

# Election battle becomes meaningful when integrated with mass movements

# Proletarian Era

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The Lok Sabha has been dissolved much before its five-year term expired and very soon elections are going to be held in the Lok Sabha as well as in some State Assemblies.

People are aware under what circumstances the poll has been thrust upon them. Limitless greed for power and pelf of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties and politicians and the practice of vilest and filthiest politics to serve and fulfil their petty parliamentary ambition have brought about the present situation leading to the imposition of this poll on the people who are ultimately to bear the colossal expenses of the elections. But what is unthinkable and downright shameless is the way these greedy members of the Lok Sabha acted in unison to pass a Bill on the last day of the Lok Sabha for modifying the rule of the pension for MPs in their favour and increasing the amount of pension by 150 p.c.!

Indeed a cruel joke to the Indian people! That the Bill fell through on technical ground is altogether a different issue. But MPs of different parties who passed this Bill in unison palpably in their self-interest will now go to the people and shed tears for their miseries.

The present political crisis is not however an accidental one. The last Lok Sabha election resulted in a hung Parliament with the Congress(I), the most trusted agent of the Indian capitalist class remaining the largest single party. In a situation where intense crisis of capitalism is giving birth to severe group conflicts and competition within the class which got reflected in the split of Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce & Indus-

tries (FICCI) some time back. The parties serving that class cannot be spared of the reflection of the consequences of the conflict and competition among the different monopoly groups and this results in split and further split of the parties serving the capitalist class. The present political scenario is indeed unprecedented and the people have never in the past been in the midst of such a complex political situation. Democratic norms and values are not honoured even inside the Parliament which has become a place of horse-trading, intrigue and corruption. Democracy has now become a game of number; the party or a combination being able to muster strong the largest number of MPs by any means can form the government. Ideological questions and democratic norms are no questions and curiously the Left

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## Call Of 24th April

The 43rd Anniversary of foundation of our beloved Party comes at a time when the national and international situation has taken a most serious and critical turn.

Day in day out, the crisis in the capitalist world is mounting and for staving off this crisis, modernisation-mechanisation of means of production as well as lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchments have become the order of the day in all the developed and developing capitalist countries. The crisis has become so acute that the imperialist countries in general and the U S imperialists in particular, pursuing a naked expansionist policy are imposing war on weaker countries, blatantly violating all international norms and practices. The recent war of imperialist aggression by the U S A against Iraq on the question of control of oil is a glaring example of the present imperialist design.

At this critical moment we painfully recall the absence of the socialist camp led by the U S S R, which worked as a deterrent to the imperialist designs and was a bulwark of the international peace. The betrayal and capitulation of renegade Gorbachev clique have made it possible for the imperialist forces to take such an aggressive step. All communists must expose the conspiracy of the counter-revolutionary renegade Gorbachev clique, launch an ideological battle against modern revisionists and hold high the noble banner of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of revolution.

Our country also, as part and parcel of the world capitalist market is passing through the third intense general crisis and is taking recourse to all sorts of reactionary steps and putting the whole burden of crisis of capitalism on to the shoulders of the common people while granting huge subsidies and tax relief to the capitalists. The bourgeois parties are mouthing pro-people slogans only during election to befool the people. Democratic norms and values are trodden underfoot. While talking of democracy communal, parochial and casteist feelings and tendencies are being overtly abetted or fanned up by those parties for petty parliamentary

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## EXCERPTS FROM CHOMSKY'S INTERVIEW

The US and its imperialist allies claimed, while they launched a savage and deceitful war against Iraq, that the war was 'just' and had become necessary as Iraq had refused negotiations all through. Noam Chomsky, renowned professor of Linguistic Science at MIT and social and political activist, has been a leading voice against this deceit. Marshalling facts and documents he has laid bare the imperialist design and deceit behind the Gulf war. Below we give a few revealing excerpts from an interview he gave on the war (published in Frontline, March 2-15, 1991) to expose the crimes, falsifications and conspiracies of the US imperialist ruling clique and its allies.

### WHO REFUSED NEGOTIATIONS

"The fact is that the US position on diplomacy has been clear, explicit and unwavering from the first minute, and it has been, as George Bush has repeatedly said, that there will be no negotiations. That's been the US position from the start, that's been the US position at the end. That

was the position of United Nations when it once again blocked a Third World effort, it refused even to allow Security Council to hear a discussion about a ceasefire.

...I will not run through the whole record, but shall just take the most recent (at least that is public knowledge). In late December, Iraq made a peace proposal that was

released by the US officials on January 2. According to that proposal, they would withdraw totally from Kuwait—totally, no border issues—in return for Security Council arrangements on two outstanding issues: one, the Israel-Palestine issue, and the other, the issue of weapons of mass destruction in the region. A clarification the following day, which was actually published in the NEW YORK TIMES after an interview with Yasser Arafat, who had just returned from a discussion with Saddam Hussain, indicated that a mere indication by the Security Council of a willingness to deal with these two outstanding issues might suffice for a total Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. State Department officials described this as what they call a "serious prenegotiating position." Earlier offers had also been des-

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# Mandal Commission Report—How far can it fulfil its objective ?

It is now a well-known fact as to why and how the partial acceptance of the Mandal Commission Report, a decade after it was finalised and the communal halocaust stirred up by the BJP following thereafter brought the downfall of V. P. Singh Government at the Centre. Also, there may not be any veil of secrecy as to what prompted Mr. V. P. Singh to invoke the Report in quick haste: the arithmetical advantage in the next elections.

No one denies the stark reality that the backward classes, coming as they were of the lowest rungs of the social setup, deserve support for their allround social, educational and cultural uplift in recognition of which the framers of the Indian Constitution provided safeguards for them. But to perpetuate reservations is demeaning response to the vexed problem. It lends no honour to the downtrodden, who deserve equal opportunities in practice, not charity from the government.

Following the political crisis created by resignation of Chandra Shekhar Government, the country is now faced with yet another costliest exercise of General Elections after it had been held just fifteen months back. Leaving aside the basic problems in people's life, the burning issues in their life galore, without the solution of some of which even sub-human existence of vast multitude of toiling masses would be pushed to an unbearable situation. Political parties subserving the interest of the ruling bourgeoisie are busy among themselves in the scramble for power. All of them are harping on their pet theme, among others, with an eye on their respective vote banks. Some of them are focussing on 'Mandir-Masjid' issue while some with their pet 'Mandal' trump card are in the fray. But every sensible and well-meaning person is sure to admit that these issues had no relevance with the people's burning

problems which torment them daily, hourly. What none of them remembers today are the real issues: acute unemployment, spiralling price-rise, destitution, lack of health care, social insecurity, indignities and crime against women, rampant corruption, collapse of educational system, criminalisation of politics etc. and above all communalism, perpetuation of casteism and parochialism with frightening consequences.

