

# Proletarian Era

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Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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## Long Live Historic 24 April

[24 April, the day Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), the revolutionary party of the proletariat, was founded in 1948 by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader, teacher and guide, and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, to lead and organize the anti-capitalist revolution on the Indian soil, is back again demanding of us to remain unflinched in our resolve to fulfill the task Comrade Ghosh has enjoined us to emancipate the toiling masses from the shackles of ruthlessly exploitative capitalist rule. More the days are rolling by, more is felt the necessity of overthrowing oppressive repressive utterly corrupt capitalism by accomplishing proletarian revolution. While addressing the comrades and the people on 24 April every year, Comrade Ghosh had repeatedly shown that though the objective condition for bringing about the revolution is ripe, fulfillment of subjective condition in the form of establishing the ideological and organizational leadership of the genuine working class party on the toiling masses is yet to be achieved. Pending that, there is no respite from this stifling condition in every aspect of life torn apart by demonic capitalist exploitation. On the occasion of this 61<sup>st</sup> anniversary of SUCI, we place a compilation of some important excerpts from the invaluable speeches Comrade Ghosh had delivered at the public meetings organized on this day in the sixties and seventies of the last century, which are very relevant in the context of current socio-political situation and would help in advancing the desired revolutionary class and mass struggles. The excerpts are from free translation of the published speeches of Comrade Ghosh in Bengali. Responsibility of any error in translation lies with the editorial board of Proletarian Era.]

### Excerpts from the speech delivered on 24 April 1966 :

#### On establishment of oppressive capitalist rule after independence

“... even though India has become independent long ago, still the basic problems of the Indian society have not been solved. It is true, of course, there have been construction of roads and some factories have been set up. But what is important to note, while some new factories have come up, many more which were in existence were closed down at the same time. There has been no solution to the unemployment problem. .... This is one of the basic questions in our national life.”

“Secondly, the moral standard of the whole nation is declining day by day. In the minds of the people from all walks of life, it has become a matter of serious concern. This being a reality in our country, we are thinking deeply about it — we have to go into its cause, no doubt. But today, if you look at the entire capitalist world, you will see that this problem has become

an international problem.....”

“The first pertinent point is, .... whether we want it or not, whether we like it or not, our society, in accordance with the inexorable law of history, is class-divided. On one side there exists the capitalist class, the owners of all wealth and means of production ..... On the other side, there are the have-nots, the proletariat who sell their labor power, who are not the owners..... what I want to tell you straight is that the economic system, the state structure that prevails in our country, is a capitalist economic system, a capitalist state structure — a reality that cannot be denied by any trickery of words.... I think, in order to thoroughly comprehend the problems of our capitalist economic and political system, to realize them properly, it is of utmost importance to understand to a certain extent the present-day features of the capitalist world.

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# Bourgeois parties and pseudo-Marxists use police-administration in petty party interests

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## On capitalist crisis

The present-day capitalist world is faced with a grave crisis. This is not a crisis of general pattern ..... until the Second World War, until the last War, despite a thousand crises and many depressions, the capitalist world maintained all along a relative stability. But the crisis that ensued after the Second World War was a daily, hourly crisis. The earlier relative stability of the capitalist market is no more today — that has disappeared — that condition of the capitalist market has ceased to exist now.... But this situation notwithstanding, some planning for development is going on, the government has to do something. But while carrying out the planning they are faced with insurmountable hurdles at every step. There are two reasons behind this. One, the earlier relative stability of the market does not exist any more. Moreover, there is extreme competition.... On the other side, what is the internal condition of our country? Most of the people are turning out to be unemployed. The labourers are ill-paid. In our country 75 per cent of the people are farmers who do not get jobs more than three months a year. The purchasing power of this vast population living in the villages is practically nil — they are simply paupers, totally devoid of purchasing power. In the capitalist economy there cannot be any production when there is no sale of the product for at least a marginal profit. They would not go in for such production. They would produce less and sell products among a small number of people at a higher price to reap profit.... The economy is a crisis-ridden economy which is trying to stave off the crisis, to the extent possible, by taking recourse to militarization.... So, when we go on crying: We don't get food, there are no civil liberties, so on and so forth, when we go on developing people's movement, we need to have a clear understanding about this very real picture as well as the character of the Indian ruling

class.... through nationalization of industries in the capitalist state, state monopoly capitalism has developed which is the rock bottom foundation of fascism. ... The structure of law and order in our country is still a continuation of the imperialist tradition even today having basically no contradiction with it. If you just ponder over it, you would see that, let alone repealing the repressive laws enacted during the British rule, they have been introducing even more draconian laws.... They are applied here as punitive measures to suppress the legitimate democratic movements of the people..."

## On establishing correct revolutionary leadership on mass movements

"People had fought in the past, they are fighting at present and will do so in future, too. This fight sometimes assumes an intense character, sometimes takes a very militant form, sometimes it bursts forth violently, sometimes losing its momentum, it slows down. .... However, two questions always appear before all these fights again and again. The first one is, what ideology provides such inspiration on the strength of which a firm political objective can steadily emerge before the movements which are developing centring round problems of daily life and other immediate demands. And the second question relates to different aspects of organizational problems at different stages of conducting movements.... That is why, I say, a struggle needs to be led on the basis of an ideology and well thought out organizational planning. A struggle does not materialize by resorting to just any means. Similarly, organization can never be built up by taking recourse to just any means. An ideology will have to be upheld before it.... What is that ideology of ours? This is our ideology of socialism and proletarian internationalism... Those who speak of socialism must be proletarian internationalists because socialism cannot but be proletarian internationalism."

assaults in the other parties' organized strongholds..... The real situation today which all people and all parties can perceive, from all the incidents that are happening every day without leaving any direct evidence or clue, is that the CPI(M) is using the police and the administration for petty party interest..... after coming to power they could not wait any more. Immediately they wanted to swallow up those parties. And to that end they started using the police and administration wherever they could, in whichever way they could. You would notice that in many places a saying goes round among the public — the local CPI(M) leaders or workers, each one is himself a home minister. The police, the District Magistrate, the sub-divisional officer meekly follow their dictates.

During the Congress regime a certain subject became a common topic of conversation. What is that? It is that, when a Congress bigwig of the local committee asks the police to do something, requests the sub-divisional officer for something they cannot refuse. They used to do what they were asked to. Because, they took it for granted that the Congress could never be removed from power. This mentality to serve the master is a legacy of the British rule, a legacy of the colonial administration. The Congress maintained it in its own interest. Why? Because the Congress got isolated from the people. It has lost its faith in the people. Through politics, political ideology, political movements they could not rally the people in their support. The Congress tried to spread its organization by using the administrative machinery. But a party that relies on its politics, on mass movements, does not need to use the administrative machinery. In a democratic system, in a parliamentary political system, a revolutionary party does not need to utilize the opportunity of spreading its organization through use or backing of administrative machinery, provided it does not merely pay lip service to revolution, or has not lost its political ability to ensure people's unstinted support in favour of them. If a party is a revolutionary party it would not take recourse to such a method.

