

# Proletarian Era

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## Stop Onslaught on Minorities !

With the BJP in power in Delhi, the newspapers almost daily feature reports of attacks on the minorities organised by the Sangh Parivar in this or that part of the country. Take only some recent incidents. On 24 May last, the decomposed body of a young Christian missionary who hailed from Belangir, Orissa, was found in a forest in Raygada district. The police tried unsuccessfully to suppress the truth of the communal killing that it was, by alleging that it was a suicide arising out of illicit love. On June 2, 72 tribal Christians were "reconverted" to Hinduism at Manoharpur village, Keonjhar, Orissa. A Yajna was performed on the occasion. The Sankaracharya of Puri was present. Next, a catholic priest was murdered in his home near Mathura on June 6 night. And on June 8, there were bomb blasts in 4 churches in the country, two in Andhra Pradesh and one each in Karnataka and Goa on the same day, as if as per one unified planning ! It is to be remembered that it was in Monoharpur that the Australian missionary Graham Staines and his two sons were burnt alive on 22-23 January night last year. Six Christian families of the village had already been "reconverted" in November last year. Dara Singh, a notorious criminal and murderer for long and a prominent Sangh Parivar activist has at last been arrested after much dilly dallying in the Staines murder case, and is now in judicial custody along with 17 of his associates.

For the past 2,3 years, sustained propaganda has been conducted by the Sangh Parivar in different parts of the country stressing that all Christianisation had been accomplished forcibly or through allurements of the incumbents and therefore "reconversion" by any means is morally justified and even laudable, conveniently forgetting the fact that the tribal Christians or their forefathers, as the case may be, had never been Hindus to start with. Intense anti-Christian propaganda is creating an atmosphere where attacks on Christians, bombing of churches or even the murder of Christian missionaries can be viewed as merely just retributions for Christian "misdeeds" in the eyes of Hindus intoxicated with religious fanaticism, thus gaining a social sanction of sorts. The recent reconversion at Manoharpur thus pointedly seeks to justify the Staines murder as a natural backlash to the missionaries' "misdeeds". The presence of the Sankaracharya seeks to put the seal of Hindu religious authority on the proceedings, swaying the common Hindus. The various programmes currently being adopted by the Sangh Parivar in the area glorifying the undertrial criminal Dara Singh's "heroic" role in defence of Hinduism also serve to justify the Staines murder.

But is not Prime Minister Vajpayee a reasonable man opposed to the Sangh Parivar hawks, as projected by a section of the monopoly press ? Let us examine this.

### VAJPAYEE'S RECENT ASSURANCE — A DECEPTION

The murder of the Christian missionaries in Raygada and near Mathura, the reconversion of tribal Christians to Hinduism in Orissa and the church bombings referred to above are but the

latest incidents in the long chain of instances of attacks on the minorities. Even not counting the host of such earlier incidents during the BJP rule, just between April 1 and 11 this year, armed gangs attacked a Christian missionary school in Ghaziabad, a nuns' school at Bulandshar and a missionary school near Mathura, beating up missionaries, nuns and students, ransacking and

looting; the Delhi police, in the name of hounding Pakistani spies, swooped down upon the Jamia Millia Islamia University in the capital, ransacked a hostel, beat up the students indiscriminately, injuring many, herded them like animals, put them into jail and charged a large number of them in false criminal cases.

In the face of adverse criticism on these incidents, what did Prime Minister Vajpayee do ?

He expressed displeasure at and took a "stern" view of the Mathura incidents. On April 16, at the concluding session of the BJP's national executive meet at Delhi, he "cautioned" the government and party functionaries to be careful and sensitive while dealing with issues related to the minorities.

Did this have the effect of stopping attacks on the minorities ? Far from it. Between April 22 and May 21, a Christian group was attacked by Bajrang Dal activists near Agra, some nuns were attacked in Rewai, Haryana, critically injuring one, nuns were assaulted in a convent near Jhansi, some Christians were attacked in Ahmedabad injuring three, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and

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## Centre's Clearance to Killer Corporate Monsanto

The BJP-led government has given biosafety clearance to the genetically modified (GM) cotton seed developed by the infamous US multinational Monsanto, recommending its large-scale cultivation and marketing in India. Today the terrible health and environmental hazards accompanying the use of genetically modified seeds for agricultural crops have triggered storms of opposition and protests by scientists and people from all walks of life, throughout the world, due to which one country after another — including even such a close ally of the USA like South Korea — has stopped consumption and cultivation of GM crops. In our country too, farmers, knowledgeable people and scientists have been vehemently opposing use of GM seeds, yet the 'swadeshi' BJP government, has not only contemptuously disregarded their opinion but even a Supreme Court ruling in this regard and gone out of its way to enthusiastically provide biosafety clearance to Monsanto. This has been done in the wake of closer Indo-US ties following

Bill Clinton's visit to India. For this act of friendship the Indian people will have to pay a terrible price. The Indian ruling class, no doubt, must have been guided by the principle of give and take in the perspective of globalisation to extract some advantage for themselves, mortgaging the future of Indian people in turn. The government's recommendation for large-scale cultivation of genetically modified seeds, has also opened the door for entry of other genetically modified crops. According to *Economic Times* (8.5.2000) genetically modified mustard, developed by a Belgium MNC, is next on the list.

Thus we find that faced with worldwide industrial crisis, the imperialist corporate conglomerates are engaged in a fierce struggle to not only capture the huge seed, fertilizer and pesticide market of the weaker agriculture-dependent countries, but to manipulate and establish complete control over their entire

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# Prime Minister's Hypocrisy par Excellence

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Bajrang Dal supporters attacked the inmates of a Christian Women's hostel in Nasik, a church was attacked in Indore and two others stoned, a catholic priest in Bhind, MP, and Christian prayer cottages were attacked and torched in Khandhmal district, Orissa. The incidents involved beating up and injuring priests and nuns, ransacking and looting, burning up of Bible and other Christian literature, desecration and arson.

So, what do we see? From his high position in the Government, Vajpayee perfunctorily advises caution and reasonableness to assuage outraged public feeling, but in reality attacks on the minorities not only continue but are stepped up. Such is the deception that is being practised on the nation. While Vajpayee plays the role of a dove and a section of the monopoly press lauds him as Mr. Reasonable and harps upon his imaginary serious differences with the Sangh Parivar, the Parivar sees to it that the attacks on the minorities increase. While Vajpayee asserts that there is no hidden agenda, gives assurances and poses to be a gentleman to befool the NDA partners and the people, the attacks intensify. This is how "Sarbadharma Samavhaba", the Sangh Parivar's concept of secularism, is being put into practice!

It is not believable that the other parties constituting the BJP-led NDA, BJP's junior partners in the Government, cannot see through Vajpayee's hoax. But while some of them occasionally express concern at the happenings, they have not tried to pressurize the BJP unitedly on the issue and continue to support the Government. Such is their love of pelf and power!

