

# Contextualising Politics of Populism: Images and Realities

Mritunjay Kumar Yadavendu\*

Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Motihari, Bihar, India

Email : mritunjay@mgcub.ac.in.

**ABSTRACT :** Populism is rooted in its social history. Contextualisation of the social history of populism is imperative as it helps us understand the rise and expansion of it in social relations. Social relations are organised around the axis of class, caste, gender, religion, region, ethnicity etc. Moreover, populism is not monolithic, but constitutive of contradictory features which are by products of asymmetrical social relations. Its narrative also does not work in a unilinear fashion, but metastasize discursively amid an array of asymmetries and generate different responses. Thus, in the present paper it is argued that to understand populism sense of its historicity and development is a must and that using a monolithic, unilinear explanation cut off from wider social realities may be misleading.

Keywords : Populism, Authoritarianism, Social History, Caste

## Introduction

The sweeping victory of Hindu right forces in 2019 general election in India has generated a wave of shock and astonishment among the left-liberal circles. They are yet to come to terms with the results and explain the reasons behind the huge victory of Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)<sup>1</sup>. BJP garnered 303 seats in the lower house of the Parliament out of a total of 542 seats.<sup>2</sup> Along with its National Democratic Alliance (NDA)<sup>3</sup> partners, BJP won 353 seats, a significant increase over its performance in 2014.

The Indian parliamentary left parties have suffered a major setback in 2019 election. Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPM) won just one seat in its bastion i.e. Kerala and could not even make it to the second position in their other strongholds - West Bengal and Tripura. Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)-Liberation (CPIML-Liberation) had put all its energies for the campaigning of one candidate in Arrah (Bihar) constituency where its electoral foundation was laid in 1989. It was a place where CPI (ML)-Liberation, before opting for the path of elections, found a firm footing during 1960s and 1970s in the wave of Naxalbari movement-an armed struggle in India. CPI (ML)-Liberation lost despite this legacy and the support of the regional party Rashtriya Janta Dal (RJD) which was leading *Mahagathbandhan* (the united joint front) in Bihar against BJP. Communist Party of India (CPI) supposedly revived its presence in the theatre of election

---

<sup>1</sup> RSS was established in 1925, the same year in which the communist party was formed in India. RSS was founded by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar with the agenda of establishing *Hindu rashtra*. It entered in the electoral battle by floating its political front Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), which later came to be known as BJP, in 1952 for the first general election.

<sup>2</sup> Election Commission of India.

<sup>3</sup> NDA is a coalition of thirteen political parties formed in 1998 under the leadership of BJP.

through their candidate Kanhaiya Kumar<sup>4</sup>, contesting from a seat known as Leningrad of Bihar. Kanhaiya Kumar emerged as the left-liberal's last hope of safeguarding democracy and epitomise a case for 'left wing populism'<sup>5</sup>, ultimately loosing election. This brief overview of the left's performance in the 'gamble' of election explains the gravity of the situation in which 2019 election was held.

These left parties in their review of the general election have acknowledged their lowest ever representation in the parliament. BJP's sweeping return is seen by them as posing an unprecedented challenge to the future of democracy in India.<sup>6</sup> Besides, victory of BJP in 2014 is seen as marking a tectonic shift in Indian politics, 'the elections that changed India' (Sardesai, 2014).<sup>7</sup> India after Narendra Modi is considered as distinct from what it was before (Gudavarthy, 2019).<sup>8</sup> It is pronounced that Indian democracy is 'fighting for her soul'<sup>9</sup> or having taken a 'quantum jump in wrong direction'.<sup>10</sup> With the onset of Modi Indian democracy is said to have taken a right-wing populist turn which has its local-national specificities despite the affinity with global capitalism (Gudavarthy, 2019: xi).