On the eve of the coming Lok Sabha polls, we would pick up the issue of Reservation policy of the successive bourgeois governments on which we dealt squarely on its various aspects previously. We are still attempting it afresh especially in the context of its objective and its fallout in the main. Before going to dwell on the partial acceptance of Mandal Commission Report (MCR) by erstwhile V. P. Singh Government, would it not be fit and appropriate for us to first ascertain the objective of the Reservation policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to which the framers of our Constitution provided special safeguards. It was also intended to be followed for a decade or so by which time downtrodden SC/ST people would catch up the general standard in all respects in the society.

In the pages of this paper in the past we have shown, through an elaborate discussion (Vid: Vol. 23, No. 11, dated Feb 16, 1990) how the reservation policy of the Central Government

failed to uplift SC/ST people. Evidently, the policy of reservation has not delivered the desired results. The small SC/ST upper layer coteries that emerged, has not been able to articulate the grievances and real needs of their constituents in any way. Actually, even after 44 years since independence, not to speak of catching up by common standard of the people, the general standard of these backward communities had worsened steadily with every passing year. It was expected that the leaders of the post-independence government who committed to ameliorate the pitiable condition of these downtrodden backward communities would act seriously and sincerely to fulfil their commitment. Let alone their commitments fulfilled even the limited percentage of quotas for job reservations for them in service and education have never been kept up since its very introduction. We have also shown therein (Vol. 23 No. 11) that hardly 2 p.c. out of about 20 crore of country's lowest rung of downtrodden SC/ST people have been benefited out of the continued job reservation policy. Whatever small number of posts in government and allied sectors were reserved for them, the bulk of this minimal quota very often left of eligible candidates from these backward classes. Ultimately, in many cases, these reserved posts, more often than not, went to the general candidates by way of de-recognition of reservation quota.

The moot question which comes into light which the pro-reservationists must ponder over is that why the downtrodden people even after 44 years of independence, cannot avail of whatever little job opportunities are there through this reservation policy? The pertinent

question that arises if there be more reservation for them, say for arguments sake, even if there is reservation of all seats for them—can they avail of the scope, which they agitate for from time to time? Have they ever tried to understand that for lack of requisite educational qualifications, they become unable to avail of whatever scant opportunities were provided for years together? What the real picture speaks about this. Not to speak of any meaningful spread of education among them, literacy rates among the downtrodden SC/ST people vary between 16.35 p.c. and 21.38 p.c. respectively. Worst of all, this means they simply possess just the ability to read letters and sign one's name, and not the education proper. According to last Report of SC/ST Commission, out of the total enrolment in the elementary stage (6-10 years) roughly about 72.6 p.c. SC students and 81.6 p.c. ST students drop out at the secondary stage (11-14 years). The answer is to be traced behind their miserable plight of sub-human existence centring round their economic condition. Under the grinding poverty and destitution through which perennially these downtrodden backward community live in, to them getting their children educated in schools appears nothing but luxury.

The experience of continued reservations in jobs and in educational field since independence among the SC/ST people has shown that the SCs and STs are nowhere nearer to take full advantage of the reservation quota because of their inability to fulfil the minimum educational requirements. The performance in the professional fields such as medicine and engineering where the competition is very intense, is very dis-

mal. For example, in 1989 in M.P. so few SC and ST students qualified at the entrance tests for professional examinations that the minimum eligibility marks for them had successively to be lowered. For engineering education the unserved quota students had to have at least 50 p.c. marks whereas for the SCs the prescribed minimum was 35 p.c. and for the STs 25 p.c. marks respectively. Eventually, the SC students with 15 p.c. and the ST students with 7 p.c. had to be admitted. Again, for medical education, the minimum eligibility marks for general category were 62 p.c., but the SC candidates with 35 p.c. and the ST students with only 20 p.c. marks respectively were admitted in the medical colleges. Let us take another illustration. Even one generation after the introduction of job and educational reservations for the SCs and STs only 10 candidates from these categories got into IAS in ten years from 1969-78. As against this, more than 100 candidates were selected for IAS every year during this period; it comes out to less than 1 p.c. success rate on 'merit' from a group constituting 22.5 p.c. of country's population. From bare analysis of facts, we therefore, arrive at a firm conclusion: while, on the one hand the necessity of getting employment for all the SC/ST and OBC people in particular and other able-bodied persons in general, the question of acquiring adequate educational standard simultaneously comes in. For achieving this goal, the basic question, therefore, is linked up with the opening of avenues of uninterrupted education in such a manner as to render them equally competent for satisfying the needs of the employment. Then again, since due to the present acute crisis obtaining in the body politic, education is being systematically squ-

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## Bourgeois and Petty bourgeois Parties view reservation issue with an eye on their vote banks

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 ceed, while demanding for "education for all" struggle against the Central and State Governments must at the same time be forged with special emphasis on education being reached actually to all backward community along with others as an essential pre-requisite for their allround development.

In the backdrop of this reality, would the heaven fall on the downtrodden people belonging to Other Backward Classes (OBCs) if Mr. V. P. Singh's partially accepted recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report was adopted for reservation of additional 27 p.c. jobs in the Central Government services and the public sector undertakings for the socially and educationally backward classes, also called Other Backward Classes? Let us now concretely see what actually would have been its effect! Taking the partial acceptance of the Report as granted only for Central Government jobs and places in public sector undertakings (excluding Armed Forces, Atomic Energy, Scientific Institutions where jobs have been excluded by V. P. Singh), it would account for around 45,000 jobs out of the general pool. The majority of these government jobs were in grade 'C' and 'D'. There were only 3,572 jobs in Group 'A' which meant officers in the IAS, IPS, IFS, Undersecretaries and Directors. According to the same estimate, Group 'B' posts which include Section officers, Upper Division Assistants, Asst. Accounts Officers, etc., contribute 6,712 vacancies. The rest of the jobs were for positions of lower division clerks, peons, drivers, orderlies, etc.