## ATROCITIES ON MINORITY — PART OF AN INTEGRATED PLAN

There is no reason to consider the spate of incidents of atrocities, including lynching, to be spontaneous or isolated. The main point is not whether BJP-Sangh Parivar activists are seen openly participating in or leading in each and every incident. Unless one is blind, how can it be denied that it is the coming of the BJP in power at the Centre that has opened the floodgates of attacks on the minorities?

It is observed that such attacks are much more numerous in the states ruled by the BJP. Unless there is overt or covert government patronage to the attacks, how can this be explained? In these states, the BJP governments have speeded up the process of Hindu communalisation of the police and the administration set in motion by the earlier Congress governments. That is why there is a tendency to underplay the seriousness of the incidents in official reports, the attacks are often described as not being communal in nature or as cases of ordinary robbery and there have even been instances where the minority community was blamed for the incident! It should also be remembered how the Delhi police, directly controlled by the BJP-led Central Government, sought to justify the barbarous attack inside the Jamia Millia University campus by calling it an operation for hunting Pakistani spies. It is the BJP-Sangh Parivar activist-supporters who either organise and lead the attacks directly, or fuel such attacks by inciting the Hindus against the minorities. Robbers do not bomb churches just

for the sake of it. If miscreants and ruffians are indeed responsible for the incidents as claimed by the Sangh Parivar, then they have prospered and thrived all over the country during the BJP rule, being officially nurtured, encouraged and organised!

The BJP Government in Gujarat extended the scope of the existing Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Act in last March to include people involved in cow slaughter who could now be arrested at will and kept locked up for one month without bail. Even before this amendment, Bajrang Dal, VHP and RSS gangs in the state had been harassing Muslims moving with cattle even when these were not meant to be slaughtered.

The Uttar Pradesh Religious Places and Buildings (Regulatory) Bill was moved by the BJP Government of UP and passed in the State Assembly, and is currently awaiting the President's assent. If enacted, this will place stringent restrictions on establishing and running religious places. The minorities, especially the Muslims, understandably feel threatened. The state BJP's assertion that the Bill is not discriminatory and not directed against any particular community will assure nobody, given the BJP-Sangh Parivar's track record.

From the foregoing, one can perceive the emerging contours of an integrated plan of the Sangh Parivar for restricting, threatening and attacking the minority communities which its political wing, the BJP is helping to implement from governmental seat.

## DIABOLIC DESIGN OF MAKING MINORITIES SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

The object is to thrust the hegemony of Hinduism on the minorities. The message to them is clear: either accept the hegemony of Hinduism or else perish. We are witnessing the beginning of a process of intimidating and pressurising the minority communities into accepting the domination of Hindutva under threat of attack. Practice of such rabid communalism stems from the Sangh Parivar's basic concept of projecting Hinduism as superior to all other religions, as the only indigenous philosophy to the exclusion of all other religions and philosophies which are considered alien and hence pernicious. Lest we should be accused of misrepresenting facts, we quote here what the RSS ideologue Golwalkar had to say in this regard: "...the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and revere Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of the Hindu nation... In one word, they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment, not even citizen's rights." [Golwalkar in *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (1938)]

## ALL-OUT BID TO ENFORCE HINDU HEGEMONY

An all-out bid to enforce the Hindu hegemony is on. Even a minority community like the Sikhs who are not being physically attacked, are having Hindutva thrust upon it. Last year, the RSS extended the meaning of the term Hindu to cover the Sikhs, Jains and the Buddhists as well! And

now, RSS Chief Sudarshan is reportedly leading a propaganda effort to spread the idea that the Sikh community was once created by the Hindus as a warrior race to protect Hinduism! The RSS has formed a Rastriya Sikh Sangat for projecting Sikhism as a sect of Hinduism and is infiltrating into Sikh institutions with the object of foisting its hegemony on the Sikhs. It is fast putting up Sakhas (branches) in Punjab, distributing copious propaganda material and reactivating defunct Hindu *deras*, *maths* and *asrams* in Punjab mobilising the *sadhus*, *sants* and *mahantas* of these to spread the concept of Hindutva. All this has evoked strong protests from the Sikhs.

Saffronisation of education is being attempted through steps like introduction of teaching of "vedic science" and "vedic mathematics" in schools, the proposals to introduce compulsory Hindu religious teaching and Saraswati Vandana there, and the large scale falsification of history. Incidentally, the Sangh Parivar circles have been for long propagating that whatever modern science has to offer in terms of development and discoveries have already been in the Vedas for thousands of years! It is needless to elaborate on how erroneous and unhistorical such concept is.

The falsification of history has a number of facets. Some of them are briefly mentioned below.

The role of Muslim rulers and emperors in history is being motivatedly belittled and distorted in order to show them up in poor light.

An Hindu chieftain or king who fought the Muslims, is being glorified as national hero.

The inglorious role of RSS, Hindu Mahasabha and the likes of collaborating with the British rulers during the days of freedom struggle is being sought to be whitewashed.

The close linkage of Godse, the assassinator of Gandhiji with the RSS, a fact established at the law court, is now being sought to be denied.

## SANGH PARIVAR'S ADMIRATION OF HITLER

We know that Adolf Hitler, the Nazi ruler of Germany, is infamous in history as a cruel, bloodthirsty dictator intoxicated with racial jingoism. But the falsification of history by the Sangh Parivar has gone so far that the NCERT and Gujarat State Education Board have conspired to project a glorified image of Hitler and Nazi racism in the school text books on history in that state. The utterly repressive fascist administration of Hitler is praised as having "lent dignity and prestige to the German government." His imperialistic grabbing of other countries is considered to comprise "the vast role of Greater Germany!" Hitler's policies that led to the ruin of Germany are viewed as having "brought prosperity to Germany"! The cold blooded murder of at least 6 million Jews in the holocaust engineered and organised by Hitler, a largest genocidal killing of the minority in the history of mankind, is mentioned merely as Hitler's "policy of opposition towards the Jewish people"!

By such shameless falsification of history, Adolf Hitler, the Devil incarnate, is being projected before the young, impressionable minds as a model, a hero.

Let us see what Golwalkar, the RSS ideologue, wrote in 1938 in praise of Hitler in his

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## Fourth Annual Conference of Indreni Cultural Society, Nepal

# Imperialist Assault on Culture Condemned

[The 4th Annual Conference of Indreni Cultural Society was held on 2nd, 3rd and 4th June, 2000 at Kathmandu in Nepal.

The open session was held at 'Kholamanch' (open stage) Maindan on 2nd June. A colourful and well-decorated procession of cultural workers marched through the city and joined the open session at the Maindan. The session was conducted by Mr. Ninu Chappain, the President of Indreni Cultural Society. Literateurs, representatives of left cultural organisations and intellectuals attended the conference.

Besides Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff, SUCI and Vice-President, All India Anti-Imperialist Forum, Prof. Maniklal Srestha, Narayan Yogi, Jagdish Chandra Bandari, Jibendra Debgiri, Shyamaprasad Sharma, Gobind Bhatt and others addressed the gathering.

