horse for the People

by Nishant Anand



Activists of oppressed nationalities and countries must ask themselves whether they are just functioning for progressive credits or are they working for a revolutionary cause? This is the biggest question nowadays for activists who are functioning with honest intentions under any NGO, revisionist organization, reformist organization or independently. Instagram, Facebook and Twitter are filled with posts of the Ukraine-Russia war and the “Israel”-Palestine war. People are taking different political positions from the far-right (fascist) position, to a position proclaiming international law, to advocating for the revolutionary solution. This is the right time to remember the political position of Lenin on imperialism wherein he correctly pointed out that imperialism sustains itself through war and will end through war. These two wars have compelled the masses to think beyond the perspective of international law, which has been historically dominated by

imperialist forces. The fact that imperialist countries like the US, UK, France, Russia and China have the right to veto any decision in the United Nations Security Council is a testament to the same.

In fact, basic humanitarian aid to the people of Palestine was blocked by the US to further its own class interest of maintaining its proxy in “Israel”. Countries such as the US, France, Germany, Japan and several other countries supporting US imperialism, cut funding to UNRWA- the biggest UN relief measure in Palestine, on bogus allegations of members being involved in Hamas attacks. This was a direct attempt at furthering the genocide in Palestine as such an attack on UNRWA will force it to restrict operations and further conditions of starvation and famine. The farce of the US as democratic force in world affairs stands exposed in both the wars in question, and the servility of international law to the US has been nakedly exposed. The recessionary tendency witnessed since 1997, when the Asian Tiger (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) collapsed, in the world economy is another cause of concern for the broad masses. The 2008 financial crisis too, still

continues in its impact. Demand in the market has been drying up, leading to cuts in production and mass retrenchment. This is further reducing demand, resulting in over production and multiplying stocks which is intensifying the crisis.

In this situation, the world is going to witness the 17th conference of the World Social Forum- a forum that emerged internationally to counter the World Economic Forum that promoted globalisation and deep and entrenched permeation of finance capital from the imperialist countries to the “developing” ones. This forum proclaims to stand against globalisation. The major themes of the meeting this year include discussing issues such as world civic space, disaster risk reduction and management, climate change and justice, adoption and universal social protection. These issues remind us of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) under the guidance of the United Nations.

In the first meeting of the World Social Forum (WSF), the organizers had clearly declared its anti-globalisation position and coined the idea “another world is possible”. Since 2001, the WSF has organized sixteen meetings of different NGOs, left-liberal parties, environmentalists, gender-based activists and other anti-displacement organizations. Each time the forum conducted its different programs, discussions

and workshops on globalization, it has been without any clear resolution and plan of action.

The forum, when it was organised in India, faced strong resistance from pro-people forces that opposed its pro-imperialist policy, passed off under the progressive ‘anti-globalisation’ garb. International Marxist intellectual Pao Yu-ching had visited the Mumbai Resistance in 2004. Mumbai Resistance was a Marxist, pro-people intervention that recognised the reformist nature of WSF which presents NGOs operating on imperial capital as opposers of globalization and takes an “anti-war” stance, even in the case of oppressed nationalities and peoples resisting imperialist violence. The Resistance organised an alternate event coinciding with the WSF being convened in Mumbai in 2004, offering an alternate and pro-people perspective on resistance to imperialism. Ching visited the WSF stalls and tents and shared her experiences in the article “Critical Views of World Social Forum- from Mumbai Resistance”. She writes, “Participants could be grouped into several categories including: many environmental groups with groups advocating better use of natural resources; human rights groups for indigenous peoples, national minorities, and political prisoners; women’s groups concerning gender equality and other women-related issues;

organized labour groups, and anti-war organizations and peace groups. In addition, there were many book publishers. Among the large stalls, two that were most noticeable were an organization that has engaged in publicizing the life and philosophy of India's former leader Gandhi, and the British Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, Oxfam". She adds that "it was like a carnival or festival where people were dancing and celebrating." It is very clear from the above analysis that the forum was not at all serious about finding a solution to imperialist globalization.

Pao further elaborates the nature of the programs proposed by the two different groups who were talking about the same issue. "The 2004 meeting of the WSF was important and a watershed moment between two natures of movements. The WSF clearly negated the acceptance of armed struggle as the way to respond to imperialism and did not accept the participation of those parties who were waging armed struggle in their countries against imperialism. Mumbai Resistance accepted the direct people's struggle against imperialist globalization in any means. This was the dividing point of two platforms."

History of The World Social Forum

The initial purpose of the WSF was to provide a space for dialogue and

discussion regarding anti-globalization social issues. It proposed itself as an alternative social system in opposition to the economic model of G-7. The foundation of this forum was very reformist (it advocated the possibility of a reformed system of capitalism, globalisation, with NGOs and legal measures as adequate remedies to people's exploitation), which is clear from its constituent participant organizations. Under the leadership of the Workers Party of Brazil, organizations like a French organization called Action for Taxation for Financial Transaction for the Aid of Citizen, the Latin American Forum for Social Sciences, Samir Amin's World Forum of Alternatives, the Social Forum of Genoa, the French/Brazil part of the Trotskyite Fourth International and many other organizations were organized under the umbrella of WSF.

Before the WSF initiative, ILPS (International League of People's Struggle), a broad-based alliance of the different anti-imperialist organizations, initiated a strong campaign against the imperialist-globalization project. This globalization is another term for imperialism, because it has only led to greater foreign finance capital getting invested in countries characterized as "developing". The borders between nations have gotten stronger, with advanced capitalist countries like the USA

denying entry to refugees who come to their borders due to the imperialist wars waged by these countries or because of the economic crisis created by these countries. In 1996, ILPS organized the largest anti-imperialist protest under the banner of BAYAN. The debate between WSF and ILPS started in 2003, when there was a clear distinction between the theorization of the two different platforms, not just regarding their understanding of imperialism but about means to tackle it too. Where at one side the WSF was talking about the impacts of globalization and environment impacts, and on the other side, the Mumbai resistance- as part of ILPS, took a strong stance of supporting militant means to destroy imperialism. This position placed a clear position of social transformation and negated the idea of co-existence of imperialism and socialism.

Unfortunately, the WSF's "another world" is a vague, undefined concept. So, when globalization was debated, nobody said that this globalization is part of the imperialist system- where a few nations dominate the world, and that an alternative world can only be built without imperialism. Once one comes to this conclusion, debate would then begin with, say, the Green Peace leaders, as to why they should be part of the State on which German imperialism stands; and as to why they stand with the

globalizing German imperialists and criticize only the US ones. Or take the example of those working amongst prostitutes, while they rehabilitate a few, hundreds more join the profession. A debate would then take place as to why their numbers keep increasing like a swollen stream, and what measures are needed to stop this endless chain? Or the debate on whether 'social activism' is concerned only with the effect and not the cause? Is reform, and the endless rehabilitation of individuals, the real alternative world, while the system remains intact and goes on churning out thousands more destitute, for each person rehabilitated by the hosts of NGOs?



Leadership of the WSF

Before we move to a basic discussion of the WSF charter, we need to analyze the political-economic traits of the protagonist, Lula da Silva. He was elected as the president of Brazil in 2002, and accepted the austerity measures of the IMF because the

Brazilian economy was deep under debt and crisis. As reported in *The Economist* (Feb.15, 2003), the Finance Minister of the Workers' Party (PT) announced the plans of the new government on how they plan to contain the fiscal deficit as per the instructions of the IMF. This plan was presented on the eve of the IMF- review of the \$30 billion IMF loan to Brazil. {Brazil has a bankrupt economy, with the public debt amounting to \$250 billion (60% of GDP) and a foreign debt of \$165 billion. As part of the bailout package, the US passed a \$30 billion IMF loan to Brazil in August 2002 — on the eve of the elections that brought the PT to power- which was over and above the previous \$15 billion loan already given}.

The result of this plan was catastrophic for the Brazilian economy as it drowned the system into a deeper crisis. The effects included a massive hike in the prices of petrol and diesel to raise revenues. There was a cut in the increase in the wages of government employees which resulted in an actual fall in their real wages. A massive cut in social welfare spending by as much as \$3.9 billion over the budgeted figure. The Ministry of Cities also lost 85% of its budget and, worst of all, a drop in expenditure by as much as 90% on drought relief. Even measured against the previous year's spending by the earlier right-wing government,

this so-called left-wing President has actually cut real spending on social sectors like health and education — overall social spending is to fall from 2.4% of GDP in 2002 to 2.2% in the current year.

The Indian member of this forum, CPM, has also more or less the similar historical practice like the Brazilian Worker's Party. CPM indulged in a number of anti-people measures and opportunist alliances to satisfy their political needs and save their power position. Singur-Nandigram was an outright social fascist measure in which they promoted TATA's interest instead of standing for people's land rights. Recently, the party again rallied with the ruling class BJP government to defend Adani's port project against the jetty workers of Kerala.

Reformist NGOs who are taking funds from big global financiers are working together with the revisionist forces of the world, the ones who have strayed from the basic tenets of Marxism and thus have collaborated with the classes that stand against the people, to defeat the struggle of people. Big environmental groups, who usually come with a progressive outlook, never try to challenge the class position of the petty-bourgeoisie, and instead try to strengthen their position. When neo-liberalism started in the US

and Europe, it started justifying neo-colonial tactics, which involve greater investment and debt from advanced capitalist countries in the global south to increase the dependence of the global south to dominate the political-economy of the world. They themselves developed a mechanism to propose some criticism mechanism under the same framework. If we closely observe the School of Critical Thinking, we can easily understand through the nature of the school- that it was designed to curb the debate which was going on in class lines to instead divert it into issue-based debates on gender, race, identity, sexuality. The strongest challenge the ruling imperialist class had been facing was from the class line and this was the common thread joining all anti imperialist struggles into one string. To counter that, they needed to establish the idea of going “against meta-narrative”, where they try to justify and prove the idea of postmodernism. The NGOs are functioning on the same line and sensitize the people regarding a particular identity, but never try to join the dots with imperial loot and nexus of the state with capital.

WSF Charter

We need to read the charter of the WSF to gain clarity about the ideology and perspective of this global network. Point 4 of the Charter says: "The alternative

proposed at the WSF stands in opposition to a process of globalization.....". But it presents the vague alternative (which is none really) that "globalization in solidarity, will prevail as a new stage in world history". In point 10, it de-facto states that it is opposed to socialism and communism, when it states, "The WSF is opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, development and history and to the use of violence as means of social control by the State". It promotes the fake democracy that exists, only with a human face, when it adds, "It upholds... the practices of real democracy, participatory democracy, peaceful relation". It clearly states that the WSF is a mere forum for debate (clause 11 of the Charter), and to make absolutely sure that it has no direction for struggle, Clause 6 states: "The participants in the Forum shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or by acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body".

My question is to those “Marxists” who do hold Marxism-Leninism as an ideological framework for struggle. Do they not know that imperialism sustains through war? Do they not know the class antagonism of capitalism to the working-class people of the world?

Do they not have any idea that imperialism never allows a free national liberation struggle, especially for those who are not ready to be a puppet of imperialism? If these questions are evident in front of us, then why are we taking a very compromising position and derailing the struggle of the masses towards degeneration? It is very clear from the current leadership of the WSF that they don't want to resist imperialism, but are instead promoting a collaboration with it.

Our Concerns Against WSF

In 2024, the WSF is going to be organized in Nepal. It is also the time for imperialism to justify the Nepal model of development and kind of state, where Prachanda Path has already dismantled all the revolutionary movement's achievements. This is the same ground where Prachanda had taken the path of compromise with the ruling class and insulted the people's sacrifice for the revolution. Why is it important for the imperialist to justify these counter-revolutionary steps? Because, they are trying to prove the inevitability of imperialism which has been accepted by the major compromising forces. Asia is the new arena of both imperialist loot and resistance to it. To curtail the resisting ideological struggle and propagate the revisionist line are the major targets of the WSF. This is not a new tactic of

imperialism, where they try to advance their own critique within the class framework of loot.