The Central government and allied sector jobs meant for OBCs, are only for a small percentage of the total jobs in the country's organised sector, which includes the private sector, profes-

sions, business and commerce. Statistics speaks that in 1988, only 3.2 lakhs people were provided jobs by the country's employment exchanges. And as per register in the employment exchanges there are 3 crore listed in the employment exchange rolls of which 28 lakhs are graduates. One can easily understand that compared to actual work force awaiting employment, the likely vacancies are as good as a little drop of water in the mighty ocean of 450 million backwards in the country!

So, what transpires from the above, instead of the heaven falling on the people belonging to OBCs, we have become witnesses to a tragic happening of unprecedented dimension over so long a period at the peril of unity of the oppressed people in their common struggle against poverty, destitution, hunger, shelter and above all sub-human existence which are the curses of moribund capitalist system. This sordid game could not have happened had not the principal ruling bourgeois parties been busy in collecting the spoils of nasty parliamentary politics by hiding the class reality in our society and inciting, instead, the caste ill-feelings of the oppressed people over a most single pressing socio-economic problems, 'unemployment'!

It is in this context worth mentioning that the old feudal Indian society witnessed a deep-seated caste complex and people belonging to lower castes were under the subjugation of those belonging to the so-called upper castes both socially and culturally which, no doubt, created a deep sense of suppressed and injured feeling among the former. Given favourable situation this suppressed caste feeling very often used to find its expression through mutual intolerance, suspicion and even animosity of worst kind.

It is true that with passage of time, especially after establishment of a bourgeois national state, bringing in its wake abolition of feudal economy, caste domination in the old form no longer exists today. Yes, the virus of casteism is still there in our society due mainly to failure of democratic movement to eradicate this evil from the society. This hangover of casteism operating in the realm of superstructure inhibits even, today, the growth of higher ethics and culture, rationality and free thinking characteristic of a democratic polity.

Viewed thus, it is pertinent to record here that though the Mandal Commission is called a 'Backward Classes Commission', its report does not define the term "class" and instead wrongly assumes class as 'caste'. Mandal Commission's caste-based data were taken from the 1931 Census because that was the last time a caste-wise census was conducted. The 1941 census did not take place due to outbreak of the Second world war. Later, after independence, caste-based enumeration was constitutionally disallowed. Students of history know it for certain that class being a socio-economic phenomenon, admits of mobility; "caste" on the other hand is static and characterised by an ascriptive factor, that is to say, in relation to our society, division of labour based on birth. Naturally, the historically conditioned caste system cannot and do not remain totally immune to the vicissitudes accompanied with decades of capitalist mode of development. That is why, whatever may be the sluggish process of capitalist development in our country, in a given national and international situation, it is not unusual to find poor people among the upper castes and lower caste people among the capitalists, as low caste individuals, have worked their way up the social hierarchy to become very rich. And

nonetheless, both of low and upper castes, without exception, equally exploit the downtrodden. It is not, therefore, difficult for the people to realise that what may sometimes appear as caste domination cannot be other than class domination in this period of acute and intense class struggle going on unabated under monopoly capital.

Let it be known, that whereas in Europe, with the growth and development of capitalism and in the process of formation of nation states, the democratic outlook and principles applied in political, economic, social, cultural and ethical fields swept away, to a great extent, the fences and barriers dividing the people in caste, religion, etc., to bring about democratisation of the society and through it, social-cultural integration of the people (although this process has never been completed and thorough going in any bourgeois society), in our country this historic process of democratisation of the society has been neglected both during the national freedom struggle and in the post-independence era as a result of which such hangovers still remain. It was because of his historic analysis in the following that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, gave timely warning to the working class movement in our country to incorporate within the programme of democratic movement the unfinished tasks of the social and cultural revolutions. Comrade Ghosh reminded us thus: "Capitalism which for the sake of national integration and formation of the nation at a certain state of its development, tried to unify different communities of the people in a given territory also tries at a different stage of development, i.e. in the imperialist stage, to disrupt the unity of the people for its own security against popular uprising. The more acute its crisis

becomes resulting is more intense struggle by the working people against capitalist order, the more fascistic capitalism becomes when it tries to fan religious, racial or different parochial sentiments of the people to mislead popular struggle against capitalism." He urged the Left and democratic forces to take up with all seriousness and sense of urgency the task of democratisation of the society through social-cultural movements on the firm basis of higher democratic values and ethics with day-to-day struggles of the masses on democratic issues and demands. The recurrence of periodical tragic happenings of communal and caste riots and conflicts is a sad commentary on its performance.

Resuming the thread of our discussion over Mandal Commission Report, one must, therefore, try to unearth a secret agenda that necessarily the successive bourgeois governments tend to conceal behind the veil of public profession of piety. It is quite in the fitness of things to recall that as in the cases of SC/ST people, a job in government services requires as an eligibility condition a bachelor's degree, a higher secondary certificate or at the very least, School Final certificate. According to available data, only one-and-a-half per cent of our general population graduate from college, only 3 p.c. complete higher Secondary school or its equivalent, and only 7 p.c. matriculate. Among the educationally backward castes, the figure is much lower: about 4 p.c. of them are matriculates. (Economic & Political Weekly: 12/90) Every member of an OBC who works for government or studies at a university comes from this microscopic minority. So we can logically conclude, reservations are designed for the exclusive benefit of this tiny elite.

This benefit by its very nature cannot trickle (Contd. on page 6)

## People cannot expect anything from bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties

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parties have become a partner of this game.

The erosion of the democratic norms and values has been continuously going on since the days of Nehru and as the capitalist economy is plunging into deeper and deeper crisis the ruling class is shaking off its democratic mask and an attempt towards imposition of all-out fascism to save the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism has been going on. The ruling class has been aiding and abetting the casteist, communal, parochial and divisive forces to keep the people embroiled in fratricidal strifes. Side by side attempt towards cultural regimentation is going on through the new education policy.

In such a situation the people of the country already suffocating with unbearable taxation, sky rocketing prices, huge unemployment and acute economic distress have to face the election. When the root cause of all these evils in the life of common people is the most savage and oppressive exploitation of capitalism, all the parliamentary parties will pose before the people the question of stability and instability of the Government—as if instability is the root cause of all these evils. These parties and their leaders who are nakedly exposed as self-seekers will make tall promises to the people of flooding the country with milk and honey once they are returned to power. The bourgeois propaganda media will play its role and project this or that party or a combination of parties with a view to implementing the bourgeois design of foisting fascism through two-party parliamentary system. But the people will have to seriously ponder whether this hackneyed game will continue this time also and the same stereotyped pattern will be repeated or they will assert themselves to put a brake to

this bourgeois design. Can the people expect anything from all these rotten parliamentary parties? Has not been the role of these parties nefarious and are not the expectations of the people rudely belied by these parties?

