

frontier

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Genocide in Gaza

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN GAZA IS SIMPLY GENOCIDE. THE Israeli military is striking hospitals, schools, refugee camps and civilians indiscriminately. In truth Israel is resorting to collective punishment of the Palestinian people, all in the name of fighting the Hamas. Thousands of children, women and elderly people who have nothing to do with the Hamas have been killed. At the time of writing more than 9700 people are said to have lost their lives in Israeli bombing. 133 children hadn't yet reached the age of one, killed before they could walk or talk. They are expanding their ground operations to create a humanitarian catastrophe as some 18 lakh people are now homeless; they have virtually flattened 50 percent of Gaza strip. These new refugees have nowhere else to go. From Washington to London to Paris, tens of thousands of pro-Palestinian demonstrators are marching with Palestinian flags, calling for a halt to Israel's bombardment and immediate cease-fire. But Tel Aviv is not listening. Nor does America show any inclination to stop this genocide despite its hectic 'peace diplomacy' in the Middle East.

Meanwhile, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) overwhelmingly adopted a non-binding resolution demanding an "immediate durable and sustained humanitarian truce" in Gaza. The resolution was put forth by Arab countries, at the initiative of Jordan. 120 nations voted in favour while 45 countries, including Britain and Germany, abstained. The voting pattern just reflects the mood of the people across the world as pro-Palestine demonstrations are being held almost regularly everywhere. Only 14 countries, including America and Israel, voted against the resolution. Quite expectedly, the UN resolution drew flak from Israel. Surprisingly, the secretary general of UN refused to describe Hamas as a terrorist organisation only to be criticised severely by the Israeli administration.

Truth is the first casualty of war. Then misinformation, rather biased information is the order of the day. It is rampant in case of Russia-Ukraine war and now Israel-Palestine conflict exposes the real face of western media. For one thing double standard is the hallmark of western media. The way most of the western media have lately dealt with the recent events in Palestine shows that journalism ethics such as transparency, objectivity and fairness when reporting issues are often dangerously compromised. Most of them have, shamelessly, exhibited bias when covering the Gaza war.

Back in 2018, the New York Times wrote: "Dozens of Palestinians have

died as the US prepares to open its Jerusalem Embassy". How did they die? Who killed them? An angry commentator responded, setting the record straight: "Dozens of Palestinians are shot to death by Israeli soldiers..."

October 2023, the same story again. And reputable old media house, such as the BBC, could not help falling into the same trap. As per BBC news "More than 500 people have died in Gaza after Israel launched massive retaliatory air strikes" while "More than 700 people have been killed in Israel since Hamas launched its attacks on Oc-

tober 7". Killed or Died?

Language has never been innocent. If anything media outlets use different words to cover the same kind of topics. Conscious or unconscious bias? It is rather conscious and it causes offence that "goes so deep in our lives", says a Palestinian commentator.

"Oppressed people are killed twice, first by bullet or bomb and next by the language used to describe their deaths".

True, the attack led by Hamas on October 7 was unprovoked in the narrow legal sense ...but surely it was provoked in the common sense of the term, because it was a re-

sponse to "the conditions that Palestinians in Gaza and elsewhere have faced for decades".

Before the current war the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) fought four other wars in Gaza since 2007 to control Hamas but ultimately failed. Hamas has not collapsed. Instead, there is every prospect of a long bloody war with many thousands more Palestinians killed, tens of thousands of young Palestinians all too ready to join the ranks of the 'terrorists' and a peaceful resolution of the Palestine question delayed by yet another generation. □□□

06-11-2023

COMMENT

Demand for Caste Census

BIHAR HAS SET A NATIONAL agenda by releasing caste census and it is being debated all over the country. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is worried about shifting of debate from Hindutva to anti-caste. Historically it saw a threat from anti-caste movements because of their emphasis on equality and social justice. The political Hindutva believes in inequality and renewal of graded hierarchy to celebrate the supremacist politics of upper castes.

The resistance to caste census in modern times goes back to 19th century when British India initiated caste census in 1872. There was a growing opposition to caste census particularly in 1891 to 1931. In fact it created proliferation of caste organisations during this period questioning the social precedence one over the other. In fact it had given rise to new consciousness among several castes and they started claiming for Kshatriya status. The claims of caste associations for higher social status dislocated the perception of hierarchy and it greatly disturbed the traditional castes for disturbing

the textual basis of castes in social hierarchy. In truth the independence movement, in a way, also a product of British India's caste census to resist caste assertions.

In its very first caste census in 1951 the Congress headed government has successfully removed the collection of data on caste in its decennial census but continued for SCs and STs and also religious census. The same stand is continued till this day in the thinking of the Upper Caste led policies of India.

Janata Dal headed government had decided in 1997 to go for decennial caste census. The Socialists headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav, Sharad Yadav and Lalu Prasad Yadav along with several others have insisted for caste census in 2001. However, the demand got rejected by Vajpayee-Advani led BJP government. Strangely the same BJP joined socialists in demanding for caste census in 2011. The Congress-led UPA government agreed to include in the caste in census but it got diluted by Pranab Mukharjee and Chidambaram as they kept caste

out of the census but assigned caste survey to a government organisation.

Once again in 2018, the BJP government through Home Minister, Rajnath Singh made the statement that they would hold caste census in 2021. When there was an increased demand for caste census by the opposition parties and civil societal groups and also a case filed by Shiva Sena headed government in Maharashtra in the Supreme Court, the government was asked by the court to state its view on the caste census. In its affidavit to the court the union government stated that they are opposed to the caste census. It argued that they support the decision taken in 1951 as considered view to not to conduct caste census. Further they said it is highly cumbersome and difficult to collect caste figures and process them through computers. And also said administratively it was not feasible.

The Bihar caste census exposed the myth created around caste census by BJP. Entire nation particularly the OBCs are excited and happy to see the reality and engaged in a big way demanding union government to take up caste census immediately. Almost all political parties hailed it for putting facts before the nation.

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The BJP all along tried to mask the entire exercise with dubious arguments. They continue to oppose even today and call it divisive.

Caste census helps the state to frame policy for planning and development. In fact the two Backward Classes Commissions at the national level, Kaka Kalelkar in 1953-55 and

B P Mandal in 1979-80, have recommended for caste census.

Unfortunately several individuals/organisations at the behest of hidden politics went to High Courts and also the Supreme Court to stop the survey that was initiated by Bihar Government. But courts refused to give credence to their pleas. □□□

NOTE

Devastating Gaza

Rudra Sen writes:

RIGHT NOW, OVER 2 MILLION people, overwhelmingly non-combatants, are being held hostage by Israel which has imposed a complete siege of Gaza, cutting off electricity, food, fuel and water, **THREATENING TO STARVE EVERYONE IN GAZA TO DEATH!** This comes on top of decades of crimes against the Palestinian people, starting with the terrorist ethnic cleansing of Palestine that drove a million people from their homes and homeland in 1948 when the state of Israel was established. It comes on top of Israel's massive bombing and invasion, with US backing, in 2008-2009 and 2014 that killed thousands, destroyed water and sewage infrastructure, and has left much of Gaza in ruins. On top of a 15-year blockade that has deprived Palestinians locked down in Gaza of access to food, drinkable water, supplies to rebuild their bombed homes, schools and hospitals, and the ability to leave. And on top of a reign of official and "settler" terrorist ethnic cleansing against Palestinians in the West Bank.