From what the Congress went

on doing, the police officers and bureaucrats took it that they would have to continue conducting themselves in this way. Many of you would remember that after the United Front government was formed I said in the mass meeting of 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1967, and also told the United Front Ministry, that I do not know whether they could bring manna from heaven, but if they could do at least one thing, that itself would be great. It is this that if they act in the right way, the administration and the police personnel would at least realize that they have to give up the practice of securing benefits by serving the masters. They have to get rid of this colonial mentality, a mentality they acquired as a legacy from the British rulers. When the United Front came at first, the police and administration were apprehensive. But as soon as the Front occupied the seat of power, from the attitude of the big party they realized that this party is also like the Congress. Feeling assured they followed the same line as before. Rather they had an additional advantage. When they set out to please the Congress, they were cursed by the people, now if they serve CPI(M), they can earn the badge of 'progressive police', 'servants of the people'. It is as if the class character of the police changed as soon as the United Front came to power and the hegemony of CPI(M) over the government was established. As if, after their coming to power the police is transformed into 'an instrument of serving the people'. I do not know wherefrom such Marxism comes, which Marxist theory says this. How does the class character of the police change immediately after the CPI(M) takes up the charge of the police department? If tomorrow after winning in the election, they form the central government, then would the character of the military and the bureaucracy change to that of 'servants of the people'?"

## On danger of pandering to blindness

"So blindness is not the way of the communists. To inflame, to incite without any ground, to confuse, to subvert one's reasoning capacity during discussion, to be impatient, to abuse instead of

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## Excerpts from the speech delivered on 24 April 1970

### On using administration for petty-party interest

"What happened in reality is

that using the police and administration as a shield directly or indirectly, the CPI(M) carried out

# United Front — a imperative necessity to isolate non-revolutionary forces and establish genuine revolutionary leadership

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answering questions — these are the methods which the reactionaries use. Only those whose ideological base is weak take recourse to exciting, to raising empty slogans; they try to smother ideology with slogans. But those whose base is not weak, they answer questions, they do not suppress questions.”

## **On bourgeois parliamentary election**

“We, who call ourselves Marxists, never say that we believe in election politics, or that we do not want revolution. None of us tell these things. Because if we talk like this we would be immediately isolated from the democratic-minded, revolutionary-minded people of West Bengal. If any of us happen to tread in the blind alley of election politics, in the open even he has to swear by revolution. There is no other way. But let this be. Now let us see what the Marxist-Leninist theory says on this issue. Marxist-Leninist theory says that Marxists go in the Parliament, because parliamentary illusion exists among the people. What do the words, parliamentary illusion mean? They mean that the fake democrats, the fake socialists, the fake revolutionaries still exert considerable influence on the democratic forces, the workers-peasants-middle class, that is, the classes who constitute allies of revolution, and it is they who spread the parliamentary illusion. It means that conditions have not ripened for the people to bring about revolution, or for a front to be built up having that character which comes into existence immediately prior to direct seizure of power under the leadership of a revolutionary party. In other words we still exist in that stage of democratic movement in which we have to take part in the elections in order to free people from the illusion of parliamentary politics; we have to form the government if we attain electoral majority, and use that government, to the extent possible, for building up revolutionary movements. We have to restrain the police and use the front as a weapon for mass movements. It is for this that we

participate in the elections and put up candidates for election. So the Marxist-Leninist theory says that till the pseudo-democrats, pseudo-socialists, pseudo-revolutionaries are isolated from the workers-peasants-middle class, i.e., the classes who constitute the allies of revolution, and the conditions can be created for the seizure of power under the leadership of the revolutionary party, till then the Marxist-Leninists take part in the election by building up democratic fronts.”

## **On United Front and imperative necessity of political consciousness of people**

“United Front is a concrete outcome of mass movements; it is an instrument of struggle in mass movements. If this united front cannot be built up, it is not possible to lift the democratic movements to the stage of the fight for direct seizure of power. In this situation, the party which talks of revolution, be it socialist revolution or people’s democratic revolution, who wants to free the people from the influence of other fake and anti-people parties, thereby directing the people under its leadership to change the character of the united front — what should be the nature of the programme and politics of that party within the united front? It has to carry out two tasks simultaneously. On the one hand, it has to direct the mass movements, and, on the other hand, while conducting the united movements it has to isolate the fake, anti-people parties from the people through political-ideological struggles...the mutual relation between these tasks... the true significance of the principle of unity of opposites,... one (who) is not a true Marxist ...cannot comprehend.”

“It is your wish that let there be again a united front, let the forces of democratic movement be revived, let them take charge of the government in West Bengal, let them advance the democratic movements, the class struggles, the struggles based on the legitimate demands of the people and the struggles against injustices. But it would be wrong to hold that if the

Congress or any other anti-people, tyrannical ruling group is removed simply through elections, and any combination or united front is placed in governmental power, all problems would be solved; this has become clear through the crises which have confronted you both the times after you had brought the United Front to power. How did these United Front governments come into being? Some parties which could not defeat the Congress in the elections on their own strength joined hands and together formed the United Front government. But their attitude was somewhat like this: whatever be the nature of the politics that we individually follow, let us somehow remove the Congress through joint effort, after that we shall jointly decide what course to follow. In other words, businessmen-like they make petty calculations: let us first occupy positions of power, become ministers and leaders after removing the Congress and other things can be taken care of later on.”

“Then, why did this United Front emerge combining all these forces? Is it the very reason that none could contest the whole election on its own, that the Congress cannot be challenged and defeated on one’s own strength? Is it the reason to anyhow build up a tempo by making a combination of all the forces to use the anti-Congress wave that is existing and to anyhow come to the power by promising a thousand and one sops to the people? Do we think that the common people do not have much understanding, that since in twenty years their patience is utterly exhausted, they will clutch at any straw, and because all the parties have combined they would cast their votes in their favour? We know that innocent simple-minded common people think like that. They talk in this manner. “Look here, *Mashai!* (Sir) All of you, so many parties with so many views are fighting against the Congress. You all unite. We do not have the time to make a fine analysis of all the squabbles, the ideological battles, the points and counterpoints. We are simple working people, we do not have much use for all these theories. You

better unite and you will see that as soon as you unite we shall ‘easily’ oust the Congress.” And actually this is what happened. We all united, and they ‘easily’ ousted the Congress. We occupied the seat of power. And then like their ‘easily’ ousting the Congress, we ourselves ‘easily’ disintegrated.... The lesson is that we cannot sidetrack the real issue and bypass truth. Nothing can ever be achieved in this way. “We do not want to delve into politics, we have no need to go deep into the complexities;” —you cannot afford to think like that. Because it is you who need to be freed, liberation is your necessity. Secondly, it is also your desire, it is also your dream to abolish capitalism, to build mass movements, to wage class struggle, to end repression and tyranny, to provide jobs for the unemployed, to modernize agriculture, to bring in industrialization of the country. Yet you do not want to think about politics! You want to leave that for the hired political leaders, hired leaders just like your hired servants. You want to depend on the leaders. If the leaders ditch you, you would sink, if sometimes they prop you up you would stand. What state of affairs is this? How long can this continue? Just like this, in the independence movement it is the common people who have shed their blood, but in the end the power they have handed over to the Congress. In this way the people have been suppressed for twenty years under the boots of the Congress rule. It is in the same way that the people have ousted the Congress without giving any thought, without any discrimination about in whose hands they are vesting the power. When you are told to ponder before you do something you respond, “We do not want to go into so much discussion, we do not need to go into such detailed analysis....” I notice that those who are vociferous about united front have no serious concern about understanding the politics that is necessary to deal with such questions as, why the events are happening as they are, which party is following which principle, how a united front is to be built up, what should be the

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# Capitalism is the stumbling block before unhindered industrial development