Take the case of the Congress (I). This party, though unseated from governmental power in the last Lok Sabha poll, is still the most trusted party of the Indian capitalist class. This party has been consistently serving the aggregate interest of the Indian capitalist class since independence and in order to do so has been adopting out and out anti-people policies which are leading the people to destitution and pauperisation. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is now saying many nice things and suggesting to convert the controversial site in Ayodhya into a national monument. He is now saying that the country cannot be allowed to be torn apart. At the same time he is trying to placate all sides. But he is saying all these nice things by taking advantage of the short public memory. But will the people forget that the heinous act of unlocking the door of the controversial site was done during his regime? It was Rajiv Gandhi himself who laid the foundation of the Ram temple at the controversial site with the ulterior design of whipping up majority communal sentiment so as to get dividend in the elections. It is however a different question altogether that Rajiv could not reap the harvest and the BJP took advantage of the situation of the communal frenzy. But the moot point is that the mischief was done by Rajiv with an eye on Hindu vote bank. Even during Chandra Shekhar's rule, Rajiv put forward the formula, which will only help rake up the controversy, of the constitution of a commission which will give decision

on this issue by examining the historical and archaeological evidences. Is it consistent with his present stance of converting the mosque into a national monument?

Rajiv is also now saying against caste-based politics. But whosoever is acquainted with the politics at the grassroots level knows that the Congress(I) is the main architect of communal-casteist - parochial - separatist and ethnic riots and strifes in the country. This very Congress(I) engineered riots in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka very recently for changing the Chief Ministers of the same party by the pet men of Rajiv. After the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, Rajiv was projected by the bourgeois media as 'Mr. Clean'. But very soon after the 1984 elections the people were flushed with reports of various scandals like Bofors, German Submarine and Fairfax etc. one after another and Mr. Clean was found to be most dirty. Economic policy pursued by the Rajiv Government was out and out anti-people and heavily tilted towards the monopolists. The people were subjected to heavy dose of taxation both direct and indirect whereas the monopolists got numerous tax relief, subsidies and subventions and the death duty was abolished. Rajiv pursued an industrial policy which was out and out anti-people and pro-monopolist. In the name of bringing the country to the door of the 21st century Rajiv allowed mechanisation and computerisation in industries resulting in abrupt shrinkage of employment opportunities. The Congress(I) led by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi introduced the most ignoble New National Policy on Education (NPE 1986) which is nothing but a blueprint for fascism in the country through cultural regimentation and which aims at keeping the door of edu-

cation permanently closed to the majority of the population.

Everybody has now witnessed the nasty politics played by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi by utilising the service of Chandra Shekhar, the greedy turncoat and an arch defector. Rajiv fully utilised the short spell of Chandra Shekhar's rule firstly to destroy all evidence of his past scandals and shady deals and secondly to prepare the grounds for comeback by toppling the elected non-Congress-(I) governments in Tamil Nadu and Assam and by replacing senior officials in important and key positions of the Central Government so as to gear up the machinery for an all-out administrative rigging in favour of the Congress(I), which has become a regular feature since the days of Smt. Indira Gandhi. So this is the Congress(I), the most trusted agent of Indian capitalist class and the main enemy of the people. Can this party be ever relied upon?

Again it is curiously observed that the bourgeois media have been trying to project Mr. Chandra Shekhar. This is indeed an irony of history. Once known as Young Turk this diehard defector who shook off all principles to become a lame-duck Prime Minister, waxes eloquence on principle providing a comic relief to all. But a man is known by the company he keeps—so runs the proverb and his companions are the notorious Dhanbad mafia, leader Surajdeo Singh, the so-called 'flying God-man', the dubious Chandra Swamy, the shady Middle East arms merchant, Khasoggi. Is any further elucidation necessary to expose what sort of man this Chandra Shekhar is? It is due to the necessity of the capitalist class that a halo is created in favour of certain personalities at different times of history. Rajiv was also projected before the 1984 election by the bourgeois media as the future hope of India and even painted

Rajiv Gandhi as a more popular person than Nehru for securing much more majority than Nehru could achieve. But after the elections the people found him dwarfed in a very short time. So the people must not be in confusion at the attempt of the bourgeois media to create a halo about Chandra Shekhar, who shamelessly followed an out and out pro-US imperialist foreign policy and allowed refuelling of the Gulf-bound US war planes on Indian soil thus slurring the glorious anti-imperialist tradition of the Indian people and maligning this country as a whole before the world people. Besides, the Chandra Shekhar government acted very recklessly during its short spell in dismissing the Assam and Tamil Nadu governments without even minimum adherence to democratic norms and swallowed all humiliations dictated by Rajiv barring Haryana issue in which case he saved his skin by resigning as it would have been suicidal for him to concede to this humiliating demand also. People must not have very illusion about this Chandra Shekhar and the policy of his government.

Now about the BJP. One must take note of the grave danger posed by this party before the country. This BJP bestirred the entire country with unprecedented communal passion and frenzy taking advantage of the N.F. Government's dependence on its support for survival, simply for getting electoral dividend. The BJP claims itself to be a principled party; but the activities of it exploded the myth of this principle-mongering. In Kashmir the BJP fanned up Hindu communal elements, creating a tense situation there. The governor selected by the BJP pursued such a policy which further intensified the communal frenzy and individual terrorism was sought to be countered by state terrorism. As no

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## Elect those who can reflect voice of mass struggle inside Parliament

(Contd. from page 4) political solution to the political question of Kashmir was arrived at the Kashmiri people have been greatly alienated and the anti-Indian feeling has been greatly intensified—the entire responsibility of this squarely rests with BJP.

Again in case of extending support to the NF government the BJP never put forward this condition that if the government takes any prohibitive measure against the fanning up of Hindu communalism which was leading the country to bloodbath, the BJP would withdraw support. Then why did it withdraw support on temple-mosque issue? The BJP has been using the religious feeling of the common people by mixing politics with religion with a nasty design of securing Hindu votes. The BJP is proclaiming that if it forms the government at the Centre it will build the temple by pulling down the mosque. What kind of politics is it? Can the temple-mosque dispute make the people oblivious of the thousand and one burning problems confronting the life of the people? Did the BJP ever threaten to withdraw support to the NF Government on any vital issue confronting the life of the people? No, it did not.