Israel is not a democracy. The majority of the people who live under Israeli rule are Palestinian. Of the Palestinians living under Israeli rule, the vast majority of them are in the West Bank or Gaza, and are subject to military "justice", not ci-

vilian courts. They do not have the right to vote in Israeli elections, although every aspect of their lives is controlled by Israel—whether they live or die, whether their homes are bulldozed or not, whether their fields are razed by settlers or they're allowed to keep farming, it's all up to Israel. When they say Israel is a democracy, they're lying—blatantly, and daily. The State of Israel is literally built on, and exists on the basis of, indiscriminate violence and terrorism against the Palestinian people. In 1948, during the Nakba (Arabic for catastrophe), almost a million Palestinians were forced from their land, villages and homes by terror, rape, and mass murder. To ensure that there would be nothing for the Palestinians to return to, their villages and even many olive and orange trees were thoroughly destroyed. This barbaric slaughter, and the ongoing terrorisation and murder of Palestinian people, was justified by the racist ideology of Zionism that dehumanises the Palestinian people.

This is the first time Palestinians, caged in the coastal enclave, have managed to inflict a significant strike against Israel vaguely comparable to the savagery Palestinians in Gaza have faced repeatedly since they were entombed in a cage more than 15 years ago, when Israel began its

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blockade by land, sea, and air in 2007. But, Israel has the most powerful missile defence system in the world, and a military with state-of-the-art death machinery including a substantial nuclear arsenal, enabled or provided by the U S. The people in Gaza are basically defenceless against air strikes and missile attacks. At its heart, the current war between Israel and Palestinian Gaza is ultimately "provoked" by Israel's utterly unjust takeover of Palestine, the exile of most of its people, and Israel's oppressive rule over the millions of Palestinian people who remained there. Hamas is a reactionary Islamist organisation, pursuing reactionary ends with reactionary, brutal means; yet the fact remains that Israel, and behind it the US, have done and continue every day to do the far greater damage, including robbing the Palestinian people of their homeland and their fundamental rights, and confining millions of them in the open-air prison that is Gaza.

□□□

THE OPPRESSED AND THE OPPRESSORS

Marx's Reflections on the Arab World

Marcello Musto

[When he lived in Algiers, Marx attacked—with outrage—the violent abuse of the French, their repeated provocative acts, their shameless arrogance, presumption, and obsession to take revenge like Moloch in the face of every act of rebellion by the local Arab population.

“A kind of torture is applied here by the police, to force the Arabs to ‘confess’, just as the British do in India”—he wrote.

Marx: “The aim of the colonialists is ever the same: destruction of the indigenous collective property and its transformation into an object of free purchase and sale”.]

IN THE WINTER OF 1882, during the last year of his life, Karl Marx had a severe bronchitis and his doctor recommended him a period of rest in a warm place. Gibraltar was ruled out because Marx would have needed a passport to enter the territory, and as a stateless person he was not in possession of one. The Bismarckian Empire was covered in snow and anyway still forbidden to him, while Italy was out of the question, since, as Friedrich Engels put it, ‘the first proviso where convalescents are concerned is that there should be no harassment by the police’.

Paul Lafargue, Marx’s son-in-law, and Engels convinced the patient to head for Algiers, which at the time enjoyed a good reputation among English people to escape the rigours of winter. As Marx’s daughter Eleanor Marx later recalled, what pushed Marx into making this unusual trip was his number one: to complete Capital.

He crossed England and France by train and then the Mediterranean by boat. He lived in Algiers for 72 days and this was the only time in his life that he spent outside Europe. As the days passed, Marx’s health did not improve. His suffering was not only bodily. He was very lonely after the death of his wife and wrote to Engels that he was feeling “deep attacks of profound melancholy, like the great Don Quixote”. Marx also

missed—because of his health condition—serious intellectual activity, always essential for him.

The progression of numerous unfavourable events did not allow Marx to get to the bottom of Algerian reality, nor was it really possible for him to study the characteristics of common ownership among the Arabs—atopic that had interested him greatly a few years earlier. In 1879, Marx had copied, in one of his study notebooks, portions of Russian sociologist Maksim Kovalevsky’s book, *Communal Landownership: Causes, Course and Consequences of its Decline*. They were dedicated to the importance of common ownership in Algeria before the arrival of the French colonisers, as well as to the changes that they introduced. From Kovalevsky, Marx copied down: “The formation of private landownership—in the eyes of French bourgeois—is a necessary condition for all progress in the political and social sphere’. Further maintenance of communal property, “as a form which supports communist tendencies in the minds, is dangerous both for the colony and for the homeland”. He was also drawn to the following remarks: “the transfer of landownership from the hands of the natives into those of the colonists has been pursued by the French under all regimes. (...) The aim is ever the same: destruction of the indigenous collective property and its transfor-

mation into an object of free purchase and sale, and by this means the final passage made easier into the hands of the French colonists”.

As for the legislation on Algeria proposed by the Left Republican Jules Warnier and passed in 1873, Marx endorsed Kovalevsky’s claim that its only purpose was “expropriation of the soil of the native population by the European colonists and speculators”. The effrontery of the French went as far as “direct robbery”, or conversion into “government property” of all uncultivated land remaining in common for native use. This process was designed to produce another important result: the elimination of the danger of resistance by the local population. Again, through Kovalevsky’s words, Marx noted: “the foundation of private property and the settlement of European colonists among the Arab clans would become the most powerful means to accelerate the process of dissolution of the clan unions. (...) The expropriation of the Arabs intended by the law had two purposes: 1) to provide the French as much land as possible; and 2) to tear away the Arabs from their natural bonds to the soil to break the last strength of the clan unions thus being dissolved, and thereby any danger of rebellion”.

Marx commented that this type of individualisation of landownership had not only secured huge economic benefits for the invaders but also achieved a “political aim: to destroy the foundation of this society”.

In February 1882, when Marx was in Algiers, an article in the local daily *The News* documented the injustices of the newly crafted system. Theoretically, any French citizen at that time could acquire a concession of more than 100 hectares of

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Algerian land, without even leaving his country, and he could then resell it to a native for 40,000 francs. On average, the colons sold every parcel of land they had bought for 20-30 francs at the price of 300 francs.

Owing to his ill health, Marx was unable to study this matter. However, in the sixteen letters written by Marx that have survived (he wrote more, but they have been lost), he made a number of interesting observations from the southern rim of the Mediterranean. The ones that really stand out are those dealing with social relations among Muslims. Marx was profoundly struck by some characteristics of the Arab society. For a “true Muslim”, he commented: “such accidents, good or bad luck, do not distinguish Mahomet’s children. Absolute equality in their social intercourse is not affected. On the contrary, only when corrupted, they become aware of it. Their politicians justly consider this same feeling and practice of absolute equality as important. Nevertheless, they will go to rack and ruin without a revolutionary movement”.

