

Wang Jing: The left wing of India is Violently suppressed by the right, what is the way forward?

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Summary

The historical development path of Indian neoliberalism generally follows the sequential evolution of pre-neoliberalism, secular neoliberalism and Hindutva neoliberalism. Each key transition begins with a "crisis": After the planned economy-centered independent industrialization fell into trouble, the Congress Party began to turn to neoliberalism.

When the secular neoliberalism led by the Congress Party fell into crisis, it then entered the period of "Hindu neoliberalism" led by the Modi's Indian BJP Party.

This article focuses on the background of the rise of Hindutva neoliberalism led by the BJP and the profound changes it has brought to India's political and economic order. Within the totalitarian political framework of the Hindu caste system, neoliberalism operates at a faster speed and with greater intensity, and the result inevitably brings greater uneven development and a more serious accumulation crisis. Under the drastic changes in the political and economic order and the attack of the far-right regime, the Indian left wing has been weakened to a considerable extent and has been forced to embark on a comprehensive transformation at the strategic and tactical levels.

Keywords: neoliberalism, parliamentary left, revolutionary left, New Left Alliance, Secular Democratic Alliance

The "Hindutva Neoliberalism" strategic agenda implemented by the Bharatiya Janata Party (hereinafter referred to as the "BJP") after coming to power in 2014 is the continuation and deepening of the global neoliberalization process in India since the 1990s. , it is also a mandatory adjustment according to time and place after the neoliberal order encounters crisis and resistance. To some extent, this reflects the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system in India and even the world: **First** , the most distinctive feature of Hindu neoliberalism is the combination of extreme right-wing political conservatism and extreme economic liberalism, which presents an extremely rare phenomenon in history. The intricate "economic-political-religious-cultural" complex structure. **Second** , there are irreconcilable contradictions and ruptures between the economic practices of the Indian Party and its political and religious organizational model. At the political and religious levels, the Indian Party claims to "pursue the happiness of the people" and mobilizes the vast underclass of Indians through religious power; at the economic level, Hindu neoliberalism is still weak in rebuilding capital accumulation, but it is maintaining It has a remarkable effect in expanding large private interest

groups. **Third**, the Hindutva neoliberal model emerged as a new solution and political attempt after the neoliberal policies implemented by the Congress Party fell into crisis, that is, within the totalitarian political framework of the Hindu caste system. Running neoliberalism at a faster speed and with greater intensity will inevitably lead to greater imbalances in development and a more serious accumulation crisis.

Under the pressure of the powerful far-right central government, the Indian left wing has been suppressed as a whole. Under new historical conditions, the Indian left is forced to undergo a comprehensive transformation at the strategic and tactical levels, in which the extremely anti-democratic nature of Hindu neoliberalism has become a new focus of political struggle. **In the new political environment, the unity and integration of the Indian left wing have become issues of concern to all parties. Whether the Indian left wing can get out of its long-standing state of dispersion, division and even hostility has become an important variable in Indian politics.**

1. The historical evolution of neoliberalism in India

If we look back from the current political and economic status of India, the historical development path of neoliberalism in India generally follows the sequential evolution of pre-neoliberalism, secular neoliberalism and Hindu neoliberalism. Every key transformation begins with a "crisis": after autonomous industrialization centered on the planned economy ran into trouble, the Congress Party began to turn to neoliberalism; when the secular neoliberalism led by the Congress Party fell into crisis, then Entered the period of neoliberalism with Hindu characteristics led by the BJP. Hindutva neoliberalism has reshaped India's neoliberal practices in two ways: **First**, it has used Hindutva ideology to fill the huge gap left after the Congress Party's democratic socialist color completely faded and its secular neoliberal vision collapsed. The second **is** to rely on the strong religious and political organizational capabilities of the Indian Party to establish a totalitarian political framework that condenses the Hindu caste order. Within this framework, the BJP attempts to carry out India's national reshaping project and promote the neoliberal agenda with greater intensity.

Part One

Pre-neoliberal period (1947-1990)

In his famous speech "Appointment with Destiny", Nehru vowed that "wiping every tear from the eyes of the people is the ambition of our time." Nehru's "New India" vision included three aspects: **first**, the non-alignment policy in the diplomatic field, that is, under the geopolitical structure of the U.S.-Soviet duopoly, obtaining financial and technical support from both; **second**, social The first is secularism in the field, that is, establishing a politics of maximum inclusion and stitching the fault lines between classes, castes, races and religions; **the third is** to implement a mixed economic strategy of independent industrialization with the color of "planned economy". In short, escaping the extreme poverty inherited from the colonial period is the key to realizing a "new India".

At first, success seemed just around the corner. In the years after 1951, especially after 1956, industrial and infrastructure investment grew rapidly, and the proportion of industrial output in GDP rose from 9% in 1950 to 16% in 1961. **However, in the following 10 years, this proportion did not exceed 18%, which was far lower than the achievements achieved by many developing countries during the same period.** For example, in 1971, the industrial output value of Brazil and China accounted for 29% and 35% of GDP respectively. At the same

time, industry's contribution to India's employment rate is even lower. In 1978, as many as 2.5 million people entered the labor market in India, but industry created only 750,000 jobs. During the first three "Five-Year Plans", India's per capita income increased to a certain extent, at 1.8%, 2.9% and 2.3% respectively, before falling to 0.3% between 1965 and 1979. By the 1980s, India was overall surpassed by developing countries such as China. As of 1980, 315 million of India's 650 million people were below the poverty line, accounting for more than half of the total poor people in developing countries.