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code of conduct in a united front, what should be the mode of working of a united front..... The course of events is fast progressing. Everything now depends on you, the common people. It is you who have to be approached at the time of elections. Just as electoral battles are fought on the strength of the masses, so also are waged the democratic movements. Be it mass movements or the dream of

revolutionary seizure of power, everything depends on you. The leaders do the cerebral work, so does the party, they show the way. Just as we need a light for moving about in darkness, without that torchlight there is every possibility of falling in a ditch, so also the leadership, the party and its politics provide that torch-like knowledge, which helps us to negotiate the dark and devious alleys in the movements."

the urban areas? So, unless provisions for employment opportunities are made by ensuring uninterrupted industrial development, modernization of agriculture cannot be accomplished either.... But what is the obstacle in the path of industrial progress in our country? Firstly, as production in our country is done on the basis of capitalist relation, that means, with the motive of earning maximum profit, the workers employed in the industries are deprived of fair wages. Secondly, along with this factor, there is the growing number of unemployed and semi-employed in the urban areas who have practically no income. Hence, as it is, the purchasing power of the urban population is steadily declining. On the other hand, because the task of land reform in the villages is unaccomplished and there being no provisions for improved living conditions, seventy five percent of the rural population lead a subhuman life in a semi-starved condition. In such a situation, where seventy five percent of the people of the entire country live in villages and again seventy five percent of that huge rural population have practically no purchasing power; where the urban areas too are full of unemployed and semi-employed and even the workers engaged in industries, too, have to spend their entire income just to secure barely two meals a day and maintain a family somehow – in such a country where is the market, that is, where are the buyers who can purchase the goods produced in the industries? And in the absence of market no production is done in the capitalist system, because the very motive of the capitalist production is to secure maximum profit.... it is not possible to free the production system from capitalist production relation nor is it possible to modernize rural economy unless a socialist state is established under the leadership of the working class by overthrowing the present capitalist state through revolution. But they are afraid of such revolution."

## On fascism

"We have to understand thoroughly what fascism is. ....It should be remembered that

dictatorship may be military dictatorship; it may be foisted through a coup as well. Besides, there is torture and repression in every anti-people administrative system, and the imperialists perpetrate torture and repression in the colonial countries. But fascism is more devastating than that. Mere repression cannot do so much harm to a country. But fascism is an all-out counter-revolutionary upsurge. On the one hand, it destroys the process of rational thinking in people, makes them self-centred, makes knowledge, learning and education technology-oriented, that is, it engenders a group of technocrats in the country who have completely abandoned all sorts of human values, who have no sense of responsibility towards people and society, to whom employment and wage slavery are simply everything, and who are ready to do anything and everything in exchange of money – and in this direction they channelize the cultivation of science and learning. On the other hand, fascism fosters all sorts of spiritualism, age-old superstitions, irrational mindset and blindness. Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism, obscurantism and irrational bent of mind with the technological aspects of science. When this happens in a country the reasoning faculty itself dies in the country. So, speaking about the state of leftist movement I sounded a note of caution that the leftists who close the door of polemical discussions and resort to the practice of using physical force to increase their strength, get dividend for the time being because of their strength and numerical superiority; they do not allow anybody to express his opinion, do not pay heed to any reasoning, their cadres themselves lose all inclination for reasoning and destroy the reasoning faculty in others too. Do they know the deadly outcome of this? ....when the reasoning faculty dies in the country, then that paves the way for infiltration of reactionary ideas in society. To make man fanatic with the poison of national chauvinism, on the one hand, and, on the other, to foster out-dated traditionalism while raising vague slogans of socialism, revolution and progress

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## Excerpts from the speech delivered on 24 April 1973

### On industrialization

"So let us see what is the main hindrance on the path to uninterrupted industrial development? Some pundits would say that the main hindrance to this industrialization of our country is the lack of capital or the paucity of capital, hence this knocking at one door after another with begging bowl abroad. But if I question them at once as to why whatever formation of capital is daily taking place on the soil of the country, whatever capital is being gradually accumulated as per the law of economics, why is even that capital remaining idle? Why is it turning bureaucratic? Why can it not be invested for industrial development? If I ask: why is it that the productive capacity that the various industries have on the basis of present strength of capital in the country, cannot be fully utilized, cannot be fully employed in production? Whenever there is a strike in a factory the government and the capitalists raise a hue and cry that so many man-days are being lost. But when there is no strike, even when a peaceful condition prevails in industry, is the installed productive capacity in the steel plants in Durgapur, Rourkela or other engineering industries — are they making full use of it? Are they able to fully utilize that? Can the industries always undertake full production even then? If they cannot do so, in that case it is not strike that is responsible for it; it is not paucity of capital that is responsible for it. What then is the cause responsible for this state of affairs – that is to be searched out. If one has the courage to provide leadership and not simply

a desire for pomp and power, but audacity to provide leadership like a true man: then one will have to confront this question like a true man. What is that hindrance due to which whatever productive capacity exists in the country, even that cannot always be fully utilized? In reality the root cause of that hindrance is the capitalist production relation prevailing in India.... The struggle for destroying capitalism is the struggle to free the production system from capitalist motive of production and from the capitalist relation of production, and it is impossible to accomplish this task without overthrowing the capitalist state... In the capitalist economic system of our country, because of lack of unhindered development of mills and factories as well as the possibility of setting up new industries having been marred, the number of unemployed in the urban areas is increasing as it is.... On the other hand, as rural people are becoming landless in an unabated process and the agricultural labourers do not get employment for more than three months a year, they are deserting the villages day after day, driven by hunger. Leaving the villages under these circumstances, the rural unemployed are coming to the towns in search of work and further swell the number of the unemployed in the urban areas. In such a situation, if the rural economy is modernized and scientific methods introduced in agriculture, millions of people who are still tied up with agricultural activities in the villages would become jobless at one stroke. Where would they be provided with jobs in

# Ruling capitalism fosters cultural degradation to break moral backbone of oppressed people

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— if all these three can be combined, then the ground for ascent of fascism is ready in a country. It should be borne in mind that the ruling bourgeois class succeeds in masterfully combining these three things and mislead the intelligentsia then only, when the mindset for carrying on mutual discussions on the basis of reason and logic really ceases to exist in society. This provides the golden opportunity for fascism to rise. That is why, cautioning the leftist forces I said: the Congress and such other parties of the ruling class would surely do their best to foster such an irrational mindset in the country. That such a mindset develops – that is what they desire. But then why would the leftists act in a similar manner, just for the sake of their petty party interests? If they do so, it may yield some results for the time being, but that will surely turn out to be the road to their own burial in future. It is for this, therefore, that a struggle against irrational mindset is necessary, that an environment for cultivation of knowledge, science and history, of dialogue, of discussion and polemics, of criticism of each others' views, is essential. Alone if such an environment prevails, will it become truly difficult for parties wedded to the exploiting class to make inroads amongst the masses."