In his letters, Marx scornfully attacked the Europeans’ violent abuses and constant provocations, and, not least, their “bare-faced arrogance and presumptuousness vis-à-vis the ‘lesser breeds’, [and] grisly, Moloch-like obsession with atonement” with regard to any act of rebellion. He also emphasised that, in the comparative history of colonial occupation, “the British and Dutch outdo the French”. In Algiers itself, he reported to Engels that a progressive judge Fermé he met regularly seen, in the course of his career, “a form of torture(...) to extract ‘confessions’ from Arabs, naturally done (like the English in India) by the police”. He had reported to Marx that “when, for example, a murder is committed by an Arab gang, usually with robbery in view,

and the actual miscreants are in the course of time duly apprehended, tried and executed, this is not regarded as sufficient atonement by the injured colonist family. They demand into the bargain the ‘pulling in’ of at least half a dozen innocent Arabs. (...) When a European colonist dwells among those who are considered the ‘lesser breeds’, either as a settler or simply on business, he generally regards himself as even more inviolable than the king”.

Similarly, a few months later, Marx did not spare to harshly criticise the British Presence in Egypt. The war of 1882 made by the troops from the United Kingdom ended the so-called Urabi revolt that had begun in 1879 and enabled the British to establish a protectorate over Egypt. Marx was mad at progressive people who proved incapable of maintaining an autonomous class position, and he warned that it was absolutely necessary for the workers to oppose the institutions and rhetoric of the state.

When Joseph Cowen, an MP and president of the Cooperative Congress—considered by Marx “the best of the English parliamentarians”—justified the British invasion of Egypt, Marx expressed his total disapproval.

Above all, he railed at the British government: “Very nice! In fact, there could be no more blatant example of Christian hypocrisy than the ‘conquest’ of Egypt—conquest in the midst of peace!” But Cowen, in a speech on 8 January 1883 in Newcastle, expressed his admiration for the “heroic exploit” of the British’ and the “dazzle of our military parade”; nor could he “help smirking over the entrancing little prospect of all those fortified offensive positions between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean and, into the bargain, an ‘African-British Empire’ from the Delta to the Cape”. It was the

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“English style”, characterised by “responsibility” for the “home interest”. In foreign policy, Marx concluded, Cowen was a typical example of “those poor British bourgeois, who groan as they assume more and more ‘responsibilities’ in the service of their historic mission, while vainly protesting against it”.

Marx undertook thorough investigations of societies outside Europe and expressed himself unambiguously against the ravages of colonialism. It is a mistake to suggest otherwise, despite the instrumental scepticism so fashionable nowadays in certain liberal academic quarters.

During his life, Marx closely observed the main events in international politics and, as one can see from his writings and letters, in the 1880s he expressed firm opposition to British colonial oppression in India and Egypt, as well as to French colonialism in Algeria. He was anything but Eurocentric and fixated only on class conflict. Marx thought the study of new political conflicts and peripheral geographical areas to be fundamental for his ongoing critique of the capitalist system. Most importantly, he always took the side of the oppressed against the oppressors.

□□□

“THE WAR THAT NEVER ENDED”

Why Peace in Israel Failed

Thomas Fazi

THIS YEAR MARKS THE 30th anniversary of the signing of the Oslo Accords, a landmark moment in the pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. And yet peace in the region has never been more elusive, as events in Gaza makes dramatically clear. Why have all attempts to bring an end to one of the world’s bloodiest and longest-running wars failed?

To answer that, we have to go back to 1967, and the Six-Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbours, when the current Israeli-Palestinian status quo came into being. Israel captured the territories it had failed to occupy in 1948—the Jordanian-controlled West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip—putting all of historical Palestine under its control. This included, at the time, one million Palestinians in the West Bank and another 450,000 in the Gaza Strip.

Haaretz described the victory as “an event as monumental as the creation of the state of Israel in 1948”. Indeed, Israel’s military and political elite had been looking for the right moment to occupy the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since it had taken over most of Mandatory Palestine two decades prior, resulting in the expulsion of half of the country’s native population.

The decisions made in the immediate aftermath of this short war would define Israeli-Palestinian relations, and shape the Middle East, for the next half century—up until this very day. No wonder some have called it “the war that never ended”.

The immediate question for Israel was what to do with its newly

occupied territories—and its inhabitants. There was widespread consensus that Israel should keep the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; however, a formal annexation would mean integrating Palestinians as equal citizens, thereby threatening the Jewish majority. At the same time, a 1948-style mass expulsion was not deemed a viable option, for domestic as well as international reasons.

So a different strategy was devised: one in which Israel would not formally annex the territories (except for East Jerusalem and parts of the West Bank), but place them—and the Palestinians living there—under military occupation. This satisfied both of the fundamental ideological prerequisites of Zionism: controlling as much of historical Palestine as possible, while maintaining a Jewish majority within Israel. There was only one problem: even though Israel promised to normalise the lives of the Palestinians in these territories, its political goals could only translate into a system of control and domination. The Israeli historian Ilan Pappé describes what emerged as “the largest mega-prison ever created”.

Only against the background of that 1967 decision can one understand why this regime has, in all but name, remained in place to this day—and why it has proved impervious to countless rounds of diplomatic negotiations. Not only was the decision made to effectively exclude the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from any future peace talks, but a policy of settler colonisation of the West Bank was also initiated that would make any prospect of turning it into an independent Palestinian state practically impossible.

The first time the issue of Palestinian autonomy was brought to the table was during the negotiations for the Egypt-Israel peace treaty of 1979. Israel agreed to return the Sinai Peninsula, which it had occupied in 1967, to Egypt—but also to grant a degree of administrative “autonomy” to the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, over which Israel would nonetheless continue to exercise significant control. The latter part of the agreement, however, was never implemented.

On the one hand, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, rejected the deal engineered by the Israelis and Egyptians, and intensified its armed struggle against the occupation. On the other, even though there were segments of Israeli society that favoured withdrawal, the consensus among the Israeli political and military establishment was that the territories should remain under Israeli rule. Indeed, throughout the Seventies and Eighties, under both Labor and Likud governments, the strategy remained the same as always; intensifying the colonisation of the West Bank—and crushing the PLO.

For a long time, “peace”—or, better, some form of compromise—was never really an option for either side. The PLO was committed to “the liberation of all Palestinian soil”, while Israel saw no need to change the way it managed the territories. This changed in 1987, when violent anti-occupation riots broke out throughout the Occupied Territories and Israel. It came to be known as the First Intifada.

The uprising coincided with the appearance of a new political force on the scene: Hamas, an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, which opposed the PLO’s new policy, adopted in the late Eighties, consisting in accepting the existence of the

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state of Israel and pursuing a two-state solution. Hamas proved to be a double-edged sword for Israel: on the one hand it posed a serious military threat, but on the other it allowed Israel to brand the Palestinian struggle as part of a global anti-Western Islamic jihad.

This helps explain why Israel actually played an important role in propping up the organisation. Brig. Gen. Yitzhak Segev, who was the Israeli military governor in Gaza in the early Eighties, told the Jerusalem bureau chief of the New York Times that he was giving money to the Muslim Brotherhood, the precursor of Hamas, on the instruction of the Israeli authorities. The funding was intended to tilt power away from both communist and nationalist movements in Gaza, and especially from Arafat (who himself referred to Hamas as “a creature of Israel”), which Israel considered more threatening than the fundamentalists. “Hamas, to my great regret, is Israel’s creation”, Avner Cohen, a former Israeli religious affairs official who worked in Gaza for more than two decades, told the Wall Street Journal in 2009.

