

# Proletarian Era

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## Criminalization of Politics

### Alarming Infiltration of Notorious Criminals into Legislatures, and Supreme Court's Latest Judgment

The growing influence of the people belonging to the underworld, persons having criminal background and known anti-socials in ruling political parties and in government, during the entire post-independence period, has been causing deep concern to all sections of the people. To the right-thinking people the news that in 1997 about 40 sitting MPs and 700 MLAs had criminal records, of either criminal conviction or having a brush with law, came as a rude shock as it was a clear establishment of the fact that the lawmakers were becoming lawbreakers. To their dismay, they found that not only the ruling bourgeois parties but all other parties wedded to the capitalist system, were freely distributing tickets to such criminals and in the process some of these dubious characters were also getting ministerial berths.

#### Supreme Court ruling

Right-thinking people were found to be even exploring if there was any constitutional or legal remedy to this menace. It was from this point of view that some of the non-government organizations filed a Public Interest

Litigation (PIL) at the Delhi High Court. The Delhi High Court in its verdict held that the right to information is a basic right stemming from the Section 19(1) of the Indian Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of expression. So the court

directed the Election Commission (EC) to act under Article 324 of the Constitution and to make it compulsory for the election candidates to declare in an affidavit if they have any link with or record of criminal activities along-with the details of their assets and liabilities, financial obligations, if any, and educational qualification. The BJP government at the Centre made an appeal to the Supreme Court against this ruling of the Delhi High Court. But the Apex Court in its ruling dated 2nd May, 2002, rejected the appeal and upheld the judgment of the Delhi High Court. Based on that, the EC issued a notification on 28th of May,

## No Indian Troops to Iraq

Strongly reacting against the idea of sending Indian troops to Iraq in order to help the US imperialist army to stabilize its occupation in Iraq, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in course of a statement issued on 28 May, 2003 severely criticized BJP-led Central Government for its failure to outrightly reject this mischievous proposal which again betrayed its latent pro-US imperialist leaning.

Urging the Government of India to outrightly reject this mischievous proposal Comrade Mukherjee also castigated it for hobnobbing with the Anglo-American imperialists for securing contracts for the Indian monopolists in the so-called reconstruction work in the war ravaged Iraq and urged upon it to refrain from their ignominious course as it badly affects country's honour, dignity and glorious anti-imperialist tradition.

2002 making it mandatory for the candidates to furnish the requisite details in an affidavit. The EC also conferred on the Returning Officer the right to reject the nomination if he feels that the facts furnished in an affidavit are incorrect or deviated from reality. The political circles were visibly agonized at the EC notification following the Supreme Court directive. A

matter of primary concern has been the fact that there are number of instances where elected candidates with a low or insignificant literacy level have been discharging their responsibility efficiently and proficiently. How far is it then relevant and justified to determine the eligibility for contesting the polls on the basis of academic

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Comrade Ashutosh Banerji Memorial Meeting organized by UTUC-Lenin Sarani on 30 May, 2003 in Kolkata. (Report will be in the next issue)

# Muscle and money power controls bourgeois politics in moribund capitalist system

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qualifications in a country where over 50 per cent people are illiterate? There is every reason to apprehend that such a provision would dissuade people with low literacy level from fighting elections. And in the process such persons would be disgorged of the very basic right to be elected.

The second point of serious concern was the drastic power bestowed upon the returning officers to reject the nomination papers if he thinks that the affidavit details are either incorrect or inadequate. Seemingly, this is totally undemocratic and autocratic. Next comes the question of revealing criminal antecedents. In the present capitalist system the political parties subservient to the ruling bourgeois class regularly implicate and harass the leaders and workers of opposing political outfits particularly those engaged in revolutionary movements in false cases and thus try to present those having no connection with the criminal world as criminals. In the EC notification there is no provision for such fabrications to be detected or dealt with separately.

In this background the ruling BJP and its partners in consultation with the parliamentary Opposition parties went ahead with an amendment to the Representation of People Act in order to nullify the effect of the supreme court directive and added a new clause 33(B) which read as under:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in any judgment, decree or order of any court, any directive, order or any other instruction issued by the Election Commission, no candidate shall be liable to disclose or furnish any such information in respect of his election which is not required to be disclosed or furnished under this Act or the rule made thereunder.” Obviously, this amendment sought to declare the EC

notification as unnecessary. Under this amendment only aspirants having been chargesheeted twice for criminal activities are debarred from contesting polls. Within a few days, three non-government organizations, viz. PUCL, the Lok Satta and the Association for Democratic Reforms challenged the validity of this amendment in the Supreme Court. Supreme Court on 13th March, 2003, ruled the said amended clause, 33(B) as unconstitutional and illegal. Thus the Apex Court reiterated and restored its earlier verdict of 2nd May, 2002, with the only exception that by this judgment the returning officers are not empowered to cancel nomination papers as was the case with the previous verdict. Severely criticizing the move to ignore its ruling of 2nd May, 2002, the Supreme Court opined that “the legislature cannot declare that the law declared by the Supreme Court is not binding.” That the Apex Court “was obliged by the Constitution to intervene because the legislative field even after passing of the Act leaves a vacuum”.