Historically, most of the meetings of WSF were organized in semi-colonies. This signifies the orientation of the forum which is trying to convince the semi-colonies but it is not trying to wage struggle in imperialist countries. Their major purpose was to develop a well co-opted world under the aegis of imperialism, rather than to overthrow it. There are some eminent threats which we can anticipate;

- Ideologically the platform will push the class argument away to cover up the class contradictions of the society.
- Diversion of people from struggle to debate and discussions only. The politics of WSF will not challenge the class position of the adjoining organization and these constituent organization's leadership are not willing to pose any strong resistance against fascism and imperialism.
- Bodies in the backward countries seek to wean away the potential (and existing) progressive & democratic forces in the country, away from the revolutionary process; hindering the development of an effective United Front against the forces of reaction.
-

- The WSF, with its anti-Americanism, and silence on the other imperialist powers could be used as a tool of the other imperialists, particularly of Europe, which is coming into increasing contention with the US.
- WSF opposes genuine people's struggles and armed movements. Taking an "anti-violence stance, WSF in 2004 stopped Zapatista fighters from Mexico- who are leading a peasants movement for land distribution, a movement that has improved the lives of scores of the broad masses. Similarly, through this stance, WSF does not allow any armed pro-people group to partake, while at the same time it supports imperialist war- WSF members have themselves pointed out disappointment when most politicians partaking in the Forum were those who had voted in favour of war in Afghanistan. It is clear through this- WSF's stance is not anti-violence, it actually has no issue with imperialist violence on peoples of oppressed nationalities and countries. It only opposes just people's resistance- making clear its true interests and intention.

Conclusion

Imperialism is in deep crisis and is promoting fascism to monopolize

more resources and capital. They are already aware that the resistance will come from the neo-colonies and oppressed nationalities, thus they are giving space to and promoting institutions such as the WSF to pacify the people's struggle. This generation's activists must take lessons from the WSF's previous work and try to analyze the current situation correctly. The fusion of the previous experiences and current direction of contradiction are really important to give a correct direction to people's struggle. This era of intensifying and brutal imperialism has led to open warfare of imperialism across the globe. In such a situation- Lenin's analysis rings true. Imperialism and the constant greed for capital to valorise will lead to war on oppressed nations, and between competing imperialist powers for imperialists to sustain themselves. At the same time, imperialism will also end through war. The intensifying contradictions at this juncture of history have also permeated the consciousness of the masses and inspired them into just resistance to ensure their survival- a glorious example of such resistance is seen in Palestine. All across the world, our struggle against imperialism must stand against the NGOist and class collaborationist model promoted by WSF. A struggle on class lines is needed to ensure the genuine overthrow of imperialism.

On The Split Between CPI (ML) New Democracy & CPI (ML) Prajapandha

by Nazariya Team



Every progressive doctrine which pushes against the fetters of the old is vehemently attacked and fought against rabidly by a motley crew of persons who aim to preserve the old. The struggle for democracy in the world was accompanied by the emergence of an intellectual push for rationality and reason over theological superstitions during the Enlightenment period, which culminated in the bourgeois democratic revolutions all over Europe. This did not occur in a linear manner but occurred after a bitter ideological and on-ground struggle. The politics of democracy, initially championed by the bourgeoisie in Europe during their revolutions against feudalism shifted into the hands of the proletariat after capitalism's advancement into the stage of imperialism, with now the proletariat leading the oppressed nations of the world into establishing New Democracy as a means of moving onwards to socialism and communism. This was the example set by the likes of

the various Eastern European countries, China, Vietnam etc. Ideologically, Marxism has come to the fore as the science of proletarian revolution and has been central to the examples mentioned above. But this has not occurred all at once and Marxism too, as a doctrine pushing against the fetters that hold back society, has come into challenge by all forms of alien ideologies. During Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' time, it was the struggle against the Young Hegelians, against Proudhonism, against Michael Bakunin's anarchism. When Marxism firmly established itself as the ideology of the proletariat in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the mode of production that serves that class, the ideological onslaught on Marxism emerged from within, in the form of revisionism. Revisionism aims to 'amend' the basic principles of Marxism to defang the proletariat's ideology into one that serves the interests of imperialism, while still preserving

the aesthetics of Marxism. For example, this great fetter to the progress of society itself, manifested in its first iteration as the revisionism of the Second International of socialist political parties, which promoted reformism and a 'peaceful revolution' while still calling their ideology to be Marxism. This is an odd amendment to an ideology which had clearly established the route of revolution in the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marx had written rather clearly, "the very cannibalism of the counterrevolution will convince the nations that there is only one way in which the murderous death agonies of the old society and the bloody birth throes of the new society can be shortened, simplified and concentrated, and that way is revolutionary terror." Vladimir Lenin, in his struggle against the emergence of revisionism, argued, "revisionism—revision of Marxism—is today one of the chief manifestations, if not the chief, of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers."

On an international scale, Marxism-Leninism developed and was firmly established as the ideology of the proletariat by the Russian Social Democratic Party (Bolshevik) (later, Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in the struggle against the first wave of revisionism, which culminated with the Great October Socialist

Revolution in 1917. After this period, the world entered an era of not one, but multiple states pursuing the goal of communism, with the completion of the historic Chinese Revolution in 1949. Socialism was being constructed in On an international scale, Marxism-Leninism developed and was firmly established as the ideology of the proletariat by the Russian Social Democratic Party (Bolshevik) (later, Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in the struggle against the first wave of revisionism, which culminated with the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. After this period, the world entered an era of not one, but multiple states pursuing the goal of communism, with the completion of the historic Chinese Revolution in 1949. Socialism was being constructed in several states, not just in the USSR, and a second wave of revisionism reared its head as Marxism-Leninism waged its battle against capitalism, which had entered the stage of imperialism. Once again, the new is birthed at the precipice of struggle with the old. It was in this period, after the death of Josef Stalin and the rise of Nikita Khrushchev in the USSR, that revisionism struck again, now as modern revisionism. Among other things, modern revisionism propounded the ideas of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (particularly the now dominating US imperialism), of "peaceful transition" to socialism in a rehash

of the original spate of revisionism of the Second International and a restoration of capitalist relations of production within the states pursuing socialism. The restoration of capitalist relations was undertaken under the guise of an attack on the person of J.V. Stalin and a complete condemnation of the period of socialist construction that occurred in the USSR. It was the struggle against modern revisionism that initiated yet another leap in Marxism.

In 2024, we stand in a world where there is no socialist state, the erstwhile Soviet Union is dissolved, China has turned into a rising and social-imperialist power after betraying the cause of building socialism and imperialist-induced crisis are breaking the backs of the labouring people. Marxism-Leninism as a whole, became inadequate as the ideological weapon to combat a resurgent revisionism, in the form of modern revisionism, with the once socialist USSR itself turning into a social-imperialist power before its collapse in 1991. Since this onslaught, Marxism has only advanced further via rupturing with the lessons of Marxist-Leninist practice in USSR, enriched by the experiences of the Chinese revolution to continue its struggle against modern revisionism in a bid to propagate communism in an era where once again, no socialist state exists.

In India, these developments have manifested very sharply, with Communist Party of India (CPI) being mired by regressive and revisionist politics for nearly half a century since its first founding in 1921. As Marxism-Leninism went through the pangs of rupturing from its own limitations and advancing further in the fight against revisionism and imperialism in India too, it was the Naxalbari uprising and the subsequent formation of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in 1970 which encapsulated the essence of these developments in India. CPI ML attempted to put into practice what was then called Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and brought Marxism in India out of the mire of revisionism and complete focus on parliamentary measures. CPI ML reaffirmed India as a semi-colonial semi-feudal prisonhouse of nations where a large number of people lived in the countryside trapped in semi-feudal relations under the yoke of landlords. They characterized India as having undertaken only an incomplete democratic revolution and affirmed the need to establish a New Democratic India through armed agrarian revolution. But due to the state's massive onslaught as part of the anti-communist Operation Steeplechase and the infancy of the experience of putting Marxism correctly in practice, CPI ML suffered various setbacks and

found itself split into a myriad of groups staking ownership over its name and legacy but most ending up betraying its political line and its lessons. CPI ML New Democracy (hereon, ND group) is one such group that is still attempting to latch onto and grab the legacy of Naxalbari. It recently underwent a split that was announced in 2022, with its Telangana state committee splitting and forming what is now being called CPI ML Prajapandha (hereon, Prajapandha group). This article is a critical evaluation of the politics of both these groups and aims to establish how the various ML groups which rejected the advancement of Marxism after the setbacks of Naxalbari have returned to the same parliamentary and modern revisionist practices that the Naxalbari broke the back of, while still paying the classic revisionist lip service to revolution and Naxalbari uprising. It will rely heavily on ND group's chief organ "New Democracy" for its evaluation.

Mode of Production and the Agrarian Revolution: Eclecticism and Revisionism

In 1951, J.V. Stalin in a meeting with the leadership of the CPI said of the Indian revolution, "we view this revolution as primarily agrarian. This means the liquidation of feudal property and the division of land between

peasants into their personal property. This means the liquidation of feudal private property for the sake of establishing private peasant property. As you see, there is nothing socialist here. We do not think that India is on the threshold of a socialist revolution. This is also the Chinese way which they talk about everywhere, that is, an agrarian revolution, anti-feudal without any confiscation and nationalization of the property of the national bourgeoisie. This is a bourgeois-democratic revolution or the first stage of a people's democratic revolution." Similarly, the Communist Party of China (CPC) said that "India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which, the peasantry, once aroused, will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating itself with peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earth-shaking changes in the vast countryside of India and defeat any powerful enemy..... the Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolutions of all oppressed nations and peoples."



When the revolutionary peasants waged the truest independence struggle against the imperialist British Raj and the feudal Nizam in Telangana in 1946, the struggle was led by the CPI. The Andhra Pradesh leadership of the CPI aimed to undertake the same programme that Stalin talked of (imbibed in the famous Andhra thesis), in contravention to the approach of the central leadership of the CPI led by B.T. Ranadive (elaborated in the Calcutta thesis). The Andhra thesis of 1948 characterized India as a semi-colonial semi-feudal country, having gained only formal independence on 15th August 1947 while still being subjugated by imperialism and having never demolished feudalism fully to allow unfettered independent capitalism of the Indian national bourgeoisie to ever thrive. It called for a New Democratic revolution in India, the same one that Stalin calls people's democratic revolution, and an armed agrarian revolution the way of China to achieve the same.

Prajapandha group in its public interviews has rejected this

understanding outright and claimed that India is not semi-colonial semi-feudal but 'backward' capitalist and 'developing' capitalist. ND group, on the other hand, upholds that India is semi-colonial semi-feudal still. In ND group's critical review of Prajapandha's programme, ND correctly criticized them for upholding a confused position as one country cannot both be backward and developing capitalist at the same time. Yet, ND group, from whom Prajapandha group is birthed from, itself provided the impetus for this deterioration in position. In its Path Document, ND group states, "Capitalist methods of agriculture have developed in some parts of India in recent times as a result of construction and expansion of various irrigation projects and the so-called reform methods adopted by the ruling classes under the growing pressure from the people and in the interest of imperialism. It means that the rich peasant economy in agriculture has developed conditions for the big bourgeoisie and big landlords to avail themselves of the rich peasant social base to maintain their rule. At the same time, better conditions are created in some parts for the struggle of the agricultural labourers. It also unfolds anti-government struggles of the entire peasantry, including the rich peasantry." In simple terms, ND group believes that while India's mode of production is semi-

-colonial semi-feudal, in some areas, capitalism is successfully finding a way to emerge.

This is an anti-Marxist and unscientific position for a few reasons. In his seminal work *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Lenin decisively established the factors which prove emergence of capitalist relations of production, even in a society which from its appearance may be largely agrarian and backward in nature. The factors are:

- Concentration of agrarian land into the hands of rich peasants from the hands of poor and middle peasants who own small tracts of land to create a large section of peasants displaced from the rural agrarian sphere.
- A growing manufacturing industry which will absorb these peasants in the urban sphere and transform them into the industrial proletariat. Lenin pointed out, "it is the development of capitalism in manufacturing industry that is the main force which gives rise to, and develops capitalism in agriculture."
- A shift from simple commodity production, labour that is isolated and petty like in agriculture with small parcels of land into socialized large-scale industrial production, that is capitalist commodity production.

- The accumulation of capital, measured by the reinvestment of surplus value generated from agriculture, is another factor as it proves the development of capitalist production which focuses on a continual and rapid growth of capital.
- The presence of both the capitalists (those who engage in capitalist production and own the means of production) and free wage labour, i.e. labour where the workers own nothing but their own labour power, completely disjointed from the means of production. In agriculture, this would require the presence of both agricultural capitalists and a rural proletariat, with the eradication of the middle sections of the peasantry.
- The presence of usurer's capital and moneylending.
- Continuous rise in the productivity trends, of both agriculture and manufacturing industry. The law of capital dictates a continual rise to compete.
- The eradication of all forms "personal dependence that constituted an inalienable component of the preceding systems of economy," such as the caste, clan or tribal systems, into relations based purely on class instead.
- Eradication of backward and ancient forms of production

- and services in favour of capitalist production, though the two can coexist (one's rise would be characterized with the other's fall) during the period of industrial growth. But the continual existence of small peasantry would see the continual existence of such industries, such as handicrafts, as Lenin identified.