The First Intifada lasted until 1993. Throughout that period, the Israeli response was ruthless, transforming the open-air prison model into an even harsher maximum security prison. This is when the infamous checkpoint system was implemented.

By the time a new round of negotiations, the Oslo Accords, began in the early Nineties, under the aegis of the US administration, the situation on the ground in the West Bank made the prospect of reaching lasting peace, through the establishment of a geographically coherent Palestinian state, appear remoter than ever. Nonetheless, following secret talks between Israel and the PLO, in September 1993 the two parties

unveiled a “historic peace deal” on the White House lawn in the presence of US President Bill Clinton. Arafat and Israel’s Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres would later receive the Nobel Peace Prize for this.

Under the deal, Israel would withdraw its military from Palestinian territory, and Palestinians would obtain self-governance over parts of the West Bank (excluding the illegal settlements) and the Gaza Strip—not an actual state but rather an “entity”, as Rabin put it. Meanwhile, Israel would maintain exclusive control of Gaza’s borders, airspace and territorial waters. Specific issues—Israeli settlements, Jerusalem’s status, Israel’s control over security, and the Palestinian right of return—would be settled in future discussions. A transitional five-year period was established for the implementation of the agreement, but—again—little progress was made.

A crucial factor in the stalling of the peace process was Rabin’s assassination, in 1995. On 4 November, Rabin led a massive demonstration in support of the peace deal in Tel Aviv. “Let’s make peace” were his final words. As he left the venue, an Israeli ultranationalist shot him twice. Ever since the negotiations had started, Rabin had become the target of Israeli extremists. Some Right-wing rabbis even proclaimed a *din rodef*—essentially an authorisation to kill in traditional Jewish law—against Rabin. Rallies organised by Likud, by now led by Benjamin Netanyahu, as well as other Right-wing groups featured depictions of Rabin in a Nazi SS uniform or in the crosshairs of a gun. Protestors chanted “Rabin is a murderer” and “Rabin is a traitor”.

Netanyahu himself was often present at these rallies. In July 1995, a few months before Rabin’s murder, he led a mock funeral proces-

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sion featuring a coffin and hangman's noose at a rally during which protesters chanted "Death to Rabin". Over the years, Netanyahu has often been accused of encouraging incitement that led to Rabin's killing, or at the very least of contributing to the incendiary political climate that led to the murder. "Rabin was murdered in a political assassination with the cooperation of Benjamin Netanyahu," Merav Michaeli, leader of the Labor Party, went so far as to say, last year.

After Rabin's death, new elections were scheduled. It seemed like a mere formality: Shimon Peres, who had taken Rabin's place, was way ahead of Netanyahu in the polls. Then, in the weeks leading up to the elections, Hamas, which was also committed to derailing the peace talks, committed a series of terrorist attacks that dramatically shifted public opinion towards Netanyahu and his ultranationalist Likud. Six months after the assassination, he won the election.

The new prime minister's objection to the Accords meant it ground to a halt. Meanwhile, for Palestinians, the reality on the ground worsened in many respects. The West Bank was divided into the areas A, B and C, with Israel controlling any movement between, and within them, effectively formalising the "bantustanisation" of the West Bank; meanwhile, Netanyahu continued construction within existing Israeli settlements and put forward plans for the construction of a new neighbourhood.

The peace process only started moving again when the Labor Party, under Ehud Barak, returned to power in 1999. Barak was determined to land a final agreement, and he enjoyed the full support of the Clinton administration. This led to the 2000 Camp David summit. On that occasion, Israel made its final offer, ex-

plicitly aimed for the first time at a two-state solution: it proposed a small Palestinian state, with a capital in a village near Jerusalem, Abu Dis, comprising Gaza and parts of the West Bank, with no significant dismantling of any settlements.

Several aspects of the future Palestinian state—security and the management of certain resources—would remain under Israeli control. The offer also included a categorical rejection of the Palestinian right of return, a long-standing Palestinian principle that all Palestinian refugees, including their descendants, should be entitled to return to the land they were expelled from.

The summit, however, ended without agreement—and a few months later another major Palestinian uprising, the Second Intifada, broke out. Which party (parties) should be blamed for the summit's failure remains hotly debated. The Israelis and the Americans have always blamed Arafat for his unwillingness to compromise on territory and, even more importantly, to give up on the right of return.

Others, however, including Shlomo Ben-Ami, then-Israel's Minister of Foreign Relations, who participated in the talks, have challenged this view, arguing that the Israelis and the Americans were at least as guilty as the Palestinians for the summit's failure. According to Robert Malley, a member of the Clinton administration, the terms of the non-negotiable, give-or-take deal, proposed by Israel in Camp David were impossible for Arafat to uphold: Palestinians would have opposed them regardless of what their leader told them.

Israel's "best offer", after all, was a state comprising only portions of the remaining 20% of the Palestinian land occupied in 1967, whose economic and foreign policy would have largely remained under Israeli

control. It's not hard to see why many Palestinians thought such a deal was unacceptable. Moreover, Palestinians had lost faith in the peace process in general: life in the territories had worsened since the start of the Oslo Accords. This is why, as the US State Department's Hussein Agha and Robert Malley recount in their summit report, Arafat came to the negotiating table demanding an end to the daily brutalisation of normal Palestinian life as a way to restore faith in the benefits of the peace process. But the Israelis refused to budge.

To place all the blame on the Israeli government, however, would be too simplistic. At this point, a majority of Israelis actually thought the government had already compromised too much. So what was not enough for most Palestinians was too much for most Israelis. No wonder the two parties failed to find any middle ground.

The growing anger and frustration of Palestinians eventually led to the outburst of the second Palestinian uprising, in the autumn of 2000, which reignited the cycle of violence and reprisal. Israelis blamed Arafat for instigating the violence, but several observers agreed that Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Temple Mount, a Muslim holy site, is what likely triggered the Second Intifada. Sharon, an ultranationalist, won the elections the following year and used the unrest, in which 1,000 Israelis and more than 3,000 Palestinians were killed, as an excuse to block any further negotiations—and to justify a brutal crackdown in the West Bank in 2002.

This quelled the revolt, but also sowed the seeds of future violence. From that moment onwards, the goal of peace has moved further and further away into the distance. A small spiral opened in 2004, when Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin offered

Israel a 10-year hudna—a truce, or armistice—in exchange for a two-state solution. We'll never know if Hamas was serious about the offer—they had broken previous attempts at unofficial ceasefires—or if it was a mere tactical manoeuvre to allow the group to buy time in preparation for future attacks; Israel murdered Yassin two months later in a targeted air strike.

