

# Proletarian Era

Volume 39 No. 16

April 1, 2006

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
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Price : Rs. 2.00

## Social democratization of RSS-BJP :

# Trait inherent in craving for power of bourgeois parties

In December last, Uma Bharati, the fire-brand hard-core RSS leader and once General Secretary of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) wrote an article entitled 'Party with a difference' in the well-known daily, *Hindustan Times* (December 30). Shortly before that, on grounds of challenging the authority, she had been expelled from that party in outcome of a bitter power struggle. On her part, she maintained to be continuing a real RSS-BJP cadre by heart, though in the article she scathingly criticized BJP, apparently in no mood, nor spirit, of self-criticism. However, the article revealed some significant features within that party to serve as a great help to properly analyse in right perspective what the liberal gestures of Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the recent past signified, what was at the heart of all dramatics performed by Lalkrishna Advani in context of Jinnah and his role or what is the essence of frequent war-of-words on the relation between RSS and BJP. We propose to place a few reflections on those revelations.

Before getting to the point, it must be made clear that whatever be the signboards, RSS and BJP belong to one and the same creed. For tactical reasons, since its formation in 1925 RSS always created the smokescreen to claim itself as a cultural organization ostensibly in defence of Hinduism and the Hindus, acting all the while as the root of a number of political parties through time. Views that were held by Savarkar, the mentor and guide of RSS-BJP leaders and the Hindu Mahasabha, a political outfit which Savarkar had also led, were expressed in a finer way with verbiage and jargons by the RSS. After independence, Jan Sangh tried to establish itself as the political party of the same lineage, with roots in RSS. In exigency of cashing upon the surge of anti-Congress sentiment of people in 1977 parliamentary election and of rising to power on that strength for the first time since independence, Jan Sangh jumped upon the opportunity to merge into Janata Party, formed just on the eve of the election. But it kept its distinction in Janata Party, maintaining its RSS identity alive through a 'dual membership'. This gave rise to strong resentments and contradictions within the Janata Party combination. As tactical

measures again, RSS people came out of Janata Party only to lead finally to crumbling down of Janata Party and its government. A new party, Bharatiya Janta Party or BJP, emerged as the new political wing of RSS or Sangh Parivar, to try rise to power on its own, posing itself as a party with a difference, a party of ideology and values.

Now Uma Bharati a hard-core RSS- BJP leader herself lashes out at her own party, for having 'junked ideology' to become a party of 'suits, boots and suitcases' 'on corporate lines', as and when it tasted power. Commenting on emergence of BJP after the downfall of the Janata government, she remarked in her article : "... it was natural for the BJP to set the goal of acquiring power as its *raison d'être*" (reason for being or existing). "Compromise on ideology was a *sine qua non*" (absolutely necessary). "Vajpayee became the party president, and the slogan of 'the party with the difference' became merely that: a slogan." Delving more into the history, she held that "massive defeat" in 1984-85 election "led to widespread cadre disillusionment". "... 'integral humanism' was adopted as the party's basic philosophy.... not out of love or a change of heart or devotion to ideology, but to keep the

supporters intact.... When the political campaigns did not work, the BJP asked the RSS to loan it committed workers... as a part of the strategy to remove workers' indifference". So, in her words only, ideology of her party was a tools to keep cadres alive with a view to 'acquiring power'. And when it reached power, (and that too in a hurry as she wrote "The hurry to reach power somehow was evident

when the 13-day government was formed despite the BJP not having the majority") "Opportunists, power brokers and the corrupt gained prominence". She made admission, though pungently, that "second rung of leaders were now busy securing their futures. Factional and regional leaders got caught up in power struggles". "BJP leaders demonstrated their lust for power by

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## SUCI resents EC's infringing upon franchise rights

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in a statement issued on 30 March 2006 expressed deep indignation at the way the Election Commission (EC) in the name of ensuring free and fair elections is forcibly imposing upon the people certain decisions which in fact are severely infringing upon the unfettered right of the people to elect and be elected in keeping with the basic tenet of parliamentary democracy as envisaged in the very concept of the system.

Already the decision banning campaign through established modes like poster, wall writing and banner display has palpably infringed upon the right to express opinion and severely constrained the candidates in reaching out to the electorates with their viewpoints. Over and above that, referring to the situation prevailing in Assam, Comrade Mukherjee said that the EC which earlier yielded to the obdurate attitude of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) in exempting Assam from the requirement of photo identity of the electorates, is now insisting on certain documents as proof of voting eligibility which the poor citizens of the state can hardly obtain. As a result, a situation has arisen in which thousands and thousands of bonafide citizens of the state will practically be disfranchised. Moreover, on the pretext of so called provincialization of the schools and colleges and the government paying the emoluments to the teachers and professors a large section of the teachers, professors and intelligentsia who play a guiding role in moulding public opinion in various states has not only been debarred from contesting the elections but even dispossessed of the right to ventilate their views and opinion in public. To make the things worse, observed Comrade Mukherjee, there is, in the name of maintaining law and order, massive deployment of military and para military forces even in areas having no background of any disturbance whatsoever and these forces have been conducting in such a way as to trigger panic button among the people, visibly terror-stricken and haunted by a feeling of being threatened and intimidated and hence might well keep away from voting out of fear.

Comrade Mukherjee, therefore, demanded that the EC must at once rescind these draconic orders and directives so as to ensure people's freest exercise of their constitutional right to vote without any fear, fetter or impediment.

# Fascism works through both suppression and persuasion—deception

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forming opportunistic alliances.” Apart from these accusations, she wrote : “To become an alternative to the Congress, the BJP had to have Congress-like values. These too were accepted more as slogans than conviction.” Further she went, “The 25th year of the BJP marks its complete Congressisation”. She had more in her list to write. “The party developed two anomalies after 1996. First was the continuation of the dilution of ideology. The second was to sacrifice issues such as security, swadeshi, probity etc. in order to not displease foreign power...Power always considered a means in Jan Sangh days, became an end in itself.”

## Real face of RSS preserved in annals of history

To reach the issue, we begin with a brief resume on RSS or Sangh Parivar, the ideological-organizational foothold of Jan Sangh or BJP, to recall when, how and with what motive RSS appeared and worked in the Indian scene. That will attest to their real character and help understand their doings. Their leaders like Munje, Hedgewar, Golwalkar and others emerged at a time, when the country was fighting the British imperialists for independence, whatever might have been the weaknesses and lapses of that fight. These leaders, as well as their mentor Savarkar, were not to fall even in that line. Savarkar, whom his followers designate Veer, had started with a vow to carry out armed struggle against the foreign occupiers. But once arrested and thrown into the Andaman prison, he made the U-turn. He sought clemency from the British authority through a series of letters promising all submissiveness and obedience. In the countrywide vortex of Quit India movement that envisaged independence soon after the second world war, Savarkar as the Hindu Mahasabha leader asked his followers to cooperate with the British. This glaring unpatriotic instance was never a freak; Savarkar and his followers professed a ‘cultural nationalism’ for India which held the Muslims and not the British, as the main enemy of the Hindus. In fact, right in the nineteen twenties Savarkar had nurtured his idea of ‘Hindutwa and Hindu-padpatshahi’ in India, defining that Muslims and Christians could not be part of that Hindustan; later he worked upon this theory to announce in 1937 that India has two nations in

the main, the Hindus and the Muslims; incidentally this came two years ahead of Jinnah’s dishing out of two-nation theory for Pakistan. Golwalkar, their another leader, defined their nationhood precisely on this theory; he clearly wrote in 1938 in his book ‘We and our Nationhood defined’: “The theory of territorial nationalism and of common danger, which formed the basis for our concept of nation, had deprived us of the positive and aspiring content of real Hindu nationhood and made many of the freedom movements virtually anti-British movements. Being anti-British was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the independence struggle, to leaders and the common people.” Such a view was further accompanied by Savarkar’s slogan for ‘Hinduization of politics’ and ‘Militarization of Hindutva’, that carried nothing but rabid anti-Muslim feelings. The whole gamut of aggressive anti-Muslim, pro-British thoughts was taken up enthusiastically by Savarkar - Golwalkar’s followers. They thus advocated and practiced a line same as that of the anti-Jew communalism of Hitler and the German Nazis; in fact, they even sought for Hitler’s assistance; they actively fomented and triggered anti-Muslim communal riots in the pre-independence days, ably reciprocated by their counterparts in the communal forces like Muslim league.

