

Statement of Policy of the Central Committee SUCI on Tenth Lok Sabha Polls

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following Policy Statement of the Central Committee of the party on the ensuing Tenth Lok Sabha polls:

Mid-term election has been called to Lok Sabha and several State Assemblies between May 20 and 26. Thus, in a space of a year and a half, the country has to pass through yet another exercise in parliamentary polls with the majority of its people condemned to bare existence even fortythree years after independence, being denied the basic needs, half-clad, illiterate, without a homestead, deprived of medical care, and in particular now with unemployment, inflation, taxes and price-rise on an unprecedented scale threatening to spell disaster in their life. This poll exercise is going to be a most expensive one and will cost more than 1000 crores of rupees, only to add to the burden of the already overburdened people.

It is not difficult for the people to realize, however, that this election has nothing to do with the question of fulfilling their basic needs or resolving their burning problems. It has been imposed on them because of the insatiable greed for power of some corrupt and unscrupulous political leaders and parties. Neither the BJP's withdrawal of support to the V.P. Singh Government nor the Congress(I)'s non-cooperation with its own puppet Chandra Shekhar Government which led ultimately to a crisis of the bourgeois parliamentary system had been prompted by any concern for the people's cause. But the burden has to be borne by the people, now again.

The crisis in the bourgeois parliamentary system arising from the resignation of the Chandra Shekhar Government was not accidental. It came in the wake of development that followed the last Lok Sabha polls which resulted in a hung Parliament for the first time in this country, but its roots lie in the all-out crisis of the capitalist system of the country. This capitalist crisis is having its reflection in all the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties who are defending the interest of the ruling capitalist class and under the impact of the crisis all these parties are disintegrating and the factions are realigning to unite only to split again. The lust for power among these parties and their leaders has reduced the Parliament to an arena of intrigues and horse-trading.

The Congress(I), the most trusted political party of the ruling class, suffered defeat in the last Lok Sabha polls, but it was not routed and became the single largest party. The National Front Government assumed office under the stewardship of V.P. Singh but its future hung on the pulls and counter-pulls being exerted by the BJP on the one hand and the CPI(M) and its allies on the other, which supported this minority government from outside. And following the defeat of the Congress(I), the expectations aroused among the people that the Janata Dal-led NF Government might make a departure from the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government and take some pro-people measures to provide relief to the masses and restore and protect their democratic rights were belied in no time. Moreover, rather than trying to check the communal, casteist, parochial and secessionist forces, it itself took recourse to fomenting casteism for the petty parliamentary interest of creating its own vote bank.

All the parliamentary parties engaged in pursuing their own petty parliamentary interests and having least concern for the people's cause sought only to manipulate the situation, each in its favour. From the very beginning, the BJP which had suddenly grown much stronger in Parliament, with its representation in Lok Sabha raised from 2 to 86 at the last polls, something the party itself had not dreamt of, was pressurising the V.P. Singh Government to swallow many of its unreasonable demands. It was enjoying both privilege and power without being in the Government and, taking advantage of the situation, was fanning up Hindu communalism all over the country particularly in Kashmir, which even led to the growth of a sense of alienation among the Kashmiri people. In this explosive situation, on the other, the V.P. Singh Government took to the caste-based reservation policy. And being afraid of losing the major Hindu votes because of this reservation policy, the BJP resorted to whipping up a countrywide frenzy of Hindu communalism over the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue and to that end organized a 'rathayatra', with the help of rabid communal forces like the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena, pushing the country into inflamed communal passion and fratricidal bloodbath. Under the circumstances, as everyone will recall, when the

Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor in Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 24 No 15 1st May Price : 80 P.

Air Surcharge 5 P.

N.F. Government stopped the 'rathayatra' belatedly though, and arrested the BJP leader L.K. Advani, the BJP withdrew its support from the NF Government and brought about its fall. The CPI(M)-led Left Front, the other support of the N.F. Government, which was so vociferous against BJP's communalism played its role by allowing Advani's 'rathayatra' to pass through West Bengal which left in its trail communal eruptions and bloodbath.

The Congress(I) lost no time in seizing the opportunity and propping up a puppet Government to prepare the stage for its coming back to power through horse-trading of MPs. And it found a ready tool in Chandra Shekhar, a greedy power seeker and an old aspirant for Prime Ministership, who had no hesitation to split from the Janata Dal at once along with a gang of defectors and form a minority Government with the support of the same Congress(I) against which he was elected to Parliament by the people. And it is well known to the people how his Government was ready to submit to any extent to the pressure of the Congress(I).

At the time of formation of the Chandra Shekhar Government with a gang of defectors, our party had pointed out that it was de facto a Congress(I) Government by proxy. Although Mr. Rajiv Gandhi sought to defend this immoral act of his party on the pretext of trying to save the country from an expensive mid-term poll, our party had little doubt that the Congress(I) would allow this puppet Government to function till the time required to prepare itself for an election and stage a comeback. And everyone can understand that recourse to this means on the part of the most power-hankering and corrupt a party like the Congress(I) means trying to clamp its direct control over the administration both at the Centre and in as many States as possible for carrying out an all-out administrative rigging, which has become a regular feature of elections since the days of Indira Gandhi. Subsequent political developments only confirmed our analysis. It is not unknown to the people now how the Congress(I) has fully utilized the short span of the Chandra Shekhar Government's rule to destroy, in the first place, all evidences relating to its past scandals and shady deals and secondly to prepare the ground for staging its own comeback in a most undemocratic way by toppling on the one hand, the elected non-Congress(I) Governments in Assam, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry on most flimsy ground and, on the other, by replacing the most undesirable Chief Ministers of its own party in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh by the 'yesmen' of Rajiv Gandhi and lastly, by replacing senior IPS officers in important positions in the Central and State Governments. And it is also not unknown how, all through the short span of his rule, Mr Chandra Shekhar had to put up with every humiliation and bow down to every dictate of the Congress(I). But to submit to the Congress(I)'s pressure on the Haryana issue would have been suicidal for him. Naturally, he was left with no other option than to resign. And thus the country has been pushed to a mid-term poll. The spate of political developments during this period of one and a half years has exposed the real character and role of those parliamentary parties to reveal two things very clearly. First, although all these parties swear by the people's interest, none does actually care a bit for it. The parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI are also not excluded from this list. Second, the parliamentary system of the country has become so unstable that no single party is in a position to form a Government on its own, nor the future of a Government is certain any more.

All the parliamentary parties are busy assessing the possible outcome of the ensuing polls and each one is trying to reach an understanding with some others over seat adjustment. The untouchable of yesterday are becoming acceptable today and when parties are failing to agree on a point of bargain they are starting to hurl vituperations against each other, still continuing effort for some clandestine understanding. Everyday now power greedy politicians, prompted by calculations of gaining more dividends, are crossing the floor to join another party or return to their original fold.

(Cont. on Page 4)

BANGLADESH ELECTION

People must keep guard against attempt to butcher democracy

Traversing a long blood-strained and arduous path of struggle for many years the people of Bangladesh ultimately established a democratic government through elections in which the Bangladeshi National Party (BNP) came to power, backed by the support of the fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islam, with Begum Khaleda Zia, leader of the BNP, as the Prime Minister. It is, no doubt, a welcome feature for the people of a country who since the birth of the nation barring a short spell of time after its inception virtually did not have a taste of democracy.