Relations between Israel and Gaza, in particular, have been deteriorating ever since, particularly since the election of Hamas in 2005 and 2006. Israel's disengagement plan,

in 2005, in which it unilaterally dismantled its settlements inside the Gaza Strip, only made things worse. From that moment on, Gaza essentially became, in Israel's eyes, enemy territory, leading to a dramatic militarisation of Israel's policy towards the Strip. This included the besieging and blockading of the Strip, which led to violent retaliation by Palestinian armed groups, including rockets launched into Israel. Over the years, Israel responded with several bombing campaigns, which led to the deaths of more than 6,000 Gazans between 2008 and 2021.

This, then, is the backdrop to Hamas's brutal October 7 attack, which killed around 1,300 Israelis and triggered Israel's military response, which has killed more than 5,000 Gazans, and created a humanitarian catastrophe. The conflict has renewed calls for a two-state solution. But this would require a serious commitment from the international community, which is also as fractured as ever. The grim reality is that peace—let alone a lasting political sentiment—has never been further from reach. □□□

[Courtesy: UnHerd]

MARX IN MOTION

Time Puzzle for Marxist Practitioners and Revolutionary Unity

Arup Baisya

MARX USES THE GERMAN word *verwandelt*, which means literally “a movement of wandering, walking, strolling, which transforms” itself through motion. The commodity is sensuously over-sensible because it is both a sensuous quality (use-value) and a folded or covered sensuous quality (value) at the same time. (Marx in Motion: 2020).

It is the kinetic origin and a specific kinetic act of folding or covering constitutes the whole process. So Marx says of the example of the table, “The form of wood, for instance, is altered if a table is made out of it. Nevertheless, the table continues to be wood, an ordinary, sensuous thing. But as soon as it emerges as a commodity, it changes into a sensual, supersensible thing. It not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, when set in relation to all other commodities, it moves over and against itself onto its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more strange

than if it were to begin dancing of its own free will”.

When set in relation to another, commodity takes a relative form, and then the form acquired by the movement of transport, and finally the relative form is simply a projection of a single kind of commodity. Each form does not appear as the reflection of labour or appropriation of labour but as if it is the origin of its own natural properties. The kinetic truth is that all three forms (relative, transport and equivalent) are threefold motion in the same continually differentiated motion. This is the kinetic theory of value. (Marx in Motion: 2020)

As in natural science, motion is fundamental in Marxism for social change. For transcendence from capitalism to socialism or communism, the conscious role of the observers comes into play. The emancipation of workers is conquered by themselves, but without the intervention and participation of the conscious group of Marxist practitioners, this

emancipation does not automatically translate into a change of society from capitalism to socialism. Time dilation occurs due to changes in the moving frame of reference.

The moving frame of reference is now a space-time coordinate defined by the interaction of the two-working-class emancipation and their party. This is the premise where Marx becomes an ‘ism’ and an ideology to be termed as Marxism.

The entire form of motion of commodity economy can be explained by the Marxian law of value in a moving frame of reference whose coordinate is determined by a separate coordinate of space and time combined. For example, imperialism can be defined and ascertained in terms of the flow of value from the periphery to core or dependent to dominant and vice versa at present and in comparison to one set of countries with another and the nature of value transfer in present-day imperialism relative to the same in British colonialism. To delineate the motion of transfer of value, there is a space i.e. specific country, time in the present and the past, and relativity i.e. one set of coordinates constituting of space and time with respect to another set. This resembles the Galilean-Newtonian

laws of physics on space, time and relativity.

In a normal social polity under an imperialistic world-order, when a socio-political event occurs at a certain location, the information from within that particular social-space travels through diverse social structures and layers to the society at various distance locations. The time lag for reaching this information depends on the social relation of the production of a space and the distance from the occurrence of the event. Time dilation occurs in consonance with the moving frame of reference depending on the diverse social structure. Due to this time lag, the event at one place cannot be influenced by the reciprocal social action at other places. The event that represents the present for one locality becomes the past for another locality. Similarly, when after a lag, the information of one event in one particular locality reaches another locality, there may occur another event in that locality, the information of which does not reach the society at other locations instantaneously and as such future events for other locations cannot be influenced by other society. So the past, present and future constitute a time band that forms the societal present that needs to be analysed based on

causality before and after this time band i.e. on the perception of time as the past and future. The past is human memory and the future is the perceptive prediction. This can be done based on the Marxian general law that states 'Human history is the history of class-struggle and pre-history is the class-less class-struggle'.

But what happens when a revolutionary or nationalistic socio-political big event occurs, e.g. the French revolution, Russian revolution or a recent event like the Palestinian nationalist assertion leading to the Israel-Palestine imbroglio? Here, the two phenomena interact with each other -- the popular or working-class emancipation and Nationalistic, Marxist or other ideological practitioners -- to form the material base. This material base transforms and accumulates huge energy. The space and time no longer remain separate coordinates and form a new geometry in place of a Euclidean geometry that existed before in a normal situation by shifting the uniformly moving frame of reference of the exploitative and oppressive ruling class regime to the frame of reference to the working class and oppressed i.e. the socio-politics of that particular location abruptly change relatively from the ruling class socio-political frame of reference to working-class frame of reference. Due to the squeezing of space-time, the two parallel processes of working-class and the oppressed and the conscious practitioners of societal change intersect each other.

This space-time curvature is so big that everything happening within this revolutionary space appears to be inevitable and normal to the observers within, but it appears to the outside observers or Marxist practitioners as something unprecedented, magnificent and special. Due to this new material base and energy, time

dilation occurs drastically. But at the moment of the revolutionary seizure of power, almost no information disseminates from within this event-horizon, but the information that emanates from the superficial or surface layers of the event-horizon, sends out a signal to the outside world of that event-horizon that some magnificent event is happening and such revolutionary upheaval is possible everywhere.

At this moment, nobody is exactly sure how the Palestinian resistance movement is shaped from within, one can only guess from the nature of actions that are reported from the superficial layers. Before the revolutionary upheaval, Marxist practitioners remain entangled within the hegemonic and dominant moving frame of reference of the ruling class with a conscious mind-theory of radical societal change but in a confused and indeterminate way to achieve this. Though this confusion and indetermination are resolved in a formulation of learning from praxis, this praxis is always in flux with various divergent approaches. Thus the question of Marxist practitioners' unity remains obscured and this in turn, the question of revolutionary change remains a chance event of future possibility. Can Marxist practitioners travel to the future to predict this future chance event of revolutionary change?

In the situation of hegemonic control of the ruling class, the socio-economically differentiated toiling masses orbit around the ruling class at the centre in various orbital motions of a socio-political structure. But this orbital motion has its own limitation determined by the forces of production and social relation of production and the binding of the state. The Marxist's idea of ongoing class-struggle presumes that certain orbital motion always radiates energy from the underlying movement

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of the most oppressed and exploited and this creates the countervailing pressure to set a tendency for the collapse of the structure. This emanation of energy-wave grasps the Marxist practitioners to be engaged with the struggling toiling masses. But when the conscious Marxist practitioners with their mind-theory for radical change detect this wave, they not only add psychological and material energy to the wave that has been generated by the struggling masses, but they act to pick up conscious elements into their rank from within a single wave-like formation of a huge number of workers - the process of which is termed as party building - also subsides the wave.