To work out their plan, the RSS leaders chiseled their way carefully since independence to consolidate their strength and organization. During the long years of the rule under the Congress, they propagated their utterly reactionary thoughts down to the grass root levels of the society cunningly through schools, student and youth organizations, cultural societies, clubs or the likes, with a view to indoctrinating the masses with blind, fanatic, communally oriented pro-Hindu anti-Muslim or for that matter, anti-minority thought processes. At times and often, they ignited or helped ignite, communal frenzy taking resort to Muslim-bashing, rather minority-bashing, bringing down tremendous losses in life and property of the common people of minority communities. Only progressive leftist movements, more particularly democratic movements of the toiling masses, conducted and

led on the edifice of higher cultural-moral-ethical standards could have stood against this conspiracy, even at the grass root levels. But even these movements, whatever of them were there, were marked by inept, rather opportunist traits under the leadership of the big left parties like the CPI and subsequently also the CPI(M). Whatever movements did they carry out, reformist oppositional in character, were merely intended and directed towards grabbing parliamentary seats and power that proved useless to fight out the influence of adverse pernicious thoughts propagated by the RSS. Congress, the major trusted party of the ruling bourgeois class and thus the force in governmental power for the longest stretch since independence, also could not and did not put up any real intent of containing the RSS- Sangh Parivar. Rather in the interest of their parliamentary ends, to capture and preserve Hindu vote-banks, they worked in full complicity with, and even at times directly encouraged, the communal politics of RSS- Sangh Parivar. All this merely paid dividend to the latter; they could strengthen their organizational and ideological network virtually unopposed with the Congress government at the Centre.

In the few decades of the recent past, the RSS-BJP combine have risen to power in this or that state of India as also at the Centre, singly or in coalition. During this period, their heinous communal activity seem to have gained a new momentum. Demolition of the Babri Mosque, Ratha-Yatra of Advani, triggering communal riot in its wake, ghastly pogrom in Gujarat under Narendra Modi, attacks on Christian nuns and priests here and there all over India, onslaught on education with introduction of Hindu religion based curricula in schools, in particular, all this took place during this period. At the same time, however, there have been perceptible changes in their activities too. Under the compulsion of preserving the power they acquired after a long wait, to recall words of Uma Bharati when power became ‘end’ instead of being the ‘means’, apparently there were some senses of moderation working in them. Even there were some tone down, at least some occasional restraining words in regard to their communal approach too. Thus it went on two ways; the communal ideological fangs of RSS-BJP were not withdrawn; they were just kept

ready, yet concealed, to bring them out as and when required, either to whip up cadres from against ‘disillusionment’, as indicated by Uma Bharati, or to refurbish the dying vote-bank based of communalism. On the contrary, reality told upon their ways and means; so as Uma Bharati laments, ideology was ‘junked’ aside; ‘integral humanism’, even *swadeshiana* were sacrificed, with craze for power and accompanying corruption taking hold.

In addition to its innate out and out communal character, Sangh Parivar, in whatever name or banner it went, was also characterized by its fanatic anti-communist attitude, of course in the same vein as similar forces of other countries, like the Nazis and Fascists were. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the Founder General Secretary of our party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, pointed out on different occasions the danger and threat the RSS-Sangh Parivar bore for the country. Over and above their arch communal character, with their ideology based on blind, fanatic, anti-semitism shunning one and all kinds of rationality and with their organizational network built up on these, the RSS- Sangh Parivar bore in them all potentialities to turn into a vicious fascist force.

## Fascism is a counter revolution to save capitalism from crisis and collapse

At the same time, in a brilliant discourse on what fascism is and how it takes its roots into the society, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out: “Fascism is a historically conditioned form of counter-revolution in which capitalism seeks to stave off revolution by an anticipatory move ... to save the crisis-ridden, chaos-discredited capitalist order from collapse in the face of mounting dissatisfaction of the people against the existing system ... when it becomes next to impossible to maintain any amount of stability of market and earn maximum profit. ... These historical conditions impart to fascism some common characteristics...economic centralization, maximum concentration of political power in the state, rigid firmness in administration – all this leading to more and more identification of the interests of the monopolists with that of the state – and cultural regimentation..” ( Call of the Hour:

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## WEST BENGAL POLLS

# Only the party of the exploited can be real alternative to parties protecting interest of the exploiters

West Bengal will go to polls from 17th of this month and the 5 day voting schedule will conclude on 9th of next month. . Of course, well before the formal announcement of the schedule, the CPI (M), the party in power along with its associates, as well as the other bourgeois outfits like the Congress, the Trinamul Congress, and the BJP had as usual swung into campaign. The Congress, it may be recalled, had ruled West Bengal from 1947 to 1966. It ran the Central government in Delhi uninterruptedly for over three decades since independence and after a brief gap, was again saddled in power on long term basis. Presently it has been steering the government at the Centre with the support of the CPI(M). Backed by the Trinamul Congress, the BJP also had run the government at the Centre. The Trinamul chief had become central minister twice in the BJP led NDA government. And, as everyone is aware, CPI (M) has been running the government in West Bengal for 29 years at a stretch. What have all these governments given to the people? What benefit or welfare have the people been endowed with? In this society of ours divided between two opposite classes, the ruling bourgeoisie and the toiling millions, the handful of exploiters and the myriads of exploited, the few rich and the countless poor, whatever these governments, either at the centre or in the state, have done, have been to subserve the class interest of the exploiting bourgeoisie and facilitate loot and plunder of the monopoly capitalists and the big business. So while enormous wealth has been concentrated in the hands of the exploiters, millions of workers, peasants and middle class people are being unhinged in upkeep of their livelihood, pauperized and devastated everyday, every hour with yet more ferocity. For this, all these parties have today become, in the eyes of the people, objects of abysmal disrespect and hatred.

## Raising hue for change of government, not exploitative rule

The oft-raised slogan of 'Peaceful fair election', people have realized from experience, is merely a cliché nowadays that never takes place anywhere. Rigging, fraud,

purchase of votes, gun-trotting musclemen, booth capturing, mass stamping of ballots—all these are the facades of the so-called 'fair' and 'peaceful' voting today. Pulling the strings from behind is the money power of the monopoly capital, foreign multinationals, big business houses, traders of black money, underworld dons, criminals, smugglers, unscrupulous promoters and contractors. Backed by this money power, these parties of the establishment wield their muscle power with brute strength supported by the utterly corrupt nexus of pliant media-police- bureaucrat-criminals. This is what powers these vote-seeking bourgeois politicians and the pseudo-Marxists scrambling for seats by hook or by crook. So, whichever of these parties, the Congress, the CPI(M), the Trinamul Congress or the BJP is seated in power, either singly or in alliance, this evil nexus of the ruling monopolists, foreign multinationals, underworld kingpins, and self-serving politicians is the behind-the scene-operator of this "great Indian democracy". It is the money and muscle power of this menacing combine that solely determines which party or combination of parties will rule the roost or sit in opposition at the Centre or in the states. When the people, unable to bear the incessant onslaught on every walk of life, rise in protest against the misuse of the ruling party or combination, the ruling class, foreboding the possibility of massive outbursts that might turn against the system itself, indulges in all manipulations to replace the ruling dispensation by another party or combination of its choice hitherto donning the colour of parliamentary opposition. Such replacement through mutual arrangement goes on alternately and in effect, the exploitative capitalist system, the repressive and oppressive rule of capital continues unabated under the smokescreen of democracy and 'free and fair election'.

It may be added that as the capitalists appoint industrial managers to run their factories, so do they appoint political managers or install government of its preference in power to steer the exploitative bourgeois state machinery. So the monopoly-controlled media i.e., radio, television, newspapers is

pressed into action and these parties or combinations, sponsored or pitch-forked by the ruling class are projected before the people as their messiah. Since the ruling party during its tenure makes every attempt to serve the class interest of the exploitative bourgeoisie albeit under the garb of 'reforms' or 'serving the people', it can not escape mounting wrath and indignation of the toiling masses groaning under the yoke of capitalist exploitation. Immediately the other camp, nurtured by the same ruling bourgeoisie and pretending to be 'responsible opposition', begins sensing better electoral prospects and for riding to power makes some show of movement to capitalize on the simmering discontent and grievances of the people. Thus the exploitative capitalist rule, the root of all evils, is surreptitiously shielded and seething rage of the people is misdirected to end in installation of another political manager of the ruling class in power. This was how the BJP-Trinamul Congress combine was earlier brought to power at the Center by the native and foreign monopolists and the Congress and others were made to sit in the opposition. In the same way the present Congress-led CPI(M) backed UPA government has been saddled in power with the BJP-Trinamul relegated to the opposition. In West Bengal too once the Congress was in power and the CPI(M) remained as the main opposition. Now the CPI(M)-led front is in power and the Trinamul Congress-BJP alliance followed by the Congress are, based on the number of MLAs they command, enjoying the position of parliamentary opposition. All these parties in the election campaign go on parroting the talks of "development", "reform". The ruling party blares out that it is bringing about enormous "development" while the opposition parties contradict by saying that the government has done nothing, and if the opportunity is given to them to rule, they would flood the country with surge of "development". But what are these "developments" these parliamentary parties are so vocal of and are juggling with?

