

Hindu Nationalism: BJP in Historical and Comparative Perspective of Fascism*

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Preliminary Note

This article discusses fascism with a particular focus on Hindutva—the present day variety of fascism. It also touches upon various political fascist systems over the last 100 years and analyzes the conditions under which mass murder occurs. There is a huge outpouring of books on this subject, the vast majority of which is on the holocaust under Adolf Hitler, the German *Der Führer*. Jewish writings on this subject dominate this literature. Comparatively, there is a tiny number of books on the holocaust of the American Indians, despite the fact that somewhere between 50 to 90 million people died in roughly 100 years.¹ There can be no simple ‘objectivity’ on this subject. Most writers approach it from their points of view. I am no different. So, how do I come to write on modern day Indian fascism, such a passionate subject?

As a young man, when I came to India, I was struck by the poverty and suffering, not witnessed before. Before coming to India, I had spent six months in Israel and Palestine. The two visits affected me deeply and since then I have spent many years attempting to explain to myself how both very different situations came about. In the process, I discovered the power of history to explain contemporary events. In my view, one cannot adequately explain a situation or an event without viewing it in the light of comparative

* This essay, written as an adjunct from my blog, covers a wide ground. The blog gives a detailed account of economic and political history of the world. For details, see Roger van Zwanenberg, “Wealth and Power: Global Transformation and Destruction: 1492 to 2020,” *Wealth and Power Blog*, accessed December 11, 2021, <https://www.wealthandpower.org/>.

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historical studies. Thus approaching Modi's contemporary political movement in India, I seek to analyze if it could lead to a new mass killing on a scale almost unimaginable now? Would an examination of other fascist movements, which claimed millions of lives, help to throw light on Modi's India? This study is an attempt to analyze the aforementioned queries.

Introduction

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India can be understood within the historical framework of fascist politics over the last 200 years. In recent history, fascism, as a political movement, has arisen all over the world in different guises. The fact that BJP and its parent organization *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS) is alive and well in the Twenty-first Century is worthy of comment and comparative analysis.

Fascism is a 'modern' movement in the sense that it is one of the birth children of capitalism. It is a form of politics. One key question is how and why does it arrive?

Fascist movements have a common ideological core, but have taken diverse forms determined by local culture, events of the moment and the particularities of history. Fascist politics originated in colonial conquest. Fascist politics in Europe during the first half of the Nineteenth Century mirrored many aspects of colonial societies. Hitler's Germany in the period 1932 to 1945, is one such example. A second might be the arrival of Atatürk in Turkey after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. There are many other examples of fascist governments like the White South African apartheid, Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy, and the United States' (US) removal of the American Indians. Some led to mass human extermination, some did not. Therefore, it is possible to have fascist movements that do not end in mass murder.

Racism, Nationalism and Religion: Common Element in Fascism

It is useful to examine some common elements, which constitute the core of fascist political movements across the globe.

Racism and nationalism are always two partners in fascist politics. The two tend to work together in nearly all cases. Historically speaking, the nationalism i.e., belonging to a nation, is relatively new among the two. Before 1750, there were no states with agreed international boundaries as we know

them today. Nationalism, the ideology of the nation, occurred at the same time when capitalism became an economic and political system at first in Western Europe. All this is forgotten today and we tend to consider our nations as the systems of nature, which they are not. The nation states were established by humans. While nationalism is the love of one's nation, culture and language, who belongs to the nation and who does not is often a matter of intense debate in times of uncertainty. Minority groups have often been perceived as a threat to national unity, denigrated and considered less than human. When these circumstances occur, the dominant group sees itself as a superior race; racism and nationalism become brothers in oppression. This is the core of fascist politics.

There are other characteristics which usually, but not always, apply. Religion may play a major role in most but not all fascist circumstances. Religion played a key role in sustaining colonial government in the subcontinent and in developing the Indian fascism that we witness in India today. Similarly, authoritarian one-party government normally but not always arises in a fascist setting. Israel today can be understood as fascist despite the multiparty system there.