## On joint movement

"....just as there was united struggle in the past and much bloodshed, I can foresee that in the near future, in two to four years' time, powerful united movement will develop. But the point that I seek to repeatedly pinpoint is that united movement, powerful united movement have been there in the past and will be there in future too. It will no doubt be a united movement. But if the leadership of this united movement remains in the hands of a wrong party, a non-Marxist party, a non-revolutionary party, that is, in the hands of such parties who cash in on the name of revolution, play with revolution, that is, either cause destruction of the revolutionary force by untimely and fanatic adventurism, or else seek to ultimately confine the mass movements within the bounds of parliamentary politics – then it can

never be possible to conduct that united movement correctly. Apart from this, only a revolutionary party has the ability to conduct united struggle in such a manner that the necessity of maintaining the unity is fulfilled, on the one hand, while on the other, centring round the contradictions within this unity arising from the composite of opposing political forces, the ideological struggle is conducted in such a way that the unity of the movement is not destroyed while through this very ideological struggle the people get a clear political view and are being helped to find out for themselves the correct revolutionary party. A non-revolutionary party does not possess this ability. In conducting the united movement two tendencies are bound to appear among the non-revolutionary parties. Either they would appease everyone in their over-zeal to maintain unity or else behave in a high-handed, aggressive way, that is, whenever anybody criticizes them they would hit out against him and disrupt unity.... when you are going to again start a united movement today, in order that the genuine revolutionary party can rapidly acquire the capacity to provide leadership in the united movement, while building up that movement you will have to carry on discussions and polemics on the politics of the different parties to judge the parties and doing so, you will have to help to make that revolutionary party strong through the united movements."

## On imperialist character of Indian capitalism

"...though India is a backward capitalist country, yet the development of monopoly capitalism and the birth of financial oligarchy through the merger of industrial capital and banking capital have taken place here. There is no denying this very fact. Not only this. The signs of imperialist features in the character of Indian capitalism are already distinct as shown by the birth of financial oligarchy through development of monopoly capital and the export of capital which is of completely different nature than the export of commodities. Maybe it is still very weak compared to western imperialism, but although in

comparison it is an underdeveloped and backward capitalist country, imperialist characteristics have already developed. Those who understand the character of monopoly capitalism, the character of finance capital, the transactions

of finance capital and the character of banking operations in different countries in modern times and are acquainted with the Leninist formulations of the five distinctive characteristics of imperialism, can in no way deny this."

## Excerpts from the speech delivered on 24 April 1974

### On cultural degeneration

"But you should keep in mind that however acute a form of oppression and penury may assume, the people of a country, a nation can still stand up firm and erect, raising its head high even amidst severest of tortures if its moral strength is not decimated. Look at Vietnam. The whole country has been laid waste through incessant bombings. Yet what indomitable spirit did the peasants, though unlettered, the people there, though unschooled, keep up to wage a real struggle – not just a one-two day demonstration or struggle, not the clever show-off of a gimmick of a strike – but a real battle against the terribly powerful US military forces. The people there could do this because they possessed moral strength and high level of political consciousness. The Indian bourgeoisie too knows it, they have taken this lesson from history that just through state oppression, through coercion by the state machine and brutal repression by the police and the military – ultimately they may not be able to keep the people subdued. So the bourgeoisie conspires to break the backbone of the nation; cleverly destroy the moral backbone! Foster base instincts and vile traits – greed, propensity for cowardly attacks, indecency, inferiority complex, sycophancy, flattery to satisfy personal need – flattery is an offense, but to favour a flatterer is an even more repulsive offense – and get all this accepted as being quite natural among the people of society. So in the name of freedom of culture they spin a web of gilded arguments to cleverly entrap people and help bring about all-round moral degradation of man. They want to break the backbone of the nation, they want to make man self-centred, develop antipathy to political movement among the people, and trample in the mud and

destroy all sense of values."

### All movements must conduce to anti-capitalist revolution

"You should keep in mind that from whatever issue a movement starts – be it food, democratic rights, people's grievances or struggle on economic demands, all these movements have to be directed towards building up anti-capitalist mentality among the people. Because, if we cannot develop these movements to the stage of overthrowing capitalism, that is, dismantling the capitalist system through revolution, then, however much we fight for democratic rights, whatever democratic rights we may obtain and whatever wage-rise we may achieve – there will be no fundamental change in the condition of the people through these. In this context, let me remind you of a famous comment of Lenin. Once he had told the workers that to whatever extent they may gain extension of their democratic rights and fulfillment of their economic demands through trade union movement within the bourgeois, capitalist, system – and for achieving which they will have to shed much blood as it is; yet in no way will this bring about any change in their wretched condition. They will continue to remain the same wage-slaves that they were before. Their children also will remain wage-slaves and their grandchildren will remain the same too. Capitalism will not change through these and there will be no fundamental change in their condition. What they need is emancipation, that is, freedom from all sorts of exploitation. And to achieve that they will have to adopt the programme of overthrowing capitalism through all these struggles; and this constitutes the quintessence of the base political line."

## ANDHRA PRADESH ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

# While Congress, BJP dole out customary pre-poll promises, CPI (M), CPI forge unholy alliance with separatist-parochial forces to grab seats

Once again the state of Andhra Pradesh (AP) is going to Assembly as well as Parliamentary polls. These elections are taking place at a time when the world is reeling under an unprecedented economic crisis. As elsewhere in the country the people of AP are being subjected to ruthless capitalist exploitation tearing them apart with every passing day. The governments irrespective of hues that ruled the state so far did nothing to mitigate the appalling sufferings of the people. Rather, these governments mouthing pro-people slogans as camouflage faithfully implemented the nefarious class design of the ruling capitalists squeezing out the last drop of blood of the toiling people to fill their coffers. Whichever party ascended the throne, people witnessed that the rich became richer and super-rich whereas the common people became poor and poorer and destitute. Congress ruled the state since independence for a long time up to 1983 when Telegu Desham Party (TDP) led by late N.T. Ramarao came to power whipping Telugu regional sentiment and ruled till 1989. Then again Congress came back to power and ruled for one term followed by the rule of TDP for two terms till 2004 when the present government of Congress replaced it. The pseudo-Marxists like CPI(M), CPI who have abandoned the line of mass movement to feature in the list of power-greedy vote-seekers had either struck deal with TDP or Congress to brighten their electoral prospects caring a fig for the suffering people of the state. In fine, governmental power alternated between the Congress and TDP but the lot of the people remained unaltered. For the first time this year, the state is witnessing a multi-cornered contest with Congress on one side, the "Grand Alliance" consisting of the TDP, CPI, CPI (M), and Telengana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) on the other side and Praja Rajyam recently formed by Chiranjeevi, an actor turned politician, as a third force. Of course the BJP and BSP are also in the fray.

### People bleeding white under ruthless capitalist exploitation

While the bourgeois media is busy in projecting electoral arithmetic, dish out 'palatable' poll bulletins to divert people's attention from the main issues, it is incumbent on each and every thinking mind to approach this election from the right perspective. Otherwise, like all previous occasions, one or the other party or combination will be saddled in power, will shower heaps of promises and conveniently violate them in course of governance to leave people in the lurch. Estranged from the basic socio-economic context, no political force or party could be correctly assessed and hence electoral support or opposition would not be on objective evaluation from people's point of view. Congress which is ruling the state now is trying to temporarily shield the ongoing world economic crisis of capitalism-imperialism at least till the polls are over lest the wrath of the people should turn against it in the hustings. The moment poll is over and new government is formed the floodgate of Tsunami like crisis will inundate the people and the entire burden of the crisis will be passed onto their shoulders in the form of

spurt in closure of industries, retrenchment, lay-offs, wage cuts, price rise, alarmingly increasing crime rate, corruption etc. Neither Congress nor the others subservient to capitalist class interest can offer any solution to all these problems stemming from the capitalist system. Though ruling Congress Party is making every effort to cover up the crisis as well as the impending catastrophe to tide over the challenges of elections, some ripples of its effect could not be contained and this itself is creating havoc in the lives of the people. Already, common people including the middle class are reeling under soaring rise in prices of essential commodities. Thousands lost jobs while lakhs of fresh graduates are waiting for employment. In Cheemakurthi and Markhapuram of Prakasham district, 50 quarries and 15, 000 ancillary units are facing threat of closure. In Anantapur district, Obulapuram iron ore mines are already closed and garment factories in and around Rayadurgam have closed down sending thousands home. In Hindupur, 27 industries suddenly downed their shutters rendering thousands jobless. Due to lack of international demand for iron ore, thirteen lakh tons of it is piled up at Visakhapatnam port waiting for

shipment. More than 40 SEZs are envisaged in the state. The government has already permitted Jindal group to plunder the Bauxite ore in and around Arakuloya of Visakhapatnam district. Hundreds of acres of agricultural land are allocated to an SEZ at Polepally of Mehaboobnagar district displacing the farmers. In Anantapur district, 2500 acres at Parigi and 1000 acres at Gollapuram are being taken away for SEZs from the farmers.