## 'Development' ruining urban poor

In the scheme of "development" of this CPI(M)-ruled state, more than

60 thousand factories have gone under closure over the last 15 years, more than one million and a half workers have been thrown out of job with several hundreds of thousands more are awaiting the same fate. The entire industrial sector has turned into a graveyard. The workers are being denied the minimum wage payable under existing law. Most reprehensible 'contract labour' system is in full operation. The government-owned companies are being doled out to the private owners at throwaway prices under the pretext of curing 'sicknesses'. Both the government and private owners are misappropriating PF and ESI dues to the workers. In most of the few capital-intensive industries set up in recent time, the workers are being forced to slog for 16-18 hours a day against payment of a paltry sum of Rs.20 or 25. Any kind of legitimate movement of the workers against highly unfair labour practice or such other injustice is ruthlessly crushed under the pretext of 'maintaining industrial peace' so that the capitalist owners can carry out their oppression and repression, pillage and plunder, unhindered. Hundreds of thousands of sacked workers are groaning under death-pang, inching forward to perish in the face of continued starvation, lack of rudimentary medical care. Many of them are resorting to self annihilation along with whole family.

## 'Development' accentuating rural destitution

Equally horrendous, if not more frightening is the rural scenario. Enmeshed in debt trap, tormented by soaring prices of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, diesel and other ingredients and denied fair price of their produces, the poor farmers of this state have lost nearly 1.4 million acres of land. Electricity tariff for agricultural use is mounting sky-high making it impossible for the poor peasants to operate shallow pumps. Panchayat taxes are increasing regularly by leaps and bounds and that too in short intervals squeezing out even the last penny from the pocket of rural poor. The number of landless agricultural workers who do not have job for more than 114 days a year has been swelling to reach 8.3 million at present. Besides, there is fury of

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# Consequence of so-called 'development'

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either drought or flood every year. Fierceness of river bed erosion has been making lakhs homeless, landless, turning them into beggars overnight. The CPI(M)-led government in a bid to introduce big land farming under the ownership of monopolists and multinationals once tried to evict the middle and lower-middle peasants by abolishing land ceiling. But faced with massive resistance it could not ultimately dare to do so. Now it has been deviously doing the same by allowing the big business houses to enter into contract farming. There will be no cultivation of paddy and vegetables of daily need. Instead, the agricultural produces will comprise only those varieties of fruits, flowers and crops that would fetch fabulous profit to the monopolists and multinationals through export. This reminds one of the infamous indigo plantation episode during the rule of the East India Company.

Most of the working forces including even the women of rural West Bengal are nowadays rushing out of the villages in search of job. Some of them are even migrating to other states. A few of them sometimes manage to get some job only to lose it in no time. But most of those constituting the mass exodus to the cities scramble in vain. Their refuge is now on the waysides of the cities, railway platforms and at the garbage vats. Unable to provide food, parents are hacking their starving children to death. Distressed and desperate, fathers are forced to sell their children for a pittance. Languishing in gnawing poverty, the girls are being kidnapped either on deceptive baits of jobs or being seduced on plea of marriage. These poor girls are being forced into flesh trade through which big rackets of women trafficking are minting huge money. About 40 percent of these victim girls are below 12 years. Kidneys and eyes of the hapless children are now finding way to a sprawling market of trade in human organs. Mothers and sisters belonging to the poor and once middle-class families are found soliciting customers on the streets, in the market places, bus terminuses and railway stations for earning a morsel of rice for their starved parents and offspring, for their jobless ailing husbands. This is the heart-rending spectacle of 'spectacular growth and development' the parties thronging the corridors of power are so boastful of.

## Education and Healthcare in shambles

After the urban and rural poor, let us turn towards the arena of education and healthcare. As per government admission, there are more than 10 million educated and half-educated unemployed in this state. The state of West Bengal ranked first in education during the British colonial rule. But at present the state has slipped to 18<sup>th</sup> position. In the state of West Bengal where ridden with financial crisis about 83.5% and 72% of the students are forced to drop out at the primary and secondary levels respectively, the doors of education are completely shut down before the poor and middle-class children by way of progressive increase in the fees and donations every year, imposing hefty capitation fees, an euphemism for outright extortion. Without any qualms, the CPI(M)-led government is on a spree to commercialize education, turning it into a profiteering commodity of the capitalist market, inviting monopolists and foreign capitalists to invest in the education sector to reap maximum profit. It is not the quality but loyalty to the CPI(M) that has been the sole criterion for recruitment of teachers in the state. Instead of appointing full time qualified teachers, the state government has resorted to most unfair practice of engaging part-time teachers. Absolute domination of the party has been clamped over the entire education system in the state. Moreover, by introducing the gradation system the government is going to abolish the pass-fail system up to class VIII. As concomitant of all these factors, education here is on the verge of total ruination.

Equally dismal is the scenario of healthcare. The government has indiscriminately hiked the hospital charges, reduced the number of free beds, diminished the ratio of doctors and nurses to the number of patients, and stopped supplying life-saving drugs. After effecting all these anti-people measures, the CPI (M)-led government in the name of implementing public-private partnership scheme, is making every effort to transform the hospitals into expensive nursing homes. Rampant corruption, utter neglect of the patients, pathetic upkeep, damaged equipment, dilapidated buildings, stinking corridors, overflowing toilets, free roaming ground of cats, dogs and rats, swarming over by ants and other deadly insects are some of

the common features of the healthcare in the state. Children are dying without treatment, new born is whisked away by stray dogs, patient's eyes are eaten by ants, female relative of patient is molested inside the ward — what a Midas touch of 'development'! Even the little scope for minimum receiving treatment in the government hospitals that was so long available to the poor, has been practically abolished.

## Heaven for the criminals

The CPI (M) chief minister often boasts that the state under his stewardship is an "oasis of law and order" in the country. But the people of the state are well aware whose law prevails and under whose order. It has now become a fiefdom of robbers-burglars-snatchers-murderers-kidnappers-rapists-extortionists and all other kinds of notorious criminals. During its 29 year rule, the CPI(M) has far surpassed its predecessor Congress government in nepotism, corruption, embezzlement of public money, political murder, and transformation of police administration into a party wing. The custodians of law and order have been trampling underfoot every canon of law at the behest of the ruling party leaders whose reach now extends even to the judiciary so much so as to precipitate denial of justice even to the most deserving. While the innocents are punished for the 'guilt' of participating in the legitimate democratic movements on burning problems of life, the hard core criminals, anti-socials, murderers, robbers, rapists romp home undisturbed, un-nabbed under the shelter of the ruling party. When the CPI(M) provides them the safest haven, who would dare to touch them? The British imperialist rulers used batons and bullets to suppress the mass movement; so did the Congress after independence. The CPI(M) too is following the same policy of ruthlessly crushing legitimate democratic movement with repressive police-administration of the capitalist state machine and by letting loose stormtroopers.

## Moral Backbone of the youth is being destroyed.

The youth of undivided Bengal once dotted off the sleeps from the eyes of the British imperialists. Their firmness of character, courage, valour, indomitable spirit, willful sacrifice for greater cause and taking up cudgels against all injustice,

inequity and wrong were held in high esteem by every patriotic thinking person. 'Flowers of Bengal' were they before the countrymen. Even after independence, the soil of West Bengal was known for its spirit of protest in which the youths were always in the forefront. Where are those blooming militant unbending protesting youths of Bengal today? With the agenda of 'development' pursued by the CPI(M) in last three decades after stepping into the shoes of the Congress, there has been systematic emasculation of the younger generation. All the cherished traits of character of great men and revolutionaries of the renaissance and freedom movement have been sent to oblivion, all links with the glorious past has been severed in a planned way. Instead, every attempt is made to destroy the moral backbone of the youth, their fighting spirit against injustice and oppression by encouraging wine-gambling-drug-night club-obscene dance-pornography-blue film etc. The state government has undertaken a programme of doubling the number of wine and country liquor shops. It has made all arrangements for easy availability of intoxicating "ready-to-drink" stuff from the stationery shops as well. Side by side the CPI(M)-led government is in the name of imparting of "life style education", trying to introduce calamitous sex education in school syllabus for the boys and girls in their early teens as if it is that imperative to compulsorily teach the means of safe sex methods to such tender age students. The revered leaders of the freedom movement inspired the youth to embrace the most honourable course of struggling life dedicated to uphold the cause of the people. As against that, the budding youth are led astray by the hypocrite-imposter-perverted-liar-corrupt leaders who make headlines in the bourgeois media. These unscrupulous self-serving leaders in their penchant for serving the moribund decadent capitalism breeding all maladies and menaces have been hatching all sorts of conspiracies to dehumanize people, turning the human beings into heartless creatures so that the loot and plunder, savagery, repression of the decadent, capitalist system continues unabated. If this all-pervading crisis in people's life is trumpeted as 'development', what else is fathomless degeneration?