To address Prajapandha group's analysis in light of these factors first, in contravention to the principles mentioned above, instead of the polarization of agrarian land into the hands of capitalist farmers and the creation of a large section of landless agricultural proletariat. Instead, the landlord and rich peasants (holding more than 4 ha of land) held 25% of the agrarian land according to the 70th NSSO (held 60% in 1960-61) and the 'nearly landless' peasants (less than 0.41 ha of land) account for 0.68% of this group (1.59% in 1960-61). Meanwhile the poor peasants (0.41 to 1 ha of land) account for a whopping 29% of agrarian land owned, a rise from their 6% share in 1960-61 period. The middle peasants (1 to 4 ha of land) in fact account for 45% of land owned (33% in 1960-61). Not only have the patterns not largely changed, there is a domination of poor and middle peasantry in land ownership and a reduction in the ownership of land among landlords

and rich peasants after the so-called Green revolution! This is diametrically opposite to capitalist development in agriculture as it maintains small parcels of land and petty production, maintains the small peasantry that preserves handicrafts and does not displace the peasantry in a manner that the pre-capitalist relations of production are demolished. The task of demolishing the pre-capitalist agrarian sector is done chiefly by the manufacturing industry's growth and the absorption of the peasantry into it, a task which is yet to be accomplished by India's industry, which has only planted the seeds of industry but is not genuine industrialization itself.

According to comparison of the NSSO data itself, from 1993 to 2010, the percentage of rural persons employed in manufacturing industries has remained at a steady 7%, while the number of persons involved in agriculture has actually reduced in this period from 78% to 68%. Where did this 10% mass of people go? Not into the agrarian sector but into the informal construction work. Landlordism's continual presence, a form of personal dependence and a pre-capitalist class relation, continues to rise every year according to the NSSO data, as observed in the continual increase of percentage of area leased in to total area owned (the amount of land a landlord gives off

to a tenant, from their total land; the tenant will till the land with no involvement from the landlord and will still have to part with a share of their harvest to give to the landlord) from 7% in 1982 to 11.23% in 2012-13. “The disaggregated 70th round NSSO data suggest that out of total tenant households 57.7 % were from landless or near landless, 22.37 from marginal households, 24.54 % were from small households and rest from the households with more than 2 hectares of land. Therefore, the tenancy market is dominated by the landless or the marginal and small households with 92.61%.” It is clear then that instead of working as free wage labourers for a capitalist farmer, the landless and poor peasants continue to work in pre-capitalist relations of production on the lands of landlords and rich peasants. In terms of surplus reinvested, the biggest of landowners (more than 10 ha of land) reinvest only 10.5% of the surplus they appropriate. None of this indicates any sign of capitalist relations in agrarian India. As Ranjit Sau said in 1973, “agricultural capitalism without capitalist farmer is as much nonsense as capitalism without the capitalist.”



Beyond the nonsense of the Prajapandha group, their position is no different from the likes Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM), CPI and all the grand old revisionist sections of the Indian communist movement, who look at all the above and claim that India has ‘capitalist relations with fetters/remnants of feudalism.’ ND group, while analyzing that these factors are not satisfied for India on the whole, somehow still find ‘capitalist methods’ to prevail in the states most affected by the Green Revolution and the Liberalization-Privatization-Globalization (LPG) policies of the late 1980s and 1990s, i.e. Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh. Yet, even in Punjab, the so-called heart of this ‘capitalist methods’ thesis by ND group, only 22.3% of the surplus value appropriated by the biggest landowners is invested back into agriculture! While the ownership of agrarian land by landlords and rich peasants in Punjab accounts for 48.8%, significantly higher than the country-wide average, the poor and middle peasants hold 49.2% of the land, while the ‘nearly landless’ section holds negligible 2%, per NSSO 2015. What is to note is that the nearly landless section comprises 53.7% of the rural households in Punjab while the landlords and rich peasants comprise only 10%. This figure is then complicated further with the revelation that from the small peasants to landlords, 85% to 93%

of them come from upper caste backgrounds. Even among the 'nearly landless' peasants, 55% of them come from upper caste backgrounds. Dalits in general comprise only 13% of the land-owning peasantry in any form and find themselves predominantly among the landless peasants. Not only is caste a key player in determining ownership of land and class relations, another pre-capitalist system that is prevalent in Punjab is tenancy. Those who push for Punjab as the citadel of capitalist relations in agriculture in India harken on the role of landlords and rich peasants leasing land from other peasants, a trend opposed to the rest of India; it is the poor and landless peasants who work as tenants. Yet, "there is no conclusive evidence, however, of large-scale reverse tenancy (that is, of a system in which large farmers lease in from small farmers), as has been suggested by some scholars." So the landlords and rich peasants are not grabbing the lands of the peasants with smaller parcels of land and neither are they breaking up the land-ownership patterns of the poor peasants, therefore affecting no qualitative change in the class relations, since the aim is not at all the concentration of land into the hands of the non-existent capitalist farmer.

Capitalism CANNOT arrive without smashing the pre-capitalist, that is feudal, relations of production, a process Marx

termed as primitive accumulation. This process lays the seeds for capitalist commodity production and quantitative changes must not be confused with qualitative ones, which are not seen in the land relations in Punjab. Further, the tenancy has only allowed even the rich peasantry to extract surplus via feudal relations as the leasing in of land by rich peasantry and landlords has "pushed average rents up; at the same time, 53% of the value of output was extracted by means of rent from small-tenant households." Surplus value is not extracted from commodity production but via extending rent through extra-economic means. It is also pertinent to note that like the rest of India, the peasants displaced from agriculture did not really get absorbed by a manufacturing industry on the rise. In the three decades from 1971 to 2001, the number of people in the agrarian sector decreased from 79.51% to 64.11% per reports of the Director, Census Operation in Punjab and the NSSO. Where did this 15% of peasants go? Not in the manufacturing sector, which actually saw a decline, from 1987-2001 from 9.7% in manufacturing to 7.7%. Instead, just like the rest of India, the informal construction work won the race, with this sector seeing a rise from 2.9% in 1983 to 7.8% in 2001. The hotel and restaurants, particularly the dhabas and other eateries in the rural area saw a huge rise from 4.1% in 1983 to 8.1% in 2001.

Transportation and storage industry also saw a rise of 2.3% during this period. As it should be resoundingly clear, instead of a manufacturing industry on the ascendancy absorbing the displaced peasants, they are forced into semi-proletarian conditions in informal and secondary sectors that have little to do with industrialization and capitalist development. Per a field survey of rural Punjab conducted in 2014-15, 80% of the landless peasants were in debt, with 68% of this debt being owed to landowners with more than 10 ha of land, 12% to moneylenders and traders and only 8% to banks and cooperatives. More than half of these borrowings had interest rates that ranged from 22-28% per annum. Moneylenders also predominantly account for as the largest creditors to Dalits in rural Punjab. The heightened presence of landlords and moneylenders in usurer's capital as well as the caste-based nature of this capital is another key indication of semi-feudal relations, not 'capitalist methods,' prevailing in Punjab.

What then, is the ND group seeing in Punjab and calling agriculture? There is definitely something different about the states most affected by the so-called Green Revolution. The higher holding of land in the hands of rich peasants and landlords in comparison to other parts is one such factor. The higher use of advanced

agricultural implements and technology is another symptom. Due to the emergence of the agrarian crisis in semi-colonial countries in the 50s and 60s, the social and political arena itself was becoming a seething volcano at the juncture of a breaking point, characterized by the spate of peasant uprisings and the simultaneous democratic rights struggle in the vein of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and Lakhimpur Kheri. The so-called Green Revolution, planned by the American government's neocolonial institution US Agency for International Development (USAID) along with the monopoly capitalist Rockefeller Foundation and implemented by the joint nexus of imperialist Ford Foundation and comprador bureaucratic-landlord Indian state first in Punjab, threw in a lot of capital and advanced technology into the agrarian field in Punjab. The problem of semi-feudalism though, is not resolved with merely dumping of capital from imperialists, advanced implements and HYV seeds, even if it is an attempt to introduce capitalism from above.

For capitalism to be truly introduced from above, it would require at least the gradual eradication of small land-holdings by the state, the redistribution of land itself to break up the pre-capitalist relations of production, and a manufacturing industry on

the ascendancy to simultaneously supplement all this and absorb the displaced peasants. Instead, what these methods achieved was intensifying the class disparities in these regions, with poor peasants suddenly unable to sustain themselves in an arena where the already dominating landlords were further strengthened directly by the Indian state and imperialists. A study by Anandita Sarkar, published in the Economic and Political Weekly in 2011 found that even when the market exists, it is only functioning on the pre-existing principle relations of production dependent on land ownership. She took the case of groundwater and the 'advanced' irrigation systems prevalent in Punjab due to the Green Revolution and found out that the larger the landholding, the deeper the wells. When these large landowners then get their hands on advanced irrigation systems, fertilizers, pesticides and HYV seeds, they cause a rapid fall in the water table which eventually forces the poor peasants to buy water for irrigation in contrast to large landowners who just bore deeper and deeper. This eventually leads to situations forcing these peasants into seeking userer's capital as well as a reduction in productivity in contrast to large landowners. This also increases the hold of water extraction equipment owners, the rich peasants and landlords, who find themselves in a market full of poor and middle peasants seeking

their equipment. The study finds that not only does this lead to the price of renting this equipment rise to exorbitant levels, it also leads to an eventual situation where the equipment owners and those who have easy access to groundwater to lease and then buy off the land of the poor and middle peasants, who find themselves in crippling debt and selling at distress prices. This is one such example of how the Green Revolution worsened the conditions of the poor and landless peasants and bolstered the existing ruling class nexus of landlords and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, with the rich peasantry also making some gains. Are these 'capitalist methods?' No, what this has actually achieved, as the preceding discussion on Punjab established, is displacing a chunk of poor peasants from their lands but instead of demolishing the pre-capitalist relations of production, the displacement itself occurred on the basis of said relations. This is an attempt at primitive accumulation which has ultimately been futile, like all such attempts in semi-colonial semi-feudal societies, which create a section of displaced peasants who have no manufacturing industry to absorb them and transform them into an industrial proletariat. This primitive accumulation fails to plant the seeds of any progressive independent capitalism (one which is born at the altar of feudalism), but only creates minor gains for moribund capitalism, that is

imperialism, their domestic agents in comprador bureaucratic capitalists and their ruling partners the landlords. In the long term, this entire process is destructive in nature, coming at the cost of the marginalized sections of the peasantry, which provides no route out for Indian society at large as long as the semi-colonial semi-feudal system persists. They are thus, distorted capitalist relations, due to their adoption of capitalist form (market, imported technology) but remaining semi-colonial semi-feudal in its essence (dominance of pre-capitalist relations in actually driving the market etc.) and must therefore not be confused with actual capitalist methods or even having the potential to ever develop into capitalist methods in the future if they continue at this rate.

It is this erroneous understanding of agriculture by the ND group which allowed them to push for an eclectic understanding of India's mode of production. For Marxists, incorrect analysis leads to incorrect strategies and tactics of changing society itself. ND group misses out on the basics of Marxism, dialectical materialism when it comes to analysing change. While ND group claims to be upholders of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought, it misses the basic Maoist principle of "when we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its

appearance merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis." The ND group must penetrate the form and analyse the essence to come to conclusions and it is these erroneous and eclectic analysis which give way for Prajapandha group-type revisionists to spring forth from within the ND group and find confidence in their wayward political programs. But now that we know how both the parent and child have found their problem in their analysis of Indian society itself, driven by un-Marxist and unscientific practices, the issue of strategy and tactics of change itself come into question.

Elections, So-Called Mass Struggles and the Illusive People's War: How Not To Do Revolution

Prajapandha group does not really elaborate heavily on its strategy and tactics, claiming vaguely that, "the new party would carry out non-Parliamentary and Parliamentary agitations to protect the interests of suppressed sections, labour class, minorities and adivasis." Given their analysis, it is hard to differentiate whatever they are claiming with any of the other parliamentary ML political parties. They claim that they see the New Democratic revolution in India occurring in three "sub-

phases,” i.e. a “united front/forum” outside elections with all forces who are ready to resist “fascist tyranny,” a “united effort” to resist imperialism if any imperialist power attempts to invade India and a “united front/forum” with all who resist “neo-liberal policies.” Beyond these “sub-phases,” they talk of the need for an “immediate peasant revolution” which will be undertaken by way of forming cooperatives and expropriating the leased lands of “capitalist landlords” (what an oxymoron!) into the hands of the poor peasants who till their land. They demand the restoration of the rights of the peasants and struggles focused on such rights. Prajapandha group aims to achieve all this via a combination of participating in elections to pressure the Indian government, finding alliances with “petty bourgeois parties” and “coming together with them in mass movements.” ND group finds this to mean that Prajapandha wants to ally with the CPM and CPI. ND group correctly criticizes this confused position, characterized perfectly by the phrase “capitalist landlords” but fail to once again find the cause of this parliamentary cretinism within their own eclectic political line.