In the name of "Coastal Corridor" extending from Nellore and Kakinada to Visakhapatnam, a large SEZ is being formed which will ruin the lives of peasants and fishermen there. It is feared that this SEZ will affect 1.5 lakh acres of paddy fields and 14 lakh families of fishermen. It will also severely aggravate the pollution due to the chemical and pharmaceutical industries that are going to come up in this corridor.

Coming to healthcare, the Congress government led by Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy is in fact working as an arranger for more profit to the corporate hospitals in the name of free medical treatment to the poor. In absence of adequate number of government hospitals, the wretched underprivileged, penury-stricken people are asked to go to these corporate hospitals and the government under the "Rajiv Arogyasri" scheme foots the bill by debiting the public exchequer. While the demand is for concentrating on developing and improving the government hospitals, so substantial an amount is being channelized from government coffers to the wallets of profit-greedy private owners. Similar is the scenario in education. Instead of strengthening the state-run institutions, the government is after corporatization of entire education system. Last year 1,020 government primary schools were closed down. A proposal to close 6,500 more is in the offing. A government order has already been released announcing ban on opening of new aided schools and the government is contemplating to stop all grants to the existing aided schools by the year 2010.

This government which boasts of being a messiah of the farmers could not stop suicides of the debt-

ridden peasants. Being sapped of all resources, thousands of them chose to end their lives. Cost of agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizers and insecticides have become exorbitant. Acute shortage of seeds and fertilizers pushed the farmers to militant protests which were mercilessly crushed with lathi charge and firing. Corruption has been rampant throughout the state administration and other fields especially in the contracts of agricultural projects. It is in this overall corrupt atmosphere that the IT baron Ramalinga Raju of Satyam Computers could indulge in such a mega-fraud putting at stake the future of thousands of investors and 54,000 employees. Chandrababu Naidu, leader of the TDP was vociferous against Satyam scandal in the beginning but when Rajasekhara Reddy reminded him that Raju shot to limelight under the direct patronage of Naidu, the blame game stopped instantaneously. In fact, Raju received favour, aid and indulgence from both the TDP and Congress. That is why it is not surprising that neither Naidu nor Reddy is now-a-days uttering anything about Satyam scandal.

Equally disastrous is the socio-cultural scene. There is increasing penetration of rotten imperialist culture through incessant spread of obscenity and vulgarity through films, TV, literature and other forms of so-called media entertainment. Debauchery, sex-perversion, liquor and drug addiction are polluting the youth. Telegu film industry is now competing with Bollywood in promoting overdose of sex-violence. Crime graph is soaring. Atrocities, rape and crime on women have increased to such a level that AP now stands second in the country in this aspect.

### Telangana question

While common masses are groaning in a life that is unbearable, quarters of vested interest intending to divert people's attention from the cause of this misery and penury is weaving all its ploys. Taking advantage of the backwardness of Telangana region, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) a party led by Chandrasekhara Rao has been

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## Build up people's power, rally behind pro-movement genuine left force

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trying since six years to twist the sentiment of the people by inciting regional fanaticism and demanding for a separate statehood. Telangana is no doubt a backward region as the regions of Rayalaseema and North Andhra as well as some parts of the coastal districts due to uneven development which is the inherent law of capitalism. Neither the Congress nor the TDP which ruled the state so far did anything for the development of either Telangana or any other region. The woes of Telangana people are no different from those of the people in other regions as the root cause of all miseries in every region is in the very exploitative capitalist order. Those who hide this fact and project separate Telangana as the panacea of all problems are either ignorant or they are the worst enemy of the common people.

### Treacherous role of pseudo-Marxists

When an all out crisis is engulfing the lives of the common people in the economic, social, cultural and educational fields and deep sense of insecurity is haunting everyone, it is incumbent upon any pro-people party to develop mighty democratic mass movement premised on higher ethics and culture over the burning problems of life forging granite like unity of the exploited people cutting across the barriers of religion, caste, community, region and language. Instead the CPI and CPI(M) who call themselves Marxists-leftists are busy in working out electoral alliances with any force so as to brighten its poll prospects. So it along with CPI has now formed a "Grand Alliance" not only with a regional bourgeois party like the TDP but also with a parochial force like TRS. Till yesterday, TDP, CPI and CPI(M) were very much vocal about Samaiky Andhra Pradesh (All United Andhra Pradesh. CPI(M) is also reportedly trying for seat adjustment with even a casteist force. It is pertinent to mention that while in West Bengal, the CPI(M) is feigning to be so concerned at the demands from some quarters to split the state on parochial line, it does not feel any shame in joining hands with the TRS which wants Telangana region to be carved out of AP and made a separate state. One of the TRS ticket-grabbers for a Parliament seat, a builder who made

fortune during economic boom of 2005-07, is reported to have confessed in full public view that he has 'bought' his candidature for a sum of Rs 100 million. Another TRS aspirant for an Assembly seat is alleged to have paid Rs 70 million to the party leaders for bagging desired nomination. (Times of India-28-03-09) What unique partners the CPI(M), CPI have chosen for their "Grand Alliance"!

Thus, the various electoral alliances which have been formed in the state are reflective of crass opportunism ruling the roost. The CPI and CPI(M) which tongue-lashed Chandrababu Naidu in 2004 for mortgaging the state to the World Bank and siding with the communal BJP, have no qualms in joining hands with it. In the previous election, they had an understanding with the Congress. In the year 2000, our party SUCI took initiative to develop a united left movement against the electricity tariff hike and it became popularly known as the 9-party movement. This 9-party combination developed a series of movements against price rise, on the problems of the peasantry etc. Also in 2003, this combination held many protest programs against the US aggression on Iraq. But on the eve of the last poll in January 2004, the CPI and CPI(M) had ditched the 9-party combination and joined hands with the Congress. That time they supported Rajasekhar Reddy against Chandrababu Naidu. They till the other day were supporting Congress-led UPA government at the centre. Now again they have done a somersault to tie up with the TDP and oppose Congress. One need not be surprised if tomorrow they jump again towards the Congress in the name of strengthening 'secular combination'. The interest of the exploited people matter little to these pseudo-Marxists who now stand thoroughly exposed after the Singur-Nandigram movements in West Bengal. It is becoming clear to the toiling people as well as a good section of the intelligentsia that these parties waving red flag have also joined the bandwagon of bourgeois vote-politics and are behaving no differently from the known bourgeois parties in going to any extent for grabbing some seats and stay in the corridors of power. In AP also, they are likewise trying to capture some seats in the

Assembly and Parliament by hook or crook. Seeing the jumping jack behaviour of these pseudo-Marxists in alternately siding with the TDP and the Congress according to their calculation of winning more seats, people of the state are getting disillusioned.