Practically from the days of late Mujibur Rahman till now the worst victim in this hapless country has been the democratic aspiration of the people itself. And under the long autocratic rule the reactionary and fundamentalist forces got emboldened to such a position that even most of the parties professing democracy and secularism compromised with the arch fundamentalist and communal forces and played religious cards to fetch more votes. As a result, the hands of the reactionaries and fundamentalists have been further strengthened and the democratic and secular values and, above all, political consciousness of the people rapidly lost ground. The recent election is also a pointer to this which the common people of Bangladesh for their own interest should not lose sight of.

The pertinent questions which arise from the last election result are:

a) How could the Jamaat-e-Islam which worked as the direct agent of Pakistan and butchered in hundreds the freedom fighters during the liberation struggle come out in the election as the fourth largest party?

b) How could the most corrupt, autocratic and anti-people Ershad win in all the 5 constituencies he fought and his party appeared as the third largest party against which the people a few months earlier burst out in rage and forced him to resign?

Again (c) how the 5-Left party alliance who never faltered and vacillated and when others were not found in the field of movement, the 5-Left party alliance alone kept the fire of the struggle alight and played all through a consistent role and which virtually rejuvenated the anti-Ershad movement by placing it on the basis of a definite programme of action and united all the forces together could cut a sorry figure in the election?

One after another rulers appeared on the scene mouthing democracy and each one made democracy the first victim. The first attack came from Mujib when he changed the Constitution, introduced one-party rule and presidential form of government and concentrated all the powers in his hands. Thereafter came the virtual military rule of Zia-ur Rahman and then of H. M. Ershad. All of them treated the same anti-people and autocratic path. Though both of them remaining in power formed political parties of their own and making a mockery of election tried to give a democratic cover to the military rule, they could not ultimately succeed in hoodwinking the people. People's agitation gradually increased for establishing a real democratic rule. During Ershad's regime a united movement of all the Opposition parties developed with the demand of resignation of Ershad from power and holding of election under a caretaker Government and it ultimately forced Ershad to resign. The ruling class also found it wise to

switch over to parliamentary form, because through it it becomes easier to conceal the real character of the capitalist state and fool the people.

So, the bourgeoisie of Bangladesh when found an opportunity to introduce a two-party parliamentary system and perpetuate their rule through an elected Government started backing mainly the two main bourgeois parties—the Awami League and the BNP. At the same time the ruling class was also very much apprehensive of the rise of the Left forces and played its due role through these parties to wipe out the Left forces in the parliamentary battle.

Over and above, these bourgeois parties were fed with fabulous amounts of black money accumulated over the years in the upper echelon of society. The bourgeoisie reduced the election to a virtual farce by purchasing the voters like commodities with the help of this black money. The half-fed, half-clad people of Bangladesh, helpless as they were owing to lack of class consciousness and absence of any effective organisation of theirs, particularly the vast peasantry who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, succumbed mostly to the lure of ready cash and voted in their favour. Also the report reveals that the last movement which caused the downfall of the Ershad Government also was confined mainly to the urban areas and the vast peasantry was virtually out of the current of the movement. This explains why Ershad became victorious in the election just after the upsurge which forced him to resign.

Another factor for their dismal failure was that the Left parties could not show a united face. Had all the Left parties

(Contd. on page 6)

Misdeeds and anti-people steps of the ruling parties

Records of misdeeds of the protagonists of 'Stable Government':

Communal riots in the Indira regime:

Year	Incidents	Dead	Wounded
1980	427	375	2838
1981	219	179	2631
1982	474	238	3025
1983	404	202	3478

(Sources: Union Home Ministry)

In 1972 the movement for autonomy of the Aligarh Muslim University was ruthlessly crushed by the Provincial Armed Constabulary of UP which took the form of a communal repression. The Prime Minister rather expressed her resentment for unfoundedly accusing the police, let alone open her mouth against the police barbarity.

There were incidents of communal riots in Dadri on September 21, 1972, Nonari on November 15, Sajoi on December 12, Ranimou on December 29, Durgajot on January 23 and in Gonda on February 14, 1973. In the same year communal riots broke out in Sadar-bazar of the capital.

People still awfully remember the police repression on the minority community in the Jama Masjid and Turkman Gate areas of Delhi.

After Mrs. Gandhi came back to power in 1980 communal riot erupted in Moradabad in UP in which 130 lives were lost in a single day. In between 1980 and 1983, horrible communal riots took place in Aligarh, Allahabad, Godhra, Biharsharif, Nalanda, Hyderabad, Baroda, Pune, Phulwarisharif, Delhi, Meerut and in Assam. According to unofficial estimate about 10,000 people lost their lives in Assam.

COMMUNAL RIOTS IN RAJIV RULE

As per official estimate 2033 people were killed in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi alone. Communal riots also erupted 764 times in 1986, 711 in 1987 and 610 in 1988.

Just before the Lok Sabha polls more than 1000 people lost their lives in Bhagalpur, Bihar alone, which can be compared with the communal flare-up of 1946-47 in terms of barbarity. Besides, in the same year in total 168 people died in the riots in Hazaribagh, Sasaram, Palamou Bhagalpur, Munger of Bihar, Godhra in Gujarat, Khargone and Indore in Madhya Pradesh, Jawal, Kota and Jaipur in Rajasthan and Badaun and Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh as per official estimate.

COMMUNAL RIOTS DURING V. P. SINGH RULE

Communal riots erupted throughout the length and breadth of the nation centring round Ramjanmabhooni, issue in September-October, 1990. Mr. V. P. Singh, the Prime Minister of the country virtually remained passive.

In Gujarat on 14 September, 1990, on the occasion of Ganapati festival a riot was engineered at the direct instigation of the State BJP minister, Nalin Bhatt. Riots too broke out in Ahmedabad, Anand and Surat. The Janata Dal Chief Minister Mr. Chimanbhai Patel did not do anything to quell it.

Riots erupted in Gonda district of UP on 30th September in which 300 persons were murdered and 1000 wounded in Kunjalganj areas, as per unofficial estimate.

In Udaipur of Rajasthan riots took place on 3rd October centring round Ramjyoti procession.

In Karnataka riots broke out in Bangalore, Mysore, Konar, Ramnagar, Kundapura, Bidar, Shimoga and Raichur. During the same period Madras and Madurai in Tamil Nadu and Jhalda and Pilkhana in West Bengal experienced the barbarity of riots.

(Contd. on page 3)

Misdeeds and anti-people steps of the ruling parties

(Continued from Page 2)

TORTURE ON WOMEN IN RAJIV RULE

Rape: 1985—6356; 1986—7509; 1987—7638; 1988—8706; 1989—7586.

Dowry Death: 1988—2209; 1989—4006.

REPRESSION ON SCHEDULED CASTE PEOPLE

1985: 15,373; 1986—15,403; 1987—13,525
1988: 15,207; 1989—14,366.

BLACK LAWS DURING RAJIV RULE

NSA, ESMA, Terrorist Activities Prevention Act, 59th Amendment to the Constitution, Hospitals & Other Institutions (Amendment) Bill, Industrial Dispute and Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, Code and Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, etc.

BLACK LAWS DURING V. P. SINGH RULE

The V. P. Singh Government promulgated ESMA on the workers of the Oil industry on 8th May, 1990. On 5th May the same year it enacted a black law, Jammu & Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act, 1990 and enforced it to bring Kashmir virtually under military rule.