Racism and nationalism are the heart of fascist movement and both need to be understood distinctly as well as jointly. Racism is a movable feast. Objectively, there is no such thing as different races of people. Huge efforts were made by the Europeans between 1850 to 1945 to make race studies into a scientific subject. In the end, it was concluded that despite different skin colour, physical features, hair types, all peoples had parallel high and low intellects, creative powers etc. Differences between peoples are cultural due to the millennia of living separate lives in different climates zones of the world. What connects everybody is that they are all humans.

Racial ideas have a long history of at least 500 years.² During all that time, the existence of different 'races' of human beings was widely believed to be true and acknowledged as the fact of life. The ideas of races to define the diversity of peoples and the ideology of racism arose out of imperialism when it came out to legitimize the conquest of 'others'. Racism provided the perfect justification. The invading Europeans, believed themselves to be a superior breed. They considered themselves to be the master race. First the Portuguese and Spanish, then a hundred years later, the British, French and Dutch set out to 'civilize' the other races around the world. In the early years of the 16th and 17th Centuries, race and racism³ were seen through the prism of Christianity, which became the only 'civilized' religion. The Industrial revolution

developed from the 1750s, race moved slowly initially from the sphere of religion to be a scientific principle and became an undisputable fact by the 1850s. The European invaders believed that everyone else belonged to the inferior 'races' of different worth. Each European nation believed itself to be the one and only race. Hence nationalism and racism came together as the colonial legacy for the world.

In the early days of the colonial venture in the early 1500s, the Portuguese and Spanish invaders asked the Catholic Pope for his advice to understand the people of Central America. His answer clarified that either they would become Christians or they would be killed. Non-Christians were seen as lesser human beings.

A Papal Bull⁴ addressed to the people of Mexico in the 1530s, 'Apostles of the sword', referred to Cortez invading Mexico and Peru. It said, 'Yield obedience and subject yourself to your Lord, without resistance and obey the religious men sent by the king' and if they did not comply, he threatened, 'I will carry on war with the utmost violence; I will subject you to the subject of the yoke of the church and the king; I will take your wife and children and will make slaves of them; I will seize your goods and do all the mischief in my power to you as rebellious subjects....'⁵

Very early on in the colonial invasion of the world, religion became part of the mix. Race, nationalism and religion were understood as a single entity. It should not, therefore, be a surprise that when movement to the other side of the world became possible, Christian missionaries became part of the invaders' mission of civilizing the natives.

Racist characteristics can be impugned on people in many different situations. Skin colour is just one of the many characteristics which defines the races. Another is religion. Ireland was Britain's first colony. Ireland taught the British how to extract surplus resources from even the poorest people. The British imported into Ireland people of the new religion of Protestantism in the 1660s. They wanted a separate group of people to collect taxes and to administer the region for them. The protestants became the intermediaries and not surprisingly, hated by the major Catholics.

Ireland has its own violent colonial history in the Nineteenth Century. But by the Twentieth Century, Irish Protestants and Catholics might have had different skin colours. They lived in separate enclaves, intermarriage was deeply disliked and could lead to violence. During the second half of the

Twentieth Century, they went to war and fought each other as if they were different peoples. Racism being a movable feast characterises the historical hatred of two or more groups of people who often, but not always, have been separated by the old colonial system as a strategy in favour of the colonial rulers. Still, Ireland was different than India, or Sri Lanka or Kenya.

Racism, nationalism and religion in India during the Twenty-first Century is being expressed quite differently through Hindu nationalism of the BJP than their expression in Ireland. The common thread is the interconnection of these three features, i.e. nationalism, race and Hindu religion. The grouping in India today is of the same intensity of nativism and xenophobia that could be found in Ireland. The same separation of groups, hatred of intermarriage, and the same dominance of the leading group is being witnessed in India.

Colonialism: Racism, Nationalism and Religion – the Origin of Fascist States

The early, and perhaps the first, fascist states were the colonized societies. Of course, the old colonial states have not been recognized as fascist by European historians. European and later Japanese and US colonies had all the basic qualities of fascism. Each had the following characteristics:

- a. The European ruling elites used race and racism as the central ideology which divided the people. The white people lived in exclusive enclaves. They demeaned the local people in racial terms. With perhaps the exception of Ireland, the colonized peoples had different physical features so the distinction was easy. In Ireland, Protestants and Catholics were white but lived separately to mark the differences.
- b. They were run as totalitarian societies. The invading power took total control.
- c. The laws and political power was kept separate. The colonized were denied the rights of the invaders.
- d. Human rights were denied to the colonized. People were equated with animals or degraded as inferiors. In every case, words were created which described and denigrated the invaded at all times. Nigger and coolie, are just two examples. Even their own history was denied as worthy to be taught. When the colonizers did get round to producing some education for the young in the 1950s, British or French history was taught to young African children.