### SUCI alone upholding the flag of people's movement

So there is in the main a triangular contest for power in the state. On one side is the ruling Congress while on the other side are the "Grand Alliance" and not so heavy Praja Rajyam which planks on the slogan of social justice. Nava Telangana party, another parochial force formed recently has merged with the Praja Rajyam. As mentioned earlier, BJP and BSP are also contesting some seats. We have already said earlier none of these parties oppose capitalism. What ever may be their name, colour of their flag or slogan, they all support globalization, liberalization and privatization schemes which are wreaking havoc in the life of the common man. These parties neither consider capitalism as the root cause of all problems nor do they believe in developing mass movements by uniting people of all castes, religions, communities, regions and languages for redress of the burning problems of the people. That is why, notwithstanding the fact that each of these contending parties or alliances are vending dreams of ameliorating the plight and penury of the people, none of them is bringing to the fore the hard reality that the moribund decadent crisis-ridden gasping capitalist system is the root cause of all sorts of miseries in people's life. In fact, they can not do that since they all thrive on this system and scramble for pelf and power by appeasing the ruling capitalist class. Naturally which ever party or combination comes to power in these elections they can not but faithfully serve the capitalist class and thereby adopt anti-people measures.

Needless to mention that as elections are now being controlled by money-muscle-media power and posts of legislatures offer a lucrative 'political' career, big businessmen, real estate tycoons, industrialists, cinema actors and corrupt leaders including mafia dons and gangsters are entering the fray. Money will be pumped in and used on an unheard of scale. We have already mentioned

above a couple of instances where some ticket seekers have reportedly shelled out two crore of rupees just to get the ticket. How much more they will spend for campaign and bribing the voters and how many times more they will earn after assuming power is anybody's guess.

As against this politics of capitulation, politics of usurping benefits and self-aggrandizement, SUCI, founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era stands for alternative politics of the people, politics of organizing people's movement on the edifice of higher ethics and culture, politics of rousing people on correct anti-capitalist base political line, politics of ingraining human essence, politics of fostering higher values and morality, politics of putting collective interest above private interest. Its is a swimming against the current to stimulate people's power for ending the oppressive capitalist system. So when all the discredited bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are vying with each other to eagerly serve the ruling capitalist class, SUCI has been striving hard in the state to build up democratic mass movements conducive to anti-capitalist revolution.

SUCI and its frontal organizations have so far developed many mass movements on the burning issues of the people. Many of those movements have been successful in achieving the demands. To name a few:

1. Closure of corrupt Nightingale school of Nursing and re-allotting the students to government institutes,
2. Withdrawal of exam fees hike for the students of SKU University in Anantapur district,
3. Stopping restructuring of courses at degree level,
4. Waiving of fees for intermediate students in the drought hit Anantapur district,
5. Conduction of supplementary exams for polytechnic students,
6. Stopping beauty contests in Anantapur and Hyderabad,
7. Removing obscene posters on the walls of Hyderabad and stopping screening of obscene films at Anantapur,
8. Completion of a medium scale irrigation project called Madduvalasa reservoir in Srikakulam district,

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## Murky Power Politics overrides people's issues in Orissa polls

The declaration of schedule of election for the 15th Lok Sabha and Orissa Assembly simultaneously on 16 and 23 April, 2009, has triggered hectic political activity in the state. Both Congress and BJP, two most trusted political agents of the ruling Indian capitalist class are trying their best to cobble up pre-poll alliances with different regional parties in order to grab power at the centre and state. Smaller political parties with regional influence like Biju Janta Dal (BJD) who has been ruling the state for last 9 years first in alliance with BJP and of late with the support of non-BJP forces are also putting up hard bargain with Congress and BJP for a bigger share in the power cake after the polls. Pseudo-Marxists like CPI(M), CPI counting their political fortune in bourgeois vote politics have also begun to play power broker in the state by joining hands with BJD hitherto considered untouchable because of its tie with the BJP. The count down for the polls having been started battle cry of political parties gets shriller and political climate gets murkier with large scale desertion of ticket seekers from almost all bourgeoisie political parties trading charges and counter-charges to the utter bewilderment of the suffering people of the state.

### Plight and misery of people unbound

With the political parties tightening their belt for a show down in the polls cock and bull stories regarding their contribution towards the people of the state are flying thick and fast. Every political Party is claiming its right on the people's vote on the strength of the service it claims to have rendered to the people of Orissa. Such being the situation, objective portrayal of the condition of the people of Orissa after six decades of independence is deemed necessary at the very outset in order to bring home the role of different bourgeoisie political parties in the poll fry.

Like their brethren in other parts of the country, toiling people of Orissa are also groaning under the yoke of worst capitalist oppression. Even the least of means to eke out a living is eluding them. Though rich in mineral resources neither the slogan of Nehruvian so called industrial revolution on the wake of independence nor the much trumpeted call to establish thousand industries in thousand days on an

investment of thousand crores by the previous Congress governments had any real impact as far as industrialization of the state is concerned. The much hyped MOU signing spree by the BJD-BJP coalition government done with the hidden agenda of serving the monopoly capitalist class of the country and abroad have naturally failed to set up any employment generating industry in the state. Rather it has given free license to the multinational companies to grab fertile agricultural land with the direct backing of the state government. Whatever job openings were there in handful of medium and small scale industries earlier is dwindling with each passing day after implementation of capitalist globalization. One after another industrial unit is closing down throwing hundreds and thousands out of job. As per government statistics, more than three thousand medium and small scale industries have been closed in the last 10 years throwing thousands of workmen out of employment. Apart from industry, scope of employment in

the government sector is practically non-existent. The moratorium on new employment imposed by the previous Congress government is still in force even though lakhs of posts are lying vacant over the years. The present BJD-led state government has not given any permanent appointment on the plea of shortage of funds. Lack of industrialization has squeezed the scope of employment and has forced the people to fall back on agriculture for survival.

But the spectacle of rural Orissa is equally grim and horrific with increasing number of half-fed or starving poor who are either dying like animals or waiting for the ultimate hour like gasping skeletons. Earning a livelihood from agriculture is proving to be a nightmare because of assail of increasing costs of agricultural inputs which has further intensified in the wake of implementation of 'Pani Panchayat Scheme' and privatization of power sector, non-availability of remunerative prices of the produces and thumping around of a corrupt nexus of rural kulaks-hoarders-black marketers-police administration-ruling party mafias. Withdrawal of subsidy to agriculture following the adoption of the policy of globalization has only added to the plight of the peasantry of the state. At least 50 cases of suicide by peasants have been reported in current year itself. Besides that, hundreds are dying and thousands evicted from land and hearth every year on account of natural disasters like drought, flood or super-cyclone. According to a recent report of Food and Agricultural Organization of UNO per capita food intake of people residing in the most backward Kalahandi, Bolangir & Koraput districts of Orissa is less than that of the Sub-Saharan regions of Africa. The report also states that the per capita income and purchasing power of the people of these districts has gone down by 25 and 30 percent respectively in last 10 years. The condition of the people of the other areas of the state is equally alarming. As per government statistics, per capita per day income of the people of the state has remained static at Rs18 for rural and Rs25 for urban areas for last 10 years. This being the situation it is not surprising that Orissa tops in infant and maternal

mortality in the country. Added to this, all out privatization and commercialization of education and health services has deprived the people of the basic rights.