We will rely heavily on the “Path Document of CPI-ML” that is available on ND Group’s website to analyse their positions. ND group’s public position is that it will both contest elections and also wage

“People’s War based on armed agrarian revolution.” In fact, they state that the latter is “the only path for achieving people’s democracy, i.e. new democracy in our country.” They further add, “the CPI(ML), based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, totally rejects the path of parliamentarism, peddled by the revisionists and neo-revisionists of all hues and colours. Experience of all countries in the world has proved that the ruling classes, having complete grip over the economic, political and cultural levels of the people, will never allow the exploited and oppressed people to come to power through peaceful means.” What’s this now? Here, ND group outrightly shuns the parliamentary path, but on the other hand, they had two long standing MLAs, Gummadi Narsaiah from Yellandu, Telangana and Umadhar Prasad Singh from Hayaghat, Bihar. The latter was even a long-time member of ND’s central committee. But ND quickly justifies this in their Path Document by “utilization of participation in elections by the Communist Revolutionaries, as and when the situation demands, depending on the level of the people’s movement and the consciousness of the people, has nothing to do with the path of parliamentarism. Its aim should always be to dispel the illusions of the people on the parliamentary institutions and prepare them for Armed Struggle.” In its 35 years of

existence, one must then question what exactly ND group has done to 'dispel the illusions of the people,' raise the supposed 'level of people's movement and the consciousness of the people' etc? This is where the right opportunism of ND group's eclectic politics is most exposed. While they harken to the phrases used by the Bolsheviks and Lenin in an imperialist Russia which had already completed its bourgeois democratic revolution and was firmly working towards socialism, they have made no re-evaluation as to why 35 years have led to no success in actually dispelling the illusions. While ND group claims that they understand that India has not completed its bourgeois democratic revolution, and hence its Parliament is not actually a bourgeois democratic institution, that they understand that India is ruled by the joint nexus of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord class at the service imperialism through preservation of feudalism, they fail to understand that the Parliament in such a country is also a semi-feudal institution. In India, where votes are given at gunpoints, polling booths are regularly captured by lumpen elements serving the landlords and their proxies who contest said elections and who nominate their chief representatives in the form of ministers, the nature of parliament itself is not the same as imperialist Russia. Instead of exposing these realities on a regular basis, which

ND group claims it wants to do, it has participated in said elections and even justified their act by saying that their own participation is situational! As Lenin himself said of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in parliament, "revolutionary democratic phrases to lull the rural simple simons, and bureaucracy and red tape to 'gladden the hearts' of the capitalists this is the essence of the 'honest' coalition." This political line is also in contravention to their desire to build an armed struggle." Lenin encapsulated one of the chief instruments of the revolutionary struggle of communists with that of the ruling class by pointing out that in Russia, they had managed to establish dual power. "What is this dual power? Alongside the government of bourgeoisie, another government has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing..... It consists of the proletariat and the peasants.... It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and not on a law enacted by a centralised state power. It is an entirely different kind of power from the one that generally exists in the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republics of the usual type." Dual power is the basic question of every revolution, per Lenin. Lenin points out that this second government not only

divides the power instruments of the ruling class, it also unifies the class conscious masses and frees them from the influence of the ruling class. He clearly points out that it is the likes of Mensheviks, social democrats and revisionists who vacillated on this question and thus “hinder this clarification and emancipation.” Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese revolution did not differ from this at all and established their own means of dual power, “China is in urgent need of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and this revolution can be completed only under the leadership of the proletariat..... The bourgeois-democratic revolution thus met with a temporary defeat. This defeat was a heavy blow to the Chinese proletariat and peasantry and also a blow to the Chinese bourgeoisie (but not to the comprador and landlord classes, i.e. [the national bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie])..... the significance of the armed independent regime of workers and peasants..... is definitely not confined to the few counties in the border area; this regime will play an immense role in the process of the seizure of political power.” To quote ND group’s own Path Document, “base areas must be developed while consolidating and extending them. As stated by Com. Mao the protracted people’s war will pass through many stages first liberating the countryside and finally capturing the cities and

towns, thus completing the new democratic revolution.” So at one point, ND group upholds claims to be functioning on Leninist principle, at another it claims to be attempting Maoist methods, but in reality, its political practice implements neither (though the two are not disjointed anyways). Neither has ND’s electoral program actually worked on the Bolshevik’s practice in Russia nor have they worked on the Chinese practice, since at the end of the day, they have not been able to establish any embryonic form of red political power to compete with the apparatus of the ruling class found both in USSR and in China prior to the revolution. In this way, ND, while proclaiming high rhetoric, is actually mired in the same Parliamentary path that they claim to be shunning. But due to their line’s confusion, they are unable to properly even commit to this path the way a CPM or a CPI does. The faction within their party which solely upheld this route, the Telangana state committee, reached its breaking point when ND group established “Pratighatana armed forces to work underground in the forests.” While at one point ND group is claiming that their primary focus is an armed agrarian revolution, they simultaneously hope to contest elections, leading to an inevitable contradiction that ruptured them. Providing no people’s alternative to even their own cadre and in no way attempting to build

up to it, it should then not come as a surprise that while one of their former MLAs passed away, the other one from Yellandu joined CPI ML Prajapandha in Telangana in this split.

ND group's eclecticism is actually an avenue for right opportunism. This right opportunism is first seen in their analysis of the mode of production, with the claim that some states have 'capitalist method' justifying their deviation from their overall political line. This is why the party has been unable to wage any form of people's struggle in Punjab which militantly defends the interests and gains of mass movements, propagating a defeatist and pacifist line due to the opportunist analysis of 'capitalist methods.' This right opportunism is seen once again in the 'phases theory,' which is what Prajapandha carries forward. The phases theory believes that the communist movement needs to first educate the people (remember "level of people's consciousness?") through political propaganda, then build some mass movements and organizations before finally going into the long haul of what they said is "protracted armed agrarian revolution." This is confusing as ND starts with the original conclusion that the people in general are not ready for revolution. Thus from ND's strategy of 'phase theory,' we can ascertain that they don't think that objectively a revolutionary

condition in India exists until they undertake steps for its preparation. To quote ND's own Path Document, "the Indian revolutionaries must bear in mind that the path of People's War in its essential features, has several times appeared in our past history and is not something foreign to be copied or subjectively applied. The history of the people's revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism like the Santhal and Mundas, Mopla and Varli peasant revolts and some other peasant revolts prove irrefutably the validity and necessity of the path of the People's War in India. They prove that the revolutionary struggles of the Indian people inevitably take the form of Armed Agrarian Revolution. The great Telengana Struggle of 1946-51, was the first and biggest armed peasant struggle conducted on the basis of People's War. That struggle taught us how anti-feudal partial struggles of the people, if properly conducted, lead to land struggles, which can be conducted and sustained only if it is armed and militant. It also teaches us the necessity of arming the people for resistance against landlord-police-goonda violence from the beginning of the anti-feudal struggles. It also teaches us how village committees have to be built up into organs of local power of the people to sustain prolonged armed struggle. But such a heroic armed peasant struggle was betrayed by

the then leadership because it was not firm on the concept of People's War as the only path for the complete liberation of our people. Later the leadership took to the path of parliamentarism." Going purely on ND's own document, their own reading of history contravenes their theory of 'phases.' They talk of establishing village level dual power, talk of equipping people from the start of anti-feudal struggles and find fault not in the preparation of anti-feudal struggle but in the political understanding of the leadership. Where then, does history itself bring up the requirement of any phases for building up to people's struggles? All political parties in India who have upheld the call of agrarian revolution in the way ND claims it does have been banned by the Indian state, principally under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. It should then come as no shock that while having armed squads, such as the "Pratighatana armed forces" mentioned as cause of their split, the Indian state is yet to ban this party, its mass organizations and curtail its legal presence. It should also be mentioned that ND group's political understanding on the question of "fundamentalism" of the religious kind is one detached from their analysis of India as semi-colonial semi-feudal, as they decry the "fundamentalism" of minorities and equate it with the dominant Hindutva. This political question is discussed early in the

magazine, on the question of Palestine.



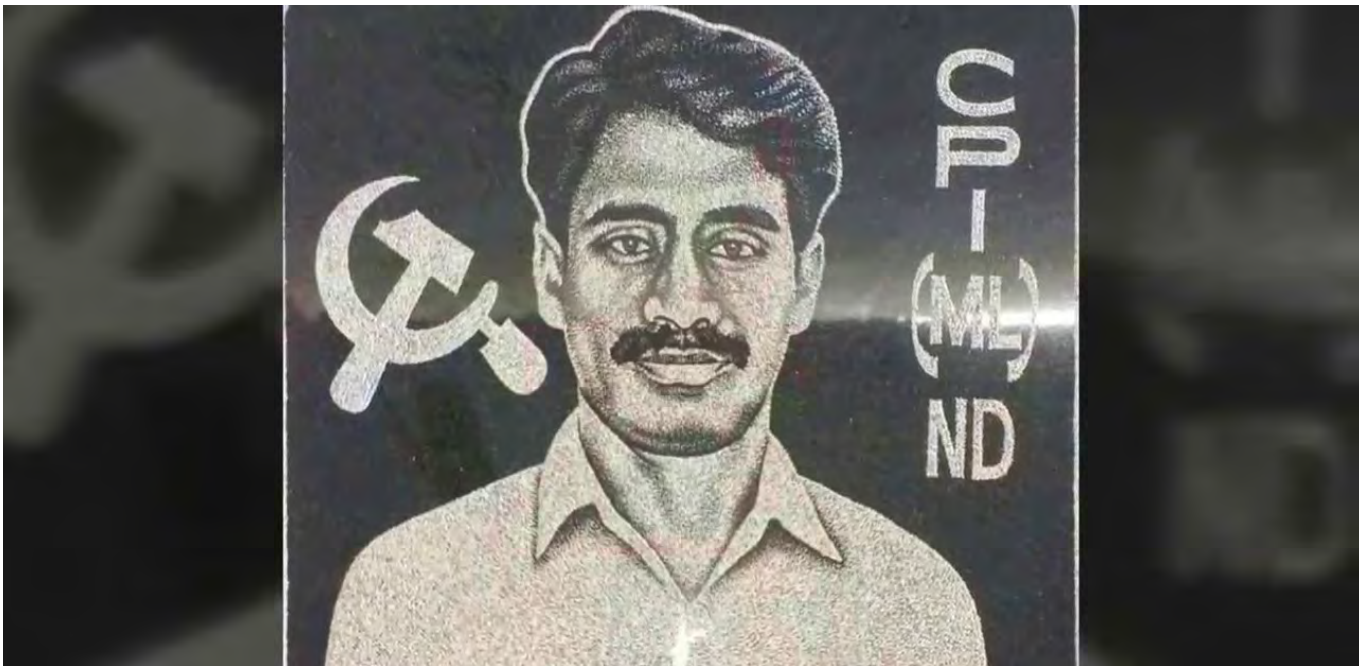
No Connection with Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

Prajapandha group's revisionism finds its birthplace in the womb of ND group's right opportunist politics. But their origin point is actually further up in history. One must delve into the formation of the original CPI ML and the Naxalbari uprising itself to understand this. After the initiation of the Naxalbari uprising in 1967 and the emergence of Charu Majumdar's Historic Eight Documents which revived the line put forth in the Chinese revolution and in the previously mentioned Andhra thesis, breaking with the parliamentary and reformist politics of CPM and CPI, the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) was formed to coordinate further such uprisings and carry forward these discussions, which saw the subsequent Srikakulam uprising. The trio of Tarimela Nagi Reddy, D.V. Rao and K. Venkaiah were prominent leaders of the CPM from Andhra Pradesh who were also active during the Telangana

struggle and joined the AICCCR even though they had some differences with Charu Majumdar's and AICCCR's line. This group was later joined by Chandrapulla Reddy (hereon, TN-DR-KV-CPR). Due to their differences, they refused to leave CPM and openly shared their differences with CPM's politics publicly. Their differences with AICCCR amounted to the quartet not seeing USSR as a social imperialist power and them seeing the call of AICCCR as one that should be tactical while AICCCR understood that this was a strategic call, due to agrarian revolution's nature not allowing them any practical possibility of contesting in elections. Not only did they not leave CPM when the party itself was part of governments suppressing the peasant uprisings, they also failed to follow up on the Srikakulam uprising and condemned some of the activities of AICCCR, eventually leading to their expulsion from AICCCR in 1969 after which they formed the Andhra Pradesh Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (APCCR) while the AICCCR transformed into the CPI ML in 1970. The APCCR split amongst itself, with its main leadership ending up in prison and Chandra Pulla Reddy seizing power. He was later kicked out by the jailed leadership and he set up his own group by the name of APCCR itself. The original APCCR meanwhile, transformed into the Unity Centre