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# Election Eve : Political Scenario in Assam

Election to the State Legislative Assembly of Assam is going to be held in two phases, on 3<sup>rd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> April next. It is being held at a time when the people of the entire state are in deep economic and political crisis. Assam is one of the most backward states in India. In this era of moribund capitalism, economic development and industrial growth has remained stunted throughout the country. But in spite of this, whatever economic growth and industrialization that took place in other states of the country, could not be witnessed in this part of the land—in the entire north-east region. Though Assam is rich in raw materials to feed many industries, due to neglect and discrimination of the central government it remained largely unexplored. The state government which has been run by the Congress party for 31 years at a stretch since independence and also periodically thereafter, maintained all along a callous attitude in this regard. There was no attempt even to develop infrastructure, the pre-requisite for industrial growth. Lack of accessibility and communication are acute problems of the state affecting any kind of development. On this issue too, not to speak of electrification of the railway lines for speed, even the task of conversion of metre gauge to broad gauge line in many parts of the state has not been fulfilled. After long and sustained struggle of the people on this demand, the central government has finally agreed to convert the metre gauge line to broad gauge line connecting the Brahmaputra valley to the Barak valley, the life-link of not only the Barak valley but also of Mizoram and Tripura. But the low budgetary allocation of funds for subsequent years has raised the question if it will be completed at all in the next 20 years. So also is the case of construction of the rail-cum-road bridge at Bagibil over the river Brahmaputra connecting Dibrugarh and Lakhimpur, which is so essential for development of communication in the north bank of the Brahmaputra valley as well as of Arunachal Pradesh. Road links are also at their worst. Roads in most parts of the state that are damaged by repeated floods or otherwise continue to remain without repair. Further, though many of the central and state government agencies hold that Assam has immense potentiality of producing hydroelectric power to fulfill the aspiration of not just this

state, but also of other parts of the country, the governments have done hardly anything in this regard. Even the existing projects are producing electricity below capacity, causing crisis in industries. In the agricultural sector, there were no plans and serious efforts from the governments, and there are none even now, for developing major irrigation system. What is more worrying is that the harvests, on which the poor and middle peasants depend for their livelihood, are washed away every year by flood and erosion, cultivable lands are damaged beyond recovery and in the total process thousands of people become landless and homeless. But the governments have not taken up any project for a permanent and scientific solution of this acute problem of rural life. Such neglect and discrimination of the central government and the callous attitude of one state government after another, have given rise to strong resentments in people. They are, however, yet to realize that in a capitalist system running with the objective to help the capitalist class earn maximum profits, lop-sided development is an inevitable outcome. Further, big nationality domination is also a feature of bourgeois politics. As such and hence, our struggle against this neglect and discrimination should be waged within the orbit of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

It may be mentioned here that due to this state of affairs in regard to economic development and abject poverty, people of the state were swinging towards left and democratic movements and the left parties were gaining strength in the state in the seventies of the last century. The election held in 1978 found 23 MLAs from different left parties winning the contest, of which there were 2 from our party. Unnerved at this rapid rise of left and democratic forces in the state, which were really very weak earlier in the past, the Indian capitalists including their regional counterparts of the state got worried. With a motive to divert the attention of people from the exploitation of the capitalist class, as well as to crush the left and democratic forces, they gave birth to the so-called Assam movement. Initially, it was directed against all outsiders meaning people coming from other parts of the country, but later, on tactical grounds the word 'outsider' was replaced by 'foreign national'. The

All Assam Students' Union (AASU) was in the forefront, but the BJP-RSS combine seized the opportunity and the Congress, which was voted out of power for the first time, backed it from behind the scene with a view to regaining power. Leaders of the movement raised the slogans that these people, 'outsiders' or 'foreign national' as they may be called, were the cause of economic deprivation of the Assamese speaking people; language, culture and identity of the Assamese-speaking people were at stake on account of them. There was no difference of opinion among the political parties in regard to detection and deportation of genuine foreign nationals. But the chauvinist leadership of the movement claimed presence of 40 to 50 lacs of foreign nationals, which number came down to be almost equal to the total number of immigrant muslims residing in the state, who had been here since long, even from before the independence. Clearly, it was not the foreign national, which was their real contention; what they really intended was to generate and foment racial hatred against the religious and linguistic minorities. In reality, thousands of people belonging to minority community were butchered during that movement. The entire population was vertically divided into two opposite camps. To bring an end to that situation, the state committee of our party put forward a four-point formula as a solution to the Assam problem. It was stated therein (1) to protect the international border in such a manner so that no infiltration could take place, (2) to detect and deport all foreign national accepting 1971 as cut-off year for detection of foreign national, (3) to immediately announce a package programme for establishing big and small industries to bring an end to the extreme economic backwardness of the state and (4) to make suitable amendments to the constitution or to pass a suitable resolution in the parliament to make permanent the present status of the Assamese language as the official language, whatever be the change in the pattern of the population structure of the state, at the same time, keeping the constitutional rights of the linguistic minorities in tact. The right-thinking people of the state welcomed the suggestions, but the chauvinist leadership of the Assam movement bypassed it for their narrow political gain. With the

signing of the Assam Accord the movement came to an end after long six years, but the venom it spread and the concept it bred, had made their deep impact on the society. They still exist as a major hurdle before the united democratic movements of all sections of people. Further, while truth lay in the fact that the interest of all sections of oppressed people, irrespective of caste, creed, religion, language and community, was one and the same, lying in fighting together against the capitalist exploitation, the real path for survival and emancipation, the idea of separate interests of Assamese community that had been raised during the movement gave birth to similar movements among other ethnic communities like Bodo, Rabha, Missing, Karbi, Dimacha etc. Series of separatist movements rocked the entire state bringing in further divisions among people. It did not end there. From the womb of the Assam movement, was born the ULFA movement in the name of forming an independent sovereign free Assam. The problem remained unresolved and it still remains so. Time and again, our party appealed on one hand to the ULFA leadership to review their strategic and tactical line and to join common onward march towards socialism, while on the other urged upon the government both at the Centre and the state to come forward to fulfill the genuine aspirations of the people and in the process involving people to solve the ULFA problem through negotiations and discussions. But the government instead preferred to continue with their high-handed military approach that has only resulted in a state of virtual military rule existing in Assam. Democratic movements against the ruthless capitalist exploitation have become the worst sufferer.

In this volatile political situation what was needed most, was to re-establish people's faith in left ideology, by fighting out the chauvinist and parochial thoughts ideologically and by building up united strong left-democratic movement centering round the burning problems of people and their life. But the CPI (M) and the CPI, instead of treading this line, preferred to choose to combine with the bourgeois parties to somehow share the power. It may be recalled here that after signing of the Assam Accord, the chauvinist leadership of

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## Make SUCI candidates victorious to carry voice of movement

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the Assam movement formed a new party named as Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). It capitalized the sentiments of the Assamese people generated through the Assam movement and promising them building up of Golden Assam, rose to power through the election held in 1985. But in no time, people could realize that it was equally corrupt and incapable as the earlier Congress governments were. Being frustrated and with no alternative before them, people brought the Congress back to power in 1991. Inevitably, they soon became agitated against this Congress government, but had also lost faith in the AGP. The CPI(M) and the CPI instead of responding to the call of the situation and thus of coming forward to form a left-democratic alternative, joined hands with the AGP. The four party combination under the leadership of the AGP came to power in 1996. Shameless involvement in unprecedented corruption, persuasion of anti-people policies and total callous attitude towards even the routine work on people's life, civic, administrative and others, brought forth mounting grievances of people against this four party combination. Sensing danger and defeat, the AGP made a frantic attempt to save itself; it combined with the arch communal BJP. The CPI(M) and the CPI with a broken heart, had no choice but to discard its so-called progressive partner, the AGP. The Congress(I) capitalized the grievances against the AGP-led government to come to power again in 2001. But all this proved useless for the CPI(M) and the CPI to learn their lessons. They did no move to come forward to build up the necessary united left-democratic movement.