Over and above that, there is a concerted move on the part of the domestic and foreign monopolists with the help of the pliant central and state governments to forcibly snatch land from the downtrodden and underprivileged in the name of so-called industrialization. When the affected people rose in protest against such tyrannical land grab in Kalinganagar by the Tata House and in Jagatsingpur by South Korean POSCO group, the state administration retaliated lethally killing many on the spot and perpetrating severe repression on the agitating poor mostly utterly deprived tribal people. The whole nation was shocked at these ghastly incidents but the rulers and their servitor political parties remained unfazed. Same was the story at Mittal, Vedanta, Kasipur and other places of the state. Thereafter, Orissa was shaken by the communal riot orchestrated by the Hindu communal RSS-BJP at Kandhamal region. It was evident that in order to sabotage the agitations of the suffering people against the rabid anti-people policies of the bourgeois state and central governments, there has been a planned conspiracy on the part of the ruling clique to sustain a permanent divide among them by stoking communal fire. And the RSS-BJP combine as faithful agent of the ruling capitalist class spared no time in operationalising the conspiracy like the way they had earlier plotted the murder of Graham Stains, a missionary priest and his sons to inflame the environ with communal passion. Air continues to remain surcharged even today and the people besides being back-broken by aggravated economic and political oppression are haunted by a fear of insecurity, uncertainty, tension and internecine clashes.

### Duplicious pre-election drama of the power seekers

This in short is the backdrop in which Orissa is going to polls. But as indicated above, addressing the people's issues is of least concern for the bourgeois parties and pseudo-Marxists working out

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## Andhra Pradesh on the eve of elections

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9. Regularization of sericulture workers in the state,
10. Wage rise for Beedi workers in Kurnool etc.,

As a part of this ongoing movements over various pressing issues of people's life, SUCI takes part in the elections with a view to exposing the pro-capitalist, anti-people and opportunist policies of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois parties as well as the pseudo-Marxists parties, bringing to the

fore the real alternative before the people that is the united democratic mass movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution and if returned, reflecting voice of people's movement inside the legislature. With the passage of time, this pro-people fighting role of SUCI as against the vile bourgeois power-mongering politics is like all other parts of the country increasingly receiving people's recognition and support in the state of Andhra Pradesh as well.

## Both rightists and pseudo-Marxists join bandwagon of power politics while people scream for relief

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electoral arithmetic in pursuit of narrow sectarian interest. To divert attention of the people from such a stark reality political parties vying with each other to grab power are employing all sorts of dirty tricks and trying to put the blame for the underdevelopment and poverty of the Orissa people on the others' shoulders just to hoodwink people. The people of Orissa are witnessing their share of political drama that has unfolded with the breakdown of alliance between BJD and BJP. The BJD-BJP government came to power in Orissa in 2000 riding on the crest of massive anti-Congress wave and had ruled for last 9 years in a row. BJD was also a part of the erstwhile BJP-led NDA government at the centre and was one of the strongest allies of BJP for more than a decade. But the strain in the ruling combine was perceptible for quite some time centering round seat sharing for the coming assembly and parliamentary polls. After much dilly dallying and bouts of mud-slinging over the issue, Naveen Patnaik, chief minister and BJD president declared dissolution of BJD-BJP alliance late in the evening of 7 March last. Hours after the declaration by the chief minister, BJP withdrew support from the Naveen Patnaik-led BJD government and demanded imposition of President's rule in the state as the government had lost majority following the withdrawal.

BJD enjoying the support of 61 MLAs in a house of 147 in its frantic bid to 'manage' support of 12 more MLAs to save the government and win the ensuing election with the help of a pliant administration started worst kind of horse trading that far surpassed the feats adopted by the Congress crisis managers to save the UPA government after CPI(M) and its associates took back support showing disagreement over Indo-US nuke deal. Though the CPI(M) and CPI leaders had till the other day been charging the BJD-BJP alliance government of not fulfilling a single demand of the people of the state, accusing it of selling out land, mineral resources, water and forest to multinational companies and pocketing thousands of crores as cut money, of siding with the

Kandhamal rioters and even demand its resignation for shielding the criminals involved in the rape of a nun in Kandhamal now have moved full circle to brand Naveen Patnaik as the most secular, forward looking and pro-people chief minister, of course second only to Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, the CPI(M) chief minister of West Bengal. After the Kalinganagar massacre, Sitaram Yechury, member CPI(M) polit bureau, had termed the BJD-BJP alliance government as "serial killer" and Naveen Patnaik a "criminal". As soon as BJD snapped ties with BJP, the same Yechury air-dashed to Bhubaneswar, with a smiling face proudly posed with Naveen Patnaik, assured him of all support and personally invited him to join so-called third front. A.B Bardhan of CPI even went to the extent of terming Naveen Patnaik as the true heir of Biju Patnaik, 'the architect of coalition politics in the country'. Apart from CPI, CPI(M), Naveen Patnaik managed to secure backing of a few independents, NCP of Sharad Pawar and JMM of Shibu Soren. It may be recalled that few months back JMM had invited the wrath of the people of the state for its demand to separate the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundergarh from Orissa and bring these under Jharkhand. BJD which loses no opportunity in projecting itself as the champion of the cause of Orissa had called for a social boycott of JMM and vowed to fight JMM in order to protect the geographical integrity of Orissa. But, the moment the question was of the survival of its government, BJD took a U-turn to flock with JMM though the latter continues to be a part of UPA government at the centre and an important ally of Congress in Jharkhand. Likewise, NCP state president and one of the much publicized legislators were known to be a bitter critic of the BJD-BJP coalition government but they had no feeling of delicacy to undergo a *volte face* once better poll and post-poll prospects were envisaged. BJD leaders also netted some of the disgruntled BJP MLAs reportedly with the assurances of ministerial berths in the next government. It is in this way that the BJD could succeed in saving its government by 'managing' support of 76 MLAs i.e. 2 more than a

simple majority. Paradoxically, a few of its own MLAs did not accompany the chief minister when he called on the Governor to claim majority in the house indicating division within, surely not on principle but obviously over share in the booty. There is a rumour current that the entire operation has been financed by huge black money and covert exchange of other material favours. Incidentally, the BJD leaders with the help of print and electronic media spread a rumour that Shambhunath Naik, SUCI MLA had also extended support to the BJD government by putting his signature on the list of supporting MLAs. The vile game was exposed when SUCI state committee informed the people that it was a total lie as SUCI has never been a party to such nasty unscrupulous power politics.