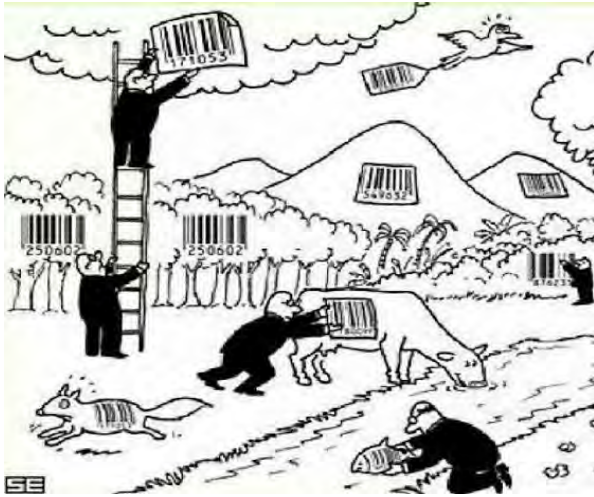
of Communist Revolutionaries (Marxist-Leninist) (UCCRI-ML). Meanwhile in the CPI-ML, 7 months after its formation, Bihar state committee secretary Satyanarayan Singh condemned the politics of the CPI ML Central Committee, of Charu Majumdar, and set up their own parallel 'Central Committee,' which split into another parallel party-Provisional Central Committee, CPI ML (hereon, SNS group) in 1971, while the CPI ML itself continued to be in existence in its current form until 1973. SNS group had given up on agrarian revolution while condemning Charu Majumdar and claiming to make a critique of CPI ML. They even returned to the parliamentary route, fielding multiple candidates in Bihar, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh elections. The merger of SNS group and CPR's APCCR is what gave birth to what is the ND group, a meeting point of the first and foremost revisionists that emerged during the early days of the Naxalbari uprising and its subsequent developments. CPR's group was already out of AICCCR before the CPI ML was made and SNS split from CPI ML before it splintered into different parties. So on what grounds is CPI ML New Democracy using its name to refer to itself? The party is so mired in opportunism that even its name is symbolic of an opportunist attempt at grabbing onto the revolutionary legacy of the Naxalbari uprising, without practising any of its

politics. Fittingly, ND group is only able to grab the form of Naxalbari, Charu Majumdar and the politics of New Democratic Revolution in India, entirely missing out on its essence. It is thus this blend of eclectic right opportunist politics of the ND group that has even provided the impetus for a Prajapandha group to have ever emerged. Due to its inability to understand the totality of Marxism's growth in the struggle against modern revisionism, even advancing beyond Leninism, ND group has found itself slipping backwards. In the course of the sharpening of the proletariat's ideology on the whetting stone of class struggle, the old, stagnant and regressive is bound to be thrown into the dustbins of history while the new will continue to cut through the oppressive and exploitative order with a sharpened edge. The genuine and committed cadre of ND group must also make its decision of where it sees itself in the course of history.



Politics of Petting

by Ramnit Kaur



Pets are known in society to provide pleasure, companionship, and protection, or the feeling of being secure, to their owners. From a point in history where domesticated animals were part of the production process, where they served a role in production and were hence domesticated by humans; we have in the past decade seen a shift where keeping pets for pleasure, gratification and as proxies to human love is becoming a trend. Whilst keeping pets is not limited to a certain class, the disturbing trend of the commodification of these animals into ideal objects who are surrogates for kids and genuine human interaction, and the market that has emerged around this, has a specific class nature and comes from certain material conditions in society. The allegation that imposing a reductive and

dependent outlook on your pet such that they are humanised into your kids (without the inconvenience of being one) and that the market and culture around petting is commodification of the animal, will lead to a lot of pet-lovers expressing their approbation. However, the fact remains- the modern day relationship with your pet is one based on what void they can fill, what value they can serve.

But where and how is that void created? Can substituting animals into the space left empty by human society fill this void? Can humanifying pets to new "kids", "family" solve issues of alienation or will they eventually fail your expectations? Is this practice fair to the real nature of such an animal, its domestic habitat, its socialisation as an animal or is it an unnecessary and cruel intervention in its natural space? Is it not cruelty when animals such as pugs are bred in such a way that it makes living and breathing a daily difficulty? Is there a politics behind this trend of petting increasing in a manner that pets are reduced to surrogate families and friends, anthropomorphised in the minds of owners to give satisfaction as to a mental ideal, which ends up

commodifying them into objects providing love and affection to fill a void created by a failing neo-liberal system? Is there a class nature behind the historical evolution of this commodification of animals and the pet culture? These are some questions this article seeks to examine.

Historic Evolution of the Culture of Petting

To understand the politics behind petting, it is necessary to investigate the history behind the spread of petting becoming a dominant trend in human- animal relations. While petting has existed as a practice throughout a long period in history, it has historically evolved as a dominant trend only as of the last century; and the commodification of the culture of petting has only intensified as of the last few decades.

Humans initially started domesticating animals as a part of the production process. Animals were domesticated for a “use value”, for the purpose in the production process they served for humans. Dogs were the first animals domesticated to help in hunting, and gathering wild edible plants. Goats and cattle began to be domesticated as primitive agriculture emerged, showing a shift in what animals were needed for production according to the changing of the mode of production. Animals were

domesticated as sources of food, transport, helpers in the agricultural process, as tools for war (like horses, elephants) etc. However, petting has evolved as a different form of human-animal relations, where humans keep animals merely for their pleasure. The relationship between humans and pets is one where pets serve no productive purpose, but where animals were displaced from their natural environment merely for the sake of providing comfort, companionship, an alleviation of pain and loneliness, and pleasure, to humans. It would be incorrect to say that keeping animals purely for pleasure, i.e. the practice of keeping pets, did not exist in history. However, until about a century ago- it was not the dominant form of human-animal relations.

In fact, in ancient and medieval times, keeping pets had a very distinct class base. While cats were domesticated for the purpose they served in hunting rodents, sources of plagues; in Ancient Egypt they began to be domesticated as symbols of religion and were preferred by the nobility, with pharaohs being buried with their cats for a better afterlife. Here, the domestication of cats acquired a clearly religious basis. In Medieval France, the nobility preferred to keep cats in excess, purely for pleasure and to demonstrate their opulent lifestyle- they started keeping and breeding cats as pets.

Keeping these cats was one of several signs of the decadence of the French nobility, in a situation where while there was not enough arable land to feed the general population, the nobility kept huge yards just for aesthetics and as a class symbol. Similarly, the grooming of pets purely for pleasure here was a class symbol. In the 1730s, when the new industrial masters started adopting this trend of the nobility, the workers in one particular printing shop responded by massacring scores of the master's pets- frustrated by the better treatment, living conditions and food the cats received in comparison to them.

In the last century, starting with the emergence of suburbs after the World Wars, a historical shift in human-animal relations has been seen, where petting has become more dominant. Of late, we see an increased commodification of pet culture - in the form of increasing brands of pet-care products, be it dog or cat feed, collars, toys, pet perfumes, spas, beaches, cafes, therapists or even the bemusing career of "dog whispering" -talking to pet dogs' souls to enquire of peace in their afterlife and satisfy humans as to the everlasting love of their pets. This commodification has led to an increased interest in keeping pets, grooming them and caring for them. Simultaneously, an increasing trend of humanising pets is seen- in the culture of "pet

moms" and "pet dads" on social media and in real life, where pets are given the status of kids in families. A trend where many people comment that their pets are their family and that they are even as legitimate and equivalent to children is seen.

This trend has its own historical basis- in the evolution of society and production relations. In the era of industrial capitalism, in opposition to promotion of a feudal, joint family structure, the nuclear family was promoted by capital in Europe. Why was capital promoting this? This was because at that point in history, the nuclear family was necessary for the sustenance of industrial capitalism- where the man in a working family could provide labour in factories, with the woman fulfilling the needs of the home, the children, and providing emotional support for the man. Question of land and land related relations were dominating factors to sustain the feudal relations in the society, which was destroyed with the advent of capitalism. Common family structure itself restricts the commodification of labour in the marketplace, which could only be possible with the advancement of capitalism in the society.

But as imperialism emerged, in the form of colonisation, and then in the evolution of semi-colonies (countries with apparent sovereignty but where financial

and actual control lay in the hands of the imperialist powers), there was a simultaneous change in family structures. Change in production relations impacts the superstructure (which includes cultural elements and socio-legal institutions like family that exist to support the dominant mode of production), which involves the normative familial structures. The structure of the families in India itself is informed by the mode of production. Family functions as an ideological apparatus of state, where it also reproduces the base and further strengthens it. The current family structure in India is experiencing a rapid change because of the heavy imperial and cultural penetration. This was because at the end of the era of industrial capitalism in Europe with industrial labour being imported to the colonies, the service sector evolved in the imperialist countries. Due to the economic crisis following the world wars, women needed to enter the workforce to sustain the economy and their families. The culture accordingly evolved to one where the assigned role of women in the nuclear family structure was questioned. The strong resistance of the LGBTQ movement also offered an alternative to this nuclear family structure.

Eventually, the economy evolved to a point where the cost of living and the wages for the labour time for individuals were not matching up.

As the working class in the West became smaller, the need for having children in itself decreased- particularly for the petty-bourgeois section. The purpose of children in reproducing the workforce reduced, and to put it crassly- the cost of sustaining the child became too high, be it the cost of health, education, or even the emotional support required to sustain the child. Keeping pets was an easier practice, particularly for the petty bourgeois. Particularly after the 2008 Long Depression in the west, petting became a dominant trend in the petty bourgeois.

Despite this cost effectiveness surrounding the dominance of petting, pet owners spend a lot of money, time, energy, and expend love and care to the animal. This is because pets also serve a purpose for them- to provide a comforting space in the alienation propagated by existing capitalist society. Where, due to the hyper competitive and resultantly, hyper-individualistic, human relations promoted by capitalism, people started substituting human relations that further alienated them in this structure, with relations with their pets- which were seen as “purer” and free from the taint of capitalist competition. As petting evolved and got increasingly commodified in imperialist countries, lots of companies evolved to support this. The production base for a lot of

these companies was in semi-colonies, and they also became a point of export into these countries. The effect of this commodified culture was felt in the semi-colonial countries as well, and a market for this evolved in these countries as well. A stronger class differentiation is seen in these countries, particularly in the context of families and pet-owners giving an elevated status to pets, with the upper layer of the petty bourgeois, the bureaucratic class and the comprador capitalists (the capitalist section in the semi-colonies that depends on foreign capital for its survival) leading this trend. This is because of the economic conditions of these countries, and the existence of feudal trends that have not led to a similar change in the family structure as the West. Yet the need for a marketplace and the imitation of Western practices led to an increase in the culture of petting, especially in these particular classes.

Petting in the Semi-Colonies: Creation of a Marketplace

The imperialist countries needed the semi-colonies both as a cheap manufacturer and as a new marketplace for pet-care products. Considerable time, research and money is expended by corporations to create a manufacturing hub and a marketplace in semi-colonies. India, even with the growing influence of the Western market-

place and a much larger population than the US and Europe, has a pet-population of 32 million as of 2022, which is less than a tenth of the pet population in the US and Europe. This illustrates the historical material conditions that have led to the dominance of petting in the West.

India became a cheap manufacturing hub for pet-care products for the West, and currently stands as the third largest worldwide exporter of pet-care products, with most shipments to the US, UAE and the UK. India joins other countries such as China and Vietnam on this list of the predominant exporters of pet products- all countries with smaller pet populations as per their population ratio, than the West. The labour, hired at much cheaper rates and in more exploitative conditions than in the West, produces products that they are so alienated from that they cannot even imagine using. The precarity and the outrageousness of a situation where exploited labour makes “lifestyle” products for animals when their own lives are being sucked away by imperialist loot and exploitation stands out.

