

DISINDIANISING INDIANS

The Metaphysics of Academic Left

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भारत नीति प्रतिष्ठान
India Policy Foundation

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1

The Colonial Phase: Post Independence Academic in India

The Macaulayan liquidation of indigenous culture of India through a planned substitution of alien culture of a colonizing power via education is an old story now. The inclusion of Classics of English Literature and canonical European philosophers in the graduation or post-graduation studies in Humanities has had its share in the process of impacting the minds of young students almost for a century who eventually designed totally Anglo-centric policies of education in India. One who doubts this needs to be told how the cultural values of a stronger political force are transferred to a distinct society under the concealment of canonical literature. The literary tradition spanning from fourteenth century English Literature and Literary Criticism down up to the mid-twentieth century firmly rooted the supremacy of not just the language and literature of England over the languages and literatures of India but also of the British culture and canonical European philosophy over the indigenous culture and philosophy of India. The introduction of English ways of life and culture in Indian academics for last 150 years has totally obscured inherited values of the indigenous culture at least for those exposed to these academics. **A nation with majority Hindu people controlled by alien forces first through the seven hundred years' (broadly calculated) Mughal colonisation and later by the British is never allowed to assert its nuanced cultural identity through academics**

of English or social disciplines in India. The colonial mode of academic policies obnoxiously continued with its Eurocentric character till the late seventies. It still does. This colonial mode of academics in India was practised almost as a covertly executed ‘civilising mission’ advocated by the elitist policies of the clan of Macaulay and it induced the educated folks into self-denigration.

Several streams of higher studies in Humanities celebrated this colonial status. To an extent they still continue the practice. Disciplines like, Law, English Literature, Political Science, Economics and History are so indispensably Eurocentric that ‘knowledge’ under these disciplines comes to be recognised as authentic only if it conforms to the Western intellectual traditions. These ‘sociological’ disciplines facilitate an array of Western thinkers and their theories which are naturally based on their understanding of the reality of the world they are exposed to. Their reason and logic are largely developed by their analysis of the social character of the location they share. That is why most theoretical formulations and literary creations made by the western philosophers and writers, poets, playwrights and novelists starting from Socrates to Wittgenstein in philosophy, and from Homer to James Joyce in literature are bound to be culturally incongruous in Indian context when they are made part of the pedagogy through academics. This is not to say that the omission or expurgation of western intellectual traditions and literature will do us any good. No nation with enlightened people could do that. We will not do that. We never did. In fact, no omission will do us any good. The omission of cultural texts of Indian origin from academics will only cause a ruptured frame of mind. The dependence of Indian students on the Eurocentric cultural consciousness facilitated through academics creates a non-perceptible world view among them. With this world view they can neither relate to academics through life in India nor relate to life through academics. If any relation happens it only results into a fragmented consciousness.

Gory violence, bizarre rituals, inhuman oppression, lack of hygiene, lack of free will, wily priests, decadent kings, passive natives, and of course, noble European masters, is what we have learnt as the facts about

us produced in Western imagination. Thus, we see around ourselves that the decently educated class is ever-critical of some inherited value-system under Hindu way of life. The colonial, western imagination about ancient India and Hindutva was represented as 'facts.' The Aryan Invasion Theory, the Linguistic issue, the Caste system, the chronology of Vedic Literature and even the recent misinformation from Wendy Doniger, all these divisive 'rhetoric' of western intellectuals were regarded as 'aspirational intellectualism' of these Eurocentric Indian educated individuals. The result was obvious. A self-depreciating, self-disparaging, self-denigrating attitude became a normative measure or sign of being known or acknowledged (by the western world of course) as an intellectual. These individuals got severed from the general flow of majority Hindu way of life. They remained content in their 'ivory tower,' highbrow scholarship and never felt themselves to be the members of the wide-ranging life as actually lived out. This 'otherworldliness' of academicians and intellectuals established a tradition of exclusivist academics against the discourses about Hindutva¹ independent of the Western intellectual 'interruptions'. These colonial interruptions disrupted the progress of an indigenous, genuine, true-to-life tradition of intellectualism from its inclusion into the mainstream academics. This is how colonial academics produced and it still continues to produce the intellectual clones in independent India. A superimposition of the learning of their theories and insisting Indian students to recognise these philosophical ideas as the only relevant thinking about the mankind leaves majority learners from India with a sense of damaged consciousness.

This is not to sound xenophobic. This is just an attempt to foreground the nasty side of the overemphasis on these western canonical philosophy and aesthetics as the only 'academics' which Indians must 'receive'. Has it not been detrimental to the fabric of life in India that the significant activity of academics in any discipline is essentially Eurocentric or Western? Can we not call this 'Anglo- mania' a major cause of self-denigrating

1 Hindutva stands for the general ways of life of the people of India. These ways of life are relatively independent of the Western intellectual 'interruptions'.

intellectualism of the educated classes in India? Some might say that while the world has advanced with ultramodern academics in these disciplines, will it not be self-destructive not to facilitate the advanced knowledge to our academic folks. It is an agreeable argument but it does just a half analyses of the situation stated here. The critique of western influence on Humanities is not a suggestion of expurgation of the European or Western (that takes care of America too) intellectual tradition. That would not be a realistic solution. The critique only attempts to unleash the darker side of the unquestionably maintained status quo of the supremacy of Western academics and intellectual traditions over the Indian traditions (although not propounded in the style of western academics). This is just an attempt to hope for the best past of the future of academics in Indian context.



2

The Pseudo Secularist Phase

Later, from the seventies, the 'pseudo secularist' mode under the political policies of the Congress party prevented any culture-specific, Bharat Centric, pro-people's culture deliberations to be made into academics in higher education of Humanities. This was ensured by nurturing and planting intellectuals, bureaucrats and academicians across the intellectual, administrative, executive and aesthetic domains. These academicians, Policy makers, authors, artists, poets were nurtured to produce and design the so called 'secular' policies to maintain 'communal harmony'. This practise was encouraged so strongly that any academic allegiance to Hindu mode of life or any reference to the indigenous Hindu civilisation of the culturist type became a tabooed practise enough to qualify the tag 'communal'. This overemphasis on the politically fabricated value of '(pseudo) secularisation' of academics made academics absolutely non-depictive of the reality about the popular culture and beliefs, traditions and customs integrated into the Hindu way of life. The state driven program of (pseudo) secularisation of academics in Humanities all through the last three decades brought about an 'estrangement' or the 'cultural disconnect' between life of the masses and the 'received' knowledge through this education system. **This self-styled (pseudo) secular mode of policy making in academics exerted an 'arbitrary closure' of '(pseudo)**

secularist jurisprudence'. This jurisprudence became derisively judgemental of the inclusion of Hindu discourse into mainstream academics. Indian academics, especially in Humanities and Social Studies, nurtured this 'Hinduphobia' for more than a century. It still exists as 'academic objectivity'. So, if you are doing academics in Humanities, you cannot incorporate any rationale which raises the consciousness of Hindu cause. However, paradoxically though, your academic stature will be deemed as superior if you foster the discourse of the minority or the Leftist, Socialist cause (That is secularism). This double standard norm of academics, encouraged by the Congress and the Left, created a situation of 'academic disconnect' in India. The masses seeking higher education practised academics as a mere professional enterprise without any linkage with actual life and its values as lived out by Indians. In some cases, this 'political distancing' of academics from the Hindu cause indoctrinated the younger minds with the 'neutrality' about indigenous concerns of academics. So, this (pseudo)secular mode of academics produced either culturally neutral Indians or self-denigrating academicians.

This '(pseudo) secular' mode was harmful like the preceding 'colonial' mode of higher education. The colonial deliberations produced self-denigrating anglophiles whereas the secular mode made academics a mere instrument of political invigoration of the Congress and the Left by moulding the academic content in favour of their respective ideologies. Disciplines like History, Performing Arts, Film Making, Sociology, Archaeology, Anthropology, Economics, Political Economy and Philosophy were made to propagate the political philosophy of the parties that distanced themselves ideologically from national character and cultural nationalism. This Hinduphobia² of the secular academics laid down the binary opposition of Academics/Hindu way of life. The secularist 'renarrativising'³ of History is a clear example. The facts of

2. Hinduphobia- A coinage by Rajiv Malhotra in his book 'Academic Hinduphobia'.

3. Renarrativizing- A coinage from Stuart Hall's essay, "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies".

atrocities of Mughal emperors were abridged from the History text books, the culturally constructive facts of Hindu kings were obscured, the British empire was portrayed as a 'civilising force', and worst of all, any reverence to the spiritual traditions of the indigenous Hindu whole way of life in curriculum was tabooed and criticised as 'communal'. A 'whole way of life' of around ninety million people remained unrepresented or misinformed and mischaracterised into the activity of academics. No wonder that the majority of the academia recognising the incoherence of academics in social life as actually lived out made a tacit agreement with this 'estrangement'. It is an agreement of a dogged acceptance of culturally insensitive academics. The subjectivity of colonial, secular and leftist doctrines is a welcome character of academics but Hindu identity and Hindu discourse is mischaracterised, misrepresented or not represented at all.

The politics of the West generated and universalising progressivism has further legitimised this pervert form of (pseudo)secularisation. Progressivism makes itself a self-legitimising value. While academicians feel proud over their progressive 'achievements' of successfully establishing the '(pseudo) secularist' ideal as the bedrock of academics, the people at large are seen resisting the influence of this ideal in their life. This is how we see the disparity between academics and society. The secular mode is restricted by people as an 'academic ritual' whereas 'spirituality' leads the everyday and the overall life of individuals and society. This is the main cause of the native paradox of (pseudo) secular academics and spiritual (even *Dharmic*) life. No wonder that a society with its majority people inclined to adopt spirituality for life is demoralised about its own cultural mores to an extent that some radical groups adopt aggressive methods to assert its existence as a reaction against this academically operated subjugation of the Hindu identity. They use this method as a reaction against the overtly neutral but covertly (pseudo)secularist, colonial and leftist academics and intellectualism. It will be of no good to tag such groups as fascists and communal and expose them to the commonly unproductive media-trials. This is no solution against the provocative

activities of such groups. A sincere attempt to incorporate the national, cultural character of the Hindu society into academics is the only solution to maintain the poise. The bizarre, out-dated policies of isolating academics from social reality will neither produce education nor a change. It is this apathy towards the Hindu cause nurtured by Higher education which disengages academics from the reality of life of the Hindu society. ***Thus, the colonial mode instigated self-denigration, secular mode triggered off self-distortion and the current phase of Academic Left is resulting into self-destruction.***

The 'colonial' mode dominated the Hindu identity and the 'secular' mode distorted it. The paradox is that while the colonial and secular modes affected academic and aesthetic philosophy and practice, Media and Performing Arts policies through late fifties to late seventies in England, the New Left Movement was posing a radical challenge to the 'socially controlling' elitist forces of the Arnoldian and Leavisite canon. The intellectuals and activists working for the New Left and affiliated to Birmingham Centre of Cultural Studies vehemently questioned, resisted and subverted the dominion of traditional British culture. This resistance soon turned into a mass movement which displaced the notions of superiority of British culture. The culturally insurgent situation diffused the centrality of the British culture. However, in India the Anglo-maniac intellectuals continued with the colonial mind set of supremacy of European culture.

This is how the history in Nehru's 'Discovery of India', the theories of Romila Thapar presented such unrecognisable 'knowledge'. David Frawley, the noted American Hindu teacher states that "the entire medieval history of Islamic dominion is termed as the 'Age of Synthesis'; History books today still begin with the Aryan invasion of India, which is said to have taken place in 1500 BC. Students are taught that the ancient civilisation of the Indus Valley or the Harappan Civilisation was Dravidian and that was destroyed by the invading Aryans. The truth now revealed by recent research from the discovery of the Vedic Sarasvati River to the reading of the Indus script is there was no Aryan invasion and no Aryan-Dravidian

conflicts either. In Sanskrit, Aryan simply means cultured and not any race or language. As previously noted, the idea of Aryans and Dravidians as mutually hostile people was created during the colonial period, in which Christian missionaries like Bishop Caldwell played an active role.”⁴

The worst damage caused to Indian academics in Humanities due to the secularist jurisprudence is that it created a vacuum in terms of pragmatic and indigenous grounding of ‘knowledge’. This ‘knowledge’ became unidentifiable as far as its applicability was concerned. Those who received this knowledge could not relate it either to their life’s experiences or could never establish living parallels of the secular mode of academics. Such is the life in India, spiritually replete with inherently liberalist and pluralist ethos. Hindutva is innately non-restrictive of its individualistic manifestations and expressions. The culturally diverse yet spiritually cohesive fabric of life is lenient towards mores and practices. But the (pseudo) secularist intervention made academics biased about the Hindu way of life. This disparity created a vacuum since the academic content became indifferent to life itself.

4. “The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India.” The India Times (n.d.): n. pag. Web.



3

The Critical Theory Phase

In the succeeding times, this vacuum was filled by a wholly new theoretical substance which radicalised the primary program of establishing hardnosed academics. With the wake of globalisation, in an age of blurring borders and ‘fluid- realities’, an exodus of new thinking was introduced into Humanities. This new, critical thinking had started impacting the Western consciousness from the post-World War era but as usual, it took some time in reaching the Indian academics. This ultra-modern critical thinking became a most covetable intellectual aspiration of educated individuals from the nineties. The path-way for these new literary and critical theories was prepared by the social sciences and Humanities. They moulded and restructured ‘knowledge’ in a radical manner. This ‘mould’ is essentially the Marxist, socialist underpinnings of philosophy and Humanities. It is absolutely political. They undertook a reinterpretation of Marxian ideology to provide an intellectual, philosophical and academic status to utopian socialism.