A movement of workers or a section of toiling masses - even if it embraces the Marxist practitioners - appears as a wave, but when the conscious practitioners want to detect the movement, they see individual workers to be co-opted in their rank as causing the collapse of the wave. How this dichotomy of diametrically opposite acts of a single process is resolved? Marxist practitioners' theoretical premise to resolve this dichotomy is based on subject-object relation. If the objective condition is not ripe, subjective effort cannot transform into revolutionary upheaval and this objective condition is determined by the development of productive forces which is not compatible with the existing social relation of production. There lies the uncertainty. The overemphasis on party-building in normal times subsides the struggling wave of the workers in ongoing class-struggle and on the contrary, if it is not emphasised, the subjective preparation remains weak and not in commensurate with the objective condition for revolutionary change when the objective condition becomes favourable. This overemphasis is also

antithetical to revolutionary unity in normal times. It means that, without making such a prediction of forthcoming objective conditions for a revolutionary change, the unity of the revolutionary Marxist practitioners cannot be achieved. How to address such uncertainties?

In the situation of imperialistic and nationalistic hegemonic control and domination, the orbital motion of the toiling masses around the ruling class at the centre resembles the atomic structure. The aristocracy of labour or privileged labour relative to other sections as the Marxist practitioners delineate for developing class-struggle orbits near the centre and that's why the left side of the orbital structure is allowed to radiate wave-like energy, but the right side is not allowed. The fallout of the interaction between the ongoing struggle of the oppressed and exploited toiling masses and the Marxist practitioners has been briefly discussed above. Marxists believe that without a party and a theory, there cannot be any revolutionary social change. But it must also be noted from the above discussion that the over-emphasis on party building in an ongoing class-struggle and action based on the theory of mind for a future society might have a dampening effect on the ongoing occasional eruptions of class-struggle and is also antithetical to revolutionary unity.

One can draw an analogy from the law of physics here. When the wave is weak, the advanced element of the workers from within this wave cannot be easily detected. But this is not the case in a situation of revolutionary upheaval when the energy-wave becomes very strong. So the emphasis should be on achieving such a situation. What can be the underlying act of the Marxist practitioners that makes such a situation more possible to arise

than without such an act? On a global scale, the waves of struggles of diverse sections of the toiling masses may interfere with each other constructively or destructively giving rise to strengthening of the wave of struggle or diminishing it. The wavelength of the struggling-wave on global-scale is so long that it is difficult to ascertain, intervene and interact - the uncertainty is more than in the case of localised struggles. But the mass in such societal phenomenon of class-struggles of diverse sections coalescing together is so big that the uncertainty is very small and the making of future predictions may be very close to accuracy. Nevertheless, there is uncertainty.

In a localised event, if the struggles of the diverse section of toiling masses coalesce together and reinforce each other constructively, then there arises a situation of short-wavelength high-frequency with scores of high-energy advanced elements of workers within this wave. So the task of the Marxist revolutionary practitioners is to unite to assist in achieving such coalescing of the diverse movements together. In the country-specific localised event, the low-energy intervention i.e. the intervention to give this social phenomenon of struggle a direction of change instead of applying radical mind-theory at one go, can enable the observers to make future predictions quite accurately and with minimum uncertainty. But if the intervention becomes vehement and fierce at a moment as in the case of the Russian Revolution, the advanced elements within the classes in struggle cannot be completely determined and detected, and thus the future becomes uncertain. But for societal change, such risk is worth taking and as such, Leninism is valid though the time dimension is still a puzzle for the Marxist practitioners and revolutionaries. □□□

HINDUTVA AND ZIONISM

India, Israel and Palestine

Shamsul Islam

THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN A world free of hegemonic ethno-nationalism, Racism, religious bigotry and hatred have rightly taken note of Zionism and its ally Christian Zionism, major perpetrators of ethnic cleansing of 'Others'. However, the civilised world with its core belief in multi-culturalism and peaceful co-existence is oblivious to a no less dangerous threat to the present human civilisation; the Hindutva Zionism. As the term reads it is part of the Hindutva world-view which stands for an exclusive Hindu India minus Muslims and Christians. The other religions like Sikhism, Buddhism, and Jainism will have no independent status but treated as part of Hinduism. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS; National Volunteer Organisation) is the most prominent flag-bearer of the Hindutva politics whose cadres presently rule India, the largest democracy in the world.

RSS was founded by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889-1940) in 1925 who was disillusioned with the Indian freedom struggle led by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) against the British rule for believing that Indian nation was a composite entity consisting of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and followers of other religions living in India. Hedgewar and his associates aggressively claimed that India was an exclusive nation of Hindus. For RSS the real enemies were not the British rulers but Muslims and Christians as they belonged to foreign religions. Thus RSS represented the militant Hindu nationalism, termed as Hindutva opposed to Gandhi's all-inclusive Indian nationalism.

According to the most prominent

ideologues of Hindutva, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966) and Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar (1906-73), the Hindutva is true 'Hinduness' which should not be reduced to what is understood as Hinduism. Hindutva is aggressive commitment to the belief that India is the Fatherland and Holy Land of Hindus who are Aryans, speak Sanskrit language and believe in Casteism. All others are foreign races who,

"must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture...must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights".

Golwalkar's another 'Holy' book for the RSS cadres Bunch of Thoughts, has a long chapter titled as 'Internal Threats' in which Muslims and Christians have been described as threat number 1 and 2, respectively.

Importantly, RSS and its leading cadres presently ruling India are the most vocal supporters of Zionism and the Zionist Israel after the West. The renowned Indian author, Khushwant Singh noted that RSS "supported Zionism and the Jewish state of Israel for no other reason but that it was forever waging wars against its Arab neighbours who were Muslims". The current RSS chief, Mohan Bhagwat like his predecessors has been calling upon the RSS cadres to emulate Israel to tread "the path of Israel while serving the

cause of nationalism." A leading English daily of Israel, the Jerusalem Post too underlined the fact that "whenever a BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party; a political appendage of the RSS) government comes to power, the vibrancy in India-Israel relations reaches new heights.

At the government level Narendra Modi [Prime Minister of India since 2014] who is also a leading ideologue of the RSS was the first Prime Minister of India to visit Israel in mid-2017 [almost 70 years after founding of the Indian Republic] with the then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visiting India in early 2018. Both continue to enjoy close friendship. India is one of the largest importers of Israeli arms but the largest consumer of the surveillance and intelligence-related equipment. The latest disclosures about the Israel made Pegasus spyware make it clear how India made large purchases of it for use against lawyers, journalists, politicians and activists who were suspected to be opposed to the Hindutva politics. On the surveillance front the ganging up of Zionist Israel and India is proved by the fact that India remains the only democracy not to share any information about the purchase of Pegasus spyware which has been described as the 'world's most powerful cyber weapon'. Concerned by the abstruseness of Modi government Supreme Court, the highest court of justice of India had to constitute a committee to find out the truth in October 2021. The report was submitted in a sealed cover on August 25, 2022. The Bench comprising Chief Justice of India N V Ramana and Justices Surya Kant and Hima Kohli while accepting the report informed that the Government of India did not cooperate with the committee. It was a sad

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scenario for Indian democracy that rulers of India even refused to respond to a committee appointed by the highest court of justice whose deliberations were confidential. For reasons known to the Court only it did not pass any judgment.