In the name of participation of workers in management, the V. P. Singh Government brought enactment virtually to reduce the workers to subservient to the employers.

Just after being installed in power at the Centre the VP Singh Government like that of Rajiv Gandhi replaced the governors of several states by its own chosen men. Later, the V. P. Singh Government brought Karnataka under President's rule. The notorious communal Jagmohan was appointed as the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir and the Farooq Abdullah Government was virtually forced to resign.

WHAT MORE THE PROTAGONISTS OF STABLE GOVERNMENT HAVE GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE

Since Independence the Central and States Governments have been abnormally increasing indirect taxes borne by the people whereas the direct taxes borne in the main by the rich have been gradually reduced. Here are some examples:

Year	Direct Taxes (per cent of total revenue)	Indirect Taxes (per cent of total revenue)
1960-61	28.8	71.2
1980-81	17.6	82.4
1987-88	14.3	85.7

(Sources: Statistical Outline of India)

SUBSIDIES SLASHED IN FOOD ARTICLES AND RAISED ON EXPORT ITEMS.

The Government of India sensing widespread discontent took recourse to rationing system by giving a substantial amount as subsidy. But of late, much of it has been withdrawn and being diverted to export account in order to fill the pockets of the capitalists through sale of our goods in foreign markets in cheaper rates, which means, Indians will buy the indigenous goods at a higher price and the foreigners will get those at a much cheaper rate. In 1985, out of a total government subsidy food articles enjoyed 33.5 per cent and in 1989-90 it came down to 23.1 per cent and 20.7 per cent in 1990-91.

70 PER CENT OF NON-PLAN EXPENDITURE IS ON THE FOLLOWING THREE ITEMS.

	1989-90	1990-91
1. Interest on Loan	9045 crore	11,331 crore
2. Subsidies	9166 ..	8516 ..
3. Military	14,500 ..	15,750 ..

Orissa State UTUC (LS) Conference

Uphold secularism & democracy

—Comrade Tapas Dutta

BHUBANESWAR: 30-3-91—The 7th State Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Orissa, was held at Cuttack on 26 and 27 March '91 amidst great enthusiasm Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, C.C., SUCI, General Secretary of UTUC (LS), All India Committee and State Secretary of SUCI Orissa addressed the Open Session on 26 March evening at Gouri Shankar Park. Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, Secretary UTUC (LS) Orissa State Committee presided. More than ten thousand workers, agricultural workers including women and toiling people marched in a colourful procession from Cuttack Rly. Station and gathered at the Park. Hundreds of people from Cuttack city also attended the session.

At the outset, the audience expressed condolence at the tragic death of many men at Bhadrak due to communal violence.

Comrade Dutta expressing grave concern at the spread of communal tension and violence throughout the country in the recent past and in the present day said that it was well known that the BJP was openly preaching Hindu communalism. But Congress(I), Janata Dal, Janata(S), even the so-called Leftists like the CPI and CPI(M) practised communalism under the mask of secularism and democracy. They were no less responsible for the communal tension and fratricidal blood-bath in the country. These parties nourish and protect the communal forces for their narrow political interest. Explaining the relation of Democracy to

Secularism, he said that these were like two sides of a coin. One cannot be democratic without being secular and vice versa.

He continued that the greed for power and holding it anyhow had put the bourgeois politicians of our country into a deep crisis. The bourgeois class design to deceive the people by foisting the two-party parliamentary system had failed for the 2nd time after the 9th Lok Sabha Polls. And the huge burden of yet another election has to be borne by the poor tax payers of the country and the big business financing the big and small bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties at their service would again suck the blood of the poor by raising the prices and earn fabulous profit. And these parties would again come to the people with their false promises and lure the youth, the poor

and unemployed with money to work for them for further degrading them morally. Only by putting an end to capitalist exploitative system and bringing in the rule of the working class by the revolutionary transformation of the society all these problems besieging the toiling people of the country could come to an end. Workers, peasants, and the oppressed people must march unitedly in their struggle to achieve this goal.

Resolutions were unanimously adopted in the meeting on the Industrial Relations Bill, the Bill of workers' participation in Management and on communal problem. While demanding that the Black laws be scrapped, the meeting adopted the Resolution on Communal harmony.

The open session commenced with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and concluded with the Internationale.

The Delegate Session was held at Kala Vikas Kendra, Cuttack. The Delegate Session was presided over by Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta, Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) All India Council and member of the Central Committee, SUCI. Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, moved the main resolution and placed the Organisational Report. It was accepted unanimously with a few additions and alterations. The office bearers and members of the Executive Committee UTUC (LS) Orissa was unanimously elected. Comrade Sitesh Dasgupta, was elected President, Com. Sk. Kashim, Com. Bishnu Dash and Com. Sambhu Nayak as Vice-President, Com. Mayadhar Nayak as Secretary, Com. Bijay Sahoo and Com. Debendra Sahoo as Assistant Secretary and Com. Raghunath Dash as Treasurer.

RAJIV-V.P..CHANDRA SHEKHAR-JYOTI BABU'S FALSE PROMISE ON EMPLOYMENT

Rajiv promised to provide employment to 10 lakh youth in 1985. In the election manifesto presented before the Tenth Lok Sabha Polls, the promise of providing 10 lakh employment has again been given by the same Congress(I).

Again, V. P. Singh said in October last that he would provide employment to 30 lakh unemployed youth.

Chandra Shekhar said in the election manifesto that 10 million unemployed youth would be provided with jobs.

Jyoti Basu and Co. have been claiming 5 lakh in some document and 10 lakh in some other by including all the self-employment schemes as employment (Manifesto and the budget speech of the W. Bengal Finance Minister).

(Contd. on page 6)

Policy Statement of the Central Committee on Tenth Lok Sabha Poll

(Contd from page 1)

In this situation, both the ruling class and its parties are desperately searching for stability. And this is why, the slogan of a 'stable Government' has become the main plank of all the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties which are engaged in giving a fresh lease of life to the moribund capitalism. The bourgeois Press is also raising the same slogan, and the people, being disgusted with the repeated fall of the Governments are also getting influenced by it. But because of the most unpredictable shift of position of the parties and the leaders, nobody is sure about a stable Government.

But why this situation? Is it simply because of the opportunistic tendencies of some political parties and leaders? A closer study of this situation would reveal that although the opportunistic politics of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and their leaders are of course responsible for this uncertainty, there are still deeper reasons for this uncertainty and also for their opportunistic trends to grow.

The fact is that ours is a capitalist society. And here capitalism has not only grown in the era of imperialism or moribund capitalism, but being part and parcel of the world capitalism, it has entered into the third phase of general and intense crisis of world capitalism and has lost even the relative stability it enjoyed before the Second World War. Naturally, Indian capitalism, as our beloved leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist philosopher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed, was born and grew under a shadow of crisis. With everyday passing this shadow is growing larger and darker. At present the crisis of the capitalist system of our country has become so acute that it has developed a total uncertainty, not only in production but in the political superstructure too, resulting in the instability of the parliamentary system and a complete uncertainty in the social life. And, as already noted, this instability is being reflected in the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties as well. Again, because of the growing impact of individualism which is becoming more and more degenerate and is giving rise to utter selfishness, ego-centricism and lust for power and all that, the bourgeois parties are falling a victim to the worst type of opportunism and groupism, the group squabbles leading to splits and further splits. Even the petty bourgeois or social democratic parties are no exception to this.