- e. White Christian Nationalism was the ruling ethic.
- f. In times of serious tension holocaust-like violence was perpetrated on the local populations. Slaves populations that rose against their slave owners, would be burnt, castrated and hung on trees. Such incidents occurred in 1830s in the Caribbean: at the end of the Indian rising in 1857; after the rising of Mau Mau in Kenya in early 1960s and the Algerian war of the same period.

Genocide rarely occurred. Extermination was never the intention of the invaders. To this extent, colonial fascism⁶ was different to the fascism where genocide became the common order of the day as happened in Turkey and Germany. I will return to this issue later in this article.

So although colonial societies have not been classified by European and American historians as 'fascist' in the literature, they had most of the characteristics to qualify as such. In the colonized states of Asia and Africa, the colonial European powers were only interested in extracting surplus value. In Ireland, when the population faced famine in the 1840s, the colonizing state did almost nothing to alleviate the hunger and starvation. Over a million died and two million fled to North America. Same happened in India after the war for Independence in 1857, at the time of the famine in India, after the Japanese invasion in the 1940s, and when Britain was forced into creating two independent states in 1947, millions were allowed to die.

My point is a simple: when people are viewed through the lens of race or religion as inferior or superior, their lives are not considered valuable and they are allowed to die in huge numbers. These instances may not be genocide to constitute conscious attempts for eradication or extermination of a group of people. Still, the insensitivity and apathy towards death of huge numbers occur under regimes which can be classified as fascist. The difference between conscious extermination and mass deaths is important but only of the degree. At the end of the Indian colonial era in 1947,⁷ when the British pulled out and the bloodshed across the subcontinent demonstrated the characteristic of a fascist state.

It is surprising to find the return of fascism in a new formation in the Indian politics seventy years after political independence. It could be argued that Modi's BJP and its rise to power after nearly seven decades of the end of British rule is entirely different to the colonial rule. It is very different to that practised in any of the European colonies, as the historical conditions have altered. In India, the Christian white nationalism has disappeared, and Hindu

racist ideological nationalism has replaced it. What one needs to consider is whether Modi's fascism is likely to turn to sufficiently violent persecution and lead to mass deaths or even genocide. This will be discussed further towards the end.

The Founding of Turkey and Fascism

The Ottoman empire was destroyed by the 1914/18 war. The new Turkey that arose out of the ashes of the empire after 1918, fashioned itself along the lines of other contemporary colonial values. The political mechanism used by the new rulers was fascist in intention and used extermination of the many minorities to create a 'pure' new 'race' of people.

However, Atatürk's Turkey is not always understood as a fascist state at least in the Western literature. Turkey as contemporary modern state is just about 100 years old. Before today's Turkey, the Ottoman Empire had been in existence for around 500 years. The Ottomans once controlled the lands down to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, across large parts of today's Europe and throughout the lands of the Mediterranean. They were home of a great diversity of people, languages and religions. In 1492, when the Spanish Catholic monarch expelled a huge number of Jews, many of them ended up in the Ottoman Empire.

The Empire was fatally weakened during the Nineteenth Century. This was the time when Britain, US, France, and Germany had industrialized. Industrialization included improved shipping across the world and more lethal weapons of war. The Ottomans tried to follow and bought many of the new weapons then available, but the old political system of the empire could not change in the transforming world. By the end of the Nineteenth Century, the Ottoman empire was ready for collapse. The new young leaders began the process of change after 1913. The new Turks began by ridding themselves of the old script, and moving to a Western one. The change *inter alia* meant ridding the country of its many minorities to become more like the Western Europeans. This led to the killing of some 1,500,000 or so Armenians. Not just the Armenians, all people of Greek origin were killed or expelled and all the other minorities chased out of the country. A very large number of people lost their lives. Turks cleansed the society of all its old minorities so that they ended up with a single group of 'pure' blooded Turks. Turkish holocaust is less known. The new leaders are often praised by Western scholars as they "modernised" Turkey in the sense that they Europeanized the country.⁸

Germany's Fascism

Germany's fascism unlike Turkey has had huge publicity. The Jewish holocaust⁹ which was one of the outcomes of Germany's fascism has been written about at great length. Yet despite this volume of writing, an accepted version of events has become the norm, and anyone else attempting an alternative interpretation is ignored or considered as anti-Semitic.

Hitler, the leader of Germany's fascism is considered the evil man of history in Europe. Anything that the Western establishment wishes to denigrate is compared to Hitler. As a consequence of Jewish dominance of this literature and with Hitler as the bogey man of history, it is difficult to throw serious light on the German holocaust.

Yet a few less known scholars have done serious research on this period of Hitler's rise to power.

German fascism¹⁰ arose out of the collapse of the German State and the economic crises from 1929 to 1931. The 1914/18 war that had preceded Nazism was fought by the rising world power, Germany. The purpose was to maintain the world power. Britain had been the world's leading power from 1815 up to 1914. Germany, the contending power, had grown fast during the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Britain wished to destroy German competitive global power once and for all. This purpose was denied in the textbooks, but British intentions were clarified in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, a peace treaty. Germany was to be humiliated and denied its place on the world stage. Britain attempted to strangle German capitalism. The result of the Versailles peace treaty, was that Germany was stripped of all her colonies, denied the part of Europe that produced her coal and iron, and reparations were so high they left the German exchequer empty. It was in these conditions that German fascism led by Hitler arose. Hitler's purpose was to 'Make Germany Great Again'.

By 1914, race and racism were widely accepted throughout Europe and the Americas as real and obvious. All peoples were seen under a racist brush as inferior to the Jewish race. And the Jewish race was seen as inferior to the European races. It was in this atmosphere that many high class English and US men and women saw the Soviet socialism as the real enemy and Hitler's fascism as something to be tolerated or even supported.

By the 1930s, both the British treasury and the American companies supported Hitler's Fascism, and were for a few short years able to overlook the concentration camps. The two Dulles brothers, John Foster and Allen played a significant role in the US politics after 1945 as head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and head of secretary of state, respectively.¹¹ Both brothers were living and working in Germany in the 1930s supporting German development. Dulles brothers were among the prominent Americans who supported the rise of Hitler's Germany. There were major American companies supporting the growth of German war effort in the 1930s. There is significant research on this point. The leaders in the major nation states at that time were less concerned about the rise of fascism as they were by the rise of socialism. Soviet socialism under Stalin was considered by many in control of foreign policy in both Britain and the US to be the real enemy.

German fascism arose in the 1930s for the German people at a time of huge uncertainty and crises. German democracy was in deep crises and was either to move rapidly towards a socialist or a fascist solution. The German ruling classes at the time preferred the fascist solution under Hitler. Hitler supported big capital, industry and private property. On the other hand, the socialist alternative potentially threatened inherited wealth.

The German holocaust which took out millions of Jews, also killed a wide range of other minority peoples. Much of the literature has been focused on the horrors of German fascism and the Jewish holocaust that followed.

The telling of the story of the Jewish holocaust has diminished other minority people included in this decimation of millions of lives, diminished other aspects of German intentions after 1933, overstated the importance of Israel as the only safe place for Jews to live.

Other minority people who were killed at the time in very large numbers included the Roma or Gypsy peoples. As many as half a million were victims of Germans attempt to remove 'undesirables' from those parts of Europe that Germans had conquered. Many of these people were sterilized or medically experimented on. There were mass shootings, gassing, forced labour, and death from starvation and disease. These people did not receive land in Israel to move into at any time since; their suffering has been almost forgotten.

German intentions were to conquer the lands of the East including large parts of the Soviet Union. They planned carefully and noted up to 70

million peoples who could be exterminated or removed. Very little of these intentions are now remembered. But Hitler had studied the earlier genocides in Turkey and the eradication of the North American Indians. He knew that no one had raised a finger against these mass killings. Germans did not expect people to be bothered about their attempt to create the German Reich in the lands of Poland, the Crimea, and surrounding land. Of course, this did not happen. But German farmers, before the end of hostilities in 1945, had already begun to take farm land in Poland.

Understanding of Western European Colonial rule and the origins of Hitler's German thinking provides a brief overview that will help in understanding India's fascism in the Twenty-first Century.

Modi's India and Fascism in the Twenty-first Century

Is India a Fascist State?

I have chosen to compare and contrast Modi's India with Western Colonial rule: Hitler's Germany and Atatürk's Turkey, rather than the fascism in Spain and Italy under Benito Mussolini and Francisco Franco respectively. Most European scholars might have chosen these latter two examples, but as neither led to the holocaust levels of killings, I decided that Turkey was a more appropriate example.

A totalitarian state is sometimes confused with a fascist one. Certainly, fascist states tend to be totalitarian but there are many states that are run by a single party but are not fascist because they are not run with a strong racist base. Racism as the dominant ideology of the State is, in my view, the chief characteristic which runs through fascist States. Prevalence of racism in a society does not make it fascist. It might make that society potentially fascist under certain conditions, however. In India's case, the Hindu nation is conceived in racial terms. The core ideology sees Hindus as an 'Aryan race' a superior breed of people that came from the north thousands of years ago. Each fascist society sees the world in racial terms, and then finds its core group a superior race. The same has been the case with the colonial invaders from Europe.

Fascism and Manipulation of History

Fascist parties need to wrap themselves in their own special brand of national history. Whether the history is accurate is not relevant. Their historians choose

what period to examine, what questions to ask, and what to examine. They view history through a contemporary lens and choose what evidence to examine and what to ignore. Fascist historians focus on history that provides them with justification for the process they wish to establish today.

As one example, European colonialists ideoloized Greek and Roman historical empires. They could have chosen empires in Mesopotamia, but they chose Greek and Roman as both had white skins. Hindutva ideology i.e. the global Hindu supremacist movement, focuses on the long past in order to express the totality of the cultural, national, and religious past which marks the Hindu peoples as one whole. The word Hindutva is powerful, subtle and elusive. It is tied in the Aryan peoples of the Indus river, part of the Persian Vedic Aryans. The contemporary Hindu religion and its people are wrapped together in a long historical story which distinguishes their long superiority to all other people. A story which cannot be disproved as it becomes a belief system, tying people and place to India from the Himalayas to the sea. Such history is a vital part of the story which allows them to believe that they are superior to all others around them. *The Hindutva* ideology and history is an elemental part of the contemporary BJP movement.

The special brand of Hindutva was articulated by *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar* who published a book in 1923 titled, *Who is a Hindu?* This has been reprinted many times ever since. Since then, the movement has blossomed. Modi represents only the top of the ladder. The movement and ideology has been captured by RSS. It was established in 1925, and today it has branches all over the world. The RSS has many affiliate bodies in the form of political parties, labor organizations, student bodies, paramilitary forces, and even Bollywood actors and actresses with a support base of hundreds of millions of people.

The economic dimensions of fascist movement are often missed. In Hitler's case, major Western powers supported his economic development in the 1930s. The British Central Bank leader, Montagu Norman co-ordinated access to the German economy. The Banks of the USA brought the much-needed finance capital. In Modi's India too, the key economic policy is "economic liberalism" making it a beloved of American establishment. Economic liberalism supports big capital against small and medium sized firms. A policy which enriches the already wealthy, and enfeebles the poor.

Economic liberalism is the *sine qua non* of the Americans. They will support any body or country that follows this path of economic development.

They will ignore Modi's fascism so long as he supports the wider American policies.

Hitler followed a similar strategy in hope that his neighbors would focus more on his economic initiatives and forgive his expansionary policies. Modi too remains unscathed from criticism, which comes mainly from within and not from without.

Why Now?

There remains one vital question we must answer. Why now? What are the conditions that have led to the growth and power of the Hindu fascism and the *Hindutva* ideology? None of the fascist movements that we have discussed above gives any clues. European fascism in the 1930s occurred in a period when the future of capitalism in the 1930s as whole was in question. Turkey's fascism occurred at the period when the old Ottoman Empire had collapsed and a new political entity was about to be established. America's fascism occurred during the Nineteenth Century eliminating the domestic population to free up the land for themselves. America's fascism was an extension of the original colonial invasion. None of these situations applies to today's India. Indian and all the surrounding countries' independence from colonialism is now 70 years old. So why now? There are no easy answers from past examples.

In part, *Hindutva* as the key frame of ideology arose during the colonial period. In some important respects *Savarkar*, was a creature of the Colonial era. Savarkar's *Hindutva* has many of the features of Britain's colonial racism. In particular, people of the Hindu religion are part of the 'race' which has its origins in antiquity. At the time when Savarkar was writing, racism was understood as a solid fact of history. It is reasonable, therefore, to understand *Hindutva* as a continuity of the colonial era.

More important, in the current extent, is Chinese development as the success story of the late Twentieth and Twenty-first Century. India has always been compared to China in discussion around development issue and India has always come second in these discussions. A McKinsey report shows that half of India's population, 700 million people go to bed hungry, and 300 million remain illiterate, while half of India's people have no adequate sanitation or water. In these conditions, *Hindutva* equips Hindu people with the sense of superiority as the real people of the Indian subcontinent.

Lastly, India's support for the ruling ideology of the US, *neo colonialism* provides the grounds for the international support which could otherwise be lacking. The Western and particularly US leaders have so far been willing to overlook India's human rights record in Kashmir and across the Indian sub-continent and the attack on their Muslim population. Fascism in some quarters has always been seen as the lesser evil compared to socialism. The verbal war against China and its minority peoples has taken precedence over India's attacks on her minority peoples.

India's attacks on its Islamic populations ties in neatly with Israel's equal attacks on her own Islamic population. The rise of militant Islam across many parts of the Middle East, Afghanistan, North East and West Africa also plays into the hands of *Hindutva* adherents. *The Western world looks the other way.*

Finally, is it possible to predict the future? Will *Hindutva* end up in a genocide of gigantic proportions? Are the ten stages of genocide,¹² published by *Genocide Watch* relevant in the Indian case? The problem with this list is that it is a static statement taken outside of any real situation. There is no momentum in the 10 stages: history does not work in neat stages. The writers of *Genocide Watch* have taken the German genocide as their key marker. India's Modi government has clearly moved over the first 8 characteristics in *Genocide Watch*; there has been symbolizing and classification of the peoples of India; discrimination and dehumanization on a massive scale. The *Hindutva* movement is clearly organized at many levels of society and propaganda has created various hate groups. The victims are clearly identified, property has been expropriated, people identified as 'the other' live together. In all these respects according to the 10 stages the *Hindutva* movement is ready to exterminate. It does not follow that *Hindutva* will move to an extermination.

In What Conditions Could the Hindutva Movement Lead to Mass Murder?

At this moment in history such an event appears to this writer as highly unlikely. All the peoples to the Indian North West are Muslims, and Pakistan is armed with nuclear weapons. For the moment the key Western powers, the US, the European Union (EU) and Britain, look on India as a partner in the struggle against China. The US in particular favours India for her neo-liberal economic policies. Combine that with powerful anti-Muslim feelings among the right wing in all Western countries and you have a political situation where Indian politics outside of Asia is considered positively where Indian *Hindutva*

policies are left alone. For the moment, India will be left to get on with her own politics by the Western nations.

For the moment the world is pretty unstable. The mixture of Covid-19 outbreaks, Donald Trump, an outwardly aggressive US, a period of high inflation for the first time for two decades, a Russian invasion of Ukraine, threats of a politically unitary state in the US, growth in the West has been on a long decline. Inequality is at all times high. Islamic militant insurgency is rising widely across many parts of the world. We all are living through an unstable period of history. Is it in these conditions that the Modi government might consider that time was right for a mass killing?

I don't think so. For the moment India is an ally with the US in the struggle for world dominance, with particular reference to the struggle against China. Any extermination drive against Muslims could take months if not years, the numbers are so huge. The US is now struggling to maintain its world dominance and is threatened by the Chinese-Russian alliance; the old Mackinder's 'Eurasian heartland'. World peace is by no means assured in these conditions.

As I write these words, Russia has invaded Ukraine.¹³ If simultaneously the struggle around Taiwan becomes hot, the world's attention would be on war. It is in these kind of conditions that the BJP could decide to act during a period when the world's attention was elsewhere. This is the danger faced by India's own Muslim population and the countries to the North and East.

Notes

¹ David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Kahentinetha Horn, "The North American Indian Holocaust," *Night's Lantern*, September 19, 2009, <https://www.nightslantern.ca/nativeholocaust.htm>; Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Howard Greenfield, ed. (London: Profile Books, 2021), https://profilebooks.com/wp-content/uploads/wpallimport/files/PDFs/9781782838340_preview.pdf; and Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1998).

² There is a huge volume of writings on race and racism. The key element to understand is that over 500 years of colonialism it was the ideology used by colonialists to justify colonial invasions over this period. At the beginning racism was allied to the Catholic religion of Christianity and by the end it was considered a scientific fact. In the late Twentieth and Twenty-first Century, it has been shown to be a myth. The colonial societies were organized on a racial basis, and all kinds of people were considered to be a race. All was hocus pocus, dreamt up to justify what we now see as unjustifiable. Racism remain as it was always closely connected to national identity.

³ Author has written extensively on race in many of his blogs, on the Irish colonization, India and China etc. There is a huge literature on racism, none that author could find that understood racism as the key element in imperialism and colonialism over a 500-year period.

⁴ A public decree issued by a pope of the Catholic church.

⁵ Roger van Zwanenberg, "Part 2: Understanding Colonialism: The New Globalisation: The Age of Monopoly [of] Global Companies," *Wealth and Power Blog*, Oct 2, 2020, <https://www.wealthandpower.org/part-2/9-understanding-colonisation-the-new-globalisation-the-age-of-monopoly-global-companies-the-early-monopoly-companies-and-colonisation>.

⁶ This is my own connection. Critical colonial research is in its infancy. Until recently colonial histories were written mainly by historians who were natives of the colonizing powers. There is plenty of colonial history written now from the perspectives of people who were colonized. Indian historians have taken up the challenge and so too from many diverse parts of the world. The idea that colonial powers were really a raid on the resources of the colonized has not yet taken on the popularity, such ideas deserve.

⁷ Amitav Ghosh has written three volumes providing an accurate account of opium in India, the British Indian monopoly and the trade to China and finally the invasion. Also read, Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Engaging Scoundrels: True Tales of Lucknow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁸ There is a much smaller body of researched work on Kemal Atatürk and the creation of Turkey from the demise of Ottoman Empire. See, Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

⁹ Each holocaust has attracted many studies. Holocaust studies reveal a multitude of books and articles. General studies of this subject include: Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958); Dan Stone, "Raphael Lemkin on the Holocaust," in "Raphael Lemkin: the 'Founder of the United Nation's Genocide Convention' as a Historian of Mass Violence," special issue, *Journal of Genocide Research* 7, no. 4 (2005): 539-550, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520500349985>. Also see, *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/>; and Dan Stone, ed., *The Historiography of Genocide* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

¹⁰ John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: MacMillan, 1920), <https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/keynes/pdf%26filename%3Dpeace3.pdf>; Guido Preparata, *Conjuring Hitler: How Britain and America Made the Third Reich*, Andrew Brown, trans. (London: Pluto Press, 2005); Christian Ingrao, *Believe and Destroy: Intellectuals in the SS War Machine* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); also —, *Promise of the East: Nazi Hopes and Genocide, 1914-1943*, Andrew Brown, trans. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009); Michael Walzer, *Exodus and Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Antony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler: The Astonishing True Story of the American Financiers Who Bankrolled the Nazis* (Forest Row: Clairview Books, 2010).

On this same subject read, Stephen Kinzer, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (New York: Times Books, 2013); Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: MacMillan, 1966); Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), https://platypus1917.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/arendt_eichmanninjerusalem.pdf; —, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958); and Franz Werfel, *The Forty Days in Musa Dagh*, Geoffrey Dunlop, trans. (Boston: Verdi Mundi, 2012).

¹¹ Stephen Kinzer, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (New York: Times Books, 2013).

¹² Gregory Stanton, "The Ten Stages of Genocide," *Genocide Watch*, accessed December 14, 2021, <https://www.genocidewatch.com/tenstages>.

¹³ "Russian Forces Launch Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine," *Al Jazeera*, February 24, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/24/putin-orders-military-operations-in-eastern-ukraine-as-un-meets>.