The delegate session was held on 3rd and 4th June at Kritipur. Cultural programmes like songs, dance etc. took place at both the sessions. At the delegate session Comrade Mukherjee spoke on the problems of cultural movements and the role of cultural activists. We publish an abridged version of his speech here — *Ed. P.Era*]

Comrades and friends,

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to avail myself of this opportunity of addressing the Fourth Annual Conference of Indreni Cultural Society. Here I find the scope to submit fraternal views on behalf of Indian people to a gathering of our neighbours in this land of Nepal, who I know, are also committed to struggle and progress. At the outset, I congratulate them for this effort of theirs, to hold this conference. The organisers have set the course for me, to make my deliberations on a topic like "Problems of Cultural Movements and Duty and Role of Cultural Activists in the Present Situation." I wish I could do justice to the very important theme in one single address.

Now, even if we all know of it, I reiterate: What sort of a world we presently live in? Here we find the socialist camp dismantled; communist movements are bogged in serious crisis in one country after another; revisionism, of this shade or that, has emerged as the main danger to the communist movement bringing in its wake disarray and disintegration. On the other side, the imperialist power block headed by the US imperialism has let loose counter-revolutionary onslaughts across the globe. Through GATT, via the implementing instruments like WTO, IMF, World Bank etc., it is carrying on terrible economic onslaughts, particularly on the so-called third world countries, the poorer, developing or underdeveloped nations. Not only this, imperialist onslaught is coming down heavily in cultural-political fields too, again more so in these countries. Taking full advantage of the fabulous growth of electronics and information technology, imperialists-capitalists are generating, promoting and spreading out all over the world, counterrevolutionary ideas, pernicious sex-violence-self centric-oriented imperialist culture and the resultant, moral-ethical degradation. The motive is singular, — to diffuse and destroy people's zeal and strength to develop revolutionary struggles against capitalism-imperialism.

Side by side, to get over the acute global crisis of capitalism-imperialism, reflected in the increasing market crisis and trade war, they are frantically trying to search for a new, albeit temporary, lease of life. This they search in the blueprint of redivision and reallocation of market, already divided among mutually contesting big imperialist powers, throttled each other's neck. They are, however, at one in putting the whole

severe burden of their crisis on the common toiling people. So in a planned, motivated manner capitalists-imperialists cause hunger and destitution, famine and genocide to engulf larger and larger sections of people; they push the survivors to unethical livelihood, to a dehumanized life bereft of ethical-moral values.

Comrades and friends, your conference is being held on such a backdrop of global situation.

But before we pass on further, on this point as a representative of Indian revolutionary people, I would like to place humbly a few words of our teacher, philosopher and guide, departed Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I would remind in my words, what Comrade Ghosh said in reference to and hailing the heroic battle of the Vietnamese people who fought and won over the mighty brute power of US imperialism, on the strength of unity, determination and fervour, steered by the noble ideology of communism under the then Ho Chi Minh leadership. His contention was: We should remember, however strong may be the pangs of want and oppression, they cannot kill a nation. America made Vietnam a desert, bombarding it like anything, but it could not crush the moral backbone of the Vietnamese nation. Rather, a nation rises up even from hunger; it fights even without food, if it retains the humanity, the moral backbone. But if fascism is established in a country, there are not many left to be called human beings. For, fascism creates hindrance to the man-making process itself.

Comrades and friends, I bring in these words of Comrade Ghosh, for I feel that as cultural activists determined to work for the people, we need this realization very much in the present complex situation of the world; whether, we want it or not, confusion, disunity, degradation, degeneration are eating into the morals of fighting toiling people, when, actually, they need to put up a much invigorated opposition to the menacing capitalist-imperialist onslaughts. As cultural activists we must realize today with deeper and deeper conviction that people themselves need to recognise with all earnestness, free from all confusions, the necessity of developing anti-imperialist movements, anti-war militant peace movements of people in such a way as to make them conducive to developing their struggle for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation. As activists, i.e., the vanguard detachment, we are historically bestowed with the responsibility of convincing people of this necessity. It has devolved upon us to make it clear to the people

that, however dazzling and alluring capitalist-imperialist culture may appear, it will only emasculate fighting masses, will rob them of moral backbone and as a result will help prolong the oppressive rule of this exploitative world order, will stretch and continue the exploitation and deprivation of toiling masses and have-nots. It remains with us to point it out to people, that in a class-divided society, culture is bound to be class-culture, of this class or that, that the toiling people and the have-nots must be led to consciously identify and stand in support for the culture conducive to their emancipation; that they must be freed from the influence of the decadent bourgeois culture through continuing struggles. These are the tasks, we the cultural activists over the world, particularly in the poorer and developing countries must recognise.

And in this struggle, we must take note of another important aspect. In their design of 'globalisation', globalising culture too through organised exploitation of the media network and IT devices, capitalist-imperialists are, from without, injecting into the people all over the world the rotten imperialist culture, stinking of sex-violence-vulgarity even amounting to bestiality, aimlessness in life, apathy to social problem, utterly self-centric consumerist approach and such others. There is thus the spate of pornographic literature, some of which are chosen to be bestowed with international awards, blessed with high-budget colourful backing and advertisement from the print and electronic media; there is rampant vulgarity in audio-visual media—which transgresses even the traditional limits of theaters and their more modern versions of video-parlours to infiltrate right into family drawing rooms, through web-sites and e-mails, by courtesy of IT boom; there is the brand of music going by the name of 'western music', but far removed from its real essence, itself being a music punched with visual images, both of degraded culture, that merely arouses sex and sensuality; there is consumerism even affecting culture and its means, viz., art, literature, music and everything, which suggests every aspect of life, man, his body, even humanity are commodities to enjoy and consume. All these trends push people towards indecent life, destroying their human quality. We find the glaring example of how deep consumerism and career- and money-making outlook may go into life to breed corruption, in the recent match-fixing allegations against cricketers of this or that country; even games, that were meant for pleasure are not spared from tentacles of dishonesty, greed, corruption — all having their roots in the rotten bourgeois consumerist outlook on life. These are the trends of utter reaction and degeneration.

On the other hand, as if to oppose this, there is the trend of revivalism. Particularly in underdeveloped countries, feudal culture, superstitions, obscurantism, blind faith, religious bigotry and such others that still exist within the society, are fanned up by rulers there. At the same time, capitalists-imperialists are also fomenting all sorts of divisive attitudes and measures, based on casteism, racialism, regional parochialism,

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# Sangh Parivar — A Portent Danger of Fascism

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book earlier referred to in this article : "German national pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the nation and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the semitic races — the Jews. National pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the roots, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by."

It appears that the lesson has been well learnt!