Naturally, when these parties themselves are not stable, rather when they themselves are disintegrating, how can they ensure a stable Government? Clearly, therefore, what they are seeking in the name of stability is actually a brute majority which may help them to keep their Government intact for some time. More important is the question whether the people's interest is being served under such a stable Government if at all a party or combination of parties can provide it. Because on their part the people find that, regardless of stability or instability, they have been groaning under the grinding wheels of capitalist exploitation even after more than four decades of independence and there is no sign of redressal in near future. Therefore, to raise the question of stability as the most important issue before the people, taking advantage of the present situation, is calculated to divert the people's attention from their genuine problems to a fake one.

Now, every time elections approach, these parties take to hoaxing the people with tall promises and claims of 'achievements' under their rules. Experience has, however, taught the people that these claims are no more than deceptions and the promises are meant to be observed more in breach than in pursuit. Whoever comes to governmental power after the polls and takes on to defend the interest of the ruling capitalist class, it robs the people of their hard won democratic rights and smother the people's protest and resistance while keeping them divided by fomenting communal, casteist, parochial and secessionist forces. The rich get richer and the multitude languish in poverty, hunger and ignorance. In this system stability means, and can also mean, perpetuation of destitution and misery of the masses and extension of the exploitative and repressive rule of capitalism.

What is the history of the rule of the Congress(I) which is most vociferous about a stable Government? Even when it had an absolute control both over the Central and over the State Governments, particularly during the days of Jawaharlal Nehru what happened to the country and its people? Actually this was a period of laying the foundation of the present day's most exploitative, oppressive, and corrupt capitalist system prevailing at present in our country and, as is said by all, during this period 'the rich became richer and the poor poorer', with the country being pushed to total destitution.

And what is the history of the rule of Congress(I) under Indira Gandhi, more so under Rajiv Gandhi? This is no doubt the darkest period of Congress regime so far. During their rule the monopoly houses were provided with the maximum tax relief, subsidies and subventions and fabulous sums were advanced by the nationalised banks to help the rich amass huge wealth, whereas, the whole burden of capitalist crisis

was put on the shoulder of the common people. Their 'economic policy' wide-opened the door to the multinationals, particularly from the USA to exploit freely the cheap labour power and raw materials of our country and that, too, on most humiliating terms. The huge burden of loans from imperialist financial agencies, namely the I.M.F. and the World Bank, under which the country has been put during the last two decades has pushed the country into its present debt-trap. Militarisation took its longest leap during this rule with the military budget rising to Rs. 13,439 crores in 1987 from Rs. 378 crores in 1980. Whereas, during this period, the budgetary allocation for education came down to 1.25% from 7.25% just after independence.

Again, the history of this period of the Congress(I) rule is the history of systematic butchery of democratic rights and concentration of draconian powers in the hands of the executive to suppress the legitimate democratic movements of the people to serve the crisis-ridden capitalism.

Nobody has forgotten that, to save her position and her party after the Allahabad High Court verdict on her election, Indira Gandhi clamped Emergency rule on the country in 1975. Nor have the people forgotten how after her return to power in 1980, the Congress(I) Government enacted a host of draconian laws including NSA, Disturbed Areas Act and Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act — all to snatch away basic democratic rights of the people including their right to natural justice or how, after Rajiv Gandhi came to power, his Government brought more draconian Acts and also made 59th Amendment to the Constitution, to declare local Emergency at the Central Government's discretion and to deny the right to life of the citizens. Besides, in its bid to deny the common people the right to education and further pave the ground for all-out fascism through regimentation of thought the Rajiv Gandhi Government introduced the National Policy on Education, 1986 as another weapon in the State's armoury against the people. And who does not know that since the days of Indira Gandhi, during the last two decades, it is the Congress(I) which is the main architect of communalism, casteism, parochialism and secessionism by aiding, abetting and instigating the divisive forces for its own petty interests?

Finally, the history of Congress(I)'s rule is the history of the worst form of corrupt practices. A series of Press reports, report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) and the revelations by an ex-Army Chief made it more than clear how the leaders of the ruling party in collusion with those in the top-most levels of the Administration and Military had entered into shady deals for Bofors Guns and HDW German submarines to satiate their greed for fabulous sums paid as commission.

This is the character of stable Governments of Congress(I). And its recent history of propping up the Chandra Shekhar Government and toppling non-Congress(I) Governments in Assam, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry violating all democratic norms, values and practices, shows more clearly how the rule will be, if the Congress(I), the most trusted agent of the capitalist class and the main enemy of people, comes back to power and forms the Government.

On the other, the BJP's criminal bid to hoax the people by shrewd exploitation of the religious sentiments of the masses gets exposed when one takes a closer look at its misdeeds. Before the last Lok Sabha polls the BJP took an open Hindu communal line only for its parliamentary gains. The election-oriented communalist trick which the Rajiv Gandhi Government wanted to play before the polls to win Hindu votes by allowing the Hindu fundamentalist forces like the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal to lay the foundation of a temple at the disputed site in Ayodhya actually went in favour of the BJP who increased incredibly its parliamentary strength. As already stated, after the installation of the minority N. F. Government with its support, the BJP started whipping up the most aggressive Hindu communal frenzy throughout the country, more particularly in Kashmir to aggravate the situation there into an explosive stage.

But all saner people will agree that in a multinational, multi-lingual, multi-religious country like ours the politics of communalism, casteism, parochialism and linguistic fanaticism, particularly Hindu communalism, cannot but cause great harm to its people by engendering hundred and one divisions in their ranks and by pushing all other communities to the path of alienation and as a result the unity of the toiling people becomes the worst casualty and the people's interest suffers most. Communalism of every sort is harmful but the majority communalism naturally does the major damage to the people.

When, due to the growing capitalist exploitation and prolonged pursuit of anti-people policies pursued by both the Central and the State Governments, the common people's life is becoming more and more unbearable and suffocating, when the only way out before the people is to build up struggles over the burning problems in life and when, for these struggles to grow, the unity of all sections of the exploited masses is the most indispensable and the most urgent need, the BJP by raising the issues like Ramjanmabhoomi and Babri Masjid and Hindutva, is not only undermining and disrupting the unity of the people but is also diverting their attention from the real problem of life to a fake one and thus ultimately serving the ruling capitalist class.

(Contd. on page 5)

(Contd. from Page 4)

The stern reality is that in this class divided society, class exploitation by the rulers does not stop at community and caste distinctions. Birla exploits his Hindu workers no less than he exploits his Muslim workers. The interests of exploiter and the exploited are not only different, these are diametrically opposite too. In such a situation to raise the slogan of 'Hindutva' or common Hindu interest is to ask the worker to make common cause with the exploiter, that is, to sacrifice the interest of the Hindu exploited at the feet of the Hindu exploiter, taking advantage of the religious sentiments of the exploited masses.