Voices against this present Congress government are already in the air; people are fed up. The fact remains that whichever party comes to power, be it the Congress or the AGP in the state or the NDA or the UPA at the centre, the economic policies drawn at the behest of the capitalist class and monopolist houses of the country remain one and the same. Though the Congress promised people to bring an end to the memorandum of understanding between the AGP led government at the state and the NDA government at the center, which had drawn policies of implementing total moratorium on employment following dictates of globalization and liberalization. But

that has already proved to be an election stance. In fact, how can it change the policy which it itself had drawn up and implemented since the days of Narashima Rao government and pursued with all sincerity! As such, after winning the election it continued to pursue the same policy, sold out many public sector undertakings to private capitalists, raised the electricity charge and divided the ASEB into five divisions with a motive to gradually privatize it, curtailed grants to educational institutions and raised fees of the students with a view to commercializing the education, moved towards converting the government-owned hospitals and medical colleges virtually into private nursing homes raising fees of treatment in an unprecedented manner, stopped subsidies bringing a total breakdown of the public distribution system, connived with the bus owners to raise the fare structure bringing immense pressure on common working people and so and so forth. Further, there has been no sign of any attempt to step up the economic development of this backward state. Rather some of the few small scale industries that were there, have been closed down and as an effect of it the unemployment problem in the state has aggravated further to unbridled height. In an attempt to curtail educated unemployed as the long term goal and to do away with the semblance of primary education, whatever of it was there in the state, the government has introduced automatic promotion upto class seven, ostensibly in the name of Sarva Sikhsha Abhijan. Corruption has also made further deep inroad in the entire administration starting from the high ministerial level downward and serious charges of usurping public exchequer allotted for developmental work under the Panchayats, have come out in the front. All these policies of the present Congress(I) government of the state coupled with the policies of the UPA government at the centre have brought devastating effect to the lives of the common people of the state and the people of the state have come out openly to express their grievances against the present government. What is more agonizing is that the bourgeoisie parties like the AGP and the BJP are again trying to divide the people raising communal and parochial slogans. The Congress(I) is also not lagging behind. It is inciting different ethnic

groups one against the other. The recent incidents of violent clashes in Karbi Anglong and other parts of the state are their direct or indirect machination. Further the Congress(I) government contradicting its own stand and betraying the cause of the minority community connived with the chauvinist forces of the state and helped in getting the IMDT Act repealed by the Supreme Court; incidentally the act was enacted during the Assam movement as a safeguard to minority community as against the conspiracy of the chauvinist forces to brand all the religious minorities as foreign nationals. The religious minorities sensing fresh onslaught on their very existence are passing their days in deep anxiety. Fresh rifts between the two major communities appear imminent if remedial measures are not taken towards enacting the IMDT Act afresh. Sensing the mood of people belonging to the religious minority community against this betrayal of the Congress(I) government, a group has emerged at the initiative of Jamiet Ulema Hind, to form a new party named United Democratic Front with a view to channelizing the wrath of the people against the Congress(I) government. Most of their individuals are Congress(I) men, a fact that brings back the memory of a similar attempt having been made in the past after the signing of the Assam Accord. At that time it was through the newly formed UMF by the Congress(I) elements. That very UMF, after winning the election, joined the camp of the Congress(I). What is striking and noteworthy is that though this new party claims itself as the champion of the cause of the minority communities, it is sidetracking the demand of the enactment of IMDT Act. It is because they have made electoral understanding with the AGP, whose government filed an affidavit in favour of repealing the IMDT Act.

In such an extreme volatile political situation the state committee of our party once again urged upon all left political parties to come forward to form a left-democratic platform as an instrument of people's struggle on the strength and basis of common minimum programme and to build up strong democratic movements under it. In the process, the platform would also face the ensuing election together. The state secretary of the party even wrote a letter to all these parties to this effect. But they did

not care to respond and answer. Instead the CPI(M), the CPI and the CPI(ML) made hectic parley with different bourgeoisie political parties. It went to such an extent that in the morning the press would report these parties having reached an understanding with the NCP and the UDF, while in the evening they were found to be meeting the AGP for seat adjustment. With sole aim to gain some seats in the election, they moved from door to door, from this party to that. Ultimately they seemed to have come to an understanding with the AGP. It is a pity that they forget that this very AGP threw the CPI(M) and the CPI out of the four party combination in the year 2001 to join hands with the BJP. The Politburo of the CPI(M) decided to make alliance in Assam with the secular forces instead of a left-democratic alliance. What a more misnomer of the term secular can it be, when they have found it in the AGP, the arch chauvinist and parochial force of the state which stands as the greatest danger before the democratic movement and without isolating which the democratic movement uniting all sections of the people can not be developed? But these things do not bother the CPIM and the CPI as they have given up the path of democratic movement. Instead, they prefer to chose the opportunistic line of combining with this or that bourgeoisie party and somehow go to the power.

In face of such a situation in the state, the state committee of SUCI has been trying, at its own initiative, since long to build up democratic movements one after another centring round the burning problems of peoples' life. All sections of people have not only appreciated our endeavour; many from among them have joined our rank to strengthen our efforts. Once again, the state committee makes this fervent appeal to the broadest masses of common people to come forward and help build up united democratic movement initiated by our party and strengthen it through their mite and by joining the forces of movement. At the same time, the state committee also appeals to people to make the SUCI candidates victorious in the ensuing election in the interest of carrying the voice of democratic movement on to the floor of the Assembly, with a view to adding further impetus to the movement, which remains the only course for people to survive.

## To be in power, bourgeois parties must take recourse to social-democratization

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1962; Selected Works, Vol. II, p.55-56) In more elaboration, he added : "... Fascism always and everywhere adopts a dual policy of suppression and persuasion or deception. Its aim is not so much to ruthlessly suppress the mass force as to win it over to its side as volunteers who will be willing to carry out the fascist plans and programmes....Fascism, therefore, adopts social democratic plans, grants minor economic concessions to the people, tries to control anarchy in the capitalist economy and the insecurity in life flowing therefrom like unemployment, etc. In its drive to save the aggregate interest of the capitalist class it even imposes restrictions on individual capitalists and their freedom of anarchical production. In short, a fascist state takes the position of a so-called bourgeois welfare state.... And when the unconscious masses take these measures to be anti-capitalist and pro-people and lend the fascists an enthusiastic support in the carrying out of their plans and programmes, the fascists concentrate all their powers to exterminate communism spiritually and the communists physically. In its crusade against communism fascism advocates its own fascistic culture, a queer admixture of social democratism, national jingoism and mysticism. (ibid, p.57-58) It is at such points that fascism may assume the commonly known manifestation of Hitlerite dictatorship. Otherwise, it tries to make its inroad maintaining the parliamentary facade, an apparently democratic set-up. Thus in conclusion, Comrade Ghosh pointed out that "... fascism grew and developed in the womb of social democratism.... , social democracy is the last prop of capitalism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution...., fascism has become the order in all the capitalist countries now. The two have now fused together. Fascism is entrenching itself through social democratic plans and programmes." (ibid, p.61)

In conclusion, thus, Comrade Ghosh opined : "... in all the capitalist countries, advanced or backward, big or small, fascism is making rapid strides." The ruling bourgeois class of these countries cannot but go towards fascism today. Accelerating concentration of wealth in a few, maximum centralization of political power and development of regimented fascist

culture through fusion of spiritualism and technological aspects of science, they are trying to entrench fascism in one and all capitalist countries. Under the circumstances, bourgeois-petty bourgeois parties that may be in power in these countries or vying for it, have to go by this design and dictate of the class, the master which they are set to serve. With this, Comrade Ghosh also indicated that extreme rightist forces, generally considered conservative, that had been thoroughly exposed to and discarded by people, that had "nothing more to offer to people" to "capture their imagination and enlist their voluntary support" could not successfully come out with the politics of persuasion and deception. Whichever party that would like to enjoy power to serve the aggregate interest of the capitalists-monopolists in these days of crisis-ridden capitalism, would have to adopt social democratic measures, must put on radical cloak, take deceptive popular stance, all with a view to hoodwinking people. Obviously, even a so-called rightist force then have to shift their position to meet the reality. In fact, this is what we find in different countries of the present world. Thus be it the Democrats and the Republicans, the latter considered more conservative, or similarly the Labours and the Tories, there is no real difference in deeds and attitudes, between them in their efforts to work out the fascist design of their respective ruling class in the aggregate interest of the capitalists- monopolists or in their anti-working class revolution, anti-communist stance.