The role of Congress, the main opposition party in Orissa assembly, brought the cat out of the bag. The Congress which has been shielding the corrupt and blatantly anti people BJD-BJP government in last few assembly sessions by creating pandemonium in the house and not allowing discussion on burning problems of people's life surprisingly came to the rescue of the government which has lost majority. The closeness of Congress with BJD could be read from the ambiguous stand taken by the Congress party on the issue of trust vote. Even when the leader of the opposition belonging to Congress was entering the assembly for the trust vote on 11 March last, he in reply to a question by a TV reporter about the decision of Congress legislative party, said: "We shall decide our course of action in the assembly itself" as if he was unaware of the stand of his Party. And when the assembly session for the trust vote started, the Congress shouting brigade was on its feet. They demanded that with election code of conduct in force, it was illegal to convene the assembly session. But they never demanded division of vote and in the ensuing melee the speaker who obviously belonged to BJD declared the government victorious by voice vote. After that just to hoodwink the people the Congress legislators rushed to the Governor and complained against the speaker. The

fact that both the Orissa Governor and President of India are still sitting over the matter and allowing a minority government to rule the state indicates an underhand agreement between Congress and BJD in terms of which BJD would be allowed to continue in power and in turn support Congress in forming government at the center after the polls. BJD, on the other hand, worried for its diminishing popularity after 9 years of utterly anti-people rule and more so because of the communal riot at Kandhamal desperately needed to refurbish its riot-tainted image, wear a secular mask and go to the electorate with a fresh look and new allies. So it swallowed the bait thrown by Congress which, in all probability, has consent of both CPI(M) and CPI. That is why; BJD hurriedly broke its tie with BJP and declared to have kept its option open to join UPA government after the polls of course "in the best interest of the State of Orissa". It is a kind of caricature when the BJD leaders who steadfastly supported Vajpayee-led NDA government in all its misdeeds and anti-people policies including the anti-Muslim pogrom of Gujarat and kept the police administration immobilized during the communal riot of Kandhamal, are found to brand BJP as communal and charge it of fomenting communal riot in Kandhamal. Interestingly, though the BJD was bailed out by some smaller parties seemingly in the hope of some electoral concessions, are now at loggerheads with the former. JMM and BJD failed to reach an agreement on seat sharing. BJD could not strike a deal with NCP either and both the parties have published their candidates' list separately. This, in fine, is the story of BJD's holding on to power that only gives a glimpse of the power-game politics pursued by the bourgeois and social democratic parties.

### Perfidy of pseudo-Marxists

Changing political colour and forging opportunistic alliances and switching sides according to one's own convenience has of late become, so to say, an acceptable political manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie

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# SUCI alone holds aloft the banner of democratic mass movement and genuine leftism

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parties and hence developments in Orissa are no surprising. But the heinous role played by the parties swearing day in and day out in the name of the toiling people of the country and claiming to be Marxists-Communists like CPI(M), CPI need special mention. These pseudo-Marxists have advanced a queer explanation to justify tying up with BJD. They say that once BJD has broken its alliance with BJP, it has acquired 'secular' credential and therefore it becomes the historic responsibility of left forces of the country to strengthen BJD to defeat communal BJP in the polls. So it is incumbent upon the CPI(M) not only to save the BJD government but also strive to make BJD a part of the so called third front it is trying to prop up with all and sundry. Any body acquainted with the *modus operandi* of CPI(M) and CPI can recollect that in order to discharge such a 'historic responsibility', both of them rallied behind Congress-led UPA government at the Centre for four years and a half after conferring 'secular' title on Congress and enjoyed all the benefits of being in power. But when the bell tolled for next parliamentary elections, the CPI(M), CPI from its electoral

exigencies of contesting against Congress in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura withdrew support from UPA government albeit after ensuring that no danger would be posed to the Congress as Samajwadi Party and other political outfits would come to the rescue. There is every possibility of CPI(M) and its associates rejoining Congress after the polls as all doors have been kept ajar for that. In the past also, CPI(M) and its allies alternated support between Congress and Janta Party. They did not have any compunction in supporting the V P Singh-led central government alongwith BJP.

In Orissa politics the track record of these parties is no better. While the people of Orissa continue to bleed white under the rule of different bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie parties in turn, it was incumbent upon the genuine left forces to forge a fighting alliance among themselves on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme and build up mass movement on people's agenda. Our Party SUCI has been trying over the decades to forge such an alliance. Due to our persistent effort an alliance of SUCI, CPI(M) and CPI was formed in the year 1994. The three parties jointly took up mass

movement programmes and there was massive public support in favour of this alliance. We called upon the CPI(M) and CPI to fight the 1995 Assembly elections jointly as a part and parcel of on-going joint mass movement. But true to their social democratic character both CPI(M) and CPI termed the alliance "unrealistic" and entered into electoral understanding with the then Janata Dal led by Biju Patnaik. Since then both CPI(M) and CPI are in league with either Congress or Janata Dal (now BJD) just for securing a few seats in assembly and parliament by sheer backstabbing people's cause. On the other hand, the persistent effort of the SUCI to hold aloft the banner of fighting leftism and movement is winning people's support and confidence on an increasing scale.

## People's cause must be upheld

Be that as it may, in such a political climate it is quite natural that old fronts and alliances are tumbling like nine pins and new fronts and alliances forged overnight only to get demolished in no time and yield place more and more opportunistic and power hungry alliances among bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and social democratic forces. Needless

to mention that all such dirty tricks and manoeuvrings are being done in the name of interest of Orissa people. Such a sorry state of affairs has once again brought into sharp focus the abysmal low to which crisis ridden and moribund capitalism has pushed its once hallowed political institutions, and establishments. An impression is sought to be created that every thing is fair in politics and politics knows no ethics or morality, the thumb rule in politics is anyhow grabbing power.

Under such a suffocating situation, our beloved Party SUCI, reared and steered by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh a foremost Marxist thinker of the era has been trying to lead people's movement on the edifice of higher ethics, morality and culture since its inception. We are also fighting the ensuing assembly elections single handedly with our meagre resources and based on the whole-hearted support of the toiling people of the state yet again. We call upon the people of the state to stand by our Party, the genuine people's alternative to sinister machinations by bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and social democratic parties of the country and make our candidates in the forth-coming elections victorious.

## SUCI supports two independent candidates in Kerala

SUCI is supporting two independent candidates, Ms. Mary Francis Moolampilly in Emakulam Constituency and Dr. Azad in Ponnani Constituency in Kerala. This is in addition to the party's contesting 8 Lok Sabha constituencies in the state, which is already reported in the Proletarian Era volume 42, no.15.

Mary Francis is an active participant of people's resistance movement in the state against the sinister land acquisition policy of the LDF Government of Kerala that, in the name of development has evicted a large number of people telling upon their life and livelihood.

Dr. Azad is a known left intellectual of the state, who has stood against CPI(M) and the LDF government for its naked pro-capitalist stances as well as open pursuit of imperialist globalization policies.

## Socialism creates wonder in North Korea

The bourgeoisie arrogantly slanders the socialist state with one aim – so that workers and peasants do not find out the truth, do not organize proletarian revolutions in their own countries and do not use the example of the socialist countries. Here are some of the startling achievements of scientific socialism in North Korea.

1. Because of the politics of "Juche" ("self reliance"), the planned socialist economy, the DPRK is not in the grip of the world capitalist economic crisis
2. In DPRK, there is no crime. Therefore there is no militia (police force).
3. Citizens of North Korea do not pay any taxes. Young families, just starting out, are given apartments for free, with an area of 120 sq. metres. And all the furniture and kitchen utensils are also supplied to them for free.

4. Twice a year, school children and students are given free uniform and study materials.
5. Newspapers and hair salons are completely free.
6. Health resorts are completely free.
7. Entrance to theatres in the DPRK is free (no need to buy tickets).
8. In the towns and villages you won't see women smoking. Alcohol consumption is minimal and there is no drunkenness. The streets are very clean. A North Korean throwing litter on the ground knows that he is creating problems for himself and the environment. All of this has been achieved by way of persuasion and not by means of punitive fines and bans.

(Source : All Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Vladivostok branch)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE