Ideology of Rightist, Leftist and Rightist-Communalist Parties in India

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Abstract:
Ideology of a political party is determined by socio-economic structure of a society. In India, nature by multi-party system and the parties emerge from the protest against the colonial rule. Indian National Congress and the Communist Party has emerge at the pre independence period and that parties guided by some national leader and they have ideologically different by their socio-economical basis. After independence Indian National Congress and the Communist Party split and emerge different political party local, regional and community need. At the situation the different political party represent themselves particular ideological bases. In India, party system on the basis of ideologies, parties could be grouped in three such as rightist, leftist and rightist-communalist.

Keywords: Ideology, rightist, leftist, rightist-communalist

1. Introduction

The politics of modern world have been shaped by the key ideological traditions, political creeds and doctrines. Ideologies are a crucial resource for ordering, defining and evaluating political reality and establishing political institutions. And also "ideologies create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.".[1] Nature of political systems is shaped by political ideologies and ideas. In "the rules and constitutions that are drawn up for each state strongly underline the influence of ideas in the political process."[2] In England, "The English Bill of Rights of 1689 was designed to prevent the return of despotic kings and was based on the belief that good government was only possible when political power was dispersed among the landed aristocracy represented in Parliament."[3] "The American Constitution is based on both a belief in popular sovereignty and the fer of democracy : thus power was widely dispersed among representative institutions."[4] The contribution of South Africa, a constitution that pays lip-service to the principles of liberal democracy, still defends apartheid on the grounds that the dominant South African whites are granting self-determination, i.e. separate development, to the South African blacks."[5] In India, the "spirit or the ideology behind the constitution is succinctly crystallized in the Preamble."[6]

Ideology is a set of ideas, developed in the modern era and "as a product of French Enlightenment and closely related to the liberation struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal onslaughts, the concept of ideology emerged as a sciences of politics, i.e., a scientific and critical outlook about politics and society."[7] There are different types of ideologies and most of the political parties have take a particular form of ideology. In India, the nationalist movement and the different perceptions for the attainment of independence provided the broad framework for the ideologies of political parties. Nationalism democracy, socialism and secularism became the main political programme of the all political parties during the freedom struggle. In the constitution of India there are not directly mentioned political parties. So the ideology of political parties is not unified, different political parties represent different ideology. Suppose Indian National Congress and who came from Congress, became a leading voice of the Indian middle class, and believe Ghandhian Philosophy. This group of political parties' advocate secularization and social change would be evolutionary process or not to be revolutionary process and emphasis on representative parliamentary democracy, are generally known as Rightist Political party in India. Other side associated with revolutionary change and methodology with the changing global context. They are strongly opposing the rightist view, are known as leftist. They have always criticized the liberal policies of the government of the sate and the national level. And the third once based on the ideology of religious communalism. These types of political parties want to express themselves as they represent of a particular community. Though they legitimate on strong nationalism. They are known as rightist communalist political party. Rightist means, all they came from nationalist agenda, such as BJP, Muslim League etc. In Indian politics the ideology of Sangha Parivar to formation of a Hindu nation based on Hindutva. And they "war cry for Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan, its policy of rabid communalism."[8] On the basis of above ideologies, parties could be grouped in three such as Rightist, Leftist and Rightist-Communalist

2. Rightist

The political party in India who are given the socio economic condition in which we inherited in our country after national liberation. These declared itself in favour of socialistic pattern of development for the Indian society and they want to establish the idea of "democratic socialism' and secularism. The Congress and who split from congress are known as rightist party. Indian National Congress, Swatantra Party, Lokdal, Samajbadi Party, some regional political parties, such as RJD, AGP, NCP, TMC (W.B.) etc are identified as rightist party.