Fifty years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, India's industrial import substitution strategy centered on the planned economy has gradually fallen into quagmire: foreign debt has increased, fiscal deficit has increased, employment has tended to stagnate, and extremely poor people are everywhere. "Poverty" remains India's national tragedy. Three characteristics of India's development path limit industrial development: **First**, the key to laying the foundation for the country's socio-economic transformation - the absence of "land reform". The key to India's modernization is to break the shackles of backward production relations on productivity. The prerequisite for realizing this transformation is to abolish the parasitic landlord system, allocate land to poor peasants, and liberate industrial development from foreign capital to create an advanced economy with self-reliance. The foundation of an industrial nation was laid. However, land reform basically failed due to resistance in parliament from the intact large landowning class. The direct consequence of this is that India's industrialization obviously lacks strong support. **The second is** the lack of funds required for state-led industrialization programs. India implements a closed, inward-oriented economy externally and implements import substitution; internally, it fails to realize the restructuring of social relations to release strong endogenous power. In the absence of basic land reform, the domestic market remains limited and domestic industry cannot grow and expand without relying on foreign capital. India had to rely increasingly on external and internal borrowing to finance industrialization, which in turn led to a serious crisis in the external balance of payments and fiscal deficit. **Third**, the low level of integration in Indian society and the high degree of concentration and scale required for industrialization have become an insurmountable contradiction. Socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and China achieved industrialization with strong big governments, efficient industrial policies, high political quality, and diligent industrial workers. However, India lacks a strong central government and a highly motivated industrial working class. Although India borrowed many policies from socialist countries during this period (such as state-owned enterprises and economic planning), it still retained political factors such as capital, market, and feudal caste, and its industrialization results were lackluster.

PART two

Secular Neoliberal Period (1991-2013)

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the credibility of the planned economy suffered an unprecedented crisis. In May of the same year, the cover of The Economist magazine published a picture that predicted the Indian economy: **a tiger trapped in a cage. This cage is the omnipresent bureaucracy and business licensing system, implying that the potential of the Indian economy is deeply suppressed.** At this time, Indian politics was in turmoil. From 1988 to 1991 alone, it experienced three general elections and two governments. The staggering annual debt repayment (foreign debt reached US\$64.391 billion in 1991) and the impending depletion of foreign exchange reserves (only US\$1 billion remained as of May 1991) forced the Indian government to borrow from foreign countries with gold reserves as collateral. The Indian government seems to have no choice but to adjust its economic policies in accordance with Western requirements. In 1991, Manmohan Singh became the Minister of Finance of the

Government of India. Under the auspices of this neoliberal economist, the Indian government relaxed economic intervention, aimed at establishing a mature market economy, and implemented a series of major policies, including the elimination of export subsidies and industry licenses, reduction of tariffs, opening up of finance and Reform state-owned enterprises, etc. Most importantly, the Indian government has de-emphasized the importance of industrial manufacturing to economic development.

The early effects of the reform are gradually emerging. From 1950 to 1980, India's average GDP growth rate remained at a low level of only 3.5%; from 1985 to 1995, the average GDP growth rate was 5.9%; from 1995 to 2005, the average GDP growth rate was 7.1%; from 2003 to 2007, the average GDP growth rate has been as high as 9%. After the 2008 financial crisis, GDP growth began to slow down, falling to 5.6% in 2012, rebounding to 6.4% in 2013, and increasing to 7.5% in 2014. Unlike other developing countries that promote rapid GDP growth through the development of manufacturing, India's rapid GDP growth benefits from the leap-forward development of its industrial structure, with the service industry replacing industry as the backbone of the national economy. In other words, the high growth after 1991 was mainly driven by the service industry. From 2004 to 2007, the service industry grew at an annual rate of more than 10%. In 2006 alone, the service industry accounted for 61.8% of GDP. The average annual growth rate for white-collar wages in India is 13.7%, faster than anywhere else in Asia.

The high growth driven by the service industry engine has enabled the top elites to accumulate more wealth, and more billionaires have been born in Indian society. According to the Forbes Global Billionaires List, the number of Indian billionaires increased from 9 to 36 between 2004 and 2007, and to 53 in 2008. Four of them ranked among the top eight in the world in terms of net worth. **The other side of India's "phenomenal growth" is rising social inequality and poverty.** According to calculations by Indian economist Amit Bhaduri, India's high growth process has pushed about one-third of the population into extreme poverty. Calculations by renowned Indian economist Utsa Patnaik reveal a shocking picture of social poverty and decay. Between 1993 and 2005, the number of rural Indians who consumed less than 2,400 calories a day rose from 75% to 87%. During the same period, the proportion of urban Indians living in extreme poverty doubled to 52%. Malnutrition rates are rising in many areas as wages fall and food prices rise. By the end of 2006, India's national child malnutrition rate was 42%, 80% of children suffered from anemia, and 48% of children under 5 years old were stunted. Amartya Sen urged the Indian government to readjust economic policies and pay close attention to the huge number of poor people.

The parallel situation of high growth and rising inequality is caused by the two characteristics of economic globalization and the neoliberal turn. One feature is the long-term low employment rate. The labor released by agriculture is absorbed by industry at a lower rate, which is a systemic problem of industrial debt. Regular employment growth has barely exceeded 1% since the 1990s. Of India's 400 million working population, 35 million Indians (less than 7% of the total working population) are employed in the formal economic sector, of which 21 million work for the government. The service industry that drives economic growth is mainly for the middle class and absorbs very limited labor force. For example, the number of employees in the information technology and financial industries facing international capital only remains at about 1.3 million. According to Bhaduri, this means that much of the growth is not the result of expanded employment, but rather the result of rising labor productivity or increased output per worker. Another feature is increased economic liberalization. Since the implementation of neoliberal reforms, India has opened up to international finance and domestic capital, gradually reducing public welfare expenditures such as basic medical care, education, and pensions. The focus of policy has begun to tilt toward the elite, and social inequality has intensified.

