

# RED STAR

12TH PARTY CONGRESS SPECIAL, SEPTEMBER 2022

## CONTENTS

**02** Significance of the 12th Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star



**03** Challenges Confronting the Communist Movement - K N Ramachandran

**06** Understanding RSS Neo-Fascism and Building up of the Anti-Fascist Movement - P J James

**13** IT'S Now or Never: Dismantle the Present Extractive-Industrial-Capitalist System - Soumya Dutta

**21** Divisive Politics of RSS and Struggle for Plural Society - Dr. Ram Puniyani

**27** Is Indian State is Proxying for the Hindutva Project of Militarization of Hindus? - Shamsul Islam

**33** Caste System, Ambedkarite Movement and the Task of the Communists - Sankar

**44** Marxism and Women's Question - Sharmistha

**53** Struggle for Revolutionary People's Culture - Tuhin

**58** Marxism and Women's Question - Sharmistha

**61** Imperialism, Neofascism & War - P J James (CPI ML Red Star, India)

**66** Imperialism, Neofascism & War - Peter (MLPD, Germany)

**73** War and Imperialism: The Tasks of Revolutionaries - Santa Nepali (NCP -Masha, Nepal)

**77** The imperialist war in Ukraine and the world class struggle - Abdesselam Adib (Morocco)

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## Editorial:

### Significance of the 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star



The 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of CPI(ML) Red Star has historic significance not only because of the critical situation in which it is taking place, but also due to the theoretical questions it has put forward in continuation to the Resolution on *Theoretical Analysis of Challenges Faced by the ICM* adopted by the 10<sup>th</sup> Party Congress held at Lucknow. Some of the issues like approach to caste question, gender equality, and ecological catastrophe had its impact even within the party as some comrades are apprehensive whether uncompromising attack on the Manuvadi Hindutua base of the RSS will alienate the ‘Hindu’ masses from the party. This is an apprehension which is preventing other streams of the left forces from taking up the caste annihilation as an integral part of the class struggle. So, while putting forward an analysis of the historical materialist approach towards the origin and stranglehold of this unique caste system in India, the CC decided to intensify the discussion on caste system and other basic questions by publishing a special issue of Red Star inviting articles from comrades from within the party as well as from revolutionary left intellectuals. In addition to it, a series of interviews/talks by leading comrades of

the CC and revolutionary left intellectuals are also organized to deepen the discussion on these questions, and inner-party debates are going on around them. Similarly, while many of the revolutionary left intellectuals who are actively co-operating with us in theoretical discussions and people’s movements helped us by contributing papers as well as participating in the online discussions and physical seminars, some of them could not do so due to other engagements. Still we have received a good number of contributions on caste system, gender equality, impending ecological catastrophe, on the question of intensifying the cultural offensive for a cultural revolution, etc. Articles on intensification of corporatization/financialisation are also received. We hope these contributions in this Special Issue of Red Star will help to carry forward the theoretical struggle in the communist movement when it is facing increasing challenges as a result of the increasing confusions created regarding, for example, correctly analyzing Russia’s imperialist aggression on Ukraine, analyzing Gorbachov and his Glassnost/Perestroika, refusal by many streams of the left forces to recognize the growing danger from the RSS neo-fascism, etc.

We are publishing this Party Congress Special Issue of Red Star with the hope that it shall intensify the debate among Marxists for developing the theory and practice of revolution in the present troubled times, Let us expect that these debates shall further develop the ideological-political struggle to overcome present setbacks paving the way forward to advance the revolutionary communist movement.

## Challenges Confronting the Communist Movement:

*On Proletarian Internationalism, transcending bourgeois democracy, building people's political power from grass root level, advancing alternative development paradigm and socialism, overthrowing the capitalist imperialist system and defeating neo-fascism of RSS!*

**K N Ramachandran**



Presently the socio-political-economic condition of our country, is in a critical juncture. Under RSS led Modi rule, the Manuvadi Hindutva policies are saffronizing every walk of life ever more fiercely. Under its cover the corporate loot is intensified by leaps and bounds. It is leading to unprecedented impoverishment of the vast masses. Along with unemployment and rise in prices of all essential commodities, housing, healthcare, education and all other services are becoming beyond the reach of common people. As the masses react against this unprecedented miserable condition, utilizing control of the state apparatus, media, etc., the most revanchist, chauvinist, sectarian ideas are spread to divide the people by the RSS neo-fascist forces to win the coming assembly elections and the 2024 elections, to facilitate the transformation of India in to Hindurashtra by 2025 when the centenary of RSS is going to be celebrated. In this situation, people's simmering discontent and anger are intensifying as reflected in the continuing resistance of the Kashmiri and Northeast

people, the countrywide anti CAA movement, the militant outbursts of youth against unemployment, the historic farmers' struggle which broke down all state-led terror tactics and obstacles to reach Delhi borders laying siege around the capital for more than a year etc. are indications of the possibilities for a mega- Sri Lankan style uprising in this vast sub-continent. In the present neoliberal phase of imperialism, when the corporate forces are intensifying exploitation of human labor and plunder of nature to unprecedented levels, the ruling forces, the imperialists and their junior partners everywhere are imposing neo-fascist terrorist rule to divide and maim the masses using religious fundamentalisms or political-religion, racism, national chauvinism, caste system like revanchist ideas as socio-cultural-theoretical tools to curb people's movements. In spite of these, the people's uprisings are bound to happen with more frequency and ferocity in larger number of countries in the coming days.

In short, presently the objective conditions for revolution are increasingly favorable. But, after the revolutionary upsurge in Vietnam and other Indo-Chinese countries in 1975, in spite of so many massive people's uprisings in large number of countries, nowhere the imperialist forces and their junior partners could be overthrown. What are the reasons for it? Why, even after Mao's persistent struggle till his last days

through building people's communes and unleashing Cultural Revolution, the capitalist roaders could usurp power in China also? Why, even in the Indo-China region, soon after victory of the revolution after so much of sacrifices, how the capitalist roaders could usurp power so soon? Even an over view of these past experiences in building socialism shows that it is the result of the communist parties becoming incapable of making concrete evaluation of the quick changes made by the imperialist system to overcome the ever-mounting crises confronting it, in analyzing the concrete situation in each country to develop the Marxist theory and practice according to present international and national situation. As a result, in spite of the objective situation remaining favorable for revolution, the subjective force, the communist party, remains theoretically, politically, organizationally incapable of overcoming the imperialist challenges. If the international communist movement (ICM) had become a mighty force by the mid-1950s, with the *East wind of socialism looking like prevailing over the west wind of imperialism* (Mao), it is facing severe setbacks, weakening everywhere, why?

Take the case of our country, for example. In India Communist party building started in the 1920s inspired by the October Revolution. But what happened to it after a century in spite of numerous glorious struggles in the past? Why it has splintered to numerous ideological, political streams and micro groups, in the main, making them incapable of playing any important role in the mainstream political scene! Why so, when the RSS formed in 1925 has captured power and is in the process of consolidating its neo-fascist hegemony in every field, arrogantly moving towards declaring India a Hindurashtra on its centenary year?

Why the capitalist imperialist system which was facing repeated crisis right from its very beginning continues to rule over the world, while the ICM which had developed in to powerful socialist camp, with 13 countries with one-third of world population, and in many other countries leading powerful national liberation movements by 1950s, has weakened so much and fractured, with all the socialist countries degenerated to capitalist path, when the communist parties everywhere has become incapable of leading the powerful people's upsurges to victory? Does it not calls for a serious introspection?

It is in this situation, the CPI (ML) Red Star is convening its 12<sup>th</sup> Congress. It has taken up the challenge to update its program, path of revolution and political resolution according to the present concrete conditions in continuation to its continuous efforts for the last four decades. An over-view of the hitherto development of our party from the time of its formation in 1979 as part of the re-organization process of the CPI(ML) movement shows that it could achieve whatever progress it could make so far only because of its uncompromising struggle against right opportunist and left adventurist deviations, trying to develop its theory and practice according to concrete analysis of the Indian social realities and the vast changes taking place at international level during the Second World War and later; especially after the US led imperialist camp imposed neo-liberal policies of globalization-liberalization and privatization, and went on intensifying them to present all-round corporatization and financialization leading to unprecedented accumulation of wealth in few corporate hands, extreme miseries to the toiling masses and to ever-increasing *plunder of nature by capital* leading to ecological catastrophe, threatening the very survival of the humanity on earth. Even in such a perilous situation, instead

of taking bold initiatives to overcome it, how the communist movement became so weak? Without taking up a thorough evaluation of the past experience, and present stagnancy and theoretical weakness, answers cannot be found out and rectifications could be made to enable the ICM to make a new upsurge.

The greatness of Marx's analysis is that it scientifically points out how capitalism is a world system, how *it recreates the whole world in its own image*, how it globalizes every aspect of international field. In *the Communist Manifesto* along with Engels he emphatically declared that only by overthrowing the capitalist system and uncompromisingly building the alternative, the communist society developed through uninterrupted socialist transition the humanity can be saved from its barbarous hegemony, and nature can be saved from the plunder of capital. Marx through his brilliant studies of capitalism pointed out how the transition from the class divided society to classless society can be achieved. As an integral part of these studies, he called for continuous transformation of the *superstructure* to deepen and strengthen this transition to a new world. When the Communist Manifesto was drafted for the Communist League and the First International of the working class was launched, it gave a boost to the revolutionary movement. The Manifesto explained: "...The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. ...the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things... In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time...."

"...The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" (*Extracts from the concluding section of Communist Manifesto*)

Inspired by the internationally coordinated workers' movements, the Paris Commune broke out in 1871, which demonstrated that working class can storm the citadels of the capitalists, can capture political power, and initiate the building of working class alternative to capitalism. Though it was suppressed by the combined forces of the capitalist governments, Marx saluted the revolutionary heroism of the Communards, and called on them to get more firmly organized and to win support of the international proletariat so that the revolutionary center can advance without the danger of getting overthrown (*Civil War in France*). The specter of Paris uprising forced the capitalist powers to speed up the process of monopolization of capitalism, which led to the era of imperialism. Soon the whole world was divided among the handful of imperialist countries.

But the export of finance capital and colonial plunder did not end the recurring crises faced the imperialist countries and the increasing rivalry among them for re-division of the countries under colonial domination. The latter soon led to the First World War. The *Basle Conference* of the *Second International* had called on its constituent social democratic parties to mobilize the working class for turning the inter-imperialist war, if it breaks out, in to civil war against its own bourgeois ruling class. But when the War broke out

in 1914, in most of the countries the leaderships surrendered to the bourgeoisie of their own countries. It led to the liquidation of the Second International. It was in this situation that Lenin explained how the capitalist system had become more barbarous during the imperialist era. He called for its overthrow starting from its weakest link, the Tsarist Russia. The October Revolution led to the formation of Soviet Union, launching of the socialist construction and to the building of the Communist International. These revolutionary steps paved the way for the upsurge of the movement which created the possibilities for the world-wide defeat of capitalist imperialist system by the 1950s. But, these great possibilities faced grave challenges leading severe setbacks in all fields when the ICM failed to correctly evaluate the US led post-Second World War neo-colonial counter-revolutionary offensive and to put forward the socialist alternative with better clarity taking lessons from the experience of the socialist models hitherto practiced. It was this weakness of the soviet communist leadership, who became *apologists of neo-colonialism*, which became evident in 1950s that led to the severe setbacks to the ICM. Combating these capitalist roaders, though Mao led a great struggle spearheading Cultural Revolution and launching People's Communes throwing out capitalist roaders from power, the 'left' sectarians with *new era* concept usurped power for few years and caused severe setbacks from another angle by erroneous evaluation of the post-War moves of US led imperialist camp. Under their influence the newly emerging Marxist-Leninist forces around the world soon suffered setbacks and disintegrated.

Utilizing these setbacks suffered by the ICM, and to overcome their own crisis, when the US camp launched the neo-liberal offensive in the 1970s, on the one hand the right opportunists degenerated to social democracy announcing "there is no alternative to neo-liberal policies", the 'left' adventurist stream got further alienated from the left masses by pursuing sectarian policies, on the other.

It was in this critical situation at international level, which was reflected in India in diverse forms, throwing the ML forces to disarray, that through concrete analysis of Indian situation and developing ML theory and practice according to it, we had initiated our own efforts to re-organize the CPI (ML) movement. Four decades of these efforts started with the formation of the CRC CPI (ML) in 1979 and the convening of the First All India Conference in 1982. This process has led to the convening of the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPI (ML) Red Star. It will take up the task of further updating the Party Program, Path of Revolution, and Political Resolution. These draft documents discussed and adopted by the party Congress shall make the party capable of confronting the challenge posed by the RSS neo-fascism. It will provide the basis for making all out efforts to help the building of the broadest possible anti-fascist front. This will be done while taking care to pursue independent left assertion learning from past mistakes. The CPI (ML) Red Star has grown from a small group confined to few pockets in two or three states in to its present ideological clarity and organizational strength through this process. So it is the responsibility of the whole party and all its members to make the 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress a great success.

## Understanding RSS Neo-Fascism and Building up of the Anti-Fascist Movement

P J James

### The Background



The BJP that wields state power in India is the political tool of RSS, the longest-running and biggest fascist organization in the world. The RSS with Manusmriti as its ideological basis was founded in 1925 with Hedgewar as the first Sarsanghchalka almost at the same time when fascism appeared in Europe. In the case of India, the decade of the 1920s when RSS originated was a turbulent one that challenged not only the colonial rule but also the feudal order and Brahminical caste system. The Dalits, the untouchables inspired by Phule and then led by Dr Ambedkar had started entering into the political mainstream from inaccessible social peripheries. Including this, it was the challenges to the upper caste elite domination that prompted the Brahmin leadership to reassert its hegemony through the formation of RSS. Before the formation of RSS, Savarkar had laid down Hindutva, or 'political Hinduism' (which is different from Hinduism) as its ideological background. In his manuscript, '*Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*', Savarkar had argued that Hindus were a nation unto themselves, excluding Muslims, Christians and all other minorities in India. After Hedgewar's death in 1940, Golwalkar who became the second Sarsanghchalka of RSS expanded it as a militant Hindutva organisation bent on subjugating the untouchables and stigmatizing and

eliminating religious minorities, especially Muslims.

As many historians and scholars have pointed out, from the very beginning RSS had its close association with European fascism (classical fascism) that originated during the biggest imperialist political-economic crisis during the interwar period in Europe, especially in Italy and Germany, and RSS leaders of that time had established direct contacts with fascist leaders like Mussolini and Hitler. For instance, Moonje, the mentor and political guru of Hedgewar, had visited the Italian fascist dictator Mussolini in 1931 and inspired by the Fascist Academy of Physical Education that trained paramilitary lumpen goons like Black Shirts, started the Bhonsala Military School in Nasik in 1937 for imparting paramilitary training to RSS cadres and Hindutva goons under the management of Central Hindu Military Education Society. Bhonsala School's links with terrorist actions by Hindutva extremist groups including the 2008 Malegaon blasts are much discussed. Golwalkar who had a high adulation of Hitler upheld the latter's doctrine of racial purity. He praised the Nazi method of purging the Semitic races, the Jews by Hitler and even suggested the same as a good lesson for India to resolve the Muslim question. According to the core ideology of RSS or doctrine of Hindu Rashtra, "Hindus and Hindus alone, constitute the Indian Nation", whereas for Golwalkar, casteism was synonymous with 'Hindu Nation'. Historically India has been multi-religious, multilingual, multi-ethnic, multicultural and composed of many nationalities with the inhuman caste system cutting across all these identities.

However, as a fascist organisation, RSS from its very inception has been Islamophobic, anti-Christian, anti-communist, anti-woman and anti-Dalit, and was in the habit of using violence to achieve its objectives.

Under colonial oppression, nationalism and patriotism for the oppressed countries were invariably anti-colonial in essence. But the ‘cultural nationalism’ of RSS was a camouflage for its servility to British colonialists and betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle. Along with its genocidal hatred towards Muslims, extreme loyalty to British imperialism has been inherent in RSS from the very beginning, and on account of this, it totally dissociated with the independence movement during the British period. Top RSS leadership even advised its cadres not to waste their energy fighting the British but save it for fighting ‘internal enemies’ such as Muslims, Christians and Communists. As such the organization continued to remain on the periphery of Indian politics. But when Constituent Assembly was drafting the Indian Constitution, RSS came forward vehemently opposing the adoption of that Constitution and suggested ‘Manusmriti’ (the sacred book of chaturvarnya or varna system that identified women and Dalits as subhuman) in its place on the ground that a Republican Constitution would give equality to all castes against the interest of the elite castes. In fact, much before its objection to the Constitution that was drafted under the leadership of Ambedkar, the RSS’ mouthpiece, *Organiser* in August 1947 had opposed the tricolour National Flag also. Of course, following the assassination of the Father of the Nation in 1948, the RSS was banned for a few months, and one of the conditions that Sardar Patel put forward for lifting the ban on RSS on July 11 1949 was “loyalty to the Constitution of India and the National Flag”. However, the RSS that was not ready to follow this undertaking

for more than half-a-century began hoisting the National Flag only during the time of the Vajpayee government which also unveiled Savarkar’s portrait in the central hall of Parliament in 2003.

Obviously, as in the case of European fascism during the interwar period, in the era of imperialism, it is the sharpening of the inherent contradictions of the ruling system that creates the opportune moment for the ascendance of fascists who are the most reactionary sections of finance capitalists. In other words, when the crisis cannot be resolved through normal methods of loot and exploitation and when people’s struggles become uncontrollable, the political-economic situation and social tension become favourable for the fascist forces to capture power. As far as India is concerned, it was the crisis of the 1970s and declaration of Emergency by the Indira Gandhi regime that enabled RSS which till then remained outside the mainstream to come to the political limelight. In the absence of a progressive-democratic alternative, RSS effectively utilised the situation to come to the forefront of the anti-Emergency movement. Within no time, replacing the Jan Sangh, the RSS constituted BJP as its political tool and the rest is part of contemporary history. Leading hundreds of secret and open, militant and terrorist outfits and widening and deepening its clout across space and time and with its far-right economic philosophy and unwavering allegiance to the US-led imperialist camp, today RSS still claiming itself as a cultural organisation, has grown into the biggest fascist organisation in the world with innumerable overseas saffron extensions and affiliates backed by immense corporate funding.

The seventies were also a turning point in the postwar neocolonial order due to the advent of the first major global crisis called ‘stagflation’. As a result, taking

advantage of the ideological-political setbacks of the Left, imperialism abandoned its welfare mask and resorted to a change in the capital accumulation process through what is called neoliberalism. As noted above, the political-economic crisis that confronted India in the 1970s leading to the proclamation of Emergency by Indira regime in 1975 was integrally linked up with this imperialist crisis. Though Emergency was lifted in 1977, the post-Emergency period saw Indian state's abject surrender to neoliberal diktats and intensified neocolonial plunder by imperialist-corporate capital. It was during this extremely crisis-ridden period of India resulting in its further integration with global corporate capital and consequent abandoning of the Nehruvian state-led model of 'development' and embrace of neoliberal policies that RSS designed its well-thought-out strategy of eventually transforming India into a Hindurashtra, i.e., a Hindutva fascist state by floating BJP as its political party. And, effectively taking advantage of the facilitating role of the soft-Hindutva pursued by the Congress and with immense corporate-backing, it has been easy for fascist RSS to transform BJP as India's biggest ruling class party within a relatively short span of time, leading to fascist usurpation of state power with its multidimensional repercussions at micro and macro levels in the context of the ascendance of neofascism at a global level.

It is not intended here to draw out the whole trajectory of the process since the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that enabled RSS to establish its fascist tentacles in the entire political, economic and cultural spheres. Unlike Mussolini-Hitler fascism that suddenly shot up from the political-economic crisis of the 1920s, Indian fascism led by RSS is rooted in a systematic, steady and long drawn out process spanning almost a century with deep-rooted and multi-

dimensional penetration into the entire civilian and military apparatuses of the Indian state. And unlike classical fascism which had sharp contradictions with other imperialist forces, Hindutva fascists from the very beginning have been subservient to international finance capital during the colonial and postwar neocolonial period. However, in the neoliberal period, this process starts with the Ram Janmabhoomi movement since the 1980s, demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 in the context of India's embrace of far-right neoliberal policies, the 'second generation of globalisation' under Vajpayee government in the late 1990s and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, Gujarat Pogrom in 2002, the ascendancy Modi regime in 2014 and its reiteration as Modi.2 in 2019, which are some of the important milestones towards this neo-fascist transformation.

As is obvious, under Modi.2, in the background of all round private-corporatisation of the economy and saffronisation of both civilian—including constitutional and administrative and institutional spheres—and military structures (ranging from RSS initiative to start Military Schools to the Agnipath scheme), RSS is now moving towards its ultimate goal of establishing the Hindurashtra, which is an intolerant theocratic state unequivocally defined by Golwalkar in 1939 in his magnum opus, 'We, Our Nationhood Defined' and in conformity with the principles of Manusmriti. All specificities of Hindutva such as anti-Muslimness (culminating in, for instance, depicting the Rohingyas whom the UN characterised as "the most persecuted" minority on earth today as "infiltrators"), pan-Indian homogenizing drive of deconstruction and subjugation of the oppressed caste organisations aimed at integrating them into Hindutva, rejection of all values of modernity such as rational-scientific thinking, fostering the cult of tradition and obscurantism,

treating dissent and disagreement as treason, worship of heroism and elitism, anti-communism together with uncompromising integration with corporate finance capital are manifestations RSS neofascism.

### **On the Approach to Neofascism**

At this critical juncture, concrete understanding of neofascism – i.e., fascism under neoliberalism where old terms and practices connected with fascism have become irrelevant -- is indispensable for building up the anti-fascist movement and defeating fascism. No doubt, fascism's inseparable integration with the hegemony of most reactionary corporate-finance capital is its universal character. However, ascribing a static form or pattern to the emergence of fascism for all situations is erroneous, and it will impede the building up of anti-fascist struggles too. For instance, the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of Comintern (1935) that defined fascism in relation to its firm foundations in finance capital, had also underlined different course of development of fascism in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and “in these countries”, according to Comintern, “there can be no question of the kind of fascism that we are accustomed to see in Germany, Italy and other capitalist countries”. That is, depending on the specific political, economic and historical conditions of countries, fascism may assume different forms.

There is a macro dimension to this crucial question today. No doubt, fascism is the government of the most reactionary and terrorist elements of corporate-finance capital directed against the entire progressive-democratic sections, working class, peasantry, oppressed peoples and intelligentsia of the country. However, when classical fascism emerged during the interwar years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, finance capital or imperialism was in its

colonial phase. On the other hand, today imperialism is in its neocolonial phase, and on account of the crisis of capital accumulation, abandoning its welfare mask, finance capital has embraced neoliberalism whose essence is globalisation or internationalisation of capital as manifested in the limitless and uncontrollable cross-border movement of corporate capital. With the aggravation in imperialist crisis since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and especially since the 2008 “sub-crime crisis”, using the advancements in frontier technologies such as digitisation, imperialism is engaged in further shifting of its burden to the shoulders of world people. In this context neofascism is intensified to enforce the tyranny of corporate capital at a global level effectively utilising reactionary, racial, chauvinistic, revivalist, religious fundamentalist, xenophobic and obscurantist ideologies as its political basis.

Thus, neoliberal fascism or neofascism needs to be analysed with respect to the logic of corporate accumulation today. On the one hand, globalisation has enabled imperialism to restructure the erstwhile nation-centered production process by superimposing a new international division of labour and unleash a worldwide super-exploitation of the working people, thereby temporarily overcoming its crisis of accumulation. On the other, taking advantage of the ideological setbacks of the Left and by utilising the heterogeneity and diversity among working and oppressed people of different countries and through the effective use of postmodern/post-Marxist neoliberal ideologies such as “identity politics”, “multiculturalism”, etc., finance capital has also succeeded in creating division among anti-imperialist forces by diverting people's attention from corporate plunder thereby disorganising and fragmenting resistance to capital. As such, the decadence and

reactionary essence of corporate- finance capital have become more widespread and terribly destructive under neoliberalism. Unlike the period of 'classical fascism' which at that time was specific to capitalist-imperialist countries, neofascism, i.e., fascism under neoliberalism has become transnational in character cutting across national borders. A best example, is the manner in which the financial oligarchs of Europe have initiated a pan-European neofascist alliance against workers, migrants and refugees.

Today, neofascists everywhere are working overtime to take advantage of the mass psychology of social and economic insecurity created by the loss of livelihood, employment, habitat and environment arising from corporate plunder as well as people's loss of faith in mainstream traditional parties including 'social democrats' who have no alternative to neoliberal policies. Making use of the specificities of countries, neofascists in general pursue an exclusivist and majoritarian line by propping up the so called 'homogeneous' part of the population pitting it against the 'heterogeneous' sections often composed of religious, ethnic/racial and linguistic minorities, migrants, refugees, dalits, tribals and other marginalized and oppressed sections of society. Including this, the all-round depoliticising and social engineering resorted by fascists provide a fertile ground for the flourishing of neofascism. And with its own specificities, RSS fascism in India (corporate-saffron fascism) is a typical example of neofascism today. Basing itself in unbridled neoliberal-corporatisation, the Indian regime today is engaged in establishing a Hindu theocratic state or Hindurashtra in accordance with the RSS ideology of aggressive 'Hindu nationalism' or Hindutva. A concrete evaluation of the international situation today amply makes it clear that majoritarian religion

everywhere is amenable to be used by finance capital as the ideological basis of neofascism (for instance, Evangelism in the Americas, Political Islam in West Asia, Hindutva in India, Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar).

