

# frontier

Vol. 58 : No. 4 | July 20-26, 2025 | RNI No 16516/1968 | PR KOL RMS/019/2025-2027

Price: Rs. 10

Founder-Editor: **SAMAR SEN**

On Other Pages

Comment	2
Note	3
OPERATION BLACK FOREST 'Naxal' Movement won't End Aakriti Handa	3
50 YEARS LATER Emergency and Undeclared Emergency Harsh Thakor	5
CPI 100 Celebrating the Centenary Hindol Nandy	7
US, ISRAEL, IRAN All Claiming Victory Arup Baisya	9
BOMBING CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY War-Imperialist Pill for Mass Destruction Bhabani Shankar Nayak	10
War is Permanent No Shift from Swords to Ploughshares Bharat Dogra	11
LOOKING BEYOND THE EDGES Sunil Ray and His Cohesive Development Sanjoy De Atanu Sengupta	12
Letters	14

Owner Germinal Publications Pvt. Ltd. of 44, Baram Dey Street, Kolkata-700006. Published by Sharmistha Dutta from 44, Baram Dey Street, Kolkata-700006, West Bengal. Printed by Abhijit Goswami at Laser Aid, 35A/3, Biplobi Barin Ghosh Sarani, Kolkata-700067, West Bengal.

E-mail : frontierweekly@yahoo.co.in  
frontierweekly@hotmail.com

Telephone : 2530-0065

[Typeset by THE D-COMLASER, 60 Sikdar Bagan Street, Kolkata-4, Ph : 98361-58319]

Editor: **TIMIR BASU**

Assistant Editor: **Subhasis Mukherjee**

## *Diminishing American Power*

**I**SRAEL-IRAN WAR HAS DEMONSTRATED AMONG OTHER THINGS that America is just about finished as a great power. While Trump was boasting of successfully destroying Iran's nuclear facilities by using B-52 bombers, most western media was too eager to accept Iranian contention that damage was insignificant and enriched uranium was transferred to safe houses long before American planes roared over Iranian sky.

On June 24, Iran, Israel and the United States agreed to a cease-fire putting a halt to nearly two weeks of war. When the US joined in, it dropped bunker-busting bombs on Fordow, a nuclear site that was hard for the Israelis to reach, and attacked two other facilities. Now as the dust settles, strategists are trying to determine what the strikes accomplished—and whether they were worth the consequences.

In 1988, Samuel Huntington concluded that “the United States is not immortal and its pre-eminence is not inevitable”. His essay, “The US: Decline or Renewal”, articulated a powerful and prescient dissent against the widely held consensus at that time bemoaning the relative erosion of American power. Huntington was right then—but his final admonition has come to pass today.

That might sound like an odd thing to say about a country with, indisputably, the mightiest military machine on the planet, one that currently allocates about a trillion dollars a year on defence spending, which is more than the next seven biggest spenders combined. But such figures can be deceptive. Material capabilities are at least crudely measurable – one can count tanks, ships, soldiers and planes, among other things—but people's understanding of how those assets translate into international political power remains extremely shallow. In 1985, the Soviet Union loomed as a fearsome military titan. In 1992, the Soviet Union did not exist.

The US is not much like the USSR. But it is, discomfortingly, a lot like interwar France: a great power with a glass jaw. Scholars still debate the sources of France's military collapse in the Second World War, but its internal atrophy (which also contributed to the ease with which it descended into docile, humiliating collaboration), was well understood, then and now. And though it is exceedingly unlikely that the US will suffer France's particular fate, the collapse of its international political influence will probably be as sudden, and as wrenchingly consequential.

There is a yawning gap between apparent military capabilities and the

ability to apply that power to well-articulated ends. And there are also limits to what the use of force can achieve. Very often, force fails to deliver the political goods. At the turn of this century, the mighty US could not, despite marshalling overwhelming military force, impose its will or secure its desired outcomes in long wars against two very weak states, Afghanistan and Iraq. More generally, the limits to the exercise of military power also include unin-

tended political consequences. Russia's war on Ukraine (which also exposed a very large gap between Russia's material military capabilities on paper and its actual prowess), was disastrous for some of its most closely held international political objectives—for example, the ascension of Sweden and Finland to the Nato alliance.

The collapse of American power is due to two interrelated factors that will be difficult to repair. The

US is a broken society, riddled with domestic political dysfunction. And those pathologies have led to the election (and, ruinously, the reelection) of a singularly unsuited steward of its foreign policy. Again, though the US is in little danger of foreign conquest, in its domestic political disarray it does eerily resemble inter-war France—a troubled and deeply divided society characterised by what one historian described as “the embrace of unreason”. □□ [Contributed]

## COMMENT

### Challenging Torture

THIS YEAR MARKS THE 38TH anniversary of the UN Convention Against Torture (UN CAT). Yet, the repeated instances of torture against women and minorities in India clearly show how impunity and political repression through silencing of voices have not ebbed in any measure. While India has signed the UN CAT in 1997, it has not ratified it to date; though the apex court, NHRC and Law Commission duly recommended. The legally non-binding acceptance of the UN CAT acts as a facade, as authorities enjoy legal impunity. This has promulgated a backsliding of democratic principles as these principles are pushed to the background, almost rendered invisible. Due to torture becoming a more and more routinised form of citizen repression, India has been labelled as a “Flawed Democracy.”

Torture remains a widespread and deeply entrenched practice across India. Despite legal safeguards and institutional mandates, torture continues to be used not only as a tool of investigation, but also as a form

of punishment, intimidation and social control, disproportionately targeting marginalised communities.

Institutionalised forms of torture in India have seen a steady and recorded uptick through arbitrary arrest and imprisonment under draconian laws like Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), harassment of youth, construction of ad hoc detention centres, illegal push-back of Indian citizens into Bangladesh amongst many other actions that have lent to a gross and systemic violation of human rights and constitutionally guaranteed rights. This form of state-sponsored and political violence has also led to an atmosphere of fear psychosis amongst already marginalised communities and constitutes a violation of Article 21 (Right to Life and Liberty) of the Indian Constitution.

Without the abolition of torture, over half the citizenry—comprising, but not limited to, women and religious and caste minorities—risk being subjected to abuse with impunity in India. Moreover, as torture at the hands of the police remains rampant, impunity also plagues institutional mechanisms such as the National Human Rights Commission and other 175 Human Rights Insti-

tutes (HRIs) in India, which has become an unreliable, unresponsive, and dysfunctional body. The ineffective redress in instances of torture and the lack of upholding of constitutionally guaranteed and international human rights reflects a severe lack of accountability. The lack of accountable legal mechanisms negatively impacts efforts to prevent and end torture, hold violators and those in positions of reproducing torture accountable, and create effective channels for redresses of torture through appropriate compensation, support, and guarantees of non-repetition to those who have been affected. In India there is no mechanism to protect the victims, survivors and witnesses in torture cases. The Government of India has not implemented the Istanbul Protocol for medical examination of victims of torture either.

Today as the world marks International Day [June 26] in Support of Victims of Torture, human rights bodies must stand in solidarity with all survivors of torture in India and across the world. There should be an end to torture and all forms of state violence, genuine commitment to protection of constitutional rights and human rights, and accountability at every step to uphold peace in the literal sense. □□□

[Contributed by *Kirity Roy*, Secretary, MASUM. 26th June, 2025]

**For Frontier Contact**

**Central News Agency**

23/90, CONNAUGHT CIRCUS  
NEW DELHI 110001

## NOTE

## Portrait of a Revolutionary

*T Vijayendra writes:*

**M**OST SCHOOLS IN INDIA have a Principal's room and a hall—particularly in South India where investment in schools is better. Both the rooms carry galleries of portraits of freedom fighters. The Principal's room will have Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Netaji Subhash Bose whereas down the hall there will be revolutionaries—Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad etc.

Nowhere has this writer seen a portrait of a revolutionary of the late 60s—the Naxalites! In spite of several studies by the state and universities about the socio-economic character of the movement, the state continues to treat them as a 'security' issue and wants to gun down their leaders!

In spite of that the State could not prevent publication of several memoirs, books, films, theatre and songs! This \*book is one such publication!