The origin of the ‘Critical Theory’ is clearly discernible though the form is outwardly academic. It originates in Marxism. It has well defined Leftist leanings. In an age of global realities and multicultural situations the strategies of ultra-left and political left had to evolve and develop into

a new 'avatar', it developed into these Critical Theories. It first made entry in Western Academics through philosophy.

The western Philosophical tradition in twentieth century can be broadly classified into three categories. First, the Analytic Philosophy, led by Russell, Wittgenstein and Moore who maintained that the function of philosophy is to analyse human life and society impartially without taking any recourse into any pre-existing set of political or social ideas. Although among the major Analytic Philosophers, Russell was slightly inclined towards socialist activism, the significant philosophical approaches remained mostly unaffected by Marxism or its 'prescriptive' socialism. Second, broad category of the twentieth century western philosophers is the 'Pragmatic' Philosophy represented by C.S. Pierce, William James, John Dewey, G.H. Mead and Richard Rorty who focussed more on the practical bearings of philosophy. That is, philosophy for them became a means to serve the humanity. Rorty and other neo-pragmatist philosophers strongly opposed the idea of philosopher as a 'cultural overseer', adjudicating types of truth claims. The third and the most crucial category of western philosophy is that of the Continental Philosophy which founded the tradition of Critical Theory. This move on the part of the philosophers transformed human cognition fundamentally by preparing a path for what can be termed as cultural politics.⁵

The foundation of Critical Theory as an avant-garde philosophy was recognised as a necessity in Nazi Germany. It was a reaction against the contemporary racist ethos of Nazi Germany and most of Europe. The Critical Theory was originated in 1924 at the Frankfurt School, an Institute of Social Research as a theoretical formulation attempting to diversify the affecting range of Marxism from its traditional economic to the social and cultural aspects of life. Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse were the precursors who ventured into this far early Academic Left. They were Jews and the Frankfurt school was Marxist hence they fled the Nazis.

5. Iep.com. "A New Project Is Coming to You. Revolutionizing Social Media.iep.com." Iep.com. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Oct. 2016.

Under the Directorship of Horkheimer, the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research directed its mission towards an interdisciplinary integration of social sciences. His leadership provided a very distinct methodological direction and philosophical grounding to the Institute's research interests. According to Horkheimer (1947), Critical Theory is social theory that is, first of all, broad. It treats society as a whole or in all its aspects. That breadth, together with the idea that society is more independent of the economy than traditional Marxism recognises, means that Critical Theory must be interdisciplinary. (The expertise of the first-generation thinkers encompassed economics, sociology, law, politics, psychology, aesthetics and philosophy.) Next, Critical Theory is emancipatory. It aims at a society that is rational and free and which meets the needs of all. It is to this end that Critical Theory is critical. In 1933, due to the Nazi seizure the Institute was temporarily transferred first to Geneva and then in 1935 to New York and Columbia University. After 1936 the Critical Theory denied to accept that Classical Marxism could assure the absolute fulfilment of socialist goals and also that emancipation can be obtained through a purist approach to Marx's philosophy. That is why Horkheimer strongly proposed an 'interdisciplinary' approach of Critical Theory. He basically tried to make philosophy 'broad'. **So, it can be sensed that this was a phase of Critical Theory which aimed less at revolution and more at creating a 'free society'. Taking society toward a rational and 'free' turn is what these intellectuals sought to explore through the academics of philosophy. They found it necessary to establish normativity of socialist culture before working for actual revolution.** That is why the traditional, classical Marxism was restructured into several walks of life by these philosophers. According to Critical Theory, philosophy can contribute to a critical and emancipatory social theory. The specification of a particular social analysis depends upon which Critical Theory is applied. It is an extended and somewhat diverse tradition of 'intellectual approaches' to interpret reality with a certain set of principles or ideas falling under a particular Critical Theory 'at work'. However, all theoretical approaches under Critical Theory find their origin in Marxian doctrines. That is, these philosophers widened

the scope of socialism by applying canonical Marxism and Socialism to culture at large. It was under Horkheimer's leadership that members of the Institute were able to address a wide variety of economic, social, political and aesthetic topics, ranging from empirical analysis to philosophical theorisation. In 1951, after the Nazi retreat the institute was reopened and started functioning as Frankfurt University. Then, in 1955, Adorno took over Horkheimer's position as director of the Institute for Social Research, and on 1 July 1957 he was appointed as a full professor in philosophy and sociology. Adorno's most innovative contribution was thought to be in the field of music theory and aesthetics, where some of his significant works included *Philosophy of Modern Music* (1949). In 1956 Horkheimer retired just as several important publications emerged, such as Marcuse's *Eros and Civilisation* and the essay collection *Sociologica*. These events gave character to the precise research phase reached by the "Frankfurt School" and "Critical Theory". While Adorno maintained a much more moderate and critical profile, Marcuse quite ostensibly sponsored the student upheavals.

Among the first generation Frankfurt intellectuals, Horkheimer and Adorno were less active in terms of promoting youth's revolutionary activism of the Leftist kind while Herbert Marcuse clearly and forcefully directed this variant of philosophy toward a radical, anti-establishment youth counter culture movement in America and Europe. During the institute's 'stay' in Columbia he vehemently indoctrinated the American Hippie, Yippie and other radical youth activists about the communist, socialist acculturation. In America, the youth protests of the 1960s took inspiration from this theoretical and philosophical espousal of radical protests and youth counter culture. Eventually Marcuse founded the 'New Left' which transformed the authoritarian, classical socialism into what came to be theorised and practised in later years in Europe and America as Academic Left and Youth Counterculture.

In 1956, Habermas joined the Institute as Adorno's assistant, and was soon involved in an empirical and cooperative study under the title of 'Students and Politics'. As an activist the young Habermas contributed

towards a critical self-awareness of the socialist student groups around the country [the so-called SDS, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was a student activist movement in the United States that was one of the main representations of the New Left. The organisation developed and expanded rapidly in the mid-1960s before dissolving at its last convention in 1969]. However, the extremist activism of these protesting students did not win a support of Habermas. He was rather agitated due to the misdirected activism of these dissenting university and college students. He had a strong conviction that the goal of establishing socialist normativity in politics cannot be achieved by radical youth activism but by an intellectual and cultural incorporation of the communist ideals through education and philosophy. He aimed at a fundamental transformation of society through people's internalisation of socialist ideals. He criticised the Left wing youth radicalisation as 'Leftist fascism'. *In 1994 Habermas retired and was succeeded by Honneth. This inaugurated a new phase of Critical Theory, both in terms of generation (the third generation) and in terms of philosophical research as Honneth revived the Hegelian notion of recognition in social and political enquiry. One of the core themes addressed by Honneth is that, contrary to what Critical Theory had emphasised so far, more attention should be paid to the notion of conflict in society and among societal groups. Such conflict represents the internal movement of historical advancement and human emancipation, falling therefore within the core theme of critical social theory. The so-called "struggle for recognition" is what best characterises the fight for emancipation by social groups. It is this fight which represents a subjective negative experience of domination. This is a form of domination attached to misrecognitions. To come to terms with such negations of subjective forms of self-realisation means to be able to transform social reality. Honneth inspired a new phase in the activism based on socialist intellectual and theoretical formulations. The university students in Europe and America through an exposure to such a philosophical boosting to their activism further radicalised their activism into 'radical dissent' which became an instrument of political recognition.*⁶

6. Iep.com. "A New Project Is Coming to You. Revolutionizing Social Media.iiep.com." Iep.com. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Oct. 2016.

Whether or not globalisation in economy and market has helped the Third World country like India to benefit from it, the cultural aftereffects of globalisation have been perceived as problematising and complicating the cultural scene in the Third World countries. In economy, whatever be the idealistic goals of globalisation, like boosting the native industry in developing countries and helping them attain sustenance, what has it actually turned out to be is that the developing countries have ended up as mere 'consumers' of the 'products' of the West. No doubt the industrial globalisation has helped individuals to shape and develop their career and attain financial stability since globalisation and liberalisation policies have apparently generated employment in developing countries, (many will still convincingly disagree with this). But the flip side of this hypothetical economic growth shows us a different picture. We are becoming a nation of economically empowered individuals but through the dependence of Indian economy on the Western, American industry, this empowerment is not developing into the nation's economic strength. The indigenous industry or native economy is abysmally enfeebled. So, the spurious outcome of globalisation is that people's financial growth is ensured through the outsourcing industry and new job opportunities but the nation's industrial economic autonomy is declining, thanks to globalisation, this is the fallout of its dependence on the American or European industry. Should it not be perceived as some camouflaged means of neo-colonisation?

Education in India fell under the same force. With a rapid exchange of currencies and lucrative opportunities the emigrating populations and settling business organisations transferred a plethora of cultural values to and fro. This created a scene of the East/West borders getting blurred and the world coming closer forming something called a 'Global Village'. Technology and Mass Media played a pivotal role in this hypothetical dissolution of borders. With the spread and popularity of knowledge industry, education came to be widely accepted as an industry or as a platform for entrepreneurial culture. Commercialisation of education was much widely perceived as a cause for the subordination of social, cultural

productivity of education in the traditional approaches. But with the advent of globalisation even the conventionally recognised separation of industry and education came to be dissolved and the commercialisation of education got established as the most essential prerequisite for the relevance of education in modern times. This 'modern' view of education is the most commonly experienced aspiration of education as a system and content in the Third World countries. India is not an exception to this. The Indian universities offering education in science and Humanities widely incorporated this 'Westernisation as Modernisation' of higher education principle in the policies and curricular plans. As a result of this incorporation the 'ultra-modern' Critical Theories' were included in the syllabi of social sciences, Humanities and Language-Literary disciplines across the country. As a cultural aftereffect of globalisation, replicating the industrial globalisation's 'backwash' effect, education in Third World countries has remained as the means to strengthen the centrality of the West's educational and academic standards.

It is along this principle of 'West's best' that the Critical Theories of the western intellectuals were introduced in Humanities in university education. This 'new' academics was soon 'received' as an ultra-modern, contemporary, much desirable disciplinary approaches to the 'Contemporary Critical Theory'. This happened roughly in the nineties that social sciences including Sociology, History, Political Science, Anthropology, Economics ; Humanities like Literary studies, Linguistics, Law, Mass Communication, Media Studies, Women Studies, Gender Studies, Film Studies, included these theories as an avant-garde of the curricular plans of these disciplines. In the late nineties, the outburst of technology and information created a global situation of knowledge sharing. But it is only customary to call it a sharing. Like the traditional 'West dominates the East' situation this ultramodern academic, philosophical Left wing intellectualism became a 'fashionable enterprise' in Indian universities. The Continental philosophy of Husserl (Phenomenology), Sartre (Existentialism), Simone de Beauvoir (Feminism), Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse, Habermas (Epistemology) and the Critical Theory

or just 'Theory' as it is popularly called were established as advanced academics in Humanities and aesthetic studies across the universities in India. Like the earlier colonial and secular moulds of knowledge, Critical Theory with socialist propaganda occupied a central position in Indian higher education.

The Linguistic philosophy of Ferdinand De Saussure and the Critical Theory of Frankfurt School influenced aesthetic studies like Film Studies, Fine Arts, Literary Studies, Literary Criticism and Social Sciences in general and Sociology, Economics, Political Science, Anthropology, History, Media, Mass Communication Studies, Philosophy, Logic, Humanities in particular. The most commonly practised theories originated in Critical Theory are: Formalism, Structuralism, Poststructuralism, Deconstruction, Cultural Materialism, Marxist Criticism, Feminist Criticism, Post-Colonial Criticism, New-Historicism and Postmodernism. Out of these theories Formalism, Structuralism and New Criticism are the theories with less or no political underpinnings. Their affecting area is not society or culture, it is language and literature. The theories used most prominently for intellectual politics are Deconstruction, Marxist criticism, New-Historicism, Cultural Materialism, Feminism and Post-colonial criticism. The incorporation of these theories into various disciplines of Humanities has radically transformed the ways in which we understand our society and reality. The 'theory' and its descendent disciplines have provided the creepy intellectuals a verbiage of 'defining and determining' the character of India as (mis)conceived by the Western intellectuals falling in the tradition of Critical Theory.

A very basic way of thinking about literary theory is that these ideas act as different ideological standpoints critics use to view and talk about art, literature and even culture. These different standpoints allow critics to consider works of art based on certain assumptions within that school of theory. The different standpoints also allow critics to focus on particular aspects of a work they consider important. Let us try to understand the basic tenets of the above mentioned theoretical formulations and also let us try to find out how, in a subtle way, they prepare the Indian consciousness

to 'receive' the socialist rendering of reality and mould the perception into a non-Indian understanding of India.

The most prominent of these theories are: Postmodernism, Poststructuralism or Deconstruction, Postcolonialism, New-Historicism, Cultural Studies. Let us try to understand the basic formulations made under each of these theories. This 'new academics' made its debut with Postmodernism.



4

Postmodernism

The decline of old values and rise of the new was presented by an Irish poet W.B. Yeats in following lines:

“Things Fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world...
The best lack all convictions, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.”