In the meantime, two renowned journalists; Ronen Bergman and Mark Mazetti relying on official papers of Israel confirmed that India did buy the Pegasus courtesy Netanyahu. According to the report,

“In July 2017, Narendra Modi, who won office on a platform of Hindu nationalism, became the first Indian prime minister to visit Israel. For decades, India had maintained a policy of what it called ‘commitment to the Palestinian cause,’ and relations with Israel were frosty. The Modi visit, however, was notably cordial, complete with a carefully staged moment of him and Prime Minister Netanyahu walking together barefoot on a local beach. They had reason for the warm feelings. Their countries had agreed on the sale of a package of sophisticated weapons and intelligence gear worth roughly \$2 billion — with Pegasus and a missile system as the centerpieces. Months later, Netanyahu made a rare state visit to India. And in June 2019, India voted in support of Israel at the UN’s Economic and Social Council to deny observer status to a Palestinian human rights organization, a first for the nation”.

With the beginning of the 2nd term of Modi [2019] India witnessed brazen execution of the old anti-Muslim agenda of the RSS. Article 370 which provided special provisions to guarantee its distinct character to Jammu & Kashmir State [the only Muslim majority State in India] was abrogated [August 5, 2019]. A day later, renowned political thinker, Pratap Bhanu Mehta could not help writing:

“There are times in the history of

a republic when it reduces itself to jackboot. Nothing more and nothing less. We are witnessing that moment in Kashmir. But this moment is also a dry run for the political desecration that may follow in the rest of India. The manner in which the BJP government has changed the status of Jammu and Kashmir by rendering Article 370 ineffective and bifurcating the state is revealing its true character. This is a state for whom the only currency that matters is raw power. This is a state that recognises no constraints of law, liberty and morality. This is a state that will make a mockery of democracy and deliberation. This is a state whose psychological principle is fear. This is a state that will make ordinary citizens cannon fodder for its warped nationalist pretensions.

“For, fundamentally, what this change signals is that Indian democracy is failing. It is descending into majoritarianism, the brute power of the vote; it will no longer have the safety valves that allowed inclusion...Not a single one of us can take any constitutional protections for granted. Parliament is a notice board, not a debating forum.”

The Indian State under Modi has been religiously following the Zionist Israel in persecuting Muslims and human rights’ defenders of the region. According to Fernand de Vareennes, Special Rapporteur on minority issues, and Ahmed Shaheed, Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, in a statement said:

“The loss of autonomy and the imposition of direct rule by the Government in New Delhi suggests the people of Jammu and Kashmir no longer have their own government and have lost power to legislate or amend laws in the region to ensure the protection of their rights as minorities”

The following report carried by UNO new site proved once again

that Kashmir looked like Palestine under Zionism:

“Since the Indian Government’s 5 August announcement revoking Kashmir’s special status, tighter central Government control has resulted with access to information and peaceful protests quashed.

Reports have described a near total communications blackout in Jammu and Kashmir since the evening of 4 August, with internet access, mobile phone networks, and cable and Kashmiri television channels cut off.

The experts expressed concern that the measures, imposed after the Indian Parliament revoked the Constitutionally-mandated status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, would exacerbate tensions in the region.

“The shutdown of the internet and telecommunication networks, without justification from the Government, are inconsistent with the fundamental norms of necessity and proportionality,” the experts said in a statement.

“The blackout is a form of collective punishment of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, without even a pretext of a precipitating offence.”

The Government has also imposed a curfew across Jammu and Kashmir, with massive numbers of troops brought in to enforce movement and peaceful assembly restrictions, particularly in the Kashmir Valley.

“We remind the Indian authorities that the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government are intrinsically disproportionate, because they preclude considerations of the specific circumstances of each proposed assembly,” the experts stated.

At the same time, information received suggests an increase in the arrest of political figures, journalists, human rights defenders, protesters and others.

The experts expressed deep concern over reports that security forces were conducting night raids on private homes leading to the arrests of young people.”

Amnesty International released many reports of the impunity with which Indian State was following the Zionists in persecuting Kashmiris. In one of these released in July 2015 titled, “DENIED: Failures in accountability for human rights violations by security force personnel in Jammu and Kashmir’ described in details how Kashmir had turned into killing fields

According to Zionism the Jewish people were chosen by God as His true worshippers and to fulfill the mission of proclaiming his truth among all the nations of the world. The Hindutva flag-bearers proclaim the same status. According to them Hindu Race,

“professes its illustrious Hindu Religion, the only Religion in the world worthy of being so denominated, which in its variety is still an organic whole, capable of feeding the noble aspirations of all men...enriched by the noblest philosophy of life in all its functions, and hallowed by an unbroken, interminable succession of divine spiritual geniuses, a religion of which any sane man may be justly proud. Guided by this Religion...the [Hindu] Race evolved a culture, which despite the degenerating contact with the debased ‘civilisations’ of the Mussalman and the Europeans, for the last ten centuries, is still the noblest in the world.”

Speaking a language similar to

CORRECTION

The review article ‘The Present as History 2021’ [Vol 56 No 14, October 1-7, 2023] has been erroneously published in the name of Somenath Guha. The article was written by Tamoghno Mitra. Error is regretted. —Fr

the Zionists, Golwalkar went on to declare that the world soon will “tremble with fear” before the ‘Chosen People’; upholders of the Hindutva.

It is to be noted that MK Gandhi described as Father of Indian nation without mincing word stated as early as 1938:

“Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs... Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home”.

Both believe that religion is the determining factor for nationality. Both are against inclusive nationalities.

For Zionists and Hindutva protagonists, religious scriptures narrate actual history and any other narrative is unacceptable. Myths are truths.

Zionist organizations and Zionist Israel have been widely condemned for the genocide of Palestinians and other opponents. Israel is the only state which has been condemned both by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations through more than 200 resolutions since its founding in 1948.

In India people have witnessed a major genocide of minorities almost every decade in which Hindutva cadres have been found involved. In these genocides victims have not been only minorities but lower Castes of Hindus also. It is important to know that RSS which claims to be a cultural organisation is fond of worshipping arms. It celebrates its foundation day as "shastr pooja" (worship of the arms) in which RSS leaders/cadres participate in large numbers. Recently following into the foot-steps of Zionist Israel RSS-BJP

rulers have made bulldozers as a symbol of punishing Muslims.

An important commonality between the two is the demonisation and persecution of anti-Zionists as Anti-Semitic and anti-Hindutva as anti-Hindu. The renowned researcher of Zionism, Yoav Litvin wrote:

“In fact, anti-Zionists were targeted from before the foundation of the state of Israel. Today, Jewish pro-Palestinian activists who support the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement are detained, punished and even deported.”

In India MK Gandhi (Father of the Nation), anti-Hindutva intellectuals/journalists namely Govind Pansare, MM Kalburgi, Narender Dabholkar and Gouri Lankesh were assassinated by the Hindutva zealots for being anti-Hindu. Arrest of anti-Hindutva intellectuals like Anand Teltumbde, Fr. Stan Swamy (who died during incarceration), Gautam Navlakha, Varavara Rao, lawyer Sudha Bharadwaj, activists Arun Ferreira, Vernon Gonsalves, Hany Babu, Umar Khalid and hundreds others under terror laws.