## FASCIST CHARACTER OF SANGH PARIVAR

If, even after this, the Sangh Parivar protests that it is not fascist in character, we need only to remind it B. S. Moonje, a politician very close to the RSS and considered to be the mentor of Hegdegar, the RSS founder, who wrote down in his diary after meeting the fascist dictator Mussolini in Italy and visiting a number of fascist organisational and military establishments and institutions in 1931 : "...The idea of fascism vividly brings out the conception of unity amongst people. ... India, and particularly Hindu India need some such institution for the military regeneration of Hindus. ...Our institution of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha of Nagpur under Dr. Hegdegar is of this kind, though quite independently conceived." (Source : paper by Marzia Casolari, published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Issue dated January 22-28, 2000)

The Sangh Parivar's revivalism, obscurantism and rabid Hindu racialism are all distinct fascist traits. Our leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that fascism has a dual character, combining repression with persuasion through deception, that fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism with the technological aspects of science, that fascism thrives by obstructing the rational process of thinking, by encouraging all sorts of obscurantism, superstitions and fads.

We have seen earlier in this article how the BJP is practising deception upon the people while attacks continued to be mounted against the minorities, and the deception through falsification of history.

The combination of spiritualism and science is reflected in the all-round pursuit of religious revivalism, the emphasis on Vedic education and compulsory Hindu religious teaching and the bid to make the teaching of science and mathematics optional.

The Sangh Parivar's encouragement to irrational, obscurantist thinking and practices, superstitions and even fatalism and various fads are there for all to see.

## DANGER OF FASCISM BEFORE THE COUNTRY

The danger of fascism facing the country is real. Our leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that in the post Second World War scenario, a tendency towards fascisation had become a growing feature in all capitalist countries, advanced or relatively backward. Fascism is the last prop of crisis ridden capitalism, it is a counter revolutionary attack by

the ruling capitalist class against the forces of revolution for bolstering up crisis ridden capitalism.

In Germany, the rise of Hitler, of fascism came to safeguard capitalism when it was in the grip of endemic crises generating massive unemployment, distress in people's life and recklessness — in order to dupe the people and lead them astray taking advantage of weaknesses of the working class movement. In India now, crisis ridden capitalism has given rise to intense crisis in all spheres of life — economic, political, social and cultural. Hard hit by the capitalistic onslaughts, the people get restless, and may take to the path of revolt.

It is to arrest this that fascisation of the society is an urgent class necessity of the ruling Indian capitalist class. And the governments in Delhi serving it — led by the Congress, Janata or the United Front — have all been working towards this end.

Just as the policy of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation adopted by the Indian ruling class in conjunction with the imperialist monopoly capital is necessitating newer and harsher anti-people measures day by day further intensifying the distress of the people, so also has the ruling class found in the BJP a political agent quite suited to take to the path of fascism.

The religious frenzy being whipped up by the Sangh Parivar serves to divert the attention of the masses away from their real problems and shields the capitalist system, the root cause of the burning problems in their life, from their wrath. The rabid Hindu communalism also serves to keep the people away from the path of united anti-capitalist mass struggle by destroying their unity against the ruling class. As a reaction to this Hindu communalism there is also the danger of minority communalism getting a fillip in the country.

## THE WAY OUT

There is the danger that some Hindus, out of love and affection for their religion, may be taken in by the religion oriented propaganda of the Sangh Parivar. There is the danger that a section of people and the intelligentsia, disgusted at the non-performance of the preceding governments, may have a feeling that the new-look combination led by the BJP will do something new being at the helm of the affairs.

We appeal, all such people not to be swayed and led astray by the propaganda fanfare, but to dispassionately examine the matter. Is religion the only issue before the people ? As a result of globalisation, unemployment in the country is increasing even more, prices and taxes are soaring all the time and whatever little subsidy the people still enjoy in different areas are being withdrawn one after another. People's life gets more and more beset with problems, In the stifling atmosphere, they pine for a way out. In this situation, religion is being used as a weapon to hush up the real burning issues so that mass movements on these do not develop.

All patriotic, democratic-minded people with the good of the country at heart should perceive the very real danger that looms large. It is not enough to realise the danger. The time has come to actively organise protracted mass movements on the burning problems of life, a country wide antifascist democratic mass movement embracing the people of all communities and from all walks of life, for creating a strong social counter-current against BJP-Sangh Parivar's philosophy, activities and organisations as the antidote to fascism, the greatest enemy of civilisation. There is no time to be lost, for once fascism gets entrenched, it obstructs rational, sane thinking in the society, the very process of formation of man.

## Summer School of Politics at Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism Shibdas Ghosh Thought

On June 2,3, and 4, 2000 a summer school of politics was held at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatshila on behalf of SUCI, Orissa State Committee. About 500 delegates all over the state attended the School. The School was conducted by Comrade Tapas Dutta, member of the Central Committee and State Secretary of the party.

In the beginning Red Flag was hoisted and statue of great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was garlanded by Comrade Tapas Dutta. All the delegates were given physical training as per the rule of the Study Centre and everybody participated with full enthusiasm.

Total six sessions were held. Comrade Dutta discussed the subjects like Theory of Knowledge, why should we accept Marxism, development of human society, and the path to achieve classless and stateless society and also the correct process of struggle to acquire higher communist character.

Comrade Dutta in course of his discussion told that the knowledge which cannot produce anything new is unproductive and is also harmful for the social development. He told that the

purpose of our learning is to change the society based on class exploitation and our goal is to achieve the society where exploitation of man by man will come to an end. So our study must be purposive and for knowledge to acquire higher proletarian culture and to involve us more and more in the vortex of class struggle basing on the scientific philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and Shibdas Ghosh's Thought. He showed penetratingly that Marxism is the only philosophy which can guide the toiling millions in their struggle for emancipation from all sorts of exploitation.

Comrade Dutta discussed thoroughly how the struggle for emancipation is to be conducted. For that, those who will build up the revolutionary party of the proletariat shall have to conduct an allout struggle covering all aspects of life to acquire higher proletarian culture and ethics and shall have to engage themselves in the struggle for identifying their personal interest with the interest of class, party and revolution.

After singing the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and Internationale the School was concluded.

# BJP's Democratic Polity — Claim and Reality

The BJP leading the NDA government at the Centre has expressed its intention to observe the 25th year of the Emergency rule clamped by the Congress government when Smt. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. Evidently, it is to glorify its rule of 'democracy' in contrast to the draconian measures under authoritarian emergency rule of its principal parliamentary rival, the Congress.

No sensible person having a modicum of regard for democratic rights, norms and principles can support such abomination of even a bourgeois rule, which also denied the right to life. For this, the country, witnessed a widespread agitation, protest and movements of democratic sections of the people that created pressure for its withdrawal within years.

The Jan Sangh, the predecessor of BJP and a constituent of the Janata Party reaped the harvest of popular discontent. It projected its image to be the main contender of the Congress. Now in power, it claims the superiority of its rule over that of its rival. Can it be justified by facts and reason ?

## Facts belie claim

During the emergency rule, all the democratic rights remained suspended. There was prohibition on all collective forms of people's protest — bandh, hartal, demonstration, procession etc. The press was under censorship. The freedom of speech and expression suffered prohibition.