In fact, mixing religion with politics has become a rampant trend with all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties in their bid to reap parliamentary dividends at the cost of the people's cause. The BJP, itself a rabid communal party, is trying to hoax the people and exploit the situation in its favour by claiming itself to be the only secular party while painting other parties as non-secular. But what is the real concept of secularism? Secularism is non-recognition of any supernatural or supra-material entity. A secular state recognises religion to be a personal belief of its citizens. It does not interfere with religious belief of an individual, nor does it encourage religion. Both the believers and the non-believers enjoy equal right in a secular state. The BJP denounces the capitulation by other parliamentary parties to different religious communities but seeks to conceal the fact of its own defence of the majority religion of the country, thus trying to equate secularism with domination of the majority religion and democracy with championing of the cause of the majority religious community. This wilful distortion of the concept of secularism and democracy by the BJP leaders is a shrewd exploit to grab governmental power but at the cost of the people's cause. In its 'rathayatra' last year the BJP projected its election symbol, the 'lotus'. That itself proved that the exercise was designed to give an electoral shape to the raked-up religious sentiment of the majority community. What has it to do with the burning problems in the people's life or with their crying needs?

So, also its election slogan of 'Ram, Roti and Insaf' (Rama, bread and justice) sounds nothing better than a cruel mockery since the politics that serves the exploiters can never assure bread for the exploited, far less can it ensure justice. The three states where the BJP is in power provide enough evidence to expose the deception of these slogans. This party is appealing to the electorate to give it a chance this time to form government at the Centre. The BJP rule, through exploitation of the people and disruption of their unity, can only serve the ruling capitalist class to strengthen its exploitative and oppressive rule but will embroil the people in fratricidal bloodbath and undermine their cause.

Again, the Janata Dal-led National Front Government has exposed its pro-capitalist character by its own conduct during the short period of its rule. It had held out many electoral promises like the 'right to work', 'right to recall', but let alone fulfilling those promises it took measures to serve the existing system and, other than effecting some cosmetic changes, made no basic departure from the policies pursued by the erstwhile Congress(I) Government. Neither did it take any step to repeal the fascist education policy introduced by the Rajiv Gandhi Government in the name of 'National Policy on Education', nor did it withdraw the most democratic amendment to the Representation of the People Act, which the Rajiv Government had made. Its Railway budget increased both fare and freight while its general budget placed a heavier burden on the common people. While its industrial policy gave a long hand to the industrialists to fleece the workers, its price policy resulted in an unprecedented price rise in all essential commodities, particularly the petroleum products, plunging the common people in greater misery. Instead of taking any positive measure to uplift the socio-economic, educational and cultural condition of the vast masses of the backward community, the Janata Dal-led N.F. Government widened further the division among the people on the caste line — all to their narrow parliamentary interest.

Its slogan of social justice can thus only serve the interest of ruling capitalist class who is in need to divide the people's unity to save itself from the wrath of the downtrodden or the exploited; while its slogan of 'change in power structure' by inducting a few elites from the backward communities in the higher echelons of bureaucracy can only make more deceptive the out-and-out repressive and despotic power structure of present day, a legacy of the steel frame of the British imperialist rule, thus to serve the existing system by confusing and misleading the vast masses of the downtrodden. And everyone knows that during its eleven-month rule the National Front Government has shown a scant regard for democratic norms and values. So, the reservation policy of the Janata Dal-led National Front, though it has been dished out to the people as a means to establish social justice and equity in society, is in point of fact a clever ploy to reap electoral dividends by fanning up casteism and to divide the much-needed unity of all sections of the common people to the extent of unleashing caste-riots which our country painfully witnessed just the other day.

About Chandra Shekhar's Janata Dal(S), better known as the lackey of the Congress(I), the less said the better. During its short rule, it has

done nothing tangible other than obeying the dictates of the Congress(I). Now, on the eve of the poll, the Janata Dal(S) is trying to pose, an anti-Congress(I) stance. But who will take a party for its pose whose existence owed to the Congress(I)'s pleasure and which tried all the way to reach an open or clandestine understanding with the Congress(I)?

The most ignominious part of its rule is, however, the role it played during the Gulf war. It is known to the whole world that the US imperialists did not start the Gulf war to liberate Kuwait, as it claimed, rather it started the savage war in the Gulf region to establish, in the first place, its supremacy in the oil rich Gulf region, and finally, all over the world. And for these it reduced the UNO, which is supposed to prevent wars, to a rubber stamp to get its war resolutions sanctioned. The way the US warmongers bombed on the civil population, hospitals, schools, babyfood production centres, etc., was nothing short of war crimes. The peace-loving people of the whole world, including ours, strongly condemned this criminal act, asked the US to stop the war and demanded its withdrawal from the Gulf. When, as the Government of a leading member of the non-aligned movement, it was incumbent on the India Government to mobilise the world opinion to force the US imperialists to stop war and withdraw from the Gulf and to declare Bush a war criminal the Chandra Shekhar Government allowed the US warplanes to refuel on the Indian soil, flagrantly betraying the anti-imperialist tradition and aspiration of the people of India. It has, of course, sent some medicines to Iraq. But to send medicines for the wounded Iraqis after allowing refuelling facilities to the US warplanes is a cruel joke and an act only to lower the prestige of India in the eyes of the anti-imperialist peace-loving people of the world.

This condemnable act of the Chandra Shekhar Government has helped to reveal a dangerous fact that, keeping the people in the dark, such a humiliating agreement has been in force from the days of the Congress(I) rule. But none of the big parliamentary parties demanded its scrapping. In this election, the people ought to see that whichever party or combination of parties comes to power, it not only scraps these agreements but also honours the anti-imperialist tradition and aspiration of the people; (2) it uses its diplomatic channel to pressurise the US and other imperialist powers to withdraw immediately from the entire Gulf region, declares Bush a war criminal, and makes the necessary moves together with other countries who cherish the cause of peace, sovereignty and independence of nation to try him; (3) it makes moves along with others to free the UNO from its present captive condition in the hands of the USA to make it an independent world organisation to prevent all possibilities of war and to maintain peace and stand as a guarantor against all sorts of interference and intervention in other countries; (4) it sees that the outstanding problems of West Asia, that is the Palestinian and other associated problems, are resolved on the basis of justice; and (5) the US pays adequate compensation for the enormous damage it has done to Iraq by its savage military operation. If the Government does not do this the Opposition parties should force the Government to do it. All the national parties should take the pledge that if they come to power they would follow a foreign policy in true anti-imperialist attitude and line.

The CPI(M) on its part has let it be known that it will consider joining a probable Government of the National Front if it can attain a position in Parliament to influence the policies of the Government. It is thus trying to make it appear as if a Government with the CPI(M) as a constituent would become a pro-people one. But what is the experience of the people with the CPI(M)-led Governments in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura?

Although, unlike a bourgeois Government, a true Left Government is expected to encourage legitimate democratic mass movements and stop interference by police in such movements, the CPI(M)-led Governments, even as they failed to give any relief to the people in their long rules, have ruthlessly suppressed democratic mass movements whenever one has been organised against their antipeople policies. In bringing down repression, it has not spared movements by any section of the people — whether of the workers, peasants, the teachers, the students, junior doctors and nurses, engineers or of the general masses. To suppress these movements it never hesitated to use its party stormtroopers besides the police, nor did it ever hesitate to open fire without any provocation on the protesters. Although a Left Government is expected to keep the Administration and police neutral, the experience of the people is that both the Administration and police in the CPI(M)-ruled States have been made to act more and more in a partisan way to subvert the party's interests. Many people have lost life in the attack of the CPI(M) stormtroopers, many have lost their properties, many more had to leave their dwelling areas. Nowhere did the police take any step against the CPI(M) hoodlums. Naturally, one finds no difference in attitude towards democratic mass movements between the CPI(M)-led Governments and any other bourgeois Governments.