The baffling presence and spread of Hindu right populism at the current juncture is astounding in India. It is vociferously asserted that "of the great democracies to fall to populism, India was the first" (Taseer, 2019)<sup>11</sup>; "India's Modi has been a bellwether for global populism" (Taylor, 2019).<sup>12</sup> Indian parliamentary left parties identify hate-mongering and jingoistic nationalism as Modi's strategy to divert the attention from the non-fulfilment of the promises made by his government since 2014. They recognised the mounting campaign by BJP around Hindutva nationalism and rousing jingoism as providing a big boost to its electoral performance. The foremost modus operandi of this strategy to put to work was unleashing a systematic attack on the institutions of representative democracy. The parliamentary left parties have highlighted the utter violation of all constitutional norms in the conduct of free and fair elections, especially the partisan role of Election Commission of India. They have raised concerns over the organised assault on Constitution, Constitutional institutions and democratic principles. While CPI (ML) Liberation has recognised this assault as the fascist reshaping of the State, CPM perceives the further consolidation of the rightward political shift as a response

<sup>4</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru University Students Union (JNUSU) former president who was arrested on the charges of seditions on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2016.

<sup>5</sup> The parliamentary left parties supported his candidature and jointly campaigned for him. He generated significant fund through crowd-sourcing. His campaign posters carried slogan, '*neta nahin beta hai*' (he is not any leader, but our son). As against the right-wing populism, Kanhaiya Kumar has asserted his faith in Constitution, liberal institutions, and democratic principles. In his campaigning, an inclusive version of nationalism that incorporates the religious diversity of India was advocated against the exclusionary vision of Hindu nationalism. The social media and liberal television anchors, like Ravish Kumar from NDTV, have built up his persona through a sustain campaigning.

<sup>6</sup> Editor. 2019. 'Lok Sabha Results 2019: Summon Up All Strength for Tough Challenges Ahead', *Liberation*, June; Communist Party of India (Marxist). 2019. 'Review of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections' - <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019;

Communist Party of India. 2019. 'On 2019 Lok Sabha Elections' - <https://www.communistparty.in/blog/on-2019-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Sardesai, Rajdeep. 2014. *2014: The Election That Changed India*. Penguin Books.

<sup>8</sup> Gudavarthy, Ajay. 2019. *India After Modi: Populism and the Right*. Bloomsbury India.

<sup>9</sup> Roy, Arundhati. 2019. Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture - 'India is fighting for her soul' - <https://scroll.in/article/923803/india-is-fighting-for-her-soul-arundhati-roy-on-fascism-modi-and-being-a-writer-in-todays-world> - retrieved on 15th July 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Express Web Desk. 2018. 'Amartya Sen hits out at Modi govt, says India has taken a quantum jump in wrong direction since 2014' - *Indian Express*, July 8 - <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/amartya-sen-bjp-indian-economy-narendra-modi-5251046/> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Taseer, Aatish. 2019. 'Can the World's Largest Democracy Endure Another Five Years of a Modi Government?', *Time*, May 9 - <https://time.com/5586415/india-election-narendra-modi-2019/> - retrieved on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Taylor, Adam. 2019. 'India's Modi has been a Bellwether for Global Populism', *The Washington Post*, May 23 - [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/23/indias-modi-has-been-bellwether-global-populism/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.1a58ee6ef0f6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/23/indias-modi-has-been-bellwether-global-populism/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.1a58ee6ef0f6) - retrieved on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