After the fall of the N.F. Government this truth has dawned on the BJP that the slogan of Ram alone will not suffice and so its new found slogan is Ram and Roti. This is also found to be inadequate and the BJP decided to add 'Insaf' (Justice) to the slogan of Ram and Roti. This constantly shifting position is a clear indication that the BJP is gambling to make the base of its vote bank as wide as possible. But the BJP is least bothered about Insaf. Is it abiding by the pledge that it made before the Election Commission on the question of adherence to the principle of secularism? The BJP is do-

ing exactly the opposite of what it is pledging and so it ought to have faced deregistration. Does it betray any adherence to principle? Those state governments run by the BJP are no different from those of the Congress (I). The BJP-run state governments are serving the capitalist class and pursuing out and out anti-people policies like their predecessors did. The BJP-run state governments are snatching Roti from the people by anti-people tax and price policy. So, will they take any measure to reverse this policy being adopted at the state level if they are enthroned at the Centre? The internal dissent and squabbles within the BJP in these states, centring round the question of sharing power and pelf are already visible. The split in Bihar and Rajasthan has come out openly. One must understand that inclusion of a few members of Muslim community or putting up some Muslim candidates even cannot absolve the BJP of being guilty of practising communal politics. This is the real face of the BJP. When the people of the country were confronted with thousand and one burning problems in their life this BJP in total oblivion of all those issues launched the Rathayatra. The aim was to divert the attention of the people from the root cause of their problems and destroy the unity of the people so that they cannot launch a united movement against capitalism, the main enemy of the people. So the people will have to reject this BJP in the next poll because of its out and out anti-people and communal role.

After the installation of the NF government the people had many expectations. But all these expectations were belied by the V P Singh government. The Budget of the V P Singh government was out and out anti-people and the industrial policy of the government was a further extension of the same

pro-monopolist industrial policy of the Rajiv Gandhi government. This V P Singh government followed the footsteps of its predecessor Congress (I) governments in increasing the price of the petroleum products by administrative fiat. Mr. V. P. Singh used the card of Mandal Commission report not with an eye on the amelioration of those backward people who are economically exploited and socially and culturally degraded for centuries, but with an eye on the vote bank that these people constitute. Had he been really serious he would not have played up the issue in such a way as to create a rift in the society. The claim of Mr. V P Singh that he would demolish the present power structure of the vested interest is a bunkum inasmuch as he failed to present a clear perspective on the socio-economic and political overhauling necessary for demolishing this power structure; on the contrary he served this power structure most faithfully. By playing this Mandal card Mr. V. P. Singh struck at the unity of the people. Mr. V P Singh should know that if a member of a backward community becomes an IAS or a minister, he is bound to serve this existing capitalist system and he will in no way try to demolish this system. So Mr. V P Singh utilised this Mandal card as a ploy to hoodwink these hapless people for his ulterior political motive. Can the people have any expectation from him?

As a matter of fact all these branded bourgeois parties have been playing an out and out anti-people role to serve the capitalist class. But the people naturally had the expectation that at least the Left parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI would take up their cause and launch mass movements on the burning issues confronting their life. But these parties regrettably not only belied this expectation of the people but they are

pursuing an out and out anti-people role and serving the capitalist class in those states where they are in power. The CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' governments in West Bengal and Kerala are following the anti-people policy of price, fare and tax increase. Not only they are not helping the workers to realise their demands; they are forcing them to accept agreements grossly favourable to the employers. Instead of adopting a policy of providing more employment by setting up labour intensive industries in the public sector, they are inviting and collaborating with the monopolists and the foreign multinationals to set up capital intensive industries. The CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' has been pursuing an out and out anti-people language and education policy. The CPI(M)-led governments in West Bengal and Kerala are discouraging even the legitimate strikes of workers on the plea of maintaining industrial peace, suppressing legitimate democratic movements even by resorting to police firing and killing and brutally crushing legitimate movements of the peasants with the help of the police, CPI(M) stormtroopers and the jotedars. They are deploying the stormtroopers comprising the party cadres and anti-socials along with the police to brutally suppress movements against price, fare and tax hike.

So long these parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI extended support to the government at the Centre but now they are talking of sharing power at the Centre. They are trying to impress the people with the ray of hope that they are coming to the seat of power at the Centre and this, they expect, will give them dividend in the next elections by creating a climate of confidence among the people. So they want to confine the movements of the people within the blind alley of parliamentarianism, legalism, reformism. But what will

they do if they are at the Centre? Do not their performances at the states provide sufficient indication that they will act as the compromising force between the labour and capital, true to their social democratic character and by parroting progressive jargons to hoodwink the people they will most faithfully serve the capitalist class? There is nothing of Leftism left excepting in their vocabularies, and they are behaving as a typical parliamentary party. So the people cannot expect anything from them. We appeal to the rank and file of these parties to mount pressure on their leadership so that these parties are forced to take a pro-people stand and build up legitimate mass movement.

In this context the game of the bourgeois parliamentary politics played by the party in opposition and the party in governmental power need be exposed. Those parties which are in Opposition and the party in the governmental power do not reflect the voice of the people alienated as they are from mass struggle. They do not oppose the basic pro-capitalist policies of the government, their opposition is on certain technical ground and some flaws in the measures proposed to be adopted by the ruling party. These parties play the role of 'responsible' Opposition. The crisis of capitalism is so deep that no single party can solve it and so the ruling class is after the two-party parliamentary system even through a combination of parties so that either of the chosen combination can be alternately saddled in government power, according to the suitability of the class.