It is an accepted fact that in a democratic polity, people have the inalienable right to protest and organise movements against government policies and steps that hit them most and even to change the government by such movements. But the collective action or move must have definite forms, hitherto accepted. But what is happening today ? The Kerala High Court, in its recent judgement has called hartal as unconstitutional. Not only this, it has directed the Election Commission to withdraw registration and the right to contest elections to a party which initiates hartal. It termed bandh before this, as unconstitutional, ratified subsequently by the Supreme Court. The Calcutta High Court has appointed a commission to examine and report whether or not procession infringes on citizens' freedoms and rights. So by judicial pronouncements, people's fundamental rights in a democracy are being robbed during the BJP rule.

The draconian press censorship which was introduced by Smt. Gandhi government at that period was aimed at stifling the voice of people's movement led by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, joined by our party too, has lost its utility today because all the opposition parties are singing basically in same tune and acting as appendage of the ruling party BJP, in defending the exploitative moribund capitalist system — maintaining the show of opposition now and then for parliamentary interest only. Indeed in this backdrop of political situation nobody can deny how most of the monopoly press are shamelessly drumbeating in favour of the ruling BJP showing scant regard for disseminating democratic voice of people's movement. Not censorship but 'gagging' of the people's voice of protest silently — this is the technique now being followed by the ruling class.

Another point. Look at the glaringly irresponsible role of the Prime Minister and others where the savagery of burning alive of Christian missionaries, molestations of nuns, clandestine murders of people practising religious faith other than Hinduism have practically become events of daily occurrence. Does right to life really exist ? Besides burning of Bibles, ransacking Churches, attacking missionary schools and priests how is it

that in some states Christians are facing virtual prohibition, through attacks, of their religious practice of 'collective prayer' at any place ? But we are told that there is a government democratically elected. Till now, nothing tangible has been done by the ruling party other than issuing the sermons like "such minority bashing will not be tolerated" by the government. All this shamelessly reveals the falsity of the claim of the "Sarbadharma Samavhaba" by the BJP leaders though it has nothing to do with scientific concept of secularism. However, Mr. Vajpayee with a veneer of innocence deplores and disapproves after the depredations. This is no democracy but hypocrisy par excellence. The BJP leaders may take pride in practising this method of duplicity. This is but another name of fascism.

## BJP's design of stability anyhow

During the long Congress rule, which was no less exploitative and reprehensible, amendments to the Constitution were made time and again. Those were not in people's interests but for furthering the interests of the capitalist class. But they never felt the need of changing the Constitution. The BJP has not only expressed this need but has appointed a Constitution Review Commission. It has spelt out its intention of a 'stable' government for the full terms of five years, no matter whether the government enjoys parliamentary majority or not. Its original intention was for a presidential form of government or constitutional dictatorship. Sensing parliamentary opposition, particularly of the Congress (although Indira Gandhi hawked it in the past), it retraced. It wants to rope in the Congress, particularly, to obtain two thirds majority in Parliament required for constitutional change. Besides, it has spelt out its intention that the fundamental rights should be clearly and specifically defined and for that made it a subject matter for the Constitution Commission. The motive is not difficult to guess, as it is directly related to the recent court's order mentioned above. Like the committed bureaucracy, the judiciary is also a committed one as it was during Sm. Gandhi's rule.

So, only the facade of bourgeois parliamentary system will remain. In reality the bourgeois state will be regimented one, taking one by one the anticipatory move against people's widespread resentment and militant mass movements. The recent move of the BJP government to put restriction on formation of trade unions is a case

in point. As in the case of the political parties it wants to give recognition only to those trade unions who are friendly to establishment and do not want worker's movements.

The bourgeois spokesmen usually extol the electoral system as a check against authoritarian rule. What about the democratic process in our country ? The electoral laws and rules are being changed in such a manner that only those political parties who stand in defence of the *status quo* of moribund capitalist rule can be in the electoral exercise. Persons having no blinker will admit that elections mean in this country competition between parties of the establishment having the backings of moneybag, muscle men and media support. The electoral process suffers from worst sort of perversity from centralised administrative rigging to doctoring electoral roll, indiscriminate stamping by mafias in the mute presence of police and administration. The less said about the role of the police and administration the better. It is known to all that the police in our country is even now following the legacy of the colonial past. Despite some pious wishes expressed in the report of the Police Commission, the situation has changed from bad to worse. Abuse of power by the police personnel in the name of tackling mass demonstration on any legitimate democratic demands of the people include severe lathi charge, bursting of tear gas shells and even indiscriminate firing and on occasions manhandling the women demonstrators by the male police personnel injuring their chestity with impunity. In all states the attitude of the police personnel have been patterned in such a way that most of them move with typically anti-people attitude. In fact, the protectors of the law and order have themselves turned into violators and found to shamelessly subserve the interest of the ruling party in most of the less. So the so-called 'democratic alternative' within the moribund capitalist order is at best a fantasy. For the BJP, this may be democracy or even its extension but for common masses it is a terribly intolerable situation.

## People being bled white

Hard experiences of the people bear out that uncertainty in their life and living has increased to an awesome extent. The BJP to outbeat its parliamentary opponents has been carrying out the policy of globalisation-liberalisation-privatisation with gusto. This policy is the latest blueprint of global monopoly finance to bring down all sided attacks on the working people in its desire to get a respite from capitalist crisis. As a result, million upon millions of people are faced with ruination, losing their jobs and earnings. Countless persons are in dire poverty and destitution. Hunger and ultimately death are taking heavy toll of their lives.

The criminal apathy to people's distress and miseries are not merely exemplified at the time of natural calamities like the recent super cyclone in Orissa or drought there as also unprecedented drought in Rajasthan and Gujarat, but it is also vivid in the measures like withdrawal of subsidy in food grains for people below the poverty line as also in fertilisers, endangering poor farmers.

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# Genetically Modified Crops – Catastrophe for People

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agricultural production and system with the help of biotechnology, i.e. genetically modified.

## WHAT ARE GENETICALLY MODIFIED CROPS ?

Today scientists can put a gene of a virus or a bacteria into a plant. As a result of this a genetically modified or engineered, organism is created. This is fundamentally different from the cross-breeding done by farmers, or by scientists where seeds of different varieties of the same species are cross-bred to get a new variety with the desired qualities, also known as hybrids. Let us take the example of Bollguard (Bt) cotton developed by Monsanto — a genetically modified (GM) cotton variety — into which a gene of the live soil born bacteria *Bacillus thuringiensis* has been put, which produces a poison that acts as a pesticide against the bollworm, a major pest. That means the plant itself becomes poisonous or toxic. Thus the plant is said to become insect resistant. The MNCs can genetically modify the seeds in such a manner that after one single crop they become, so to say, sterile and cannot be reused. This is what is called terminator technology by the opponents (and gene protection technology by the MNCs). So if the farmers once use these seeds they cannot save them for future use. After each harvest they have to buy the seeds from the MNC afresh. But this is not all: this terminator technology can also modify the seeds genetically in such a way that they require a particular chemical fertilizer and a particular insecticide developed and produced alone by that particular MNC, without which the seeds will not germinate at all.