to the prolonged crisis of capitalism.<sup>13</sup> Combined together, their review indicates to the inherent contradiction of representative democracy, hallmark of capitalism, that takes fascist turn in the time of crisis. This crisis appeared outrageously in media which was hitherto celebrated as the fourth pillar of democracy. It blatantly acted as Modi's propaganda machinery. With the aided support of massive corporate money, it built up Modi's persona. The 'high voltage' campaign led by corporate media has orchestrated 'agenda setting', and 'framing' of news deploying print, electronic and digital media. Fake news and paid were prominent weapons of this propaganda machinery. Modi choreographed "the most impressive communication campaign India had seen since Indira Gandhi in 1971" (Jaffrelot, 2015: 155).<sup>14</sup> Additionally and more importantly, the systematic ground work done by RSS has gained not only electoral majority for BJP, but also a social acceptance for its populist narratives. Since 1925 it has been working tirelessly in the remote areas of the country for establishing Hindu *rashtra*. This explains that the electoral majority is not gained overnight by Hindu right-wing forces in India. It has been communalising the social relations through its massive propaganda machinery of schools (Vidya Bharti, Shishu Mandir etc.), *shakhas* (daily meetings), saffronising the tribals through activities such as *shuddhikaran* (purification), *ghar wapsi* (reconversion literally mean home coming)<sup>15</sup>, tribal conversion to Hinduism, and religious activities to bring dalits-bahujans to the Hindu fold. Additionally, it has been giving military and firearms trainings to youth who are then used for carrying lynching and organising massacres. Hindu women are given armed training in the name of self-defence from 'Other' men (mainly Muslims and lower castes). These subalterns are seen as their foot soldiers. Given this ideological and repressive apparatus of RSS-BJP, its rise has to be seen historically in the light of the constant communalisation of social relations masterminded with a systematic organisational work.

Prior to BJP, Congress has enjoyed electoral majority for quite a significant time since 1947. CPM had a complete hold in three states for decades. What then upturned the situation is a big question which cannot be simply answered by the notions of personality cult, jingoism, money and media power etc. The answer has to be looked for deep into social relations. The explanations sought by left-liberal circles for the rise of Hindu right-wing forces are rooted in the assumption that people (or the vulgar misnomer 'masses') are culturally dupe who can be easily manipulated by the power of media and other strategies. Such explanations lack a thorough understanding of the social processes. Stuart Hall aptly remarks that populism's success "does not lie in its capacity to dupe unsuspecting folk but in the way it addresses real problems, real and lived experiences, real contradictions—and yet is able to represent them within a logic of discourse which pulls them systematically into line with policies and class strategies of the Right. It works on the ground of already constituted social practices and lived ideologies. It wins space there by constantly drawing on these elements which have secured over time a traditional resonance and left their traces in popular inventories." (Hall, 1979: 20)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Editor. 2019. 'Lok Sabha Results 2019: Summon Up All Strength for Tough Challenges Ahead', *Liberation*, June; <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019; <https://www.comunistparty.in/blog/on-2019-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2015. 'The Modi-centric BJP 2014 Election Campaign: New Techniques and Old Tactics', *Contemporary South Asia*, 23:2, 151-166.

<sup>15</sup> *Ghar wapsi* is a strategy of RSS to work among tribals and dalits who are converted to Christianity and Islam. It conducts *shuddhikaran* (purification) ceremonies for their *ghar wapsi* as they are seen polluted due to conversion.

<sup>16</sup> Hall, Stuart. 1979. 'The Great Moving Right Show', *Marxism Today*, January.

## Specificity of Populism in India

The rising presence of populism is not an India specific phenomenon. Some scholars have started calling it an age or era of populism or populist moment (Gerbaudo, 2017<sup>17</sup>; Mouffe, 2018<sup>18</sup>). This 'populist moment' is known by various other terms today such as 'post-democracy' as the core principles of representative or electoral democracy are seen to be under threat from the global tide of right-wing authoritarianism. Chantal Mouffe (2018) argues that this 'populist moment' points to the erosion of two pillars of the democratic ideal: equality and popular sovereignty. If Mouffe identifies populism with the erosion of popular sovereignty, Margaret Canovan (cited in Anselmi, 2017: 7)<sup>19</sup> stresses that populism is a social expression of popular sovereignty. This shows the ambiguity with regard to the concept of populism. Laclau (ibid: 31-33) argues that populism does not have a precise ideological connotation. It can mean therefore either the left-wing or right-wing, both progressive and reactionary populism. Populism in this study is primarily used with reference to right-wing populism.