In this complex situation when the treachery of all these parliamentary parties—be they the branded bourgeois parties or the social democratic parties—have made the life of the common people suffocating, when the people are in acute economic distress, when the unity of

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## Reservation Policy failed to uplift the downtrodden educationally and culturally

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down to the lower 96 per cent of the OBCs. The truth is simple; only those who are already educated and are in the jobmarket are the target group. The paradoxical nature of this reservation policy has found its glaring manifestation in the Report of the Karnataka 3rd Backward Classes Commission, 1990. According to it, even in 1990, 19.5 p.c. posts in higher employment and 21.5 p.c. in higher education are held by so-called forward Brahmins formed hardly 3.5 p.c. of state's population. Then again, 41 p.c. of Secretaries to the Karnataka Government are held by the Brahmins despite uninterrupted reign of reservation for the OBCs existing as far back as in 1921 in the fields of job and educational reservation. It unmistakably shows that the OBCs can come up finally only when educationally they catch up the same levels as the so-called forward castes. Is it not thus a paradox while the rhetoric of reservations adopted by the successive bourgeois governments address to the mass of the downtrodden (OBC) people, their rewards are 'reserved' for the wafer-thin affluent upper crust of the OBCs. The egalitarianism that this Mandal Commission Report, blessed with the design of ruling bourgeoisie flaunts, is a pure fiction.

It is loudly professed by the protagonist of the reservation policy that it essentially aims at a 'confidence-building measure'. Let us see how far it is true. We all know that the number of MLA's and MP's in the State and Central Legislatures belonging to SC/STs reflects their proportion in the population as provided in the Reservation policy meant for them. But an objective survey and analysis reveals the otherway round. That is to say, the real political power is far from proportionately shared by them. The permanent organs of the bourgeois state—

police-bureaucracy, military, judiciary—which are manned, reservation notwithstanding, overwhelmingly by so-called upper caste members, and even where a few persons of the SC/ST who rise to that level, also become part and parcel of the same exploitative machinery of the ruling capitalist class. This is no mean a glaring revelation! That is why, in spite of MLAs-MPs and even ministers being elected from amongst them (recollect the emergence of Babu Jagajivan Ram, a veteran Congress leader to the highest echelon of the power hierarchy) insecurity of life and property of whatever little they possess, has not diminished even a whit.

Equally true is the fact that despite continued reservation policy in force for decades for the SC/ST in general and OBCs in some of the states in particular, the general social, educational, economic and political condition of these downtrodden poorest population of the country did not improve to any significant extent. It, at the same time, focuses that neither the facilities in various fields nor the knowledge that there are at least some "our men" in the corridors of power and privileges generated the spirit of self-confidence and assertiveness among them. It, on the contrary, has given rise to a degraded mental make-up which in its wake continues to foster as inferiority complex at one pole and a privilege seeking mentality at another. On the top of all, when they get their passage into government services or educational institutions on the basis of their caste identity, perforce, they have to bear a stigma of humiliation even though he may prove competent. This is a very sorry state of affairs indeed for them which we can hardly ignore.

The message that the foregoing state of affairs proclaims the advanced

and enlightened sections of the people can hardly miss to foresee. It demands of them to delve deeply into the phenomena which very often remain shrouded with fake issues and illusions and to bring the essence of it to the poorer sections of the so-called lower caste masses in a deft and intelligent way. They must ask the exploited poorer sections amongst the so-called upper castes that as long as they continue to practise, entertain or compromise with casteism in general in personal, family and social affairs, the apprehension of caste discrimination coupled with a sense of humiliation and an urge for retaliation will remain in the minds of the downtrodden backward classes. Consequently, they will continue to seek protective umbrella in the floggy shell of reservation. Those enlightened sections of the masses who feel compassion for them, bear love and emotion and feel prepared to stand by their weal and woe, surely can persuade to take them into correct understanding of the vexed problem with which the legacy of ancient past is inextricably interwoven.

From the bare analysis in the foregoing it comes out in bold relief that the basic limitation of our socio-economic order notwithstanding when at a time the Union government itself has imposed moratorium on recruitments in government offices and other public sector undertakings (only where the job quota for OBCs applicable) and when tempo of industrialisation has come to a naught, voicing 'yes' or 'no' and for that matter waging fight either for or against the reservation policy does not reflect the crux of the problem. Yes, whenever any issue or, say, any policy decision of the government comes in the surface, even though in the garb of serving the poorest of the poor, we jump into fray to take stand either

in favour or against it according to our power of judgement. We then forget to think whether the point at issue is merged either in favour or against it. If it is at variance with the objective as a whole with which the issue is camouflaged, then there can be no cogent reason to veer round either of the stands surrounding that particular issue. When the real issue is overall uplift of the downtrodden as a whole with regard to their social, educational and cultural betterment, joining hands by raising voice of support in favour of or against the reservation policy as such is tantamount to go against the legitimate right to work of one section of the toiling masses. Can any sane person, knowingly or unknowingly, afford to think like this only to be caught at the snare of calculated deception of the bourgeoisie and its hirelings whose sole design is to divide the toiling people vertically and win over in the process thousands and thousands of backward innocent people towards its side to gain maximum dividends in the ensuing electoral battles?

Along with it, another dark side of the hue and cry reflected in Mandal mania needs a bit dispassionate appraisal. Before coming out in the accusing spree in the public, have the gentlemen at large ever pondered over what the concept of reservation actually means? If they took pains to grasp it, very easily they would have understood that in order to generate rights to communities of people who had been historically denied fundamental human rights on the basis of their caste identity, policy of reservation was visualised with that end in view for a specific period after which it would be redundant in so far as its objective was concerned. This basic democratic principle of rights presupposes social and cultural uplift as well of the given category of people in a society. It is

one thing to say that the vested interests and their political agents had degenerated this basic concept of democracy into one of concessions, charity and also in lasting perpetuation of it lies their out and out anti-people, reactionary interest. But, given the continuing exclusion of vast multitude of the so-called backwards from access to education, employment and participation in social and political life, do they take satisfaction to uphold the essence of democratic polity? Can they, the enlightened academics, the Press and opinion makers of all kinds lose sight of this essential prerequisite of democratic polity? Why then they behave in such an outrageous manner as to manifest their identity of interest with the inbuilt vested interest? We would appeal for a pause and ponder over this basic outlook in life and society.

Since no bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political party dare to openly oppose the reservation policy for backward communities in order to maintain their pro-poor stance especially keeping eye on their respective vote banks, the Congress (I), the BJP and disgruntled Chandra Shekhars and Devi Lals, never spoke outright against the policy in open. It came to light that in some form or other all of these parties and forces even masterminded the violent agitation against this policy in Delhi and other parts of northern India and went to the extent of pressing inter action their criminal support-base. It took the form of a proxy war amongst themselves. The Congress (I) president Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as if to look his stand 'principled' one, went on opposing it on the pretext of hasty decision to introduce the recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report without a national debate and dialogues with the Opposition notwithstanding the fact he supported it in principle publicly.