—*The Second Coming*, W.B. Yeats (1919)

The term ‘postmodern’ refers to two things:

- (1) A historical period
- (2) A name for a state of mind, series of social and cultural tendencies.⁷

Postmodernism is essentially a philosophic and theoretical position. This position shows partiality towards the local and rejects the universal; it celebrates differences rather than similarities; it baits resistance to create insurgencies rather than conformity to live in harmony; it endorses the temporal and a state of flux rather than permanence and stability and it

7. N. Krishnaswamy, John Varghese, and Sunita Mishra. *Contemporary Literary Theory*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 2001. Print. The term postmodern refers to two things: 1) A historical period 2) A name for a state of mind, series of social and cultural tendencies.

favours hybridity rather than purity. It embraces a manner of discourtesy against established icons, fixes unexpected figures as cultural icons and opposes traditions. It discards any collectivising or totalising theory (excluding the Left's totalitarianism), a common "aim" of all life, or a common ideal or purpose. In Lyotard's words, "*this is the resistance towards all such "grand narratives"*".⁸ It instead celebrates 'plurality, heterogeneity, and the small, local, innovative, marginalised and unfinished narratives that respect differences and specificities of cultures, individuals and regions'. It is thus 'anti-foundationalist', refusing any stable or unified foundation to subjectivity, lives, history and reality. There is no firmness of any kind in our lives and we are in a state of simulated reality perpetually—that is the spirit of Postmodernism. The precariousness of life makes us live in the present with no sense of history. Its application to literature, films, history, Media studies results in collapsing the conventional approaches.

The rise of 'scientific reason' has eroded the influence of tradition and the certainty of beliefs. Everything is relative. Nothing is absolute or fixed or real and everything is in a state of flux. Brief but passionate living and not 'eternity' is the guiding principle of all the values and features presented in the mass media and of the Postmodern generation. *The world is more like a market place, a jamboree or a carnival with n fixed 'rules' or privileges for anyone as Lyotard the French theorist says of the postmodern condition*⁹. Postmodernism is an ultra-modern, non-conformist, atheist way of life, way of feeling and way thinking or a state of mind. It works on cognition and promotes a culture of irreverence against what its advocates perceive as authoritative, rigid or serious. Any thought, idea, belief, practice, principle which occupies central positions conventionally, traditionally or because of the 'majority' people following it as a normative practice is subverted, questioned and mocked.

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8. Lyotard, Jean-François, Geoffrey Bennington, and Brian Massumi. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 1984. Print.
 9. N. Krishnaswamy, John Varghese, and Sunita Mishra. *Contemporary Literary Theory*. New Delhi: Macmillan, 2001. Print.

Another major concept under postmodernism is 'simulation', developed by the French writer Jean Baudrillard in his book, "Simulations" (1981- Translated 1983). The concept is associated with what is usually understood as 'the loss of the real'. It holds a view that the prevalent impact of images from films, TV and advertising has led to a loss of our sensing of the distinction between real and imagined, reality and illusion. The result is a culture of 'hyperreality', which erodes these distinctions. Social and cultural implications of this theory are radically subversive. If applied to culture this theory draws a conclusion that cultural practices signify a mere representation or a simulation. They do not signify the 'truth'. So, everything around us is flowing, is constantly moving and is not concretely fixed or rooted firmly on any 'eternal truth'. In short, we do not live in a world of reality but in a world of 'images of the real' and images mean many things, not one. Hence, there is no centre to hold, no faith, no religion, no dharma, no ideology (established ones) which can keep humans anchored to the centre. It is this want of a centre which makes everything illusory. Thus everything is simulation, a mere representation of some other sign. This 'otherness' is untraceable.¹⁰

The advent of postmodernism on academic scene opened possibilities for other such 'ultramodern' theories to affect several disciplines under Humanities. The faculties like English Literature, Literary Criticism and Theory, Media Studies, Film Studies, Gender Studies, Women Studies, Political Science, History, Sociology, Economics soon followed the lead and incorporated the principles of Feminism, Queer theory, Marxist Theory, Poststructuralism or Deconstruction. Knowledge production under these social studies happened primarily under the influence of the theoretical formulations of critics and thinkers whose leftist inclinations are well discernible. Besides, creations in the field of movies, fictions and mass media productions started happening totally under the rubrics of postmodernism and the neighbouring critical theories. Be it a news commentary of the anchors like Burkha Dutt, Ravish Kumar, Abhigyan

10. Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 1994. Print.

Prakash or the films of Deepa Mehta, Anurag Kashyap, or the novels of the likes of Arudhati Roy, Shashi Tharur, Salman Rushdie, Chitra Bannerjee Divakaruni, Nirad Chaudhari, all these creations in different genres incorporated the basic tenets of postmodernism. Although created by different people, produced in different times, these creations have a common character, a single 'central' stimulus that they all are radically subversive and the overall discourse they develop is an explicit or implicit form of resistance of the unique character of Hindu society and Indian culture.



5

Poststructuralism

Another most popular form of intellectual activism is the theory called 'Poststructuralism'. The centralist philosophy of Modernism and decentralist approaches of postmodernism are ways of perceiving the world and reality. Structuralism and Poststructuralism are generally ways of interpreting textual representation of the world and reality. Postmodernism works primarily toward inspiring a non-conformist, subversive way of life whereas Poststructuralism nurtures a habit and attitude of 'reading against the grain', that is, exploiting the ambiguity of a written text to produce contrary, alternative or unconventional, non-conformist meanings of literary text or any form of written text. Poststructuralism has produced 'deconstruction' as its interpretative engagement with a written text or cultural values. Deconstruction functions as a deterrent force against the 'central idea' expressed or conveyed into a literary or informative text and culture. It resists the centrality of a particular 'meaning' or interpretation of a literary, cultural or historical texts and 'deconstructs' them by using their 'indefinite (perceptively though)' points or features against the commonly recognisable meaning. This being achieved, deconstructive approach to the understanding of the real nature of something requires us to substitute the primary meaning with the alternative understanding and foreground it radically as the subversive meaning of that text. Both

Postmodernism and Poststructuralism share the view of ‘ontological uncertainty’. Ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of being, becoming, existence or reality as well as the basic categories of being and their relations.¹¹ They both offer a critique of ideas regarding order and unity in language, art, reality, literature, culture and history. Both reject conviction and question unified identities or unity, autonomy, eternal truths. Both uphold relativity and negate reality.

Deconstruction often involves a way of reading that concerns itself with decentering—with unmasking the problematic nature of all centers. According to Derrida, every western thought is based on the idea of center—an origin, a truth, an ideal Form, a Fixed Point, an Immovable Mover, an essence, a God, a Presence—which is usually capitalised, and guarantees all meaning. Derrida has taken the deconstruction of metaphysics, particularly logocentric metaphysics, as his critical target. His early training in phenomenology led to a wariness of, and a tempered respect for, the desire for presence all pervasive in Western philosophy: a presence of meaning, being, and knowledge.

According to Derrida, the primary goal of Western philosophy as a discipline, the naming of Truth, depends on the assumption that words are capable of referring accurately to a transcendent reality existing outside of language. For instance, for 2000 years much of western culture has been centered on the idea of Christianity and Christ. And it is the same in other cultures as well. They all have their own central symbols. The problem with centers for Derrida is that they attempt to exclude. In doing so they ignore, repress or marginalise others. In male-dominated societies, man is central (and the woman is marginalised Other, repressed, ignored, pushed to the margins). If there is a culture which has Christ in the center of its icons, then Christians will be central to that culture, and Buddhist, Muslims, Jews—anybody different—will be in the margins—marginalised—pushed to the outside. So the longing for a center spawns binary opposites, with one term

11. “Ontology.” Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, n.d. Web. 19 Oct. 2016. Ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of being, becoming, existence or reality as well as the basic categories of being and their relations.

of the opposition central and the other marginal. Furthermore, centers want to fix, or freeze the play of binary opposites.

Thus, the opposition Man/Woman is just one binary opposite. Others are Spirit/Matter; Nature/Culture; Caucasian/Black; Christian/Pagan. According to Derrida we have no access to reality except through concepts, codes and categories, and the human mind functions by forming conceptual pairs such as these. Here one member of the pair (here left), is privileged. The right hand term then becomes marginalised. Icons with Christ or Buddha or whatever in the center try to tell us that what is in the center is the only reality. All other views are repressed. Drawing such an icon is an attempt to freeze the play of opposites between, for example, Christianity/Jews or Christianity/pagan. The Jew and the Pagan are not even represented in such art. But icons are just one of the social practices that try to freeze the play of opposites—there are many more—such as advertising, social codes, taboos, conventions, categories, rituals, etc. But Reality and Language are not as simple and singular as icons with a central as icons with a central, exclusive image in the middle—they are more like ambiguous figures.¹²

Thus a simpler understanding of Deconstruction will require us to know it as a process of 'foregrounding the hitherto neglected or marginalised perception or contradictions about anything and everything.' The Left inclined academics of social sciences at global level and also in India exploits this theory of Deconstruction as a political strategy of 'unlearning' the popular and normative, established discourses of Hinduism and Bharatiya Culture. The strategy was earlier used to 'deconstruct' the positivist interpretations (established and conforming to the Enlightenment) of Western religion(s), culture and ethics. In recent decades that is, since 1980's, the discipline called Literary Theory and Critical Theory introduced this trend especially in Humanities in higher education in India. The policy makers, social researchers, academicians in general, in particular those inclined towards the communist ideology incorporated this theory into social studies in and about India, thus,

12. Prasad, Jayant. "4. Deconstruction: Analysed." Derrida: The Father of Deconstruction. N.p., 10 Dec. 2010. Web. 19 Oct. 2016.

producing 'new knowledge' or 'alternative meanings' of known ideals and icons. Here are few examples:

- (1) Ekalavya is a victim as the 'upper caste' Dronacharya refused to train him in archery.
- (2) Socialist renderings of Shivaji Maharaj. Shivaji was secular (in the western sense) and his image as a Hindu icon is a politically manoeuvred trick of mainstream Hindu population.
- (3) Socialist renderings of Swami Vivekananda
- (4) Aurangzeb as a secular Leader.
- (5) Mahishasoor as a victim.
- (6) Bali as a victim.
- (7) Ravana as a hero.
- (8) Sita as a victim.
- (9) Karna as a victim.
- (10) Indian Family is a Power Structure with Father or paterfamilias as the dominant and oppressive power centre. Women are 'suppressed' within this system.
- (11) The projection of spiritual unity through cultural diversity of India as a political strategy of homogenisation of the 'divergent' cultural identity.
- (12) The frontier lands are 'subjects' dominated by the mainland culture through absorption of the 'marginalised' populations of the frontier land.
- (13) Religious minorities as the perpetual victims of the cultural dominion of majority population.
- (14) Women, Dalits, and minorities of all types (sexual, religious, ethnic, and linguistic) are permanent victims. (Their distinctive cultural identity is suppressed).
- (15) Resistance of National Anthem (under the pretext of religious rights).
- (16) Resistance of National Song (under the pretext of minority rights).

- (17) Resistance of 'Bharat Mata Ki Jay Slogans' (under the pretext of social rights).
- (18) The Tribal Gods or Gods worshipped by marginalised classes as different forms of Vishnu as the co-option and imposition of the Aryan ideals on the culture of the marginalised and weaker cultures.
- (19) Sexual minorities, the Lesbians, Gay, Bisexuals and Transsexuals and the religious minorities alike are dominated by the sexual majority, that is, the heterosexuals and the by Hindus in the latter case.
- (20) Muslim rulers were generous and sympathetic to the majority Hindu people and the Moghul invasion and rule in Bharat attained syntheses.

These and many more conclusions are drawn by the practitioners of social or cultural Deconstruction. The most fundamental premise of such a reading of cultural practices or cultural narratives is 'reading against the grain'. We can see that Deconstruction treats culture as 'text'. The reality of anything or everything is cognised through concepts. Concepts are assembled into the 'cultural texts', which we commonly call 'cultural practices'. The text has a structure. Each structure has a centre. The centre determines the meaning of a text. Since culture is rendered the value of a text, it gets subjected to the consumption of culture as a text. That is to say that the culture of the past which exists in the form of 'documents', literary or otherwise, is ever subjected to the possibility of ambiguity in interpretation. This is so because it is the inherent flaw of all 'written' texts that the understanding of its meaning is subjective and that it depends entirely on the perception of the one who reads it. Secondly, a text might as well have some 'blind spots' or 'contradictions' (which may be perceptible). Deconstruction magnifies these (presupposed) contradictions as the 'substantial material' for 'reading against the grain', that is reading the same text against the pre-established, normative, conformist, positivist meaning of the text that is of the particular cultural, religious, narrative in question. This is how the Academic Left has produced a derisive criticism of the Hindu culture and of its narratives.