Simultaneously, the reproduction of imperialist culture in India and the idealisation of that lifestyle- which seemed achievable to the upper petty bourgeois and comprador sections, has led to an expanding marketplace for pet

products within India, with a \$77 million worth foreign investment in the sector being made as recently as 2022. The irony is that even brands such as Drools Pet Food, that prides itself on being the “first Indian brand in a marketplace crowded by Western brands and imported products”, is effectively owned by global moguls. For example, Drools is owned by LCatteron, a US based global player in the pet market, as the firm invested a huge \$60 million in Drools.

In the early 1980s, the European Monitor International, a company with six offices worldwide that focuses on “international market intelligence on industries, countries, and consumers,” began producing reports on the viability of a pet marketplace in individual countries around the world. Several companies invested considerable resources in manufacturing marketplaces in other countries, including in research to change human attitudes towards petting. A trend of anthropomorphising animals was encouraged by research and science, funded by corporations. The report of the EuroMonitor highlights how Nestlé Purina PetCare led “awareness campaigns and integrated marketing activities” to simultaneously create a bigger marketplace by encouraging pet-keeping, and succeeded in establishing brand loyalty by initial subsidised

projects. The report exhorts investors to identify the “humanisation” of pets as profitable: “As humanisation becomes more entrenched, improving the quality of life of pets will likely become a more dominant factor behind the purchase of products. Purina and Effem identified this trend in pet food and began exploiting it, however other niches remain open.”

Consensus Creation: Science, Corporate and Academia Maintain the Hegemony of Commodified Petting

Considerable money has been invested in pet-animal science, to maintain the hegemonic hold of a pet-culture that humanises animals. This can be seen in private dog breed clubs funding a “Dog Genome Project” to trace genes in dogs and figure out scientific preventability of various diseases in dogs. This would, of course, make these breeds, bred specifically for the pet market, like poodles, cockers and spaniels, more marketable. Money in research is being peddled to fields such as Dog Psychology, and dog whispering. Unscientific ideas such as talking to your pet in its afterlife are being peddled to grieving owners to exploit their weakness.

Academic research has further been focussed to promote ideas that keeping a pet increases life expectancy, is good preparation for

childcare, or that dogs are as intelligent as humans! The question is not the veracity of such research, but the timing aimed at capturing a marketplace and the consensus it creates. Another question arises on the kind of society that needs such research to placate individuals into a feeling of belongingness and contentment in society- human interactions and human relations must be failing when a consensus where animals are peddled as needs for emotional support and survival, not merely companions, is peddled so aggressively.

Attempts to clone pets succeeded as early as 2004, when two kittens were successfully cloned by Genetic Savings and Clones(GSC), funded by PetCo Marketing Centre, California. Upto \$50,000 can be charged to clone a dog, \$30,000 for a cat etc. The cost can go upto millions of dollars. The appeal of reproducing pets with the exact same genetic characteristics as your previous one is appealing to a large number of people. ViaGen, the key pet cloning facility in the US, produces around hundreds of clones an year. The appeal is helped along by celebrities eagerly adopting pet cloning, thus sparking the imitative desire in their audiences. The pet cloning industry is increasingly growing. The growth of such an industry first highlights the wealth gap that makes it accessible to only a few, even in an imperialist country like

the US. Secondly, it begs the question if, in a time of acute stress and need for scientific research centred around human's basic needs- is pet cloning the apt industry to have millions of dollars pumped in? Or if it is a symbol of decadence of a class society that places this at a higher standard than an ordinary human's life? Another question on owner-pet relations is raised as, instead of valuing even the species used for petting, the owner is just looking to manufacture certain characteristics in a 'beloved' animal to ameliorate a void they feel. Emotional experiences with a single pet are sought to be consumed again and again through this cloning, signalling an emotional immaturity, a consumeristic drive and deep alienation that makes this necessary.

Another example of the State itself diverting money to pet care can be seen in funds such as Maddie's Fund, and the SPCA (Society for Prevention of Cruelty against Animals) and Animal Care and Control created a public-private sector team up to spray and neuter adoptable cats and dogs in order to create a "no-kill" nation. This State-wide project had 44 million dollars invested in it across America between 1999-2003. Specific attention was paid to make this accessible to the poor. This focus of investment in pet-animalcare was around the same

time the US government cut off several nationwide welfare schemes that impacted the lives of the growing poor and disadvantaged sections greatly.



The Politics Behind: Anthropomorphisation of Pets Takes from the Human

Keeping pets affirms an individual's alienation in a capitalist society. In a society where increasing individualism, self-centeredness and narcissistic self-advancement is encouraged before the forming and maintaining of bonds; where communities are breaking down, and collective life and sentiment is discouraged; pets serve as a necessary relief. They provide some solace in the anguish of a competitive, individualised and lonely existence. They may be the only "pure", "true" or "untainted" love a human in this condition experiences. This is because the pet's love is unconditional, convenient and dependent on the owners' reflection of their own insecurities and feelings onto another sentient being that

interact the same way as them. Hence, love, devotion and attention can all be garnered from the speechless species.

This place that pet animals hold in social life today has led to a new kind of animal activism- where animals are considered "purer", "better", "more innocent", and hence more worthy of protection than humans. Such activism and attitude has a deep seated class nature. We are living in a world where entire countries' economies are being eroded by imperialist loot, where millions die of poverty and preventable disease, where hunger, disease and poverty abound, where workforces are exploited to create super-profits. The sense of community, of a collective stake and a collective voice is deliberately sought to be eroded by the imperialist structures that benefit off this corporate loot. Since such a sense of community and collective stake would enable the oppressed and exploited across the world to collectivise, to rise against this alienation-from their labour and from each other- being perpetuated by this system. The politics behind petting and anthropomorphising animals for them to replace human companionship, lies in the fact that it distracts from this sense of collective stake by providing a temporary relief and distraction from alienation in the culture of petting. This distraction is temporary, it will further be

be sought to be ameliorated through pet care products, through pet communities, through any means that will fill the void created by the prevailing conditions of society. But pet and animal rights discourse distracts from the actual solution- a radical change in human relations, the way the current economic system is structured to be exploitative.

Instead, pet-animal rights discourse and projects have actively distracted from providing care to humans, be it through needless “pet cloning” science, or the deviation from welfare funds in America. In bourgeois society, “animal rights” is used as a garb to hide the malevolent and exploitative nature of the dominating class by peddling projects that are aesthetically innocent- they seek to protect much loved “fur babies”. An example would be TenderLovingcare in Ohio prisons, where prison inmates train dogs for free- with money obtained for the same being diverted to pet-care, and not to the inmates’ lives and advancement- that too in the country that claims the largest prison population in the world with a disproportionate racial representation of non-white persons, these racial minorities are the oppressed nationalities of USA like the New Afrikan and Chicano population. Animal rights discourse has encouraged the

repression of communities that consume certain animals as a part of their production cycle/ lifestyle - such as consumption of dogs in Manipur/ Nagaland in India. Cultural practices are villanised by certain animal rights activism, leading to stereotypes and hate being spread for certain communities, such as Muslims, simply for the way they consume animals for food. This does irreparable harm to communities and individuals, while ignoring distinct cultures and needs for different patterns of food consumption.

The fascist project too has championed ecology and the idea that animal species surpass some humans- be it the Nazi justification of ethnic cleansing and genocide as a way of creating “ecologically balanced” Aryan spaces; or the self identified ‘Hindu Nazi’ Savitri Devi’s ideology propounding a human-animal dichotomy where all non-vegetarians ought to be executed. These are extreme examples that reflect the same class character as the seemingly innocent “animals are above humans and more worthy of protection” animal rights activism- both distract from human issues, and prevent organisation on class lines to target the structures that enable such alienation that necessitates substitution of human love, care and community by pets.

Effect of Petting on the Pets: A Debilitating Relation

The culture of petting and breeding animals for the purpose of a market has had debilitating effects on the animals themselves. Having evolved to survive in particular conditions and fulfil certain purposes required for living, like hunting, animals are made to lose their evolutionary characteristics through breeding to suit a pet market where only certain characteristics make them marketable. Dog-breeders seek to reproduce such characteristics in dogs, changing and modifying their evolutionary characteristics for the marketplace, and changing preferences of which breed to produce according to the prevailing pet fads. This amounts to immense cruelty on the animal-subject of these practices.

Breeders prefer to breed “purebreds”, i.e. dogs with no-cross breed genetic traits. For this, they force dogs within the same genetic pool to breed, including parent dogs with children. Such inbreeding scientifically leads to a lot of genetic predispositions for fatal illnesses such as cancer, increased risks of hip dysplasia, blindness etc. and shorter lifespans. Besides, breeding to reproduce certain characteristics makes the animals lose their evolutionary traits meant to sustain survival. German shepherds, that evolved to best suit

hunting, have been bred to have “half-frog” legs that are tilted away from each other and threaten mobility, just so they can become more desirable pets. Similarly, basset hounds, another breed initially domesticated for their hunting prowess, are now bred to be ideal pets, with short legs and elongated bodies, that makes their evolutionary function and survival in the wild impossible- making them dependent on human whim for survival.

Even dogs that are bred for game shows and agility games by breeders, are bred to be the most “aesthetically pleasing” as the judgement of the individual dogs is done on how “purebred” they seem. Other breeds have been evolved solely for petting - to be “armchair dogs” or “show dogs”. These, such as pugs, Pekingese and poodles have been bred to have as little space between the nostrils and the forehead as possible. This makes breathing a difficulty- reducing an inch or two in the mouth passage for these breeds over a long period of time, breeders have made existence and breathing slowly disfiguring and unbearable for these animals. Pekingese and bulldogs are both breeds that suffer from this- not being able to breathe adequately makes them more susceptible to heatstroke as dogs reduce heat by panting- a difficulty for them. Pekingese dogs have to be kept on slabs of ice to avoid overheating, bulldogs are bred to

have such little space between bones and body organs that it is very difficult for the breed to give normal birth without dying.

This cruelty to these animals is exacerbated by the breeding practices of keeping these animals in small enclosed spaces, forced reproduction and killing the animals once their purpose for breeding more is done or once they can't be sold. Often animals that evolved to survive in colder climates are peddled in foreign markets, making it difficult for them to survive in those environments. For example, huskies that are bred to survive the cold are being peddled in countries with warmer climates, making it difficult to survive for these animals.

Conclusion

Petting has evolved into a marketplace and a substitution for human community. This practice is not an innocent practice, but one that has its own class character and politics behind it. While the anthropomorphisation of pets comes from the existing alienation of imperialist society, petting and giving a humanised, elevated position to pets in an individual's life is being actively encouraged by ruling class politics. Politics that elevate animals to a position above humans and vilifies cultures and communities that do not meet a standard of animal treatment has

become dominant in such times. This culture and the practice of petting and the reproduction of the pet marketplace has occurred in semi colonies as well, with imperialism simultaneously using these countries as a production base and market for pet products.

Such a culture actively takes away from politics centring human needs and organising against the imperialist structures that perpetuate the alienation and loneliness that leads to the anthropomorphisation of pets. It is simultaneously harmful to the pet-animal subjects- while purporting to elevate these pets to equals in human community life, these pets are reproduced as commodities, with debilitating effects on their evolutionary characteristics- which has made living and breathing difficult for these pets! In the garb of elevating the pets to loved ones in the human community, the animals have been even denied dignity even as living beings, and instead reduced to commodities for a marketplace- desirable only if they possess marketable traits. The pets have been alienated from their natural space, instead of being treated as sentient beings deserving of dignity and respect in their natural space- petting has reduced these animals into commodities for the satisfaction of human pleasure. At the same time, rhetoric of treating the pets as family, of animals being "purer" than humans, better

company- is distracting people from investigating into and organising against the cause behind their intense alienation from their society, from fellow humans. Investigating into these causes would entail organising and fighting a battle on class lines- against imperialism, against exploitation of labour and against crass commodification.



Nietzsche: The Messiah of Everything Reactionary

by Mukundan



Nietzsche is a name that continues to be relevant in today's time. Jordan Peterson, Andrew Tate, the 'woke' crowd, Internet communists and everyone in between aims to be the ideal man that Nietzsche talked about. The imperialist culture that exists in the current society is one that is extremely decadent. This culture exists to serve capital and to ensure that the capitalist can make more profit. Even the human body is made into a market. Objectification of humans is divided into silos and silos within silos, so that the markets can penetrate further and sell more. This rampant individualism leads to the individual getting dissociated from the collective and therefore, feeling alienated. The life of an individual that is dissociated from the collective is one that feels meaningless. This leads to a kind of nihilism, a

a rejection of societal values and a belief that there can be no structure and purpose to life. Nietzsche as a philosopher offers to deal with this nihilism and the conditions of the society that leads to this nihilism. This leads to the continuing relevance of Nietzsche in this society. But, he offers no revolutionary transformation and his solutions are reactionary and against the transformation of society to a better one. This philosophy of Nietzsche needs to be analysed and the alternative presented needs to be countered.