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# Build up united mass movements irrespective of caste and community to provide education and job for all

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The same heinous role was played all through by the BJP, now poised as a new contender in the corridor of power. In its apprehension to protect the dwindling influence at the grassroots level of out and out Hindu vote bank, the BJP, to pay its lip service to the cause of the downtrodden demand reservation on 'economic criterion'. It matters little what the outcome would be if the 'economic criterion' was imposed on the head and shoulder of caste unit on which the issue of reservation policy was firmly founded. From their precepts and practice, it becomes clear as daylight that these bourgeois parties do not face this all important issue point blank: as in the past, they are airing their voice in a way as not to impair, in any way, the prospects of the vote bank in the coming Lok Sabha polls.

About the erstwhile Prime Minister V. P. Singh's stand and role played by him as the leader of the Janata Dal is well known. He posed himself as the crusader of bringing about a 'glimmer of hope to the eyes of those, who have known only social oppression for centuries' through partial acceptance of this Report. He boastfully claimed his efforts to cause, for the first time, a deadly blow to the corridor of power born out of the vested interests entrenched in the society. Hypocrisy thy name, Mr. V. P. Singh! Faced with mounting unemployment razing the whole country and affecting all sections of the people irrespective of caste, community in consequence of its concomitant growing outbursts amongst all sections of the people, the government led by Mr. V. P. Singh too, was in search of a diversionary tactics. Declaration of additional 27 p.c. jobs for the OBCs by him came, as it were, as a direct offshoot of his dire predicament in the prevailing situation. Amusingly enough, it came at

a time, as we have shown earlier, when the Union Government itself led by him was strictly enforcing moratorium on recruitments with the ostensible plea of providing the OBC people additional job reservation of 27 p.c. in the Central and Public sector undertakings. Though the offer might have unfolded before the OBCs on a platter, it was in reality the most cruel of all jokes! About his deadly blow to the existing power setup, every student of history is aware that without overhauling radically the existing exploitative, oppressive social order through sustained organised people's movement, talk of affrortery to the power setup through reservation job quota is simply bunkum. Now that the drum beating of the votaries of democracy has started, the fake concern for the downtrodden people, albeit the deceptive trickeries of these power-broker politicians are getting exposed daily. One such sharp sarcasm read in a national daily 'Mandal masla is finding a good box office within a particular state obviously to cheat the downtrodden masses as a whole!'

Last but not the least, from the role played by the CPI(M) leadership it becomes quite clear as to how it has failed to educate the party with a correct orientation of the problem of caste and in the process, is itself a victim of casteist mental make-up and tradition which they still carry on. Otherwise, how can they explain their conduct of reposing faith in Karpoori Thakur formula, that is, reservation policy of Bihar with its added economic criteria in order to provide the MCR a face-lift innovation! The rank opportunist and caste chauvinism reflected in a booklet by EMS Nambudiripad on 'Reservation — Why and How', published by the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M), is in a way an attempt

to rationalise its motive to cover up the heinous design of the ruling class. Otherwise, immediately after the caste-riots broke out in Bihar on the acceptance of reservation policy for the OBCs at the behest of the then Chief Minister Mr. Karpoori Thakur, the CPI(M)'s Central Organ would not come out leaving behind the essential requirements for uplift of the downtrodden backward masses. It said that the reservation policy "is not meant ... to solve the problem of poverty or unemployment... but as a measure of helping the socially, educationally and otherwise backward communities to catch up with the forward communities in securing the necessary share of government appointments". (People's Democracy, —editorial comment 26.3.78)

As against the criminal conspiracy against the people all the bourgeois parties, groups and the so-called Left parties like the CPI(M) who are toeing the same perverse bourgeois design, the SUCI has been emphasising that for every democratic movement the caste or communal divisions of toiling people are fraught with dangerous consequences, and it is necessary to bring those castes and communities together in the social mainstream by creating the objective socio-economic cultural conditions where the poor and exploited people of every caste, community, race or religion can enjoy equal social-educational-cultural freedom and earn their position in the society on merit and not on grace or alms of the ruling class and the vested interests.

Towards achieving that goal, the Central Committee of the SUCI in a statement on Reservation (vide Vol. 24 No. 2 dated 16.9.90) inequivalently stated that "... not caste or community but economic need-based criterion on the one hand and merit on the other constitute the real basis for offering any governmental benefit and assis-

tance as that alone can minimise the scope of discrimination in this regard."

So what is demanded of the situation is a sober and dispassionate probe of the curx of the problem and a rational solution to this by the people. They are to judge, first of all, whether or not the basic issue is the problem of acute unemployment which is mounting with each passing day. While highlighting the curx of the reservation issue, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee beautifully explained the phenomenon thus: "... the obligation to provide education upto a reasonable standard to everyone of the society, to create suitable condition and facility for the same rests with the society and a responsible government as the custodian of social affairs is required to act in fulfilment of this social obligation. Similar is the case on the question of employment. Obligation to provide suitable employment to all youths rests on the society and the government as the custodian of the society should act to fulfil this social obligation. And it is precisely to make this incumbent on government that the demand for incorporation, 'Right to Work' in the Constitution is raised."

The students and youth on the war-path should pause and ponder over some vital questions in their own interests to see where lies the root cause of the problem and so not to shed their blood and life on being caught by any sort of passion and frenzy. Is it not true that reservation or not hundreds and thousands of educated youths—120 million taking registered and unregistered urban and rural unemployed together—are languishing in the wilderness with no ray of hope for future, deprived as they are, of any likely suitable jobs? Might be, the former NF Government's job reservation policy might have added to their mental agony and apprehension.

Admittedly, mental agony and apprehension, if so facto, cannot be any guide to action.