Congress, and who are split from congress, are bare on socialism and secularism. In fact, "Indian National Congress with emerging elites of middle class intellectuals propounded their theory about peaceful political action and public protest. In a society with multifarious religion and cultural manifestation, ethnic diversities and economic higher-ups and lower-downs echelon, it was a pluralist, flexible and open organization, once a movement, able to continue in power and simultaneously able to snuff out unprincipled factions upholding at least twin objectives at that time : arouse nationalism among the Indians and to make India united nation."[9] Though we also see a tendency during the nationalist movement to emphasize the need to forge a new nationalist identity based on the rejuvenated Hindu values and thought, although the meaning of the term Hindu is always prone to multiple enterpretations."[10] In this way, "search for truth and 'Swaraj from Raj' Gandhi preached the gospel of non-violence and class harmony. And gospel Nehru and other Congress leaders declared that in Congress was to be turned into an electoral organization or into a party to win electoral battles and sit on the saddle of power or at least into a Ghandhian organ of constructive programme, i.e., transition from movement to a party or from mass politics to elite politics. Thus pragmatism or 'real politics' began to replace the ideals of socialism, truth and non-violence and watered down Marxism into a milk-water Fabianism."[11] From pre-independence to first two or three decades after independence, "as the dominant party, the congress attracts many Indians who have hardly any ideological affinity to it but want to use the organization as stepping stone to public offices ..... Congress has become fully immobile in the trial of its reconciling image as a movement of social reconstruction with the task of a political party."[12] "Radicalism and pragmatism were well-balanced"[13] are "as the expedient manipulation of middle class nationalism and democratic socialism."[14]

During the freedom struggle, socialist had put up a spirited advocacy of socialist politics and could influence the congress position to some extent. Socialist groups sprang up in various parts of the country during the 1930s and they continued till 1948 as a part of the congress with an objective to bring change in the policies of the party that would emancipate people from foreign rule as well as native exploitation. Thereafter the socialist party underwent several splits and reunions. They are also known as anti-congress non-communist socialist party. The relation between the congress and the socialists was always ambiguous. Though "Congress leaders followed middle of the road policy. For that reason, congress party followed the formula of socialistic pattern for society in the Avadi Congress (1955) and later on socialist state based on 'Parliamentary Democracy' in the Bhubeneshwar Session (1968), which were not possible in our socio-economic set up. And so, besides consensus on "fundamental norms of the democratic set up".[15] the 'socialistic pattern of society' is based on mixed economy "and envisages a much more dominant role for the public sector but always the important role for the private sector if it becomes consistent with social objectives. It promises to nationalize banks and insurance companies, to curb monopoly and concentration of wealfh"[16] for upholding the welfare state. From 1970s it is clear that "the motto of the congress is: poverty must go, disparity must diminish and injustice must end ...... reflecting the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru."[17]

So far we have examined, "the Congress ideology is a great deceiver determined by factors generated from the depths of society, i.e., society within gradual enrichment of the capitalist class at the cost of public sector, aggravating inequalities in distributing wealth and income, increasing proletariatization of the masses within the 'matrix' of the exploitative capitalist system."[18] Though the Congress Party, "have not yet pointed to be concept of 'socialism' particularly but merely reflected an image of a 'socialist' society without any particular specification of the idea of social justice, except the assurance of "no intention of abolishing the institution of private poperty."[19] and "capitalist development of Indian society".[20]

Although the election manifesto of congress at the 1990 to 2000's, have included some potential issue for social political and economic mobilization, for example social ends to pursue, political freedom, equality individualism, humanitarianism, conflict resolution, peaceful development Vs violence, national interest economic growth, planning to centro, production, pragmatism, practicality, concerned for time, application of science to man's problems, concern for hard-work etc."[21] So as continue as congress is running at the same ideological way and it is the tendency of nature.

3. Leftist

The leftist is left from their extremist portion. At the pre-independence period Marxist communist parties played as leftist role in India. After Independence both Marxist communist party and non communist & non-Marxist socialist parties identifies leftist parties in India. From 1960s leftist were divided into two centre and constituted the principal ideological division between extremist leftist and liberal leftist. Marxist communist extremist leftist such as CPI(ML), Maoist led more militant socialist wing. And the liberal leftist forces represent the radical forces, which aim at the transformation of the society in favour of the weak and marginal class.