What is to be noted here is that the theory of Deconstruction in its true sense is apolitical. That is, Derrida had never foreseen that it would be exploited as a tool by the Academic Left. Nor he had wished it to reach this end. Interestingly enough, the Marxists and Communists and ultra-Leftist thinkers despise Derrida and Deconstruction for one obvious reason. The reason is 'Deconstruction'. The Academic Left has 'constructed' the validity of Leftist ideology as 'ultra-modern' Academics, as 'normal' academics. This insistence on Leftist and Socialist 'narratives' and their incorporation into the academics of Humanities across the world has established the supremacy and dominion of the Left into academics. It has almost eroded the space of any distinctive or 'non-committal' approaches to the academics. Any non-Leftist approach to the study of the disciplines of Sociology, Political Science, Literature, Economics, Anthropology, Archaeology, History, Philosophy, Gender Studies, Women Studies, Journalism is tagged as 'non-academic'. This has created the binary logic of Left/non-Academic. This dominion of the Left into academics confirms its mainstream position, its centrality into today's academics. It is this centrality, this dominion of the Academic Left which Deconstruction eyes with a suspicion. It is a suspicion of totalitarianism of the Left. And Deconstruction turns down a power-structure. The Left occupies power position in academics. The strategy which the Left uses to turn down even the popular, long-cherished, inoffensive narratives of Hindu culture can be used to diffuse the centrality of the Left in academics. Deconstruction will even out deconstruction. This is not to say that there will be no effect of assertive, positivist defence of Hindu narratives as a rebuttal of their Left inclined deconstruction. This culturist mode will be undoubtedly an effective mode of assertion in positive sense. But this can be effective, more as a usual expression of culture. If the Deconstruction of popular Hindu faith is like a war wedged against the Hindu ideals, we need to fight it back with a better or more effective warfare. The exposition of the blind spots of the Left, the same strategy of unveiling the contradictions and 'flaws' inherently present into the 'texts' of Left's Culture, the loopholes into the discourses of its icons and ideals, the 'alternatives' to the Left's centrality into academics, the 'hidden,

neglected, marginalised' facts about its founders, followers and fans, if laid bare, will undoubtedly produce 'deconstructive' results against the Left. Basically, we need to adopt the method of, 'reading against the grain' as a subversive strategy to counter the Left. If Deconstruction is a problem, Deconstruction is the solution.

Let me simplify this. It is a known fact that that the Western intellectuals or Leftist philosophers, scholars, researchers, professors, analysts, activists, politicians, theorists, and students have created this culture of Academic Left. They have 'constructed' the edifice of Left's supremacy in academics. The 'construction' of a 'whole' of culture is the sum effect of its parts. It happens through a brick by brick method. So, the deconstruction of this edifice can happen by removing these 'bricks', the 'parts'. There are founders, developers, practitioners of the Left. Each one has produced a corpus of the 'texts' of Left's culture. Our main attraction should be these 'texts'. Not the creators alone. Creators are dead, unresponsive agencies. There can be no effective debate with dead persons. But, their 'texts' exist today as their 'historical presence'. This 'Literature' is and should be our main source of the critique to be aimed at the Left. Deconstruction works on 'texts'. Texts have structures. Structures have centres. Centres determine the meaning. The indispensability of the Left in academics is the 'culture', is the 'mainstream' meaning of the Left's dominion. Let us work on it. We need to locate the 'fault lines, contradictions, blind spots, loopholes, loose strings' into the 'texts' of Left's culture. Once located, this is ought to be foregrounded as the 'alternative meaning' or as the 'sub-text' of the Left's ideals and icons. Once this is foregrounded, this 'alternative reading' could be used as the 'subversion' of the 'pre-established, normative, conforming' narratives and discourses of the Left. Subversion will lead to 'Substitution'. Substitution will mark the extermination of the Left from the academics. This is as complex in practice as it is easy while reading. This will require us to do a 'close reading' of their 'texts'. This has to be done like a diligent student reading a text. The analyses of the text will familiarise us with the faultlines in the meaning generation process. This discovery will acquire the desired effect of 'deconstruction' of the Left.

It goes without saying that this task will require studious people to undertake a painstaking reading of the key-texts of Left. This will also require us to include in our reading list a corpus of anti-Leftist, anti-Communist literature already produced by some thinkers in and out of India. Some of this literature is a polemic and well-studied criticism of the Left's politics and Academics. This reference material can be used as additional resources to take our project further. Believe me, in certain respects, it is not the west which is dominating the Academics in India producing anti-national scholars and activists; it is the menacing activism of the Western Left which is the culprit. Many scholars and thinkers in the Western Academics who have sensed this 'intellectual suffocation' due to the psychological toxicity of the Academic Left have very strongly neutralised the demonic Left with their writings within the West's academic sphere. It is due to the sheer narrow-mindedness and self-denigrating attitude of the South Asian and Indian Marxist, Leftist 'gate-keepers' of Academics that the sound critique of Left is never allowed to be included in Indian Academics. If this literature is included in our academics, it will ensure the long-desired reforms in our academics. (The Eurocentric elite class will not find any saffronisation in this since most these anti-Left intellectuals are European or American). So, Deconstruction of the Left's ideals and icons through academic research of key-texts of the Left and anti-Left could be regarded as the first stage of this project. Second, the 'foregrounding' of Left's faultlines could be done by writing articles, research papers, booklets or books, journals as an outcome of the research at the first stage. This 'intellectual activism' on our part is the most urgent need today in the phase of 'ideological warfare'. This will result in the 'subversion' of the Left's intellectual untouchability practised against the non-Leftist academics. This 'subversion' by producing critiques of key-thinkers of the Left could be the third stage of the project. Substitution, at the fourth stage will require an in-depth reading, analysis, writing of 'Rashtriya' literature. This is the stage of 'self-assertion'. Everything under the sun known as the glorious traditions of India, philosophy, Dharma, Arts, Culture, Sciences, Aesthetic Practices and Theories, Literature written by saints, Folk-lore, Folk-Literature, Literature written by social

reformers, freedom fighters, politicians, needs to be converted into academically consumable modular, curricular content.

This extreme form of ‘cultural politics through academics, aesthetics and media productions have been radically influencing public opinion against the distinct character of Hindu society and Hindu culture. The intellectuals, academicians, artists, journalists, editors, film makers, bred on the ‘critical theory’ scholarship have been working in their respective fields to transform the ‘cultural identity’ of the Hindu society into the West originated ‘free society’. They may not aspire to occupy political space at least till the goal of creating ‘free society’ is reached. The concept of free society might be perceived as a legitimate aspiration but its ‘imperative’ and ‘totalitarian’ approach is rather a threat to the indigenous values of Hindu society. This ‘academic activism’ of critical theory reached its point of culmination with the rise and spread of its descendent discipline called ‘Cultural Studies’. Let us try to understand the origin, development and politics of cultural studies.



6

The New Left: The Last Straw of Marxism

The armed resistance against the Stalin regime in Hungary was brutally suppressed by the Russian forces in 1956. This caused a great loss of reputation to the communist movements especially in Europe. The European communist intellectuals became apprehensive of the growth and future of their ideology. In order to save communism from further damage, to disengage them from the Stalinised communism and to redress communism in Europe, these intellectuals felt an ardent need to introduce an atypical variant of communist movement. Moreover, these intellectuals were already involved in the pursuit of finding a more efficient and logical substitute to Classical Marxism. This was so because Classical, traditional Marxism had long stopped being perceived as a tangible political alternative in the extremely capitalistic European society. It was this classical Marxism which had always emphasised upon class struggle, worker's movements, Proletarian state, Social Justice and welfare-state politics. Due to several reasons, this methodology of Socialist, Communist revolution had long been recognised as redundant and politically sterile. Thus, in order to highlight the stance of offering an innovative left-wing logic to resurrect Communism in the Western world and to widen the scope of Marxism, to make it socially and politically relevant as well as to make it more culture specific, these British intellectuals, in association with

some left-wing thinkers of Frankfurt school, founded a quasi-social, semi-political, organisational alternative called NEW LEFT. These intellectuals were, Herbert Marcuse, Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart and E.P. Thompson. Before discussing the work of each of these founding fathers let us first glance at the ideological, intellectual and sociological commitments and engagements of the NEW LEFT.

Marxism had introduced the theory that economy is the base of social, cultural traditions, which are the superstructures. This theoretical legacy of Marxism had provided a scope to communism and socialist movements all over the world to address capitalist economy as its sphere. But this over insistence on economy had impeded the reachability of Marxism to the everyday concerns of the masses in all nations across the world. The founding members of the NEW LEFT incorporated a lot of theoretical substance produced by the thinkers like Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault and Louis Althusser.

Antonio Gramsci:

- Founder of Communist Party of Italy.
- President of this party between 1910 and 1930.
- Modified 'Classical Marxism' by widening the scope of Marx's 'base and superstructure' theory. Marx had maintained that economy is the base of the superstructure of culture and other walks of life. So, 'economy' is the field of battle for the 'revolution'. Gramsci showed 'culture' as the base and everything else as the manifestation of it. So, 'Cultural revolution' is the key to the fulfilment of communist ideals.
- Gramsci stated that 'workers and peasants should not vote for the fascists. The appreciation of the masses for the rationalist ideology of communism can be obtained by working strategically'.¹³

13. Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London, UK: ElecBook, the Electric Book, 1999. Web.

- Traditional Marxism had defined the class structure on the basis of economy and prescribed that economy be the field for struggle. Gramsci made this theory more pragmatic and broad by suggesting that culture should be the field of class struggle because the culture of the masses is distinctive from that of the elite class. If at all it is found as similar, it is merely an imitation of the capitalist class's culture in order to attain 'upward mobility'. So, the deviant, transgressing nature of the Mass Culture needs to be asserted as an independent cultural identity.
- Capitalists do not only use police, prison, suppression and army – the brutal ways to exert social and political control. They attain 'consent' of the masses to their social control through 'culture'.
- Gramsci calls this social control through culture- 'Cultural Hegemony'. The ruling class manipulates the value system and mores of a society, so that their view becomes the world view.
- Hence, Cultural Revolution only would attain the goal of a socialist state.

Louis Althusser:

- French Marxist philosopher.
- Long-time member—although sometimes a strong critic—of the French Communist Party.
- Althusser's theoretical positions have remained influential in Marxist philosophy.
- His best-known essay, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Toward an Investigation", establishes the concept of ideology. Althusser's theory of ideology draws on Marx and Gramsci, but also on Freud's and Lacan's psychological concepts of the unconscious and mirror-phase respectively, and describes the structures and systems that enable the concept

of the self. These structures, for Althusser, are both agents of repression and inevitable: it is impossible to escape ideology and avoid being subjected to it.

- One essential conclusion of this theory is that the ‘masses’ are ‘subjects’ and the ruling class have the ‘agency’ to control their lives with ‘ideology’ which is a sum of ‘culture as a whole’.
- In Althusser’s view, our values, desires, and preferences are inculcated in us by ideological practice, the sphere which has the defining property of constituting individuals as subjects. Ideological practice consists of an assortment of institutions called “Ideological State Apparatuses” (ISAs), which include the family, the media, religious organisations and most importantly in capitalist societies, the education system, as well as the received ideas that they propagate.

Michel Foucault:

- A French philosopher, Member of French communist party, historian of ideas, social theorist, philologist and literary critic.
- His theories addressed the relationship between power and knowledge, and how they are used as a form of social control through societal institutions.
- His thought has been highly influential both for academic and for activist groups.
- Foucault’s colleague Pierre Bourdieu summarised the philosopher’s thought as “a long exploration of transgression (by opposing the norms), of going beyond social limits, always inseparably linked to knowledge and power”.
- His writings focus on how we are being dominated and strive to build social structures that minimise this risk of domination.
- Foucault’s discussions on power and discourse have inspired many critical theorists, who believe that Foucault’s analysis of power structures could aid the struggle against inequality.

They claim that through discourse analysis, hierarchies may be uncovered and questioned by way of analysing the corresponding fields of knowledge through which they are legitimated. This is one of the ways that Foucault's work is linked to critical theory.

- Foucault embodied the idea of “the militant intellectual”.
- The theme that underlies all Foucault's work is the relationship between power and knowledge, and how the former is used to control and define the later. What authorities claim as ‘scientific knowledge’ is really just means of social control.

The overall life and writings of Foucault are marked by radically anarchist and anti-establishment enforcement. Although not so much a leftist in his own political orientation, his theories and philosophy have been extensively co-opted by the Maoists and Left Wing intellectuals and academicians. He is known as almost a ‘blue eyed boy’ of the Left inclined students and teaching community across the world. His polemic and extremely derisive criticism, of Religions, Family systems, Education and political institutions, traditional body of ethics and morality, whatever culture-specific values and norms of society have been existing all over the world, has discarded these indicators of culture by calling them instruments of ‘social control’. Intellectuals and violent, aggressive militant groups under Leftist influence have been equally lured by Foucault's views and ideas. The innately rebellious youth of any country find his philosophy of ‘resistance’ against such ‘social control’ being extremely akin to their own attitudinal expressions and that is why the ‘ideals’ laid down by him like ‘demolition of established culture in the pursuit of creating an ‘alternative’ society’, are looked upon as the roadmap of a ‘socialist state’ by these sympathisers of communism across the world. He maintained that if morality is the social ideal, it is so because of what is known to and laid down by the majority population as what is moral and what is immoral. The majority imposes its idea of the ‘moral’ on those who might want to deviate from the norm.

Foucault's major theoretical force is applied to a radically critical perspective of 'Power and Knowledge'. "Our aim is not to discover who we are; but to reject what we are." The knowledge of culture and also of what is normal and what is not is controlled by those who have an access to social power. Power lies with the majority. Hence dissent and resistance against the social control exerted by the majority and always remaining involved in the pursuit of offering alternatives to what is believed as normal behaviour or normal cultural, social expression, are the aims and objectives of young students of a discipline called 'Cultural Studies' across the world.

This is to be noted here that Foucault was born and brought up in a society which experienced the extremes of a monotheist insistence and capitalistic exploitation. His philosophy is a consequence of a resisting attitude against the socially and culturally controlling forces of the Catholic and capitalist systems prevalent in France and the entire Europe. Foucault's philosophy primarily creates a space for extremely individualistic worldview against the background of sectarian Catholicism and manipulating capitalism of the West. Hence, individuality, for Foucault, could be preserved only rejecting and resisting these forces of social control. The ideal of 'western liberalism' also finds its existence in the derisive approach to the western social and religious institutions which had been the spearheads of social control. This is, to a large extent, the logical reasoning of 'social resistance' and 'liberalism' as propagated by the Western intellectuals and academics. This is utterly discordant and out of place to see that some Indian intellectuals, educated in the Eurocentric educational systems are applying these ideological models to the innately pluralistic and utterly diverse Indian society and Hindu culture. The attempt on their part to customise and facilitate these western modes of social reformation in Indian society is the beginning of an unending confusion and disillusionment on the part of the young minds of the country who seem to be wasting their

entire prowess on disintegrating the nation and causing a serious damage to the pluralistic and yet culturally cohesive fabric of the Indian society. It is the inherent, indigenous identity of Hindutva, the DNA of Hindus which makes us congenitally tolerant and inclusive toward 'other citizens of the same nation'. The social and cultural implications of Hindutva are so broad and non-institutionalised unlike the Abrahamic religions that they are instinctively present into behavioural and socially communicative traits of a Hindu person. It is difficult to define this experience in explicit terms. This is something which you live out and may not bother to define since it is always already known to you though not as a definition or as a knowable idea produced by an intellectual. Thankfully certain experiences of life are better lived than defined or informed. Hindutva is one such experience. It is a whole way of life as you live it out as a Hindu. There is no hard and fast documentary or institutional, evangelical guidelines on an individual's association with it. There are no visible markers of one's identity as a Hindu which could be borne by a person with that identity. It is a quintessential understanding of one's spiritual faiths and cultural and social life.

A civilisation progresses and evolves with a passage of time. Its communicative cultures, linguistic patterns transform and develop through immense influxes which are perpetually operative at the cultural level. You do not define these mores and modes of life before you live them out. Thus the culture and civilisation which lived as the Sindhu river civilisation and evolved through centuries developed a common character. Of course the local touches to the expression of this culture were diverse and marvellously unique. Yet the spiritually cohesive aspects of cultural practices formed a pan Indian cultural harmony in the entire subcontinent called 'Sanskrutik Bharat'. This nuanced cultural character, this milieu; the civilisational identity came to be recognised as Hindu by the people of all castes and creeds. It became a quintessential understanding of an individual's and society's identity in the world. It was neither imposed nor was it determined. The very fact that there is no scriptural evidence of the word Hindu in ancient literature shows that it did not come into practice

through the writing of an individual or through the historical writing of intellectual activist. The word Hindu followed the identity which has always been the ever existant cultural realisation of all the people of this subcontinent traditionally known as Bharatwarsh. The rich and the poor, the dalits and so called elites, the priestly castes, the warrior, the merchants and wage earners all experienced and exerted Hindutva in their own terms, performed their own unique rituals, worshipped their own deities and this decentralised, regionalised observance of manifestation of Hindutva nurtured its nascent cohesive character. This is the ethos of our life as Hindus. Its reverential expression is Hindutva.

Such an idiomatic understanding of Hindutva and the conviction in its characteristic relation with life was the self-knowledge of the people of India. We were not tutored to internalise this by the British or the natives. The argument of Thapar in her article that Hindutva has its roots in colonial rule is an imposition of her alienating rationality. It does not require a sound knowledge of world history to realise this. It requires an uninterrupted knowledge in one's being. The self-denigrating scholarship of such intellectuals could not have helped but capitalise on the fault lines in Indian society, mostly Hindu identity. There is no society with such fault lines in the world. But a society, a civilisation gets over its weaknesses by working on it independently without its indigenous evolution being interrupted by outlandish researches or stereotypical theories of snooping intellectuals.

The Aryan Invasion Theory, The Aryan-Dravidian conflict, The Vedic period as a period of conflict, the Mughal rule as Age of Synthesis are the widely recognised infamous distortions of History of Ancient and Medieval India. The present researches have proved that all these divisive theories were actually produced either by the British agents of History with a purpose normalising British rule in India or by shady intellectuals bred on Eurocentric scholarship to seek favours and recognition from the western communities. One such false theory propounded by such intellectuals is that of elitism of Hindutva.

This is how the NEW LEFT modified Marxism by developing it enough so as to produce analytical, critical and derisive views of culture and everyday life of the people of Europe. It moulded the 'Classical Marxism' into a set of principles which could now produce extremely critical writings on basic cultural values of present day established norms of a society, on the ethnic, religious, social institutions and education, family and marriage institutions, arts, entertainment, man-woman relationship, sexuality, judiciary, and other cultural, ideological apparatuses of 'social control'. Thus, a new modus operandi of finding a firm ground for communist activism was brought into effect by the NEW LEFT in order to attain its goal of 'Social, cultural and political revolution'. This became the mainstream Western Intellectual practice of these times. A few factions of this organisation deviated from the practice of workers union, and class struggle as prescribed by Classical Marxism and engaged themselves more with the radically critical scrutiny of 'Culture' to create an 'alternative culture' and 'alternative social structure'. However, other factions concentrated the workers' union activism and class struggle politics into a rather too aggressive, violent variant of 'Maoist' mode of the 'revolutionary' activism.

The founding members of the New Left in Britain took up the task of creating 'alternative culture' by raising a philosophical, theoretical support to the cultural rebellion of the British youth between 1960's and 1980's. They came up with a very forceful appreciation of some 'cult' movements that had popped up in Britain during this time. Thus, the Hippie cult, Punk subculture, Teddy Boys, Mod, Rockers, Reggae, Skinheads, Pop youth culture outfits and their radically rebellious and subversive, anti-normative music, dressing, hair style, arts, addictions and other 'sub-culture' expressions were radically supported and exploited as a medium of resistance against suppressive established culture. This is how the NEW LEFT succeeded in creating a dichotomy, a binary opposition between Mass Culture and the culture of the elites or between the Youth Culture and the regressive, suppressive cultural hegemony of the ruling class.

Let us now see the 'critical' and 'theoretical' work of some key figures of the NEW LEFT.

Herbert Marcuse:

- Founder of New Left in Germany.
- German communist thinker.

- Affiliated to Frankfurt School of Critical Theory.
- Most writing done with a stand that ‘culture, modern technology and entertainment are the means of social control’.

Edward Palmer “E. P.” Thompson:

- He is probably best known today for his historical work on the British radical movements in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, in particular *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963).
- Thompson was one of the principal intellectuals of the Communist Party in Great Britain. Although he left the party in 1956 over the Soviet invasion of Hungary, he nevertheless remained a “historian in the Marxist tradition”, calling for a rebellion against Stalinism as a prerequisite for the restoration of communists’ “confidence in our own revolutionary perspectives”. Thompson played a key role in the first New Left in Britain in the late 1950s.
- Thompson’s work was also significant because of the way he defined “class.” To Thompson, class was not a structure, but a relationship:

“And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born—or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not. We can see a logic in the responses of similar occupational groups undergoing similar experiences, but we cannot predicate any law. Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way.”¹⁴

14. Thompson, E. P. “Preface to *The Making of the English Working Class*.” Preface. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon, 1964. N. pag. Print.

Raymond Henry Williams:

- Was a Welsh academic, novelist and critic.
- He was an influential figure within the New Left and in wider culture.
- His writings on politics, culture, the mass media and literature are a significant contribution to the Marxist critique of culture and the arts. Some 750,000 copies of his books have sold in UK editions alone and there are many translations available.
- He made his reputation with *Culture and Society*, published in 1958, which was an immediate success. This was followed in 1961 by *The Long Revolution*. Williams's writings were taken up by the New Left and received a wide readership.

Stuart McPhail Hall: (3 February 1932 – 10 February 2014)

- A Jamaican-born cultural theorist and sociologist who lived and worked in the United Kingdom from 1951.
- Hall, along with Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams, was one of the founding figures of the school of thought that is now known as British Cultural Studies or The Birmingham School of Cultural Studies.
- He was President of the British Sociological Association 1995–97.

The foundation of an academic discipline called 'Cultural Studies' is perhaps the most long reaching and futuristic intellectual investment of Stuart Hall. The locus of the present book is this discipline and its quasi-academic, overtly epistemological and ontological but covertly communist, politically leftist discourse which is loaded with Marxist political insinuations. Under the garb of an ultra-modern, empirical, realistic academic theories of Humanities, this discipline attempts to offer a subversive, anti-establishment, anarchist, rebellious, Marxist and communist philosophy to the young aspirants of higher education system in India.

This subject called 'Cultural Studies' is an engaged academic discipline which follows the legacy of the radical Leftist theories and the metamorphosed versions of Marxist cannon wrapped in a culturally adaptive and workable ideological modules of communism as created by the above mentioned NEW LEFT thinkers and a few other founders of the Birmingham Centre of Cultural Studies in England. This discipline is studied and 'practised' all over India through universities, most being central universities, research centres or postgraduate departments of Social Sciences, Anthropology, Sociology, History, Economics, Political Science, International Relations, Education Science, Humanities, Philosophy, Literary Studies, Women's Studies, Social Change Studies and Humanities departments of IITs and so on.



9 Cultural Studies

The discipline works towards the motto: “Cultural Studies does not study culture, it makes one.”¹⁵

This pithy sentence is almost the project of Cultural Studies. That is, it resists the existing culture of the culture of the people of India, subverts it, questions it, challenges the norms and deconstructs its existing discourse and establishes the ‘alternative’ of what is commonly believed on the basis of faith or tradition or what is even commonly known as history of the people or a nation. The critical writings of thinkers, researchers, theorists, scholars and professors of Cultural Studies in universities across the world have been prescribed in the syllabi, either in the form of books or ‘critical essays’. Although Cultural Studies is known to be an extremely interdisciplinary academic activity, it is still grounded on some of its fundamental preambles. This fundamental commitment is nothing but the same old idea of locating an intellectual and political space for the communist ideology. The model of resistance and subversion is applied to all the ‘academic engagement’ of Cultural Studies. Be it philosophy or medical science, music or film studies and even technology to ethics, Cultural Studies applies its model of offering an ‘alternative discourse’

15. Stuart Hall, “Cultural Studies and Its Theoretical Legacies” Web. 19 Oct. 2016.

to almost all the established principles of a discipline. It basically reveals the power structure of the established knowledge of a discipline and resists the 'deterministic' approach of 'knowledge production'. It holds a view that all eternal, timeless values of a culture are of the 'established' kind which could be contested only by 'contemporary' modes of culture as the 'contemporary' modes are mostly the 'deviant' forms of a culture. They exploit the rebellious minds of youth by pushing them further to resist against the established mores of a culture. Cultural Hegemony can be discarded only by overemphasising the distinctiveness of these 'sub-cultures' or 'youth cultures'. Benedict Anderson, a thinker of the same mode maintains, "Nation is an imagined community"¹⁶.

The content full of the like ideas mentioned above forms major substance of the discipline. For last thirty years, these theories have been taught as 'knowledge' in the class rooms of colleges and universities in our country. This is a camouflaged attempt of the 'fellow-travellers', sympathisers of Communism and such divisive and anti-India tendencies of academicians to offer a more 'customised', culture specific modifications of Marxist, Communist political ideologies through academics. This is quite harmful because young students of the country are learning this content as 'knowledge', everyday for almost five to six hours. They read related literature which is available in the form of pdf files or e-books (mostly free of charge). The aim of this Metaphysics of Academic Left is to destroy the indigenous culture of Bharat by creating a totally negative atmosphere in all walks of life.

Hall advises students of Cultural Studies across the world that they should not aim only at gaining 'theoretical fluency' in this subject. They must make an attempt to 'practice' what they learn and apply it to life. They must always engage themselves with what is 'contemporary', since the contemporary is devoid of the fundamental or eternal value system of a culture. These students should engage themselves with a process

16. Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print. "Nation is an imagined community."

of offering derisive and subversive forms of 'resistance' to dominant mode of a mainstream culture. For doing this, Cultural Studies forms a presupposition that the culture of the majority or the mainstream culture is 'produced' by the dominant class of a society. In India, they apply this logic to the caste systems and manipulate the caste based social structure to produce the same conclusion of 'determining' culture of the elites or upper castes. Hence, they produce the dichotomies of man/woman, adult/young, majority/minority, dominant/marginalised, homosexuals/heterosexuals, state/people, nation/state, employer/ worker, family/individual and so on. Of these dichotomies, the weaker identity is sole interest of Cultural Studies. "These identities should remain in a permanent 'contesting' position in its relation with its counterpart," is the essence of the social studies of this discipline.

Any contemporary mode of culture is manifested through the youth. This manifestation is usually somewhat deviant from the primordial, eternal, timeless values of culture. So, the followers of established cultural norms would perceive this contemporary modes as somewhat 'valueless' or 'casual'. This difference in the perception and execution of culture by two different generations is exploited by Cultural Studies as 'suppressive established, socially controlling determinism' of the older generations. This difference is manipulated into 'subversion' of cultural norms and a strategy of creating 'alternative' culture, the culture of totalitarian uniformity. This is how these academics insinuate identity politics.

Identity Politics Controlled by Academics

The threefold role of the people of a nation mentioned in the famous definition of democracy necessitates consensus over a cohesive national identity shared by everyone. Democracy is a privilege as well as a responsibility. An outreach of democracy demands all people to rise above the provincial cocoons of ethnic, caste-based, religious, linguistic and regional pride. It also demands us to share a larger, wide-ranging, all-inclusive national culture by respecting the best in all other identities. The onus of maintaining this culture of amity among all people is on academicians because academicians exerts a swaying effect on the minds and thought processes of the people of a nation, especially on the minds of the vibrant, dynamic and receptive youth. Any tampering with our loyalty through academics to an all-inclusive identity of a shared national culture may prove to be detrimental to the process of implementing the ideals of social advancement of the underprivileged sections of society. A great care needs to be taken while working toward achieving the goal of approaching academics as an instrument of social change. Any attempt to impose a culturally non-compatible, remotely identifiable model of ideas which is 'received' from a universalising source through the channels of Anglo centric academics, might result into sheer disillusionment and stagnancy in the areas where change is an urgent requirement. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's

view as stated in the following quote will be a succinct directive in this regard. In a speech delivered in Constituent Assembly of India, archived in volume Six, delivered on the 25th November, 1949, he said:

...we must abandon the method of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and Satyagraha. When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the Grammar of Anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us. The mode of 'academic activism' exerted through an overemphatic identity politics in last few years in India is the compelling drive for academicians and all members of society to address the issue with studiousness. Hence, the present paper makes an attempt to assess and hypothesise the various aspects of the current phase of academics controlled identity politics.¹⁷

Teaching of Phonetics is a widely performed activity in the academics of English Language and Communication Skills in India. The pedagogy of Phonetic requires teachers to familiarise students with the standard form of British English pronunciation, based on educated speech in southern England, widely accepted as a standard elsewhere. This so called standard form of British English pronunciation is known world-wide as 'Received Pronunciation'. The teaching and training of this 'Received' pronunciation to younger students of English often puts teachers of English in India in an awkward situation. The usual and commonly recognisable pronunciation of English in India is a fundamentally deviant way of speaking the English tongue. Students and teachers, who participate in the ritual of 'teaching-learning' of the 'Received Pronunciation', approach the topic through an implicit agreement. They know the 'ideal' way of pronunciation but for their own use they depend rather on the more familiar, non-established yet the pragmatically approachable, socially recognisable mode of the Indian English, or the crudely defined mode of the Indian variant of

17. "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA - VOLUME XI." [Http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/vol11p11.htm](http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/vol11p11.htm). Web. <<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/vol11p3.htm>>.

English. Interestingly, the whole English fraternity in academics knows that it is a well-practised variant of the Indian English speech but the attitudinal intellectual servility of many such users of English disregards the Indian English for lacking in authenticity when compared with the British mode of 'Received Pronunciation'. We despise what we commonly are, the Indian users of English and we revere what we cannot be, the users of 'Received Pronunciation'. We know that the RP, in a pragmatic sense, is an alienating complexity, still we revere the western mode of speech as the 'unattainable yet ever aspirational quality' in the use of language. It is this crisis of linguistic identity among most users of English language in India.

The case of identity-politics seems to have been built along the same paradox. Its supporters seem to follow the same aspirations in the matters of identity in general. What we are as a society is what we despise and what we are rather inclined toward is a mimetic mode of identity. This self-denigrating mode is what expects us to fit ourselves into the 'received' patterns, already formulated by the western thinking or the surrealist ultramodern intellectuals bred on the Eurocentric scholarship. Many such intellectuals and activists, leaders who participate into this exhibitionist and radical mode of identity politics are highly influenced by the New Left founded Critical Theory tradition prevalent in western academics.

The Critical Theory tradition which originated at the Frankfurt School, Germany and later at Columbia University in America made certain theoretical formulations about society, culture and identity. Most these thinkers had well discernible Leftist leanings in politics. Through the 'objective correlative'(1) of Critical Theory, its founding leaders like Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse granted a Marxian turn to the Humanities and Aesthetic Studies in the western academics. The incorporation of Critical Theory into academics made a pathway for the Indian intellectuals to define and determine the character of Indian people and society. This characterisation is largely drawn from the standpoint of a distant observer of the culturally nuanced Indian

society. The result is a forceful grafting of the Left promoted formula of 'factionalising' the Indian society on the basis of caste-identity and identity-politics.

In the context of Indian society, the socially underprivileged sections have suffered subordination through a blatant form of discrimination and also from their political exploitation by the ruling class and by the pseudo intellectuals. Politicians and intellectuals who had designated themselves the position of 'liberators' manipulated even the most legitimate concerns of the Dalit and Tribal members of society by determining their 'subject-position' as victims, as a static signifier, ever available to be used as an unerring vote bank or an explosive substance whenever it suited the long-time ruling political parties and the misleading intellectuals. It was these two forces which arbitrated the identity of the Dalit and Tribal sections of Indian society. The conventionally recognised 'ruling party' in Indian politics exploited the issues concerning subordination and marginalisation of Dalit and Tribal members by approaching them merely for their political utility in the electoral democracy. In truth, the social evil of caste discrimination can be eliminated by individuals and the Indian people. If our loyalties become national instead of sectional by preserving the best in all individual communities, if we commit ourselves to the larger good of the mankind, if we put love and amity over ideologies and politics, then social discrimination will soon become a thing of the past. But, the level of toxicity in this matter maintained by provincial politics and alienating intellectuals launches divisive politics over identity. The leadership and policies of a political party with a 'ruling class' mindset and the far-off intellectual theories of the scholars 'ruling' over academics merely provoked a conflict-ridden activism on the part of the socially deprived members of Indian society. The insinuating mischaracterisation of the culture of the people of India by the superimposing pseudo-intellectuals and profiteering politicians of a customary ruling party maintained the status-quo of the victim position of the Dalit and Tribal in India.

If politics is the means of advancement of the socially and economically underprivileged people it, should have long stopped being approached

as the means only to radicalise the provocative politics of identity. The rise of identity-politics in India, and its overtly exhibitionist presence on the literary and political arena have been matters of concern for those who consider politics as the means toward a cause greater than itself, namely, the cause of social ascent of the Dalit and Tribal. Others for whom politics over identity is the end in itself, radicalisation and dissent seem to be the only goal. In the rush of provocative radicalisation, the politics of identity has so far proved to be rather a futile exercise in the pursuit of social change and advancement. The rapid growth in the instances of academically disseminated mass resistance against social subordination of Dalit, broadly, in last few decades has created an impression of the social rise of the underprivileged classes. However, this mode of identity-building under sheer political provocations has gained no success in laying down the processes of substantial social and economic advancement of individuals and communities belonging to the Dalit identity. The political classes and even the conventional Dalit leadership have only managed to exploit the issues of subordination Dalit for the petty party politics and for personal aggrandisement. The result of this polarisation is detrimental to the process of reformations and advancement of the Dalit members of our society. Hence, we find an atmosphere of distrust swaying over the prospects of betterment of the life of tribal and Dalit. The supporters of Dalit identity politics in India seem to have developed a utopian aspiration that it is only through the radical identity-politics against the social subordination of Dalit that change would be ensured. It is the aspiration of political advancement of the Dalit leaders and their supporters which drives them toward a factional rhetoric and ritual of identity-politics. Identity-politics has become a mere phonic proclamation of the most legitimate concerns of subordination of the socially underprivileged sections.

The academics founded on the West's model of New Left and the Academic Left is indulging into this consciousness and consensus building over identity politics. It is a form of 'academic activism'. The politics of the West-generated universalising progressivism has further

legitimised this pervert form of identity politics. Progressivism makes itself a self-legitimising value. While academicians feel proud over their progressive 'achievements' of successfully establishing the '(pseudo) liberalist' ideal as the bedrock of academics, the people at large are seen resisting the influence of this ideal in their life. This is how we see the disparity between academics and society. This socially disintegrating mode of identity politics is approached by people as an 'academic ritual' whereas socially analogous mode leads the everyday and the overall life of individuals and society. This is the main cause of the native paradox of divisive academics and cohesive social life. No wonder that a society with its majority people inclined to adopt social harmony for life is demoralised about its own cultural mores through academically operated insinuations which provoke the members of Dalit and Tribal identity to adopt aggressive and radical methods to assert their identity through politics. A sincere attempt to incorporate the national, cultural character of the Indian society into academics is the only solution to attain the goal of equality. The bizarre, out-dated policies of isolating academics from social reality will neither produce education nor a change. It is this apathy towards the cause of a nationally cohesive identity nurtured by academics in Humanities founded on the unrecognisable, culturally incompatible theories of the new Left intellectuals and their mimetic followers in India which disengages academics from the reality of life of the Indian people.

The current mode of identity politics is influenced by the learning of radical theories facilitated into the academics of Humanities all over India. The theoretical formulations made by a few New Left thinkers and Left inclined intellectuals have emphasised on 'Representational' form of identity politics. The stratagem of representation of the comprehensive identity by a few student-activists who are exposed to this New Left controlled academics of Humanities cannot be approached as an efficient solution to overcome the challenge of either discrimination or subordination. Representation of a larger identity is an inherent synecdoche wherein the part represents the whole. The academically established ideological models of representational identity politics are most likely to

adopt an incomplete understanding of the actual issues concerning Dalit and Tribal members of the society. The individual identities of the sub-sections under the underprivileged classes are likely to get superseded by the overemphatic goal of politicisation of the concerns over advancement and progress of people belonging to these identities. The legacy of New Left thinkers, continued by the academics, aims at establishing a culture of contravention among the people of India by applying and interpreting the theories of Western intellectuals whose understanding of the Indian Dalit and Tribal is merely perceptive. Their discordant, incongruous alternative of cultural politics or identity politics will not be productive in any way. The Academic Left, through the stratagem of 'academic activism' of dissenting groups, is exploiting the youth mind set which is inherently nonconformist. What is unfair about these groups is that they never direct the youth to come out for constructive social reforms and volunteered service in the attainment of the goals of social advancement of the underprivileged people. Their method is derisive and the outcome is divisive. They believe in causing a rupture in society by creating antagonism and provoking the people of this country to cause divisions in a culturally diverse society. This method polarises society on the basis of castes and community. Their so-called avant-garde leads society to a split. This is nothing but an aggressively executed imposition of a contrived normality to fractious acculturation. The 'representational' activism of these newly arisen insurgent groups of campaigners of Neo Left centric identity politics approach even the most legitimate concerns of the Dalit and Tribal people with superficiality. They carry out their agitation until their media sympathisers disseminate the agitation drives aiming to build public opinion in favour of identity politics. These activists target a very small section of the general population living at urban location. With the social and electronic media exposure, through the method of raising an issue, spreading awareness is relatively convenient. These self-proclaimed, media-ridden leaders and their supporters enact their assigned roles to 'represent' the concerns of the entire population belonging to the underprivileged sections. This 'representational' identity politics of such fringe elements reverberate the discourse of caste identity as the bait

for gaining the support of people in general. By achieving a marginal or somewhat hyped up success in occupying the media space over the agitation drives, through these manoeuvring, these activists cause severe damage to the fabric of social life of the people. They do not seem to be paying attention to the counter-productive result of this activism. By playing in the hands of a whole generation of academicians trained and tutored into New Left theories circulated through academics, such an activism on Dalit and Tribal identity politics, finally confines the people within the regressive closure of parochial activism of caste-based politics. The method of fighting back casteism with caste based identity politics reinforces the caste matrix.

The critical view expressed here is a process of demystifying the 'identity-politics' controlled by academics under the influence the New Left theories. This criticism is not directed toward youth-activism. In fact, the socially, politically aware and active youth of any nation is the driving force of cultural ideas. The deliberations made in this study pose a question to and initiate a resistance against the unidirectional mode of identity politics as it is practised today under the rubrics of New Left theories indoctrinating the younger population of the nation against other people of the nation. The derisive rhetoric of divisive identity-politics launched through radicalisation of youth obscures the culturally cohesive societies of the people of India. The totalitarian ambit of radicalisation of identity politics will in the longer run reinstate the caste based societies instead of replacing it with a casteless society. It has been seen that the propagators of New Left theories have co-opted the Dalit and Tribal discourses through academics. These New Left supporters, mostly from the college and university teachers' community, are exploiting the legitimate concerns of social dignity of Dalit and Tribal communities for the preconceived effect of enhancing a social acceptability of Left's political ideals. The New Left controlled academics is a metaphor of the Left's 'political correctness'. This is a quasi-academic, overtly epistemological and ontological but covertly Socialist, politically Leftist discourse. Under the garb of an ultra-modern, empirical, realistic academic theories of Humanities, this branch of

academics attempts to offer a subversive, anti-establishment, rebellious, Marxist, Leftist doctrines to the young aspirants of higher education system in India. It is this politically inclined nature of the New Left controlled academics which defeats the very purpose of youth activism.

Radical and representational identity-politics create new hierarchies of institutionalised identities. Contrary to what the founders of the New Left and its supporters in academics had ever wanted to follow as the outcome of this cursorily decentralising, academically palatable propaganda of the socialist utopian ideals, its over insistence on confrontational and insurgent activism has rather effected as a reinforcement of casteist entrapment. The insurgent mode of such an activism can be a source of disillusionment with the fading its initial fervour. Its commitment to social advancement of marginalised people proves rather to be a gestural than a socially transformative engagement. This becomes a self-defeating exercise because it tends to strengthen the same caste consciousness by radicalising the caste-identity-politics which it poses to fight against. Institutionalised identities cannot be contested by institutionalising the identity-politics over the issue of dignity and social advancement of Dalit and Tribal sections of society. The problematising approach of radicalisation of identity-politics blurs the possibility of such an agitation or activism reaching out to any tangible elucidation of the issues concerning Dalit and Tribal identity.

This apish attitude of Indian intellectuals is a major obstruction in the processes of reaching indigenous solutions of certain social problems. The Anglo maniac scholarship of such intellectuals prevents them from engaging themselves into a pro-people intellectualism. The western interruption in the process of finding local solutions to local problems is a deterrent force. So, the historically disseminated knowledge of inequalities and hostilities practised against the socially and economically deprived sections of society needs to be interpreted in the Indian context and solutions to these problems are to be sought by Indian people by fighting back inequality with inclusiveness. The social value of inclusiveness in Indian context means an inherent form of open-

mindedness toward diverse identities. This has been the character of people of this subcontinent since antiquity. The result is a highly pluralist society. This pluralism is the spinal structure of India and this has been the culture of the people. It is the myopic attitude of a few intellectuals that obscures the social implications of inclusiveness. They problematise it by terming it as homogenisation. However, these intellectuals are oblivious of homogenisation as Americanisation or Anglicisation of India. The purpose of mischaracterisation of all-inclusiveness as the indigenous way of removing the social practice of inequality is to create space for establishing the supremacy of utopian socialism as an indispensable aspiration for the people of India.

It can be said that the question of social dignity and social advancement of the Dalit and Tribal population can be answered by cooperation, not by confrontation. The contentious method of radicalising the Dalit and Tribal identity discourse needs to be replaced with dialogue and cooperation with the members of this population. With a consistent support and assistance coupled with a sincere activism of cooperation to ensure the social advancement of individuals from the Dalit and Tribal populations will alone ensure advancement. These endowed individuals will consecutively lend a hand to other members. Mobilising the youth power to perform social outreach and to co-operate the members of underprivileged population for the latter's social advancement and dignity will be a better form of social democracy than problematising the social scene through radical and contentious identity politics.

It is also important to know why this discipline is named as 'Cultural Studies'. Knowing the academic engagement of Cultural Studies it is easy to understand that it mainly works on the 'social' aspect of everything, practically everything. For example, Cultural Studies undertakes the task of 'socialising' science. But it understands single logic of the 'social', and that logic is the denationalising, culturally disintegrating logic of Marxist, Communists' view of the world. Hence the only 'alternative' that it could offer is that of the same 'socialist revolution'. So, its primary concerns are social, with a focus on 'power of knowledge' and 'knowledge of power'. In short, it aims at the incorporation of the social principle of everything and anything by exposing the power structure in order to resist and subvert it and establish the authority of the 'Communist' point of view in the processes of nation as well as that of the state. The question still remains unanswered that why is it called 'Cultural', then? And also that if the world already has innumerable disciplines that study the 'social' why was this discipline founded? The search of answer to this may require us to understand Cultural Studies' view of the traditional disciplines of social sciences or studies. The founding fathers of Cultural Studies maintained a stance that these traditional disciplines of Economics, Sociology, History, Political Science, Anthropology, and Philosophy maintained and projected

themselves as 'objective' in the production of knowledge. Cultural Studies looks at the 'objectivity of knowledge' as a myth. According to Stuart Hall, these traditional social studies and sciences failed at many levels. They could neither ensure change nor reformation. They were highly dominated by the Western academics and hence the 'discourse' largely became 'unrecognisable, unidentifiable, alien and strange' to the non-Western world. Hence these disciplines largely remained restricted to their academic and intellectual consumption. The insistence on 'objectivity' of this knowledge also always maintained the supremacy of Western logic through its projection of universality. Hence, these disciplines became infertile as far as the 'Leftist' goals were concerned. Moreover, the Western academics, through these disciplines maintained the superiority of 'an intellectual' which largely widened the gap between actual, social realisation and execution of the theories they brought out and hence people from different countries like those from India, in a majority, could never relate themselves to the 'academic theorisation' of social politics or social change which was promised by these traditional sociological disciplines. Their 'universality' and 'global' identity largely became a hurdle in the process of absorption of diverse cultures across the world. This insistence on 'theoretical accuracy' narrowed the scope of actualisation of these theories or of the 'knowledge' produced by these disciplines. Hence, a new alternative, unconventional, subversive, 'anti-discipline' became an intense need in the perception of these founding fathers of the Cultural Studies. Stuart Hall envisioned this discipline to be 'subjective' in its rationale. It is this 'subjectivity' of Cultural Studies which provides it a scope to customise 'knowledge' under its rubrics. Since the traditional 'sociological' disciplines and social sciences were 'objective' and since they failed in their pursuits, or they maintained a rational distance from Communism and Marxism, the name 'Cultural Studies' would seem as an 'alternative' to the unproductive apolitical disciplines and would adapt 'political subjectivity' instead of 'academic objectivity'. So, 'Cultural' sounds more subjective and recognisable and identifiable than 'social' and also that it is concerned with the everyday life of the people(s) of the world. Stuart Hall has openly acknowledged in his essay,

“Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies”, that ‘Cultural Studies is a political discipline and it does cultural politics.’ That is why the discipline is called “Cultural Studies”, which does not engage itself with the study of cultures as they are or as they have been known by preserving the most desired distinctiveness of them but ‘Cultural’ because it establishes a ‘new, alternative, subversive culture’ of its own ideologies and perceptions.

It is this ‘subjectivity’ which equips the discipline with an ability to resist, subvert, distort and deter the traditional, eternal, timeless values of the Hindu society. The process is simple. They simply apply the Cultural Studies or NEW LEFT ‘models’ of ideas to the ‘reality’ of Indian societal norms, beliefs, faiths, modes and manners and try to deflate and destroy the popular views of men and their work.

For example, the popular image of the great Shivaji Maharaj as a Hindu King and a saviour of Hindu people against the tyranny of a Muslim ruler is questioned, resisted, refuted by applying the ‘deconstructive’ practice of ‘reading against the grain’ and a new, alternative ‘knowledge’ of Shivaji Maharaj is being established for the last 20 years. (This politics of ideology over Shivaji Maharaj coincides with the introduction of Cultural Studies in India). So, the ‘new knowledge’ about Shivaji (They drop ‘Maharaj’) would require you to understand him as a secular, socialist leader who was utterly sympathetic to the ‘minorities’ and the ‘downtrodden’ (which is not shown by the traditional knowledge-makers). This ‘new knowledge’ would take a radically critical stand (for the sake of it because resistance is the ‘norm’ under Cultural Studies) about the existing, traditional history and go to the extent of saying that the “popular image of Shivaji as a Hindu icon was manufactured’ by the upper caste Brahmin historians who had wanted their own dignified position in the caste structure to be intact. Hence, they ‘manipulated’ facts about Shivaji and made him a saviour of ‘the cow, the Brahmin and the Dharma’. If Shivaji is long understood as a Hindu icon, Dharma will remain as supreme value and if Dharma lasts, upper castes will continue being privileged forever.” There have been attempts also to co-opt this ‘knowledge’ by the film industry and entertainment and media circuits. A Marathi play called, “Shivaji

Underground in Bheem Nagar Mohalla, is a clear example of this. A similar logic of Cultural Studies is extended to the 'alternative' readings of Swami Vivekananda. This methodology reads the literature of Swami Vivekananda with a purpose in mind. This purpose is commonly to locate the loose strings of logic in a text and to exploit the possibility of multiple interpretations. This multiplicity results into a substitution of discourse. This is what is called 'reading against the grain.' This substitution is actually a political strategy of reading the text against what is primarily conveyed by it and holding the alternative meaning as its 'deconstructive meaning.' For example, there are certain statements in the writings of Vivekananda in which he has written against the excess of rituals by Hindus, how the excessive ritualistic traditions isolate a human from the social cause, the poor and the downtrodden and so on. Such ideas in Swamiji's writings are exploited to show the 'socialist' discourse in Vivekananda's writings and to foreground and focus this 'alternative meaning' of Vivekananda's writings.

A similar strategy is practised against Culture. Culture is treated as a text. A text cannot have a singular meaning. So, certain facts of Culture are used to deconstruct its established and commonly practised traditions. For example, the culture of Hindu matrimony is defined as regressive and anti-women. In order to give a logical basis to this derisive criticism of Hindu matrimony, they examine it under the principles of Western Liberalism and reveal many (founded) flaws into the system. While doing this they do not quote any Western thinkers, the process is to apply to marriage or family system the theory of 'marginalisation, subaltern, power centre, power structure and so on.' This is a process by which Cultural Studies attempts not to mobilise its followers on motivation sought from Western thinkers but it mobilises them by identifying the local, culture-specific icons of nationalism and faith with an 'alternative' readings and understanding so that the masses would be prepared to receive this 'new knowledge' of the 'known ideals.'

Such is the political 'opportunism' of Cultural Discipline. This must be noted at this point that the abovementioned thinkers, philosophers had focussed mainly on Europe and America for their 'critical social

theories'. But in the last twenty years a galaxy of thinkers along the similar ideological orientation have focussed primarily on India and South Asia. Their polemic and ideologically inclined criticism of Indian society, cultural heritage, faith, Dharmic traditions, marriage institution, family institution, education system, man-woman relationship, sexuality, children's upbringing, has been prescribed into the curricular studies by the Board of Studies in the universities. Conferences, seminars, research activities of all kinds have almost succeeded in establishing an idea that the 'Cultural Studies' is the mainstream academics and anything else which fails to be recognised as research under Cultural Studies is 'non-academic'. (I personally experienced this in my pre Ph.D. registration interview when one of the 'experts' criticised my decision of doing research on the translated novels of Dr. S.L. Bhyrappa). This relationship of the Marxist, Leftist ideologies and academics has got so firmly rooted now that it will not be a surprise if the word 'Leftist' would mean 'academic' in coming years (which has almost taken place even in the current times). The sheer loss due to this stronghold of 'Leftist' academics is that the fine brains of the nation are being diverted to a divisive and socially harmful activism (of which the JNU recently provided an example).

There seems to be a sort of an attitude developed by the Westernised intellectuals bred on the Critical Theory and Cultural Studies scholarship that its brand of liberalism is something of a panacea for the entire world's cultural problems. Hence, the cultural subjugation of the Third World is legitimised under the pretext of rationalism, liberalism, modernity, scientific temperament and Eurocentric education. The colonial narratives about the South Asian people largely hovered around the West's supremacy in cultural, social and political institutions. This sense of superiority seems to have developed due to the West's ability to communicate its strengths through military and industrial means. The accreditation and validation of Western Liberalism as the cradle of Western industrial, scientific and economic growth and rendering to this relation the status of 'knowledge' to be learnt by the Third World people, are the narratives rooted in the colonial mind set of 'us versus others'. It was this attitude which prompted

the Western intellectuals to perceive the non-west as essentially regressive and degenerating which needed to be 'reformed' and to be brought at par with the west. So, the Third World countries did not consume merely the industrial products of the West but they also believed that the Western Cultural values were instrumental in fulfilling the West's civilisational dreams. So, it became quite obligatory for the Third World countries to look up to the west as the spearhead of cultural as well as industrial merit. The fascination of the west came as the obvious response that the Third World could engage itself with the West. What followed is the imitation of the Western values by the non-western world. The achievements of the Western military and industry have by no means resulted from the Western world practising certain mode of liberalism. The masses lived with certain cultural values in the Western world and the industrial, imperial, colonial, political and intellectual emissaries who engaged themselves in the pursuit of 'reforming' the world, transferred those values as universally recognisable and tangible in all times, at all places and to all the people(s). A connection was built that the strength of the West was due to Liberalism as the foundation stone of its cultural institution. This knowledge was made so imperative that the rest of the world acknowledged the Western Liberalism as an obvious prerequisite for getting at par with the Western world in terms of development and culture.

Michael W. Doyle states, 'what we tend to call liberal resembles a family portrait of principles and institutions, recognisable by certain characteristics'.¹⁸ Diana Panke and Thomas Risse note, 'There is no such thing as a single theory of "classical liberalism" in international relations'.¹⁹ However, the projection of liberalism by the West inspired by its social character is perpetually promoted and prescribed as a universal remedy for the problems of social and cultural marginalisation of women and

18. Doyle, Michael W. "Liberal Internationalism: Peace, War and Democracy by Michael W. Doyle1." [Http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/themes/peace/doyle/](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/themes/peace/doyle/). N.p., n.d. Web. <<https://www.scribd.com/document/86945126/Dokument47>>. what we tend to call liberal resembles a family portrait of principles and institutions, recognisable by certain characteristics'.

19. "Liberalism: Another Tool of Western Hegemony." *EInternational Relations*. N.p., n.d. Web. 01 Nov. 2016. <<http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/30/liberalism-another-tool-of-western-hegemony/>>.

other weaker communities in the Third World countries. This is not to say that there are no problems concerning social and cultural position of women in these countries. The observation only aims to point out that there cannot be and should not be a single remedy for the socially regressive practices against women. If the Classical or Western Liberalism as lived out and experienced by the people and societies in the Western world is necessitated elsewhere, it would cause disillusionment and cultural incongruity instead of sourcing a reformation.