During the second term of the Singh government, the economic crisis intensified, GDP growth rate declined, fiscal deficit rose to new highs, unemployment remained high, social inequality and poverty increased, popular protests grew, and communist armed resistance re-emerged, etc. , jointly declared that the traditional neoliberal model led by the Congress Party was in crisis. Since 1947, the key to the Congress Party's establishment of regime legitimacy has been to establish the image of an anti-colonial leader and promise to fulfill social equality. The Congress Party has a certain political flavor of the "middle state" of democratic socialism, but compared with true socialist parties and communist parties, many policy measures are just formalities. Therefore, the "nation-state" constructed by the Congress Party has a "weak connection" with the people. Since the implementation of neoliberal reforms, the democratic socialist color of the Congress Party has gradually faded, society has continued to prosper and develop, and neoliberal ideology has become a new social and psychological support. **However, as the practice of neoliberal reform reached a dead end, the beautiful vision promised by the Congress Party also went bankrupt.** During the Congress Party's tenure, the neoliberal agenda failed to fully unfold and the expected benefits have not yet been fully realized. The large monopoly groups are eager to combine with new ideologies to further promote the neoliberal agenda. According to Prabhat Patnaik, this new "combination" generally occurs between the right wing or even fascism and neoliberalism.

PART three

The Neoliberal Period of Hindutva (2014-Present)

Since 2014, the combination of Hindu right-wing politics and neoliberalism has produced a specific neoliberal model. This new model is not only a continuation of neoliberalization in India, but also a forced adjustment of neoliberalism to fit the time and place. **The Indian left regards it as a variant of global neoliberalism and names it "Hindu-ness neoliberalism". The salient feature of this new model is the rapid advancement of the neoliberal agenda within a totalitarian political framework cohesive from the Hindu caste order.**

So far, "Made in India" is far from achieving the goal of manufacturing GDP accounting for 25%, and the number of new jobs is also significantly lower than the expected target. Due to the lack of international competitiveness of local Indian companies in terms of technology and efficiency, it is difficult for foreign companies to use India as an export processing base. During the first term of the Bharatiya Janata Party government, the biggest achievement of "Made in India" was the shift to domestic manufacturing of mobile phones driven by the PMP plan, and this shift was mainly driven by Chinese companies such as Xiaomi.

Radical neoliberal practices have not been successful in restoring the conditions for capital accumulation, but they have achieved great success in restructuring and restoring the rights of monopoly elites. According to research by French economists Thomas Piketty and Lucas Chancel, the gap between rich and poor in India has reached a record high since 1922 since 2015. According to a report by Oxfam, **wealth inequality in India has worsened sharply in recent years.** In 2016, 1% of the population owned 58% of the wealth; in 2017, 1% of the population owned 73% of the wealth. Not only that, the gap is still widening. The Pew Research Center believes that the number of poor people in India will increase by 74 million in 2021 alone. According to the newly released Global Hunger Index in 2022, India's hunger index is 29.1, which is worse than 28.2 in 2014 (the larger the value, the higher the degree of hunger), ranking 107th among 121 countries (the hunger problem is not significant) country is not included in the ranking). In South Asia, the only country with a higher hunger index than India is war-torn Afghanistan, which ranks 109th. In addition, the number of malnourished people in

India is as high as 190 million, making it the country with the largest number of malnourished people in the world.

2. The decline of the left wing in India

Since the 1980s, the rise of neoliberalism and the decline of the left are global phenomena. However, the significant difference in India is that due to relatively special political and economic conditions, the trajectory of change of left-wing forces in India is not the same as that of the global left. **First**, the gradual loss and dispersion of the parliamentary left-wing class foundation has gone through a relatively slow process. The political inertia of the parliamentary left to achieve long-term local governance and gain a class base through land reform continued in the 1990s. However, due to the inability to continue to promote industrialization within the scope of parliamentary politics, it turned to neoliberalism in practice in 2009, which led to the original The rapid erosion of class base. **Second**, under the stimulation of neoliberal reforms, the living conditions of a large number of tribal people and landless poor people in underdeveloped areas have further deteriorated, and the Indian revolutionary left-wing movement once showed a resurgence. However, with the coming to power of the Bharatiya Janata Party in 2014 as a turning point, the political and economic model that combines Hindu politics with radical neoliberalism has promoted the reintegration of India's political and economic relations, resulting in increased social inequality and intensified social conflicts. Amid the rapid expansion of right-wing politics, the political space of both the Indian parliamentary left and the revolutionary left has been unprecedentedly compressed. In the past decade, there has been an overall decline, making it impossible to respond effectively to the needs of the people.

1. The decline of the legal parliamentary left

In 1964, the Communist Party of India split into the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Within the next 10 years, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) replaced the Communist Party of India as the largest communist force and left-wing representative in parliament in India. At its peak, the party had 1.06 million members and 70 million organizations. The parliamentary left wing, represented by the CPI(M), has gained a solid mass base through its unremitting struggle for land reform, ensuring the land use rights of tenant farmers and reducing land rent.