## Will this judgment stem the rot

There are two very important aspects of the 13th March, 2003 judgment of the Supreme Court. First of all, will such a declaration in the form of an affidavit by the poll aspirants debar the criminal elements from entering the Assembly or Parliament? The second important question is, how far it is judicious to empower the Judiciary to discard a legislation framed by the elected representatives of the people. Constitution has not authorized the Judiciary to legislate. The role of the Judiciary as envisaged in the Constitution is to interpret and implement the law. Beyond that, Judiciary has no jurisdiction. But both the Supreme Court as well as some important

personalities and organizations are airing the view that the Apex Court does have the power to legislate. Even in the 13th March judgment also, the Supreme Court has preferred such a claim albeit, in the name of defending the Constitution. How far is it then justified to endorse such a view from the perspective of democratic principles, norms and tradition?

No doubt, the alarming entry of criminal elements and suspects in politics, particularly in elections to assemblies and parliament is scaring the people and threatening the future of the rudiments of democratic norms and practices still in vogue. But one cannot separate this increasing inflow of criminals in the political scene from the inevitable of the present moribund capitalist system. The bourgeois politics designed to serve and perpetrate the moribund capitalist economy is giving birth to such criminals, day in and day out, using them and surviving on them. It is evident that because of the ruthless exploitation of the common people, the capitalist class and their trusted parties stand totally isolated from the common masses today. The ruling class and its subservient politicians, who instead of offering anything to the people are robbing them of even whatever little they have, hardly expect any popular support. So they are scheming and intriguing every day to fleece and deceive the people. Alongside, they are strengthening their tie with the criminal world and thus the bourgeois politics is getting merged with criminality. This is nothing accidental. The criminal world and the lords are indispensable to the bourgeois political parties. On the other hand, the criminals and anti-socials do not have a better shelter than the protection of the bourgeois political parties. Earlier, bourgeois politicians had these criminals on their pay rolls

and used them in threatening and intimidating people, in crushing democratic movement and working class struggles, in unleashing terror during elections, in booth capturing, forced stamping and other rigging operations. But what is observed today is that such criminals have made it to even the highest rungs of the bourgeois parties not only in India, but throughout the capitalist world. In all these countries money and muscle power has become the determining factor in the bourgeois politics whose sole objective is to sustain the exploitative bourgeois class rule. So long as the bourgeois parties would exist, there would be no respite from the politics of criminalization. Bourgeois politics is the breeding ground of these criminals. Hence, even if there are stray incidents of preventing one or two criminals from winning elections because of disclosure of their criminal past through the affidavit filing mechanism, such would not stem the rot. The basic problem would remain untouched.

Everyone is aware that the thousands of criminals who arrogantly move around at the patronage and backing of the ruling political parties are hardly booked for their crime. Rather, the endeavour of the police administration, the so-called custodians of law and order, is to shield their heinous activities. This is the firm directive of the bourgeois parties in the government to the police. Not only the ruling bourgeois parties but parties in opposition who work for the ruling class and receive their favour, also get the same criminals within their fold enjoy such privileges with the police. Even after committing a grave crime they go scotfree. They, too, are equally protected. So there ought not to be any difficulty to understand that notwithstanding the current legal provisions succeeding

in forestalling entry of one or two criminals into the poll arena, there is no legal remedy to this problem within the existing bourgeois structure. If one criminal goes out, another comes in to fill the void. Infiltration of criminals in politics or criminalization of politics would continue unabated through illegal and furtive routes. We cannot be oblivious for a moment that in bourgeois politics today, black money and the arch criminal elements are the principal props. It is therefore, clear that in capitalist societies like ours, there is no escape from this curse.

It is not that such suspect elements are effortlessly making way into the legislative bodies through the election process because people are not aware of their criminal link or character. The fact is that people know every bit of it. All their criminal activities are very much in the public gaze. Yet they are helpless because these very criminals control the election machinery, government and the police administration as trusted equeries and liveried soldiers of the trusted political outfits of the bourgeoisie. Under the circumstances, one could well ask if there is at all any way to put an end to this despotism, the rancid mess that wallows in marsh! We firmly believe there is.