Stuart Hall coined the term 'authoritarian populism' as an exceptional form of capitalist state, referring to Thatcherism. There is a difference made between the way Frankfurt school had defined authoritarianism and Hall's authoritarian populism. While Frankfurt School on authoritarianism, prejudice and populism focused mostly on Nazism, authoritarian populism is claimed to have broad meaning. This implies that while Frankfurt School's insights may be applicable to the current juncture, it is argued that one should be careful in not equating Trump with Hitler. And the broadness of the meaning of authoritarian populism is derived from the fact that 'authoritarianism' employs coercion to seek social homogeneity as Hitler sought to massacre Jews whereas authoritarian populism gains dominance by holding a section of the population as rightfully and truly 'the people' for pitting them against the 'Other' who are not 'the people' and are called 'elites' (Morelock, 2018: xiv).<sup>20</sup> Hence authoritarian populism is "characterised by the construction of a contradiction between the common people and elites, which is then used to justify the imposition of repressive measures by the state" (Nilsen, 2018).<sup>21</sup> According to Hall, such a contradiction is constructed by projecting specific groups as an ominous 'Other'. This 'Other' is then depicted as a threat to and an enemy of the interests of the putative people. "The Other – typically political dissidents and minority groups – is in turn made the target of repression and punitive discipline, all in the name of a supposed common national interest. In this process, conservative forces tighten their grip on society and the body politic, to the detriment, obviously, of democratic life." (ibid) Distinction between authoritarianism and authoritarian populism has its limitations in the Indian context. Instead of the distinction there appears to be a synthesis of both. The authoritarian populist regime in India has its ideological roots in Adolf Hitler's Nazism. Modi's regime is full of the instances where direct coercion is used to wipe out the 'Other' of the population such as Muslims, Dalits, rationalists and any other dissident group. The ominous 'Other' is clubbed under 'anti-national' in several instances. The proliferation of vigilante groups under state patronage is glaring. His portrayal as *chai wala*, suffused with this anti-elite message, is built up around the binary of masses vs elites. Unlike Congress's Nehru-Gandhi dynasty, Modi painted himself as quintessentially different (ibid).

---

<sup>17</sup> Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2017. 'The Populist Era', *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture*, Issue 65, pp. 46-58.

<sup>18</sup> Mouffe, Chantal. 2018. *For a Left Populism*. Verso (Ebook).

<sup>19</sup> Anselmi, Manuel. 2017. *Populism: An Introduction*. Routledge.

<sup>20</sup> Morelock, J. 2018. 'Introduction: The Frankfurt School and Authoritarian Populism – A Historical Outline', in Morelock, J. (ed.) *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*. Pp. xiii–xxxviii. London: University of Westminster Press.

<sup>21</sup> Nilsen, Alf Gunvald. 2018. 'An Authoritarian India is Beginning to Emerge', *The Wire*, 31 August - <https://thewire.in/politics/an-authoritarian-india-is-beginning-to-emerge> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

Thus, Indian situation poses a different set of questions emerging from its colonial and neo-colonial context which need proper analysis. The study on Hindu right populism in India cannot start from 2014, although it has become a significant conjuncture in Indian politics as discussed above. The resurgence of Hindu right in India is underway since 1980s. After its formation in 1925, it was at the time of initial phase of liberalisation in India that RSS started making its presence felt in the political sphere. Scholars (Rajagopal, 2001<sup>22</sup>; Vanaik, 2017<sup>23</sup>) have traced a parallel progression of liberalisation and Hindu right in India since 1980s. Liberalisation in India is not an orthogenetic process but a smoke-screen behind which the restructuring of the capital-labour relations in India was taking place induced by the crisis of capitalism. At the behest of capitalist restructuring of economy, Indian economy was liberalised, first prudently in 1980s and then extensively in 1990s. The rise of Hindu authoritarianism is traced primarily from Ramjanmabhoomi movement onwards that culminated in the destruction of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in December 1992 (Vanaik, 2017). This led Indian Left (consisting of various strands) to debate whether fascism has taken roots in India or not.