### **On Building up the Anti-Fascist Movement**

Based on the foregoing brief sketch, the antifascist offensive is to be initiated based on the lessons from past experiences but also on the basis of a concrete evaluation of 21<sup>st</sup> century laws of motion of finance capital in relation to country specificities. Obviously, neofascism is the regime of the most reactionary sections of corporate-finance capital under neoliberalism. Therefore, though ruling class/bourgeois parties are basically neoliberal in orientation, all of them are not fascistic and, of course, there are sections who stand for rule of law, bourgeois-democratic rights, freedom of expression and press, free and fair election, etc. However, their class character with roots in neoliberalism and links with corporate capital along with engagement with electoral politics as the only sphere of action, make these parties incapable to take initiative in the struggle against fascists who have usurped the entire micro and macro spaces of social life. An electoral victory alone is not sufficient as the threat of fascist comeback will be there until and unless fascist tentacles are wiped out from already occupied strategic positions. Along with the control over the organs of the state, the saffron fascists through their vast and unparalleled organisational structure also have established spectacular control over 'street power' through lumpen and paramilitary goons. Unlike the situation under classical fascism, though electoral option of challenging fascists through the parliamentary route is theoretically there today as long as elections exist, free and fair elections are becoming difficult since the Hindutva fascists through their

control over the entire administration coupled with the backing of immense corporate funding and formidable street power are engaged in transforming India into a full-fledged theocratic state based on the diktats of Manusmriti. Hence mere preoccupation with parliamentary work, devoid of a nation-wide anti-fascist movement, cannot confront the fascists, an aspect that the non-fascist ruling class parties often ignore.

Regarding the broad 'left spectrum', it ranges from the 'social democrats' (e.g., CPM) to adventurists (e.g., Maoists). The latter section, does not make a distinction between pro-fascist and non-fascist sections of the ruling classes and on account of this sectarian approach, disregards the most reactionary and terrorist class essence of neofascism which is a mere change of regime for sectarians. For the CPM, on the other hand, fascism is yet to come to India, and according to its ideologues, Modi regime is "on the verge of turning fascist" and only "symptoms of fascism" are there. Here it is to be stated that this evaluation arises from a stereotyped approach to fascism, a way of looking at neofascism as a textbook copy of the 'classical fascism' of the interwar period. This mechanical approach to neofascism is contrary to the dialectical-materialist analysis that any social phenomenon when transform and develops further in a new historical context and in a different social formation will inevitably adapt itself to the particularities and specificities of that concrete situation. To be precise, the concrete manifestations of fascism will vary according to space and time. Compared to the colonial period when classical fascism originated, today the parliamentary system has traversed almost a century, and corporate billionaires have become adept in keeping the reins of state power with them and carrying on incessant neofascist assaults on working class and oppressed peoples by keeping parliament as a mere

edifice even as policy decisions are taken in corporate-board rooms. In other words, even under the veil of bourgeois democracy, neofascism has become capable to use terrorist methods of ethnic and racial cleansing, oppression and extermination of minorities, immigrants, refugees, and women, elimination of hard-earned democratic rights, super-exploitation of the workers through new technologies, plunder of nature leading to climate catastrophe and all round militarisation. No doubt, with a mechanical approach to fascism and being apologists of neoliberal-corporatisation, it is logical on the part of social democrats to wait for fascism that is yet to come, since they are also implementing the same far-right neoliberal policies wherever and whenever they are in power.

These varying perceptions on fascism, however, should not be a justification for refraining from the immediate and indispensable task of building up the anti-fascist movement for resisting and defeating RSS neofascism. No doubt, an ideologically equipped, politically and organisationally strong communist movement is the need of the hour. At the same time, we cannot wait till such an all India movement is ready, since it will be suicidal as was the case with many communist parties in Europe when fascists were advancing there during the twenties. And when the anti-fascist united front was formed in the 1930s, much damage had already been done by fascists. At the same time, failure to analyse and comprehend the fundamentally different class interests of the diverse forces including imperialists who joined the broad united front during the anti-fascist struggle and erroneous evaluations following the defeat of fascism led to many revisionist-opportunist deviations both at the global and national levels. The dissolution of Comintern in 1943 more or less at the same when US imperialism was

preparing to launch its neocolonial offensive is a typical example of this international deviation, while the emergence of Browderism in the US that called for transforming the tactical alliance with sections of finance capitalists in the anti-fascist struggle into a long-term strategic alliance between the working class and bourgeoisie was a domestic example of this deviation.

Viewed in the context of such past experiences, even while acknowledging the absence of a strong communist movement to lead the fight against neofascism, care is to be taken to avoid both sectarian and opportunist deviations. While allying with non-fascist sections of the ruling classes in fighting the most reactionary corporate-bourgeoisie and the neofascist state propped up by them, communists and progressive forces must be aware of the overlapping, interpenetrating and complex class interests among different sections of bourgeoisie today. Coming to question of united front with social democrats, untiring ideological struggle should be carried forward. And where the social democrats are in power like the CPI (M) in Kerala serving corporate interests, this task becomes all the more significant. Any laxity on the part of communist revolutionaries in this issue will lead to surrender of the ideological-political line of the communists in the interests of “anti-fascist unity”, ultimately leading to sacrificing of proletarian independence and altogether abandoning of class struggle.

This does not mean that class struggle is to be counterpoised against anti-fascist struggle, or placing both in two watertight compartments or to be put in a one after the other manner; rather both are inseparable and interlinked in the fascist context. Many struggles against the corporate-saffron fascist regime have been there or are coming up in different parts of the country that combine

struggles against both Hindutva fascism and far-right neoliberal policies, i.e., that comprise elements of anti-fascist struggle and class struggle. The Anti-CAA Movement, the people’s movement against denying citizenship to Muslims and the historic Farmers’ Movement against corporatisation of agriculture were two examples where almost all the anti-fascist forces ranging from organisations and parties of rich farmers to oppressed masses actively participated. Based on this experience, possibilities to develop sustained and uncompromising struggles against corporatisation and saffron-fascist forces uniting with all anti-fascist sections comprising secular, democratic and left forces are emerging throughout the length and breadth of the country. In these struggles, if appropriate organisational interventions are made, the working class, especially the vast unorganised sections, peasantry, oppressed peoples including women, Dalits, adivasis, minorities, especially the persecuted Muslims, youth and students will join against corporate onslaughts, displacement from habitat, environmental destruction, caste atrocities, communal oppression, violation of democratic rights and so on. Along with such resistance struggles of people, conscious efforts should be taken to initiate debates and discussions on a political alternative against neoliberal policies and RSS neofascism. Such initiatives leading to state-level coordination joining with revolutionary left, democratic and struggling forces can create an atmosphere for the emergence of a national coordination against corporate-Hindutva fascism based on a common program, which can be extended to electoral struggles for isolating and defeating neofascists. Of particular relevance here is the crucial significance of building up effective resistance against Manuvad and growing inhuman Brahmanical caste practices

against Dalits under the patronage of RSS fascism. Hence appropriate ideological and political interventions joining with all progressive intellectuals and like-minded people against Manuvadi-Hindutva, the ideological basis of Indian fascism are inalienable components of the anti-fascist struggle. Such a movement comprising both parliamentary and non-parliamentary

struggles, if initiated properly, can also explore the possibility of tactical alliances with non-fascist sections of the parliamentary parties in electoral struggles according to concrete conditions. It will enable the anti-fascist movement to effectively utilise contradictions within the ruling classes so as to isolate the reactionary elements who are allying with fascists.

## **IT'S Now or Never: Dismantle the Present Extractive-Industrial-Capitalist System *Before It Destabilises All Earth Systems and Create a Climate Catastrophe***

**Soumya Dutta**



Earth's alarm bells are ringing loud and clear, but the worlds rich and powerful are trying hard to divert our attention from the root cause of the problems and create illusions of solutions within the problem-systems. Right at this moment, there is an unprecedented heat wave going on in large parts of China, along with a massive drought. The powerful and rich Chinese government, with large hordes of dollar reserves and world's largest techno-industrial capacity, is struggling to assure water supply to cities, industries and water guzzling thermal and nuclear power plants. At the same time, Pakistan is facing a "Monster Monsoon" which has put nearly 30% of the country under water, killed well over a 1000 people and displaced or affected over 30 million. The already weakened Pakistan government is near collapse and is seeking desperate support for

'international community'. Large parts of India faced an unprecedented Six (6) heat waves during this (2022) March-May, resulting in widespread crop losses for the second most important cropping season – Rabi. This caused a large drop in expected wheat production, forcing the Indian government to ban wheat exports, which in turn caused food-distresses in several countries dependent of Indian wheat imports. In the last four (4) years, both of India's coasts – of the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, have been hit by large and powerful cyclones every year, again unprecedented in the last 100 years of recorded history. Europe is still not out of the severe impacts of a widespread heat-wave, drought and massive wildfires, which forced even some highly 'techno-industrial' countries like France to seek foreign assistance to douse the massive fires. The US west faced a "1000 year drought" till last year, with temperature records broken in dozens of recording stations. Places in normally frozen Alaska reached 30 C temperatures. The Greenland Ice-sheet is now melting away (excess melt over fresh snow deposition) at around Six times the rate it used to a few decades ago, cooling off the extreme northern reaches of the North Atlantic. This in

turn is raising sea levels worldwide, and has already disturbed the world's largest heat distributor, the great Ocean Currents, or AMOC (Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation). This in turn is letting the high Equatorial heat to build up in areas over equatorial countries, contributing to heat-waves and droughts and fires. The world's largest Ice store, the Antarctic is also melting away much faster and is regularly "calving" (huge islands of Ice breaking off and eventually melting away) huge Icebergs the size of large cities. Rising sea levels is forcing the Indonesian government to relocate its capital Jakarta, with nearly 30 million people, to a higher inland place over a 1000 Kms away. The world's largest forests, the northern Boreal Forests are dying out under a variety of climate derived attacks, including the pine borer beetle, which is taking advantage of warmer temperatures to reproduce much more. As per some Brazilian studies, parts of the Amazon rain forests, often called the lungs of the Earth, has already become a net CO<sub>2</sub> emitter, rather than soaking in the greenhouse gas. The World's Oceans have been forced to absorb much higher amounts of Carbon Dioxide CO<sub>2</sub>, and have become almost 30% more acidic than they were before 40 years. This is resulting in large scale impacts on trillions and quadrillions of shell forming life in the Oceans, disrupting the marine web of life. The IPBES report four (4) years ago brought out the scary report that nearly One-Million species are facing 'imminent' extinction around the world, with a large part of them being insects. If one realizes that insects are the primary pollinators of our fruits and vegetables, an imminent food crisis can't be wished away. The vast permafrost areas and the shallow Arctic Sea beds have started releasing vast quantities of Methane, a Green House Gas nearly 87 times more powerful (for warming the Earth) than Carbon Dioxide in the short term. This is

the dreaded "Methane Bomb" scientists were afraid off being triggered, as these Permafrost or Permanently Frozen soil hold a vast quantity of carbon than exceeds the total atmospheric carbon content, and if released, will result in fast temperature rise across the globe. Severe cyclonic storms have increased in both numbers and strength in the Gulf of Mexico, in the eastern Pacific and in North Indian Ocean, devastating hundreds of millions of people's lives. In 2019/20, Australia faced a super-mega scale bush-fire the likes of which was never seen before by humans, and which put over 700 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere, mocking all the economic and technological capabilities of one of the richest countries that failed to douse the fires before Nature intervened with rains. The global Coral reefs, which – despite occupying only about 2% of the oceans, are home to nearly 25% of marine biodiversity, are facing extinction, with nearly 40% of coral reefs already bleached and dead, with devastating consequences for fish and other marine life. The scary event list can go on and on and on. The global Extractive-Industrial-Capitalist social-economic system is threatening to break the nine (9) Planetary Boundaries and there are ample hard scientific evidence that the Earth's natural control systems are under tremendous pressure and some are at breaking points.

All of you might have noticed the recent release of the three Working Group reports of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) sixth Assessment report cycle (AR-6), starting August 2021 for the WG-I report (The Physical Science Basis – of Climate Change), then the WG-II report (Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability) in February 2022, and finally the WG-3 report (Mitigation of Climate Change). After the release of the WG-I report, the

UN secretary general again sounded the alarm – like many climate scientists have been doing for some time, and called this a “Code Red for Humanity”. After the release of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the series, WG-III report, global scientific community and many others – including sensible media, have told what the IPCC has indicated – “IT’s NOW OR NEVER”. One has to remember that the IPCC is no radical group of “communist-scientists”. It’s not even a free association of top scientists (though top climate scientists, economists, social scientists (for the AR-6) and other experts work for the reports). It is an inter-governmental body created by the UN, and is fairly conservative. Only those scientific conclusions pass through its final editing, on which there are high degree of certainty and which withstand very rigorous checks. The high pitched alarms and final warnings coming from such a conservative body, indicate that the Earth is very near a collapse of its life-support systems. These have forced even the UN secretary General to voice warnings like “We are Sleep-walking in to a disaster”, or “Climate change is running faster than we are, and we are running out of time”.

The large scale climate driven disasters (or Climate extreme events) have increased sharply, with India facing big cyclones on both Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea coast every year now – a phenomenon not seen for at least the last 80-90 years. This has put – not only the 12 million plus coastal fish-workers, but also over 200 million coastal residents (who reside within 5 KMs of the coastline) in to grave dangers of loss of lives, of property, of loss of livelihoods. Normally dry areas in central and western India have faced massive rainfalls and widespread flooding. Kerala is now facing devastating floods almost every year. Exceptional hot periods are draining the soil of moisture affecting crop yields drastically. As a result

(combined with other causes), over 29% of India’s total land mass is facing desertification, as shown in the large scale studies by Indian Space Research Organisation ISRO. Many small rivers have either dried up or in the process of drying up – affecting not only the hundreds of millions who get their drinking and irrigation water from these, but also over 11-12 million inland fishers. People from many states are facing crippling water shortages, with about 200 districts becoming water scarce during summer months. Crops are being affected badly by either untimely heat, or hail damages, or massive losses from flooding. The Urban poor / working class are badly suffering from increasing impacts of Heat waves and Heat Index (a combination of high temperature and high humidity), which is a killer impact, along with much more frequent Urban flooding and ‘basti-fires’. Continuously rising sea levels are already forcing million of people from their homes and farms, and by all studies, these numbers will rise even faster. The list goes on and is increasing.

In the face of these loud warnings of Earth-wide catastrophic changes, the governments, businesses and agenda-setting global financial institutions have only mouthed empty rhetoric to fool the people, while continuing to pursue their fossil fuel based profit pursuit. In the highly hyped Paris Climate summit in 2015 November, almost every government and attending mega businesses agreed to drastically reduce their GHG emissions at a fast pace, and to transition to no-carbon economies by 2050. Yet after the Agreement was signed in November 2015, global total Green House Gas emissions have risen every year from 2016 to 2019, reaching a high of 37.6 Giga tons of CO<sub>2</sub>, only falling 5.8% in 2020, but Not due to any directed action, but for the world-wide economic shutdown due to the COVID

pandemic. And in 2021, the emissions took a sharp upward turn again ! Almost every government is pushing for increasing the production of some or the other fossil fuels – Coal for “developing” countries like China, India, Indonesia, Philippines, Bangladesh,..... And Oil and Natural gas for the richer “developed” / highly industrialised (OECD+) economies. After the Russia-Ukraine war disrupted the Russian gas supply to Europe, many European countries have started pushing up their coal production and restarted many moth-balled coal power plants, completely in conflict with the urgent need and their promises to shut these down. The big global financial institutions (IFIs, MDBs, BDBs,...) have pumped in over US dollar Five Trillion (well over 1.5 times India’s entire current GDP) in to fossil fuel businesses, in just five years from 2016-2020, after announcing their great intentions to “tackle climate change” ! The G20 economies (group of countries with the world’s 20 biggest economies), who account for over 80% of global emissions and nearly 90% of global trade, and also have the biggest financial and technological capacities, have actually increased their collective emissions significantly.

To realise the present stagnation and impasse over Systemic Climate Governance Actions, one needs to look back a little to the history of international climate governance. Though the clear link between higher Green House Gases (GHGs) in the atmosphere – resulting primarily from the burning of fossil fuels (Coal, Oil or Petroleum products and natural gas) – and higher average temperatures on Earth, were known for well over a century, the 1972 “UN Conference on Human Environment” in Stockholm was probably the first instant where global political leaders collectively agreed that this is a Political-

Economic problem, and not just an environmental” problem, and needs to be tackled with global political-economic change. But the categorisation of the problem and its root cause was still not clearly acknowledged to be the extractive-industrial-capitalist political-economy. Instead, “poverty” was identified as the “biggest polluter”, disregarding the scientific truth that the poor causes the least amount of pollution through their minimal consumption, and it’s the wealth that created the maximum pollution by consumption! Though the 1972 ‘Club of Rome’ report – “The Limits to Growth”, the 1987 ‘Brundtland commission’ report – “Our Common Future : Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development”, and more had already shown that the over exploitation of the earth’s limited resources and the over pollution of its ecosystems is the root cause, and the Extractive-Industrial-Capitalist political Economy of never ending Economic Growth (to drive ever increasing production and profits) is the driving factor of this destruction.

It took all of 20 years from this realisation to the “landmark Rio Earth Summit” in 1992, for the world’s governments to collectively agree on some frameworks to act politically on the interrelated emerging ecological crises of “Climate Change”, Biodiversity loss and species extinction and fast spreading desertification around the world. As a result, the Rio Earth Summit gave birth to the three Global Ecological Compacts – UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), UNCBD (UN Convention of Biological Diversity) and the UNCCD (UN Convention for Combating Desertification) – all in 1992. One has also to take note of the political juncture at which these events are taking place. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to an euphoria in the capitalist world that

the “alternative pathway” of socialist development has been “shown to be incapable of tackling human societal challenges” (though the role of the western capitalist system in this collapse was not brought out). This is despite the fact that even the “Soviet model” of development went on the same path of indiscriminate extraction-industrialisation-waste-dumping from/on Nature, differing only in the ‘control of means of production’ and distributive justice. The fall of the “socialist political alternative” gave rise to the narrative of “end of History”, and from now on, it’s only the capitalist model that will show the world how and where to go! It’s in this background of TINPA (there is no political-economic alternative) that the Rio Earth Summit was held, and it is then no surprise that the “sustainable development” solutions will be visualised within the same political economy.

Right from the birth of UNFCCC in 1992, the recognition of the climate crisis as a major global challenge was there, but policies and actions lagged far behind. Five years after this, in 1997, the country governments party to the UNFCCC, agreed on a very modest policy on actions to climate change, in what is called the “Kyoto Protocol”. Though modest in its ambitions to reduce the Greenhouse gas emissions from main industrialised countries (between 5 and 8%, from their 1990 levels), it had few important global climate policy and governance principles. One was the key issue of acceptance of the “Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capacities or CBDR & RC”. This meant that all countries agreed that those who have historically emitted far more greenhouse gases (which are primarily responsible for the global warming driving climate crisis), have More Responsibilities than other countries who have not thus contributed

significantly to the global atmospheric GHG load, though every country have some responsibility. Along with that, the RC part acknowledged that since it is the same high emitter countries who have amassed wealth, technology and infrastructure at a much higher level, by using the GHG emitting fossil fuels, they have more capacity – financially and technologically, to respond and thus have to do much more to tackle the climate crisis, not only in their own territories, but also to help other, poorer (less capacity) countries, both financially and technologically. These ‘obligations’ of developed or industrialised rich countries to the poorer developing countries have caused lots of debates in the following UN Climate negotiations and also in international discussions of obligations of rich countries for Climate Finance -- in the Green Climate Fund GCF, in ODAs etc.

Second important policy was the acceptance that the science will determine how much mitigation (reducing emissions of global warming GHGs) is needed by which time, though the schedule of reduction was far from what was dictated by science. This reduction was initially agreed upon in the First commitment period, from 2008---2012, to be later extended to the second commitment period with enhanced reduction targets. The noteworthy point is that the Kyoto protocol was, in a way, a legally binding agreement, though there was no provision of penalising any country in case of non-compliance (which were many). Also, the four pillars of Climate Action were accepted to be the Mitigation (reducing GHG emissions), Adaptation (helping nations, communities to adapt to the climate change impacts), Technology Transfer (providing technology free of Intellectual Property Rights, to poorer nations, to tackle their low carbon development needs) and Finance (rich and historically

high emitter nations commitment to give money – mostly grants from public sources, to poorer nations). Much later, a fifth aspect, that of Loss and damage (the acceptance that in spite of adaptation measures, massive climate triggered losses are happening and poorer countries should be helped to manage these, as they have low capacity).

Another important aspect, an aberration in some views, was that under US threat of not signing the KP, a “flexible mechanism” meaning mostly a (capitalist) Market based mechanism, was introduced in the mitigation mechanisms. This gave rise to the Emissions Trading Scheme, the Carbon Trading mechanism called the “Clean Development Mechanism” etc. Thus, the actual reduction of GHG emissions where it is being emitted, was replaced by the complex and hard to verify carbon emission trading (through Certified Emissions Reductions or CER), which later became the dominant operational method, leading to all kinds of problems, and actual rise in emissions globally (emissions post Kyoto rose both in developed and developing countries). The KP ‘came into force’ in 2005, and was supposed to be upgraded and replaced by a much stronger agreement later.

As part of these policies, two tracks were established under the UNFCCC – the Technology Mechanism and the Finance Mechanism, for implementation. For the Technology Mechanism, two bodies came into being – Technology Executive Committee (TEC) and Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN), for carrying on the work. On the Finance front, Green Climate Fund was created to support developing / poor countries with no interest/ low interest climate finance, to the tune of US Dollar 100 billion per year (which, though sounds a lot, was less than one-sixth of the World Bank estimate at the time, on

minimum annual support needed to tackle CC).

What transpired from 2009 in the Copenhagen climate summit (CoP-15 of UNFCCC) and in the next year in Cancun (CoP-16), was a near complete negation of the accepted principles, that science will dictate the mitigation targets and CBDR & RC will be the guiding principle. From 2010 in Cancun, a new “Pledge and Review” global climate governance was pushed for, meaning each country will do (or reduce or take climate action) as per their own decisions, NOT as needed to avert a climate catastrophe based on science. Simultaneously, the rich countries started pushing for the so-called “emerging economies”, like China, India, Brazil, Mexico..... To take more responsibilities, as they are now emitting more and also has better financial capacities. Thus, the two key aspects of Kyoto protocol, Science based determination of mitigation targets and CBDR&RC, were effectively nullified, though still kept in the texts of the UNFCCC negotiations. On the critical Finance part, the concept that the rich countries will provide at least a \$100 billion each year in mostly grants to poorer countries, has also changed drastically. After the “Fast Start Climate Finance” of about USD 30 billion from 2010—2012, the GCF is struggling to raise money. The GEF (Global Environment Facility, another climate finance provider under UNFCCC) is a much smaller player. Even the GCF is talking about part loans part grant, of Private finance being leveraged, of complex mechanisms of accounting.... Meaning that those basic commitments are no longer sacrosanct!

Coming to the ‘present’, the currently active global climate governance principles and structure is determined by the Paris Agreement, which again, is totally based on Pledge and review

system (meaning Governments are working on the principle of - “we will do as we like, but allow checking compliance with that pledge”). Each country was told to, and submitted their so-called Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) as required under the Article 4 para 12 of the Paris Agreement (PA). The NDCs include both mitigation and adaptation, though developed country NDCs are mostly mitigation, and poorer (LDCs, island nations) country NDCs are largely adaptation, with middle economies planning both. Almost all of these NDCs are way below the bare minimum required for preventing climate catastrophe, and some analysis shows that even if all pledges in NDCs are fulfilled, the global average annual temperature will rise from 3.2 to 3.5 C above pre-industrial temperatures by the year 2100, and the Redlines of 1.5C and 2.0C will likely be breached by 2030-2040 and 2050-2060. Already, the global annual average have increased over 1 C, and the average over northern hemispheric landmass (where a large majority of humanity lives) has almost touched 1.4 C (average) over pre-industrial. These are scary scenarios, but the earliest review of the PA pledges is scheduled in 2020, before and during the UNFCCC CoP-25 in Chile, and every passing year is proving that the Climate Crisis is spreading faster than predicted. Though the UN Secretary General has invited all government leaders to the one-day Climate summit in UN HQ in New York on Sept.23, 2019, and asked them to “come with concrete plans” to do much more, not with speeches, there are hardly any sign that governments are preparing to drastically shift away from a fossil-fuel driven, continuous GDP growth oriented economy. Despite the significant progress a few countries made in installing solar and wind power and some coal power plant shutdowns, GHG emissions have started rising again, after

three years of stagnation (stagnant from 2014-2016, but rose in 2018 at highest rate in 7 years), and GHG spewing fossil fuels still provide about 80% of global primary energy supply.