### Social democracy is the last prop for bourgeois parties

Now, behind the verbiages, slogans or banners of a cultural organization, RSS was and remains a carefully contemplated, rigidly organized real organ of the bourgeois class itself; BJP its political contrivance, one of the political parties of the ruling bourgeoisie. There should not, nor does actually, remain any question or doubt about this class origin and class character of RSS- BJP, for in a class-divided society as ours, there cannot exist any political party or force without being class-based. Thus being a force of the bourgeois class, RSS-BJP lived and lives on the inalienable design of capturing and enjoying political power in this system of capitalism prevailing in

the country. As a bourgeois party working in this age of moribund capitalism, it exists with all potentialities of a fascist force as well. In fact, as indicated earlier, any and every bourgeois party will have to make a traverse through the course of developing this dangerous portent of fascism, if it desires to remain in power to serve the ruling capitalists-monopolists. Thus when Congress, in consequence of its several decade-long misrule after independence faced tremendous wrath of people and political crisis on account of that, it tried to come out of the impasse under the leadership of Indira Gandhi putting on radical cloak of social democratic approach through nationalization of banks, 20-point programme to combat poverty and such others.

In this connection, we would like to bring out some relevant facts from history. Social democratization adopted by Indira Congress coincided with, rather triggered the split in Congress — Indira Congress, also known as Congress(I) going for the radical cloak and Congress(O), the other faction, sticking to a so-called orthodox line. At that time, both the big left parties, CPI and CPI(M) lauded Congress(I) as progressive as against Congress(O) as right reactionary. Even, when mounting popular resentment against Congress(I) misrule found expression in a broad-based mass movement, known also as the JP movement under the leadership of the veteran leader Jai Prakash Narayan, CPI openly opposed it to lend support to none other than Indira Gandhi and her government, on the plea that Jan Sangh, RSS, Congress(O), the right reactionaries were forces in the movement. CPI(M) did not spell it out, but effectively shared this view and acted accordingly to the detriment of anti-Congress(I) movement. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who pointed out that there was nothing progressive in Congress(I) taking the radical social democratic measures like bank-nationalization, abolition of privy purse etc. Rather, they were the typical instances of persuasion-deception policies of social democracy, that it adopts to build the foundation of fascism. Be it Congress(I) or Congress(O), or for that matter any bourgeois party, which would desire to reach power and stick to it, must have to serve unhesitatingly the aggregate interest of the ruling capitalists-monopolists and for that, they will have to fall in

this line to take recourse to radical cloak of social democratic measures only to lead to fascism.

Comrade Ghosh strongly asserted that whoever would claim to uphold Marxist views and outlook, cannot but conclude other than this, cannot ignore this ubiquitous trend of bourgeois states in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. So whatever may be the slogans or programmes of bourgeois parties to ensure and enhance their vote-bank when they are vying for power, those same parties would have no choice other than moderating them down, with a view to adopting this persuasion-deception brand of politics to hoodwink people and thereby protect the ruling class and their moribund system from their wrath. This was also the way by which they would serve the aggregate interest of capitalists — monopolists, if and when they rise to power and desire not to lose it.

The whole scenario is enacted faithfully by the BJP.

### To serve monopolists well, BJP could not but put on radical cloak of social democracy

The moment RSS- BJP tasted power, even had it in their vicinity, there was ushered in a new phase in their politics. It may have seemed to differ from what they had done or said or professed before rising to power. But truly there lay the firm basic consistency.

In order to serve and protect the aggregate interest of the Indian capitalist-monopolists, as a force of that class, BJP faced the responsibility of ensuring that the market the class rules over and exploits be held intact and for that, also the territorial integrity be maintained. Thus, it could not do anything, could not undertake any such agenda and drag it to such height that might tend to disturb this integrity and status of this market and land, on any pretext. This changeover might have caused fissures here and there, some kind of tensions within the party. Yet being a bourgeois force, they could not but crave for power and since power was their goal to achieve only with the support of the class to serve the latter well, RSS-BJP were brought face to face with this compulsion of going by the demand of their masters, the Indian ruling class. They had to work within certain parameters, and thus

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# Cast your vote not beguiled at the blares of election campaign but judging the base politics

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## There has of course been 'development' –but of whom

In the 29 years of the rule of the CPI (M)-led government, it is the monopolists, foreign imperialists, multinationals, big business houses, corrupt promoters, contractors, hoarders and smugglers who have been the beneficiaries of the 'development' about which there is so much of ado, thriving and prospering at rapid pace. 'Development' has been generously showered on the loyal bureaucrats, police high-ups and a section of leaders and activists marauding with a gusto. These recipients of the CPI(M)-sponsored 'development' are proud owners of huge bank balance, palatial buildings, costly cars and a swelling coffer of wealth. Kolkata is now being transformed into a city of the rich and affluent with high-rise buildings, flyovers, posh hotels, dazzling shopping malls, bars, discothets and multiplexes by bulldozing off the *jhupris* (temporary hutments) of the poor and have-nots. The poor peasants are being forcibly evicted from their lands so that vacant possession of the same could be handed over to the infamous Salim group of Indonesia seeking to amass huge profits by building a sophisticated township and amusement plazas for the rich. This is the chariot of 'development' piloted by the CPI(M) with the native and foreign monopolists-big business houses-contractors-promoters-smugglers on board as passengers. Under the wheels of this chariot are crushed millions of workers, peasants, middle-class and all other sections of the toiling people.

## CPI (M) politics shorn of minimum honesty and morality

Exalted over this cozy chariot-ride of superlative(!) 'development', the spokespersons of indigenous monopolists, foreign multinationals and big businesses are pouring in deluge of applauses. The Advani-Vajpayee duo of the former BJP government, Manmohan Singh of the present Congress government, even the ambassadors and diplomats of imperialist US, UK, Japan, and Germany are in fulsome praise for the CPI(M) chief minister and the CPI(M) government of this state. The CPI (M) leaders too are openly

pleading for the monopoly capital and the foreign finance capital. It is this CPI(M) that once characterized the Indira leadership of the Congress as 'progressive'. Later, it is this very party which in the name of opposing the autocracy of the Indira Congress colluded with the BJP to bring Morarji Desai to power. And immediately after this it again lent its hands to Indira Congress and helped the latter get back to the governmental power by toppling the Morarji Desai government. Again, the same CPI(M) made V.P. Singh, the dissident Congress leader, the Prime Minister in alliance with the BJP. And in no time, with another round of somersault, it took lead in formation and conduction of a United Front Government supported by the Congress. Again, when the BJP-led combination came to power at the Centre in 1998, this very CPI (M) developed a tacit understanding with the BJP maintaining, however, an outward pretension of opposition. And now, the CPI (M) has been directly backing the Congress rule at the centre and is renewing every hour its commitment to allow this government run for full 5-year term.

In the changed world situation, the Indian monopoly capital is tying knot with the US imperialism to buttress its own imperialist aspirations. The US government is concluding one after another agreement in economy, trade, politics and military with the Congress Government. Even Indo-US joint military exercises are being conducted on Indian territory including the soil of West Bengal. The CPI(M) has been shamelessly allowing all this under cover of some mock show of protest seemingly to play to the gallery. The CPI(M) has in fact given a blank cheque to the Congress. Whatever anti-people steps might the Congress take, the CPI(M), as is obvious, would be unwaveringly supporting it to perpe-tuate its rule. In this way the CPI(M) leadership is carrying out its agenda of 'anti-imperialist anti-feudal' people's democratic revolution' much to the glee of the imperialist forces and the Indian monopolists.

