

# **The Genocidal Pogrom in Gujarat: Anatomy of Indian Fascism**

## **It is a Bloody EcoNommunalism**

While analyzing the communal riots and more importantly if we want to prevent such riots in future, such deep hatred for fellow human-beings, we will have to understand the material basis of these events. We will have to understand why capitalism with all its talks of rationality, equality, tolerance, humanity – the values supposed to have emerged during enlightenment era – has repeatedly failed to translate this philosophy in reality. The irony of today's so called global village is that with all its advances in the field of science, the barbarism keeps on raising its head at regular intervals in all the parts of the world. And this is not the monopoly of the so called illiterate, primitive people of underdeveloped third world countries. The most developed countries with largest economies get their quota of hate campaigns against colored, immigrant people with instances of mob violence.

Let us examine one striking aspect of this hate propaganda to reach at a logical conclusion. The target of this hate propaganda is always middle and lower classes. The issues that are raised are supposed to affect middle and lower classes of one section socio-economically, because of the behavior or sometimes very existence of the other section. For example, over population which is made out to be the root cause of all problems is because of religious belief of the 'other' section. Poverty, unemployment, anti-social activities affecting national progress, and latest being terrorist activities are because of the other section. Defying all statistics that the countries with negative growth of population and highly developed economies have these problems, the propaganda machine can achieve their target of creating hatred. And obviously during the periods of recession when a lot of people are facing these economic problems the propaganda is most successful. And here lays the key to understand our original problem. Capitalist economics accepts that complete abolition of unemployment is impossible even in the most developed economy. The cyclical occurrences of recession and boom are accepted as 'normal' phenomena for capitalist economy. Neither it has solution to these problems nor can it afford people affected by this structural crisis of system to unite and let them find the solution on their own in challenging and changing the system itself. Thus the system keeps the machinery that divides people, rolling. And that same machinery is used with extra fuel around crisis period.

And that is the reason why the highest achievement of modern Information Technology is not used to propagate the values of unity. The modern marketing tactics which can convince the consumers to buy not only the useless things but even harmful, are not used to buy the values of amity. Put it in a different way, the hate propaganda always has more resources and technology at their disposal. Do the people, in control of all the resources want somehow to continue this divisive tactics? Are the facts about riots corroborating these hypotheses? Is capitalism all about 'healthy' competition, skill, diligence, intelligence, etc that helps in creating accumulation of wealth on one side and an army of a propertyless proletariat with nothing to sell but their capacity to labor? Or is there a bloody past to create this very system?

Let us start with the birth of capitalist system. To understand the origin of capitalism, it is important to understand how the two great social classes, one with virtual monopoly of ownership of means of production and the other dispossessed of it, came onto historical stage in the first place. In England, the first capitalist nation, an alliance of landlords, nascent capitalist farmers and the state waged a centuries-long campaign to privatize farms and commons traditionally held by peasant collectivities and enacted the “ bloody legislation against the expropriated” to compel the newly propertyless proletariat to take up wage labor or be forced to labor in workhouses. Marx sums up this process of primitive accumulation by noting that: “In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part.” Introduction of capitalist system in the colonial world was in much similar means. And now during the death agony of the system when it is no more capable to run the way it wants, it has taken to the same bloody tactics.

Before going to actual hate campaign strategies of known communal forces, it is important to understand the role of other capitalist parties wearing the veils of secularism, or pro-Dalit, pro-advansi, pro-regional interests, etc., etc, in contributing towards communalism or any other divisive mass psychology. Because continuation of present capitalist system is accepted by them, when they talk of reservation or any other favour in education, jobs, etc., for one section, there is no real willingness to provide economical and other opportunity for education and job for all. There is no attempt to choke out a short term, time-bound, not exceeding 15 years, reservation policy to correct historical injustices along with concrete steps to provide equal opportunity to everybody by that time. Of course it is impossible in capitalist system and they do not want to change the system. In fact all such parties get their funds from the capitalist class. Under such circumstances, the persons from the section that is historically privileged but now facing the wrath of capitalist system and not finding enough opportunities, get the feeling of being affected by those who are given some favours. The section whose actually only a few members are given these favours is also divided in layers and as a result is unable to fight for the rights of that section as a whole. This wide spread antagonism helps in the hate propaganda by openly fascist forces.

The base of fascist forces is petty bourgeoisie class, the class which is affected more during recession, during foreign competition, than big bourgeoisie. Also, during recession as the working class does not get jobs the people trying self employment increases. A preliminary observation while working in the fields during riots, it was noticeable that the fascist forces had concentrated their recruitment strategy on these classes. The fields where people of both communities were facing competition from each other, for example brick kiln owners, larri-galla owners, rikshaw owners, consumer goods’ shop owners, etc., are pitted against each other. A pauperized section now believes that their poor condition is because of their being from a particular section and not as a normal result of the system. The division of all the exploited is achieved successfully in this manner.

The mass behavior of rest of the crowd during arsons and killings is also a chronic built up of present system. The crowd which is generally used has persons who have found no opportunity to get satisfaction from their daily routine life, persons living in such retched conditions that violent behavior is the only thing that is expected of them. Of course some active ones are actually paid to carry out such looting and burning of properties, but the psychology that the system has given to them, works at a deeper level. Apart from the fact that so many things which

are present in the market and advertised widely can be bought by only a privileged rich people, a large section gets satisfaction in looting them. There is also another dimension to it when quite well to do people take part in looting. The values that are spread in this system either by lottery systems, TV shows like 'Khulja sim sim', the astrology having a provision forecasting a sudden wealth in your life or stories of wealth treasure hunts, etc. teaches that in a fraction of time one can become the owner of things that was the result of someone else's labour. And such values are allowed to propagate because the very basis of this system profit is nothing but a part stolen from someone else's labour. Unless we understand and accept this analysis of the system and the definition of profit as is explained by Marx, we will continue contributing towards continuation of this unjust system in the name of mob psychology.

Thus capitalists continue to fund both secular, liberal and communal, fascist parties. Also, excepting few national and state level leaders free flow of members, local leaders continues from one side to the other. And according to the need of the capital parties keep on coming in power. During the boom period they can do with liberal ones and during recession they need fascist ones. It is important to mention that fascism acts from above legally taking away rights to unite, organize, not only when they are actually ready to organize but also while introducing unpopular economic measures. It also acts from below by divisive tactics and spread of street terror that prevents people's organizing power. It is no surprise that in the history of all nations, fascist forces raise their head during recession. Thus this system which produces and preserves economic inequalities can not achieve religious, inter-caste or inter-coloured harmony in the society.

Though the whole process is not as simple as it is made out, but it is important to understand the material basis along with other factors. That there is no way we can solve these problems within the present capitalist system and an alternate system based on the philosophy of human equality is needed where production not for profit but to fulfill human needs, with democratic control and ownership of means of production is the first step in right direction to provide a material base for the same. No moral discourses can achieve long term solution.

Would short term support to bring the liberal, secular but basically capitalist parties in power help in defeating fascist forces? There are few points that have to be kept in mind. Capitalist parties with the veil of secularism do play communal card in a very subtle way. Our experience in past shows that in the course of fighting what many on the left called Indira Gandhi's fascism by supporting even Jan Sangh we strengthened overt communal forces. All capitalist parties are capable of showing authoritarian colour as per the need of the capital. The common lower rung cadres is noted above. So while fighting in the streets against fascism we may have a joint front with all anti-fascism forces, but our energies should be more channelized in organizing the working people, to strengthen their organization so that they can fight fascist forces on their own strength. No short cuts will work.