So, what would be the ideological stand point of leftist parties in India? "The communist movement also experienced two prolonged periods of the debate on the question of political tactics, that is, whether to pursue parliamentary or revolution".[22] The experience of Telengana and Naxalbari were initially to leftist parties, especially CPI(M), CPI etc. shaken by some development. Who were change themselves parliamentarian and reformists. At the pre-Independent period the communist wanted to unite the freedom struggle with social revolution. The hard leading to the establishment of the rule of proletarian and peasantry guided by Marxism–Leninism. Soon after independence, they waged an armed struggle in some posts of the country to overthrow the Indian state. Although they soon gave

up that course and participated in the first general election. The ideological debates on the character of the Indian state, path to revolution in India, and strategy and tactics led to several splits in the communist party. However, their participation in elections and success in forming and running governments at the state level firmly placed them in the arena of parliamentary politics.

In India "both CPI(M) and CPI United Front is the elective means of mobilizing the masses, transforming the society according to socialist desires and aspirations, uniting the masses against the 'anti-people' aspects of our society and related to a broad-based democratic revolutionary process, an inevitable reflex to a broad-based democratic revolutionary process, an inevitable reflex of Leninist policy of 'intrusion' culminating into a 'people's Democracy' which is a fine light rope to traverse".[23] So, CPI and also CPI(M) remains committed to electoral politics. India is the only country in the world where a communist party could come to power through parliamentary means and control Governments within capitalist state. Though extremist leftist, Naxalite and the Maoist formulation of class annihilation and armed struggle believe "only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can be saved and Indian people achieve complete liberation."[24] And another "unlike the CPI and the CPI(M), Forward Bloc, Marxist Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party and Revolutionary Communist Party are mainly concentrated in West Bengal, much more sectarian, but too small to make any impact on the life process of this state or to look beyond the boundaries of this state. But except the Naxalities, they are all involved in constitutional communism and parliamentary government....."[25] within the capitalist state in India. Though all the communist party "believe in classless communitarian society under proletarian dictatorship of all workers and peasants with a consistently revolutionary zeal."[26]

The Leftist absorbed themselves by the parliamentary capitalist system of democracy tough they always protest against early foreign exploitation and imperialism. Therefore, the communist parties put forward, "takeover of foreign capital, ban on entry of multi-nationals and investments of foreign capital .... Abolition of landlordism .... Restoration of democratic and trade union rights and collective bargaining through trade unions whose representative character must be decided by secret ballot of the workers; need-based wage and full neutralization of the rise in the cost of living ...."[27] and it is possible by democratic revolution within in India. In fact, "in readily it means the widest possible democracy for the people and their freedom from exploitation."[28] It is clear that the leftist has run by Indian socio-economic and political need. Though there is a tension between communist ideology and parliamentary system of democracy and between revolutionary social transformation and "radical toning of socio-cultural reform movement."[29] Recently all the communist party believes in People's Democratic Society through People's Democratic Revolution and that is possible in participate within parliamentary democracy and going on this way. Only the extremist Maoist could not participate in this path. It is truth "to be successful, the socialist government must put itself at the need of a great mass movement against monopoly and restrictions, against imperialism and concentration of economic control by a few against social and economic instability and insecurity."[30]

During the last two decades or so, we hardly see struggles or movements by the leftist to bring about social reform or economic recon-structuring of the society based ideological position. All leftist parties, except some extremist leftist, accepted parliamentary system of democracy and the participate on the state organized election. Now recently they more open and make them market oriented with global environment.