Yet terminator technology is still not the latest cry. Already an even more deadly technology — the traitor technology has been developed. Though still in its infancy, the blueprint for its implementation has already been prepared as a dozen patents have been obtained. The technology centers round the insertion of a gene that produces barnase — a compound which kills cells. This gene will get activated in the process of germination and growth of the plant, and if left alone will induce the plant to kill itself at that stage. This can be overcome by another disrupter gene that has been added, which, if activated will block the killer gene. The disrupter gene becomes activated when the plant seed is exposed to a particular chemical developed by the particular MNC. (*Current Science*, Vol.77, No.7, 10.10.99)

## MNCs' CLAIMS ABOUT GM CROPS AND REALITY

The MNCs, with Monsanto in the lead, sing the praise of genetically modified crops, which they claim have been extensively and rigorously tested and found to be completely safe both for human consumption and the environment. More than that, they claim that genetically modified crops will actually be beneficial for health and environment as these reduce the need for pesticide. They also produce higher yields, benefiting the farmer. Yet experience tells a different story altogether. To start with our country where Monsanto, the notorious US multinational, has partially bought up the Maharashtra Hybrid Seed Corporation in order to grab the lucrative seed market. In 1998

Mahyco-Monsanto made secret field trials of Bollguard (Bt) cotton, in different states without informing the respective state governments nor the farmers concerned. Especially in Andhra Pradesh they lured large number of farmers into adopting cultivation of Bt cotton through promises of double yielding, pest resistant seeds which eliminated the need to spray insecticide. But these farmers got caught in a terrible experience when they started cultivating Bt cotton after spending huge amount of money and even contracting enormous debts. Not only was this seed not resistant to the cotton pest as promised, but farmers having been misled did not even spray insecticide. As a result 95 % of the crop was destroyed. The farmers were plunged into total financial ruin, 500 of whom, seeing no way out, committed suicide. They did not even know that they were being used to carry out field trials and that they should really have been paid and compensated for it. It has recently come to light that as an alternative to suicide some 25 Andhra farmers have sold their kidneys, having stepped into the snare of Monsanto and sold their last belongings, they are left with no alternative than to sell parts of themselves. Yet Monsanto's profits have remained untouched despite all this.

Farmers in the USA had a similar experience with Monsanto's Bt cotton. To their dismay they found that not only were the plants attacked by the bollworm but germination was spotty, yields were low, and plants were misshapen. Similarly, its 'Roundup' cotton strain also had severe problems. (*The New Worker*, April 14, 2000). According to scientists and experts, not only are the pollens from Bt crops harmful to butterflies and other useful insects, but the harmful pests become resistant and mutate. Thus such MG crops in fact increase the need for pesticide. Already eight different kinds of new pests are said to have appeared in nature which are resistant to Bt crops. As to their effect on health : a marker gene (needed to make the Bt gene work in the desired way) that is resistant to commonly used antibiotic has also been added to Bt maize, for example, that alone could become a health risk to people who need antibiotic treatment. (Perhaps it is a mere accident that Bt maize has been developed by Swiss based Novartis, created by the merger of the two pharmaceuticals Ciba Geigy and Sandoz) GM foods are known to have caused serious allergic and other adverse reactions. But the full impact of GM crops on human health and environment, according to scientists, can be known only a decade or two later.

Apart from the terrible health risks and danger of creation of superweeds etc., should such engineered genes escape into the environment, through the spread of pollens, the consequences would be catastrophic. For one it could completely destroy biodiversity and result in total ecological disaster. Not to speak of terminator and traitor technology, which have been criticised as 'not genetic engineering but genetic pollution' even 'normal' GM crops have been burned in many parts of the world, because they were found to pollute the neighbouring crops. This happened also in England, with a rapeseed crop created experimentally to withstand weedicide, which was found to pollute other plants nearby. It was feared that an uncontrolled superweed could be created, impossible to

destroy with the most potent chemicals even. According to the *Daily Mail*, 25.10.98 the British government was contemplating legal action against Monsanto and Britain's collaborator Perifields Holdings Ltd, if found guilty.

## WILL GM TECHNOLOGY COMBAT HUNGER IN THE WORLD?

To push the sale of their GM seeds the MNCs proclaim that their higher yields will go a long way in combating hunger in the world. Monsanto, under the motto: food, health, hope, advertises thus: Worrying about starving future generations won't feed them. Food biotechnology will. As if shortage of food were at the root of the problem! Today, do people suffer from hunger and malnutrition — be it in our country or elsewhere - because food production is insufficient? In fact food production has far outstripped population growth, as has been shown by experts and even FAO report. Under capitalism grains accumulate and rot in godowns for lack of market while people starve because capitalist exploitation leaves them without the necessary purchasing power to buy the food they so much need. On the other hand we find the glowing example of a tiny socialist country, like Cuba. After the fall of the Soviet Union on whom Cuba had depended among others for 80% of its fertilizer and pesticide, it suffered from food crisis as USA has even intensified its criminal economic blockade. In order to provide for the need of the people Cuba has completely restructured its agriculture, with the active and enthusiastic participation of people even in cities, and switched to intensive organic and semi-organic farming, using compost for fertilizer and microorganisms to combat pests. By harnessing scientific research to meet the needs of its population Cuba has reportedly achieved remarkable results. Thus, for example they have been successful in completely eliminating sweet potato borer pest — a major pest — simply by using baits for ants. Clearly all this gives the lie to corporate gene promoters' propaganda.

## WHEN SCIENCE IS RULED BY PROFIT

In view of widespread public protest over terminator technology the MNCs were forced to withdraw it from the market. But far from abandoning this technology, the imperialist MNCs have merely resorted to covert tactics as revealed in *The Observer* (2 April) which reported that the biotech firm Astra Zeneca is secretly developing the GM terminator technology, despite its promise that it had actually stopped work on this project. Similarly, in 1998 when an outcry was created by the suicide of Andhra farmers, Monsanto, in a bid to appease public fears, stated that gene protection (terminator) technology is conceptual only and does not exist in reality. But how much can the words of that infamous MNC be trusted? A few examples from its track record may illustrate this. During the trial in a law suit brought against Monsanto by railroad workers — who had been exposed to dioxin, following a train derailment in the 1980s — it was found that Monsanto had covered up dioxin contamination of a wide range of its products, failed to report contamination, substituted false information and submitted samples to the government for analysis

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# Free Science from Profit Motive

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which had been specially prepared so that dioxin contamination was not present. (*The New Worker*, 14.4.2000) One shudders to think what dangerous mischief a MNC that perpetrates such crimes in its own country — the USA — may bring on in a third country like India. In the USA Monsanto had to pay compensation to the workers at least. Similarly, in a law suit brought by Vietnam War veterans in 1984 who suffered from the after effects of spraying the infamous 'Agent Orange' — a deadly defoliant produced by Monsanto and six other chemical companies, which wreaked terrible havoc in Vietnam — it had to pay 45 % of the \$180 million compensation. In our country such compensation cannot even be dreamt of, as has been glaringly demonstrated in the Bhopal industrial disaster, not to speak of the Andhra farmers who were ruined by the secret Monsanto tests.