The Material Conditions that Made Nietzsche

The springtime of 1848 brought liberal democratic revolutions across Europe that struggled against the monarchy to establish liberal democratic nation states. This historical period brought about the beginning of the end of progressive bourgeois politics. The emerging proletariat which had participated in these revolutions with the aspirations of a society that would represent their interests. But the emergence of a bourgeois state that relied on the exploitation of the proletariat meant clearly that the class interest of the broad masses was

not represented by the State. This exploitative nature of the now consolidated bourgeois state meant that politically advanced sections of society began to develop the class consciousness to go beyond mere bourgeois equality and construct a proletarian equality. Marx made a correct analysis of the conditions of capitalist society and predicted the inevitability of revolution. Hence, revolutionary movements across Europe began to emerge. At the same time, to establish themselves, the new bourgeois state saw a crisis as its decadence expanded and needed a philosophy to justify its ideology to people, and distract them from revolution.

The capitulation of the bourgeoisie in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, led to the counter-revolutionaries winning there. This led to the beginning of the decadence of the bourgeois civilisation, which led to a decadent bourgeois philosophy that often romanticised the past feudal glory. This decadence was in its full glory in Germany and Austria-Hungary where there was no revolutionary transformation and remnants of feudalism had continued to chain the society backwards. The family structure was in a crisis, rampant urbanization led to overpopulated and unplanned cities, emergence of slums in the cities, art and culture being in a decline all were symptoms of the decadence of the bourgeoisie civilisation.

Individuals were alienated because of the rising individualism within society. The reactionary bourgeoisie philosophers like Schopenhauer and Trendelburg formulated their philosophy in these conditions. The rationality that the progressive bourgeoisie philosophers had developed was attacked by these reactionary bourgeois philosophers. We can see a sharpening of this bourgeois reactionary philosophy as the proletarian class strengthened and the bourgeois philosophy started to see Marxist philosophy and socialism as the primary enemy. An all out attack against the progressive Marxist philosophers was done after the Paris Commune as the threat of a proletarian dictatorship became all too real for the decadent bourgeoisie. It was in this era of a strong proletarian movement that Nietzsche formulated his ideology.

Unlike his reactionary bourgeois predecessors like Schopenhauer or Kierkegaard, Nietzsche was situated historically in the dawn of imperialism. This meant that Nietzsche also had the role of giving a philosophical justification to imperialism. Nietzsche was able to play this role very well. The most reactionary, most imperialist, most chauvinistic terrorism, i.e. fascism, was needed for imperialism to expand further. Nietzsche became the philosophical tailbone from which fascism derived its justification to society. His sister

had openly declared that the Übermensch that Nietzsche was talking about was Hitler. The Nietzsche foundation was funded by Hitler for this purpose. The idea that society is inherently unequal, that civilisational glory lies in nationalism and the supremacy of a 'superior' nation over an inferior nation- all played into Nazi philosophy and imperialism across the globe.

The time in which Nietzsche was functioning had led to a rising dissatisfaction and alienation among the bourgeois intelligentsia. The decadent culture that had emerged as a result of the reactionary and oppressive nature of bourgeois civilization led to this dissatisfaction of this intelligentsia which led to a kind of nihilism. Nihilism is a rejection of all societal values. It is the idea that there is no meaning or purpose to life. Marxism was too uncomfortable for this intelligentsia. Marxism would mean the questioning and eventual shedding of their class position. Thus, there was a need for a philosophy that would offer a cure to this nihilism. The critique of the existing culture and the rebellion that was offered by Nietzsche offered a comfortable alternative for this class. It offered the myth of the Übermenschen, using which they can revolt against the existing society without actually having to be revolutionaries. Thus, Nietzsche

became the ideal messiah for the stage of imperialism that the bourgeois world would soon be going towards. This historical position of Nietzsche needs to be considered in order to delve deeper into his philosophy.



Delving into Decadence: Reading Nietzsche

Before one proceeds further, there needs to be a proper analysis of the ideas put forth by Nietzsche. This philosophy is centred around the idea of the Übermensch and the will to power. Will to power is the idea that each individual in the society has a certain will to gain power. The individuals struggle to gain this power in society. The struggle to gain power in society leads the individual to self-perfection. Thus, the one who gains the most power, is the one who is the most ideal being and is a higher kind of man, an Übermensch (super-man) according to Nietzsche. The power that individuals have in society is therefore, determined by their inherent worth. Now a fundamental issue with this philosophy is the idea that it is the struggle of individuals that lead to

them to be the elite in a particular society. We can see that historically this is not the case. It is purely the material conditions that the individual lives in that leads to their position in the production process, and therefore, their social position. Apart from this will-to-power theory, we can also see that Nietzsche critiques larger 'meta-narratives' in society. He critiques the idea that there are any laws for historical development of society. This is in opposition to the Marxist idea that history has certain laws for its development. It is class struggle that leads to the development of society. For example, in England, we can see that as the production process developed, there was an emergence of class whose interests were in opposition to that of feudalism. The serfs in England had to provide handicrafts to the lords as tributes. The surplus of handicrafts would be acquired by merchants for trade. As trade developed further, there was a need for more products than the surplus goods. Therefore, they started producing for the market. Through a slow process, along with the feudal production that existed, where the serfs were producing to satisfy their needs and for the tributes to be given to the landlords, production for the market also emerged. But this did not automatically lead to the end of the old feudal ruling class. The old feudal ruling class tried to extract more taxes and tributes from the capitalist class. The king would

impose restrictions on their trade and development of their manufacturing businesses. The capitalist class had to engage in a class struggle with this old feudal class to gain power, so that they can develop further. We can see that this led to the armed revolution against the state in England. Much later another revolution emerged in France and across European countries. Here, the claim made by Marxists is not that such a revolution against the feudal order will emerge in every society and will lead to the complete overthrow of the old order. Marxists accept that there may be instances where the old feudal order would continue to chain the society even when capitalism has emerged and the capitalist class has become the ruling class. This they have elaborated through the study of Prussia, where an incomplete bourgeois democratic revolution that led to a nexus between the capitalist and feudal class against the proletariat which led to the sustenance of feudalism.

Similarly, in the colonized countries, capitalist imperialism formed a nexus with the feudal class. There may be particular differences that emerge in each society, but certain general principles can be developed through the study of society. One such irrefutable principle is that class struggle leads to social change. Through the earlier examples provided we can see that

social change does happen through the struggle between the different classes. Marxism does not claim that all societies develop in a linear manner, all it says is that certain laws of historical development are there like the laws of chemistry or physics that can be used to analyse society. Murali elaborated this in his essay 'On the laws of historical development'. He claims that "History as it evolved was never linear. Neither is society as it exists. Even then, the movement of this complex, chaotic whole does reveal certain laws. One can determine certain analytical categories. Marxism aids us in identifying, grasping and employing them to understand history and society. Simultaneously, it also reminds us of the limits of these categories of analysis." Nietzsche's critique of laws of historical development is ironic since he himself makes certain laws for the development of history. His idea of 'will-to-power' is his own law of historical development. He claims that societal development happens in the individual quest for power, that man reaches self-perfection through this quest for power, and therefore, the ideal man would be leading the society through this quest for power. This is a law that he made for historical development. This is quite rich coming from someone who claims that no such law exists in society. The ideology of Nietzsche when read comprehensively is self-

-contradictory and rife with antithetical theses as the one discussed above. They seem to be nothing but the rambling of a confused petty bourgeois eccentric.

The material conditions that an individual exists under influences one's thoughts and ideas. The class position of Nietzsche led to him becoming a militant anti-Marxist and someone who is outrightly against the interests of the masses. Nietzsche's critique of Marx's political economy reveals only a superfluous understanding of, and engagement with Marxist philosophy; and his counter to the ideas is based in self-contradicting idealism. His anti-Marxist approach comes from a need for justifying and preserving his own class position. Unlike earlier reactionary philosophers who made criticism after making an analysis, Nietzsche does not have any such analysis to back his position. This material condition of Nietzsche has made him formulate an ideology that justifies the inequalities in society. Nietzsche has written in support of the slavery that historically existed in



Greece, claiming that the civilisational glory of Greece came from this slavery. Through this one can see one of the inherent principles of Nietzsche's philosophy, that social inequality needs to exist in a civilization for it to reach civilisational glory. This is the key to his opposition to socialism too, the idea that power in the hands of the masses would lead to decline of civilisation. Nietzsche has an essentially elitist attitude that is completely anti-democratic. He claims that unless this elite exists in society there will be a decline in civilization, as the masses cannot be trusted.

In his conception of "will to power", he claims that each individual has an inherent will to gain power and that societal inequality exists because of this inherent 'quality' of humans. This gaining of power will lead to self perfection and in turn, it will lead to man exercising power over fellow human beings. He sees the egalitarian idea of a state as an embodiment of the destruction of this idea of will to power. He claims that there is nothing like exploitation in a society and that exploitation and oppression is justified since this will lead to self-perfection of human beings. Thus, a society ruled by an elite section that gained power and therefore, reached self perfection, will reach civilisational glory.

In reality, each stage of class society advances from one stage to

another, for instance the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe. This has been proven through scientific and historical analysis by Marx and Engels. Marx correctly analysed that after the rise of capitalism, a self-destructive, decadent system comes up that not only eats at the bodies and souls of the masses but is also unscientific and unsustainable. The constant drive for valorisation of capital, for expansion of profit under capitalism led to the dominance of monopolies- as predicted by Marx. Then, the drive of the bourgeoisie for further surplus extraction led to the era of imperialism, where capital was expanded across the world for the interests of the imperialist powers. This process was not only very exploitative, it also led to social waste- imperialism creates a stage where all the capital that is produced cannot be reinvested into production, as there is a glut of capital due to overproduction. At the same time, broader masses across the world starve and exist in extremely exploitative conditions across the world. This breeds a decadent system that is constantly in crisis, and breeds the conditions for the oppressed and exploited classes to rise in revolution under proletarian ideology, against the shackles of this destructive system. Nietzsche denies this class analysis of his historical situation in time, and instead of providing a criticism that analytically targets this

analysis of society- he provides an anti-democratic and anti-socialist analysis that he is unable to justify. In fact, the reasons behind his analysis are clear- his role as a philosopher was to justify the ruling class, not to provide an accurate analysis of society.

Nietzsche's philosophy also justifies the expansionism of imperialist nationalism. The obfuscation of history into something mythical was constructed by Nietzsche and this idea backed aggressive imperialism. After the end of the Paris Commune, we can see Nietzsche in a letter claiming "Hope is possible again! Our German mission isn't over yet!". He is excited that the internationalist 'Hydra' has been demolished. He also claims that civilisational glory comes from the war between nations. Thus, one can see in Nietzsche a justification for imperialism. This elitism and justification of inequality also arises from the Social Darwinism of Nietzsche. Social Darwinism is the idea that biology determines the inherent inequalities in society. The will to power and the inherent nature of human beings is this, the reason for inequality. The existence of an elite in society is due to this elite having a greater inherent worth.

One can see that the kernels of fascism lie in this theory. It does not require a long journey from Nietzsche to reach the conclusion that the Aryan race is inherently superior due to their biology. Nietzsche also brings in Manu to talk about his ideal society. He views the brahmins in the Varna system to be the *Übermensch* in that particular society and therefore, believes that Manu Smriti talks about an ideal society since the elites in that particular society who have become elites in that society due to their biology control the entire society. This Varna system would lead to civilisational glory, according to Nietzsche's analysis. Ambedkar has written clearly about how Nietzsche has been inspired by Manu Smriti and how he sees the society envisaged by Manu to be one that can become a glorious civilisation. This social Darwinism of Nietzsche backs the capitalist society and helped in the propagation of neoliberalism, fascism and imperialism.



Imperialism and Nietzsche

The idea of survival of the fittest, looking at society through the prism of a competition between (inherently unequal) people leads to the people in power being the ones who “are deserving and most able”, continues to influence society. Neoliberalism is based on this ideology, and we can see Nietzsche being reflected in Hayek’s ideology and his critique of socialism. Neoliberalism as an ideology was the one behind the assault of western imperialism in the 21st century.

The rolling back of the welfare state, the handing over of the public sector enterprises, which have been constructed using the taxpayers money, and an increased flow of foreign capital into the semi colonies and more of the resources in the semi-colonies and colonies being handed over to the advanced capitalist countries occurred as a result of neoliberalism. This ideology justifies marketisation and increased imperialism as ‘economic freedom’. They justify even outright fascism like the Pinochet regime in Chile, as needed for the sake of ‘economic freedom’. Hayek claims that societal development happens when individuals compete with each other. According to Hayek, the individual that is able to win in this competition without any kind of social intervention becomes the

elite in that particular society and therefore, it will be the fittest that survives and leads the society. We can see the social Darwinism of Nietzsche and the neoliberalism of Hayek having certain similarities here. This social Darwinism inherent in the neoliberal ideology was justified through Nietzsche. We can see influencers like Andrew Tate and reactionary bourgeois philosophers of the 21st century like Jordan Peterson doing the same.



Andrew Tate is a popular right-wing philosopher on YouTube, who advocates for an anti-woman, anti-democratic, anti-working class society- and his ideas have had a deep impact on certain sections of today’s youth. In Andrew Tate, we can see the reflection of Nietzsche's philosophy occurring in a very apparent way. Tate critiques the cultural issues of capitalist imperialism from a conservative position. He points out that people are living within a ‘matrix’ that tries to control and restrict the individual. By this matrix, we can see that Tate is referring to the

ideology of capitalist imperialism that exists in the society. The identitarianism and post-modernism that deeply affects the current society is something that is to be criticized, since it obfuscates objective reality and prevents revolutionary action. His criticism comes from a reactionary line, which leads to the critique being homophobic, transphobic and misogynistic in nature. Next, he posits the solution of going against the matrix which basically means that the individual has to rebel against this society. Now the rebellion of Tate is not something revolutionary. He wants men to be 'real' men and go against anything progressive in western neoliberal culture. He claims that all men cannot do this and claims that these special 'alpha' males will be the ones who are successful. One can clearly see the ideology of Nietzsche, the rebellion without actually rebelling and the justifying of an elite in the society. Andrew Tate has influenced several men in the advanced capitalist countries to commit hate crimes against trans people and women, thus we can see how the philosophy of Nietzsche continues to be reproduced in more decadent ways in the 21st century.

Jordan Peterson - another such self-proclaimed philosopher and has similarly been able to deeply influence the general masses, openly professes his support of Nietzsche. He also rebels against

the current society by critiquing the culture and dominant philosophy of imperialist capitalism. He critiques the attack of postmodernism on objective truth. Postmodernism claims that there is no objective truth but we can clearly see that there is a material reality. Beyond the subjective personal experiences there is an objectivity. An example would be class struggle, it is a material reality that has changed society from feudal to capitalist and will change capitalist societies to socialist. Peterson claims that society has become decadent because of this philosophy. He claims rightly that this attack on the objective truth has led to an increased nihilism. While this is a point that makes sense, the objective truth according to Peterson is biology. A Marxist at the same time would claim that this nihilism will lead to a revolutionary passivity. Here, we can see Social Darwinism and the essential nature of Nietzsche's philosophy, where he points out the issues but then gives reactionary solutions to it. Peterson is also a militant anti-Marxist and puts postmodernism and Marxism under one single bracket and extends his criticism of postmodernism to Marxism.

A surface level understanding of Marxism will give one the idea that Marxism rightly posits that there is an objective reality, when postmodernism says that there is

is none. Thus, one can see that the critique of Marxism by Jordan Peterson, like that of Nietzsche, does not come from any study. Thus, like Nietzsche, Peterson also makes a critique of Marxism without any analysis, but merely because of his class position. Marxism is an attack on the class position of Peterson, and to preserve his class position, Peterson has to attack Marxism. Nietzsche continues to be reproduced and each of these new 'ubermensch' is a more degenerated version of Nietzsche.

Even postmodernism as a philosophy has been influenced by Nietzsche. Foucault claims himself to be a disciple of Nietzsche. The predecessors of postmodernism-Elite Theory, Group Theory and Power Theory, were all anti-democratic and anti-socialist in nature. These were theories that emerged in the USA after the second World War, when the USA had become the major imperialist power. The Elite Theory claims that in every society, there are a selected few elites that have the right to rule. One can see the similarities that this philosophy has with Nietzsche's theory that society is inherently unequal and that an elite needs to exist for society to reach 'civilisational glory'. Similarly, power theory also claims that politics is based on who has got what amount of power. All of these philosophies have the idea that power is the primary urge

in society. This idea of power in society is something that was developed from Nietzsche's will to power. Will to power, according to Nietzsche, is the idea that "every specific body strives to become master over all space and to extend its force (its will to power) and to thrust back all that resists its extension". This philosophy claims that humans have an inherent 'will to power', an urge to gain control over all that's around them and that this struggle will lead to self-perfection. This idea was reflected in the elite theory, the group theory and the power theory.

The idea of power based determinism that was introduced by Nietzsche, and later crudely developed through the power theory, elite theory and group theory, was further concretised under Foucault, under the idea of power-everywhere. Foucault developed Nietzsche's idea of power to claim that power does not come from material conditions, from class and exploitation, but claims that power is something that is everywhere and in every social relation. It is diffused in nature, multiple and wielded by no one. He uses this argument to claim that resistance to power cannot really happen since it is again an exercise of power. Thus, the Adivasi in Chhattisgarh trying to resist aerial bombing and fascist militias like Salwa Judum are exercising power according to Foucault. Or that Hamas resisting

a genocide is an exercise of power, and therefore, oppression. He does not see that it is exploitation that leads to power in the imperialist world that we are living in. These structures of power can be smashed when exploitation ends. Here, by exploitation we mean the appropriation of surplus value. It is labour that creates value and the surplus labour of the worker goes to the capitalist. Through this, he is able to accumulate capital and control the means of production. Power comes from this exploitation. End this exploitation and you can end power.

In postmodernism, we can also see a critique of the metanarrative, which has been derived from Nietzsche. We can see that they critique the idea of a metanarrative. They claim that a generalized metanarrative ignores the particularities, and makes these particularities invisible. Now let's look at postmodernism. It also derives a kind of metanarrative from these particularities. The idea of pre-modern, modern and postmodern are examples of such a metanarrative. An investigation of this metanarrative constructed by the postmodernists shows that there is a kind of obfuscation of particularities here too. The glaring differences in the development of the Adivasis and the advanced capitalist society shows that this generalization is not true. Moving on to the particularity, we can see that there

is a kind of generalization that needs to be made there. However, micro-oriented your observation is, there can be further zooming in that can which shows discrepancies to the observations that have been made. Murali mentions how Lenin has already found a solution to this dilemma. Lenin mentions how all laws are the freezing of reality. It is an abstraction of the complexity of real motions and existence. One needs to understand that these laws can provide you with an orientation, but one needs to also realize that the law will always be incomplete. Therefore, one has to apply it creatively to solve the problems of society. Since Marxism is a science that can interpret and change society, you can apply the laws of Marxism flexibly to each particularity. In China, feudalism was still strong and therefore, the CCP had to look for different strategies for revolutionary transformation. Within China, in Tibet, the tasks of the CCP were different and the strategy for social transformation was different since the nature of Tibetan society was different.

The attack on reason unleashed by Nietzsche has also been further developed by the post-modernists. The post-modernists feel that there is no order in the world and that there is only disorder. They attack reason and rationality through this analysis. Since there is no objective reality, there cannot be a study of

the objective reality to reach truth. This attack on reason that was launched by Nietzsche was further developed by the postmodernists.



Feudal Ideology and Nietzsche

Nietzsche's philosophy had strongly influenced fascism. The social darwinism present in Nietzsche's philosophy and the belief in an ubermensch that rebels against the current society and then becomes someone that the masses turn to, has had an appeal for a Brahmanical society like India. Nietzsche's philosophy could feed into the pessimism of the general masses. This is exactly what happened in Germany. Germany, before the Nazi regime, was a society in which feudalism continued to wrap its tentacles around the society. This meant that feudal culture was still there in German society. One of the major effects of this feudal culture was a general pessimism. Since the feudal culture did not give value and dignity to the individual, the individual would feel like they could not really be part of societal change. They feel like a great leader or messiah would lead to

social change. So, when someone like Hitler came, they felt like the messiah that they searched for was Hitler. The philosophy made by Nietzsche has its reflection in a Hitlerian kind of fascism.

In a Brahminical society like India, we can already see certain cultural conditions that this philosophy of the Ubermensch can feed on. This includes the concept of the Yugpurush. In India, we can see a general pessimism among the people. The attitude that we cannot really change society. They feel like it is a superhuman task and therefore, they pin their hopes on a superman who is different from the masses suddenly unleashing a wave of change. This 'superhuman' quality of this individual is exactly the reason why the people start worshipping him. He would be seen as infallible. Thus, the Bhakti towards the leaders that Ambedkar talks about, where a leader is not expected to be democratic, a leader is expected to be dictatorial and the idea that a leader needs to be worshipped and put on a pedestal, is dominant. Thus Hitlerian fascism with its philosophy of the Ubermensch developed by Nietzsche can easily penetrate into the Indian soil or the soil of any semi-feudal country for that matter.

We can see that the model that the RSS sought to emulate was one set by Hitler. The core principles of Hitler's fascism, which was

developed from Nietzsche's philosophy, have been brought on Indian soil by the RSS. Thus, this concept of a strongman leader, that would save everyone, which was developed by Nietzsche and utilised by Hitler, has also been emulated by RSS in India. The worship of the big leader, Narendra Modi and viewing him as infallible as the Yugpurush, seeing him as the person who would bring India to its civilisational glory, is something that Nietzsche's philosophy would justify.

Nietzsche's philosophy justifies everything that Brahminism in India aims to do. The expansionist nature of Brahminism and the aims of the Indian ruling class is something that is justified by this philosophy since Nietzsche claimed that civilisational glory only comes due to the war between nations when a bigger nation brings down a smaller nation. The social hierarchy with the caste system is something that is justified by Nietzsche. Thus, we can see that Brahmanism and Nietzsche go hand in hand, and in times of fascism, when the RSS is trying to bring Hitlerian fascism into India, we can see that this is actually happening. It was Nietzsche that influenced Hitler and Hitler that influenced the RSS, thus the philosophy of RSS is linked to Nietzsche.

Conclusion

Nietzsche's philosophy had developed in the material conditions where Marxism was the major enemy of the bourgeoisie civilization and when the bourgeoisie needed to jump into imperialism. This philosophy, by propagating that certain individuals in society are inherently unequal to each other, and by propagating that certain nations are superior to others and that this inequality is needed for civilisational glory, has justified the social inequalities present in society.

We can see that Nietzsche has launched an attack on reason. This attack on rationality is an attempt to provide a philosophical justification towards bourgeois decadence. Since rationality and application of science, in the study of society, scientific rationale would result in a revolutionary consciousness. This philosophy has also justified the feudal tendencies in a society and offers a justification for the emergence of fascism in such a society. Nietzsche has thus become the messiah of imperialism. The reactionary philosophers that have emerged after Nietzsche have ended up conjuring up Nietzsche to justify everything reactionary in that society.

will be killed

who will not join this madness
will be killed

Those who speak in opposition
will be made to stand in the dock.
Those who speak the truth will be killed

will not tolerate that someone's shirt
Whiter than 'his' shirt
Those who do not have stains on their shirts
will be killed

Those who are not bards will be pushed out
of the world of art.
Those who will not sing will be killed

Those who will not go in the procession
carrying the flag of religion
They will be shot by bullets, they will be
declared infidels.

The biggest crime right now to be unarmed
and innocent who will not be criminals
Will be killed.

- Rajesh Joshi
(September, 1988)



LEILA KHALID

Joining the Palestinian national liberation struggle at the age of 15 after her family was violently displaced during Israel's Nakba in 1948, she became a member of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. She was part of the TWA Flight 840 Hijacking by PFLP as a form of political protest which led to the remarkable release of 71 political prisoners in Israel. Her role during her early life as a fearless and unflinching political activist echoed the adage, "women hold up half the sky."



IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL!

İBRAHİM KAYPAKKAYA

Waging ideological struggle with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey as well as reformist and revisionist ideologies, he reinforced the path of agrarian revolution as the road to New Democratic revolution for the people of Turkey. He laid the groundstone for the founding of a genuine communist party in the country and elaborated on the right to self determination of oppressed nationalities in his writing, "The National Question," reinforcing the liberation of the Kurdish people. Like Charu Majumdar and Bhagat Singh, he was killed in custody, at the age 23.



CONTACT US

EMAIL: NAZARIYAKALKA@PROTONMAIL.COM

INSTAGRAM: @NAZARIYAMAGAZINE

TWITTER: @NAZARIYAMAGZINE