4. Rightist-Communalist

To begin with there were ideological differences within the congress party, and communist parties, were based on Religion, are known as communal party. "A major political tradition in modern Indian history that carried forward into the post-Independence period and drawn its central ideas and symbols from Hindu traditions and culture"[31]. Some as Muslim League as symbolized by Muslim identity wanted to established "Muslim father-land" Pakistan. After Independence, the Muslim league have no role in Indian party system. So more strong Hindu communal faction / group /Shangha. All the Hindu communal political party identify themselves within Hindu Mahasabha or all they organized Shangha Parivar. As Shangha Parivar, some Hindu rightist communal political party playing remarkable role in Indian party system, Viz. Viswa Hindu Parisad, Bajrang Dal, Shivsena, Jana Sangh, BJP etc. All they played Hindu nation based on the ideology of Hindutva. "The Jana Sangh was formidable force in north India not only because of the appeal if its ideology but of political workers from a militant Hindu cultural organisation known as the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha (RSS), who always provides the most vigorous canvassed at election time"[32] While some of them are pro-liberalisation, some are anti-capitalism. The ideological differences also exist in the social sphere with some political factors swearing by Hindu nationalism and the rest seem quite content with progressive westernisation. It strongly adheres to cultural nationalism though social conservatism and the integral humanism. It is the most significant member of the family of 'Shangh Paeivar'. The BJP was officially formed in 1980, under the political leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, who were the members of Bharatiya Jana Sangha (BJS). The BJS was founded by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee in 1951 to combat the increasing political power of the Indian National Congress (INC), which was said to have initiated a number of compromises in the question of political and cultural integrity and unity of Indian. The BJS, under the umbrella RSS, began to grow in strength. But after, with Dr. S.P Mukherjee's death, the organization started to decline in political importance. "The attempt of the BJP to forge unity among the Hindus based on the fears that the Indian state and political leaders, especially that of the congress, were indulging in policies and programmes to appease the Muslims and that the Hindu culture and religion are in the danger of getting marginalized paid rich political dividends."[33]

It is clear that "as a result of the awakening of a Hindu sense of vulnerability and communalisation of politics under the auspices of the congress, the BJP during the 1980s returned to militant strategies and could efficiently implement them"[34] Militant Hindu identity was once again refashioned through a strategy of stigmatisation and emulation of the 'threatening other'. During the 1990s it played down its earlier elitist, Brahmanical image in favour of militant nationalism. So the "emerging trends in India's party domain by relating

them to the rise of the BJP. Its ability to jell with the way the new middle class in India wanted to redefine the nation and articulate the cultural and material aspirations of this class helped the BJP to consolidate."[35] There is also a pragmatic dimension to the BJP that the rapid political and geographical expansion of the BJP and its emergence as a main political force was due its ability to delicately redefine itself and its social base and forge alliances with regional parties having different social bases."[36]

5. Conclusion

However, in the recent trends in the working of parties, caste, religion, language and region also have acquired ideological overtones. Religion has been an active element in party domain before and after independence. Present day Indian parties, that claim to a represent the interests and culture of specific religions, community, class, language etc. Origins of some these parties can be traced to the pre-independence period. Sometimes, language and region also acquired the nature of ideology. In India, there are some highly developed and rich languages of the world. Most of the region want to identified linguistic nationalities. It is difficult to distinguish between the terms 'region' and 'nation' in some of the Indian languages. Some regard Indian as a nation of nationalities or a multinational country. As language and region coalesce, regionalism took the form of linguistic nationalism. When they are further combined with religion, culture or ethnic identity, it becomes a powerful force. That is what we have saw in the south, west and east the emergence of several regional parties. So we must add that the regional parties and linguistic ideologies had the positive effect of acting as a counter poise to other ideologies.

Although, most of the parties and party leaders in India did not followed particular ideology. They maintain that the interest of the people as a whole, especially the interests of the people as a whole, especially the interests of the poor, disadvantaged and the backward, guide their policies and practice. This is fact that parties in India did not evolve the strictly ideological way, the parties had evolved followed the Western nations. Except communist the parties in India evolve their ideology through its different needs in different times and different regions.

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