In India, the majority population lives with the social character of 'collective consciousness'. That is, it lives with the understanding of 'us' more than that of an 'I'. The primordial understanding of the individual in Indian context does not allow a scope for dividing the social from the individual. Rather, it encourages dissolution of the individual for the social. Individuality is not understood or practised more as a privilege than as a responsibility. It is one's responsibility to the 'greater good' of the society than one's own right to live with own sweet will. All choices and decisions of a person are directed towards the ever significant norm of their conformity to the accepted norms and pre-established notions of social behaviour. If at all any deviation is seen, it is allowed only in so far as the fundamental identity of the person and family is not affected by that deviant practice. So, there is an absolutely reciprocal tradition of individual's interests being fused into social interests towards 'collective consciousness'. This mode of social and personal existence may be seen having some regressive patterns of dominion or control. But the inherent flaws are to be tackled best by evolving a mechanism of progressivism within the larger framework of social character.

Will it not be a loss of the nation that the talent of hundreds of thousands of promising young boys and girls of our country has been misdirected and invested into an absolutely unproductive social activism which neither ensures change nor education? Is it not detrimental to the fabric of life in Bharat to allow such dubious ideologies to spoil the career of innumerable fine youth of the nation for the realisation of some preposterous idealism of 'revolution freaks'? If we must avoid this,

which we must, some fundamental reforms need to be done in the 'social studies' discipline. Otherwise, the college youth, whose prowess could be our strength as a nation, if not properly groomed up in its 'ideological orientation', may soon become our weakness. This is not just to play a victim but if we fail to address this now, even our families will not possess the strength enough to cure this social malady.

In the end, I can only invoke the all-pervasive consciousness of Bharat reflected in the 'Ekātmatā Mantra'²⁰ as a beckoning principle to design our academics by incorporating its message:

यं वैदिका मन्त्रदृशः पुराणाः इन्द्रं यमं मातरिश्वा नमाहुः ।
वेदान्तिनो निर्वचनीयमेकम् यं ब्रह्म शब्देन विनिर्दिशन्ति ॥

Whom (Yam) the Vaidika Mantradrashah (those who have understood the Vedas and to whom the mantras were revealed), the Puranas (stories and history of ancient times) and other sacred scriptures call: Indram (Indra, the God of Gods), Yamam (Yama, the eternal timeless God) and Mātariśvā (present everywhere like air). Whom the Vedāntins (those who follow the philosophy of Vedānta), indicate by the word Brahma as the One (ekam) which cannot be described or explained (Nirvachaniya).

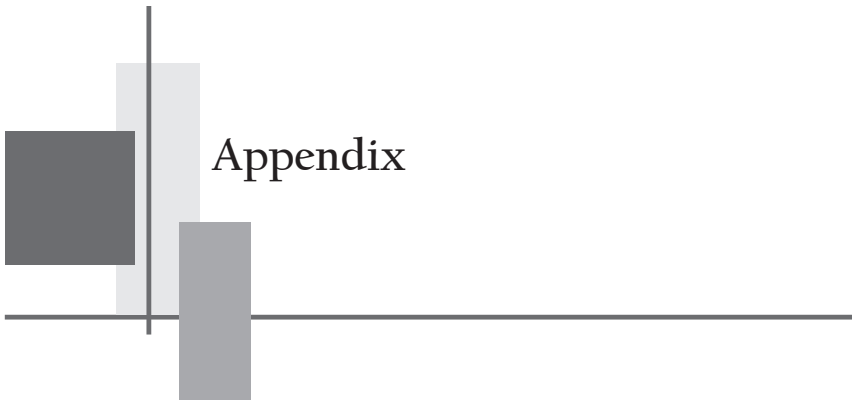
शैवायमीशं शिव इत्यवोचन् यं वैष्णवा विष्णुरिति स्तुवन्ति ।
बुद्धस्तथार्हन् इति बौद्ध जैनाः सत् श्री अकालेति च सिख सन्तः ॥

Whom the Śaivas call (Avochan) the Omnipotent (Yamisham) Śiva and Vaishnavas praise (stuvanti) as Vishnu, the Buddhists and Jains (Baudhajainaha) respectively call as Buddha and Arhant (without any end), whom the Sikh sages (Sikh-santaha) call Sat ŚrīAkāl (the timeless Truth).

शास्तेति केचित् कतिचित् कुमारः स्वामीति मातेति पितेति भक्त्या ।
यं प्रार्थन्त्यन्ते जगदीशितारम् स एक एव प्रभुरद्वितीयः ॥

Some (kecit) call Whom as Śāstā, others (katicit) Kumāra, some call It Swāmī (Lord of the Universe and protector of all), some Mātā (divine mother) or Pitā (father). To whom they offer prayers, It (Sa) is the same and the only One (Eka Eva), without a second (advitiah).

20. "Geet Ganga." Ekātmatā Mantra.Web. 19 Oct. 2016. <<http://www.geetganga.org/ekātmatā-mantra>>.



Appendix

Academic Left's 'Rupture' of Ideas

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
1	Kiss of Love Protest	LGBT, Queer Theory, Deconstruction, Dissent	Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault Judith Butler	Destabilising even the inoffensively normative culture founded on the nuanced cultural identity of the country like India. Politics of Dissent. To create insurgent atmosphere.
2	Kiss in Street Protest	Performative Resistance to normative behaviour of decency of culture	Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida Judith Butler	Street is a non-political space. So, performing such a protest on street is an opportunity to catch attention to the dissent. Compelling a normative society to think and accept the 'alternative' sub-culture. Politics of Dissent. To create insurgent atmosphere

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
3	Pink Chaddi Protest	Queer Theory, LGBT, Gender is performative	Judith Butler	Same-Sex consciousness raising as a political tool to challenge and resist normative society. To create insurgent atmosphere.
4	Slut Walk Protest	Radical Feminism, Queer Theory	Judith Butler, Michel Foucault	Dissent. To project inequality of gender identity. To create insurgent atmosphere.
5	Madras IIT Periyar Agitation	Marginalisation, Subaltern identities, Resistance	Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Gayatri Spivak Stuart Hall	Insurgent situation. Projection of inequality. Consciousness raising. Identity politics. Anti-Govt. activism.
6	Hyderabad Central University Protest over Rohit Vemula suicide	Oppression of marginalised classes, Social injustice, upper-caste versus dalits. Radicalisation of dissent.	Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Gayatri Spivak Stuart Hall	Vandalism, insurgent situation. Identity politics. Anti-govt. activism. Cadre building. Disparaging govt. as anti-Dalit, anti-youth.
7	Pune FTII Students Strike	Resistance, Youth Culture, Sub-Culture, Subversion	Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall	Cadre building. Insurgent situation. Defaming govt. as anti-youth, anti-student.
8	JNU 'Cultural Evening'	Dissent, Subaltern politics, Fragmentation, Liaison between the Left and Separatists, Hegemony, Resistance, Consciousness raising	Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Arundhati Roy, Gayatri Spivak Frantz Fanon Slavoz Zizek	Left rise and spread in Indian politics, building political platform for the left, creating ground for

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
				political dissent, laying down a road map for Left politics, refashioning of the Left parties, Radical Youth politics.
9	<p>Jadavpur University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> JU academics are strongly Left inclined. Sympathisers of communism across the country encourage bright students of Humanities to pursue education in JU. 	Solidarity among protestors, Dissent, Subaltern politics, Fragmentation, Liaison between the Left and Separatists, Hegemony, Resistance, Consciousness raising	Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Arundhati Roy, Gayatri Spivak Frantz Fanon Slavoz Zizek	Left rise and spread in Indian politics, building political platform for the left, creating ground for political dissent, laying down a road map for left politics, refashioning of the Left parties, Radical Youth politics.
10	<p>Fergusson College hooting of ABVP meeting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fergusson college, Ranade Institute, FTII, SPPU are main campuses with a noticeable no. of such activists. CPI Leader Mr. Sitaram Yechuri is in constant contact with the student agitators. 	Left-Dalit Liaison. Radical resistance of other ideologies. Cadre building of the Left at various educational institutes.	Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Arundhati Roy, Gayatri Spivak Frantz Fanon Slavoz Zizek Stuart Hall	Left rise and spread in Indian politics, building political platform for the left, creating ground for political dissent, laying down a road map for left politics, refashioning of the Left parties, Radical Youth politics

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
11.	<p>IIT Mumbai Professors support to JNU Agitation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All IIT centres that run a course in Humanities have teaching faculties with a background in Cultural Studies, Critical Thinking. The Academic-Left practises the theories on these campuses as a medium to create insurgencies. 	Radical resistance of other ideologies. Cadre building of the Left at various educational institutes.	<p>Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Arundhati Roy, Gayatri Spivak Frantz Fanon Slavoz Zizek Stuart Hall</p>	Left rise and spread in Indian politics, building political platform for the left, creating ground for political dissent, laying down a road map for Left politics, Refashioning of the Left parties, Radical Youth politics
12	<p>a. Socialist renderings of Shivaji Maharaj</p> <p>b. Socialist renderings of Swami Vivekananda</p> <p>c. Aurangzeb as a secular Leader</p> <p>d. Mahishasoor as a victim</p> <p>e. Bali as a victim</p> <p>f. Ravana as a hero</p>	<p>Deconstruction, Renarrativising History, Cultural Materialism, Subaltern History, Semiotics , Alternative History, Deconstruction:</p> <p>The centre of structure of a text can be 'deconstructed' by the agency present within the text. So, the historical, pro-cultural, pro-Dharma, pro-Bharat character of Shivaji,</p>	<p>Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Gayatri Spivak</p>	<p>Hijacking the pre-existing images of nationalism, Dharma, cultural values, family institution. Defaming the icons of righteousness and nationalism. Creating space for alternative politics by revolution of values.</p>

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
		Vivekananda, Aurangzeb, Mahishasoor, Bali, Ravana is renarrativised by holding some loose strings of a text against its established and constructive meanings.		
13	<p>a. Radical Subversion and Resistance of even the most inoffensive values of Bharatiya Culture</p> <p>b. Indian Family is a Power Structure with father or paterfamilias as the dominant and oppressive power centre.</p> <p>c. The spiritual unity through cultural diversity of India as a political strategy of homogenisation</p> <p>d. The frontier lands are 'subjects' dominated by the mainland culture through absorption of the 'marginalised' populations of the frontier land.</p>	<p>Louis Althusser Michel Foucault :</p> <p>'Culture is a sign. Signs are used in text. Text has multiple meanings. Meaning is arbitrary. Dominant meaning of culture is to be subverted. This subversion is done through deconstruction. The 'centre' of meaning of a cultural image is deconstructed. Alternative meaning is established as substitution. Fragmentation is desirable over federalism with a centre.</p>	<p>Jacques Derrida, Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Gayatri Spivak</p>	<p>Hijacking the pre-existing images of nationalism, Dharma, cultural values, family institution. Defaming the icons of righteousness and nationalism. Creating space for alternative politics by revolution of values.</p>

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
	<p>e. Religious minorities as the perpetual victims of the cultural domination of majority population</p> <p>f. Women, Dalits, and minorities of all types (sexual, religious, ethnic, and linguistic) are permanent victims.</p> <p>g. Resistance of National Anthem</p> <p>h. Resistance of National Song</p> <p>i. Resistance of 'Bharat Mata Ki Jay Slogans'</p>			
14	Jammu and Kashmir agitation against Armed forces over the charges of a Kashmiri girl by a soldier	Army, Police, Law Makers as perpetrators against democratic, Human Rights	Gramsci, Marx, Foucault	Separatism, Fragmentation, Rejection of Nationhood.
15	Jath Community Reservation Agitation in Haryana	Participatory Democracy, Agitation, Creating insurgencies, Playing Victimhood, Neo Marxism or Post Marxism Politics.	Slavoz Zizek, Foucault. Gramsci	Spreading distrust against existing governments, Cadre building, Emergence of Socialist leadership

Sr. No.	Event	Theoretical source	Thinker	Political Gain
16	Mumbai Demolition of Ambedkar Bhavan, a private trusts' construction demolished on a decision taken by the trust management. (No govt. involvement). Massive agitation drive led by JNU fame Kan-hhiyaa Kumar and Sitaram Yechuri	Participatory Democracy, Agitation, Creating insurgencies, Playing victimhood, Neo Marxism or Post Marxism Politics. Left-Dalit liaison. Radicalisation.	Slavoz Zizek, Foucault. Gramsci,	Spreading distrust against existing governments, Cadre building, Emergence of Socialist leadership
17	Khamba is a former student of Cultural Studies at TISS	Youth culture Subversive culture Decadent art forms Stand-up comedy	Queer theory, Theodore Adorno, Stand-up comedians who supported the 1968 youth agitations in the U.S.	Succeeding on a divisive agenda of Left politics, Engulfing the cultural divide between youth and other members of society.
18	Udta Punjab Censor Board Controversy led by Director Anuraag Kashyap	Creating insurgencies against the so called authoritative voices to attract the youth toward radical politics, Postmodernism, Poststructuralism		Succeeding on a divisive agenda of Left politics, Engulfing the cultural divide between youth and other members of society.
19	Violence against RSS and BJP workers in Kerala	Ultra Left, Socialist Totalitarianism,	Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky	Closed Communist Society