There are several special features of this book. First of all it is fairly large. Then it is bilingual—there are

### \*SUBHAS CHANDRA GANGULY

A Commemorative Collection of Life Sketches in English and Bengali  
Edited by Frontier Collective,  
First Published July 2024  
Germinal Publications Pvt. Ltd.  
Pp 319, Price Rs. 500

19 pieces in English and 35 pieces in Bengali!

Since so many people have written, obviously there will be repetitions!

Subhas was a postgraduate student of statistics in the Kolkata University. What emerges is a portrait of a complete revolutionary.

He was a good student organiser. A good teacher. A good field worker. Extremely well read person. A good theoretician, a good author and a good translator!

Timir, the present editor of Frontier, was a student of Geology in the same hostel. They combined their energies and emerged as good organisers.

In the later half of the '70s both were arrested. They came out after a year and Subhas got engaged in the release of political prisoners form-

### BOOKS BY T VIJAYENDRA

Just Released

**REQUIEM FOR OUR TIMES** Rs. 100

**AFTER ALL IT IS ONLY HIM!**

**AND OTHER STORIES** Rs. 70

**AN INTELLIGENT BIRD'S GUIDE**

**TO THE BIRDWATCHER AND**

**OTHER STORIES**

Second reprint Rs. 40

**THE LOSERS SHALL**

**INHERIT THE WORLD**

Third Reprint Rs. 60

**REGAINING PARADISE:**

**TOWARDS A FOSSIL**

**FUEL FREE SOCIETY** Rs. 120

**THE TEACHER AND**

**THE CHILD LABOUR** Rs. 50

For Copies Contact :

**MANCHI PUSTAKAM**

12-13-439, St. No. 1 Tarnaka,

Secunderabad 500017

Email: info@manchipustakam.in

Cell: +91 73822 97430

ing APDR—Association of Protection of Democratic Rights. Since then civil rights has become a major movement in India!

Subhas also engaged in school maths curriculum with the HSTP programme.

Thus he was a many sided personality—a sophisticated individual! That is how revolutionaries are!

Subhas passed away on November 6, 2023. □□□

### OPERATION BLACK FOREST

## 'Naxal' Movement won't End

*Aakriti Handa*

**I**N APRIL AND MAY, WHEN India had targeted terror bases in Pakistan as part of Operation Sindoor, another security operation was intensifying deep inside the heart of India. This was **Operation Black Forest**.

In what the government touted as "the biggest-ever operation against Naxalism", security forces killed 31 Maoists, including CPI (Maoist) General Secretary Nambala Keshava Rao, popularly known as Basavaraju.

Union Home Minister Amit Shah hailed the operation as a "landmark victory" and declared it a huge milestone in achieving a 'Naxal-Mukt Bharat' by March, 2026.

Throughout the history of the Naxal movement, starting from the Naxalbari Uprising in 1967, many such operations have been launched. But it has survived for over half a century since its inception.

From 21 April to 11 May, thou-

sands of security personnel carried out an operation in the Karreguttalu Hills (KGH) along the Chhattisgarh-Telangana border. It falls in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh and Mulugu district in Telangana.

Karreguttalu Hills are also known as the Black Forest as it is so dense that it is considered dark and impenetrable. Spanning across 1200 sq km, it houses high hill ranges, valleys, ravines, and waterfalls. River Indravati flows through it.

The conditions and terrain of the area are so tough that many soldiers suffered dehydration during the operation.

“Around 24,000 security personnel were deployed at KGH–15,000 District Reserve Guards and local police plus 9,000 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel, who were withdrawn after Operation Sindoor was launched. The remaining 15,000 are still combing through these forests.”

According to a press statement released by the Union Home Ministry, the Chhattisgarh Police and Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF) recovered the bodies of 31 uniformed Naxalites, including 16 women, and that they might belong to the banned People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) Battalion—known to be the military wing of the CPI (Maoist).

The home ministry also said that killed/injured several senior Naxal cadres during the Operation but their bodies could not be recovered “due to difficult geographical conditions.”

“Of the 31 who have been killed, not more than 4-5 were weapon-wielding Maoists. Of the 500 or so Naxals killed in the last 17 months, at least half were ordinary Adivasis—some collected Tendu leaves, some were school students, and one of them a 6-month-old baby.”

Meanwhile, Kishalay Bhattacharjee, a senior journalist covering armed conflict, said that though Naxalites were hit hard, there is no credible data on their true strength, spread and influence. And hence no way of finding out the extent of the damage caused to the movement.

Venugopal, who has closely observed the Naxal movement from the early 1970s, recalled, “It all started in 1967 with an uprising of landless Adivasi farmers in Naxalbari village in Siliguri district of West Bengal.”

Among the prominent leaders who gave the call for an armed rebellion during the Naxalbari uprising was Charu Mazumdar—who later founded the CPI(ML) **in 1969**.

**In 1971**, the Indira Gandhi-led government launched a covert mili-

tary operation called Operation Steeplechase to dismantle Naxal strongholds in West Bengal.

**In 1972**, Charu Mazumdar died in police custody and the movement was wiped out from West Bengal. But it shifted to other states like Bihar (and present-day Jharkhand), Andhra Pradesh (and present-day Telangana) and Orissa (now Odisha).

Then came the Emergency from **1975-77**.

In the late ‘80s Andhra Pradesh, then chief minister NT Rama Rao famously declared a prohibition on “*aata, maata, paata* (dance, speech, and song)” from **1985 to 1989** – an undeclared way of banning the Naxal movement.

“This was a time of ruthless suppression, when many writers and poets, including Varavara Rao, were jailed. But the movement didn’t die.” The crackdown continued till 2004 under the Chandrababu Naidu-led government in Andhra Pradesh.

**In 2004**, the crackdown was briefly paused when then Andhra CM Y S Rajasekhara Reddy (popularly known as YSR) lifted the ban on Naxal outfits, declared a ceasefire and invited them for peace talks. But the peace talks failed.

**In February 2006**, then Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh recognised Naxalism as a “problem”, which transformed into the “biggest internal security threat” by 2009.

Since then, many operations have been undertaken to target Maoists—*Operation Green Hunt*, *Operation Prahara*, *Operation Octopus*, *Operation Thunderstorm* and more recently, *Operation Kagar*.

But the Naxal movement has survived for 58 years.

Experts believe that Naxalism has thrived in places where the government couldn’t reach—either because of dense forests or difficult terrain. For instance, the Karreguttalu Hills, where Operation Black Forest was carried out.

For one thing, Naxalites have

found bases in mineral-rich areas—where on the one hand corporates are annexing more land for mining and on the other Adivasis are pushing them back to protect their ‘Jal, Jangal, Jameen’ and, in turn their way of life.

Numerous protests against mining companies were suspended after the BJP came to power in Chhattisgarh. The Amadi mines in 2023 and Silger in 2021 are examples. And how anyone protesting mining was labelled as a Maoist.

Meanwhile, in the last four months, three public sector mines in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh have been leased out to ArcelorMittal and Rungta Steel.

“There’s certainly a link between opening the forests to corporates and the resolve to eliminate Naxalism.”

The point is...as long as Adivasis and corporates clash over mineral wealth, and the government backs the corporates, the Naxal movement will continue to be relevant in these areas.

Adivasis want education, livelihood opportunities and health centres.

Security operations can’t alone eliminate Naxalism and this has been reiterated by judges and government officials over time.

In 1995, while hearing a case wherein CPI (ML) was charged under the stringent Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act or TADA, the Andhra Pradesh High Court had pressed for talks with locals to find a solution to Naxalism.

Again in 2007, the Bandopadhyaya Committee—a task force formed by the government—noted that it is “necessary to contextualise the tensions in terms of social, economic and political background and bring back on the agenda the issues of the people - the right to livelihood, the right to life and a dignified and honourable existence. □□□

(Courtesy: *The Quint*)



50 YEARS LATER

## Emergency and Undeclared Emergency

**Harsh Thakor**

THE IMPOSITION OF EMERGENCY in India by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on June 25, 1975 ushered a new epoch to shatter the spirit of liberal democracy. The 50th anniversary of the event should serve as a wake-up call or testament to the perils of authoritarianism. The suspension of constitutional rights of citizens including the right to life, arrest of Opposition leaders and rights activists, censorship of the press, arbitrariness of government actions and decisions, championing politics of cult and rule centred around an individual—all showcased emergence of Asian variety of fascism and manifested dictatorship.