But in 1967 and 1969, the United Front Governments of West Bengal, which were a combination of Left, democratic and non-Left parties, had

(Contd on page 8)

Misdeeds and anti-people steps of the ruling parties

(Contd. from page 3)

But despite such profuse promises, the people are witnessing that the unemployment in every household has been increasing.

BUDGET PROVISION ON EDUCATION HAS BEEN CONTINUALLY DECREASING

In first Five Year Plan the allocation on education was 7.1 per cent of total budget and this was only 1.9 per cent in Sixth Five Year Plan and 2.4 per cent in Seventh Plan.

TAX INCREASE

In five years (1985-89) Rajiv imposed additional burden of 12,200 crore of rupees on the people by increasing taxes and hiking the administered prices at the budget and also in pre-budget measures. In 1989, V. P. Singh Government increased Railway freight and fare and the rate of post and telegraph charges in budget and so a burden of 3454 crore of rupees was imposed on the people. Again, surcharge on petrol and diesel was imposed to the tune of 2300 crore of rupees. So in eleven months the V. P. Singh Government imposed 5754 crore of rupees as additional burden on the people.

THE NUMBER OF DESTITUTE PEOPLE INCREASING

An organisation, the Operation Research Group has shown by conducting survey on 83 thousand families that the people earning less than Rs. 5/- per day (the income of Rs. 5/- per day has been taken as the poverty line) constitute 61 p.c. of the total population. This is 63 p.c. in eastern India, which includes Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal.

(The Statesman — 12.12.90)

THE ASSETS OF THE TATAS BIRLAS AND AMBANIS HAVE BEEN INCREASING

As the number of destitute people is increasing and the leaders of the big parties are asking the people to sacrifice more and more to resolve the economic crisis, the assets of the Tatas, Birlas and Ambanis are increasing by leaps and bounds and have nearly doubled in two years. The assets of Tatas increased from 4516 crore in 1986-87 to 8171 crore in 1989-90. The assets of Birlas increased from 2266 crore in 1986-87 to 4823 crore in 1989-90. And the assets of Ambanis increased from 3236 crore to 3444 crore within 1988-89 to 1990-91.

(The Statesman and the Business Standard)

THE FALSE PROPAGANDA OF THE BJP AND THE REALITY REGARDING POPULATION GROWTH

Of late the BJP is harping on a false note that the Muslim population is dangerously increasing.

But the Social Studies of Registrar General of India undertook a sample survey in 587 districts in the four regions of the nation and has come to the conclusion that prior to 1961 the polygamy among Muslims is least among all communities in a decade. They are such : Hindu — 5.06 p.c. ; Muslim — 4.3 p.c. ; Buddhists — 8.13 p.c. and Jains — 4.4 p.c.

Besides, as per Census 1951 the Muslims were 9.91 p.c. of the total population of India. After 20 years it reached 11.21 p.c. in 1971 and in 1981 reached 11.35 p.c. Thus in last 30 years the proportional growth rate of the Muslims is 1.44 p.c. The 1981 Census revealed that Hindus numbered 55 crores whereas Muslims were only 7.5 crores. In the last 6 years i.e. from 1921 to 1981 Hindus always enjoy the

overwhelming predominance of more than 80 p.c. whereas the Muslims share 9 to 11 p.c. of the total population. So it is clear that the proportional growth of Hindus and Muslims remains the same.

So how could the Muslims, only 11 p.c. of the population, outnumber the Hindus and at least reach 51 p.c. and the overwhelming Hindu majority of 82 p.c. be reduced to at least 49 p.c. in India ?

Will the BJP leaders answer to this ?

(Source : 'Marxbader Bhatti', No. 6 Article by Prabir Ganguly titled : 'Is Muslim population increasing ?')

HONESTY AND LOVE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE BJP

1. The BJP's election promise was in Madhya Pradesh that if they came to power in the State the professional tax would be abolished. Instead professional tax has been hiked five times by the Patwa govt.
2. The Patwa govt. increased the busfare by 45 per cent.
3. Declared moratorium recruitment in government jobs.
4. Broke the election promise of introducing unemployment allowance.
5. The president of the Madhya Pradesh unit of the BJP, Laxmiram Agarwal, is a noted figure in Tendu leaf (leaf for bidis) business. That is why the state government run by the BJP dropped government takeover of the business and thus allowed the contractors to earn a fabulous sum of Rs 160 crores.
6. Two MLAs of BJP were bought for a few lakhs of rupees like commodities by the Gujarat Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel to save his government from imminent fall.
7. The BJP did not raise any protest against the VP Singh Budget which imposed heavy tax burden on the people.
8. The BJP on a flimsy ground withdrew its support to the VP Singh govt and thus helped Cong(I) to run the Centre by proxy.
9. The BJP extended full support to the VP Singh govt, when it increased the oil prices by 25 per cent to rob the people of Rs. 2300 crore.
10. The monopoly houses which are amassing huge wealth by robbing the people on the one hand and on the other by getting fabulous subsidy from the government are this time being lured by the BJP to give their support to it. So, the BJP on 30th April in its manifesto pledged to raise the MRTP ceiling to 1000 crores which is now 100 crores raised by Rajiv from 20 crores done by Indira Gandhi. (Business Standard 30. 5. 91)

HOW DISCIPLINED IS THE BJP

Brickbatting inside Kanpur party office : "But the BJP is facing its own problems in Kanpur, infighting over selection of Assembly candidates is rampant and has reached such a pitch that partymen have resorted to brickbatting amongst themselves at the party office."

(The Telegraph 26.4.91 P. 9)

"It has been complained that BJP men are being replaced by VHP men in the Uluberia Lok Sabha seat and several other Assembly constituencies of Howrah district. Against this several people led by Benoy Bhushan Acharya, Secretary, Howrah District Committee staged a protest demonstration at BJP office."

—BARTAMAN—27.3.91 (P. 3)

W.B. LEFT FRONT GOVERNMENT—SAVIOUR OR BUTCHER ?

"It is to be remembered that the Left Front Government has been working as the sentry to protect the life and property of the people of the state." (Left Front's election manifesto—page 7).

(Contd. on page 7)

Bangladesh Election

(Contd. from page 2)
been able to come under a single platform during the period of movement and contest the election unitedly a distinct left trend would have appeared before the people as parallel to the two main bourgeois alliances. But it could not materialise as the communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), the old st of the lot did not respond to such a call and aligned with the Awami League's 8-party alliance.

Now that the BNP has come to the power through elections the people will naturally expect that Begum Zia would fulfil her election promises. But it is the duty of the people to protect the democratic rights, values and atmosphere long cherished by them. They must force Begum Zia to put the Constitution on democratic principle by annulling its undemocratic clauses incorporated in by Mujibur Rahman, Ziaur-Rahman and H. M. Ershad and introduce parliamentary form of Government in place of the present presidential one. And keeping the democratic atmosphere intact they must help left forces to build their organisational base through class struggle throughout the country, because, it is the Left on whom ultimately depends the onus of protecting democracy and continuing the glorious tradition of movement they created.

It must not be lost sight of that the root cause of their abject poverty is capitalism and so long as capitalism exists they cannot get rid of the poverty, destitution and deprivation. So their ultimate emancipation depends on the overthrow of bourgeoisie from the state power. And for that they will have to strengthen the Left forces and participate in the class and mass struggle as rapidly as possible and foil the evil design of the bourgeoisie to perpetuate a two-party rule to perpetuate the capitalist exploitation.