So, all sections of people irrespective of caste and community are equally affected with this mounting unemployment problem. Judged in this criteria, is it not a clear testimony to show that the previous NF Government's job reservation proposal smacks of a cruel joke designed to throw the people into confusion and disarray and thus engage them into fratricidal conflict for repaving dividends in the next parliamentary polls? They should also deeply ponder as to how the Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and for that matter Other Backward Classes as well be a hurdle in their getting jobs and education when reservation in these areas for them over the period could not come to their benefit? By refusing to admit this stark reality, can they allow themselves to fall a prey to the heinous design of the ruling class who is bent on perpetuating cleavage based on caste and communal disaffection and prejudices and thus allow the ruling bourgeoisie, the villain of the piece to go scotfree? Given this realisation, does it not demand of them to forge broadest possible unity encompassing students and youths of all communities in mighty democratic mass movement to compel the government to provide 'job for all' and 'education for all' which is the only solution to the vexed problem? If we view the life's most burning issues of the teeming millions against this objective reality, it becomes as clear as daylight, that the main burden of the task to maintain amity and class solidarity develops naturally on the enlightened sections of the educated upper caste community. Given deep consideration to historically evolved economic deprivation, social humiliation and even bru-

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## Mandal Commission

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tal physical tortures and ruthless exploitation meted out for centuries to the downtrodden people in general and SC/STs in particular, surely they will realise the gravity of the tragic turn of events in which they bear the responsibility to forge amity and class solidarity irrespective of caste and community against the real culprit, the moribund capitalist order.

Likewise, the millions of downtrodden people belonging to the SC/STs and other backward classes should not harbour any apprehension about their counterparts in upper or forward castes as their rivals in so far as job potentials are concerned. The problem of unemployment, improve-

ment, preponderance of illiteracy, absence of health care, etc. are not problems of any single community of people only. They are common to both the poorer and toiling masses irrespective of upper and lower castes and community in our country. Besides, they have failed to detect the obnoxious part of the reservation policy successively followed by the bourgeois parties in which the downtrodden backward classes as a whole are made to believe that reservation policy was a panacea for all evils in their life. In the process, they failed to realise their dignity in life which demand of them to understand that the real solution to their life's problems does not lie in

charity or government doles.

So what we need today is not so much of preaching class solidarity but to actually engage ourselves in building up people's united movement irrespective of caste and community against the conspiracy of the ruling class to tear into pieces the unity of the exploited masses by engineering a caste frenzy and obscurantism of all sorts on the one hand, and to compel the government to provide 'education for all' and 'job for all', on the other. As against this, any recipe, formula or platitude is bound to result an exercise in futility as had been the lessons of history.

## Present Political Situation

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the people is in jeopardy because of the activities of all the bourgeois parties not to speak of the communal, parochial and other divisive parties and forces, when democratic norms and values are thrown in the wind, when all hardwon democratic rights trampled and when the social, cultural and moral life is showing sign of rapid decadence what should be the task ahead of the people in the next general elections? The people should remember that all the parliamentary parties whatever might be their pre-election promises can never deliver any goods to the people judged by their past performance. People will have to launch mass struggle on the burning issues in their life and this is the only course left to them for forcing the ruling class to concede to their legitimate demands. So it is hightime all sections of democratic minded and well meaning people came forward to build up a countrywide democratic movement on the burning problems confronting the life of the people and give an organised shape and build up people's struggle committees from the grassroots level by en-

rolling students and the youths in thousands in volunteer corps, giving birth, in its wake, to people's own alternative political power, which can, on the one hand, restore protect and extend democratic norms, values and rights and on the other give a crushing defeat to the Congress(I) and its allies and also the BJP and other communal forces and also put an effective pressure on the National Front, the CPI(M) and their Left alliance either to refrain from pursuing anti-people policies or to get isolated from the people.

The people will have to identify which party or parties build up mass struggle—legitimate democratic mass movement, which party or parties are trying for a united left and democratic front with a view to conducting mass struggle as opposed to the opportunist alliance to get dividend in parliamentary battles, which party or parties are organising the people for realising their just demands, which party or parties encourage legitimate democratic mass movements. The candidates sponsored by such a party or parties are to be elected in large numbers both in Lok Sabha as well as in State Assemblies to reflect the voice of the people, so that the extra parliamentary democratic mass movement can be integrated with the parliamentary battle. Where no such candidate is put up the people of that constituency will set up a people's committee and sponsor such a candidate who is a man of integrity, honest, dedicated and free from communal feelings and will remain by the side of the people in their struggles.

So, we appeal to the people to feel the gravity of the situation and rise to the occasion to stave off the gravest danger posed by the parties trusted by the Indian bourgeoisie, maintain the unity of the people, particularly the downtrodden masses and elect those candidates both in Lok Sabha and also in

State Assemblies who can represent the voice of the people for furthering the struggle outside.

## CHOMSKY

(Contd from page 1)  
cribed as serious and negotiable... The US did have a response to that. The response to that was George Bush's letter to Saddam Hussein, which said: "Principles cannot be compromised. Aggression cannot be rewarded. There will be no negotiations..."

So, it is true that principles cannot be compromised; but the principle that aggressors cannot be rewarded is not a US principle. Its principle is the third sentence: "There will be no negotiations..."

## BUSH'S NEW WORLD ORDER

"He is sending the world a very clear message. The message is: the world is to be ruled by force..."

Economic power used to be the strength of the US, but that is less and less the case. By now that is not the strong card—others have economic power. What is left is force—the US has a virtual monopoly of force and no deterrent. At a much lower scale the same is true for Britain...

The US is becoming a mercenary State. It carries out military interventions—it has the force—and others are supposed to pay for it...

There is only one other major source of capital in the world, besides Germany and Japan, and that is petrodollars. The way the New World Order is shaping up, you have to block diplomacy, and you have to block reliance on economic power, because the US is not ruling now. You have to shift confrontation to the arena of force, where the US reigns supreme. You need a world ruled by force, and somebody has got to pay for it. The primary source has to be oil production, the colossal profits from energy."

## CALL OF 24th APRIL

(Contd from page 1)

end in holding or retaining power. They are also resorting to every unfair means in the elections like the use of black money, muscle power and media for nakedly rigging or manipulating the poll results. Democratic norms and values are the worst victims inside the most sacred institution of the bourgeois democracy, i.e., the Parliament, which has become a haven for horse-trading, intrigue and unbridled corruption, more particularly in recent times. This has become the face of democracy in our country.

At this critical juncture while observing the 43rd Anniversary of the party, with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and founder General Secretary of our party, we must expose the hollowness of bourgeois democracy and call upon the people to build up mighty mass movements in order to restore, preserve and extend the democratic rights, norms and values and take up all the burning issues of people's life including the demand for education and job for all and also the right to recall the elected representatives, in case they fail to uphold the people's interest both inside and outside the Parliament. With this aim our party has given the call to form people's committees, the instrument of struggle, right from the grassroots level to build up protracted militant movement in the country. 24th April demands of all of us to proceed in this direction.

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