Once the educated masses of this state had a respect and affection for Marxism and Leftism. Exploiting this pro-left sentiment of the learned section, the CPI (M) masquerading as Marxists, increased its strength. That respect for and confidence in

leftism have to a great extent been eroded in the course of the three decade long misrule of the CPI(M). The CPI(M) created by a split in the undivided CPI, did never, like its parent party or the other faction after the division, emerge as a Marxist party, but remained in the democratic movement as a leftist political party and spread its influence over the people. Mainly on the strength of this support it used to enjoy among the masses as a constituent of left-democratic movement, it had been winning seats in the elections. But today, both the CPI(M) and CPI have no confidence of winning any election without rigging or manipulation. The situation has gone to such an extent that the CPI(M) can not even believe its own men. Hence it does not take any chance but cast false votes against the names of their own supporters as well. Disgusted at this bankrupt politics and anti-people rule of the CPI(M), a large section of the educated persons as well as the masses in general has been leaning towards the rightist forces. The CPI(M) brand of 'leftism' has reached such a stage that for survival it has to solely depend on the blessings of the national and foreign monopolists, backing of the police-administration and criminal forces. Counting on this strength powered by the monopolists-administration-arch criminals the CPI(M) leaders could afford to say, "CPI(M) will stay in power for another 30 years". By retaining the CPI(M) in power, the indigenous and foreign monopolists are using it to the hilt for crushing class and mass struggles. Side by side they are trying to impress upon the people, aggrieved and irked at the misrule of the CPI(M) government, that the socialist regimes in erstwhile USSR and China were exactly the same as what they are finding under the CPI(M) here. Citing examples of the CPI(M) leaders they are trying to drive the point that "Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong" were of the same feather". Thus, with the help of the subservient media the ruling bourgeoisie is conspiring to poison the people's mind against Marxism and Socialism. Alongside, it is trying to generate disrespect towards the great communist leaders. We fervently appeal to the educated thinking people who still perceive the CPI(M) as a Marxist and genuine left party to pause and ponder over

this aspect.

## Not grandeur of propaganda but base politics should be criterion of judgment

Peevd and outraged at the prolonged misrule of the CPI(M), the people of West Bengal have been looking for an alternative since long. The Congress and now the Trinamul Congress are posing themselves as the alternatives. Bourgeois media too, in the interest of ruling capitalism, is projecting these rightist outfits as only alternatives. But should the people of West Bengal get swayed by this media bulge and go on committing mistake repeatedly?

In West Bengal, the people had blindly lent their support to the CPI(M) as alternative to the Congress. Extensive publicity was given then in the newspapers in favour of the CPI(M) as the party in opposition with potential for providing a substitute government. Most of the people did not assign any importance to the penetrating comprehensive analysis of the SUCI that the CPI(M) was not a genuine Marxist party and given a chance, it would also, in the interest of the bourgeoisie bring down repression and oppression on the masses like the Congress. In the face of such pertinent questions, a good number of people used to say, "All this should be kept in abeyance for the present if we are to defeat the Congress. The CPI(M) has to be supported now." It is this way that the CPI(M) won elections by defeating the Congress in this state. But what did the people get as a result of that? Has there been an iota of amelioration to their plight, any relief to their ever growing drudgery? Or there has been aggravation in every sphere, deterioration and degeneration in every walk of life? It has to be clearly understood that irrespective of who among the CPI(M), the Congress, or the Trinamul Congress-BJP combine comes to power, there will not be slightest mitigation to the hardship of the people. Rather distress and destitution will accentuate further. All these parties, whether in power and or in opposition, will always protect the interest of the exploiting bourgeois class. It is the people's own political party, the real vanguard of people's interest that only can provide the real opposition or real alternative to the

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# SUCI represents force of legitimate democratic movement

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bourgeois class politics of different hues in the present class divided society. If the people refuse to be deceived repeatedly, to be taken for a ride by the power-greedy politicians subserving bourgeois class interest, they have to recognize the genuine revolutionary political party upholding their cause, articulating their urges and aspirations, providing the correct guide to action. The people have to come to know this party, rear it as their own child.

## Congress and Trinamul have almost given a walkover to the CPI (M)

The line the CPI (M) has been pursuing today indicates that it is in the process of being transformed into a semi-fascist force. Is the Congress, the Trinamul Congress or the BJP putting up any genuine resistance against the attacks and acts of terrorization by the CPI (M)? Do their leaders and workers have that boldness and moral strength in their character? Facts will not vouch for that. And it is bound to be so since no bourgeois party can do that.

Besides, whatever heat they might generate by announcing 'grand alliance', 'one to one fight', neither the Trinamul Congress nor the Congress is at all serious to defeat the CPI (M). Without the support of the CPI (M), the Congress government cannot last at the Centre. So the Congress cannot afford to embarrass the CPI(M). Again, in expectation of sharing ministry in case the BJP comes to power by rotation at the Centre in future, the Trinamul Congress does not dare to break the alliance with the BJP. But even if there was a 'grand alliance', what would have that yielded? People had witnessed the outcome of such an opportunistic understanding between the Congress and the Trinamul Congress in the last Assembly elections. The group conflicts and factional feuds within both these parties went to a dizzy height with one group fielding proxy candidate against the other thereby helped the CPI(M) clinch the victory with relative ease. This time also, the Congress and the Trinamul Congress are vying with each as to who will eliminate whom and wrest the credential of being the main anti-CPI(M) force in the state. In the process, both the Congress and the Trinamul Congress, serving their respective narrow sectarian interest, have in fact, in compliance with the desire of the native and foreign

monopolists, gifted to the CPI(M) one more term in the office.

## Only SUCI is conducting movements in public interest

In this all-pervading darkness, the only ray of hope is the SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, the sole instrument of people's struggle for emancipation, founded by the Great Marxist philosopher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. During the blazing days of anti-imperialist freedom movement, the militant uncompromising petty-bourgeois politics of Netaji Subhas and the other revolutionaries emerged as alternative to the compromising rightist bourgeois politics led by the Congress. Today also, it is the SUCI which is holding aloft the noble banner of proletarian revolutionary politics representing the cause of the workers, peasants and middle class people as real alternative to the election politics of the Congress-CPI(M)-BJP-Trinamul Congress combine in servitude of the native and foreign monopolists. The people of West Bengal are well aware that it is the SUCI which alone is engaged in organizing people's movements against the anti-people policies of both the Centre and the state governments shedding blood, braving all odds and assaults. This party has only two MLAs, and that too, one of them, Comrade Probodh Purkait, a record nine-time winner in the elections from Kultali constituency has been thrown behind the bars for ever following a vile conspiracy by the CPI(M) leadership. Against this, the Trinamul Congress has 60 and the Congress 30 odd MLAs in the state legislature. Has anybody seen any of these parties with so many MLAs launching any movement in the people's interest? On the contrary, the activists of this two-MLA party, the SUCI, has been developing sustained movements in Kolkata and other districts of the state on various legitimate demands of the workers-peasants-students-youths-women and the middle class defying with exemplary valour and revolutionary audacity the lathis, teargas and bullets of the police almost every day. In the course of conducting these movements, so far 149 SUCI workers have embraced martyrs' deaths falling to police bullets or ghastly attacks by the CPI(M) sponsored killers, more than 500 workers have received grievous injuries, 971 have been implicated in false cases. On the contrary, the

Congress and the Trinamul Congress have every time discharged their responsibility of 'formidable opposition' by either releasing only apparently hot statements to the press, or organizing some ordinary gatherings, or at best undertaking programme of a few foot-marches in media glare or matching the CPI(M) in mud slinging inside the Assembly.

## Achievements of democratic movements organized by SUCI

Through mass movements SUCI has achieved success in realizing several significant demands. Reintroduction of English at the primary education, reduction of electricity tariff for agricultural use and retention of subsidies, reduction in domestic electricity tariff, withdrawal of increased fees and donations in medical colleges as well as in several hundreds of schools and colleges, some lowering of the exorbitantly enhanced hospital charges, realization of the demand of free treatment to the patients with monthly income of Rs.2000 instead of Rs.1500 as was originally stipulated by the government, realization of the demand for supply of arsenic-free water, arrangement of special treatment for the patients of arsenic-borne diseases in the hospital, resisting introduction of production-based wages in the jute mills, achieving the demand of provident fund for *bidi* (leaf smoking) workers along with wage hike, realization of the demand of ration for the retrenched workers in tea garden, stalling of land selling of many a tea gardens, prevention of imposition of increased panchayat tax, realization of increased wages for the agricultural labourers in several districts, rescue of many kidnapped girls and women, meting out punishment to women traffickers and rapists, closing of wine shops-online gambling-blue film exhibition in many places, thwarting the move to dole out Sundarbans to the Sahara Company that would have destroyed the natural resources and transformed the places into an entertainment den of the rich, resisting set up of nuclear pollution generating nuclear electricity plant and foiling the conspiracy of erecting embankment on the flowing Hukaharania river for setting up lucrative fishery business at the cost of the local poor etc.—are some of such many a demands achieved.