## The way out

In order to free the election process from these menace and get rid of these notorious elements, we need to build up mighty democratic mass movements. On the strength of this movement, criminals and anti-socials backed by money and muscle power and protected by the police and administration would have to be confronted and crushed to pave way for the real representatives of the people upholding the democratic principles and values, tried and tested soldiers of the democratic

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# Party Foundation Day Observed in States

In the last issue of Proletarian Era dated 1 May 2003, we covered the observance of 55th foundation anniversary of our party held in West Bengal, Ghatsila and Tamilnadu. In the present issue we publish in brief some of the news of other foundation day meetings, received thereafter.

## Orissa

The foundation day of our beloved party SUCI was observed in a dignified manner through a state level rally at Master Canteen Square, Bhubaneswar on 27th April. A colourful procession started from the railway station and marched through the city and reached the meeting spot. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Shambhunath Nayak, member, Orissa State Committee.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, member of the Central Committee and Orissa State Secretary, who could not attend the meeting due to illness, sent a message in which he said, the foundation day is being observed at a time when a great crime has been committed by imperialists America and Britain against a sovereign country, Iraq, which had not only a great treasure of oil but also a unique history of ancient civilization. These worst enemies of mankind could do this because of absence of a powerful socialist state like the Soviet Union. He said that people all over the world have come to streets to protest against this war which has opened a new hope in the struggle of the oppressed people against imperialism. Comrade Dutta urged the people to strengthen SUCI, the genuine communist party in India.

A resolution against globalization, liberalization and privatization was moved by Comrade Raghunath Das, member Orissa State Committee. Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff, and member, West Bengal State Secretariat, addressed the gathering as the main speaker.

## Assam

On 24th April SUCI Assam State Committee held a large public meeting at Guwahati District Library

Auditorium. Comrade Siddheswar Sarma, Assam State Committee member and a veteran trade union leader, presided over the meeting. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member Central Committee of our party, in his address as the main speaker, explained in detail the most outstanding features, and more particularly the very process of thinking and of movement as brilliantly developed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary and an eminent Marxist thinker and philosopher of this era, through which the SUCI emerged as the only genuine communist party on Indian soil, exposing at the same time, the non-communist character of the undivided CPI and subsequently its split-off, the CPI(M) and other factions.

He pointed out that the most disastrous consequences and the fall out of Anglo-American invasion of Iraq is that, in the absence of the powerful Soviet Union and socialist camp comprising genuine socialist countries, the US imperialists have emerged as the most powerful foe of the people of the whole world, posing threat of unthinkable dimension to their freedom, independence and sovereignty. This demands building up of powerful anti-US imperialist movement involving broadest possible masses throughout the world. Comrade Bhattacharyya further said, the only silver lining or positive thing that has come out of such dangerous situation is that the overwhelming people of each and every country of the world have come openly against the US imperialist design. The importance of the line adopted in the last Plenum of our party in 1994 in the changed international situation to develop world wide peace movement

against the war design of the imperialist forces of the world and the anti-imperialist movement initiated through conventions involving peace loving forces and people throughout the world, is being felt more and more as days are passing by. He appealed to all the people to come out in pursuing the line to save humanity.

Expressing grave concern about rapid disintegration of Assam and threat posed to its further dismemberment by different separatist forces, he urged the CPI(M) and CPI to give up their mentality to pay mere lip service to the cause of leftism with electoral prospect in mind, and realize the fact that only by

launching real powerful mass movement, initiated by the Left parties centring round burning problems of the people, while uniting all section of the toiling people in such united democratic movement, can the design of the divisive parochial separatist forces be foiled and some relief for the people extracted from the ruling party.

Comrade. Kalyan Choudhury, Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the party also addressed the meeting.

## Tripura

The foundation day was observed on 28th April through a meeting at IGM Chowmuhani TB Association Hall Agartala.

Comrade Malin Debbarma ? Was in the chair. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member Central Committee was the main speaker.

## New Delhi

The Delhi State Organizing Committee of the SUCI observed the 56th Foundation Day of the party with a public meeting on 25th 2003 at Gandhi Peace Foundation. The meeting was attended by party supporters and sympathizers. It was presided over by Comrade J. N. Mandal, member, Delhi State Organizing Committee. A resolution condemning the imperialist attack on Iraq was placed by Comrade A. K. Manumdar.

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# Politics of Criminalization

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movements to contest and win elections. This is a direct battle between the people and the criminalized bourgeois politics. Like all other battles for justice this battle also is to be fought not in the corridors of legal institutions and judicial system safeguarding the bourgeois class rule but in the streets. Judiciary in our country, it may be reiterated, is an organ of the bourgeois state and hence is not neutral in character.