Yet despite having had to face one lawsuit after another by angry farmers in the USA not only over failed Bt cotton but also for its monopoly tactics (it was accused of acting with other gene giants like Du Pont, Novartis, AstraZeneca and Dow Chemical to organise a cartel to restrict the market in non-GM corn (i.e. maize) and soya bean and conspiring to fix the prices of GM seeds and soya beans) Monsanto has all the same managed to gain control over 85% of the cotton seed market in the USA along with Delta and Pineland whom it has been trying to buy up for long. This has been possible through merger with other seed giants, chemical and food processing companies on an unprecedented scale, a trend which holds true for other MNCs in the biotech field.

Thus to push the sale of their GM seeds, the multinationals take recourse to the most devious means. In the name of providing relief, for example, they send seed grains which create dependence on a particular chemical product of a particular MNC, as they tried to do in case of Bangladesh after it was struck by a cyclone. When Orissa was hit by the super-cyclone, they sent relief with the same end in view. That is but one example which goes to show by what devious means, how surreptitiously and treacherously they proceed with their plans. But there has been widespread farmers' agitation in Bangladesh against Monsanto, and angry farmers have destroyed its laboratories. In Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, too, farmers have resorted to militant protests against Monsanto and another American multinational seed corporation, Cargil, ransacking its offices in Karnataka.

Yet despite these and widespread, worldwide protests by people and scientists against genetically engineered crops, the MNCs persist in their development and try with all their might to foist them upon the people. The fact is that genetic engineering has provided the monopolists with a formidable weapon to grab the seed, fertilizer and pesticide market with which to bring the agricultural system of weaker countries into their clutches, with the help of collaborators in the national field. The cat has been let out of the bag by no less than Delta and Pineland — the pioneer, along with US Department of Agriculture of the terminator technology. In a press conference on 3 March 1998 it stated: Thanks to the development and sale of biotechnology the worldwide market

of the seeds saved year after year, has now been opened up. (Quoted in Debol Deb '*Luth hoye jay swadeshbhumi*'). Through patenting of plants and seeds with TRIPS provision of GATT, later WTO, the imperialists have tried to achieve this, though not entirely successful.

Today poor farmers alone, who depend on farm-saved seeds as their primary source for cultivation — amounting to more than 1.4 billion farmers in Asia, Africa and Latin America — are estimated to produce about 15 to 20 per cent of the world's food crops. If the huge corporate gene giants get their way as they are trying to do — be it through allurements, or stealth, or even with the help of agro-terrorism, as the terminator and traitor technology have been called, then this will be simply devastating for the poor peasants, whose livelihood is at stake.

## 'CAPITALISM CREATES A WORLD AFTER ITS OWN IMAGE'

Already with the 'magic' of 'green revolution' created by the large-scale introduction of high-yield hybrid seeds, esp. for paddy cultivation, in our country, the first step has been achieved. For hybrid seeds are unsuitable for reuse, and have to be bought afresh, on the one hand. On the other the few varieties of such high-yielding crops have driven out the indigenous varieties, that were evolved and developed by farmers in the process of selection and breeding, which were adapted to the particular environmental condition pertaining in each particular place. These constituted an inestimable biological wealth before the advent of 'green revolution', and consisting of 42000 varieties of paddy, have now shrunk to a mere few thousand, at most 5000 — an irreplaceable loss. Even now the few thousand varieties that still exist are tiny quantities, mostly in the hands of poor farmers and tribals too poor to buy the hybrid seeds. These high high-yielding seeds which were enthusiastically promoted by the government since the seventies, not only need enormous amount of

irrigation — creating the problem of heavily depleted groundwater table — but with yields becoming lower need ever greater amounts of fertilizer and pesticides, creating serious ecological problems. But the indigenous seeds which still remain in the hands of the poor farmers, are threatened to disappear, too, if the MNCs get their way. Only a few brands selected by the MNCs themselves would survive and the entire agriculture would be at the mercy of a handful of imperialist MNCs and their manipulations, together with their national collaborator. Its consequences would be catastrophic, giving rise to an ecological desert if not resisted in time. What greater threat to food security could there possibly be for a country? So it is clear in the hands of corporate power, the amazing progress of science in the field of biotechnology is leading to ever greater enslavement of the people, especially of the weaker countries. Today, as the trade war heats up it is quite conceivable that the different gene giants carry out their war in the agricultural fields of other countries with the weapon of biotechnology, as each wants to gain monopoly. All these developments once more bring to mind that the need of the hour is to free society from capitalist system and with it to free culture and science from the poisonous tentacles of capitalist profit motive.

## Seminar on Educational Distress in Bihar and Compulsory English Education

On May 31, a state level seminar was organised by AIDS0, Bihar State Committee at Patna. Many prominent intellectuals, guardians and students delegates from various parts of Bihar attended the seminar. Comrade Ramprit Roy, President, AIDS0, Bihar State Committee presided. The former pro-Vice-Chancellor of Patna University Dr. S.K. Bose delivered the inaugural speech. The base paper of the seminar was presented before the house by Comrade Dipak Kumar, Secretary, AIDS0, Bihar State Committee. The paper contained the outline of the educational distress in Bihar, need for compulsory English education and the demands to be palced before the State government regarding these issues.

Besides, many other prominent intellectuals such as Dr. S. K. Ganguly; Prof. Santosh Kumar, Prof. Purnendu Mukherjee, Mr. P.N. Mahato, Mr. V. Prasant also expressed their views. Comrade Mohan Singh, Vice President, AIDS0, Bihar State Committee spoke on behalf of AIDS0, Bihar State Committee. Besides, Comrade Biplav Kumar, Comrade Bipul Kumar, Comrade Brijnandan Singh Bharat and several others spoke on behalf of the student delegates assembled from various districts of Bihar.

The seminar concluded with an announcement to strengthen the movement against the growing educational distress in Bihar. The movement would also press forward to compel the government to introduce English from the primary level. Five lakh signatures would be collected and submitted to the Chief Minister, it was announced.

## Road Blockade on Bangalore-Gulbarga Highway

Under the leadership of Raith Krishi Karmikara Sangthana (RKKS) hundreds of villagers including women of Ilaga village of Gulbarga district staged a 'rasta roko' agitation on the Bangalore-Gulbarga highway on the demand of repairing and asphaltting the road connecting the village with the highway, on May 22 last. The road blockade continued nearly for two hours from 8 am to 10 am.

As a result of the blockade the traffice on the highway came to a standstill and the police and the PWD Executive Engineer rushed to the spot. They assured the villagers in writing that repairing and asphaltting the road would start within 15 days and would be completed by December end this year. The PWD and police officers, after the blockade was withdrawn, visited the village with the leaders of the RKKS.