Make SUCI Candidates Victorious to Strengthen Democratic Movement

Below is the list of candidates of our party, the SUCI, contesting the 10th Lok Sabha polls in different states. Regarding Assembly elections we are mentioning here the number of seats where we have filed nomination. In West Bengal we are fighting as a constituent of the 13-party combine (of the combine 8 parties are contesting together).

General Election to the Lok Sabha, 1991.	
CONSTITUENCY	NAME
ANDHRA PRADESH	
Secunderabad	Com. E.P.A. Rasheed
BIHAR	
Monghyr	Com. Shukdeo Yadav
Vaishali	Com. Lakshmi Chand Rai
KERALA	
Alleppey	Com. V. Venugopal
Quilon	Com. B. K. Rajagopal
KARNATAKA	
Bangalore (South)	Com. B. R. Manjunath
MADHYA PRADESH	
Jabalpur	Com. Nilima Roy
ORISSA	
Jajpur (SC)	Com. Bhaskar Jena
Mayurbhanj (ST)	Com. Shankha Majhi
Keonjhar (ST)	Com. Biswanath Chatar
TAMIL NADU	
Madras South	Com. G. Purushothaman
Dindigul	Com. S. Palanisamy
UTTAR PRADESH	
Machhalishahar	Com. Jagannath Verma
Moradabad City	Com. Mukesh Tyagi
Ghosi	Com. Bepin Behari
WEST BENGAL	
Coochbehar	Com. Nripen Karji
Alipurduar	Com. Rampratap Baraik
Jalpaiguri	Com. Joydeb Mondal
Jangipur	Com. Abdus Sayeed
Berhampore	Com. Kunal Biswas
Barasat	Com. Tapan Biswas
Basirhat	Com. Debaprasad Bhanja Chowdhuri
Joynagar	Com. Tarun Naskar
Mathurapur	Com. Samir Sekhar Naiya
Jadavpur	Com. Sudhir Bhattacharyya
Barrackpur	Com. Sanat Dutta
Serampore	Com. Prasanta Ghatak
Hooghly	Com. Sanjib Bhattacharyya
Tamluk	Com. Ashutosh Samanta
Contai	Com. Bimal Jana
Midnapore	Com. Dilip Maity
Purulia	Com. Swapan Ghosh
Bankura	Com. Bhaskar Bhadra
Durgapur	Com. Asit Mondal
Asansol	Com. Md. Badreddoja
Burdwan	Com. Bhaskar Roychowdhury
Birbhum	Com. Ashim Saha
Nabadweep	Com. Sambhunath Das
Panskura	Com. Manik Maity
Murshidabad	Com. Abdus Salam
ASSAM	
Dhubri	Com. Minhar Ali Mondal
Mangaldai	Com. Bhupendra Nath Kakati
Silchar	Com. Kantimoy Deb
Karimganj	Com. Radhakanta Tanti

Assam SUCI on latest situation

The extended meeting of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI, held on 18.3.91 under the conduction of Com. Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Central Committee of our party, in course of the latest political situation of the state has issued the following statement :

Being convinced that the situation from the point of view of people's level of consciousness, as it prevails today in Assam is not a revolutionary one but only conducive to the development of the united mass movement and nothing else ; being of the firm opinion that untimely resort to armed struggle instead of bringing any relief to the people would result on the contrary in unnece-

ssary bloodshed and killings of innocent people, hundreds of bright and patriotic young men and women, taking the advantage of which reactionary ideas and reactionary forces will entrance themselves further as was the case with the Naxalite movements ; having realised that barring a microscopic minority, the overwhelming section of the people of Assam belonging to different ethnic, religious and linguistic groups very definitely favour and fondly cherish Indian people's unity and integrity ; being conscious of the fact that isolated secessionist movement, even it is launched, in the absence of support from people belonging to the rest of the country, is sure to be brutally suppressed as it happened

in the case in Nagaland and Mizoram, the Assam State Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India fervently appeals to the leadership of the United Liberation Front of Assam, to have a thorough reappraisal of their strategy and tactics, to come overground to take advantage of both the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle, so as to hasten the process of Indian People's common march to socialism in order to bring an end to capitalist rule and exploitation.

At the same time the State Committee of the party urges the Central Government not to indulge in any kind of dubious tactics, to take all steps conducive to enter into a meaningful dialogue with the ULFA leadership to which they also have agreed and to rescind the order banning ULFA so as to allow them to take part in the parliamentary election if they so desire. In the context of ULFA leadership's recent call to all the members of the political parties of the state to resign from the respective parties by 30th March '91, the state committees of the ULFA leadership to realise in the interest of their own growth, development and survival that however strong they may feel today, transcending the limits set by the given public opinion by any political force and we quite agree, not excluding ourselves, can only spell disaster. So far as we are concerned, we would like to state in unambiguous terms that being firm believer in Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts, we are duty bound to resist ruling bourgeoisie's attempt to brutal suppression of oppressed people's uprising and militant movements. The meeting of the state committee of the party also once again reaffirms its firm resolve to face any situation while upholding the banner of revolution.

Misdeeds and anti-people steps of the ruling parties

(Continued from page 6)

But its own assertion in the W. Bengal State Assembly says just the opposite. Below is the comparative study of police firing :

	1971-77
Congress regime	730 resulting in 200 deaths
	1984-88
Left Front regime	1254 times resulting in 463 death

MURDER

	Congress regime	W.B. Left Front Regime	
1972-840	'73-959	'78-1139	'79-1493
'74-892	'75-786	'80-1399	'81-1327
'76-897	'77-1006	'82-1478	'83-1397
(Left Front came to power in June '77)	'84-1372	'86-1479	
	'88-1456		

(Source Bartaman a leading Bengali Daily)

STATISTICS ON TORTURE ON WOMEN

	87	88	89	90
				(upto May)
Murder	275	250	310	121
Murder without purpose	70	60	49	not known
Bride torture and instigation to commit suicide	337	740	788	331
Rape	238	520	454	not known
Torture on bride	279	1147	1414	not known
Suicide centring round dowry	52	87	135	not known

(Source : State Police & Anandabazar Patrika 11.11.91)

General Elections to the Legislative Ass.mbly, 1991. NUMBER OF SEATS

1. West Bengal	140
2. Kerala	7
3. Tamil Nadu	4
4. U.P.	12
5. Haryana	3
6. Assam	14

(Contd. from page 5)

taken a real pro-people attitude. Unlike a bourgeois party-led Government those UF Governments declared the policy of non-interference by the police in the legitimate struggles of the workers and other sections of the toiling people and to implement the pro-people reform programmes the U.F. Governments depended mainly on organised people's movements instead of depending absolutely on the Administration and bureaucracy as do the Governments led by bourgeois parties. And because of this pro-people attitude of the U.F. Governments, democratic mass movements broke out with an unprecedented magnitude and vigour. This could happen only because of the presence of our party, the SUCI, in those two Governments. Because of our party's insistence, the other constituents of the U.F. had to take this pro-people policy and attitude. But in the fifteen years of the CPI(M) rule the struggling spirit of the masses has been subdued and a non-struggling attitude has been fostered to take its place among the people, particularly the working people. The worst casualty in this period have been the culture and morals of the people, especially of the youth who have been duped into moral depravity of all sorts. If one studies the industrial policy of the CPI(M)-led Government, one will not find any difference between it and that of any other bourgeois party Governments of the country. Though an advocate of 'anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal People's Democratic Revolution', the CPI(M)-led Governments, like any other bourgeois Governments of the country, never felt hesitant either to advocate 'industrial peace' and no labour movement, which virtually means an abject surrender of the working class interest to the industrialists, or to invite the monopoly houses. Like the Central Government or any other bourgeois Governments the CPI(M)-led Governments also took huge loans from the World Bank on humiliating terms. In their sincere and reliable service to the ruling capitalist class the CPI(M) excels many of the bourgeois parties and, therefore, has been able to win the confidence of the bourgeoisie. And this is why not only the monopoly houses of the Tatas and the Birlas and the Press controlled by them but also the multinational companies are so full of praise about the administrative skill of Jyoti Basu.