Spanning from 1975 to 1977, the Emergency did not merely suspend democratic norms and degrade constitutionalism; it exhibited with brutal clarity an all-round authoritarian thrust cloaked in constitutional legality.

Even now, civil liberties are trampled upon, free speech is scrutinised and placed under high surveillance, preventive detentions and targeting Opposition leaders and rights activists are a routine feature and Democratic institutions are threatened. Parliament's position has been abused and there is untold intolerance of dissent. These all indicate the rise of neo-fascism. Although there is arguably an undeclared Emergency in the country, it would be certainly wrong to use the current situation, however gruesome or mortal, to legitimise what happened during the Emergency, or to nullify its gravity.

Emergency is not just a legal and political device wielded by an authori-

tarian government. It is a state of mind that works against freedom and the best values of the Constitution.

Fifty years have passed since the imposition of Emergency by the Indira Gandhi government. On 12 June, 1975 Allahabad High Court found Indira Gandhi guilty of electoral malpractices, and in two weeks the government formally declared Emergency, suspending the very foundation of India's parliamentary democracy and the fundamental rights of Indian citizens. Nineteen months into the Emergency, elections were announced in January 1977 and by March 1977 India saw the first ever ouster of the Congress at the central level and formal lifting of the Emergency.

It must be noted that the Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi emanated from an authoritarian or bourgeois state that was established in 1947, that patronised or served the coffers of the big bourgeoisie, and landlord classes. India's so-called democratic experiment was, from its inception, flawed. Morally power was not withheld or administered by the people. One can cite examples of the brutal crushing of the Telangana people's armed Struggle, Bengal jute workers' movement, anti-price rise agitations—historic food movement in Bengal, ruthless extermination of Naxalites etc before 1975. The emergency marked a political crisis to maintain the authoritarian political order to keep the genuine political unrest or rebellion of workers and peasants at bay. It served as a ploy to divert any progressive orientation of class struggle in the name of restoring law and order and eradicating corruption. The Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi emanated

from an authoritarian or bourgeois state that was established in 1947, that patronised or served the coffers of the big bourgeoisie, and landlord classes. Morally, power was not withheld or administered by the people.

The ruling establishment imposed 'Emergency' not merely with the intention to project themselves as defenders of democracy, but also to create a "*vipaksh-mukht-Bharat*" or opposition-free-India.

India's titular democracy collapsed on the intervening night of June 25 and 26, 1975, when the then President of India signed a four-line proclamation, virtually on command from the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: "In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 352 of the Constitution, I, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, President of India, by this Proclamation declare that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened by internal disturbances."

This eradication of formal democracy in the country triggered an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP. While the former was the epitome of authoritarianism, the latter wielded liberal spirit, abjuring power. By March 1977, authoritarianism was relegated to backseat and liberalism triumphed.

An important feature that checked the grave perils of post-emergency were the emergence of civil liberties and human rights groups like Association for Democratic Rights (ADR), Punjab, Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) in West Bengal and Organisation for Protection of Democratic Rights (OPDR) and Civil Liberties Committee in Andhra Pradesh.

The outcome of the 1977 election was widely diagnosed as a his-

toric mandate that resurrected parliamentary democracy in India. With political prisoners released after years of incarceration and press censorship lifted, for a brief period there was indeed a mood of celebration in the country. But this jubilation was short-lived.

Elections were announced in January 1977 even before the Emergency was formally lifted. There was partial lifting of restrictions and a partial release of prisoners and after the unexpected shock defeat, the Emergency was fully lifted. The people of India could electorally terminate the Emergency. Today every passing day indicates that power in the BJP scheme of things is not to be constitutionally administered according to the code of rule of law, institutional scrutiny and federal devolution. In the Modi-Shah-Yogi method of rule, power is totally centralised and arbitrary. This is a state of ever-expanding Emergency that seeks to turn India into a republic of fear and fetters.

There were three key phrases used to diagnose the character of Emer-

gency era in mainstream discourse: extra-constitutional authority, the aura around Indira Gandhi and the subsequent trend of 'emergency excesses'. Today the RSS has reached stature of the supreme extra-constitutional authority escalating penetration transcending almost the entire spectrum of institutions, especially academia, media and the judiciary. The triumvirate of Modi, Shah and Yogi have made even the BJP's own leadership structure largely superficial and ineffective and the PMO has effectively become the real cabinet. Excesses are now built into the system, celebrated as the 'new normal'. Parliamentary democracy, the form that was adopted by the Constituent Assembly, is being tossed aside to turn India into a presidential system.

If the Emergency was struck a chord about the fragility of democracy in India, today people face risk of a much more lethal war. Threatened is not just the functioning of parliamentary democracy, but also its very constitutional foundation and the legacy of India's anti-colonial freedom movement, the springboard of the vision of a multicultural and multilingual modern India. The grand unity of the non-Congress opposition could overthrow the Emergency through the elections in 1977, but a broad-based unity of non-BJP forces could only partially check the fascist Modi regime in 2024. It is imperative that beyond electoral confrontation people need to build a united and powerful resistance on every front. Democrats will have to fight to the last inch to overcome over fascism to establish a truly democratic and egalitarian social order.

What spurred the emergency and was unable to check its moral resurrection in subsequent decades culminating in Hindutva neo-fascism today, is weak and fragmented Communist movement, which was disori-

ented from combating fascism at its roots. Erroneous or vacillating trends emerged by sections of Communist Revolutionaries to build a united front with opposition parties like Janata Party which charted no anti-imperialist programme, being bonded with Imperialist countries like USA. Since 1975 there has been no effective concerted movement to confront Hindutva fascism at its grassroots, which sowed the seeds for its germinating as a full-fledged authoritarian power in 2014, with the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The contrast or subtle dichotomy between 1975 emergency and the situation today is the wall of ideology. However repressive or authoritarian, the Congress mechanism did not harbour fascist agenda, while the current BJP dispensation has overtones of the ideological orientation of fascist regimes like Germany and Italy of the 1930s. The latter's advocating the creation of a state based on Hindutva agenda is oriented towards dismantling roots of constitutional democracy. In Emergency constitutional rights were suspended, while today in India unconstitutional laws like UAPA have been imposed, which can rip apart the fabric of constitutional democracy by arresting any citizen, without a warrant-a passport to sanction terrorism to subvert minimal democratic resistance. In 1975, the state was not even half as empowered to extinguish dissent as today. The happenings in the Bhima Koregaon trial case was a classical exposition of proto-fascism. The extra-judicial murder of GN Saibaba, classically illustrates the 'undeclared emergency'. Today even the Judiciary is rapidly turning towards an appendage of the Hindutva ideologues, with rights of minorities like Muslims and Dalits, completely jeopardised or on the verge of being extinguished. In

## DOORSTEP COMPOSITOR

[Contact for Bengali DTP Operator at  
your Doorstep]

At present, we have started a new facility, throughout India. The Bengali language is now used in many places. Thus, there is a need now to have Bengali Computer Operators for publishing in Magazines, Books, Periodicals, Souvenirs. Further, we have created this new facility for preparing Question Papers for Schools, Colleges and Universities. So, you need not send the confidential works to outside. We can go to your Office or Institution to complete such works. We shall also make them in printable formats. Moreover, the translation to Bengali is also done. You may contact us for these types of work.

However, you have to arrange or pay the expenses for our Travel and Stay. We thus also accept some amount as Honorarium; it depends on the importance and quantum of work. We sincerely expect that you will use the facility.

Please contact: **THE D-COMLASER**  
BHASKAR DAS (Proprietor)

39A, Nalin Sarkar Street, Kolkata 700004  
Mobile : 98361-58319

Email : bhaskar\_sananda@yahoo.com

days of emergency of 1975, it was unheard of witnessing such grave assaults on the Muslim community or sanctioning by the state, or laws like NRC, which stripped them of any citizenship rights. The State is designing a strategy to institutionalise Hindutva ideology as never before. In 1975 dictatorship was expressed openly while today the state disguises its semi-fascist characteristics in a pernicious manner.

Noteworthy that the 1975 emergency was sponsored or had backing

of Soviet Russia or USSR, while today Hindutva neo-fascism of BJP and RSS has backing of imperialism as a whole. In 1975, there existed a Socialist state of China which promoted world revolution, while today morally there is no genuinely Socialist state.

The advent of globalisation and neo-liberalism has patronised corporate fascism, which has looted tribals of their resources like land, forests and water and displaced them.

The complex question is how

Communist revolutionaries can utilise extra parliamentary methods to exploit contradictions amongst ruling class parties to check and combat tide of Hindutva fascism. It must be noted that the deeply entrenched legacy or traditions of parliamentary democracy, however autocratic or defending exploiter classes, have prevented or checked the complete erosion of parliamentary democracy, liquidation of dissent or installing of full-fledged fascism. □□□

[Harsh Thakor is a freelance journalist]

CPI 100

## Celebrating the Centenary

*Hindol Nandy*

THE THIRD DECADE OF THE twentieth century witnessed the gradual consolidation of a radical, revolutionary ideology called 'communism' in the Indian subcontinent. Since the second half of the nineteenth century the writings and ideas disseminated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels began to achieve a certain prominence in the premier political circles of Europe. The exploitative nature of capitalism, the existence of different socioeconomic classes in society, the need for the most expropriated class—the proletariat—to organise themselves against the bourgeoisie and overturn the ruling tenets of capitalism into a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'—these were specific political ideations which would go on to find a popular reception throughout the globe not only from a purely theoretical position but also in the realm of actual praxis as well. Thus, theorising and organising have always been the two principal bulwarks of the communist position/philosophy.

Although, communist politics professes a critical internationalism, it should never espouse an internationalism which is imitative of the West.

Hence, there is a need to historically validate the separate, yet structurally braided histories of the many political movements, which took place in various regions/territories (in many cases, subsumed under the nation-state form) and declared its fealty to the communist ethos.

The roots of communist movement in India could be traced back to the early 1920s in Calcutta with the growing import of socialist literature in the colonial city and its subsequent dispersal among the educated colonised. But communism would fail to flourish if theorisation and organisation do not go hand in hand. Therefore, when discussing the beginning of communist politics in India, light must be shed on the history of its organisation. Although the first communist party was formed in October 1920 CE by Indian *muhajirs* (immigrants/refugees) under the leadership of M N Roy in Tashkent, it was actually a party-in-exile (Chattopadhyay 2011: 124). Moreover, 'The ICP [Indian Communist Party] could never take off as an organisation. Its intent was serious but it did not mature as a collective and faded after a while'

(Chattopadhyay 2019: 19). In December 1925 CE, Satyabhakta organised the Kanpur Communist Conference which was the formal launching of the communist party in India, and 'was the first open effort to develop a communist network all over the country' (Chattopadhyay 2011: 147). Thus, the present year marks the completion of the (formal) centenary of the communist movement in India.

### *Indian Communism as 'Pocket Communism'*

The most notable political disease which has plagued the communist movement in India is factionalism, leading to the formation of one or many splinter groups. The Communist Party of India (CPI) which was formed in Kanpur in 1925 CE experienced its first split in 1964 CE, dividing the original CPI into the CPI and CPI(M) [The Communist Party of India (Marxist)]. Then again, in 1967 CE, when the peasant uprising in Naxalbari began, severe internal strains within the CPI(M) led to groups/individuals directly defying party directives to join hands with the subalterns protesting against the landed class. This splinter group professing a greater degree of communist radicalism, and known as the 'Naxalites', eventually formed their own party, the CPI (M-L) [Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)]

in 1969 CE. Hence, within a span of just five years, the unified CPI was fragmented into three separate parties, each attempting to champion their own 'brand' of (correct) communism. After the weakening of the Naxalite movement in 1972 CE, the then three-year old CPI (M-L) started encountering its own intra-party conflicts/tensions. The Naxalites started getting divided into regional factions, for example—the Dakshin Desh (which was later renamed as the Maoist Communist Centre [MCC]) in West Bengal, the MMG (Money, Man, Gun), Bhatti, NLDF, Laltara [Nagi Reddy Group] in Bengal and CPI-ML (Party Unity) in Bihar and Jharkhand, the CPI-ML (People's War) in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh and so on (Pandita: 2011). Although, these separate Naxalite/Maoist groups have achievements to boast about, there is no doubt that their activities suffered sequestration and were in the majority of cases limited to a regional radius.

Therefore, the history of Indian communism from 1964 CE is also the history of the beginning of 'pocket communism' wherein the communist movement in India repeatedly, untiringly and unfailingly started getting increasingly fragmented into innumerable and mutually opposed ideological/territorial pockets. At least in two instances in the history of India where a decision by Indian communists to transcend factional boundaries and work cooperatively proved to be politically fruitful—one is the formation of the Left Front coalition in West Bengal which captured parliamentary power in 1977 CE and reached a historical landmark by retaining parliamentary power for almost three and a half decades. The other instance of communist coordination is the merger of the CPI-ML (People's War) and the MCC leading to the formation of the CPI (Maoist) in 2004 CE, which

offered a stupendous challenge to the Indian ruling elites by organising tribal and other subaltern classes successfully and adopting Mao Zedong's method of protracted guerrilla warfare against class enemies.

Indian communists must do everything in their power to heal from the disease that is 'pocket communism'. Until one sees the end of 'pocket communism' in India, not only will revolutionaries be unable to imagine/envision a full-scale communist revolution in the country but also would be indirectly aiding the Hindu Right, who, since the 1980s have stepped into the vacuum left by the communists to further their sectarian agenda, in the absence of a consolidated politics preaching class struggle.

### ***The Under-theorized Lumpen Proletariat***

In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx postulates about a distinct social class known as the lumpen proletariat—'Money as gift and money as loan, it was with prospects such as these that he [Napoleon III] hoped to lure the masses. Donations and loans—the financial science of the lumpen proletariat, whether of high degree or low, is restricted to this' (Marx 1852: 33).

It does not take a social scientist's analysis to realise that a paramount part of the Indian political culture is still dominated by the presence of the lumpen proletariat. This lumpenised class, known as *goondas* in popular parlance, form the extra-legal backbone of almost all political parties. Indian communists have seldom thought that in order to strengthen the communist movement a concrete theory about the lumpen proletariat class is in India holds significance, especially when neo-liberal capital finds itself in the throes of a worldwide economic stagnation at present. According to Piliavsky & Sbriccoli, 'Columnists and academics alike see

in 'goonda raj' (rule of toughs) a symptom of India's political and economic infirmities: its broken order of law, moribund and highly politicised bureaucracy, rogue capitalism, collapsed political institutions, mass unemployment, and an electoral process driven by fear and force' (Piliavsky & Sbriccoli 2016: 372).

Marx, time and again, talked about how capitalism, by the sheer force of systemic necessity, keeps in its economic sidelines a 'reserve army of labour'. Elsewhere, scholars like Partha Chatterjee opine that, 'The massive surplus population of the dispossessed that primitive accumulation in contemporary postcolonial countries is producing shows that in the process of its emergence, capital creates its own outside which is not pre-capital but something entirely new. The new dispossessed population is not a reserve army of labour waiting to be absorbed into the industrial labour force: it is entirely redundant to the capitalist growth economy' (Chatterjee 2017: 975).

Therefore, the process of lumpenisation is a vicious cycle: first, the new logic of neo-liberal capitalism is driving a huge mass of people towards pauperisation by denying them gainful employment; second, a section from this proto-proletarian, dispossessed mass is recruited by political elites and organised as an extra-legal army of paid labour, or simply put, as an army of lumpenised *goondas*; third, these *goondas* are ordered, by the free use of a combination of fear and force, to resist the development of any kind of radical/revolutionary activity among the working classes, further stultifying the already weak base of the anti-capitalist counter-hegemony; lastly, the absence of an anti-capitalist counter-hegemonic political force allows neo-liberal capital to grow without resistance, and a greater number of people are turned



into paupers than was the case before, hence, completing the vicious cycle.

### Conclusion

This short essay is not to instill pessimism and hopelessness in the minds of Indian communists, rather. The objective of this article is quite the opposite. This writer wants to urge the communists of all shades in

the country to look back at the last hundred years of historical comradeship with a feeling of both fondness, as well as criticality. □□□

### Bibliography

1. Chatterjee, Partha. *Gramsci in India* (2017), Fondazione Istituto Gramsci;
2. Chattopadhyay, Suchetana. *An Early Communist* (2011), Tulika Books;
- *Towards Communism* (2019), Social Scientist, Vol. 47, Nos. 7-8;

3. Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/>, accessed June 22 2025.
4. Pandita, Rahul. *Hello, Bastar* (2022), Penguin Random House India;
5. Piliavsky, Anastasia & Sbriccoli, Tommaso. *The ethics of efficacy in North India's goonda raj (rule of toughs)* [2016], *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 22, 373-391.

## US, ISRAEL, IRAN

# All Claiming Victory

Arup Baisya

**A**GGRESSION AGAINST Iran by the US and against Ukraine by Russia must cease permanently. All wars should come to a permanent end. The genocide of Palestinians must stop without delay, and their rights must be upheld. Iran should not compromise on promoting a coalition of imperialist puppets to take power in Palestine.

The war of bombardment of one another's targeted locations is over, at least for now, by the declaration of a ceasefire. The US involvement became increasingly evident when it attacked Iran's nuclear facility. Now, two warring sides, Israel and Iran, along with the US, are all claiming victory. The God of the sky, Zeus, enjoyed watching three rulers compete for control of the sky, but he did not allow any of them to take absolute power. However, Prometheus was unable to save the innocent Anthropolos from facing Zeus's wrath and tragically dying, as the competitors viewed this outcome as mere collateral damage—this was simply a rule of the game.

On day one, when Israel launched airstrikes on Iranian territory, did Israel anticipate that Iran would become bogged down? When the US supported Israel and threatened Iran, was the US-Israel alli-

ance expecting to dismantle Iran through regime change, assuming the Iranian Khomeini regime would not surrender? Some on the left viewed this as reminiscent of the moment of Iraq War; only difference was Iran's possession of advanced, technology-based missiles. When Iran retaliated and caused chaos in Israel, a different viewpoint emerged from the left. They believed this was an opportunity to teach the US-Israel alliance a lesson, bolstered by support from Russia and China. Now, as the world approaches the endgame, a third opinion has arisen within the left-leaning segments of the Indian political landscape. This perspective encompasses the previous two views, declaring the ceasefire a victory for the Iranian people, albeit under pressure from the multipolar global order.

The failure of the neoliberal framework, which is based on the Washington Consensus, has led to instability within the capitalist system. In this context, the rise of China presents an opportunity for change. During this transitional phase, the system becomes unstable as the working class loses faith in it. The new world order must address the growing demands of the working masses to restore stability to the system. Does this transitional phase

signal the emergence of genuine multi-polarity, suggesting a new deal between capital and labour within a new framework? This is especially relevant as the post-war welfare state model is no longer applicable today.

The true democratic multi-polar global order should take precedence over the democratic reform of international organisations; however, this has not happened. Is it a Marxist perspective to believe that the rise of a capitalist power like China is intended to lead the world toward a compromise between capital and labour, thereby limiting the dynamics of capitalism and preventing any state from becoming a global imperial hegemon? Has the global capitalist class found any alternatives to neoliberalism? The answer to all these questions is **no**. The regulatory and protective measures that have been implemented often create new problems. In response to rising discontent among the masses and to avoid popular uprisings, a transitional phase characterized by the competitive coexistence of two dominant axis powers has emerged.

This transitional phase is characterised by the competitive coexistence of the US and the China-Russia axis. It lies within two extreme boundary conditions: conflict or limited war and peaceful coexistence. The dynamics of this competitive coexistence are influenced by the restless masses, who are eager for potential uprisings. The interplay between war and peace also affects

these dynamics. Within this framework, various regional formations are competing with one another to expand their influence. Recently, the US's decision to step back from its support of the EU regarding Ukraine has left the EU in a position of forced compliance, as if it has rediscovered its European project. This apparent multi-polarity exists under the influence of two axis powers, with alliances that are constantly shifting allegiance, resulting in states that appear relatively independent. In this context, Iran, with its strong defence capabilities and a well-educated religio-bureaucratic elite class, stands out as a relatively independent entity. Meanwhile, both Russia

and China have significant interests in both Iran and Israel.

The Palestinian resistance has proven resilient against Israel's formidable military power, despite the ongoing indiscriminate bombing of Gaza for nearly the past two years. This resilience also explains why Israel's desperate attempts to engage the US in conflict resolution are unlikely to weaken Iran. Both the US and China-Russia are not interested in extending the war; instead, they aim to establish a balance. A prolonged conflict or power imbalance during this severe economic crisis could trigger uprisings in Arab countries and even in the West. Israel launched attacks on Iran at a

time when global protests against Palestinian aggression were escalating. Additionally, Trump abandoned the Abraham Accords and sought to establish relations with Arab nations directly, a move influenced by the rapid decline in Netanyahu's credibility.

The war ended due to this rising discontent among the global masses. Therefore, the formation of a third axis of a United Front of the Struggling Masses, along with the launch of a movement advocating for the economic and political platform of the Governments of developing countries, must become the focal point of left politics.

□□□

#### BOMBING CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

## War-Imperialist Pill for Mass Destruction

*Bhabani Shankar Nayak*

**W**ORLD PEACE HAS PERISHED in the debris of imperialist wars waged by the American and European ruling classes—wars that have devastated the lives, homes, happiness, and livelihoods of working people, along with their libraries, places of learning, museums, archives, and history. From Afghanistan, Beirut, Bosnia, Cambodia, Grenada, Iran, Iraq, Korea, Kosovo, Laos, Panama, Palestine, Somalia, and Vietnam to Yemen, people have recently endured the brutality of wars launched by American and European imperialist powers under the guise of fighting terrorism, and promoting democracy, human rights, and peace. However, the Israeli attacks on Iran and Palestine, along with the American imperialist assault on Iran, have disrupted this illusion of comfort within Europe and America. Mr Netanyahu and Mr Donald Trump have not only bombed Iran—they have symbolically bombed the very foundations of so-called lib-

eral and constitutional democracy in the West. Their actions have also struck at the United Nations and its already fragile legitimacy in upholding global peace.

The Zionist ruling elite of Israel, backed by American imperialism, is now even bombing graves in Gaza. Palestinians are paying the ultimate price with their lives as they defend their homes from colonial settlers. Israel is targeting children in schools, patients in hospitals, and women in their homes. Israel, with the support of American imperialism, is also bombing Iran—without justification and in violation of all international laws. Both Ukrainians and Russians are losing their lives in this war driven by imperialist interests. The Zionists, alongside European and American imperialists, are not only destroying ancient civilisations and killing people to plunder their natural resources, but also systematically undermining the cultures and identities of working people across the

globe. These war-mongering ruling classes continue to bomb nations, exploit resources, and erode the foundations of entire civilisations under the guise of imperialist power and neocolonial control.

The hegemonic profits from these wars—through arms sales and the extraction of plundered natural gas, oil, and other mineral resources—offer temporary relief to the suffering of European and American working people. This temporary relief serves as the foundation of modern slavery and operates as a strategy to silence working people in the name of national interest. These wars will ultimately engulf world population and destroy humanity—it is only a matter of time. Dehumanisation is not a distant consequence of war—it is an intimate, everyday process. Through the normalisation of violence and the othering of people in daily life, it poses a danger to all in the form of militarisation of mind and dehumanisation of everyday lives. In this process, working people are stripped of their mental peace and happiness, as their lives are overshadowed by violence, exploitation, and uncertainty.

Collective punishment of people through imperialist wars is a deliberate strategy by ruling elites to impose mass shock therapy, conditioning the masses to accept violence as a governing principle. Instability, uncertainty, and insecurity are not accidental outcomes but are deliberately embedded strategies of imperialism designed to domesticate and control the masses. These imperialist tactics work like a powerful pill, making the plundering of labour and natural resources seem natural and inevitable—no questions asked. Such conditions grant unlimited power to the imperialist ruling classes, enabling them to survive and expand their dominance. Imperialist hegemony marks the deathbed of liberal, constitutional, and secular democracy. It destroys the very foundations nec-

essary for the advancement of human rights, citizenship, and individual freedom—undermining the ability to live, work, and love according to personal choice.

In this way, imperialist wars have placed the lives and livelihoods of the global working class in grave danger. There are no nationalistic, religious, or cultural wars—these conflicts are deliberately designed to divide working people and send them to the slaughterhouse of imperialist wars. Therefore, the struggle against war must be central to working-class politics and its internationalist emancipatory vision for global peace. As global democracy faces increasing threats from these imperialist wars, working people worldwide must unite to reclaim their democratic and citizenship rights—before it is too late. The

struggle for peace is, at its core, a struggle against the imperialist war machine. These wars can be stopped, and lasting global peace can be achieved only through mass mobilisation and unified movements of working people. Internationalism is the cornerstone of the emancipatory struggles of working people worldwide.

Therefore, standing in solidarity with the Iranian and Palestinian people strengthens and empowers working people and their path to peace and prosperity across the globe. Imperialist wars are people's common enemy. They destroy and dehumanise all, stealing the very essence of life—both as human beings and as part of the natural world of animals. If working people fail to unite and resist imperialist wars, barbarism will be the fate that awaits all.

## WAR IS PERMANENT

# No Shift from Swords to Ploughshares

*Bharat Dogra*

**A**FTER THE HORRIBLE DESTRUCTION of World War 2, the world was expected to learn its essential lessons and move from swords to ploughshares on a path of peace. Instead the world's most dominant leaders chose to ignore the clearest lessons of World War 2 that were crying out to be heard, just as they had earlier neglected the lessons of World War 1.

Now cold war and cold war mentality were allowed to take over, so that swords continued to get precedence over ploughshares. In some ways this phase was even more dangerous than the earlier times as now the 'swords' included nuclear weapons, and the world barely escaped almost complete destruction at times such as the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

Around the year 1990 with the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet

Union, opportunities appeared again of beginning a new phase of peace. Several UN agencies and others were repeatedly talking around this time of the emerging peace dividend as with the end of the cold war big budgets could now be diverted from swords to ploughshares, from wars and weapons to elimination of hunger and poverty.

However again such big peace and development opportunities were sacrificed at the altar of a new chain of wars, entirely avoidable wars, bringing huge destruction to one country after another. There could not be a more dangerous tendency than this in these times of proliferation of highly destructive weapons.

These trends draw attention to some more basic flaws in the current world systems such as hugely powerful political and other interests establishing close relations with the

military industrial complex, in turn leading to important policy choices being made in favour of wars and weapons instead of peace and protection, in favour of swords instead of ploughshares. When those in-charge of making crucial decision are known to have their fortunes tied to promoting wars and weapons, how can the world hope for peace?

This, moreover, is only a part of a much bigger problem, relating to a basic character of all conqueror or exploiter or imperial systems, or of those leading persons of these systems who are entirely in tune with the ideology of these systems.

These systems and their dominant members simply cannot accept the objective of welfare of all and friendship for all for the simple reason that this does not leave them with their basic requirement of having plenty of those whom they can conquer, exploit, dominate, use and discard.

The lions of a forest cannot be the friends of the much larger num-

ber of deers in the forest because they need a daily supply of deer to devour. However this analogy is not fair to the lions as they are naturally born to live in this way. On the other hand the most important role of human beings is a protective one which is denied by conqueror and exploiter systems.

The conquering, exploiting, imperial systems may pay lip sympathy to the objective of universal welfare but the cruel reality is that by habit and character they want a significant part of the universe for conquest and plunder. So when those with an ideology of conquest and exploitation are asked to have a more inclusive view of security and stability by including all those who are being left out, they are extremely uncomfortable as their basic identity as conqueror faces an existential crisis—how can the conqueror and the exploiter survive if an inclusive

system includes everyone under its protective umbrella and no one is left to conquer and exploit?

Hence when the conquering systems lost the bigger colonies, they felt the need to still retain substantial territories away from home and what is more, to retain wider systems which still operate on the basis of transferring resources and wealth to the conqueror, although in ways that may be less visible and obvious. Whenever such extractive and plundering characteristics of the prevailing system are threatened, the conquering systems get angry and the swords come out.

However, as in the past, such conquer-based systems of dominance continue to be not just destructive to others but also to be self-destructive. The mentality and thinking of those who live by conquest and exploitation continues to be the same in their close relationships. Imagine

someone who is trying to always conquer, subjugate, dominate, exploit and take advantage of others in his social relationships. This surely is a recipe for disaster, and so it is, as seen in the data on social disintegration of several conqueror societies (and here one is not just talking of the west but of a wider social reality).

Hence the paradigm for seeking peace must be much wider, of moving from conqueror and exploitative system to systems of protection and cooperation, care and compassion. Only then can humanity realise its most essential role on earth—a protective role, protective towards all human beings, towards all forms of life and towards environment. □□□ [The writer is Honorary Convener, Campaign to Save Earth Now. His recent books include *Planet in Peril*, *A Day in 2071*, *Saving Earth for Children* and *Earth without Borders*.]

## LOOKING BEYOND THE EDGES

# Sunil Ray and His Cohesive Development

**Sanjoy De  
Atanu Sengupta**

[The first review of Sunil Ray's thought-Provoking Book—*Birth of an Alternative Development Paradigm: Unfolding Transformative Mode of Production*—was published in April 29- May 3, 2025 issue. This is the second review]

**T**ALK ON 'DEVELOPMENT' is ubiquitous. It is extensively used in all discourses such in economics, politics, and in everyday dialogues. It is nowadays seen as the ultimate goal—something that will move everyone up the ladder and solve all the problems. In his blockbuster book *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind*, Yuval Noah Harari (2015) opines that human cooperation hinges on shared stories. In the modern era, one of the most powerful stories people share among themselves is about development and its enormous possibilities. But as Professor Sunil Ray in his "*Birth of an Alternative Development Paradigm: Unfolding of Transformative Mode of Production*"

[Published by Germinal Publications Pvt Ltd (Publisher of Frontier weekly), Kolkata. Price: 250INR] reveals, this story may not be as unblemished or supportive as people believe.

The way development is generally orchestrated—emphasised principally on economic growth—can, in reality, inflict a lot of damage. It often results into the indiscriminate use of natural resources, unethical treatment of labourers, displacement of tribals and communities, and growing inequality. In fact, instead of helping everyone, it sometimes ends up making life worse for the most downtrodden class of the society.

Some alternative radical approaches to development have also

emerged. These approaches attempt to fix this by challenging who holds power and who derives the benefits. These include Marxist notions about labourers, feminist movements, and other grassroots struggles. But even these can sometimes become unyielding or can often lose sight of their goals. Despite having noble intentions, these approaches sometimes hurt the interest of some specific groups or classes in the society. This leads to adverse reactions, causing social tensions and violence. Ultimately, the alternative radical policy fails. That is where the concept of *cohesive development* fits in—a more sensible and human-centric approach that Prof Sunil Ray elucidates in his book *Birth of an Alternative Development Paradigm*.

Prof Ray cites several real-life movements to concretise his ideas. For example, in the 1990s, the National Alliance of People's Movements [NAPM] in India opposed against the adverse impact of globalisation and the proliferation of nuclear weapons.



The Narmada Bachao Andolan fought against the setting up of big dams that would displace people and aggravate the environment. Ray also highlights the Zapatista movement in Mexico, which erupted after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) affected local communities. These movements indicate how people can come together to oppose harmful systems and ensure promising future.

Ray recommends that people need to rethink development paradigm employing a few prudent-humanistic ideas. One is *reciprocal altruism*—which implies helping others with the assurance that they will reciprocate in return. Another tenet is the *principle of sufficiency*—which signifies producing and consuming to the extent that is actually required, instead of chasing limitless wealth. These ideas guarantee trust, justice and sustainability.

But one-size-fits-all solutions may not fit into the idea of cohesive development. In fact, the operation of cohesive development is highly localised. One example was the *Bhoodan* (Land Gift) Movement spearheaded by Vinoba Bhave in India. Inspired by Gandhi's philosophy, Bhave persuaded the affluent landowners to willingly donate land to the landless. This non-violent approach helped avert the violence of forced land redistribution. However, it was not very much successful because of strong opposition from political groups. Still, it had the potential of trust-based change.

Environmental issues are another big challenge. While pollution and climate change are often the act of the wealthy, but their effects harm everyone. As Karl Marx once cautioned, this could lead to the ruining of both the poor and the rich. That is why many experts now opine that solving these problems requires cooperation among all and not opposition. Everyone must work collectively, regardless of gender, caste, class, or background.

Another very important sphere of cohesive development is the issue of religion in modern politics. In Europe, religion at least by the Christians, was institutionalised. This is in fact the main springboard of the mainstream Christian religion (Harari, 2024). However, even before that, the so-called pagan religious practices in Greece and Rome were also institutionalised. There was the temple of Athena in Athens, Zeus at Olympia, Juno in Rome and so on. The only place where people could perform their religious activities were the public spheres – temples, churches, synagogues, mosques etc.

In India, the religion was mostly private. In most of the houses in India, there are idols and people use to offer them their devotion in a purely private manner (Sengupta & De, 2000). Even the so-called beggars and vagabonds carry these idols with them and worship them wherever and whenever they stay.

It is however true that the Buddhist and the Jain religion were first to replace this private religion with a public religion. Eventually, however this led to the demise of both these religions. When their centres were gone, the Buddhist idols in the numerous villages and towns still continued to function with private motive, later merged with Islamic ideas. The Dharma Thakur of Bengal, the various Pir- sthans in Bengal and other parts of India are testimony to this.

Even the Islam in India could not take a very structured form. There were very few rural and semi-urban mosques in India during the medieval time and very little dress code. There were numerous *mazars* where both the Hindus and the Muslims simultaneously offered their devotion to the Lord. There was inter-mixing, both social, economic and political between the various religions. It is true that the caste system was a structured form of organisation but yet in the era with little hope of modern information (Harari, 2024), even the

## FRONTIER

C/o Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee  
44, Balaram Dey Street  
Kolkata-700006, WB  
Contact Number : 8240016324  
Mail: frontierweekly@yahoo.co.in

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India [Annual]	Rs.	500
Frontier Associate [Annual]	Rs.	1500
Life Subscription [Inland]	Rs.	5000+
Outside India [Individual](on-line)		\$ 100

• • • •

Make payment by Cheque/Draft in favour of  
**GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD. or  
FRONTIER [GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.]**  
MO/Cheque should be sent to the above  
address, with an additional Rs. 50/- enclosed  
for outstation cheque bank charges.

• • • •

**Payment could also be made  
directly to our bank accounts as  
given below. Any payment MUST  
be followed by an email to Frontier  
notifying us of the transaction.**

• • • •

**Beneficiary Name:**  
**GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.**  
Current Account Number: **3116713216**  
IFSC Code: CBIN 0281476  
Swift Code: CBININBB  
**Central Bank of India**  
Address: 4&5, Singheebagan Lane  
SC Avenue, Kolkata-7, West Bengal  
Branch: Singheebagan Branch  
Or

**GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.**  
Current Account Number: **0085050001319**  
**Punjab National Bank**  
Or  
**FRONTIER (GERMINAL  
PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.)**  
Current Account Number: **0085050001378**  
IFSC Code: PUNB0008020  
Swift Code: PUNBINBBJSH  
**Punjab National Bank**  
Address : 223, C.R. Avenue, Kolkata-6  
Branch: Jorasanko

• • • •

Scan & Pay



9674376827m@pnb

caste system could not take its present rigid mode.

The secularists failed to understand this purely privatised view of religion. They followed the European example of completely disowning religion in the name of secular practice. It was Ashis Nandy (1995) who strongly criticised this view and brought the alternative concept of anti-secularism. The two great rulers of India – Askoka and Akbar were not non-religious. They preached religion but they also tried to put it in a private sphere with utmost tolerance.

It is in this context cohesive development is important removing the so-called secularist rigid view and the current Hindutva view. The founders of the Hindutva doctrine took this weakness of the secularism into their stride. They tried to spread a homogeneous philosophy based on organised public religion. Same was the case with the Muslim League and it stressed on a homogeneous organised Islam which never existed in India in the medieval and early modern age.

The cohesive development is a good panacea to these ills. By bringing all these different view-points within its ambit, the cohesive development can push up a new mode of thinking. This thinking is very akin to the words of the great emperor Ashoka. "But it is better to honour other religions for this reason. By so doing, one's own religion benefits, and so do other religions, while doing otherwise harms one's own religion and the religions of others. (Nikam & McKeon (Translated), 1959)." Also, the Great Akbar observes that "all religions are either

equally true or equally illusory (Abu'l-Fazl. (1993). *The history of Akbar* (W. M. Thackston, Trans.)." Even Swami Vivekananda, in his talk at the Chicago conference praised this inclusiveness of the Hindu religion (Vivekananda, 1893). Cohesive development is a good way to cement these diverse modes of thinking and ushering a new era in the Indian polity and society.

This is where the game theoretic framework comes handy. Mainstream economics often emphasises on competition. Even capitalist market and production systems are built upon co-operation (Arrow, 1974). Buyers and sellers come to an agreement in the market place regarding the amount of commodity they want to buy and sell. A sort of co-operation binds the capitalist and the labourers, which ultimately determines the amount of production. But the real problem of sharing the rewards attained after co-operation remains unanswered. That depends on justice and trust.

But if the fruits of cooperation are not shared fairly, the whole system suffers. Prof Ray advocates that cohesive development is a way to focus on not just working together, but also sharing the results in a fair and respectful way.

At its core, cohesive development is all about solidarity—between people and the nature. It supersedes the narcissistic logic of capitalism with the benevolent idea that helping others helps all. It compliments dignity, promotes sustainability, and promises a future where no one is deprived of the accolades of development. As pointed out by the eminent economist Amit

Bhaduri (2005), the existing system hides both the abject poverty of the oppressed and the ostensible wealth of the powerful. Cohesive development proposes a pathway toward a more equitable and humane world. □

#### References:

- Abu'l-Fazl. (1993). *The history of Akbar* (W. M. Thackston, Trans.). Harvard University Press.
- Arrow, K. J. (1974). *The Limits of Organization*. W. W. Norton.
- Nandy, Ashis. (1995). *An anti-secularist manifesto*. India International Centre Quarterly, 22(1), 35–64.
- Bhaduri, A. (2005). *Development with dignity*. National Book Trust.
- Harari, Y. N. (2015). *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*. Harper.
- Harari, Y. N. (2024). *Nexus: A brief history of information networks from the Stone Age to AI*. Random House.
- Nikam, N. A., & McKeon, R. (Trans.). (1959). *The edicts of King Ashoka*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ray, D. (2007). *A game theoretic perspective on coalition formation*. Oxford University Press.
- Sengupta, A., & De, S. (2025). Institutionalised Nobel A Journey from Lewis to AJR. *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol 60, No5
- Sengupta, A., & De, S. (2020). End of a paranoia: A Philosophical tour of the anti-CAA protest. *Mainstream Weekly*.
- Vivekananda, S. (1893). *The World's Parliament of Religions*. In J. H. Barrows (Ed.), *The World's Parliament of Religions: An International History of the Religion of the World*, Chicago 11
- [Dr Sanjoy De, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Shyampur Siddheswari Mahavidyalaya, (Affiliated to the University of Calcutta, Mob-80172140, Email: sanjoyde2000 @gmail.com
- Dr Atanu Sengupta, Professor, Department of Economics University of Burdwan, Mob-9593542847 Email: sengupta\_atanu@yahoo.com]

#### LETTERS

##### Greed and Corruption

The entire world suffers from a culture of greed and corruption. It is the prime source of all sorts of violence within families and outside in the larger world. The overall network of relationships—both interpersonal and intrapersonal—is truncated and very much purposive. The material world

sinks within want-created consumption, which again expands the demand of greed. Spiritualism, or the practice of spirituality, has become a lifestyle, or, in another way, it has become a personal choice of self-love. Consequently, to fulfil their greed or self-love, everyone is involved in a rat race for money/wealth making, and

violence has become an absolute tool, and tolerance has been lagging behind it. Corruption has become a strong medium of greed fulfilment. So, there is a strong nexus between greed and corruption in human society. The pressure of greed pushes a significant population of the world into hunger, shelter-lessness, and so forth. A significant portion of the population has to live below the human standard.

Corruption has become very common amongst almost every section of society at all its possible levels or layers. Usually corruption arises due to a lack of rules, regulations, transparency, and accountability in public sector control, supervision, and auditing, as well as an articulated code of conduct for public servants and politicians. Attitudes or circumstances that make average people disregard the law, the change in the value system and ethical qualities of people, and the moral and ethics have declined.

In a people's democracy like India, voters are the government, and they elect their government by their right to vote. So, they are absolute power holders of a democratic nation. But unfortunately, they have to beg throughout their life cycle except at poll time, when the politicians beg for their vote. They have hardly any chance to be vocal against the government policy and programme if they are not being influenced by the opposition of the government. They almost remain silent spectators with some doles. The majority of the voters sell their right with the expectation of some relief services.

### **Harasankar Adhikari, Kolkata** **Humiliation or Death?**

Israel has been starving Gazans for months. It cut off all aid to Gaza in March, only to recently approve a US-led, militarised aid site run by the so-called "Gaza Humanitarian Foundation." The consequences are not abstract, they are visceral, immediate and devastating. On 27 May in Rafah, thousands of hungry and desperate people surged toward the site seeking food and water. They had no option. One image went viral: Palestinians packed tightly into fenced queues, in a space resembling a cattle chute, waiting under the burning sun for bags containing the bare minimum, flour, canned beans, dry pasta and vegetable oil. It is a calculated, systematic strategy: to fracture people's spirits in Gaza, **strip away Palestinian People's dignity**, and prepare the world, for the next, more acceptable form of violence. It makes Gazans

long for death, convincing them it is the better option. Why are Palestinians left with only two options: **humiliation** or **death**? They have been reduced to hungry and desperate people with children carrying empty plates. Today the world sees Gazans as a burden, or a threat, or as the former Israeli Defence Minister Yoav Gallant put it, "human animals."

### **Malak Hijazi, June 17, 2025** **Israel's Iran War**

This is probably the first time Western public sentiment, along with sympathy towards Israel, against Israel's actions. Many Jewish political scientists, historians, writers, students, journalists, politicians, holocaust survivors, former IDF officers, even non-Jewish southern broadcasters like Morgan Pierce are in harsh criticism of the state called Israel. Je ne sais experts from various parts of the world, who are primarily Jewish dominated, are single confessing that what is happening in Gaza is pure mass. This reaction is extraordinary!

Many may know that Israel is officially an atomic-powered state. "Unofficial" is the reason Israel doesn't allow anyone outside to inspect their country. Israel has never denied to having weapons. Israel has never signed non-proliferation treaty despite being occupied with nuclear technology (probably the only nuclear powered country in the world). IAEA never got permission to inspect in Israel. Yet Iran regularly tests all their nuclear development. Iran is committed to not even making nuclear weapons by signing non-proliferation treaties. Recently Tulsi Gabbard, not known as pro-Iranian, said IAEA report that Iran is still a long way to go in creating nuclear weapons in the area of Uranium Enrichment. Yet excuses for illegal weapons are also showing like the war of Iraq.

Many may also know that Bibi Netanyahu has been claiming since 1994 Iran will produce nuclear weapons in two years. He hasn't "those two years" in the past thirty-two years. In its recommendation America agreed to engage in Iraq war, which was no

way America war, was Israel's war. This Iranophobia of her stands for psychopath level.

The date of the court's verdict against his corruption is postponed. He may have to spend the rest of his life in jail if Prime Ministership is gone—for corruption and mass. Therefore, the destruction of Iran is necessary for his career. He has pushed the whole world towards an uncertainty in order to characterise his personal interest.

For one thing Israel does not have the ability to defeat Iran alone. No way possible without America. Even if Iran loses, it may take 50 years to return from the darkness of the Tiny and Highly Dense Population's Israel will continuously drown by Precision Missile strikes, and even after killing top leadership of the army can't suppress Iran.

### **Arnob Das, Kolkata** **The Abyss of a Third World War**

With the old and unfounded excuse that the Islamic Republic of Iran is building a nuclear bomb, Trump has dragged the United States into war alongside the rogue Israeli state.

This is not an improvised gesture but a long-planned and premeditated move, prepared in the event that the rogue Israeli state was, as indeed it was, gravely hurt by Iran's legitimate and lethal self-defense.

Openly defying US public opinion and much of his own electorate, Trump has ultimately bowed to the Zionist, militarist, and warmongering circles that plague the White House, the Pentagon, and various centers of US power.

That there were "elective affinities" between Trump and the executioner Netanyahu was well known. There is, in fact, a diabolical symbiosis between the eschatological messianism of the gang of criminals who govern the Zionist entity and that of the North American supremacists who see themselves as the divine messengers charged with leading the world.

**Anti-imperialist Camp**

# GERMINAL BOOKS

## **The Age of Rage and Rebellion Fifty Years After The Spring Thunder** [ A Frontier Anthology ]

Edited by : Timir Basu & Tarun Basu  
ISBN 9788197498183, Paperback, Rs 400

*The Naxalbari Peasant uprising of May 1967, was a turning point of Indian History. After Naxalbari nothing remained the same as before. New theoretical orientation that began with the 'Spring Thunder' seems to have lost its course in the middle. Shaking the earth to the core was the net result of 'Spring Thunder' and the country needs another shake.*

□ □ □

## **Without Pride And Prejudice Thinking Rationally**

By Ashok Nag

ISBN 9788197498107, Paperback, Rs 300

*This book of essays is a collection of articles that the author had written for his blog. The thread that binds these disparate articles written over a decade can be found in the book's title. Rationality is a big claim. But the author has tried his best to remain unbiased, subject to the boundaries defined by his own intellectual capability and knowledge.*

*The first article was written in the centenary year of Bolshevik revolution. The article digs into the Marxist concepts of "class" and "class struggle" which formed the ideological underpinning of that revolution. The author argues that even Marx himself could not explain the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in terms of his own concept of "class struggle".*

*In a one-page article written in the wake of so-called "Arab Spring" uprising in the Arab world, the author rightly identified that movement as reflection of crumbling of the world order with USA as its hegemonic power.*

## **Subhas Chandra Ganguly**

[ A Commemorative Collection of Life Sketch  
in English and Bengali ]

Edited by Frontier Collective  
ISBN 9788197498169, Paperback, Rs 500

*Subhas got arrested for his political activities. After coming out from jail he, Sanjay and others organised APDR [Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights]. He translated Romila Thapar's book on Ancient Indian History into Bengali. —T Vijayendra*

*'I am very sorry to hear that he has passed away. I do indeed remember him and our exchanges in the course of his translating my book. Please convey my condolences and sincerest sympathies to his family'*  
—Romila Thapar

□ □ □

## **Aleek Manush Anirban Biswas**

Compiled by

Timir Basu, Arup Sen, Nabinananda Sen, Tarun Basu

Paperback, Rs 100

□ □ □

## **Birth of an Alternative Development Paradigm Unfolding of Transformative Mode of Production**

By Sunil Ray

ISBN 9788197498114, Paperback, Rs 250

*Prof Sunil Ray with 35 years of experience in research and teaching in the field of environmental economics, political economy of development, rural development and institutional economics has shown how it is possible to develop an alternative development initiative that can challenge the present destructive capitalist approach to nature and resources.*

For copies contact

# frontier

44, BALARAM DEY STREET || KOLKATA-700006 || MOB: 8240016324