Before the demolition of Babri Masjid, it was during the time of emergency<sup>24</sup> that the echo of authoritarianism or fascism was heard among Indian left. Two views prevailed among the democratic and revolutionary forces of that time. One section believed that the declaration of emergency itself marks the coming of the fascism in India, whereas, the other section was of the opinion that emergency resulted only in the authoritarian rule of Indira Gandhi. Another significant moment when the debate on fascism surfaced was at the time of CPI (ML) split into several new groups. Under the leadership of those new groups militant movement of farmers, workers and tribals sharpened in different parts of the country. The Indian state unleashed cruel repression. In the process of repression draconian acts like Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) were used indiscriminately against them. Then the echo of 'undeclared emergency' and 'fascist character of Indian State' began to be heard once again in the political circles of the country. When Sikhs were massacred in 1984 in the capital of Delhi and other places, then the Congress regime was labelled as 'Hindu Communal Fascist'. After the demolition of Babri Masjid and later Gujarat pogrom of 2002, RSS and its allies were labelled as 'Hindu Communal Fascist' and Congress emerged as the epitome of secular party that has continued till today. In fact in its review of 2019 general election, CPI and CPM blamed Congress for not efficiently leading the anti-BJP secular united front. CPM writes, "the Congress did not conduct an effective campaign for safeguarding secularism, as enshrined in the country's Constitution. . . The Congress, thus, failed in projecting itself as an alternative."<sup>25</sup> At the present juncture this debate has accentuated. Parliamentary left parties such as CPI (ML) Liberation has clearly termed the current state as fascist and calling for an anti-fascist unity as counter strategy.

The call for unity is coming from all the three major parliamentary left parties discussed here. However, there is a difference between how these parliamentary left parties in India formulate the idea of unity which is symptomatic of the regional asymmetries. CPM rejects the possibility of an all India alliance to fight BJP stating the need to work out state-wise election tactics rallying the secular and democratic forces in the different states, which presumably include regional parties in some instances, so that the widest forces can

<sup>22</sup> Rajagopal, Arvind. 2001. *Politics After Television: Religious Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Indian Public*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>23</sup> Vanaik, Achin. 2017. *The Rise of Hindu Authoritarianism: Secular Claims, Communal Realities*. Verso (Ebook).

<sup>24</sup> Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared emergency on 26 June 1975 that was finally lifted on 21 March, 1977.

<sup>25</sup> Communist Party of India (Marxist). 2019. 'Review of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections' - <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

be mobilised to defeat the BJP and its allies.<sup>26</sup> Whereas CPI (ML) Liberation while identifying the limits of the shrinking parliamentary opposition space writes in a cautionary tone that “the parliamentary opposition space is now mostly occupied by regional parties most of whom will be under tremendous pressure to fall in line with the regressive policies and tyrannical measures of the Modi government.”<sup>27</sup> This counter strategy must engage with regional disparity that offers a significant Indian specificity.

The regional disparity in India produces a check on the seemingly monolithic narrative of Hindu right. For instance, the venom against beef eating may appear as a universal narrative of Hindu right but regional food habits pose a challenge to the monolithic narrative.<sup>28</sup> Similarly the regional specificities counter the hegemonic narrative of nationalism. It produces a self-generated defiance to universality of Hindu right populism. Any counter-strategy that ignores the role of regional specificities in India in displaying an embryonic dissident to Hindu right populism is bound to fail. At least Hindu right is aware of this and hence accommodates itself as per the regional asymmetries that render a chameleon like character to its populism.