The agitators were addressed by Comrade H. V. Diwakar, State Secretary of RKKS, Karnataka. RKKS leaders, Comrades K. Somasekhar and B. Kobal and other village leaders led the agitation.

# Fight Religious Revivalism-Fundamentalism

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nationality zingoism etc., with a view to bringing disunity among people, so that they may not stand united against capitalism-imperialism, the arch-enemy of the humanity today.

As a result, we find communal riots, racial fratricidal wars in different countries on the rise. There is also the increasing cult of mysticism, religion-oriented thoughts in art and literature, revival of art and music of feudal tone—to drag people into retreat under the cover of religion; in the name of salvation, to make people unconcerned to social problems, to induce people to inertly tolerate the painful bites of exploitation. Influence of these feudal hangovers in culture thus create further obstructions to developing peoples' struggle for emancipation.

It is imperative now on cultural activists that they will have to develop cultural movement against both these trends, against this two-pronged attack on peoples' life. Of course, who is the main enemy before the people of your country, what is your stage of revolution and accordingly, in the necessary cultural movement, whether the focal point should be to develop new democratic culture or socialist one—you and your people are the authority to sort out all these questions. As a representative of the Indian people and the proletarian class of that country, what I may submit is that, we are in the stage of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. And so, though we have feudal hangovers in the cultural field, the cultural movement that must precede and succeed as well, the revolution in our soil, must be guided by the concepts of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism.

Incidentally, here I would like to reiterate one more point. I presume you must have already taken note of it. In all countries as a part and parcel of the revolutionary movement, there must develop a conducive cultural movement interwoven with the political movement itself. The cultural movement precedes to revolution to create the urge for revolution. Then again, even after establishment of proletarian dictatorship and socialism, cultural movement will keep on going, assuming important and significant role in the transition to classless society. As cultural activists, you must have been aware of this concept of the importance of cultural movement, for this is what the great proletarian leader Comrade Mao Ze Dong upheld in the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. It was a movement set by him with a view to consolidating socialism in China, particularly waging battle against the danger of revisionism. It was a historic movement he led, which combined and united the working class, the masses, the party and the army all together. It was a movement that would undoubtedly act as a source of inspiration for long, long time to come to the communist movement, to progressive cultural movement of every country. This cultural revolution has left a fundamental vital teaching of Marxism-Leninism once more highlighted: in revolutionary struggle of every country, the concrete objective condition of that society must be correctly analysed and that analysis is to be concretely applied to develop the cultural movement in that country. A simple copy of a model, however, great the latter may be, would not be correct and effective. So, if we ignore the concrete situation, the problem in the

face of which the great proletarian cultural revolution was waged, we will fail to grasp the essence of the revolution itself, and to determine our task also.

In this connection, I may again draw your attention to the fact that the concrete situation in our country is that the ruling Indian bourgeoisie, which have already attained imperialist character to become a junior partner of world capitalism-imperialism, are trying all out to emasculate the revolutionary movement by spreading the moribund capitalist-imperialist culture. In this effort, they work hand-in-glove with what may be called cultural imperialism, spearheaded by the US imperialism. Their attack comes not only on the Indian people. Their bid to extend their sphere of influence, in all fields of economy, politics or culture is seen with grim apprehension by the weaker neighbouring nations. At the same time, the same bourgeoisie are fanning up religious fundamentalism and revivalism; through this vehicle they want to destroy the rational scientific bent-of-mind in the people, instead promoting blind fanatic revivalist outlook, with a view to creating the ground, the base for fascism to take its root in the society. So the Indian people will have to develop and carry on the revolutionary

cultural movement fighting both these trends, as I indicated earlier. Obviously, this will be a complementary task of the anti-capitalist revolution itself. Similarly, one of the most important task of the working class revolutionary movement of your country would be to determine and set the focal point of your cultural movement in accordance with the necessity of your revolutionary movement itself.

From without, though not from far away, we may only add our feeling that you too may be facing the twin trends of religious revivalism and fundamentalism and pernicious capitalist-imperialist culture; you, too, may have to take up the cudgel of fighting against both these. And in that struggle, we, the revolutionary people of both the countries need to realize that our unity, fraternity, revolutionary exchange of ideas and efforts to build up revolutionary cultural activities in the two soils are of immense importance. This conference of today may be a point to set out with that goal and realization. The future lies ahead of us.

Comrades and friends, however gloomy the present may appear, the future belongs to us.

Long Live Proletarian Revolution! Long Live Marxism-Leninism!

## Trade Union Rights and People's Protest Gagged

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The money saved from the government exchequer according to the government spokesman is Rs. 900 crore. The government cannot attend to the urgent needs like food, shelter, drinking water, education and medical care on the plea of paucity of funds. But thousands of crores of financial resources which are people's money extorted, find their way to militarisation at an accelerating pace. There is no shortage of fund in nuclear weaponisation and modernisation of weaponry etc. Defence production is increasingly being opened up to the capitalists to help them in the midst of crisis in the capitalist economy.

The people remain defenceless against all-out and all-sided attacks of capital including fiscal savageries and economic policies heavily fitted to the interests of monopoly capital. The disparity in income and standard of living increases enormously. Only five to ten per cent people roll in wealth and affluence and rest are languishing. And this is being falsely projected as 'national development' and 'the country's progress'. Can there be any room for democracy in such a situation? It is for the people to understand.

### Deception and duplicity

It is an accepted proposition that people can face the blunt attacks more easily provided they retain in them the moral backbone and the spirit of resistance. But the exploited people themselves become the standard bearers of the exploiters, when the attacks come on their very reasoning faculty, their process of thinking. This comes through systematic propaganda and disinformation. This is the surreptitious method—the method of duplicity, exploiting the sense of hopelessness and utter frustration, widely

prevalent among the people.

The reason for this is the absence of democratic mass movement guided by working class outlook and approach. When the attacks are most severe on the people, when protest and resistance are needed the most, the social democratic forces shy away from the historic task. They also lull the consciousness of the people and wean them away from organised mass and class struggles. They instead preached to put faith in parliamentarism-legalism. This particular situation gives to the fascist forces an ideal situation to exploit.

We are witnessing that the BJP is misguiding the people to believe what is inimical to them. Just to quote a single example. The recent visit of Bill Clinton, the US President, has confirmed the fact that under the BJP rule, India becomes a junior partner of the US imperialism in South-Asia. The Indian bourgeois state has already emerged as a prominent regional power with the backing of the US imperialist rulers. The BJP leaders are claiming success for this achievement and misguiding the people to view it as such. To place the country having long anti-imperialist tradition, on the lap of US imperialism, the arch enemy of mankind and civilisation, cannot be a step towards democracy but towards authoritarianism, fascism.

The party is encouraging consumerism, cultural degradation, obscurantism in place of logical bent of mind only to make people slave to the rule of capital. It adopts the methods of deception and duplicity. The people are to ponder deeply what else remains to them to come out of such a suffocating situation other than democratic mass movements on burning issues in their lives.