In 2021, the critical Glasgow climate summit was acknowledged to be the (almost) last chance for a globally agreed turn-around from massive extraction-production-growth-emissions, and towards a low emission, ‘zero-carbon’ global economy. The same-year accepted (in September 2015) Sustainable Development Goals accepted the principles of “Leaving No One Behind”, and a zero-hunger, No-Poverty, Water & education for all, decent jobs / income for everyone, restoring Oceans and land to health, .....and it was universally accepted that without stopping the catastrophic turn to Climate Chaos, none of this can be achieved. Yet, just before coming to attend the Glasgow CoP-26 (the 26<sup>th</sup> Conference of Parties), US president Joe Biden was negotiating hard with OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to increase their oil and gas productions, so that US drivers of big SUVs can enjoy low cost Gas (petrol) to merrily drive around to destruction of the Earths life support systems. The Prime minister of the CoP-26 host country, Boris Johnson, was pushing hard to open a massive new oil drilling operation in Combo. The head of government of the most populated country in the world, China (the biggest emitter / polluter by far) increased their coal based power, though taking some action to control the severe air pollution. India (third largest emitter behind China and USA, but much lower down the rank in per capita emission), is opening up multiple new large coal mines, privatised coal mining for profit and pushing ahead for new coal based power plants, despite over capacity and critical levels of air pollution all over the country, killing over 12 lakh Indians each year. The president of the largest

economy of Latin America, Brazil, is merrily burning millions of acres of Amazon forests each year, to increase grazing grounds for beef exports, and open fields for soybean etc. Other large economies like Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa.....all followed in the same mould.

Thus it is very clear now that the global Extractive-industrial-capitalist systems WILL NOT abandon their pursuit of more extraction—more production—more profits—more waste dumping, as that is at the core of its very survival. Even though there are a large no of indications and catastrophic events that shows that the Earth-systems are about to collapse. The massive impacts on the Earth-systems are only intended to be 'softened' a little with palliatives like Efficiency Increase, the "Circular Economy", the "Fourth Industrial Revolution" etc. With this perspective, and keeping in mind the dire warnings of the IPCC, IPBES, WMO, reports, the urgency called for by the WG-1 report, which paints a grim picture of the physical state of the climate systems, and the WG-2 report that show an equally dangerous scenario of impacts, vulnerabilities etc., the WG-3 report on mitigation sounds another clear and loud alarm -- that global aggregate emissions of GHGs must peak by 2025 (less than a mere 4 years' time) and then rapidly decline by 50% in the next 5 years (the "NOW" part of "now or never"), if there has to be some possibilities of avoiding 1.5°C temperature rise (from pre-industrial average) and catastrophic climate change. It's another matter that some of the IPCC forecasts have been overshoot by actual changes in the Earth Systems, and some scientific assessments show that we are now committed to crossing 1.5°C rise in the next decade. This is Not Like other localised or short term problems. Once the Earth passes a critical temperature rise – be it 2

C or 1.7 C or something round that (no certainty about what temperature rise will finally trigger the Tipping Points, but approximate figures are around 2 C), there is a danger that the "Feedback Mechanisms" will take us in to a Runaway Climate Change situation, and we will race towards a "Hot-house Earth" scenario, may be for centuries to come. Human civilization as we know it, will likely cease to exist, with only the elite creating highly protected safe havens for themselves. Hundreds of millions might die and billions will suffer badly. It's also clear that governments, businesses and industry have consistently refused to take necessary climate actions, that they used only rhetoric to deceive the people at large, and that they are pursuing a largely fossil fuel driven "COVID recovery" of the economies.

In these circumstances, it's only large scale people's uprisings that can hope to force a change of course, but that is far easier said than done. The "ordinary people" are kept in darkness about the grim situation all of us are facing. They are also faced with multiple challenges in their daily lives, of earning enough to feed their families, of escaping death and severe diseases due to non-availability of basic health care, of struggles to get the basic water and energy supplies. It is a challenge that we must accept, to make these connections clear to people on the ground, to mobilize them for acting as organised collectives, for better scientific and political understanding and action.

It's a matter of encouragement that over the past few years, an increasing number of youth and children's collectives in many countries are becoming more militant in demanding climate action and climate justice. In climate marches called by numerous small groups, over 3-5 lakh people are turning up – in countries like USA, and those of European Union. In UK, the Extinction

Rebellion is taking non-violent militant actions to both demand action from the government and stop the economic wheels of this extractive-exploitative economies. In Europe and Latin America, the de-growth movement is gaining grounds. During the CoP-26 in Glasgow, the people's Climate March attracted the spontaneous participation of over 120,000 protesting people, despite that being a cold, rainy and windy day. The challenges are greater in the countries of the south, where people are kept debilitating occupied for the basic survival needs, leaving little energy for deeper engagements. But history shows

that when the push become shove, and if enlightened political guidance is present, people have risen up to the challenges and changed the course history. And as it becomes clearer that we have No Other Option but to Dismantle this currently global Extractive-Industrial-Capitalist system and replace it with a Nature-determined and respecting, equitable (in the sense of all humans, in the sense of all future generations and in the sense of all species of life on Earth), just Political-Economic-Social system, across the world. It's the final call to action for all of us. That is the challenge we have to rise up to.

## Divisive Politics of RSS and Struggle for Plural Society

*Ram Puniyani*



India has been a country of plural diverse traditions. Here people of different religions have been living for centuries. From last few decades the discords between different communities have been on the rise. The minorities particularly Muslims have been targeted in severe ways. Even the Christian minority is also under the attack. These divides between different religious communities have been on the increase due to the communal agenda aggressively unleashed during last few decades. Around the time of Shah Bano fiasco, the communal forces launched the Ram Temple campaign, which became more heightened after the Mandal Commission implementation in 1990. Since then the communal violence on

one hand and increase in the electoral power of BJP is on the rise parallel to each other.

RSS pursues the politics of Hindutva, which is based on Savarkar's elaboration of this concept. As per Savarkar, Hindutva is not just a religion, it is whole HInduness based on Aryan Race, culture (Brahmanical) and the land from Sindhu to seas. (1) In his concept of citizenship Hindus have a primacy as this is their Pitrubhumi (fatherland) and Punyabhumi (Holyland) both. Christians and Muslims become secondary as their Punyabhumi is in Mecca and Jerusalem. His concept of Nationalism is based on this is Hindu Rashtra. This is the ideological basis of RSS politics. (2)

### Colonial Period: Indian Nationalism and Sectarian Nationalism

During colonial period the rising classes of industrialists, businessmen, workers and educated classes came together and formed different organizations, Madras Mahajan Sabha, Pune Sarvajanik Sabha, and Bombay Association etc. These

organizations felt for the need for an overarching political organization so went in to form Indian National Congress in 1885. (3) The declining sections of society, Muslim and Hindu landlords and kings also decided to come together to oppose the all-inclusive politics of Congress, which in due course became the major vehicle of the values of freedom movement. These declining sections were feeling threatened due to the social changes. To hide their social decline they projected as if their religion is in danger. They also did not like the standing up to the colonial masters by Congress, which had started putting forward the demands for different rising social groups and thereby for India. Congress saw this country as 'India is a Nation in the making', while Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha saw it as Muslim and Hindu nation respectively (4).

As per declining sections of landlords and kings; standing up to, not bowing in front of the ruler is against the teachings of 'our' religion so what is needed according to them is to promote the loyalty to the British. They, Hindu and Muslim feudal elements, came together and formed United India Patriotic Association in 1888. The lead was taken by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; it included Muslim and Hindu feudal elements like Nawab of Dhaka and Raja of Kashi (5). Later due to British machinations the Muslim elite from this association separated and formed Muslim league in 1906, while in parallel to this the Hindu elite first formed Punjab Hindu Sabha in 1909 and then Hindu Mahasabha in 1915.

These communal formations argued for Muslim Nationalism and Hindu nationalism. Hindu nationalists also developed the political ideology of Hindutva, articulated particularly by Savarkar in 1923 in his book 'Hindutva or Who is a Hindu?' This was an

enviable situation for British as such groups would weaken the rising national movement. On one side they quietly supported the Muslim League and parallel to this they handled Hindu Mahasabha with velvet gloves.

### Genesis of RSS

Taking a cue from the ideology of Hindutva, RSS came up in 1925, with the path of Hindu Nationalism and goal of Hindu Nation. The values of rising classes embodied in the persona of Bhagat Singh, Ambedkar, Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and many others mainly revolved around Indian Nationalism, built around the principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Social Justice. The ideology of Muslim League selectively drew from elite Muslim traditions to assert the caste and gender hierarchy of feudal society. While Hindu Mahasabha and RSS had tomes like Manusmriti to talk about graded hierarchies of caste and gender. Muslim and Hindu communalists were not part of freedom movement as freedom movement was all inclusive and aimed at secular democratic values. Muslim and Hindu communalists drew from glories of respective Kings of the past and kept aloof from anti British struggle, some exceptions are always there to show the evidence of their participation in the freedom struggle.

Gandhi's attempt to draw the masses in to anti British struggle was the major point due to which the Constitutionals like Jinnah; traditionalists of Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha further drifted away and consolidated themselves after 1920s. The trajectory of Hindu Nationalism from the decade of 1920 becomes very clear, to be on the side of British to oppose the Muslim Nationalists. Same applies to Muslim League, as it regarded Congress as a Hindu party. (6) The Freedom of the country and tragic partition led to

Muslim Leaguers going to Pakistan while leaving sufficient backlog to sustain Muslim communalism here.

### **RSS Setting up Shakhas**

Shakha are branches and are the key basic unit of RSS. Here boys between the ages of 5 to 15 years are trained in anti-Muslim ideology and glorification of ancient values which can in brief be called Brahmanism or Manuvad. The stories of brave Hindu kings (Shivaji, Maharana Pratap, Prithviraj Chauhan) versus evil Muslim kings (Afzal Khan, Mohammad Ghorī, Babar, Allauddin Khilji, Aurangzeb etc.) is highlighted. Islam and Christianity are presented as alien religions. Islam's spread by Muslim kings through sword, and Muslim kings destroying Hindu temples is drilled in to heads of young recruits. Many other half truths and lies related to terrorism, large families are also propagated through many training camps. (7)

Hindu Nationalists in the form of Hindu Mahasabha and RSS gradually started asserting themselves, beginning with murder of Mahatma Gandhi. Hindu Nationalists formed first Jan Sangh and later the present BJP. The major issue taken up by these nationalists was opposition to cooperative farming, public sector and undertook a program called 'Indianization of Muslims', in the beginning.

The identity related issues have been the staple diet for religious nationalist tendencies. 'Cow as our mother', 'Ram Temple' 'Ram Setu', 'Abolition of article 370' and 'Uniform civil code' has been the foundation around which emotive hysterical movements have been built. (8) This is also called Hindutva agenda and it has deepened the communal divides in the country and lot of hatred is generated around these.

### **Modi in Power**

The increasing communal violence from the decade of 1990s led to polarization of society and increasing electoral power of BJP. It also led to ghettoization of Muslim minority and intimidation of Christian minority.

Anti Muslim violence has been the major hallmark of communal politics. Starting from Jabalpur riots of 1961, to incidents of violence in Gujarat (1969) Meerut, Hashimpura, (1987) Bhagalpur, (In decade of 1980s) to Mumbai-Surat (1992-93), Gujarat 2002, Muzzafarnagar UP 2013, Delhi 2020 the community suffered a severe jolt. The latest of this was seen in On Ram Navami (2022), the major incidents which shook the country were in Khambata and Himmat Nagar, Gujarat; in Khargone, Madhya Pradesh; in Gulbarga, Raichur and Kolar, Karnataka; in Sitapur, Uttar Pradesh; and in Islampura, Goa. These are few among the nationwide spread of the incidents.

The Khargone incident stands out for the shocking step taken by the state government in demolishing nearly 51 structures (shops and residences) of the minority community. The charge leveled was that the stones were thrown from these places; so as per the state home minister, these structures had to be turned into stones. (9) Meanwhile, the new pretext of breaking the backbone of the Muslim community has been propped up as Muslim traders will not be permitted near Hindu temples and at Hindu 'melas' (fairs).

Just a couple of days later, Hanuman Jayanti was celebrated. The processions were playing loud music, were dancing and shouting anti-Muslim slogans and were armed with weapons. The processions had a common destination, the nearby mosques, particularly in Muslim-majority areas. Provocative slogans, stone-throwing was followed by violence. Jahangirpuri, in Delhi's incident, particularly stands out. Here

after the stone-throwing Muslims were arrested.

All around loud hysteria is raging in the streets. This is what prompted the eminent historian Ramchandra Guha to state that we are living in the worst era of independent India. This is what prompted leaders of 13 opposition parties, including the Congress, NCP, TMC, DMK and many others to issue a statement saying: “We are extremely anguished at the manner in which issues related to food, dress. Food, festivals and language are being deliberately used by ruling establishment, to polarize our society. We are extremely concerned with the growing incidents of hate in the country by the people who appear to have official patronage and against whom no meaningful and strong action is taken.” (10)

The hate is being spewed by the religious processions, the hate speech of most derogatory nature from the Dharam Sansad’s (Yati Narsinghanand, Bajrang Muni and company) and from those eager to impose a Hindu Rashtra (nation) on a secular democratic India. In response to the letter by 13 parties, Sambit Patra, BJP national spokesperson, blamed the widening circle of violence on politics of appeasement of the opposition Congress party. Incidentally, it was the same appeasement argument used by Nathuram Godse while assassinating Mahatma Gandhi.

### **Anti-Christian Violence**

‘Persecution Relief’ report (2019) points out “The frequency of attacks on Christian’s gatherings is escalating to heights especially during Sunday morning Worship service and house prayer meetings. Pastors and congregation members are beaten, sometimes so badly that they break their legs, vandalize the churches and the Hindu fundamentalists make reports to

the police that these Christians are converting the people to Christ. Hundreds of Christians are being imprisoned on false charges of converting Hindus to Christianity.” (12)

The ‘Freedom House’ report mentions the attacks on Muslims prominently as the attacks on Muslims are very glaring while those on Christians are generally sub-radar and reported less often. The very nature of anti-Christian violence in India beginning in the decades of 1990s has been a bit different. The first major act of anti-Christian violence was the brutal burning of Pastor Graham Stuart Stains on January 23, 1999. Bajrang Dal’s Dara Singh (Rajendra Pal) who is currently in jail was the one who mobilized people on the pretext that Pastor Stains is a threat to Hinduism as he is converting the people on the pretext of treating Leprosy patients.

That time it was NDA government led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee with Lal Krishna Advani as Home minister. Initially Advani stated that it can’t be a work of Bajrang Dal worker. The incident was so horrific that the then President of India K.R. Narayanan lamented that the ‘Killings belong to World’s inventory of Black deeds.’ At the same time Advani appointed Wadhwa Commission to investigate the incident.

The Wadhwa Commission concluded that Bajrang Dal Activist Dara Sing, who was also participating in other Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Vishwa Hindu Parishad type activities, was the culprit and that there is no statistical increase in the number of Christians in the area where Pastor Stains was working. (13)

We have witnessed the regular occurrence of anti-Christian violence in the Adivasi areas of Dangs (Gujarat April-August, 1998), Jhabua (Madhya Pradesh September 23, 1998) and Orissa

(2007 and 2008). Every year around Christmas time the anti-Christian violence used to take place and the peak of this was the August 2008 Kandhamal Violence in which nearly hundred Christian lost their lives, hundreds of churches were damaged or burnt and thousands of Christians were displaced.

### **Divisive Issues**

The major issues brought to fore by RSS-BJP have been related to Ram Temple, which led to demolition of Babri Mosque (Now Construction of Ram Temple is in full swing). The issue of Gyanvapi Mosque has been floated and Mathura Krishna Janmbhumi issue will be next on line. Meanwhile the social common sense is so doctored that Muslims were blamed for Corona (Corona Jihad), UPSC jihad, Land Jihad, narcotics jihad and even in the wake of Assam floods of 2022, flood Jihad has also been floated. (14) The call for boycott of Muslim traders is not only circulating on social media but many a local bodies are passing such resolutions.

The patriarchy boosting 'Love Jihad' issue, the Holy cow-beef issue and search for such identity issues is on. Along with this the authoritarianism is increasing exponentially. The various wings of democracy are under severe strain due to the pressure of communal politics. Executive, Judiciary, legislature and media, the pillars of democracy are under severe strain and no are more acting as a check on the growing authoritarianism of the executive head. (15) Growing Islamophobia is supplemented by rise of rabid extremist elements within Muslim community. Christianophobia is also rising strongly.

### **Promoting Pluralism: Democracy**

There is a need for multilayered struggle against the prevalent autocracy, which many have labeled as elected autocracy.

The movement of farmers and movement against CAA had been two landmark movements, which show us the way. At one level we need to build a political platform of different parties to take on communal politics. The division within the opposition parties needs to be overcome by developing a minimum common program based on democratic and secular values. We all need to introspect as to what roles we can play in bringing together various parties at electoral level.

The need for common platform for movements of workers, farmers, un-employeds, adivasis among others is the need of the hour. The common underlying theme of such a platform will be their worsening plight due to the alliance of communal and corporate forces.

At community level we urgently need to work against the prevalent Hate. For this we need to start activities in community spaces, sort of chain of community centers, which undertake the programs to overcome Hate.

The society is in the grip of multiple pressing issues. People want to have dialogue on their problems and also understand the deeper dynamics of different political streams and their impact on social lives. The rising Hate is a matter of great concern for us all.

We need to promote the dialogue and also reach to the community with proper understanding of different issues. The campaigns related to their issues need to be broadened. We also need to combat the hate which is dividing the society. There is a need for platforms/ addas to have dialogue and reach to them the values of amity and peace, while giving expression to their deeper social concerns of livelihood. The campaigns for social issues need to be properly channelized and associated with other such

endeavors-movements. The grass-root level work needs to be strengthened and awareness levels need to be built up. While lot of good material is produced by activists/scholars/film-video makers, its reach seems to be limited. We need to put our heads together to promote weekly (fortnightly) community meetings in localities, where we celebrate cultural programs, have a library, view the videos-films, sing songs of communal amity and participate in community celebrations while we also communicate the values of amity through diverse mechanisms. These weekly meetings; call them as per local appeal; will also be the platforms of hearing the problems/travails of the people and reflect upon them to give a shape to our social interventions through campaigns for people's rights. Each of these aspects can be developed by discussion in localities with the aim of communicating the deeper message of harmony and peace. These ideas can give a direction to our social movements. The cultural mechanisms for amity have to be backbone of such community level regular meetings. Films and videos can play a central part in this.

Many of us feel that we are preaching to converts; we need to break this shackle. Some random thoughts are here in this direction.

1. The hate against religious minorities is rising in dangerous proportions. We have been seeing the Dharam Sansad speeches and Sully Deals and Bullibai Apps are just the tip of the iceberg. Our efforts to understand the deeper problem, the Hate manufactured and propagated from Shakhass and spread through schools, Godi media, Social media and IT cell is well known. Now the seeds of hatred sown by these mechanisms are assuming cancerous proportions.
2. While those believing in harmony and peace are more in

number, their efforts are fragmented and not reaching the nook and corner of society. Brilliant analysis of the situation is there, but mostly we are talking amongst ourselves. The crucial link of reaching the community needs to be taken up seriously.

3. The local cultural programs promoting amity are most needed; we can also organize Amity Film Festivals and Nukkad Nataks in each city.

4. We also need to work for community centers, *addas*, where weekly or fortnightly programs need to be started. These programs have multiple dimensions-cultural, educational and political in particular. These also need to be linked with the national campaigns and protests. We have to take up this task to run these mini centers in a consistent fashion.

5. We need to discuss and thwart the communal violence by promoting Mohalla committees with people from different religions in collaboration with police. This committee can meet regularly and at sensitive times urge upon police authorities to take suitable steps to prevent and likelihood of violence. Regular meetings of this committee will also create a positive atmosphere in the communities.

6. We should aim to raise Amity platforms, which give space to diverse groups working for amity. The area, city, state and national level platforms can meet occasionally and chart out the programs for increasing the work of harmony in the local areas and in the country as a whole.

### **Types of programs**

- a. National Festivals- 15<sup>th</sup> August, 26 January, Constitution Day
- b. Social aspects of festivals- Divali, Id, Christmas, Onam, Lohri etc.
- c. Special Days: Social Justice Day, Women's Day

- d. Anniversaries: Gandhi, Ambedkar, Bhagat Singh, Maulana Azad
- e. Regular discussion on social issues: unemployment, workers-farmers plight, social justice, gender justice
- f. Inviting social activists for interaction as and when possible
- g. Video screenings; Every session can have video selected for the occasion

- 7. Urgent need to make the social media network; starting whatsapp groups to spread good material to friends activists, community leaders, to associate with similar efforts by other concerned individuals/groups
- 8. There are excellent feature films and videos which can be screened

## IS INDIAN STATE PROXYING FOR THE HINDUTVA PROJECT OF MILITARIZATION OF HINDUS?

Shamsul Islam



Presently, the Indian defence paraphernalia is ranked as the fourth mightiest army in the world after USA, Russia and China with Japan at the fifth place. It has approximately 3,544,000 on roll, 1,444,000 being on active duty with 2,100,000 as reserve personnel.<sup>i</sup> It is credited with innumerable military operations of glory like Bangladesh War 1971, Kargil War 1999, surgical strikes in Pakistan occupied Kashmir 2019 etc. Indian Army rendered direct help to the Sri Lankan State in suppressing the LTTE; the Tamilian rebels (1987-90) and has been immensely contributing to the UN peace-keeping military operations in different parts of the world numbering more than 43. According to the Indian

Army website "India is ranked, as the third largest troop contributor to the UN"<sup>ii</sup> contributing 2,00,000 Indian troops.<sup>iii</sup>

### INDIAN ARMY KEEPS SAFE DISTANCE IN COVID-19 PANDEMIC TIMES

However, it is sad that when India continues to witness a devastation and mayhem only comparable to the 1947 Partition; the 4th mightiest army in the world has rendered help which cannot be described even as cosmetic. Approximately, last two months of the abrupt lock-down have proved decisively that the Indian State completely betrayed the working class and poor Indians. In absence of jobs, food, shelter, transport and health care millions of them were left to suffer horrible times and tragedies. The stories are so horrendous that the term gut-wrenching would be highly understatement to describe the prevalent hunger, maiming and killings of migratory workers (it is a kind of racism that workers belonging to India if go to work in different parts of the

country are described as migratory workers. This term is not used for those who join high-profile jobs or politicians) in almost all parts of the country. The three wings of the Indian armed forces; the army, air force and navy have finest medical, transport and communication paraphernalia.

It is puzzling that all these were kept locked-down in face of the rampaging Covid-19 pandemic when India was in dire need of doctors, hospitals, vehicles, airplanes and high quality professional communication facilities. All major cities of India have the most modern military hospitals which if opened for Covid-19 patients would have greatly lessened the unbearable pressure on the civil health services. If a small number of military doctors and nursing staff were deputed in critical areas, the sufferings and fatalities would have been lessened.

The lock-down showed how migratory workers suffered and are suffering while trying to reach to their native places; road, rail services almost incapable of help. The mighty transport capacity available with the army would have made a real difference. Likewise, with a centralized and most modern surveillance system of the armed forces and its own satellites in the space (using which India was able to identify terrorist centres in Pakistan and destroyed the same celebrated as 'surgical strikes') the devastated multitudes in millions which included pregnant women, children, old and disabled persons, walking on roads and rail tracks (many of them getting killed while undertaking these risky journeys) would have been identified and picked up in army vehicles or airplanes.

It intervened only to shower flower petals on the hospitals and army/navy/air force bands playing outside hospitals which were treating

the Covid-19 patients (despite warning from the medical fraternity that this shower of flowers may be a serious cause of spreading the dreaded virus and a law that hospital areas are 'no noise' areas). It was ostensibly done with a noble objective to honour the 'warriors' against the Covid-19. Even a cosmetic intervention should have meant deputing a small number of medical and Para-medical staff in at least Red Zones. In fact, many countries of the world including African countries armed forces were deployed to fight the pandemic which continue to play great pro-active role in this fight.<sup>iv</sup>

#### **INDIAN ARMY MAKES PUBLIC PLAN OF 3-YEAR MILITARY TRAINING DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC TIMES**

It is puzzling that the Indian armed forces remaining insulated during the times of Covid-19 came out with a plan of employing Indians for a 3-year voluntary "tour of duty".<sup>v</sup> According to a release from the Indian Army, "The proposal is a shift from the concept of permanent service/job in the Armed Forces, towards „internship“/temporary experience for three years. It is for youth who "do not want to make defence services their permanent vocation, but still want to experience the thrill and adventure of military professionalism".

Explaining the rationale behind this innovative scheme the note read that it was to tap the "resurgence of nationalism and patriotism" amongst Indian youth and help reduce the unemployment in India. The proposal also envisages that the earnings of these three years could be made tax-free and all those who would be part of 'tour of duty' could be given preference in public sector jobs as well as post-graduate courses. The note also stressed

the fact that it would help to channelize the youth energy into positive utilization of their potential and that “rigorous military training and habits inculcated will lead to healthy citizenry”.<sup>vi</sup>

This announcement proposing a policy decision, unheard and never debated in Parliament or at the ministry of defence level, about new mode and tenure of recruitment in the Indian Army was not made public by the defence minister, Rajnath Singh or Chief of Defence Staff of India, General Bipin Rawat but through a press-note of the Army. Army spokesperson Colonel Aman Anand confirmed that such a proposal was being discussed. The opposition political parties and media did not bother to react to this proposal which may prove to be a defining moment for future of democratic-secular India.

The above note during Covid-19 times raises many important questions, the answers to which have to be found to determine the future course of democratic- secular Indian polity. The loud mouthed claim that 3-year voluntary „tour of duty“ would help reducing unemployment is laughable. The claim gives the impression that out of millions and millions of unemployed Indian youth few millions are going to be absorbed under this scheme. How Indian Army is helping to reduce unemployment can be known by the fact that it plans to reduce force strength by cutting 1.5 lakh jobs. In some sections the reduction is going to be as high as 20%.<sup>vii</sup>

### **3-YEAR MILITARY TRAINING FOR NATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM & HEALTHY CITIZENRY**

Justifying the scheme Army note said that it was in response to the "resurgence of nationalism and

patriotism” and “rigorous military training and habits inculcated will lead to healthy citizenry”. Thus nationalism, patriotism and healthy citizenry are being equated with the Army training. Such slogans were generally heard during the World War II and presently heard in totalitarian states like North Korea and Zionist Israel.

### **HINDU NATIONALIST ICONS BORROWED THE IDEA OF MILITARIZATION OF HINDUS FROM MUSSOLINI & HITLER**

The fact is that such a scheme has been part of the old Hindutva project namely 'Militarize Hindu Society' zealously promoted by leaders of Hindu Mahasabha and RSS. The well-known Italian researcher of Indian politics, Marzia Casolari has done pioneering work in tracing the fraternal links between the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS founders on the one hand and on the other hand, how the latter borrowed the idea of militarization of Aryans from Fascism and Nazism. According to her pioneer work relying on the primary sources of the documents of the prominent Hindu nationalists, one of the aspects of Fascism which appealed most to the Hindu nationalists was militarization of society. Balakrishna Shivram Moonje, a mentor of the RSS founder, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar on his return from the Round Table Conference, Moonje regarded as the Dharmveer (Brave of the religion) made a tour of Italy (February-March 1931). There he visited some important military schools (Military College, the Central Military School of Physical Education, the Fascist Academy of Physical Education), highlight of the visit being a meeting with Mussolini.

Moonje praised the militarization project of Mussolini and planned to put into practice in India. He wrote: "India and

particularly Hindu India needs some such institution for the military regeneration of the Hindus: so that the artificial distinction so much emphasized by the British, of martial and non-martial classes amongst the Hindus, may disappear...Our institution of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh of Nagpur under Hedgewar is of this kind, though quite independently conceived. I will spend the rest of my life in developing and extending this Institution of Hedgewar all throughout Maharashtra and other provinces."<sup>viii</sup>

As soon as he reached Pune, he gave an interview to „The Mahratta“. Regarding the military reorganization of the Hindu community, he stressed the necessity to „Indianise“ the army and expressed the hope that conscription would become compulsory and an Indian would be put in-charge of the defence ministry. He finally made a clear reference to the Italian and German examples in his diary: "In fact, leaders should imitate the youth movements of Germany and the Balilla and Fascist organisations of Italy. I think they are eminently suited for introduction in India, adapting them to suit the special conditions. I have been very much impressed by these movements and I have seen their activities with my own eyes in all details."

According to Moonje's diary on March 31, 1934, he himself, Hedgewar and Laloo Gokhale had a meeting, the subject of which was again the military organisation of the Hindus, along the Italian and German lines. Moonje told the gathering, "I have thought out a scheme based on the Hindu Dharm Shashtra which provides for the standardization of Hinduism throughout India... But the point is that this ideal cannot be brought to effect unless we have our own swaraj with a Hindu as a dictator like Shivaji of old or Mussolini or Hitler of the present day Italy or Germany... But this does not mean that

we have to sit with folded hands until (*sic*) some such dictator arises in India. We should formulate a scientific scheme and carry on propaganda for it..."

According to Marzia, Moonje publicly admitted that his idea of militarily reorganizing Hindu society was inspired by the "military training schools of England, France, Germany and Italy." Moonje's "Preface to the Scheme of the Central Hindu Military Society and its Military School" which he circulated among influential personalities, out rightly said: "This training is meant for qualifying and fitting our boys for the game of killing masses of men with the ambition of winning victory with the best possible casualties (*sic*) of dead and wounded while causing the utmost possible to the adversary."

It is not to be missed here that what Moonje meant by 'adversary' was not the external enemy, the British, but "historical" internal enemy, the Muslims. In fact, this School was inaugurated by then Governor of Bombay State, Sir Roger Lumley. Moreover, this School helped the British in supplying Hindu youth for the World War II. This military school was financed by two old stooges of the British; the Bhonsles and Scindias. Moonje gave a call to 'militarize the Hindu society'.

### **CONTRIBUTION OF SAVARKAR**

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar went to the extent of organizing more than 100 recruitment camps for Hindus in the British Army when Netaji Subhash Chander Bose was trying to liberate India militarily from abroad. This was part of Savarkar's strategy to militarize Hindus of India. Savarkar called upon Hindus "to flood the [British] army, the navy and the aerial forces with millions

of Hindu warriors with Hindu Sanghatanist hearts” and assured them that if Hindus recruited in the British armed forces, "our Hindu nation is bound to emerge far more powerful, consolidated and situated in an incomparably more advantageous position to face issues after the war—whether it be an internal anti-Hindu Civil War or a constitutional crisis or an armed revolution."<sup>ix</sup>

### **RSS PLAN OF CLEANSING OF MUSLIMS & CHRISTIANS**

RSS since its inception (1925) has been working for one main agenda; cleansing of Muslims and Christians from India. Hedgewar, the founder of RSS left Congress because freedom struggle under the leadership of Congress stood for an-all inclusive India in which Muslims would be part of nation. Hedgewar's successor , Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar in his book, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) eulogizing the cleansing of Jews by Hitler made it clear that RSS would like to emulate it: "German Race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races—the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by." <sup>x</sup>

There was no respite in hatred towards Muslims and Christians even after the birth of independent India. Golwalkar, a Guru of Hate penned a chapter titled 'Internal Threats' to India. It appeared in the holy book for the RSS cadres, *Bunch of Thoughts*, the compilation of the writings of MS Golwalkar. , the

ideologue of the RSS, has a long chapter titled, "Internal Threats" in which the Muslims and Christians are described as threats number one and two respectively. The Communists get the honour of being "Internal Threat" number three.<sup>xi</sup>

With Modi's coming to power in 2014 the Hindutva juggernaut started running amok and the RSS leaders brazenly declared that by 2021 India would be cleansed of Muslims and Christians.<sup>xii</sup>

An aggressive campaign in the name of 'love-jihad', 'ghar-wapsi' and cow started in which Muslims and Christians were lynched. Perturbed by this Hindutva frenzy in less than a year of Modi's rule that one of the most decorated cops of India, Julio Ribeiro, former ambassador to Romania and

recipient of the Padma Bhushan, a prominent national award wrote on March 17, 2015: "Today, in my 86th year, I feel threatened, not wanted, reduced to a stranger in my own country...I am not an Indian anymore, at least in the eyes of the proponents of the Hindu Rashtra. Is it coincidence or a well-thought-out plan that the systematic targeting of a small and peaceful community should begin only after the BJP government of Narendra Modi came to power last May? It is tragic that these extremists [Hindutva zealots] have been emboldened beyond permissible limits by an atmosphere of hate and distrust. The Christian population, a mere 2 per cent of the total populace, has been subjected to a series of well-directed body blows. If these extremists later turn their attention to Muslims, which seems to be their goal, they will invite consequences that this writer dreads to imagine."<sup>xiii</sup>

### **DID RSS KNOW THAT 'TOUR OF DUTY' MILITARY RECRUITMENT WAS COMING?**

According to a leading English daily report dated July 29, 2019 the RSS, a cultural organization was going to establish its own military school which would start in April 2020 with 160 students in the first batch. This military school would be run by the RSS' education wing Vidya Bharti, being first such initiative and would be named 'Rajju Bhaiya Sainik Vidya Mandir' (RBSVM) after the former RSS boss, Rajendra Singh. According to Ajay Goyal, regional convener of West UP and Uttarakhand for the 'Vidya Bharti Uchha Shiksha Sansthan' the military school was under construction in an area of 20,000 square meters in Shikarpur in Bulandshahar district of UP. Goyal also made a stunning disclosure that "a number of Army officers across the country are in touch with RSS and affiliate organisations". It is a serious matter and needs investigation from intelligence agencies how a non-state organization is maintaining contacts with the military officers if they are in service. Interestingly, this military school would run under a trust named 'Rajpal Singh Jankalyan Sewa Samiti'. By now the RSS military school must be functional to prepare cadres for recruitment in the Indian Army.<sup>xiv</sup>

According to the RBSVM website (<http://www.rbsvm.in/> accessed on May 26, 2020) the school has already selected 75 students for the first batch. A perusal of the list shows that it carries name from one community only.

### **GOVERNOR OF A STATE WANTS CIVIL WAR BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS**

Julio Ribeiro was right when he wrote that cleansing of Muslims was the goal of RSS cadres. This was corroborated by none other but a very senior RSS ideologue and Governor of Tripura

Tathagata Roy. On June 18, 2017, this RSS icon quoting another icon of RSS, Syama Prasad wrote: "Syama Prasad Mookerjee wrote in his diary on 10/1/1946: 'The Hindu-Muslim problem won't b solved without a Civil War'. So much like Lincoln!"

Mind it; it was not some street ruffian who was baying for civil war against Muslims of India but one of the occupiers of the highest constitutional office. When criticized for this take of his he refused to withdraw the comment saying that he was only quoting SP Mookerjee. Incidentally, Mookerjee continues to be a great icon for RSS. Moreover, Modi government continued patronizing him as no explanation was sought from him.<sup>xv</sup>

### **RSS BUILDING A NETWORK AGAINST MUSLIMS & CHRISTIANS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD**

According to international media reports RSS has been building a militant alliance with fascist Buddhist organization in the South Asia against Muslims and Christians. *The New York Times* in an editorial titled 'Deadly Alliances Against Muslims' dated October 15, 2014 disclosed sensational facts in this regard.<sup>xvi</sup>

### **BABA RAMDEV STARTS A SECURITY AGENCY TO PROTECT COUNTRY'S ASSETTS**

It was no coincidence that controversial renowned yoga guru, a Hindutva saint, one of the richest men in India and darling of the RSS-BJP rulers, Baba Ramdev decided to start a private security agency under his Patanjali Yogpeeth Trust. It announced enlisting, "Guards from its 11 lakh yoga centres across India. Called Parakram Suraksha Private Ltd., the company will provide employment to the young and protect

the country's assets, SK Tijarawala, spokesperson of Patanjali Yogpeeth... There is a need for 50 lakh guards in India, he said".<sup>xvii</sup>

Why Ramdev ventured into security business is not difficult to understand. He has been brand ambassador of RSS preached masculine Hindu nationalism. In March 2016 he gave the war-cry for beheading all those who refused to chant 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'.<sup>xviii</sup>

It is no ordinary security agency. Ramdev started it to "provide employment to the young and protect the country's assets". It is alleged to be a Hindu nationalist venture. With such outlets RSS and other Hindutva organizations did not need to organize surreptitious arms training camps. Enroll from any of the 11 lakh yoga centres of Ramdev and get training in

all kinds of arms. Unfortunately, there has been no state or non-state scrutiny of such Hindutva ventures.

It would be a sad day for democratic-secular Indian polity if the Indian army actually joins this project of militarization of the majority community, facilitating directly or indirectly the Hindutva organizations' long hanging project of civil war against the largest minority of India. It is crucial to know that Hindutva love for religious strife suits the international enemies of India too. It represents another serious threat to the existing democratic polity of India. In case, RSS-BJP regime loses power such cadres trained in sophisticated arms may be used not to let the democratic process continue.

## Caste System, Ambedkarite Movement and the Task of the Communists

**Sankar**

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The caste system in India is a unique system which was developed almost three thousand years back as per the Rig Vedic evidences. However, the system became rigid and institutional at the time of Manu who composed *Manusmriti*. Ascribing an exact date of composing the *Manusmriti* is difficult but according to

different sources and modern researches it may be safe to assume that the period of *Manusmriti* is between 200 BCE to 200 CE. The socio-economic fabric of our country reveals that how much powerful an ancient system, like caste division can be in even present times that the practical politics of a revolutionary party cannot ignore its dynamics. However, a systematic study of this system from Marxist point of view was never done with due importance. Therefore, it has become a herculean task today to enter into a comprehensive study of the system. This paper, therefore, did not try to do that. Instead, the paper concentrated on the key issues related to the subject in order to

understand the very nature of our social struggles which may facilitate to develop the correct strategy and tactics of our revolution. In this paper it may be fruitless to search answers. On the contrary, the paper has strove to formulate the questions. A collective effort based on the combination of theory and practice may find the answers of those.

### Origination of Varna and Caste Division

*Manusmriti* is the most ill famous source of the ugly form of caste division against which all the democratic forces vow to fight. Manu divided the society into four *varnas*, i.e., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra <*Chaturvarna* system> where Brahmin is in the top of social hierarchical ladder and followed by other three *varnas* respectively. Shudra is the lowest *varna* and deprived from all the rights and whose duty is only to serve other three *varnas*. Some of the dicta of Manu are as follow:

1. In whom among the three <higher> castes the most and the best of <those> five may be he is here worthy of respect; a Shudra <is not worthy of respect on the ground of his wealth or knowledge no matter how high they are>.....
2. A Kshatriya who reviles a Brahmin ought to be fined one hundred <Panas>; a Vaishya one hundred and fifty or two hundred, but a Shudra ought to receive corporal punishment.
3. A Brahmin may take possession of the goods of a Shudra with perfect peace of mind, for, since nothing at all belongs to this Shudra as his own, he is one whose property may be taken away by his master.
4. Indeed, an accumulation of wealth should not be made by a Shudra even if he is able to do so, for the

sight of mere possession of wealth by a Shudra injures the Brahmin.

5. If a man <of the Shudra caste> makes love to a girl of the highest caste he deserves corporal punishment.
6. A woman alone <is> a wife for a Shudra; both she and a woman of his own caste <are> legally <wives> of a Vaishya; they two and also a woman of his own caste <are wives> of a Kshatriya, both they and a woman of his own caste <are wives> of a Brahmin.

We need to discuss Manu's system more elaborately, however, before that we must understand the actual difference between the *varna* system and caste system. According to the *varna* system the Indo-Aryan people were divided into four groups. However, according to the caste system which arose from the *varna* system in later period divided the people in numerous subdivisions and all the divisions were placed hierarchically. These sub-divisions are rigid and are determined by birth. In the beginning the *varna* division was not very much rigid because it was said that the division did not take place by birth, but by the action <*karma*>. Therefore, at the time of great epics or even after that we can see many *Shudra* kings ruled different parts of the country. However, after the fall of Mauryan Empire no major *Shudra* empire came into being.

But it does not mean that the *varna* system was mere a theoretical one while the caste system is practical and very much a matter of day-to-day life. Many anti-caste scholars propagate this idea which we consider not only as wrong but an attempt to give concession to the 'sacred' scriptures. Therefore, they put overemphasis on the difference between *varna* system and caste system. It is true that in the beginning the *varna* system was not rigid and social mobility was there unlike the caste system and this is

an important difference between these two systems. However, as time passed by, the system became rigid, oppressive and a matter of day-to-day life and as the division of work spread all over the society and more and more new professions came into existence the caste system originated as a finer and all-embraced form of *varna* system in later period. However, It should be noted that whole of the Manu's system is based on *varna* division, not on the caste division. If the *varna* system was mere a theoretical one then all the hatred of the *dalits* against *Manusmriti* become unexplainable.

But what was the inspiration behind the origination of a system like *varna* system? Let us hear Manu:

*Shaktena api hi shudrena na karyah,  
Dhanasanchayah shudrah hi  
dhanamasadya Brahmanan eba Badhate!*

i.e., even if able, the *Shudras* should not accumulate wealth. Accumulation of wealth by the *Shudras* make the Brahmins suffer. Many passages can be quoted from *Manusmriti* and other *Smritis* <scriptures of codified laws> to show that the main inspiration behind the *varna* division was highly economic in nature, that is, to extract the surplus production and to deprive a large section of the people from social production other than the means of subsistence only. JANASHAKTI, the central organ of presently non-existent CPIML—JANASHAKTI once took an attempt to study the caste question from Marxist point of view. The paper was published by a social organization later as a booklet. According to their understanding: “Thus the *varna* system which first started social making based on a primitive social division of labour and political subordination of one group by another, took the concrete shape of social division based on social division of labour to extract surplus from the

toiling people and division of labourers too originated.” <Class Caste Relations: Marxist Approach>. Comrade Santosh Rana also had similar understanding. He wrote, “In short, the position of an individual in social division of labour, his role in controlling the means of production, his social prestige in relation of the law, his portion of social surplus and the means of achieving this surplus, etc., are determined by his *varna*. The task of the *Shudras* was to produce surplus and the three upper *varnas* used to extract that. It only means, the class division in India at first expressed itself through the *varna* system.” <*Samaj Shreni Rajniti*, A collection of Essays by Santosh Rana in Bengali/ Translation is mine>.

Once upon a time the West Bengal state committee of CPIM undertook the task to study the social history of our country under the leadership of Anil Biswas around the year of 2000 and a brief outline of the study was published as a booklet in the year of 2003. They also reached in the same conclusion and admitted that the class struggle in ancient and mediaeval India took the form of caste struggle, however, they considered it as a barrier for the development of a classical class struggle.

Among the early communists of our country Comrade S. A. Dange first engaged in a systematic study of the history of ancient India from a Marxist point of view. Although he was influenced by a mechanical Marxist approach and tried to impose the western pattern of social development on the history of India <especially in the case of slave system>, still he has left behind some important observations for us. He also admitted that although the *varna* system emerged in the primitive communist society of the Aryans, however, with the advent of private property the *varna* division took the shape of class division. He wrote, “Once

that stage has been reached, private property and classes are born. The Varnas metamorphoses into contradictory classes and take the path of civil war, class war. The primitive commune dies, never to return.”  
<INDIA: FROM PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM TO SLAVERY/ PPH/ Page:101>.

Professor Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya had an elaborated study on the Vedic society in ancient India. He also convincingly proved that in early Vedic period the Aryan society was a primitive form of communistic society without the class division, although, a simple form of division of work was present there. However, for the first time the Indo-Aryan society became divided into four *varnas* when the ill-famous *Purusha Shukata* was composed. It was nothing but the reflection of the emerging class division within the Indo-Aryan society.

The Rig Veda is an important source to understand the transition from classless society to the class society in India. The experts have an opinion that the Rig Veda was composed through a long time, nearly seven hundred to eight hundred years. Within this time frame the Vedic society passed through this transition. That is why we see a concept of equality of all human being <obviously within the clan> and gods too were considered as the friends of all human being <*Jananam Jamih*>. However, in the later portion of the Rig Veda we see a work division came into being where the Brahmins had the prerogatives to maintain the connection with the gods, that is, in the ritualistic matters. The *Purusha Shukta* proposed a division among the Indo-Aryan people, however, it did not set up the hierarchy. It gave some indications only. The Brahmins were formed from the mouth of the *Purusha*. The *Rajanyas* were born from his arms. The *Vaishyas* came from his thighs and the *Shudras* from his feet. Many different

interpretations are possible of this symbolic presentation of the division. The question arises that how far it is correct to assume that the Rig Veda determined the hierarchical places of four *varnas* and their duties or role in the society! Manu had his particular interpretation. He was convinced that the *Purusha Shukta* place the Brahmin at the top of the social hierarchical ladder, by saying that they were born from the mouth of the *Purusha*. For him it was quite sufficient indication that the Brahmins should own all the knowledge and wisdom in order to appear as the sole representatives of the divinity in this material world. Similarly the *Rajanyas* had the duty to protect the people since they were born from the arms. The *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras* were duty-bound to produce the wealth and the *Shudras* had a role only to serve the upper three *varnas*. Since they were born from the feet of the *Purusha* they had no right.

This interpretation of Manu was not acceptable to many admirers and followers of the Rig Veda and so called Vedic religion. According to them, by the system of *Chaturvarna* the Vedas only proposed a job division only, nothing more than that. Therefore, a person can be a Brahmin, or *Kshatriya*, or *Shudra* not by his or her birth but by work or *karma*. Ambedkar called these people as the most dangerous enemy of the *dalit* movement.

However, we must understand why Manu interpreted the *Purusha Shukta* in such a manner from the historical materialist point of view. Manu composed a literature which was called *Smriti*, that means, the law. But the laws are creations of the human being. The strong presence of the memory of old days of communistic society never allowed the people to accept any discrimination when it was created by the human itself. This is an important

peculiarity of Indian society. Therefore, it must have been supported by the divinity. The *Smrities* must have been supported by the *Shruti* <the Vedas>. Why? Because ‘the Vedas are not created by the human being, it was composed by the God’. The fatal *Shruti-Smriti* combine now became eligible to dictate the discrimination. Had there been no *Purusha Shukta* in the Rig Veda it would be difficult for Manu to justify the class division within the Indo-Aryan society which in return would make the class struggle much sharper. Therefore, today at least it can be said that the *Purusha Shukta* gives an important service to the ruling classes from the ancient time till today. <The whole hymn of *Purusha Shukta* made of sixteen verses along with annotation and notes by Wendy Doniger are given in Appendix for the advanced readers>.

Now let us enter the political consequences of this development as laid down by Manu. From above discussion one thing is very clear. The *varna* division and subsequent caste division in Indian society is nothing but the class division in a different form. Therefore, when Ambedkar gave a call for annihilation of castes and the Communist Party gave a call to fight for a classless society, there was no essential difference between these two calls.

### **The Political Struggle of the Shudras**

However, the early communists of our movement failed to see the matter from this angle. This is not true, as some of the critics of the communist movement always try to propagate, that the Communist Party did not take care of the Caste Annihilation movement led by Ambedkar at all. However, all the efforts of the Party were based on some half hearted understanding of the social struggles in our country. In the preface of “Who were the *Shudras*?” written in nineteen forty six Ambedkar said, “It is

well-known that there is a non-Brahmin movement in this country which is political movement of the *Shudras*. It is also well-known that I have been connected with it.” Thus under the leadership of Ambedkar the political movement of the *Shudras* was born. When the *Shudras* of our country who were actually the Indian version of proletariat having nothing to lose except their chains waged a political struggle against their oppressors, it should have been a welcome development for the communists. However, the matter did not develop in this line. Instead, a bitter relation was developed between the Communists and the Ambedkarites and an unwanted rift was emerged between these two camps which helped Congress to manipulate the complicated situation prevailed at that time of nineteen thirties and nineteen forties successfully to capture the leadership of anti-British struggle in India in order to give birth a neo-colonial India after nineteen forty seven. We need to understand the failure of both the camps, the Communists and the Ambedkarites, in this regard in order to determine today’s task in the concrete social condition of Indian revolution. At first we will discuss the mental make-up of B.R. Ambedkar. The above-mentioned preface of “*Who were the Shudras*” written by him can be an eye opener in this case.

In that preface Ambedkar divided the ‘Hindus’ in five distinct categories. He said, “There is a class of Hindus, who are known as Orthodox and who will not admit that there is anything wrong with the Hindu social system. To talk of reforming it is to them rank blasphemy.” Regarding the second category he said, “There is a class of Hindus who are known as *Arya Samajists*. They believe in the *Vedas* and only in *Vedas*. They differ from the Orthodox inasmuch as they discard anything which is not in the *Vedas*. Their gospel is that of return to the *Vedas*.” On the third category

Ambedkar said, “There is a class of Hindus who will admit that the Hindu social system is all wrong, but who hold that there is no necessity to attack it. Their argument is that since law does not recognize it, it is dying, if not a dead system.” He remarked on the fourth category, “There is a class of Hindus, who are politically minded. They are indifferent to such questions. To them Swaraj is more important than social reform.” Ambedkar found his ally in the fifth category, so he said, “The fifth class of Hindus are those who are rationalists, and who regard reforms as of primary importance, even more important than Swaraj.”

Ambedkar admitted that there was a fierce battle was going on between him and the first two categories of the ‘Hindus’. On the probable impact of his book, *Who Were the Shudras* on the *Arya Samajists* he said, “The book treads heavily on the toes of the Arya Samajists.....Both these conclusions are bound to act like atomic bombs on the dogmas of the Arya Samajists.” He said further, “I am not sorry for this clash with Arya Samajist. The Arya Samajists have done great mischief in making the Hindu society a stationary society.....I am convinced that the Hindu society will not accept the necessity of reforming itself unless and until this Arya Samajists’s ideology is completely destroyed. This book does render this service, if no other.”

On the Orthodox ‘Hindus’ he remarked, “What the Orthodox Hindus will say about this book I can well imagine for I have battling with him all these years. The only thing I did not know was how the meek and non-violent looking Hindu can be violent when anybody attacks his Sacred Books. I became aware of it as never before when last year I received a shower of letters from angry Hindus, who became quite unbalanced by my speech on the subject delivered in

Madras. The letters were full of filthy abuses, unmentionable and unprintable, and full of dire threats to my life.....I don’t know what they will do this time.....For I know very well that they are a base crew who, professing to defend their religion, have made religion a matter of trade. They are more selfish than any other set of beings in the world, and are prostituting their intelligence to support the vested interests of their class.....What I would like to tell these amiable gentlemen is that they will not be able to stop me by their imprecations.”

On the other hand Ambedkar admitted that he had no expectation to be able to change the minds of third and fourth categories of the ‘Hindus’. While he furnished some arguments against the third category he just simply ignored the fourth category of the “Hindus” whom he called “politically minded”. On them he only employed two or three remarks, “As to the politically-minded Hindu, he need not be taken seriously. His line of approach is generally governed by a short-term view more than by long-range considerations. He is willing to follow the line of least resistance and postpone a matter, however urgent, if it is likely to make him unpopular. It is therefore quite natural if the politically-minded Hindu regards this book as nuisance.” On the ‘Hindus’ of fifth category Ambedkar said, “The only class of Hindus, who are likely to welcome the book are those who believe in the necessity and urgency of social reform. The fact that it is a problem which will certainly take a long time to solve and will call the efforts of many generations to come, is in their opinion, no justification for postponing the study of the problem. Even an ardent Hindu politician, if he is honest, will admit that the problems arising out of the malignant form of communalism which is inherent in the Hindu social organization and which the politically minded Hindus desire to ignore or

postpone, invariably return to plague, those very politicians at every turn. These problems are not the difficulties of the moment. They are our permanent difficulties, that is to say, difficulties of every moment. I am glad to know that such a class of Hindus exists. Small though they be, they are my mainstay and it is to them that I have addressed my arguments.”

From above quotations we can have a sketch of mental make-up of B.R. Ambedkar and his general political understanding. For him the Independence of the country was not that much important if the rule of the newly independent country would go in the hands of the caste-Hindu leadership. A Hindu India was no way better for him than the colonial India. Therefore, he wanted to launch a decisive battle against caste discrimination and for the annihilation of the caste system at that point of time when the struggle for independence of our country from the British rule reached at its peak. This became the point of difference between the Ambedkarite movement and the Communist movement. It is also very clear from the discussion put forward by Ambedkar in that preface that he meant the leadership of the Communist Party and the non-Orthodox leaders of Congress as “politically-minded Hindus”. Here, one can easily notice the weakness in Ambedkar’s politics which lost credibility to represent the nation as a whole and remained merely as *dalit* politics. The Communist Party warned Ambedkar continuously about this lacuna and urged him to be united with the mainstream of the struggle for Independence. However, the Communist Party was always apprehensive about the actual political aim of Ambedkar and thought that his politics would create disunity among the ranks of the working class and the toiling masses which in return might create harm to the communist movement in particular and

the struggle for Independence in general. Therefore, while the party was sympathetic with the condition of the *dalits* and agreed upon the justification of *dalit* movement and criticized heavily the Congress leadership for not paying attention to their cause, the Communist Party did not believe the leaders of the *dalit* movement including Ambedkar. <See the documents of B.T. Randive on *dalit* movement, nineteen forty six> Thus, a space of political dialogue between the Communists and the Ambedkarites could not come into being and the warning from the CP to Ambedkar went in vain as the later saw no friendly advice in it. Therefore, the Communist Party failed to perform its historical duty.

Today a large number of the Communists will accept this fact, however, it is not enough. We must analyze why the Communist Party failed to build unity with the *dalit* movement. We must identify the shortcomings in the theoretical understanding of the communist practice in this question in order to understand today’s task. Otherwise again the movement will be directed by the pragmatic political understanding and we will repeat the same mistake, may be from an opposite direction.

It is a well accepted fact that the original *Shudras* of the Rig Veda were gradually marginalized more and more by the three upper *Varnas* and at one point of time started to be mixed up with the so called fifth *Varna* or the *Avarnas* who were actually the vanquished non-Aryans and formed a large section of the Indian people who are generally called as the *dalits*. According to a recent survey conducted by NSS nearly three fourth of the Indian population are entitled to some kind of reservation as they belong to SC, ST or OBC categories. The overwhelming majority of the *dalit* people in our country are landless, property-less, marginalized, socially and

economically oppressed. The largest section of nearly fifty crore strong unorganized workers in India is made of by these people. However, it must be taken into account that we are not living in English or West European condition. In Indian context this huge section of the working class is not only economically exploited but at the same time socially deprived since in our country the class division was introduced in the form of caste or varna division in order to take religious sanctity. The positive side of Ambedkar's politics lies in the fact that he understood that without snatching the political power from the caste-Hindus, *dalits* could never achieve a country or society of its own. The annihilation of the caste division cannot be achieved by changing the minds of the caste-Hindus or through some patch work to reform Hindu social structure. So he declared his movement as the political movement of the *Shudras*. From a Marxist point of view the political struggle of the *Shudras* is nothing but the political struggle of the working class. Therefore, the political formation which led this struggle must have been a party of the working class. However, Ambedkar was not a Marxist. It is not necessary for a working class party to be a Marxist party all the time. The Marxist party does not necessarily lead through its majority or organizational strength but through its clear and profound theoretical-political understanding. The Communist Manifesto says: "In what relation does the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole? The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement. The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of

the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." <*The Communist Manifesto/ Edited by Frederic L. Bender/ Norton Critical Edition/ pp 67*> Therefore, the Communist Party cannot oppose other working-class parties because they don't have any separate sectarian principles. Keeping a cooperative and friendly relation with those parties the CP must lead them to move forward by pointing out the **general** and **long-term** political interest of the working class. Now the question is did the early Communists of our country apply this teaching of the *Communist Manifesto* or were they were led by sectarian principles?

Instead of becoming glad to see the political upsurge of the *dalits* under the leadership of Ambedkar, the Communist Party became apprehensive and scared. Comrade BTR repeatedly pressurized SCF <Scheduled Caste Federation> to dismantle the *dalit* mass organizations under its umbrella and to work within same mass organizations led by the Communist Party.<*See the above mentioned documents of BTR and also the Introduction by Anand Teltumbde of 'India and Communism' written by Ambedkar/ Left Word/2017*> Sometimes the organs of the party openly advocated the necessity to bring out the *dalit* masses from the *dalit* organizations in order to organize them under the fold of the Communist Party. All this activities of the party and the mentality behind those helped to develop mistrust, fear and distance among the ranks of the *dalit* movement. Undoubtedly it was nothing but the sectarian policy of the Communist Party. Instead of performing the labourious task to find out the general

and long-term political interests of the working class and by pointing out those to the leaders of the *dalit* movement the party took a shortcut road of putting the organizational interest in command and did the same mistake which *The Communist Manifesto* warned against, i.e., to develop sectarian principles against other working class parties.

What was the general interest of the working class in India at the decisive moment of the struggle for Independence? Undoubtedly it was *Swaraj*----- the Independence from the British rule which Ambedkar failed to see. It was quite expected from a man like Ambedkar as he was not a Marxist and from a political formation like SCF as it was a non-Marxist working class party. The Communist Manifesto clearly said that it was the distinguishing feature of the Communists to see and uphold the general interest of the working class. However, while the Communist Party correctly pointed out the general interest of the working class to the *dalit* leaders but at the same time showing left-anarchist political mentality they accused and opposed and very often described Ambedkar and other *dalit* leaders as the stooge of imperialism. But what was the reason behind this kind of behavior of the Communist leaders towards the *dalit* leadership?

The answer probably lies in the fact that the leaders of the Communist Party never recognized the *dalit* movement as the integral part of the Indian working class movement. They never recognized the *dalit* leaders as the representatives of a large section of the Indian working masses. Therefore, they never recognized SCF as another working class party. So they never tried to find out the way to develop a proper relation with them. It does not mean that the Communist leaders did not know the actual condition of the *dalits* in our country or they had no sympathy towards the *dalit* movement.

BTR admitted in those documents that in the Indian Railways thousands of the *dalit* workers received only nine rupees as DA while the workers in the garment factories of Mumbai were paid one hundred rupees for the same. The party admitted that since the time immemorial the *dalits* were deprived from all the rights which were absolutely essential to lead a decent life and if these people were not given equal status then an Independent India was not possible. Practically there was actually no demand of Ambedkar left which was not accepted by the Communist Party. However, when the *dalits* formed their own political organization in order to launch a political struggle, the Communist Party became scared and apprehensive. Actually half-hearted understanding on the Indian history and reality led the Party to commit this political blunder.

We will see how this blunder took more complicated and irreversible turn when the question of the long-term interests of the working class was confronted by the Communist Party. What was the long-term interest of the working class in the freedom struggle? Undoubtedly it was to build up a New Democratic India as a result of anti-colonial struggle. Now, the question is, was it possible under the leadership of Congress? The answer is No. Then why the Communist Party accepted the leadership of Congress in the freedom movement and never tried snatching the leadership? Ambedkar and other leaders of SCF were not against the freedom movement or freedom from the British as such. However, Ambedkar was in total disagreement of the leadership of Congress as he knew that since the Congress party used to represent the interest of the bourgeois and zaminder class of our country who were at the same time from so called higher castes then it was quite imperative that the 'free' India would be a prison for the *dalits*. Ambedkar called those freedom fighters as 'politically minded

Hindus' and advised his fellow comrades 'not to take them seriously' who did not bother that outcome of the freedom movement. Unfortunately, the Communist Party placed itself in this position. Had the party been directed by the long-term interest of the working class then it became absolutely natural for it to develop a rock-solid alliance with the Ambedkarite movement in order to emerge as a potential claimant of the leadership of the freedom struggle. In that case the course of the history might change into a new direction.

Some comrades do not accept the fact that the Communist Party accepted the leadership of Congress in the freedom movement. Many documents can be cited to negate this thought. If this is done the size of the present article might be longer than it was intended. However, one can remember that as early as in nineteen thirty two there were four communist parties of the Third Communist International to write an open letter to the Indian Communists warning about the danger of accepting the leadership of Congress in the freedom struggle which they thought that the Communist in India did not care. In nineteen forty four, Comrade P.C. Joshi wrote a few letters to M.K. Gandhi and MK replied those, too. The correspondence between PC and MK is one of the important documents of the Communist Party. Replying one letter from Gandhi Comrade Joshi wrote to him, "If my own father wrote such a letter I would not respond and never would see his face. However, I am replying you because you are the father of our nation. As a patriot it goes against my duty to be angry with you even when you insult and harass us." *<English translation is mine from Bengali document>*

Some comrades think that Ambedkar and other *dalit* leaders were against the freedom struggle as a whole, therefore an alliance with them was not possible in

the movement for Independence. Again, many articles wrote by Ambedkar can be cited to negate this thought but for the time being we can be restricted in the above mentioned documents of comrade BTR in this regard. He wrote: "However, it is true that SCF never commit a crime to go against the demand of freedom. As a matter of fact Rao Bahadur Shibraj, the President of their Kanpur session clearly stated, 'We are not against the freedom of India but we want assurance that what we demanded in Nagpur that will be accepted'." *<English translation is mine from Bengali document>*

In spite of knowing all these things the Communist Party never paid deeper attention to the fact that if it was true that the SCF leadership were not actually against the freedom movement then why apparently they used to take such political position which might be depicted as against anti-colonial struggle! The party never tried to realize with enough seriousness that why the severe bitterness emerged in the relation between the *dalit* movement and the Congress party! The party never learned from the history of our country to understand the serious nature of the contradiction between the *dalits* and the caste Hindus. On the contrary Comrade BTR tried repeatedly to convince Ambedkar and his fellow comrades about the importance and necessity of the leadership of Congress in general over the freedom movement and the leadership of MK Gandhi in particular whom the party already recognized as the father of the nation! It is true that the Communist party criticized the Congress for not accepting the demands of SCF, but it is also true that in the contradiction between SCF and the Congress the party associated itself with the later which meant that in the contradiction between the *dalits* and the caste Hindus the party associated itself with the later. This strategic blunder of the party negated the merit of its criticism against Congress for

not accepting the demands of the *dalits*. It is true that the Communist Party honestly and earnestly wanted the unity among Congress, Communist, Muslim League and SCF including all the nationalist forces against the British but they failed to realize that it could not be possible if the Congress would remain as the leader of the freedom movement. The party needed Congress as they used it as a cover and continued to work inside it. This tactical blunder negated the merit of its honest aspiration to unite all the nationalist forces against the British rule.

### Today's Task

After seventy two years of so called Independence a serious evaluation is required regarding the relation between the *dalit* movement and the communist movement. By this span of time many changes took place in the Indian political scenario. Congress ruled the country for more than 60 years within these seventy two years of 'Independence'. No significant improvement in the general condition of the *dalit* masses can be seen by this time. In spite of the capitalist development in India the ugly form of caste discrimination, caste oppression, and the domination of *Brahmanical* ideology and practices continue with same vigour. Ambedkar's apprehensions have come true. The "free" India is actually a neo-colonial India which has become the prison of the *dalits*. Receiving an insignificant share of the state power by a handful of the *dalit* leaders does not indicate any kind of change in the condition of the *dalit* masses. The *dalit* movement has undergone many changes. Repeated division and re-division within *dalit* movement has weakened the movement which only helped the *Brahmanical Manuvadi* ruling class to use one section of the movement against another in order to retain its domination over the country.

The communist movement also has passed through many changes and within this movement, too, repeated division and re-division have taken place. Initial lacuna in theoretical understanding has aggravated, however, from the same pragmatist outlook many left and revolutionary left organizations now are raising *Joy Bhim Lal Salam* slogan landing in the opposite pole in the case of relation with the *dalit* movement and started to preach red-blue unity. However, how far this change of position is coming from the improvement of theoretical understanding on Indian reality or comes as a result of practical-political need at the time of severe crisis throughout international communist movement, is a difficult question to answer. However, it is interesting to see that while the party like CPIM is raising *Joy Bhim Lal Salam* slogan in different parts of the country, at the same time they support the cunning step of the BJP government of introducing economic condition based reservation. This self contradiction only raises serious doubts that they have not learned anything from the past experiences. For them the talk of red-blue unity is nothing but a short-term tactical game. Their tacit support to BJP in the political battle against TMC in Bengal again shows how easily these 'communists' can ally with the *Brahminvadi, Manuvadi* forces. In this scenario we, the revolutionary lefts, must accomplish the long-pending task to bridge the 'unholy rift between the *dalit* movement and the communist movement' <as coined by Anand Teltumbde> in our country. We need to recognize the *dalit* parties as different kind of working class parties. It is true that today many *dalit* organizations under the leadership of Mayavati like leaders actually left the revolutionary slogan of Ambedkar, the annihilation of the castes. Instead of that they are busy to find privileges for a handful of *dalit* aristocrats within this caste-divided

society. However, it does not mean that the whole *dalit* movement has lost its relevance or deteriorated in a reformist opportunist movement. We cannot forget that the same scenario is also evolved in the communist movement itself. However, it does not mean that the communist movement has lost its

relevance as the revolutionary movement in the society. We can say it emphatically that if we can build the real red-blue unity based on proper understanding of the Indian condition and history, the struggle against the ruling classes of our country will have a better chance to win.

## Marxism and Women's Question

Sharmistha Choudhury

*(We are reproducing the Central Party School Paper for the year 2020 presented by our beloved Comrade Sharmistha)*



**MARX** and Engels located the origin of women's oppression in the rise of class society. Engels wrote *The Origin of Family, Private Property and State* in 1884 - a year after Marx's death. He used Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* as well as his own notes as the basis of the text. The notebooks contained Marx's notes on *Ancient Society* by Lewis Henry Morgan. *The Origin* is a short book which dwells on Morgan's findings and puts forward an argument about the nature of "primitive" society, the rise of commodity production and, with it, the emergence of classes and the state. Engels contended that, for the vast majority of human existence, some 2,000,000 years (or 2 million years if we include other human-like species), people lived in small communities that were relatively egalitarian, did not contain

systematic oppression by one group or another, and to whom concepts such as property and wealth would have had no meaning.

Humans had not yet learned how to cultivate plants or rear animals. These hunter-gatherer societies could sustain only a relatively small population which had to move on when resources became scarce. Sharing and communal living were the best way to ensure the survival of the group. There would have been a division of labour between men and women, but this did not mean the domination of one group by the other - each person would make the decisions about the activities they were involved in.

Rather than living in family units of two parents and their children, or an extended patriarchal family centring round the male elder, people lived in communal systems of kinship - children would be the responsibility of everyone.

The old kinship systems were centered on mothers because it was only possible to identify the line of descent through the mother. In such a setup only mothers would know with certainty who their children were and thus build up a network

of blood relationships around that knowledge, giving every member of the group a line of descent and a role. The “household” was communal, and the fruits of women’s and men’s labour were shared among families. There was no separation between what we would now know as ‘housework’ and all other work - there was no public/private divide.

The new male-dominated family broke up this intricate, communal system by placing the family as the key economic unit of society, the means through which wealth would be owned and passed on. Rather than the woman being an equally important economic actor in society, she and her children became dependent upon the individual man in the family.

This change took place with development of production relations and growing people’s ability to produce more than they immediately needed to consume. The development of agriculture and the domestication of animals meant goods could be produced for trade - commodities could be exchanged for other things or, eventually, money. More specialised tools became crucial to production, and thus very valuable property. Men tended to be the ones responsible for animal rearing and increasingly for agriculture - so they owned the tools and made the economic decisions, gradually increasing their importance in relation to women.

For the first time women’s ability to give birth became a burden. This was partly because settled communities with greater productive capacity could sustain larger populations - in fact needed more labourers to work in the fields - and so women would tend to spend more time pregnant or with young children. But the main source of women’s oppression was the separation of the family from the communal clan. Women’s labour in the home became a private service under conditions of subjugation. This was the

“world historic defeat of the female sex” that Engels wrote about:

“The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became a slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. This degraded position of women...has gradually been palliated and glossed over, and sometimes clothed in milder form, in no sense has it been abolished.”

As Marx noted, “The modern family contains in germ not only slavery but also serfdom, since from the beginning it is related to agricultural services. It contains in miniature all the contradictions which later extend throughout society and its state.”

This defeat of mother right was a profound change in human relations caused, not by some latent desire in men to dominate women, but by the needs of commodity production and the way it developed. The monogamous family was “the first form of the family to be based...on economic conditions - on the victory of private property over...communal property”. Along with domestic slavery came slave labour and the beginning of systematic exploitation. Once communal property was undermined this was inevitable - private property for some always means no property for others. Engels writes that this process “opens the period that has lasted until today in which every step forward is also a step backward, in which prosperity and development for some is won through the misery and frustration of others.”

Engels built upon Morgan’s theory in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, as the title implies, a theory of how the rise of class society led to both the rise of the state, which represents the interests of the ruling class in the day-to-day class struggle, and the rise of the family, as the means by which

the first ruling classes possessed and passed on private wealth. He developed a historical analysis which located the source of women's oppression. In so doing, he provided a strategy for ending that oppression. It is no exaggeration to say that Engels' work has defined the terms of debate around 'the origin' of women's oppression for the last 100 years. Most writers on the subject of women's oppression have set out either to support or reject Marxist theory as laid out by Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Until the women's movement of the late 1960s began to challenge male chauvinism, sexist assumptions provided the basis for broad generalizations. Claude Levi-Strauss, a leading anthropologist within the structuralist school, went so far as to argue that "human society...is primarily a masculine society." He argued that the "exchange of women" is a "practically universal" feature of human society, in which men obtain women from other men – from fathers, brothers and other male relatives. Moreover, he asserted that "the deep polygamous tendency, which exists among all men, always makes the number of available women seem insufficient." Therefore, "the most desirable women must form a minority." Because of this, "the demand for women is an actual fact, or to all intents and purposes, always in a state of disequilibrium and tension." According to Levi-Strauss, then, women have been the passive victims of men's sexual aggression since the beginning of human society.

On the other hand, in its purest form, much of feminist theory rests upon more imaginations than facts. There is wide ranging supposition like men dominate women because they hold women in contempt for their ability to bear children– or because they are jealous of women's ability to bear children. Men oppress

women because long ago women formed a powerful matriarchy which was overthrown–or because men have always been a tyrannical patriarchy. Gerda Lerner argues in her book, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, "Feminists, beginning with Simone de Beauvoir... [have explained women's oppression] as caused by either male biology or male psychology." She goes on to describe a sampling of feminist theories, all of which border on the outlandish: Thus, Susan Brownmiller sees man's ability to rape women leading to their propensity to rape women and shows how this has led to male dominance over women and to male supremacy. Elizabeth Fisher ingeniously argued that the domestication of animals...led men to the idea of raping women. She claimed that the brutalization and violence connected with animal domestication led to men's sexual dominance and institutionalized aggression. More recently, Mary O'Brien built an elaborate explanation of the 'origin' of male dominance on men's psychological need to compensate for their inability to bear children through the construction of institutions of dominance and, like Fisher, dated this "discovery" in the period of the discovery of animal domestication.

In his introduction to the first edition of *The Origin*, Engels explains materialism as follows: "According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life. This, again, is of a twofold character: on the one side, the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species."

Before class society, the idea of a strictly monogamous pairing of males and females with their offspring – the modern, 'monogamous' family – was unknown to

human society. Inequality was also unknown. For more than 2 million years, humans lived in groups made up of people who were mostly related by blood, in conditions of relative equality. This understanding is an important part of Marxist theory.

Human evolution has taken place over a very long time—a period of millions of years. The earliest human ancestors (*Homo habilis*) probably appeared some 2 million or more years ago, while anatomically modern humans (*Homo sapiens*) did not appear until 200,000 to 100,000 years ago. The earliest forms of agriculture did not begin until 10,000 years ago, and it is only over the last thousand years that human society has experienced much more rapid technological development. For most of human history, it would have been impossible to accumulate wealth – nor was there much motivation to do so. For one thing, there would have been no place to store it. People lived first in nomadic bands – hunter-gatherer societies – sustaining themselves by some combination of gathering berries, roots and other vegetable growth, and hunting or fishing. In most such societies, there would have been no point in working more than the several hours per day it takes to produce what is necessary for subsistence. But even among the first societies to advance to horticulture, it wasn't really possible to produce much more than what was to be immediately consumed by members of the band.

With the onset of more advanced agricultural production—through the use of the plough and/or advanced methods of irrigation –and the beginnings of settled communities. In some societies, human beings were able to extract more than the means of subsistence from the environment. This led to the first accumulation of surplus, or wealth. As Engels stated in *The Origin*: “Above all,

we now meet the first iron plough share drawn by cattle, which made large-scale agriculture, the cultivation of fields, possible and thus created a practically unrestricted food supply in comparison with previous conditions.” This was a turning point for human society, for it meant that, over time, production for use could be replaced by production for exchange and eventually for profit, leading to the rise of the first class societies some 6,000 years

The crux of Engels' theory of women's oppression rests on the relationship between the sexual division of labour and the mode of production, which underwent a fundamental transformation with the onset of class society. In hunter-gatherer and horticultural societies, there was a sexual division of labour—rigidly defined sets of responsibilities for women and men. But both sexes were allowed a high degree of autonomy in performing those tasks. Moreover—and this is an element which has been learned since Engels' time—women not only provided much of the food for the band in hunter-gatherer societies, but also, in many cases, they provided most of the food. So women in pre-class societies were able to combine motherhood and productive labour—in fact, there was no strict demarcation between the reproductive and productive spheres. Women, in many cases, could carry small children with them while they gathered or planted, or leave the children behind with other adults for a few hours at a time. Likewise, many goods could be produced in the household. Because women were central to production in these pre-class societies, systematic inequality between the sexes was non-existent, and elder women in particular enjoyed relatively high status.

All of that changed with the development of private property. According to the sexual division of labour, men tended to take charge of heavier agricultural jobs,

like ploughing, since it was more difficult for pregnant or nursing women and might endanger small children to be carried along. Moreover, since men traditionally took care of big-game hunting (though not exclusively), again, it made sense for them to oversee the domestication of cattle. Engels argued that the domestication of cattle preceded the use of the plough in agriculture, although it is now accepted that these two processes developed at the same time. But this does not diminish the validity of his explanation as to why control over cattle fell to men.

As production shifted away from the household, the role of reproduction changed substantially. The shift toward agricultural production sharply increased the productivity of labour. This, in turn, increased the demand for labour—the greater the number of field workers, the higher the surplus. Thus, unlike hunter-gatherer societies, which sought to limit the number of offspring, agricultural societies sought to maximize women’s reproductive potential, so the family would have more children to help out in the fields. Therefore, at the same time that men were playing an increasingly exclusive role in production, women were required to play a much more central role in reproduction.

The rigid sexual division of labour remained the same, but production shifted away from the household. The family no longer served anything but a reproductive function – as such, it became an economic unit of consumption. In the family, men as owners of the means of production and controlling the major share of production, came to be owners of the produce too, and the woman and children of the family became dependent on the man for their share of the produce. This also enabled the men to hold the woman in relative subjugation. Women became trapped within their individual families, as the reproducers of society—cut off from

production. These changes took place first among the property-owning families, the first ruling class. But eventually, the monogamous family became an economic unit of society as a whole.

It is important to understand that these changes did not take place overnight, but over a period of thousands of years. Moreover, greed was not responsible, in the first instance, for the unequal distribution of wealth. Nor was male chauvinism the reason why power fell into the hands of (some) men, while the status of women fell dramatically. There is no evidence (nor any reason to assume) that women were coerced into this role by men. For property-owning families, a larger surplus would have been in the interest of all household members. Engels said of the first male “property owners” of domesticated cattle, “What is certain is that we must not think of him as a property owner in the modern sense of the word.” He owned his cattle in the same sense that he owned the other tools required to obtain food and other necessities. But “the family did not multiply so rapidly as the cattle.” Agricultural output also increased sharply—some of which needed to be stored to feed the community in case of a poor harvest, and some of which could be traded for other goods.

Obviously, every society across the globe did not experience an identical succession of changes in the mode of production. Chris Harman writes, “[T]he exact route from hunter-gathering through horticulture and agriculture to civilization did vary considerably from one society to another.” But, “[t]he divergent forms under which class society emerged must not make us forget the enormous similarities from society to society.” Everywhere there was, in the beginning, primitive communism. Everywhere, once settled agricultural societies were formed, some lineages, lineage elders or “big men” could begin to

gain prestige through their role in undertaking the redistribution of the little surplus that existed in the interests of the group as a whole. Everywhere, as the surplus grew, this small section of society came to control a greater share of the social wealth, putting it in a position where it could begin to crystallize out into a social class.

What is indisputable is that the onset of class society brought with it a universal shift toward patri-lineage—and, more importantly, the role of men as “heads” of their households. Engels was undoubtedly correct—with more supporting evidence today than when he was writing—that the rise of the modern family brought with it a degradation of women which was unknown in pre-class societies. Engels argued, “The overthrow of mother right was the world historic defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. . . . In order to make certain of the wife’s fidelity and therefore the paternity of his children, she is delivered over unconditionally into the power of the husband; if he kills her, he is only exercising his rights.”

That the rise of the family was a consequence—and not a cause, as some argue—of the rise of classes is central to Engels’ argument.

Engels argued that the rise of class society brought with it rising inequality – between the rulers and the ruled, and between men and women. At first the surplus was shared with the entire clan – so wealth was not accumulated by any one individual or groups of individuals. But gradually, as settled communities grew in size and became more complex social organizations, and, most importantly, as the surplus grew, the distribution of wealth became unequal – and a small

number of men rose above the rest of the population in wealth and power.

Engels didn’t claim that there was a straightforward, one-way relationship between the development of the productive forces and the social relations - there is always a battle. But everything doesn’t influence everything equally: “It is not that the economic situation is cause, solely active, while everything else [political, philosophical, religious, etc, development] is only passive effect. There is rather interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself.”

Engels’ analysis is straightforward—it may need further development, but its essence is there, plain to see. The sexual division of labour which existed in pre-class societies, when production for use was the dominant mode of production, carried no implication of gender inequality. Women were able to combine their reproductive and productive roles, so both sexes were able to perform productive labour. But with the rise of class society, when production for exchange began to dominate, the sexual division of labour helped to erode equality between the sexes. Production and trade increasingly occurred away from the household, so that the household became a sphere primarily for reproduction. As Coontz and Henderson argue, The increasing need for redistribution (both within local groups and between them) and the political tasks this creates have consequences for sex roles in that these political roles are often filled by males, even in matrilineal/matrilocal societies. Presumably this flows from the division of labor that associates males with long-distance activities, external affairs, and products requiring group-wide distribution, while females are more occupied with daily productive tasks from which they cannot be absented.

Hence, the beginnings of a “public” versus a “private” sphere, with women increasingly trapped in the household in property-owning families. The rise of the family itself explains women’s subordinate role within it. For the first time in human history, women’s ability to give birth kept them from playing a significant part in production.

For Engels, there was a “historic defeat” because something fundamental changed in the economic base of society. We developed ways to produce a surplus, not by nature’s bounty but by our own labour. If, as Engels argues, oppression arose alongside class society then is he saying that, once we get rid of class society, oppression will automatically disappear?

A fair reading of *The Origin* with an open mind makes it clear that the treatise contains no such assumption. No oppression can ever automatically disappear. On the contrary, an uncompromising fight against all forms of gender oppression serves to erode the base on which such oppression stands and paves the way for the uprooting of the base. For instance, the struggles against various aspects of women’s oppression like domestic violence and sexual violence sharpen and intensify the struggle against class. “The first condition for the liberation of women”, argued Engels, “is to bring the whole of the female sex back into public industry”. We have seen over the past few decades how structural changes in capitalism have led to a significant increase in the participation of women in the workforce in many countries worldwide. While this has undoubtedly had a positive effect on the ideas and aspirations of women themselves, as well as influencing social attitudes more broadly, women’s economic, social and personal autonomy are limited by the needs of capitalism. Engels went on to explain that “this in turn demands the abolition of the

monogamous family’s attribute of being the economic unit of society”. The family as an institution and women’s role within it, have clearly undergone significant changes since Engels wrote *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Nevertheless, it retains an economic and ideological relevance for 21st century capitalism which is suffering from a systemic crisis and is riven with contradictions: a system which exploits women as low-cost labour in the workplace while defining their existence by their role in the monogamous family.

Capitalist ideology concerning women’s role and status in society has also evolved since the late 19th century, but the ideas and values of a system based on commodity production for profit and inequalities of wealth and power rest on, combine with, and perpetuate the residue of outmoded ideas of male authority and supremacy which have their roots in earlier class societies. As a consequence, women continue to experience violence, sexual abuse and restrictions on their sexuality and reproductive rights, while facing sexism, discrimination, gender stereotyping and double standards.

For Engels the basis for resolving the problems which women face in society entails “the transfer of the means of production into common ownership”. In this way, “the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike...” In a socialist society, personal relations will be freed from the economic and social constraints which continue to limit them even today. The basis for true liberation will be laid. Close to 150 years after they were first written, Engels’s words regarding the ending of women’s oppression maintain all their force.

**PART – 2**

IN the present day the women's organization needs to be broad-based, encompassing the aspirations of all struggling women and gender rights movements, and attempting to bring together all resistances to patriarchy under one umbrella. However, since patriarchy today is nurtured and sustained by imperialism, and in every challenge to patriarchy the world order of imperialism is also challenged to some extent or the other, the general nature of the women's organization will be anti-imperialist.

In our country, with the fascistic onslaught intensifying, there is need for the women's organization to be particularly strong in order to combat state-sponsored patriarchal challenges. For that the women's organization needs to break out of the stereotypical mould of being an appendage to a Party and develop independent organizing and agitating abilities. In our country it is the custom of political parties, ranging from right, centre to left, to have women's wings as women's organizations. The CPIM has one, the Congress has another and so does the BJP. Even struggling left organizations like the Liberation and others have their women's wings which go by the name of women's organizations. However, just as it is uncommon for these 'women's organisations' to ever go against any position adopted by the Party they are associated with, so also it is rare for them to take up independent positions and struggles.

The primary objective of a women's organization is women's liberation, and this can be neither achieved nor struggled for by women who aren't independent themselves. But it is most often seen that far from being an independent organization with distinctive positions on all questions pertaining to the unceasing attacks on women, the tendency is to tail

the Party. Thus the independent assertion of women through their own organization remains a far cry.

The relationship between the Communist Party and women's organization should necessarily be dialectical, independent of each other and yet each hammering away at class-divided society with a view to replace it with a new order. As struggling trade unions set their own agendas of struggle, but the Party remains a bulwark of support all throughout and helps the trade union to view the long-term goals without positing itself as a Grand Patriarch in relationship to the union, so also the women's organization should at all times set its own agenda of propaganda and struggle, aided by the Party but never dictated by it or constrained by it.

The Communist Party has a great role to play in the educating and organizing of women. The exclusion of women from all important spaces has become a habit that must be consciously fought. Very often it is convenient not to have a woman or two in a meeting or gathering of a couple of dozen men, especially because including women would necessitate making separate logistical arrangements for them. But we are so used to viewing all space as 'male space' that the very idea of organizing a space for women appears downright troublesome. Very often women's voices are ignored simply because the total unfamiliarity with the female voice makes it difficult for the Party to understand what is being tried to be conveyed. This is also obvious from the total invisibilisation of women not just in formal academia but also the history of the communist movement, both in India as well as abroad. History text books in Indian schools teach a wide range of modern, international historical events ranging from the French Revolution to the Paris Commune and the American War of Independence, the Emancipation of Slaves in the US, Emancipation of Serfs in

Russia to the Boer War, and of course the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution and the two World Wars and chunks of the post World War scenario, the United Nations, Israel-Palestine, Cold War, et al. However, one chapter of history that is summarily and deliberately glossed over in all history books – left, right and centre – without exception, is the history of the International Women’s Suffrage Movement and its somewhat less-than-triumphant victory. Although this movement, dealing as it did with the question of citizenship rights for half the population of the globe, had a prolonged, fierce and chequered history, pitting citizens against citizens even as women and men united against governments on a fairest possible demand, and had an international character, it is one movement about which most of us know very little. Neither academic textbooks, nor progressive history books which tell us about the uninterrupted fight of the people of the world for democracy and rights, usually have chapters dedicated to the International Women’s Suffrage Movement, and while Abraham Lincoln remains a greatly famous name not merely for his leadership role in the Civil War but more so as the champion of the emancipation of the African Americans from slavery, the leaders of the women’s suffrage movement are forgotten names relegated to the pages of something that goes by the dubious distinction of ‘feminist literature’. Now take a look at the history of the International Communist Movement. Except for Rosa Luxembourg and Clara Zetkin and a handful others, the

women leaders are inexplicably missing. Not that they weren’t there. Not that the ICM was largely a male-only movement. But tomes on the ICM will give you a different idea.

This invisibilisation of women has acquired such a degree of normalcy that it isn’t generally considered a part of what is broadly termed as oppression of women. This picture of violent inequality – where women are intruding ‘others’ in a world of men, for men and by men – however, remains a constant, be it in history or the living present. So the visibilisation of women’s struggles and their role in history remains an important duty of the Communist Party.

The most important challenges before the women’s movement today are the tendency to shy away from forming broad-based women’s organizations and the inclination to limit the organization by the position of the Party. AIRWO is an exception to this general rule. It is not an appendage of CPI(ML) Red Star, or any other Party for that matter. It calls itself revolutionary because it believes in the revolutionary reorganization of society for the achievement of the complete emancipation of women. But that is not to say that it is an organization for only women revolutionaries. It is an organization which aims at bringing together the ranks of women, all struggles of, by and for women, and all the liberatory aspirations of women into one united, yet diverse, platform committed to the uprooting of patriarchy. ●

## Struggle for Revolutionary People's Culture

Tuhin



As Marxism teaches ruling ideas in the society at any time are the ruling class ideas. Since the imperialist system is in hegemony all over the world, the culture and the superstructure as a whole which serve the ruling imperialist system and their lackeys are in command and are relentlessly promoted to serve it. This was so when the society was under slave, feudal systems, and it is more so under present fascist capitalist-imperialist system, in spite of the challenges thrown up against this by the socialist forces for a long time. As culture in its real sense is not merely confined to art and literature, but includes all aspects and spheres of human thinking, traditions, habits; the superstructure as a whole, including religion, caste system, ideology, politics etc. The relation between the economic base and the superstructure is dialectical, one continuously reacting and counter-reacting on the other.

When it is said "being determines consciousness", it cannot mean that just by being a worker, the working class consciousness will automatically come. Somas Lenin taught the working class, including all the individuals and classes who have to make the revolution, should be transformed from "a class in itself" to a "class for itself", through continuous ideological, political and cultural

struggles against the existing ideas that dominated the society, as the classes and sections of people who have to make the revolutionary change are also imbued with, and dominated by the ruling, dominant culture of the society. So, the struggle to evaluate the hitherto experience of the cultural movement, and to re-organize and to re-launch it with creative new approaches demanded by present concrete conditions, with all the importance it deserves, should be taken up with all the seriousness it demands. It is a vital task to create conditions for a new revolutionary leap. The significance of the activating of the Revolutionary Cultural Movement (RCM), in continuation to the contributions of the organized cultural movement in the country starting with the formation of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) in 1936 should be viewed in this context.

### Significance of launching of PWA

Mulk Raj Anand, with whose article on the PWA the first volume of the three volume history of the PWA opens, takes the readers back to " those dark foggy November days of the year 1935 in London when after the disillusionment and disintegration of years of suffering in India and conscious of the destruction of most of our values through the capitalist crisis of 1931, a few of us emerged from the Slough of despondency of the cafes and garrets of Bloomsbury and formed the nucleus of the Progressive Writers Associations. For since the historic meeting in the Nanking restaurant in Denmark Street where the original manifesto was read, through the eager, well attended fortnightly meetings of the London branch where essays, stories and poems were read and lectures delivered

(and through less eager, I'll attended meetings) through the first All India Progressive Writers Conference held in Lucknow in April 1936, and the opening of branches or committees in the various linguistic zones through the provincial conference and the opening of more branches, our organization has, today gathered in to it or around it, the most significant writers in India and commands membership so large that it forms, quantitatively, one of the largest blocks for the defense of culture in the World."(PP.1-2,Vol 1).Munshi Premchand presided over the first conference of the PWA. Munshi Premchand's presidential address and the manifesto adopted at the session made it clear that the founders of the organisation dissociated themselves from the prominent theory than the creative writers or other artists should be above politics. Every sensitive writer and artist was concerned with what happened around him or her. In India, the aspiration for freedom from foreign rule, putting an end to out-moded centuries-old feudal culture in Indian society, rapid transformation of India's life and culture along the line of creating a new society without exploitation through a process of socialist transformation -all these could not be separated from the aesthetic tastes and talents of the writers and artists.

The early history of the progressive cultural movement at International level itself had received a new impetus when in 1919 prominent thinkers and writers like Maxim Gorky, Romain Roland, Apton Sinclair, Rabindranath Tagore, Bertrand Russell, Stephen Sung published the declaration of Freedom of Thinking. Along with the freedom of writers it called for basic human rights for all. The first International Conference of Writers was held in Paris on 21st to 26th April,1935 in which Sajjad Zahir and Mulkray Anand represented India. The resolution adopted by the Lucknow

PWA Conference in 9,10 April 1936 declared that it is the responsibility of the writers to oppose hunger, poverty, backwardness and slavery, and to struggle for independence. In the year of 1943 Indian People's Theatre Association was also formed in Mumbai. It was a great beginning. I.P.T.A. had been formed by the initiative of undivided CPI in the wake of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. Part of the programme was to spread its influence among the intelligentsia. It did so by forming various anti-fascist organisations like IPTA. They played a significant role in the regeneration of the theatre and other arts. IPTA's production of Nabanna directed by Bijon Bhattacharya in October 1944 signaled the emergence of the minority theatre which before long became the dominant voice of Bengali theatre. The pioneers of IPTA were Bijon Bhattacharya, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas,Ritwik Ghatak, Bheeshma Sahni, Utpal Dutt,Shambhu Mitra, Tripti Mitra, Balraj Sahni, Habib Tanwir, Anna Bhau Sathe, Omar Shekh, Homi Jahangir Bhabha.

### **Contributions of the Renaissance Movement**

The first conference of the PWA and soon the International Conference of Writers were held when the progressive forces were getting United against the fascist forces and there was unity that the working class should not become part of the inter-imperialist war which broke out in 1939.This clarity in approach and in the context of socialist Soviet Union leading the socialist forces, the progressive writers movement moved ahead. While evaluating, why the PWA and IPTA and the progressive cultural movement in general could not go forward later in spite of this great beginning, it should be seen directly linked to the failure of communist movement to develop and pursue the

revolutionary path both during the colonial period and after the transfer of power.

Any study of history from ancient times show that during all phases of human development struggles to transform and develop the surroundings have taken place continuously. It is the case with Indian sub-continent also. After the hegemony of Brahminism and feudal fiefdoms were established the first revolt against them came up from the period of Buddhist revolt against caste system and for universal brotherhood. It was followed by the rebellions of the Charvaka period, when the materialist and atheist philosophy had waged serious struggles against the idealist Brahminist ideologies. This period witnessed brutal attacks on the new thoughts by the Brahminist dynasties. These early renaissance movements extends to intellectual upsurges and to the anti-religious movements of the 18th century. It started from the time of Budha and went on intensifying in many forms during different phases and had reached a high stage in the Sufi-Bhakti movements(Nanak, Kabir, Raidas etc.).

It was through more than a century long ruthless colonization process, formally starting with the battle of Plassey of 1757, British Imperialism ultimately succeeded in formally transforming India in to its colony after defeating the First War of Independence of 1857.From the very beginning the British colonialist started transforming the agrarian relations through the introduction of Zamindari and Ryotwari systems. Through these steps feudal, semi-feudal relations were consolidated to serve as the social base of colonial domination. Along with this, while the colonial policies contributed to erosion of the stringent character of the inhuman caste system in some fields in at least a superficial ways, it promoted it to utilize

it as a support base to colonial rule. To safeguard colonial rule the 'divide and rule' policy was also promoted by fomenting communal strife (by encouraging the formation of Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and RSS). In spite of all its limitations second phase of the renaissance movement in India led to movements against old rituals,habits, traditions and superstitions .It started caste based atrocities, in some areas leading to anti-caste movements and to demands for the caste annihilation. It fought communalism and communal decisions, and influenced by materialist thinking ,called for secular values and even to rationalist movements by Jyotiba Phule, Savitri Bai Phule, Sree Narayana Guru,Ayankali, Periyar, Shahid Bhagat Singh ,Dr B.R.Ambedkar and many more .

### **Challenges confronted by the revolutionary cultural movement**

The revolutionary movement confronted both political and cultural challenges to overcome the limitations created by colonial domination which had violently intervened and stunted the unleashing of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist democratic revolution. The history of the communist movement in India during the colonial period shows that, in spite of great strides made in building working class and peasant movements and leading many anti-feudal struggles, in spite of building the youth, student and women movements, and in launching the PWA and IPTA with broad based approach, on the central question of establishing its leadership in the working class in the anti-imperialist movement it failed, or it had no such vision. When a caste annihilation movement came up under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar, it failed to forge United fronts with them and to lead the independence movement forward, away from the clutches of the Congress and Muslim League. Due to

failure of CPI leadership on these questions, leading it as a result to both right and left deviations and ultimately to revisionist positions in line with the revisionist line which usurped power in Soviet Union in 1950's. It was naturally reflected in the cultural front also. Soon both PWA and IPTA lost its class stand and degenerated to petty-bourgeois, opportunist organizations. Following the split in 1964, though the Democratic Writers Association (DWA) was formed under the CPI (M)'s initiative, reflecting the degeneration of it to neo-revisionist positions, the DWA also could not move forward. The Naxalbari Uprising in 1967 gave a new impetus to the cultural movement. Fighting against the opportunist and reformist degenerations, the communist revolutionaries started challenging the well-entrenched reactionary cultural values, and along with the revolutionary upsurge, many parts of the country witnessed a cultural upsurge also. Though it had succeeded to attack the reformist trends and inspired new cultural initiatives, it soon came under sectarian influence and disintegrated. The task before the revolutionary cultural movement is to seriously evaluate these experiences, take lessons and advance the cultural movement according to present conditions.

### **What is to be done**

The three decades of neoliberalism in India since 1990s, in conformity with its inherent logic of maximum corporate wealth accumulation within the shortest possible time, has led to a ballooning of the speculative financial sphere and a relative stagnation of the productive economy including de-industrialisation. Vast majority of the working poor and partially employed are forced to depend on the expanding informal and unorganised sectors devoid of all erstwhile hard earned rights by working

class. Almost half of the people still subsist on agriculture and allied sectors. Since the ascendance of the RSS led neo-fascist Modi government in 2014, neoliberal-corporatisation pursued since the 1990s took a more far right turn. Under the leadership of fascist sangh parivar, all round corporatisation and superimposed capitalist relations, instead of eliminating feudal remnants and values, have merged with the latter, have led to a strengthen of reaction in more barbaric forms. The corporate-saffron fascist regime is propping up all obscurantist, feudal, casteist and patriarchal offensives in new and intensified manner. Consequently Dalits, Adivasis, Women and Minorities become still more oppressed. In particular, integrating with corporatisation, casteism and untouchability reinforced by Brahminical ideology and culture have become omnipresent including even in institutions of higher education and scientific research. As its manifestation, all the constitutional, institutional and administrative structures are being saffronised to suit this fascist transformation. Forcible integration of Kashmir into Indian Union through abrogation of article 370 of the constitution, construction of Ram Temple at the very site of Babri Masjid, making Muslims as second class citizens by amending the Citizenship Act and through a series of steps directed at saffronization of education and culture, and undermining all federal provisions of the Indian constitution. RSS is now moving towards its ultimate goal of establishing a majoritarian Hindurashtra.

Superimposing a pan-Indian homogenising drive over multinational, multilingual, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious essence of India and rejecting all values of modernity including rational-rational scientific thinking, fostering the cult of tradition and obscurantism, treating dissent and

disagreement as treason , and targeting communists and progressive -democratic forces, and above all uncompromisingly integrating itself with corporate finance capital, the RSS led BJP regime has become a typical neo-fascist one.

Here at least there are some similarities between the Hitlerite fascism and today's neo-fascism. First they will come for Muslims, like in Germany were they first went for Jews. Yes RSS has identified Muslims as the first Target. In order to terrorize others from defending the victims, RSS Pariwar shouts, any one talking for the victims are pseudo-secularists, they also will be targeted. The main strategy of RSS is to create hatred and division among people. RSS is working overtime to communalise and distort the history and culture of India. All have to stand with the Muslim minority in our country , irrespective of whatever harms we may have to face. All the progressive cultural organisations should have to declare unequivocally, we are for a casteless, genuinely secular country where there is gender equality, social justice, scientific temper and egalitarian approach. As we uncompromisingly fight against the Manuvadi Hindutva ideological base of RSS ,we oppose all those forces spread terror in the name of minority religions, whose activities are only helping the real enemy.

So along with the strengthening the caste annihilation movement, expose Manusmriti and Gita like discriminatory religious texts, country wide cultural movement to militantly propagate secular values and to openly criticize interference of religion in public life is needed. The question of struggling for gender equality is not a question to be taken up merely by the women's movement, it is a question to be taken up

by all progressive cultural forces. As the caste system and religions strengthen gender inequalities, the struggle for women's liberation should be linked to the anti-caste, secular movement.

Imperialist neocolonial culture has reduced each and everything including the human beings, to a mere commodity to be marketed. Market is the god and everything is subordinated to it. Consumerism and lust for money and "pleasure" are promoted using the corporate media in a blatant manner. We must oppose the post-modernist thoughts and identity politics existing in art and literature.

At a critical juncture, when without open ,massive mobilization and uncompromising assault on the neo-fascist and imperialist culture by the progressive forces, the survival of the human race itself is going to be in peril, there is need of a powerful revolutionary cultural movement .In the name of 'development' what is created is a most unequal, reactionary, market fetishist, ecologically disastrous and absolutely self-centered and selfish society which is leading the human race to devastation in all spheres. So, the revolutionary cultural movement should become a flag bearer to liberate the society from this dangerous situation and to create a new society with a humane, democratic and socialist approach and culture. For this as a starting point, to build a revolutionary cultural movement, we should organise all progressive cultural organisations countrywide to launch joint cultural campaign against neo fascist cultural onslaught, against the communalisation and distortion of history and culture, against the game plan of RSS's hatred and division. It is the need of hour.

## Fading Gulf Dream

Rejimon Kuttappan



*A fresh report on remittances from Reserve Bank of India's (RBI)'s Fifth Round of Survey reveals that, Kerala has lost its pole position in remittances*

Ajeesh PP, a 36-year-old Indian, returned home from Oman in September 2020 after losing his job. His Arab employer had to shut down the upholstery workshop due in Oman to Covid-19 induced lockdowns and fund crunch, which eventually resulted in job loss for Ajeesh and a couple of his colleagues. Ajeesh was paid Rs 49,000 as a monthly salary, and he had worked for 14 years continuously. However, while returning, he was paid only Rs99,000 as end-of-service benefits, including his September salary. He was supposed to get some Rs300,000. But he did not get anything. Upon returning, life is still stuck for Ajeesh in Kerala.

Ajeesh first worked to set up an upholstery workshop in his village. But it did not happen because he could not raise the investment required for the same. Then he decided to start a small mobile tea shop and took a small food truck on rent for Rs 5,000 per month. But due to a lockdown, he could not start it. However, he had to pay the rent. Now, he works as a painter in his local town. If Ajeesh tried to set up a small business and failed, Uday Kumar Vasudevan, a 36-year-old returnee migrant, joined a cashew factory as a supervisor for a monthly salary of Rs

15,000. Uday Kumar had returned from Qatar in July 2020 giving up some Rs 150,000, the pending salary, and end of service benefits he was supposed to get. Returning empty-handed, he could not think of setting up a self-employment initiative as Ajeesh tried. So, he joined a cashew factory. But due to Covid-19 induced lockdowns and restrictions, the factory does not open regularly. And eventually, he is not getting his salary too. According to Ajeesh and Uday Kumar, many of their friends who returned in 2020 from foreign countries losing jobs are in the same condition.

### Wage Theft

And many had returned without getting their wages. Or in other words, they were victims of wage theft.

Wage theft is the non-payment for overtime; denying workers their last paycheck after they leave a job; not paying for all the hours worked; not paying minimum wages; not paying a worker at all, and not adhering to the terms of the contract. Wage theft is an important issue because it is a human rights violation, and it has an impact on a country's economy, especially one which has great remittance inflows like India. Workers in countries such as the United States and Australia are protected from wage theft, but in West Asian countries — where some 23 million migrant workers, including 10 million from India, are working — wage theft is not seen as a grave labour rights violation. Even migrant-sending countries, like India, have failed to recognise wage theft as a crime.

The returning workers were not asked whether there was any wages or end of service pending to be cleared.

Interestingly, the missions of some Asian countries, such as Nepal, recorded instances of wage theft, and are now in the process of reclaiming workers' stolen wages. William Gois, the Regional Advisor of Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), a civil society organisation advocating for migrant worker rights, told this author that the MFA and its partners collected hundreds of cases to show that wage theft occurs at every level, systemically, organisationally, and interpersonally. The MFA has been fighting to deliver justice for wage theft victims since June 2020. A recent MFA report reveals about 3,106 cases of workers' wage theft cases from five countries, and found that the workers lost about \$25.2 million in wages alone. This would be about one worker losing an average wage of \$7,217 for a period of 14 months. Interestingly, in 2021, the MFA and its partners were successful in reclaiming the stolen wages of hundreds of migrant workers from a multi-national company in Qatar.

Like the MFA, the Centre for Indian Migration Studies conducted a survey among 3,345 migrant workers in Kerala who returned mainly from West Asia, and estimate that in wage theft alone the damage is about Rs 1,200 crore. In most cases employees got a raw deal citing COVID-19-induced economic woes.

Luckily, wage theft was discussed among other labour issues at the United Nations' first International Migration Review Forum Progress Declaration in July. The Progress Declaration discussed at UN General Assembly in May reads that “many migrant workers, especially women migrant workers, continued to face precarious working conditions, wage theft, labour exploitation, reduced wages salaries, discriminatory dismissals, withholding of benefits, forced unpaid leave and protracted separation from their families, which have been

exacerbated during the Covid-19 pandemic.”

### **12 lakhs jobless**

A data from the Department of Non-Resident Keralite's Affairs (NORKA), a government body set up for the welfare of Keralite migrants, say that between June 2020 and June 2021, some 15 lakhs Keralite returned from foreign countries following the Covid-19 outbreak and out of that some 12-lakh returned jobless. There are 37 lakh job seekers in Kerala, according to government data. And to this, some 12 returnees have also joined. Unfortunately, even if the returnees want to return to Arab Gulf looking for a job, the opportunities are less as the Arab countries are still struggling due to the Covid-19-induced economic crisis. The World Bank's August report says that the COVID-19 pandemic and the decline in global oil demand and prices dealt the GCC countries a health crisis and a commodity market shock causing a GDP contraction of 4.8% in 2020.

Fiscal deficits are projected to persist for most over the forecast period, however. The three countries with the largest deficits in 2020 – Kuwait, Bahrain, and Oman – are projected to remain in deficit throughout 2021-23, but at narrower ratios to GDP in 2023 than during the economic downturn in 2020.

Meanwhile, a fresh report on remittances from Reserve Bank of India's (RBI)'s Fifth Round of Survey reveals that, Kerala has lost its pole position in remittances. Yes, Kerala has been pushed down to the second position in the volume of inward remittances. Of the total, Maharashtra has secured the top position with a share of 35.2 percent. Meanwhile, Kerala could garner only 10.2 percent of the total inward remittances. Additionally, the United States (US) grew as the largest remitter

to India with a share of 23.4 percent. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) followed with 18 percent and the United Kingdom with 6.8 percent. In the previous survey which analysed the inward remittances for 2016-17, Kerala was in first position with a 19 percent share followed by Maharashtra with 16.7 percent. The UAE was the largest remitter with a 26.9 percent share then, followed by the US (22.9 percent) and Saudi Arabia (11.6 percent). The fresh survey also reveals that the share of remittances from West Asia to India has declined from more than 50 percent in 2016-17 to about 30 percent in 2020-21.

### **Why the changes?**

These changes were expected. "The West Asian economies were badly hit during the Covid-19 outbreak because they mainly depend on construction, tourism, hospitality, and aviation sectors. All these sectors were locked down, and thousands of low-paid workers were terminated from their jobs," said Rafeek Ravuther, a migrant rights activist. "More than 1.7 million Keralites had returned to the state, mainly from West Asia, due to job loss between 2020 and 21. With this situation, how can the remittances grow?" he asked. A World Bank outlook released in April 2021 said that "heavy GDP losses were observed in all MENA (Middle East and North African) country groups, which includes West Asia." And while talking about how and why Maharashtra has toppled Kerala from the pole position in inward remittances, and the US has become the largest remitting country, Mini Mohan, a migrant rights expert, said "dynamic changes" are happening in migration. "While Keralites still prefer West Asia, skilled migrants from other parts of the country, like Maharashtra and Delhi, are migrating to the US and Europe, which brings in more money to the remittance kitty," Mohan said.

### **A history of remittances**

Since the 1960s, Keralites have been migrating to different parts of the world, especially to West Asia.

The 2018 Kerala Migration Survey by S. Irudaya Rajan and KC Zachariah reveals that one in every fifth household in Kerala has a migrant citizen. And a study by KP Kannan, a leading economist in Kerala, also reveals that remittances received annually in Kerala are some 13.33 percent of the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP). However, following the Covid-19 outbreak, remittances to the state, especially from West Asia have been hit badly. A World Bank study on Covid-19 and migrants from Kerala in 2021 had revealed that "around 49 percent of households stated that the amount received had declined after January 2020. On average, overseas remittances fell by \$267 monthly among households that reported receiving remittances."

### **What the dip means?**

M Suresh Babu, an IIT-Chennai professor, and a development economist, said, "Kerala relies heavily on remittance and any dip in that will affect the state economy because it is already under financial stress."

"There are two types of multipliers in any economy. One is the investment multiplier, and the other one is the consumption multiplier. The remittances go to the consumption multiplier. Or in other words, inward remittances to Kerala are used to purchase things, to pay school or medical bills, repay loans etc," Suresh Babu said. "So, when remittances are low, less money is circulated in the market. Less money in the market means the government tax collection share also goes down," he said. Babu added that the state economy is

unofficially called LLR (Liquor, Lottery and Remittance) economy and if there is imbalance in any one of them, then it is going to be a serious issue. Kerala's public debt is around 2.8 lakh crore and is among the top 10 states with the highest debt burden. An RBI note called Kerala "highly stressed." Kerala's committed expenditure rises every year limiting the state's flexibility to decide on other spending priorities such as developmental schemes and capital outlay.

Committed expenditure of a state typically includes expenditure on the payment of salaries, pensions, and interest. In 2022-23, Kerala has budgeted to spend Rs 94,781 crore on committed expenditure items, which is 71 percent of expected revenue receipts. This

comprises spending on salaries (31.3 percent of revenue receipts), pension (20 percent), and interest payments (19.4 percent).

Further, Babu said, "Kerala has reached the third phase of migration where skilled migrants are required. Unfortunately, the current Kerala higher education sector is not capable of delivering job-market oriented talented migrants. "Eventually, Keralites will be rejected, and skilled workers from states like Maharashtra and others will benefit and they will remit more to their states," he concluded.

*Rejimon Kuttappan is a freelance journalist and author of Undocumented: Stories of Indian Migrants in the Arab Gulf (Penguin 2021)*



Seminar on Saffron Corporate Fascism - Reistance  
Held on 14th September at Vijayawada, AP



## **Papers Presented at International Seminar on Imperialism, Neo-Fascism & War**

*We are publishing here some of the Papers to be presented by various ICOR parties at the International Seminar to be conducted at Com Sivaram – Sharmistha Hall (SKP Hall, Kozhikode, Kerala) on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2022. The Seminar is being held as a part of 12<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star from 24<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> September 2022*

## **Imperialism, Neofascism and War**

*(Presented by Com P J James on behalf of CPI (ML) Red Star, India)*



accumulation, the most important of which was granting unfettered freedom over financial speculation leading to uncontrolled cross-border or international mobility of imperialist capital. New developments in transportation, communication, information and processing technologies were used by corporate MNCs to devise a new international division of labour called ‘flexible specialisation’ facilitating super-exploitation of labour and intensified surplus value extraction at a global level together with renewed avenues of financial speculation. With the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, breakthroughs in a whole set of “frontier technologies” including digitisation added further dimension to this neoliberal accumulation process whose terribly destructive speculation has led to the emergence of the global bubble economy. Thus the essential characteristics of finance capital or imperialism such as speculation, decay and parasitism as identified by Lenin have started bouncing back with intensified vigour through neoliberal financial globalization.

### **Transformation to Neoliberal Imperialism**

It was the first postwar major crisis called “stagflation” of the seventies that prompted finance capital to embrace neoliberalism altogether abandoning the state-led welfare capitalism and removing the state controls over capital that prevailed in the immediate postwar neocolonial phase of imperialism for almost a quarter century. In view of the ideological-political setbacks of the International Communist Movement in the context of capitalist restoration in erstwhile socialist countries, it was relatively easy for imperialist think-tanks to formulate the essential pre-requisites for what is called neoliberal

A corollary of the consequent hitherto unknown levels of wealth concentration with a tiny financial elite has been the lagging of the productive sphere resulting in stagnation and deindustrialization leading to unprecedented joblessness, inequality, poverty, corruption and

cultural degradation and deprivation and intensifying oppression on the marginalised. Along with the super-exploitation of labour, neoliberal accumulation has also witnessed a mad rush for the plunder of nature at threatening levels which, if not halted, is moving towards a global ecological catastrophe, the manifestations of which are frequent natural disasters such as floods and massive displacement of people from their habitat and consequent refugee crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, which is a turning point in human history is also recognised as the outcome of corporate intrusion in to nature giving rise to the emergence of newer zoonotic viruses that due to its unmanageable social dimensions has led the entire political-economic foundations of imperialism to a frozen state for months.

### **Emergence of Neofascism**

Reminiscent of the unprecedented economic crisis of the interwar period including the Great Depression that led to the rise of classical fascism in Europe, under neoliberalism, especially since the 2008 world economic crisis, today the world is witnessing the emergence of neofascism according to the concrete conditions of different countries. Neofascism needs to be analysed in conformity with the logic of corporate accumulation today. On the one hand, as already noted, neoliberal globalisation has enabled imperialism to restructure the erstwhile nation-centred production process by superimposing a new international division of labour and unleash a worldwide super-exploitation of the working people. On the other, taking advantage of the ideological setbacks of the International Left, by effectively utilising the heterogeneity and diversity among working and oppressed people of different countries and through the effective use of the neoliberal ideologies of postmodernism and post-

Marxism and thus propping up reactionary, racial, chauvinistic, revivalist, religious fundamentalist, xenophobic and other obscurantist ideologies, imperialist think-tanks have succeeded in their depoliticising mission by creating divisions among anti-imperialist forces and diverting people's attention from corporate plunder thereby disorganising and fragmenting resistance to the ruling system.

More precisely, the decadence and reactionary essence of corporate-finance capital that cuts across both base and superstructure, have become more destructive and still more reactionary under neoliberalism. As such, if 'classical fascism' during the colonial phase of imperialism was specific to capitalist-imperialist countries, today neofascism has become transnational in character cutting across national borders irrespective of imperialist and neocolonially dependent countries. And the ideological basis of the fascist regimes propped by the most corrupt corporate class from Asia to the Americas also vary according to the historical, and socio-cultural contexts of these countries. Hindutva or 'political Hinduism' in India, Buddhism in Myanmar and Sri Lanka, political Islam in West Asia, Zionism in Israel, neo-tribalism in Africa, Evangelism in the Americas, etc. are examples. The pan-European neofascist alliance initiated by the financial oligarchs of Europe against workers, migrants and refugees is another instance.

### **On the Approach to War**

This neoliberal-neofascist offensive by decadent and reactionary imperialism has intensified all the major contradictions of imperialist world system such as: the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples, the contradiction between capital and labour, the contradiction among imperialist

countries and monopoly groups, the contradiction between imperialist system and socialist forces and the contradiction between capital and nature, the last one being adopted by CPI (ML) Red Star. Among these five major contradictions, the contradiction between imperialism on the one hand, and oppressed peoples and nations on the other continues as the principal contradiction at the international level. Obviously, the mad rush for maximum plunder at the shortest possible time has led to cut-throat competition among MNCs for export of capital and for global markets leading to contradictions among various imperialist powers. In this context, though US still remains as world's biggest military machine, being ahead in many spheres of fast advancing frontier technologies including digitisation, imperialist China, especially through its BRI-Belt and Road Initiative-has emerged as effective challenger to US imperialism, and in the process is carving out its own spheres of influence not only in Asia but also in Africa and even in remote Latin America. The intensifying contradiction between US and China is acutely manifested in the Asia-Pacific and West Asia, Africa and even in Latin America where overtaking the US, China has become the biggest trading partner there. AUKUS, the recent nuclear-based Anglo-Saxon military pact composed of Australia, UK and US and projection of Taiwan as a geopolitical hotspot has further sharpened the Sino-US inter-imperialist contradiction.

In spite of the sharpening contradictions among imperialist powers, the latest manifestation of which is Russian attack on Ukraine, the latter being backed by US-led NATO, a perceptible reluctance towards direct military confrontations that may lead to a third global war among major imperialist powers has been there throughout the post-war period. Though war is inherent to and inseparable from imperialism, as was

exemplified in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and Soviet computer malfunction in 1983 that erroneously suggested a US attack when a world conflict was a real possibility, leading imperialist powers have a common interest to avoid an open war among themselves lest it may escalate into a nuclear war resulting in total annihilation. Hence, wars between imperialist powers have become "proxy wars", and conflicts are confined to 'local' and regional levels between or within nations. And these local wars and escalation in tensions in different parts of the world are sufficient enough to maintain a flourishing market for military-industrial complexes and for arms sales even in the absence of a global war. Thus, in spite of the absence of a world war, there is no let-up in weapons manufacturing, growing weapons sale and ever-expanding military expenditure during the post-war period.

That is, the absence of a war of global dimensions in the post-war neo-colonial phase of imperialism is inseparably linked up with the interests of globalised capital. Unlike the world situation during first and second world wars when production was relatively nation-centred, in the post-war situation, along with internationalisation of production, corporate capital has expanded to its farthest limits resulting in an internationalisation in the operations of finance capital. The consequent intertwined, interconnected and globalised interests of corporate capital under neoliberal imperialism act as a disincentive to launching a total war as it leads to its total annihilation. However, so long as the essence of finance capital (imperialism) is reaction and war, all kinds of wars, both "cold" and "hot" will continue and it would also be erroneous to preclude the possibility of a world war. Still, the absence of a world war in the post-war context is to be situated in the wider context of the transformation in

the global capital accumulation process during the neo-colonial phase of imperialism.

### **Conclusion: On Evaluating Imperialism Today**

Today, the world situation is marked by horrific levels of wealth appropriation with a few corporate billionaires on the one hand, and extreme levels of poverty and threatening levels of ecological destruction on the other. In the midst of this, through intensifying far-right neoliberal policies, crisis-ridden finance capital or imperialism is shifting the burden of crisis to the shoulders of world's toiling and oppressed people, vast majority of whom are living in Afro-Asian-Latin American countries. Against this, working class and oppressed people are rising up in different forms in many parts of the world against the ruling system. However, in the absence of powerful communist parties capable to ideologically and politically lead these struggles and movements, neoliberal-neofascist regimes are suppressing them or diverting them to safe channels. In this context, a worldwide anti-imperialist, anti-fascist movement that can effectively challenge neoliberal imperialism is the urgent need today. This is possible only through internationally coordinated action among communist parties and revolutionary organisations for which ideological clarity on neoliberal imperialism is indispensable. In this context, the recent hypothesis on "new imperialism" put forward by MLPD that categorises large number of neocolonially dependent/oppressed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as "new imperialist" needs thorough evaluation. In 2015 when this prognosis was put forward, the CPI (ML) Red Star had unequivocally pointed out that this formulation is not in conformity the concrete international situation based on which our Party evaluates principal contradiction at the international level as

between imperialism on the one hand and oppressed peoples and nations on the other. Moreover, contrary to MLPD's evaluation on the character of revolution as "proletarian" for both imperialist and neocolonially dependent countries, Party Program of CPI (ML) Red Star upholds same for India as "people's democratic".

We reiterated this position on "new imperialism" in 2018 at the time of the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPI (ML) Red Star, through the book entitled "Polemics on New Imperialism" and rejected the categorisation of India as "new imperialist" and in ranging it along with China and Russia, as, unlike the latter two countries, India does not at all play any leading role at the global level. And unlike India and other neocolonially dependent countries, both Russia and China, being erstwhile socialist countries, were successful in delinking themselves from the laws of motion of finance capital and that of world imperial chain. Later, it was capitalist restoration that placed both Russia and China in world imperialist hierarchy. Therefore, it is the character of the state and class relations, both international and domestic, and not the size or military might that defines a country as imperialist. Of course, imperialist world system is not static and is changing and the option of a country becoming imperialist cannot be ruled out from a Marxist perspective. However, a country's transformation to an imperialist position is contingent on ending the constraints towards such a development that are imposed by the class character of its state and ruling classes. To conclude therefore, along with other issues, ideological clarity on this fundamental question on situating imperialism by revolutionary parties and organisations is essential for taking up the immediate task of building up an international united front against imperialism and neofascism today.

## “Imperialism, War, and Fascism”

*(Presented by Com Peter on behalf of MLPD, Germany)*

Dear comrades,



Thanks to the comrades of CPI ML (Red Star) for organizing this seminar with international participation and for inviting us to attend.

The tendency to war and reaction is rooted in the present-day basic economic law of imperialism. Stefan Engel’s book, *Twilight of the Gods – Götterdämmerung* over the “New World Order”, states as this law: “Conquest and defense of a position of domination in the world market by the international monopolies; securing of maximum profit by building international production systems, by constantly increasing the exploitation of the international working class, by ruining or destroying the foundations of life of entire peoples in all countries of the globe without exception, by plundering entire states to the point of bankruptcy, by redistribution of social wealth on a gigantic scale in favor of the monopolies and to the detriment of all other strata of society, by abrogating the

sovereign statehood of the neocolonially exploited and oppressed countries, by military action to secure dominance, including even a possible world war for the redivision of the world.” (p. 265)

With the Ukraine war, an open political, economic, ecological and military world crisis broke out, and today a Third World War is being actively prepared by almost all imperialist powers. It is an acute threat and can break out at any time. This danger is partly underestimated in the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement, and the Ukraine war, an unjust war on both sides, is dismissed by some as a purely European problem. Yet for the first time since the end of the Second World War a military confrontation between imperialist powers and power blocs is directly escalating. History shows that situations where a great power is threatened with being ousted from its place by a rising power have regularly led to war.

Today we have to do with a large number of rising powers that call in question the existing power spheres of the “old” imperialist countries. The new brochure by Stefan Engel, Gabi Fechtner, and Monika Gärtner-Engel, *The Ukraine War and the Open Crisis of the Imperialist World System*, states: “The collapse of the social-imperialist superpower Soviet Union and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1990/1991 led to a unified world market. It entailed the reorganization of international capitalist production. This process of the

economic and political reordering of the world radically changed the entire previous imperialist world system. All imperialist countries and the leading international monopolies of the world engaged in bitter rivalry for supremacy in the newly emerged world market. In the meantime, in China and several populous, formerly neocolonially dependent countries, domestic monopolies and state-monopoly structures had evolved. They led to the emergence of a number of new-imperialist countries. By 2017 at least 14 new-imperialist countries already were in existence. More than half of the world population was living in them. They increasingly competed with the USA, Japan, and the EU countries for sales markets and spheres of influence. Some of these countries established a regional imperialist hegemony. They include India, Turkey, Russia, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil. They pursue visions of their own imperialist supremacy, are developing rapidly growing military power structures, and are forming ideological-political power centers worldwide to manipulate public opinion.” (pp. 6 f.)

China meanwhile has become an economic superpower and is striving to become a superpower also politically and militarily. The aforementioned brochure writes about this: “The rivalry between the USA and China meanwhile is generally dominant among the inter-imperialist contradictions, the development of which at the same time is multipolar in character.” (pp. 7 f.)

The world economic war in consequence of the Ukraine war drives the building of blocs, and an open crisis of the reorganization of international production already has set in. However, new-imperialist India, just like Turkey or Brazil, is reluctant to join any bloc hastily. India refuses to fall in with the Western sanctions and even profits from

the import and resale of Russian oil. India is a member of the military Shanghai alliance together with new-imperialist China and Russia, but at the same time also of the “Quad” alliance together with the USA, Australia, and Japan. This shows that it acts based on its own imperialist interests and is neither vassal nor “junior partner” of US imperialism, as is sometimes still maintained today. India’s joining of different inter-imperialist alliances implies an independent imperialist interest of India. These are temporary and contradictory alliances for mutual benefit. The formerly one-sided dependence of India on the social-imperialist USSR and the imperialist superpower USA increasingly is giving way to a mutual interpenetration, though India does not yet play a leading role in the global imperialist alliances.

Of course, economically, politically, and in power-political respect, India is still far behind the currently only fully developed superpower, the USA, and also behind China. Exactly that shows the complexity of the present developments, where alongside superpowers and great powers there are also medium-sized and small imperialist countries. Characteristic here is that between them, despite all bitter rivalry, a mutual dependence exists, finding expression, for example, in a multitude of new alliances. In the present situation the importance of discussion and agreement in the international Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and working-class movement grows concerning the assessment of the emergence of new-imperialist countries. For example, the open revisionists strictly deny the imperialist character of Russia and obsequiously and willingly support the fascist Putin regime. Stefan Engel’s book, *The Crisis of Bourgeois Ideology and of Opportunism*, points out: “In crises, when their costs and burdens are passed on to the masses, when the

bourgeoisie fights revolutionary developments or is on course for war – in short, when the contradictions intensify, as a law of development opportunism turns into social-chauvinism.” (p. 226)

We cannot analyze the global situation accurately and will even draw wrong conclusions for strategy and tactics if we deny or question the fact of the emergence of new-imperialist countries. Of course, it is up to the Indian revolutionary parties to determine their ideological-political line, where we do not interfere. However, we would like to contribute our findings and reflections to the discussion, while also addressing various counter-arguments to them.

As is well known, starting from Lenin, there are three main characteristics of imperialist development, in economic, political and foreign policy terms. Economically, according to Lenin, the formation of monopolies and the fact that they occupy a dominant position in economic life indicate the imperialist character of a country. India has 9 supermonopolies among the 500 largest in the world,<sup>1</sup> 2 more than in 2021: Reliance Industries, Indian Oil, Oil & Natural Gas, State Bank of India, Bharat Petroleum, Tata Motors, Tata Steel, Rajesh Exports, Life Insurance Corporation. They had a turnover of US\$444.3 billion in the last reporting year, 2021. In comparison, India's GDP in 2021 was US\$3,042 billion. India has a total of 55 monopolies (2022) listed on the Forbes 2000 list.<sup>2</sup> This is already more than imperialist Germany with 52 monopolies. A large part of the monopolies developed precisely as a result of neoliberal policies with the privatization of the public sector. Of course, Singh willingly opened India to foreign international monopolies. But he

also created the basis for growing Indian monopolies, which in turn could benefit from the fact that foreign international finance capital was looking in countries like China or India for a way out of the over-accumulation of capital.

In part, with reference to foreign participation in some of these corporations their character as Indian supermonopolies is questioned. In reality, however, the majority of these supermonopolies are owned by Indian multibillionaires or their families (such as the Ambani family at Reliance, the Tata family at Tata – through their foundations or directly through the top management or the Board of Directors – or the Mittal family at Arcelor-Mittal), or they are state-owned (such as Indian Oil or Bahrat Petroleum, in which the state holds 51% of the shares). The decisive factor is a majority shareholding or a controlling shareholding where there is a large free float. In the world economy today, it is typical for monopolies to have high foreign ownership. A large part of the world's capital export is aimed at such shareholdings, with which monopolies of various countries participate in the predatory profits of other monopolies. In Germany, already in 2019 foreign investors held at least 50% of the shares of 23 of the 30 DAX (German stock index) corporations. In the case of Mercedes-Benz, the Chinese BAIC Group is the largest single shareholder with 10% of the voting rights, the Chinese investor Li Shufu holds a share of 9.7%, and the Kuwaiti sovereign wealth fund 6.8%. Only 34.4% of the Mercedes-Benz shares are in German hands. Production long since takes place mainly abroad. Nevertheless, it would obviously be nonsense not to characterize it as a German monopoly. The group was founded in Germany; is still headquartered here, and the German state is even a particular service provider for Mercedes-Benz. It is

typical of the Indian monopolies that they have become international supermonopolies that exploit even workers in various neocolonially dependent and imperialist countries and appropriate the natural resources there. It is proving to be a myth that multinationals exist only in the West and dominate Indian ones. In fact, Tata, with its 30 companies, operates in more than 100 countries on all 6 continents. Tata Sons is the controlling holding company of the Tata Group and is 66% family-owned via foundation models that are also widespread in Germany. The Tata Group now includes more than 98 companies, ranging from the metals sector to telecommunications and the automotive industry. Tata has 935,000 employees. No private company employs more blue- and white-collar workers in India than Tata. The stock market capitalization of Tata's listed companies is US\$311 billion. The incomplete combined revenue of the largest Tata companies is at least US\$128 billion.<sup>3</sup>

Arcelor Mittal is the world's largest steel company by tons of pig iron produced. 39% of the voting rights are held by the trust company HSBC Trustee (C.I.) Limited on behalf of the Indian Lakshmi Mittal family. The family also provides the Group's top management. The fact that the Group is based in Luxembourg for tax reasons does not change the fact that it is a supermonopoly with its main roots in India. The headquarters of Arcelor Mittal in Luxembourg, or formerly Mittal Steel in Rotterdam, was important above all in order to conquer the European market and achieve the hostile takeover of Arcelor by Mittal. As a monopoly not based in the EU, this would hardly have been possible, as the failed takeover of thyssenkrupp by Tata

showed. Mahindra is also an international supermonopoly. In India, it commands about 38% of the tractor market, far ahead of John Deere, which operates four plants in India.

India's largest bank, State Bank of India, has been state-owned since 1955. However, it is an international bank with branches in all major imperialist states. India has also become an important exporter of capital, according to Lenin a major criterion of imperialist development: "Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 240) The stock of Indian foreign direct investment in 2020 was US\$191 billion (compared to a stock of US\$480.3 billion in direct investment from abroad in India). In 2021, India's direct foreign investment came to US\$15.522 billion,<sup>4</sup> a threefold increase since 2016, after a decline during the world economic and financial crisis of 2008–2014. Indian corporations are now also in the top group for land grabs, especially in Africa. Another objection to India's new-imperialist character is that India does not have an all-round developed industry and production base. But an all-round production base is no longer a decisive criterion for judging the imperialist character of a country because of the present stage of the international division of labor. The imperialist countries and their international monopolies concentrate on those areas where they can achieve world market leadership, dictate monopoly prices, and make other countries – including imperialist ones – dependent on them. Germany, for example, has completely abandoned coal mining, while the UK

has concentrated on its role as an international financial center. The division of labor in internationalized production results in multiple mutual dependencies. Indian monopolies are also world market leaders in important areas, based on highly developed technology. Tata (TCS), for example, is considered the world market leader in IT services. Mahindra sells the most tractors worldwide; Wipro in IT, Crompton Greaves in transformers. Arcelor Mittal is the biggest steel company in the world. India has decisively increased its economic weight in the world since the reorganization of international production. Before colonization began, India had an estimated 25% share of world GDP, which fell back to 2.78% by 1980. Today, according to the World Bank, it is already back above 7%, making India the sixth largest economy in the world.

Of course, there is a glaring contradiction in India between highly productive international supermonopolies, unimaginable hunger and misery, backward to semi-feudal sectors in agriculture. But this is not an argument against the imperialist character of the country. Lenin said in 1917 in a comparable situation about the imperialist character of Russia: “Furthermore, in the case of Russia it would be wrong to present imperialism as a coherent whole (imperialism in general is an incoherent whole), since in Russia there are no few fields and branches of labour that are still in a state of transition from natural or semi-natural economy to capitalism.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 465). The Modi regime is a service provider for India’s supermonopolies. With its “Make in India” policy, it specifically promotes the expansion of Indian monopolies, especially privately run “champions” in the energy and telecommunications markets.

Under the Modi government, an aggressive environment destroying policy is carried out. For example, Modi is pursuing a plan to open 55 new coal mines, expand 193 existing mines, and produce 1 billion tons of coal annually. Underground mines are closed and surface mining is expanded. 80% of the new mines are located on the land of the Adivas; here a gigantic destruction of the land and the livelihood of tens of thousands is underway. Peasant expropriation is also pushed and a course set for increased capitalist industrialization and monopolization of agriculture, against which violent peasant unrest has unfolded.

All this also leads to important changes in India’s class structure. According to the figures known to us, for example, about 42% of the workforce is still employed in agriculture today. This proportion has even risen again in recent years in connection with the Corona and world economic and financial crises. But about a quarter of those employed in agriculture are farm workers, according to the figures we have,<sup>5</sup> and their total number is reported to exceed 36 million. After increasing for a long time, the share of industrial workers has decreased some in the past five years as a result of the recent crises, but is growing again. In the manufacturing industry, mining and construction, there are said to be about 81.88 million employees all together.<sup>6</sup> According to the World Bank, the total industrial employment even accounts for 26.2% of all employment. The manufacturing industry in India alone is reported to have around 21.4 million permanent or contract industrial workers;<sup>7</sup> to that we have to add the portion of day laborers who also work in industry. Around 40 million construction workers also

should be included in the working class in the narrower sense. A larger part of those employed in the so-called service sectors, which account for about 32.3% of all employed persons, must be counted as part of the working class in the broader sense.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in our opinion, one should raise the question what follows from this concerning the main force of the revolution. In any case, especially in the export zones an international industrial proletariat has formed, which must be in the forefront of the struggle of the working class and all the oppressed. This shows that in India, too, the character of the revolution is already objectively proletarian. India is a center of worldwide protests and peasant uprisings and of a large women's movement; here especially large general strikes of the working-class movement stand out clearly. As many as 180 million took part in such strikes on 2 September 2016; about 200 million on 9 January 2019; and 250 million workers along with millions of peasants in November 2020 against the fascist Modi regime. Certainly there are still important tasks of agrarian revolution, overcoming backwardness and imbalance in the economy, and overcoming feudal remnants. Subjective factors, in our estimation, may make it necessary to establish an anti-imperialist new-democratic order as an intermediate stage.

The second characteristic of imperialism in contrast to capitalism of free competition is that it means political reaction all along the line. Lenin explained: "Political reaction all along the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 106) Since 2016 a general rightward development has spread in the imperialist countries, increasing in

intensity with the Ukraine war. In India the Modi regime consolidated its position, has restricted democratic rights and liberties with increasing severity and pursues an aggressive fascistization of the state apparatus. Modi is a fascist and, in terms of world outlook, espouses the extremely reactionary to fascist Hindutva ideology, according to which India is not a diverse, secular state, but exclusively a state of the Hindus, who as preeminent people are elevated above others. Hindu nationalism is a form of racism and extreme anticommunism.

Thirdly, imperialism means striving for world domination in foreign policy. Lenin summed it up this way: "'World domination' is, to put it briefly, the substance of imperialist policy, of which imperialist war is the continuation." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 35) Modi envisages an "Indian century". After all, India has a population of 1.39 billion and in a few years will be more populous than China. India is expanding its dominating regional position, for example at the expense of Nepal. At present, the striving for world domination finds expression in Indian politics in the striving for regional supremacy. The role as regional power cannot be used to object to the assessment as an imperialist power. Other imperialist powers, too, like Turkey, are mainly regional powers today. Some smaller imperialists do not even have the potential today to act as regional powers, for example Luxemburg or Liechtenstein. They rely on their affiliation with the EU and participate through this connection in exploiting other countries.

India pursues an aggressive foreign policy. The first aircraft carrier built in India has just been christened and launched, so that India now has two carriers. India has the second largest army in the world and 1.45 million soldiers under arms. Add to this 1.15

million reservists and 87,000 paramilitaries as well as 1.4 million police under the control of the interior ministry. India is now also beginning to participate in the arms race in space and the digital arms race. Since November 2018 India has recourse to a nuclear triad; that is, can launch nuclear weapons by missiles, aircraft, or submarines. India today is still one of the world's biggest arms importers, but in the medium to long term wants to build up an internationally competitive arms export industry as a central pillar of the "Make in India" program of Modi.

India pursues a policy of cultural imperialism as well with the worldwide marketing of the Bollywood culture. India also uses television and internet to influence Indian minorities abroad. Modi specifically influences the members of the Indian diaspora, estimated to number at least 20 million. So in our opinion the Indian revolution today no longer can be aimed only directly at the foreign international finance capital operating in the country, but must also be aimed directly at the national monopoly bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudal and semi-feudal big landholdings. On the other hand, wouldn't a call to free India from imperialism that disregards India's new-imperialist character – thought through to the end – objectively amount to support for Indian imperialism?

Dear comrades,

In the brochure on the Ukraine war we arrive at the synthesis: "There are in principle only two options in this phase of accelerated destabilization of the imperialist world system: the outbreak of a Third World War or the international socialist revolution. ... It is also possible that this phase will be stopped by the resistance of the masses, because of contradictions among the

imperialists, or because of the capitulation of one or the other warring party. ... But as long as this phase lasts, the general strategy and tactics of the international socialist revolution must be directed against the acute danger of a Third World War.... The active preparation of the world war by the imperialist governments, the accelerated destruction of the environment, and the shifting of the burdens of crisis and war onto the backs of the masses will increasingly bring the masses into open contradiction to the imperialist world system and provoke their struggles. Marxist-Leninists in the entire world must do everything in their power to make use of the open crisis of the imperialist world system to revolutionize the international industrial proletariat and the broad masses. (pp. 59 + 60)

The principal direction of movement currently is the strengthening of the international tendency to general societal crises, and it is has not yet reached its climax by any means. On the other hand: "Consciousness, organization, and fighting experience of the working class and the broad masses today doubtless do not yet keep abreast of the accelerated destabilization of the imperialist world system. ... Active resistance against imperialist powers and blocs must be developed and organized with the prospect of achieving a force superior to imperialism. The order of the day is the further building and strengthening of a worldwide antifascist and anti-imperialist united front, as conceived by the joint call of ICOR and ILPS." Necessary is the "strengthening of the ICOR organization and the higher development of practical cooperation and coordination in connection with the building and considerable strengthening of revolutionary parties in more and more countries." (ibid., pp. 60, 68, 69)

## War and Imperialism: The Tasks of Revolutionaries

*(Presented by Sant Bahadur Nepali on Behalf of NCP (Mashal), Nepal)*

### Introduction



In the popular sense, war is a conflict between political groups involving hostilities of considerable duration and magnitude. (Encyclopedia)

During the First World War (1914 - 1918) more than 1, 74, 00000 soldiers were killed along with millions of civilian casualties. During the Second World War (1939 - 1945) more than 60 million soldiers and civilians were killed. The war has not been occurred after the second world war as extended as the first and second world war though the wars between two countries or among countries and the wars against the rulers within countries are being launched. The latest example is the war between Russia and Ukraine.

No war happens suddenly and unexpectedly and it does have a very long background behind it. There were many wars in the history. The belligerent factions are not absolutely right and absolutely wrong, though we take side for one and stands against others. War becomes just and unjust. Which side

should be supported is determined by class outlook. When Japan invaded China, Communist Parties of all over the world opposed Japan but in the Second World War when the USA attacked over Japan with atom bomb, Communists opposed the USA and supported Japan.

Mao says , " War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes. Unless you understand the actual circumstances of war, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws of war, or know how to direct war, or be able to win victory." (PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY IN CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR, December 1936) That's why the war was, in the preliminary phase, started when the private property began in human society. There were undergoing wars because of private property among the tribal groups. Later, between opposite classes like slaves and slave - owners in slave age, between feudal lords and peasants in feudal age, the wars came out. The wars enlarged towards nations, states and political groups. Up to long time cold war was remained between two groups WARSAW and NATO. The cold war ended after dissolution of USSR.

State of World Politics and Communist Movement on 24 February 2022, the Russia-Ukraine War began .The war is between Russia and Ukraine in form but in content it is between Russia and America. Invasion over less powerful country by powerful country is unjust. All

Countries are equal; they are neither small nor big by sovereignty. We should consider on the historical relation between Russia and Ukraine. In the past long time Ukraine was a part of The USSR (Russia). The USSR was dissolved in 1991 and Ukraine was separated from that. Ukraine was gradually going in favour of America. It started to demand the membership of NATO. Russia felt threatened from the activities of Ukraine. Ukraine is rich in Petroleum, so America wants to take control of Ukraine. China is imperialism oriented country. But it has not retained the level of imperialism. Russia does not like the American arrival to Ukraine. Mao had said that politics is a bloodless war whereas war is bloodshed politics. (Ibid) There is politics behind the Russia - Ukraine war, the politics of imperialist interest.

American imperialism is the number one enemy of the oppressed nations and working people of the world, today. It has become the singular polar superpower in the world. It has extended its military power in all continents Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It has to return back recently from Afghanistan. However, it is exploiting the people of this region. it is trying to use the Uighur people against the Chinese government. America is inciting Dalai Lama to make unstable Tibet. Taiwan is also a part of China from the history. America is trying to make it against China by assisting with arms. In Japan, South Korea and in other countries after Second World War America has been camping its armies. American project MCC is passed from the parliament of Nepal. Having passed the MCC the five parties Nepali Congress, Maoist Centre, Unified Socialist, People's Socialist and Rastrya Janamorcha (Legal front of Mashal) alliance government has opened the door to enter to Nepal for American Armies. Later, at once, the government tabled the SPP (State Partnership Programme) bill. The

programme was clearly related with strategic alliance of Armies. The people of Nepal and even their own cadres opposed the Government's move. But the ministry for foreign affairs has not sent letter to America till now about writing that Nepal is not in favour of SPP, it may adjourn to upcoming general election. MCC project is not only related with electricity and road building but in reality it is an important part of the Indo-Pacific Strategy of America. America is trying to put Nepal under its strategic Security Umbrella. It is against the theory of non-alignment which has being followed by Nepal since many years. This policy may weaken or may break relation with other countries. It will compel Nepal to stand in favour of American interest. In view of all those things, patriots of Nepal have been opposing the SPP. In terms of Russia - Ukraine war the five parties alliance Government, Sher Bahadur Deuba led Government has supported America and opposed Russia. It spoils Nepal's relation with Russia. In the past social - imperialist USSR had deployed military to Afghanistan and established its puppet Government. At that time India's relation with USSR was well and sound. India and the United States committed agreement based on the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-Spatial Cooperation (BECA) in October, 2020 when Doklam dispute was undergoing between China and India. As per this agreement America can assist India by ammunitions and nuclear weapons. That is why America is endeavouring to use India and Nepal against China. America wants to push the whole world into the war. All people of the world are frightening that might happen third world war. New imperialist countries came into the world politics .Of some imperialist countries among them are limited within their state boundaries. American imperialism rose after Second World War and it remains as superpower at present. Now China is rising as powerful country. China is

imperialism - oriented capitalist country but it is not as imperialist. Some years ago German Communist Party (MLPD) had declared 14 Countries as imperialist countries including China and India. According to MLPD other neo- imperialist countries are Brazil, Russia, South Africa, Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, Argentina, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE and Iran. To know which country has remained at a level of imperialism is the Lenin's book”

“Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism”. Lenin summarised imperialism as follows: “Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed” (Lenin, collected works, Hindi section, page 41)

According to above saying of Lenin, an imperialist country needs 5 features. Without these basics, if we analyse a country as imperialism, we will go to a wrong path. For instance, India encroaches its neighbour's geographical boundary and comes to demographic encroachment, cultural encroachment and political encroachment. India is an expansionist country. The people of India are our ally and our friend. But the government of India could never have become Nepali people's ally. India is in itself being from long time oppressed under the neo- colonialism. The fact is that 21 percent people are below poverty line. More than 50 million people are compelled to defecate and urinate in open places. India is in a huge foreign debt. Because of not being capable in the sector of technology India had destroyed twin tower of Noida with the help of South African Company. India encroaches the

lands of neighboring countries so it is said expansionist.

It is reality that Indian capitalist monopoly is exploiting the neighbouring countries but it does not have global influence. Narendra Modi had spoken that they would take their country towards developed country. We mean that developing country cannot be imperialist country. The MLPD's analysis is not dependent on the reality. Mohan Bikram Singh led NCP (Mashal) declared India as an imperialist country from its eighth national congress. The political report holds ,” Even our fraternal party CPI (M.L.) has come at conclusion that India is now a neo-colonialist country instead of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. We had long ago come at the conclusion that monopoly had developed there.” (Political Report and Organizational proposal, page - 52) The above lines of the political report deteriorated the fraternal party's line also. MLPD's view can divert from the struggle against main imperialism.

Lenin's view on imperialism is still fundamentally correct. Along with the development of science and technology there have been many changes in the imperialist policy of taking over the world since the time of Russian revolution. But an inherent character of imperialism is the policy of “Partitioning entire territories”. For example a country exports a plenty of goods and capital. Only this factor is not the base of being imperialism .The political and strategic influences over other countries are the fundamental things to be the imperialist country .Otherwise we will bring the oppressed and developing countries also to the level of enemy.

### **New forms of Imperialism**

The European and American imperialists are not at as past forms .They do not go

now to exploit and control the markets just like America threw the bomb in Japan in the past, no need the army attack. They make continuation their exploitation through their comprador government .After the second world war imperialist countries have changed the mode of exploitation .They have been retaining the neo - colonialist policy. America did not directly impose MCC in Nepal. The USA used Nepali Congress, Maoist Centre, Unified Centre and made them passing MCC .They deceived people and passed MCC from parliament at the midnight. The patriotic Nepalese people have been opposing the anti-national citizenship bill but the government at the diktat of Indian expansionism passed the bill from the parliament.

Instead of deploying the armies, now imperialists are exploiting the poor countries and people of poor countries. For that they use economic, social, political, cultural, religious educational sectors to fulfill their interests. Establishing and using the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank and other international institutions they exploit the poor countries and poor people .Due to this new colonization policy, countries like Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan are suffering from excessive exploitation. Despite the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan, imperialist exploitation has not ended. Imperialists have developed highly destructive killers to protect their market areas from other imperialist countries.

Even if it means killing millions of people, they are going to tighten their belts to protect their market area. Lenin rightly said about the basis of imperialism, "the state in which the division of all the regions of the earth among the greatest capitalist powers is completed." In that situation, when they are weak, they go to

war with all their strength. This inter-imperialist war has led to a world war and huge human losses.

Oppressed countries are having to sacrifice millions of citizens to return their lost sovereignty.

### **The responsibilities of Communist Revolutionaries**

Now the communist movement is in set-back around the world. The world communist movement is weak and defensive. Especially after the Twentieth Congress of Communist Party of Soviet Union in 1956, it abandoned the socialist path, the crisis began in world communist movement. After the death of Comrade Mao in 1976, right-wing revisionist Deng Xiaoping's faction took power. The event was a counter - revolution in China. In these two events, the Chinese and Russian revolutionaries appeared very weak. In practice they could not understand that the capitalist elements could be born within socialism. Not only Russia and China, after the collapse of socialism there, the communists of the world were divided into two camps.

The parties which are supporters of China now consider that the socialism is retained in China, North Korea but the genuine Marxists and Leninists have declared nowhere socialism in the world. We have the bitter history that not only by outside enemies but also the capitalist enemies which are sneaked into the Party take the communist party towards the capitalist way, so the revolutionaries are rebelling against the revisionism in the parties. The rebelling in NCP (Mashal) is also the same case. The revolutionaries within Mashal built a co- ordination committee at 2021 November 24-25 and now the co - ordination committee is transformed into the Special Congress Organizing Committee. Comrade Mohan Bikram Singh took the revisionist line and the revolutionary forces of the party have to

do so as to secure the revolutionary thought. The individuals who carry the revolutionary thinking are within Maoist Centre and within UML and within other "Communist groups". They must rebel, later and fast. The scattered revolutionary forces should polarize and unite at one place. In that way some positive works are going on. Even in India the endeavor to reorganize makes us happy. The Parties split and reorganize but the revolutionary forces regularly go ahead. The Aim of Communist movement of India and the Communist Movement of Nepal is same that is, the struggle against domestic feudalism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism, the struggle against neo-colonization, for the establishment of the proletarian state and the People's emancipation. It will be better to exchange our experiences and assistances and to enhance reciprocal trust. Those things should be dependent on proletarian internationalism .It will take us nearer. But in the course of doing so, we should aware/ surveillant to be secured from ultra "Leftist " , rightist revisionism, anarchism, sectarianism and dogmatism . Both Rightist opportunist and ultra ' Leftist ' opportunist are obstacles for genuine Communist Movement. It is necessary to form a forum of revolutionary forces at a level of South Asian Countries.

### Conclusion

The situations in different countries are different. The communist parties should carry out Marxism, Leninism, Mao Thought creatively according to their situations. In India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the strategy and the tactics should be implemented according to their own situation. It is necessary to struggle against two things to forward the revolution - one, against world imperialism including America and two, against domestic feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class. In the context of Nepal, Indian expansionism is an obstacle force of the revolution. In the international sphere American imperialism is standing being the main obstacles for oppressed nations and the people. The American imperialism is assassinating the people all over the world. We need a forum of trustworthy, capable, reliable and genuine revolutionaries.

Domestic reactionaries will become as weak as the world imperialism becomes weak. It is today's necessity that the organization and the class struggle dependent on the workers and peasants should be advanced by strengthening the party of proletariat theoretically, ideologically, organizationally and culturally.

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## The imperialist war in Ukraine and the world class struggle

*(Presented by Abdesselam Adib, Morocco)*

### Human right and syndicalist militant

1 - For the first time since the end of World War II, direct military confrontations between the imperialist powers erupt on European soil starting on February 24, 2022. On the one hand, nuclear Russian imperialism, with a

population of 150 million, and on the other hand Ukraine, the second largest European country with a number of Its population is 45 million people, supported by all Western nuclear imperialist powers, led by the United States of America and NATO. In the early 1990s, war between small states and militias in the former Yugoslavia

was devastated, and 140,000 people died in mass massacres of civilians, in the name of "ethnic cleansing" as in Srebrenica, in July 1995, 8,000 men were killed. And if the great powers did indeed participate in the confrontations in the former Yugoslavia, this was done indirectly or through participation in "intervention forces", under the auspices of the United Nations. Therefore, the war in Ukraine today expresses the greatest degree of danger and threat of a third world war.

2 - The problem of the causes of war collides between the immediate apparent causes and the hidden causes rooted in the crisis of the new global imperialist capitalist mode of production that was established at the beginning of the nineties. As for the direct causes that Vladimir Putin's speech on the eve of his invasion of Ukraine discloses, which is to carry out rapid operations to exterminate the fascist elements of the Azov Organization, which have been working since the 2014 coup to exterminate Russian-speaking in the Donbas region, and also to prevent Ukraine from joining NATO and the European Union. While the countries of NATO and the European Union defend Ukraine's sovereignty to defend itself and its right to join NATO and the European Union. Since Ukraine has not yet joined NATO, the latter does not want to be directly involved in the war.

3- As for the hidden causes rooted in the crisis of the new world imperialist capitalist mode of production which was established at the beginning of the 90s and which launched the passage from international trade to the creation of a world market, based on the penetration between countries, and where its effective power rests on the dominance of large global multinationals which Labor is exploited on a global scale, within the framework of so-called global

value chains. In order to allow the production of products in the poor countries of the South at low prices and to resell them in the countries of the North at exorbitant prices. But the global market, in turn, has produced crises and contradictions that outweigh the crises produced by local markets. For the first time in the history of capitalism, negative interest rates on credits were recorded in 2018. This is a phenomenon in which several factors have come together, first and foremost the excessive accumulation of products on a global scale, and the concomitant collapse of the rate of profit. Also, the size of the huge global debt and the declining confidence in the dollar, which no longer stores abstract value as an intermediary between commodities. The process of this crisis has begun to threaten the capitalist mode of production as a whole. The Covid-19 crisis was therefore a first opportunity to destroy surplus production and stop the deterioration of profit rates, but the scale of the debt and the increasing printing of securities further aggravated the crisis. The United States of America has also begun to lose its global economic hegemony to new imperialisms, such as the BRICS and MIST countries, and is looking with concern at the Euro-Russian rapprochement, which could lead to economic integration between the main sources of Russia and the economic and technological superiority of the European Union. Therefore, the United States has been pushing Russia since 2014 to invade Ukraine to push NATO as far as possible towards Russian borders and encircle it in the media and military bases, waiting for the zero hour to destroy the Russian regime.

4. The development of the war in Ukraine can only be understood by understanding it as a direct product of two dominant tendencies that characterize imperialist relations in the

light of the crisis of the new imperialist world mode of production: on the one hand, the struggle of the United States against the irreparable decline of its global imperialist hegemony, which led to Stimulating the development of anarchy in the world and, on the other hand, exacerbating the imperialist ambitions of the new imperialist countries, which in particular revived the aggressiveness of Russia. Which aspires to reclaim an important place in the imperial scene with a persistent spirit of revenge.

5. Thus, the war that was launched has become a tragic event of paramount importance, primarily for Europe, but also for the world as a whole. It has so far claimed the lives of thousands of soldiers on both sides, and among hundreds of civilians. It has also thrown hundreds of thousands of refugees onto the roads and into neighboring countries. It has led directly or through speculative greed to continuous increases in the prices of energy and grains in particular, which are synonymous with cold and hunger, while in most countries of the world, especially the poor and exploited peoples of the world, they are already watching their living conditions collapse in the face of inflation. As always, it is the class that produces the most social wealth, the working class that pays the most for the machinations of the imperialist masters of the world.

6- In light of the imperialist plans and the will of the United States to separate the Russian primary resources from Europe, the various environmental schemes that were abounding in European policies were completely ignored. All parties, including the

ecological parties, became accepting of polluting alternatives such as coal and schist gas and the reworking of nuclear plants... Note the year 2022 will witness the highest degree of warming that made fires break out in most European countries.

7. All NATO countries armed themselves on a large scale after the start of the war, significantly increased their military spending and sent additional troops to Eastern Europe on the Russian border. NATO countries provided over €34 billion in arms and military aid to Ukraine and as financial and humanitarian aid to Ukraine in the war, and at least another €33 billion was transferred by the United States, Great Britain, the European Union, the United Nations and the World Bank. The manipulation of public opinion has also taken on the nature of ideological warfare and public propaganda for war.

8 - The dangerous situation of the war in Ukraine, which, due to the accumulation of contradictions, may suddenly slip into a third world war destructive to man and nature, raises the question of what to do as proletarian and human rights activists in the framework of the united front against fascism and imperialism, and to which ICOR is credited with maintaining its momentum. ? In order to stand up to the outbreak of world war. It requires a global proletariat awareness of the seriousness of the raging war and that the mobilization must also be globally active, with clear demands, to wage a class struggle against right-wing governments and policies of military alliances, against the continuation of the aggressive NATO, and for peace.