The regional disparities are further organised around other asymmetrical axis, among which caste occupies prominent position. Caste has been posing itself as a litmus test for the left in India. Its ignorance can have dangerous implications. Therefore the counter-strategy articulated by left cannot afford to ignore caste. Ironically, this is what is happening when the left parties and liberals are advocating the deepening of secularization to fight against Hindu right-wing forces. CPM's tactical line is that the main fight is between Hindustan and secularism and the main task is to form an alternative secular government at the Centre.<sup>29</sup> Now the point is that secularism as a western import has limitations in Indian context. The division between private and public conduct in terms of religion as the core of secularism finds its counter-narrative in the nature of Indian State which has been a matter of contention among Indian left parties and various groups. Many left parties and dalit groups have asserted that Indian State is Brahmanical meaning by that it is premised on the caste hierarchy, which is central to Hinduism. If that is so, Indian State cannot be said to have a neutral character in terms of religion, the pre-requisite for secularism. There are numerous instances where the Indian State has asserted its religious, thereby caste, character. For example, Supreme Court in one of its verdicts has contended that Hindutva is not a religion, but a way of life.<sup>30</sup> Hindutva, whether a way of life or a religion, in both cases it is constitutive of the theory of *varnashram dharma*. The philosophy of *varnashram dharma* shapes the nature of patriarchy in India which is termed as brahmanical patriarchy by

---

<sup>26</sup> Communist Party of India (Marxist). 2019. ‘Review of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections’ - <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Editor. 2019. ‘Lok Sabha Results 2019: Summon Up All Strength for Tough Challenges Ahead’, *Liberation*, June.

<sup>28</sup> Goa BJP minister Mauvin Godinho said that Goa government is not against beef consumption. He clarified that it is totally a false allegation that we are against meat eaters. He stated that it is a false propaganda just because Goa has a BJP-led government, this allegation is made on them. To quote him, “We believe in carrying all the people with us and there is no objection in beef being consumed either by tourists or by the local people.” In fact Godinho has been facing charges from another BJP MLA over the failure of the Goa government to get the slaughterhouses running smoothly, forcing the state to rely on the meat from neighbouring states. (DeSouza, Gerard. 2018. ‘Goa Govt not Against beef, says BJP Minister After Part Colleague alleges Cow Vigilante Menace’, *Hindustan Times*, July 27 - <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/goa-govt-not-against-beef-says-bjp-minister-after-party-colleague-alleges-cow-vigilante-menace/story-RITWJwDi0NJIPVxbjw2EO.html> - retrieved on 30th July 2019). Conversely, BJP is vehemently advocating the ban on beef eating in several North-Indian states.

<sup>29</sup> Communist Party of India (Marxist). 2019. ‘Review of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections’ - <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

<sup>30</sup> *Dr. Ramesh Yeshwant Prabhu vs Shri Prabhakar Kashinath Kunte*. 11 December, 1995. Judgment by Justice J.S. Verma – available at <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/925631/> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.

scholars like Uma Chakravarti (1993)<sup>31</sup>. There is such an intricate relationship between caste and patriarchy that the imposition of endogamy is seen as the essence of caste system by B.R.Ambedkar, the iconic leader of Dalits in India.<sup>32</sup> Indian state has demonstrated its brahmanical-patriarchal character. For instance, in Bhanwari Devi rape case the judge's ruling followed rules of brahmanical patriarchy. He released the accused citing the reason that members of upper caste cannot rape a lower caste woman because of reasons of purity.<sup>33</sup> Hence, secularization as a counter-strategy modelled on western bourgeois democracy undermines Indian specificity with regard to interlinkages of religion, caste and gender. The dynamic relation of individual and society with their own specific and vicious interests has made the meaning of the populism move from a pejorative to neutral sense. Edward Shils (cited in Taggart, 2000: 11)) aptly confirmed the same kind of trends with reference to Nazism and McCarthyism. Canovan attaches a positive connotation by defining it as a social expression of sovereignty. Laclau transforms its meaning to a neutral idea as discussed above. Laura Grattan (cited in Priscilla et al., 2016: 17) too argues that it can mean an anti-democratic act of tyranny by a majority or it can be a corrective democratic force. Hence, the concept of populism can be used to describe a series of phenomena – right-wing tide to pink-tide of left wing populist governments. In fact some scholars and activists are advocating for a left-wing populism as part of the counter-strategy. Mouffe argues that the central axis of the political fight today is between right-wing populism and left wing populism (Mouffe, 2018).