And if one studies its general political behaviour one will have no difficulty to understand that, true to its social democratic character, the CPI(M), with all its rhetoric on working class emancipation, is actually playing a compromising role between labour and capital, and although it is an exponent of People's Democratic Revolution it is actually practising the worst form of parliamentarism and legalism. This is why, even as it enters into an open alliance with the National Front, it maintains a secret liaison with the Congress(I), and while it openly opposes the BJP or the Muslim League, it covertly joins them in electoral alliances or in a Government.

So, it is not difficult to understand that the inclusion of the CPI(M) and its allies in a National Front Government after the polls, if at all it materialises, will provide the people with a red cover at best, but will not bring about any basic changes in its pro-capitalist policies. It will only create a halo of so-called progressiveness and that way will only deceive the people.

So, what does the history of all these parties tell? It tells that when, as an inseparable part of the world capitalism, capitalism of our country is passing through an intense crisis, having reached its moribund stage and having become reactionary and out-and-out corrupt, as a result of which the Parliament has also become unstable. All the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties or combination of parties in power, in their bid to slave off this crisis, are more and more shifting the entire burden of the capitalist crisis on to the common people; they are suppressing the legitimate struggles of the people and curtailing their democratic rights and conspiring to divide them by fanning up communal, casteist, parochial and secessionist feelings and tendencies to retain their hold on power; and for this they are resorting to every unfair means in the elections, from use of black money, muscle power and media propaganda to an all-out administrative rigging and, in the process, they are trying to confine the struggles of the people to the blind alley of a two-party parliamentary system. Democratic norms and values are not honoured within the Parliament even which has of late become a place of horse-trading, intrigue and corruption.

Moreover, an industrial-bureaucratic-military complex has already grown as an extra-constitutional power which is governing the country from behind the screen. Although, by their orchestrated propaganda, these parties are trying to keep the people in a confused state before the election, the people cannot afford to be in confusion regarding the simple fact that their interest has nothing common with the interest of these parties. Because, when, in the face of the all-pervading crisis, people have only one path open before them, the path of struggle, none of these parties is interested in the people's struggle. Rather, they are all busy competing with each other in rendering service to the ruling class only to win its confidence and curry favour more and more. The fight among them, whether from seat of power or from Opposition, is pure and simple a mock show.

Naturally, at this hour of grave crisis of democracy and democratic mass movement of our country, however frustrating may be the situation created by the most oppressive, anti-people and corrupt rule of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, the people cannot afford to lose faith in the lesson of history that situations change with progressive movement of the masses and even the most oppressive situation can be changed, but only through a stubborn and united struggle of the exploited and oppressed on the edifice of a higher culture and under banner of a noble ideology. And this is why, however difficult it may appear, the people will have to find out and strengthen its own party — the party which can organise their struggles against all the anti-people policies of both the Central and the State Governments and against every attack of the capitalist class to lead ultimately to people's power by organising their own instruments of struggle.

From its very inception the Socialist Unity Centre of India has been unwaveringly organising legitimate democratic mass movements following consistently the mass line and by uniting all forces of movement that could be united. There is a common saying that 'power corrupts'. It is true, but true for those parties which defend and serve the exploitative and reactionary power structure. It is never true for a party which moves on the firm line of advancing the people's cause in the right direction. The SUCI was in the UF Governments of West Bengal twice, in 1967 and 1969, but its mass line did not get changed by that.

And now, when all the Left parties at the national level have left the arena of mass struggle, the SUCI is consistently organising democratic mass movements all over the country on the burning issues of the people's life. The struggle against the Governments' Policies in drought situations, the struggle of mine workers and the recent struggle against eviction of tribal people in Orissa; the struggles against donation and capitation fees, against ban on recruitment in Government offices and against dowry killings in Karnataka; struggle against bus fare hikes, hike in electricity charges and against police atrocities on women in Kerala, the battle against 'bottle' and molestation of women in Haryana; the most ghastly 'gaskand' in Madhya Pradesh, movement against rape of women in Dadar express and on long-pending demands of the ITI students in Andhra Pradesh; against bus fare hike and for drinking water in Tamil Nadu; and the recent massive joint movement which culminated in a successful total Bangla bandh against bus fare hike, non-availability of kerosene, molestation of women etc. in West Bengal besides the countrywide movement against the National Policy on Education of the Rajiv Gandhi Government, mass movements in Bihar, U.P., Assam, Delhi, Maharashtra, Tripura, etc., on the burning problems in the people's life and against repeated increase in Railway fares and in prices of essential commodities are only a few to mention about the series of democratic mass movements that the SUCI has been organising throughout the country, single-handedly in some States, and combining with other forces in some other States.

In course of organising these struggles the SUCI has been trying simultaneously to build up a broad-based united front of the Left and democratic parties and all forces of movement on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme and a code of conduct.

Today this is the path of struggle of the people. With the growth of a united democratic mass movement, if the people can build up their instrument of struggle, that is, people's committees from the grassroots level and organise thousands of youths and students as volunteers under these committees, then only these struggle committees will be able to resist any attack on the people either by the capitalist class or by their Governments and in its wake will be able to give birth to its own alternative political power.

When an election comes in course of organising movements, our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), contests the election as one incidental to mass movements and tries to integrate extra-parliamentary movements with parliamentary ones for the very growth of the people's struggle.

So, in this election, the task of the people is to ensure a crushing defeat of the Congress (I), the main enemy of the people, and of the rabid communal forces like the BJP and others at any cost.

Secondly, the task is to make all efforts to make the SUCI candidates, and the candidates from the real forces of democratic mass movement, victorious so that they can reflect the voice of the democratic mass movement on the floor of Parliament and Assemblies; can try to resist the attacks of the bourgeoisie within Parliament; can expose the bourgeois conspiracies before the people and, by all these, can help build powerful extra-parliamentary movements by integrating those movements with the parliamentary one. People should not forget that only with the victory of the real forces of movement and defeat of the enemies of the people can a true pro-people Opposition force develop.

And lastly, where there will be no candidates from the forces of movement, the task is to vote for those candidates or parties who will stand by the people's democratic movements, oppose police interference in the movements, uphold true secularism, consistently fight against the main enemy of the people — the Congress(I) and the rabid communal forces like the BJP — and fight for the 'right to recall', 'right to work' and 'education for all'. To carry out this task is the call of the hour.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

Edited & Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700 013 and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street Calcutta-700 013.