Zionists ruling Israel may harp on the divine unity of the Jews of the world but in reality Israel is ruled by and for superior Ashkenazi [European] Jews. In Israel hatred for dark-skinned African Jews and Sephardi [Spanish speaking Jews] and Mizrahi Jews [Jews from Central and West Asian countries, many of them Arabic-speaking] is too glaring to be missed.

In India RSS demands abrogation of the democratic-secular-egalitarian Constitution and promulgation of Manu Code [Manusmriti] as law of the land. Manusmriti is declared to be most worship-able after Vedas. It decrees sub-human status to women and Sudras [lowest Caste in the Brahmanical Caste system]. Moreover, RSS treats dark-skinned South Indians as inferior. □□□

LETTERS

Jabalia Refugee Camp

Dozens of people have been killed in an Israeli air raid on the Jabalia refugee camp in northern Gaza, according to a medical official and Palestinian authorities in the besieged territory.

The health ministry in Gaza said more than 50 people were killed and scores of others wounded in the Israeli bombardment.

An Israeli military official confirmed an attack on the Jabalia refugee camp.

“There was a very senior Hamas commander in that area”, Israeli army spokesperson Richard Hecht told CNN. “We’re looking into it and we’ll be coming out with more data as we learn what happened there”.

In footage of the scene after the strike on Jabalia, residents can be seen standing around large craters in the earth and piles of rubble as rescuers scramble to locate survivors under collapsed buildings.

Israel launched the assault after Hamas, the armed group that governs Gaza, carried out a devastating attack on southern Israel, killing at least 1,400 people, most of them civilians, according to Israeli authorities.

Israel has also imposed a “complete siege” on Gaza, severely restricting access to water, electricity, food, and fuel for the strip’s more than 2.3 million residents. United Nations officials have said that more than half of Gaza’s population has been displaced by the fighting.

Al Jazeera

‘The Voice of Gaza’

Wael Dahdouh was live on air when he got the news: an Israeli raid had destroyed the home his family was in. His wife, son, daughter and two grandchildren were dead.

The veteran Al Jazeera correspondent’s family had fled Israeli bombardment in Gaza City to

stay with relatives at the Nuseirat refugee camp—an area Israel had deemed was safe to evacuate to.

His daughter, Sham, was seven, and his son Mahmoud, was a senior in high school who wanted to be a journalist like his father.

Al Jazeera Arabic presenter Tamer Almisshal said the killing of Dahdouh’s family members is the deliberate Israeli targeting of Palestinian journalists.

He referred to his colleague as the “Voice of Gaza”.

One by one, the enclave’s hospitals are going dark, with 10 out of 35 now out of service as Israel’s siege on vital supplies, including fuel for generators, approaches its third week.

Doctors are forced to work around the clock as they face a severe shortage of supplies and medicines.

But despite Israel’s bombardment of the besieged enclave, there have been small moments to be thankful for.

In the neonatal intensive care unit of al-Shifa Hospital, a premature baby survived an emergency caesarean section performed on his dead mother, Maryam, after an air attack on her home.

Still, with so many people being killed, few are left to mourn the death of women like Maryam, who never saw her baby.

A correspondent

Intifada Until Victory!

On October 7, the Palestinian people reminded the world that they exist and demonstrated that it is still the people who write history. In Italy and around the world we have witnessed unprecedented mobilizations in support of the Palestinian cause, reinvigorating a struggle that has lasted for more than a century and which has never died out even when the attention of the international media has waned.

Since that day the bombings on Gaza have never stopped and under the eyes of a hypocritical world the

Zionist instigator has earned the excuse to perpetrate his plan of genocide. On the evening of October 17, Israel hit Al Ahli hospital, where in addition to the medical staff and patients, there were many displaced people who had gathered there in the hope of finding a safe place.

A massacre: at this moment there are around 4741 martyrs and thousands of injured.

For years, Israeli colonialism has tried to keep attention on Palestine low in order to continue its work of ethnic cleansing undisturbed. Arrests among Palestinians in '48, pogroms in Huwara and now the massacre in Gaza are criminal actions that have been going on from 1948 to today.

But the Palestinian people raised their heads again, claiming their right to resist in order to exist. Israeli colonial oppression has thrown off its mask, showing itself for what it is: an ideology of total extermination and its necessary product, with which there can be no conciliation or peace. The massacre will not stop as long as a colonial state animated by a racist ideology exists in Palestine.

There can be no peace without justice. Respect for international law in Palestine.

Palestinian Arab Democratic Union, Association of Palestinians in Italy, Palestinian community, Young Palestinians of Italy, Palestinian Student Movement in Italy

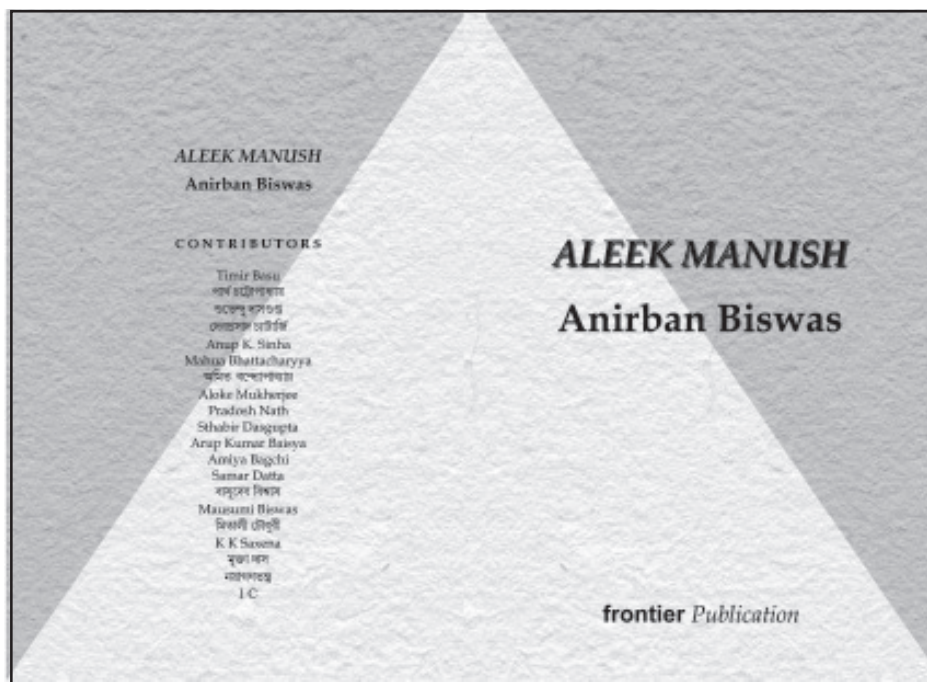
Sheetal Devi

Sheetal Devi’s story of winning 2 gold and silver medals at the Para Asian Games in archery is triumph of human spirit and story of indomitable will and perseverance. Coming from a small village in J&K, she doesn’t have arms but inspired by the famous armless archer Matt Stutzman shoots with her toes and has the tricolour flying high. With her inspiring story common man should stop complaining about small problems in life.

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