## Conclusion

Without an appropriate understanding of the social relations that naturalise a certain form of populism, it is difficult to trace the roots of populism. Unless we trace the roots of its populism in social relations, we are bound to adopt a dismissive attitude towards it. Most of the times, such dismissal is rooted in elitist tendencies, where whatever is associated with 'masses' is seen as uncultured and uncivilized. Sitaram Yechury, General Secretary of CPM writes that "Populism. . . , is the pursuit of a political objective exploiting the emotions and the psychological make-up of sections of the people by fostering a concept of nationalism which is akin to 'false consciousness'."<sup>34</sup> It cannot be refuted in the name of just false consciousness given the precarious situation in which 'masses' are articulating in the discourse of Right their anger against the exclusionary and elitist nature of liberalism. With regard to Hindu right-wing's populism, Gudavarthy postulates that first of all we have to understand how populism makes people feel inclusive and liberated. It allows people to imagine politics from their own location. "Populism . . . gives you a sense of being included in political dynamics from your own social location rather than asking you to change your perspective in terms of a preconceived constitutional vision or a vision of liberal democracy" (Gudavarthy, 2019:9). This inclusiveness assumes a challenge to the class character of the liberal institutions. Nancy Fraser states that populism is a

<sup>31</sup> Chakravarti, Uma. 1993. 'Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 14, pp. 579-585.

<sup>32</sup> Ambedkar, B.R. 'Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development', [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt\\_ambedkar\\_castes.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt_ambedkar_castes.html) - retrieved on 30th July 2019.

<sup>33</sup> Pandey, Geeta. 2017. 'Bhanwari Devi: The Rape that led to India's Sexual Harassment Law', *BBC*, 17 March - <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-39265653> - retrieved on 30th July 2019.

<sup>34</sup> Yechury, Sitaram. 2018. 'Populist Nationalism: The Indian Context', <https://cpim.org/states/com-sitaram-‘populist-nationalism-indian-context’> - retrieved on 25th July 2019.

revolt of the working class against financialised capitalism and the political forces that imposed it.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Dalit-bahujans have significantly articulated their critique of both left and right from their own locations that becomes an important aspect. Some of these organisations have a sharp anti-left tone, but articulate a vision of society that does not adhere to RSS-BJP's idea of Hindu *rashtra*. Thus, the left-liberal need to explore the social roots of its emergence, acceptance and possibilities of rejections as Hindu right's populism is not a monolithic and internally cohesive phenomenon, but constitutive of contradictory segments based on class, caste, gender, region etc.

## References

1. Ambedkar, B.R. 'Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development', [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt\\_ambedkar\\_castes.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00ambedkar/txt_ambedkar_castes.html) - retrieved on 30th July 2019.
2. Anselmi, Manuel. 2017. *Populism: An Introduction*, New York: Routledge (Ebook).
3. Chakravarti, Uma. 1993. 'Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 14, pp. 579-585.
4. Communist Party of India (Marxist). 2019. 'Review of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections' - <https://cpim.org/documents/review-17th-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019
5. Communist Party of India. 2019. 'On 2019 Lok Sabha Elections'- <https://www.communistparty.in/blog/on-2019-lok-sabha-elections> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.
6. DeSouza, Gerard. 2018. 'Goa Govt not Against beef, says BJP Minister After Part Colleague alleges Cow Vigilante Menace', *Hindustan Times*, July 27 - <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/goa-govt-not-against-beef-says-bjp-minister-after-party-colleague-alleges-cow-vigilante-menace/story-RITWJwDi0NJIPPVxbjw2EO.html> - retrieved on 30th July 2019.
7. *Dr. Ramesh Yeshwant Prabhoo vs Shri Prabhakar Kashinath Kunte*. 11 December, 1995. Judgment by Justice J.S. Verma – available at <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/925631/> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.
8. Editor. 2019. 'Lok Sabha Results 2019: Summon Up All Strength for Tough Challenges Ahead', *Liberation*, June
9. Express Web Desk. 2018. 'Amartya Sen hits out at Modi govt, says India has taken a quantum jump in wrong direction since 2014' – *Indian Express*, July 8 - <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/amartya-sen-bjp-indian-economy-narendra-modi-5251046/> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.
10. Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2017. 'The Populist Era', *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture*, Issue 65, pp. 46-58.
11. Gudavarthy, Ajay. 2019. *India After Modi: Populism and the Right*. Bloomsbury: India.
12. Hall, Stuart. 1979. 'The Great Moving Right Show', *Marxism Today*, January.
13. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2015. 'The Modi-centric BJP 2014 Election Campaign: New Techniques and Old Tactics', *Contemporary South Asia*, 23:2, 151-166
14. Mehta, Shray. 2018. 'Can we Understand Populism Without Calling it Fascist: A Conversation with Nancy Fraser', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.53, No.22 -