The Congress Left wing has established a foothold in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura, creating three bastions of the left movement in India. The Indian Left has long been at the forefront of Indian politics and has the ability to influence central government decisions and plans. **When the international communist movement encountered significant setbacks, due to its relative theoretical maturity and its independence, the CPI(Marxist) could “draw nourishment from its own practice and theory, reassess the experience of socialist construction in the 20th century, and regain confidence”.**

The decline of the parliamentary left began with the defeat of the CPI(Marxist) in the 2011 West Bengal general election.

This defeat was defined by the 21st Congress of the CPI(M) as "the beginning of the party's national inferiority". The CPI(M) has completed a generational change: after Jyoti Basu, a former Politburo member of the CPI(M) and chief minister of West Bengal for 25 years, resigned, his disciples, known as Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, the "pioneer of neoliberal reforms", took over. After the Singur and Nandigram incidents, the CPI(M) started a new campaign in

West Bengal. An avalanche of failure. The leadership of the CPI(M) in West Bengal was replaced by the Trinamool Congress led by Mamata Banerjee. This populist party claims that overthrowing the "tyranny" of the Communist Party of India (M) is its long-term mission. In 2016, the CPI(M) failed to make a comeback in West Bengal. To make matters worse, the CPI(M) lost Tripura in 2018 and was replaced by the local branch of the BJP. In 2019, the CPI(M)'s position as the second party in West Bengal was replaced by the Bharatiya Janata Party, and its status further declined. Patnaik believes that the key reason why the CPI(M) failed in West Bengal was that it mistakenly acted as a "vanguard of neoliberalism" and practiced the dialectics of "submission" to the logic of capital. Indian economist Hiren Gohain believes that the change in the party's class nature and its alienation from the masses are the main reasons for its failure. Over-reliance on parliamentary democracy has led to the loss of the CPI(M)'s class base. Indian economist Arup Baisya pointed out more pointedly that the left represented by the CPI(M) should be regarded as a ruling class party. In the "Political Line Review Report" issued in January 2015, the CPI(M) reflected on its long-term strategy and believed that it "dogmatically adheres to reformist parliamentary ideas" and "one-sidedly pursues electoral coalition, lowering the admission standards of the left-wing alliance." "Four aspects including "the difficulty of improving the party's overall strength across India" and "failure to properly handle neoliberal issues" jointly led to the failure.

(two)

Revolutionary left (Naxalite Maoists) suffer setback

Unlike the CPI(Marxist), which adheres to the path of peaceful parliamentary struggle, the CPI(Maoist), a representative of the revolutionary left wing that was revived and reorganized in 2004, implements the radical revolutionary general line of launching armed revolution into socialism.

At the beginning of its establishment, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) established the overall goal and a series of sub-goals to achieve the victory of the new democratic revolution, transforming the "People's Guerrilla Liberation Army" into the "People's Liberation Army", "guerrilla warfare" into "mobile warfare", and "Guerrilla zones" were transformed into "liberated areas", etc. So far, the "People's Guerrilla Liberation Army" has not successfully transformed into the "People's Liberation Army." Due to the uneven development of guerrilla warfare in various regions, only individual battles in some areas have achieved the transformation from "guerrilla warfare" to "mobile warfare". **At present, only the "liberated area" has been established in the Dandakaranya jungle area at the junction of the three states. Under heavy encirclement and suppression by the Indian government, the People's War led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has shown a downward trend since 2011. This trend has become more obvious since the second term of the Indian BJP government in 2019.**

After the Congress Party launched "Green Hunting War 1 and 2" in 2009, the Indian People's Party government comprehensively upgraded the "Green Hunting War" to "Green Hunting War 3" in 2014, and comprehensively upgraded the encirclement and suppression war from a "low-intensity war". It is a "medium-intensity war". In 2019, the Indian People's Party government launched the "SAMADHAN Project" again, with Vijay Kumar, the former Inspector General of Police in Indian-controlled Kashmir, as the commander-in-chief. The plan announced that the Communist Party of India (Maoist) will be completely wiped out by the end of 2022 (according to changes in the situation, the Indian government has postponed the task timetable). The specific contents of the "Samadhan Plan" are as follows: re-evaluate and delineate the active areas of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), intensively eliminate senior leaders of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), invest more than 600,000 military police, commandos and

paramilitary forces, from The defense turned into an all-out attack, involving the deployment of super-large rockets, drones, etc. for intensive attacks, large-scale carpet searches, full cooperation with Israeli intelligence agencies, and cutting off the capital chain of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

Under heavy military pressure, members of the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) were arrested, sacrificed, and even rebelled in large numbers, suffering heavy losses.

The guerrilla and liberated areas controlled by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) were weakened, and the People's Guerrilla Liberation Army began a tactical retreat. When the revolutionary movement suffers setbacks, there will inevitably be reflections and disputes about the overall theory, strategy, and route. For example, there are opinions within the Communist Party of India (Maoist) that with the changes in the economy and society, India has transformed from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a capitalist society, and the "Protracted People's War Line" is no longer applicable to India. With the comprehensive advancement of the "national reconstruction movement" of the BJP government, the previous situation of fragmentation of Indian states is gradually coming to an end. In the face of a powerful far-right central government, the debate on whether the line of "protracted people's war" needs to be adjusted will probably become more intense in the future. In order to effectively respond to the escalating military encirclement and suppression, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) made leadership adjustments in November 2018.

Basavaraj, the former chairman of the Central Military Commission, succeeded Janapati as the general secretary. Compared with Gianapati, who is better at ideological work, Basavaraj is better at military strategy and has been the mastermind behind many large-scale military operations. **This adjustment of the top leadership means that the strategic focus of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) began to tilt toward the military, and the guerrilla warfare led by the People's Guerrilla Liberation Army changed and improved accordingly.**

(three)

India's left lags behind neoliberal resistance

As part of clearing obstacles to privatization, the BJP government initiated three neoliberal reforms, namely the goods and services tax reform, the dilution of labor laws, and the introduction of the "agriculture reform" aimed at abolishing the minimum support price of agricultural products and the government procurement system. New Act". **However, only the first reform was implemented; the other two failed to pass due to fierce protests from workers and farmers.** From October 2020 to November 2021, a campaign was initiated in Punjab and Haryana and later spread to Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and other southern states. The 14-month wave of farmers' protests in India has refreshed the history of farmers' struggles in India. During this period, Indian trade unions launched a general strike involving 250 million workers to express solidarity with farmers. Under pressure from the upcoming mid-term elections, the Indian Party has to terminate the "new farm bill".

The "New Farm Bill" is an extension of radical neoliberalism to agriculture. Once the new bill is implemented, it will mean that the last barrier of government protection for agriculture will be removed, and domestic and foreign monopoly capital will have unrestricted access to agriculture. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the minimum grain purchase price policy, protective procurement measures, and agricultural subsidies and other guarantee mechanisms provided by the Congress Party have objectively prevented speculative and plundering capital from entering agriculture. However, the process of neoliberalization is also a process of dismantling all barriers to the free flow of capital. As early as the early days

of the Congress Party's reform, a large number of farmers committed suicide as some agricultural protective policies were revoked. Once agriculture's last protective barrier is removed, the following consequences may occur. **First**, the Great Famine of the colonial period was back with a vengeance. Based on market signals, farmers will reduce or even give up food production, either planting tropical non-food crops that cannot be grown in Western countries, or planting seasonal crops, just like during the colonial period in Bangladesh when Bangladesh gave up food cultivation and switched to poppy and indigo, which ultimately led to farmers in the perished in famine. International food prices are controlled by multinational corporations, and developing countries such as India have no pricing power. Once a large country like India starts importing large amounts of food, international food prices will soar, and a large number of farmers will die because they cannot afford high-priced food. **Second**, reliance on food imports means the loss of national sovereignty. Western countries will use food sales as political leverage to force India to accept an imposed political and diplomatic course.

Therefore, the Indian left believes that this movement "touches the core of India's anti-neoliberal struggle", "restores the spirit of anti-colonial struggle" and "resists the imperialist encroachment on agriculture". Regarding the rare "concessions" made by the Indian Party since it came to power, Patnaik believes that "this temporary 'concession' itself is part of the neoliberal policy." "Due to the resistance from the lower levels, the country sometimes slows down slightly. pace of reform and trying to provide some relief to ensure that reforms are not derailed by social unrest."

In terms of nature, this movement shows a certain degree of spontaneity and conservatism, with certain characteristics of populism and local protectionism.

Sikhs in Punjab and the upper-middle-class rural class represented by the Hindu Jat caste played the role of organizers and initiators in the early stages of the movement. After independence in 1947, the Congress Party implemented a failed land reform. The class of landlords, rich farmers, and "middlemen" who acted as moneylenders and grain purchasers were left intact and became part of the ruling group in rural India. Compared with the ruling alliance in rural areas, the Indian Party is more inclined to safeguard the interests of big capital at home and abroad. Therefore, rural interest groups and grassroots farmers are the losers of neoliberal reforms with Hindu characteristics. With the joint support of the Congress Party, the Communist Party of India, and local political parties, this movement eventually fermented into a national political mobilization movement that brought together different classes, religions, and castes to oppose the Indian Party.

The parliamentary left wing has only relatively thoroughly implemented the land reform policy of the Congress Party in some areas, while the revolutionary left wing has carried out thorough land reform in some areas. This is also the reason why the struggle between Maoist armed forces and militia groups led by landlords in the central and eastern regions is particularly fierce.

Since the parliamentary left and the revolutionary left have only solved the problems of rural production relations in local areas, their control and influence over the entire rural India is limited. The parliamentary left and the revolutionary left actively supported and responded to the movement, but failed to effectively guide the direction of the movement and play the role of core organization and leadership. Therefore, this movement is far from a true left-wing peasant movement. Although the global economic crisis and the more thorough neoliberal economic policies of the Indian Party government have created a certain objective environment for the development of the Indian left wing, and the entire movement ended with a temporary victory for the farmers and an appropriate concession by the Indian Party government, **at present, The development model of the Indian left is not yet sufficient to break through the obstacles set by the BJP government, and it is difficult to integrate with the**

spontaneous wave of mass resistance to develop and strengthen itself. This shows that its development lags behind the objective needs of mass struggle to a certain extent.

3. Strategic Reshaping of the Indian Left

Despite encountering unprecedented challenges, India's traditional left-wing movement still retains its basic political backbone and can still be regarded as a strong resistance force in the global capitalist world, but has been weakened to a considerable extent by the impact of neoliberal power politics. The struggle against predatory accumulation led by the Indian left continues, but the political positioning and organization of this resistance movement are different from those in the past. In the political context of neoliberal predatory accumulation and reconstruction of class power relations, the extreme anti-democratic nature of Hindutva neoliberalism has become a new focus of current political struggles in India. The Indian left wing has almost reached a consensus within itself that it uses "fascism" to define the political order of the Indian Party. **From the perspective of the Indian left, "another world is possible" and the first priority in reaching that other world is to prevent India from degenerating into a "fascist country" led by Hindutva politics.**

(one)

The historical mission of the Indian left

From the perspective of the Indian left, India has undergone profound changes in both its external relations and internal politics. **In terms of foreign relations**, the United States designs India as a pawn to contain China and pushes it to the forefront of confronting China. The BJP government has completely succumbed to this political and military strategy of the United States and is becoming a servant of imperialism. **In terms of domestic politics**, the BJP regime shows obvious fascist characteristics, and India is currently on the verge of transitioning to a "fascist state."

The above judgment has become an important basis for the Indian left wing to establish new historical tasks and carry out strategic renewal.

The following is evidence from sociopolitical analysis and political economy.

The first analysis is that the BJP regards the "inclusive politics" design in the early days of the founding of the country as the source of the country's "weakness and looseness".

In order to regain cohesion in the fragmented country, Hindu politics has shifted from the historical tensions between Hindus and Muslims. Drawing nutrients from it, it has re-designed politics. Within the ideological framework of Hinduism, the Indian subcontinent essentially belongs only to Indians, and other foreign religious and ethnic groups (such as Christians and Muslims) are second-class citizens. In the new political design, the Indian Party attempts to elevate the subject of "Hindu" to a "nation."

The process of national integration and fracture repair is known as "national reconstruction." Indian sociopolitical scientist Suhas Palshikar believes that the process of "national reconstruction" by the Indian Party is also a process of "fascism" of the regime. The BJP's resounding victory in 2014 was an important step in achieving this transformation. After coming to power for the second time in 2019, the totalitarian regime of the Indian Party was further consolidated and the national reconstruction project was rapidly advanced. According to the "national reconstruction" timetable, once the Indian Party wins the 2024 general election, it will take the final step in reshaping the nation .

India stands at a crossroads: save its destroyed democratic spirit or sink completely into the abyss of fascism.

The second analysis is Patnaik's analysis of the gradual "fascism" of the Indian regime and the support behind it from the perspective of political economy. "Whenever the crisis of capitalism deepens and unemployment increases significantly, fascism will move to the center of the historical stage. Monopoly capital provides sufficient funds and media for fascism to come to power, and the purpose of supporting it to come to power is to hide it by spreading sectarian or racial hatred. and transfer the suffering suffered by the people under the multiple crises of capitalism. Compared with the old monopoly consortium, the new monopoly consortium has a closer relationship with the fascist regime, and in turn benefits from this support. Defining the relationship between conglomerates only as "crony capitalism" would seriously underestimate the close relationship between the fascist regime and the new monopoly conglomerates. This special relationship should be accurately described as a 'monopoly-Hindu identity' alliance. "

Regarding the determination of the nature of the BJP's regime, there were initially certain differences among the left-wing parties.

For example, when the Bharatiya Janata Party came to power, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) immediately announced that "the wave of fascism is coming to India" and optimistically predicted that "the revolutionary climax is coming." In 2015, the 21st Congress Report of the Communist Party of India (M) made a cautious judgment that the Bharatiya Janata Party was likely to be a right-wing authoritarian regime, and adjusted the party's primary political task to oppose neoliberal economic policies while integrating Hindu identity. Ideological struggle.

As the situation developed, the judgments of the CPI(M) and the CPI(Maoist) converged. An important background is that the grassroots party organization of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was repeatedly destroyed by thugs of the Indian National Volunteer Corps, and some party members were killed. This showed that the left wing of the parliament was no longer able to function normally within the legitimate political space, and also forced the Communist Party of India (M) to become more ideologically radical. In 2018, the political report of the 22nd National Congress of the Communist Party of India (M) concluded that the Indian regime is gradually becoming fascist on a large scale. In the report of the 23rd National Congress in 2021, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) believed that the Indian people are facing attacks from totalitarianism, fascism, radical neoliberalism and fanatical Hindu identity plans, and the secularist character of the Indian Republic has been almost destroyed.

At this point, although the Indian left-wing parties, Marxist theorists and the liberal secularists on the Indian right have slightly different understandings of the current degree of fascism in India, their judgments on the development trend are consistent, that is, India is on the verge of becoming a fascist country and at a dangerous time of transition.

Patnaik believes that the BJP is pushing India towards a fascist state. This transitional period provides the left with an opportunity to mobilize people against fascism and defend democracy and civil rights before far-right regimes launch massive repression against the left. The CPI(M) has adjusted its latest historical mission to "stand at the forefront of all struggles and launch a comprehensive, multi-dimensional and in-depth struggle against the BJP". The Communist Party of India (Maoist) looks forward to the prospects of the left-wing movement

in India, believing that more new groups will join the struggle in the future, and the Protracted People's War will gain greater development opportunities.

(two)

A new strategic vision for the Indian left

Under the political judgment and theoretical presupposition that "India is transforming into a fascist country", the historical task of the Indian left has been comprehensively transformed into isolating and containing the political representative of fascism - the Modi's Indian Party, and preventing and containing the "fascism of India".

In order to achieve this goal, the Indian left must adopt innovative methods to fight against the BJP regime and change the situation and soil that gave rise to fascism. By studying the documents and political reports of left-wing parties, we can roughly outline a strategic picture of India's new left: with the central goal of "maximizing the power of the anti-Indian Party", create a left-wing political party as the center, and the left-wing alliance is at the sub-center and the Secular Democratic Alliance is at the periphery. The key to building the power of this circle is to establish the strategic consensus needed to unite the above forces.

First, the center of circle power - to achieve the growth of the power of left-wing parties. Since 2000, the parliamentary left has begun a slow process of decline. The "Political Line Review Report" issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (M) in 2015 pointed out that an important background for the decline of the Communist Party of India (M) was that although the number of party members and mass organizations continued to grow during the golden era, the appeal of the party and mass organizations and the party's electoral ability has not improved. The party's development across the country is extremely uneven. Growth is mainly concentrated in the three bastions of the left-wing movement, while the overall strength is difficult to improve across India. The revolutionary left parties are also trapped in the predicament of a severe weakening of their subjective power. Therefore, in the construction of the new left-wing strategy, the core problem that needs to be solved urgently is that the strategic goals and radiation periphery are constantly expanding while the core strength is getting weaker and weaker. Only by solving this key shortcoming and matching strategic goals and strategic resources can the left-wing strategic picture be realized. In order to comprehensively contain and reverse the decline, the basic point of reshaping the left-wing strategy is the growth of the power of left-wing parties.

Taking the Communist Party of India (M) as an example, the party reiterated the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism, emphasized that consolidating the mass base is the key, and expanded the scope and influence of the organization to the entire country. In terms of political work, the Party adopts a method that combines class struggle and mass struggle to expand the party's political influence; in terms of organizational work, strive to solve the outstanding problems of organizational aging, streamline the party's organizational structure, focus on cultivating high-quality party members, and actively encourage young people and women joining the party; in terms of ideological work, we actively respond to the ideological challenges of Hindu identity and fight against "Hindu identity politics" that has caused great damage to class unity.

Politically, the revolutionary left party (Maoists) adhere to "new democratic politics", that is, replacing the bourgeois state through armed struggle rather than the parliamentary road, and ultimately establishing a new democratic state.

Militarily, the mission of the CPI (Maoist) focused on consolidating the Dandakaranya base area and developing people's war to strengthen the class base. The People's Guerrilla Liberation Army implements overall strategic defense and local counter-offensive strategies.

In terms of organization, party committee meetings at all levels were held to elect a new committee. Reassess the conditions in the guerrilla zones and various regions and establish new

revolutionary tasks. Provide political and military training to cadres at all levels. Focus on recruiting young people who have mastered electronic information technology to join the People's Guerrilla Liberation Army. Ideologically, we should fight against right-wing capitulationism within the party and carry out a "Bolshevization movement" within the party aimed at overcoming subjective weaknesses, that is, transforming the party through a proletarian worldview.

Second, the sub-center of circle power is to create a "new left-wing alliance".

In accordance with the design idea of "building a loose alliance beyond sharing parliamentary seats and achieving true left unity", the Indian left has created a "new left alliance" centered on opposing neoliberalism, imperialism and Hindutva projects. Compared with the traditional "Left Democratic Front", the "New Left Alliance" incorporates center-right secular democratic forces and marginalized social groups, demonstrating greater "inclusiveness."

At present, the forces that can be included in the left alliance include left-wing parties and their class organizations and mass groups, left-wing groups and intellectuals, socialists scattered within secular bourgeois parties, indigenous people, Dalits, women and ethnic minority organizations As well as resistance movement organizations of the oppressed classes, etc.②.

Only by absorbing these forces into a common platform can the New Left Alliance have a consensus basis. The new platform launched by the New Left Alliance covers the following points: defending the Indian Constitution, safeguarding federalism and the secular democratic character of the republic, safeguarding social justice, democratic rights and civil liberties, safeguarding economic sovereignty and secular democratic culture, protecting workers, farmers, women, Rights of children and religious minorities. In terms of foreign relations, it should restore its independent foreign policy, review the US-India defense agreement, and refuse to become a subsidiary ally of the United States. In addition, consolidate relations with left-wing revolutionary movements around the world.

The revolutionary left (Maoist Parties) call on all democratic, progressive and secular patriotic forces to unite on all fronts against the BJP, and calls on the parliamentary left wing to join the protracted people's war against the BJP.

As situations and strategic goals converge, how to coordinate relations with fraternal parties further to the right and left and achieve strategic "coordination" will be an important test for the parliamentary left and the revolutionary left that have been divided for half a century. In the view of Indian left-wing scholars, theoretical issues have become a major obstacle to the common progress of the "parliamentary left" and the "revolutionary left". The core is the lack of understanding of the dialectics of "reform" and "revolution". Understanding this issue will help solve the dilemma of the parliamentary left and revolutionary left forces in India.

Patnaik points out that the revolutionary left focuses on fighting directly and exclusively for revolution, invoking a mythical socialist state; the parliamentary left simply waits for the opportunity to fight for revolution, viewing revolution purely as "tomorrow" things without seeing that efforts to challenge the boundaries of the system "today" will effectively promote the revolution "tomorrow". The correct approach should be to "require the people to systematically respond to reforms, break the boundaries of the existing order, and move towards the road of revolution."

Third, the outer circle of power - the establishment of a "secular democratic alliance."

Through a comprehensive analysis of the various performances of the Congress Party, the Indian left wing has concluded that the Congress Party is no longer able to unite secular democratic forces across India to jointly oppose the BJP. This historical task will inevitably fall on the shoulders of the Marxist left-wing parties. **Therefore, the key to the struggle of the left-wing parties and the "New Left Alliance" led by them is to unite all forces as much as possible to establish a secular democratic alliance centered on "anti-BJP struggle".**

The "Secular Democratic Alliance" constructed by the Indian left wing implements the following minimum action plan: **safeguard the people's rights to food, employment, free medical care, education, adequate pensions and other social benefits, and do everything possible to help the people escape from Economic difficulties; curbing civil rights violations by India's security services, including repealing the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and prohibiting random lynching of people; drawing a line of professional bottom line for the media and restoring normal democratic order in universities and various academic and cultural institutions.**

In order to maximize the "anti-BJP vote base" and effectively respond to the upcoming 2024 general election, the Indian left has adopted a "three-pronged" strategy.

First, beware of the Modi's BJP using its overriding "Hindu identity" to divert people's attention away from important livelihood issues. What is noteworthy is that left-wing parties are likely to play the role of "internal enemies" again and become the "scapegoat" used by the Indian Party to divert people's attention from people's livelihood issues. The left-wing parties need to do everything they can to expose to the people the current status of communal polarization, the Adani scam, the abuse of central and judicial power by the BJP, and insist on the implementation of population and caste censuses.

Second, on the premise of maximizing the "anti-BJP vote base", define what type of consensus should be established with the Congress Party and what degree of cooperation should be carried out. At the same time, based on the specific conditions of each state, we will formulate cooperation strategies with local parties according to local conditions to achieve the maximum unity of secular democratic forces.

Third, we should use people's livelihood issues to launch extensive mobilization of secular democratic forces and resume as many resistance movements as possible that were interrupted by the epidemic. In addition, it actively intervened in the Assam Identity Bill and the Kashmir issue.

4. Conclusion

Since 1991, with the neoliberal reforms that have lasted for more than 30 years, the power of large conglomerates and capital in India has grown unprecedentedly. During this period, the radical Indian revolutionary left (Naxalite Maoists) continued to expand, while the parliamentary left as a whole was stagnant, weak or even declining.

The dilemma of the Indian parliamentary left is that it has failed to propose viable systemic alternatives in response to the neoliberal crisis. Instead, it has lost leadership in long-standing regional states due to the adoption of certain neoliberal policies. The above-mentioned factors jointly created economic and political conditions for the Hindu far-right forces to come to power. **The reason why the Indian far right is able to pursue deeper and more powerful neoliberal reforms is partly due to the irreconcilable crisis caused by the neoliberal reforms of the Congress Party government.**

The Hindutva neoliberalism led by the BJP since 2014 aims to reconstruct the neoliberal conditions of capital accumulation. In this process, **on the one hand, there is** unprecedented religious and political fanaticism among the majority of Hindu groups, **and on the other hand, there is** further differentiation of Indian society.

Ethnic, religious, caste and class conflicts are intensifying across the board, and there have been many general strikes, peasant movements, student movements and spontaneous intellectual resistance movements of a scale rarely seen in the world. These movements reflect the general dissatisfaction and demand for change among the people. In this context, the Indian left is trying to reshape its strategy. From the new strategic perspective of the parliamentary left, the political landscape of India is defined as the opposition between secular democracy and fascism. The basis for the new strategic plan of the parliamentary left, the repeatedly reiterated political issues and the methods of struggle adopted are all closely centered on "With the strategic goal of "maximizing the tolerance of anti-BJP forces" (that is, achieving the greatest unity of secular democratic forces), the main form of struggle still remains within the original parliamentary election framework, and still has the obvious peaceful growth into a socialist democratic society. The imprint of socialism is a continuation of the typical mainstream model of the Indian socialist movement that relies on "parliament plus votes". However, its main opponent, the Bharatiya Janata Party, is completely different from the original Congress Party. Not only does it have a strong "Hindu vote bank", it has the full support of the monopoly consortium and its influenced media, and it even controls it to a greater extent. a powerful force of violence in the streets. In addition to the police and military forces, the Indian National Volunteer Corps, the superior unit of the Modi's Indian Party, is also a semi-military group that often engages in political activities such as violent assassinations.

In the new reshaping strategy, the "class issue" that was originally the core of India's left-wing strategy was reduced to a secondary and subordinate goal.

The parliamentary left has no clear path on how to unify class issues with the secular democratic movement and how to strive for and realize the leadership of the proletariat in this secular democratic movement. There is even no Leninist "leadership" in its documents and reports. Relevant expressions of theory. In this sense, it can be said that the Indian parliamentary left wing has experienced a certain degree of de-Leninization under the influence of the democratic socialist trend. In the absence of alternative political underpinnings and solutions, the parliamentary left has yet to offer a clear, viable political path to how to achieve a "de-BJP" politics, restore secular democratic order and realize further socialist visions.

At the current stage, the strong opponent of the left-wing party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, is at its peak. In various documents and reports, the parliamentary left-wing parties have summarized and reiterated that their "moving up the class base" has caused today's decline.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was born out of a typical revolutionary party. Its early revolutionary character has been eliminated to some extent after generational changes. During the long-term parliamentary elections and state government governance, mass mobilization, organizational strength, and the overall weakening of publicity. Under this situation, representative scholars of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have initially discussed the dialectical issue of "revolution and reform", but there are no substantive strategic measures on how to bridge the contradiction between the two.

All in all, the Indian socialist movement needs to carry out systematic theoretical innovation to integrate the basic principles of Marxism with Indian local revolutionary practice.

The Indian socialist movement is a mirror. Through this mirror we can see: Leninism emerged in Russia, and Mao Zedong Thought was born in China. The emergence of these two

epoch-making and iconic theories had a profound impact on the socialist revolutions and socialist revolutions in Russia and China, and extremely important for socialist construction practice.

For India, once new political programs and theoretical paradigms are explored on the basis of adhering to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the face of the Indian socialist movement may undergo "qualitative" changes.