Not only that. With the CPI(M) government banishing examination system at the primary level, the

SUCI workers led by eminent educationists and intellectuals have been conducting a Scholarship Examination at the end of Class IV over last 13 years. More than 3 million students have so far enthusiastically appeared in this examination much to the chagrin of the power that be. The SUCI activists also run several hundred free coaching centers for poor students in the state, or organize free medical camps. The cadres of the SUCI after collecting money and medicines from the public conducted extensive relief work among the flood-affected people of this state, super-cyclone-ravaged people of Orissa, earthquake victims of Maharashtra and Gujarat, flood-devastated population of Assam and Bihar, the Sunami-afflicted people of the Andamans and Nicobar islands, Tamil Nadu and Pondichery. Which other party the people have seen shouldering such responsibilities in the hours of need and in social welfare?

## Augmenting number of MLAs of vote-hankering parties — no benefit to people

Many think that while the Congress and the Trinamul Congress are big parties, the SUCI, in comparison is very small. So, what such a small party can do? To them, we most benignly ask a simple question: What have these so-called big parties done to serve the interest of the people? Have they done even a fraction of what the SUCI despite being smaller could achieve through movement? Then what is of benefit to the people if these so-called big parties are helped in augmenting their quota of MLAs? Is it not incumbent on everyone to seriously ponder over this most pertinent question?

## SUCI cultivates politics of higher ethics and culture

The Great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that "the essence, the living soul, the kernel of any great and revolutionary ideology of every age is ingrained in its higher and ethical standard". So, a higher cultural base of character is the soul of revolutionary politics. Taking this as supreme teaching the SUCI workers are engaged in the continuous struggle to uplift the standard of their character. Following the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, we with due solemnity observe the anniversaries of the leading lights of Indian Renaissance

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# Vote SUCI candidates to strengthen mass movement

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and revolutionaries of uncompromising current of the freedom movement, so that we can through assimilation of the essence of their character and life-struggle move ahead in our struggle to acquire yet higher proletarian revolutionary culture and character. That is why, when the SUCI workers march past the streets carrying the banner of mass movement, hold meetings and rallies defying biting cold and grueling heat, amidst storm and gale, when they unflinchingly hold on to the ground and resist even fiercest police onslaughts, when even one falls to the bullet the co-fighter moves undeterred, they reflect rare mettle of intrepid soldiers. Beholding them, the people of older generation plunged in the morass of despair, the honest and sincere workers of the CPI-CPI(M) disgusted at the ministry-hankering politics of their leaders and the toiling people in general regain confidence, draws fresh inspiration to look forward with hope. They find honesty, sincerity, sobriety, sense of values and unwavering determination incarnate before them while all these are practically extinct from the arena of politics dominated by power-greedy vote-based politicians.

The rapid spread of the SUCI 's organization and ideology among the toiling masses based on movement-oriented politics on the edifice of higher values and culture is posing serious threat to the monopolists-capitalists as well big businesses of home and abroad. Similarly it is a cause of serious concern for the bourgeois parties, like Congress, BJP, Trinamul Congress as well as the pseudo-Marxists like the CPI(M), CPI. Hence, they are extra ordinarily alert and active in seeing that the SUCI does not grow in strength and the people do not get to know much about the SUCI through newspaper-radio-television or any such other media. It is for this very reason that there is no media coverage of the huge rallies, largely attended mass meetings or massive democratic movements organized by the SUCI.

It may be added that few months back, the CPI(M)-led state government, in the name of exercising reasonable control over meetings and processions conspired to throttle the voice of protest. Now, just on the eve of the election campaign, the CPI(M) government, showed extreme

urgency in implementing a black Act that the Congress government passed during the Emergency period but could not dare to give effect to under public pressure, just to curry favour with the Election Commission, eager to impose a total prohibition on wall writing and posterage. By invoking the provisions of that draconian Act, the CPI(M) has gone a step ahead in promulgating a blanket ban on wall writing even pasting of posters and display of banners in the state. Such ban on political propaganda was typical of the tyrannical British rule which the CPI(M), Congress, BJP, Trinamul Congress have now endorsed. These parties are funded by the capitalist class. So they can afford to release coloured advertisements in papers, book costly TV spots, can bring out several numbers of attractive booklets and decorative handbills and can resort to any other kind of expensive campaigns. Moreover they receive extensive publicity in the media, both print and electronic as well as radio. But a party of the poor like the SUCI which runs on the contributions raised from the people through street and door to door collection has no access to all these forms of campaign. Moreover with the fixing of the elections during the period of tests and examinations, use of loudspeakers is also prohibited. The rich parties will face no difficulties for all this. It is only a party like ours which is affected most. Besides, following periodic hikes, the amounts of deposit money for the candidates are now as high as Rs.5000 for the Assembly elections and Rs.10, 000 for the Lok Sabha elections. It is said that everyone has a right to elect or be elected. But can a poor peasant, an agricultural labour, a worker or a poor middle class candidate contest in the elections by paying such a huge sum? This is the façade of the democratic elections in the "biggest democratic" country in the world. Only the SUCI has protested against all this.

## Whose election victory will be real victory of people ?

In West Bengal Assembly elections the CPI(M) is contesting to form its eighth consecutive ministry while the Congress and the Trinamul Congress-BJP alliance are in the fray to increase their tally of seats. But the SUCI is contesting only to strengthen the struggle of the

oppressed and exploited people, to reverberate the people's voice inside the legislature and thus take forward the revolutionary movement. There is incessant propaganda in the media, publication of so-called pre-poll surveys as to "who would win and who would lose" being baited with money to confuse the electorates and limit their choice among the parties or combinations having blessings of the ruling class. Moreover, there are surfeit of pre-poll promises, distribution of favours and of course veiled and open threats even terrorization to manipulate verdicts. But will the people of the state fall prey to all this trickeries and maneuvers, deceptions and deceptions, elect these anti-people parties once again to exacerbate their misery or stand firm in making victorious the SUCI candidates, the trusted soldiers of democratic mass movement, the only force carrying forward the legitimate struggle of the people? Which will

be the real victory for the people?

One should be ready that immediately after the elections, dimensions will be added to the attacks on the people as the insoluble market crisis of the ruling bourgeoisie aggravates further. This would entail intensification of class struggle and mass movements. For this, it is essential to forge people's committees as their own instruments of struggle and develop volunteer forces with brave and courageous youths. The SUCI workers would carry out this task while campaigning in the elections. It is not dependence on the Election Commission but through development of these committees and committed volunteer forces that rigging and malpractices in the elections can be thwarted. The SUCI has been fighting both inside and outside the Assembly and will continue to do so upholding the legitimate demands of the toiling people.

## Social democratization of RSS-BJP

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had to face a tussle between what they gave vent to in their slogans and what they had to fulfill in power in the interest of the monopolists. Whatever contradiction cropped up between this compulsion and their views they had professed, it was only resolved with the compelling demands prevailing over their slogans that had helped them sail to power. The way they moderated their politics, was likewise repeated in economical issues too. To carry on the politics of persuasion-deception, they had to dish out 'feel-good' hypotheses for the masses, while taking all measures for capitalists-monopolists to reap maximum profit smoothly. They had to change their stance with imperialism too and had to water down even their nationalist jargons of *Swadeshiana*, only in favour of vociferous advocacy of globalization, meaning welcoming cosmopolitanism of capital and defending the interest of imperialist capital.

It does not mean, however, that social-democratization of RSS-BJP has basically altered their innate rabid communal character. It prevails as before, we have indicated it already earlier and as a matter of fact Uma Bharati herself has admitted that, as 'strategy to remove cadres' indifference' or to remobilize the vote-bank based on

communalism, all with an eye to 'acquire power'. So this is a face put on when the party is out of power, while in power they need radicalization to rope the masses in.

It was this putting on of radical cloak, this assuming social democratic posture by RSS-BJP that Uma Bharati, the die-hard RSS leader actually referred to in her own coinage as 'Congressization', against which she has come out with all vengeance. She did it, as it is evident, without really getting at the essence of the question; without actually realizing the significance of why her party changed following inexorable laws of contradiction within the capitalist social system. She failed to understand what was the compulsion that has dragged BJP to tread this path, or even RSS to endorse it. Be that as it may, the phenomenon of BJP opting for social democratic gestures and postures and radical cloaks, with their ideological fangs hidden underneath, once more proves that with a view to protecting crisis-ridden capitalist system and to staving off the revolution, any and every bourgeois party in power will have to go for these and play instrumental in bringing fascism for the ruling capitalists-monopolists. Once more the infallible analyses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh are corroborated by the reality.

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