<sup>35</sup> Mehta, Shray. 2018. 'Can we Understand Populism Without Calling it Fascist: A Conversation with Nancy Fraser', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.53, No.22 - <https://www.epw.in/engage/article/populism-contemporary-historical-moment-conversation-nancy-fraser> - retrieved on 2nd August 2019.



<https://www.epw.in/engage/article/populism-contemporary-historical-moment-conversation-nancy-fraser> - retrieved on 2nd August 2019.

15. Morelock, J. 2018. 'Introduction: The Frankfurt School and Authoritarian Populism – A Historical Outline', in Morelock, J. (ed.) *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*. Pp. xiii–xxxviii. London: University of Westminster Press.
16. Mouffe, Chantal. 2018. *For a Left Populism*. Verso (Ebook).
17. Nilsen, Alf Gunvald. 2018. 'An Authoritarian India is Beginning to Emerge', *The Wire*, 31 August - <https://thewire.in/politics/an-authoritarian-india-is-beginning-to-emerge> - retrieved on 21st July 2019.
18. Pandey, Geeta. 2017. 'Bhanwari Devi: The Rape that led to India's Sexual Harassment Law', *BBC*, 17 March - <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-39265653> - retrieved on 30th July 2019.
19. Rajagopal, Arvind. 2001. *Politics After Television: Religious Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Indian Public*, Cambridge University Press.
20. Roy, Arundhati. 2019. Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture - 'India is fighting for her soul' - <https://scroll.in/article/923803/india-is-fighting-for-her-soul-arundhati-roy-on-fascism-modi-and-being-a-writer-in-todays-world> - retrieved on 15th July 2019.
21. Sardesai, Rajdeep. 2014. *2014: The Election That Changed India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
22. Taggart, Paul. 2000. *Populism*. Open University Press.
23. Taseer, Aatish. 2019. 'Can the World's Largest Democracy Endure Another Five Years of a Modi Government?', *Time*, May 9 - <https://time.com/5586415/india-election-narendra-modi-2019/> - retrieved on 7th July 2019.
24. Taylor, Adam. 2019. 'India's Modi has been a Bellwether for Global Populism', *The Washington Post*, May 23 - [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/23/indias-modi-has-been-bellwether-global-populism/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.1a58ee6ef0f6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/05/23/indias-modi-has-been-bellwether-global-populism/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.1a58ee6ef0f6) – retrieved on 7th July 2019.
25. Vanaik, Achin. 2017. *The Rise of Hindu Authoritarianism: Secular Claims, Communal Realities* Verso (Ebook).
26. Weber, Barrett. 2011. 'Laclau and Zizek on Democracy and Populist Reason', *International Journal of Zizek Studies*, Vol.5, No.1.
27. Yechury, Sitaram. 2018. 'Populist Nationalism: The Indian Context', <https://cpim.org/states/com-sitaram-populist-nationalism-indian-context> - retrieved on 25th July 2019.