The other way to deter the unwanted elements is to enforce the right to recall. If this constitutional right can be won through intensified democratic movement, then it would be easier for the people to face and control the situation. If the right to recall gets constitutional approval then the people will have the power to set aside the election of any criminal who might manage a poll victory on the ticket of a bourgeois party.

One more area of concern that follows from the Supreme Court judgment is the claim of the judiciary, not an elected body but comprised of people hailing from upper affluent section of the society, to legislate and also to discard at will any

legislation framed by the elected representatives of the people. In the verdict under discussion also, the apex court has not minced matter to put forth this argument. It may be mentioned that the judiciary is claiming this right on the line of the Judicial Review System that exists in the USA. The votaries of the existing judicial system are seeking to justify it by referring to the said US system, hailing it as something novel. As the US Constitution is very rigid and any amendment to the same involves a very complex tedious procedure, the apex court of that country had, several years back, dabbled in such an activity on the plea of the interpretation of the constitutional provisions to respond to some temporary need. But today there is a voice of dissent against such move in the USA as well. Because, the judges hailing from the elite moneyed section of the US society are taking recourse to such judicial review to serve the interest of the ruling capitalist class and on most of the occasions the outcome is inimical to the interest of the people. Moreover, in Indian context, it is to be borne in mind that

the Indian Constitution is much more flexible compared to that in the USA. And the task of amending any constitution of India is relatively easy. Hence, there is no legitimacy and justification in entrusting the judiciary with the job of legislation citing an analogy to the aforesaid judicial review system in the USA. No doubt, the very thought of authorizing the Supreme Court to legislate is to serve the interest of the moribund corrupt bourgeois class, help it tidying over the severe crisis it is facing today. If this authority is vested with the judiciary that would definitely act against the common people, robbing and curtailing the much-vaunted civil and democratic rights while the assault of criminalized politics would remain uncontrolled.

We firmly hold that the recent Supreme Court judgment has to be viewed in this overall background and all efforts must be made to build up powerful mass movement throughout the country to prevent infiltration and unrestrained ramblings of the criminals in the field of politics. This is the only course. There is no other way.

## Twelfth International Communist Seminar in Brussels

# Comrade Krishna Chakraborti, member, Central Committee, SUCI presents *Paper on Stalin and the Fight against Fascism*

The Twelfth International Communist Seminar was held in Brussels, Belgium from May 2 to May 4, 2003. Seventy-two communist and workers' parties, from 45 countries including our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, took part in the seminar. The topics on which papers were submitted by different parties and afterwards, discussions took place were (1) Analysis of the US war policy after September 11, 2001 ; (2) The role of Stalin and the CPSU(B) in the anti-fascist war — lessons for today ; (3) The political and tactical tasks of the communists facing the issue of war ; (4) The work experiences of the party in the anti-imperialist and anti-war fronts.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborti, member, Central Committee who represented our party in the seminar, placed a paper on the role of Stalin in the anti-fascist war — lessons for today — with the title — "Stalin and the fight against fascism". Due to shortage of space we are publishing some important excerpts from the paper.

After the seminar on 5th May '03 morning a conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held, in which Comrade Krishna Chakraborti participated as an observer to express solidarity with government and the people of North Korea (DPRK).

### **Stalin and the fight against fascism**

Fifty years have passed since the death of Comrade Stalin. With millions of communists and progressive people all over the world, our party, Socialist Unity Centre of India, remembers Stalin with boundless love and esteem. A large part of the progressive and revolutionary traditions, fervour and morale that inspire present day anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles are Stalin's heritage. Stalin occupies such a position in world history that it is impossible for even his worst enemy to deny it altogether and the imperialists have resorted to relentless smear campaigns to erase him from public memory. The great leader of the proletariat has been described as 'despot', 'egoist', 'power hungry', 'indulgent to his own cult' etc. Anti-Stalin propaganda soared, based on revisionist support. For the uninformed common people it was impossible to separate the truth from the lies. Even communists were divided in their assessment of Stalin's contribution. The confusion, differences of opinion and division within the communists proved advantageous to imperialism. The clarity of idea and unity of action of the communist movement have been undermined. The socialist camp has collapsed and imperialism has gripped the world in its stranglehold of globalization and war. Correct assessment of Stalin's role therefore concerns not only the communists, but also all anti-imperialist, anti-war and progressive individuals and the toiling masses of the world. Stalin's achievements are too many and I shall confine this discussion to just

one aspect, the role of Stalin and CPSU in the defeat of fascism.

### **Brilliant role of Stalin in socialist construction and preparation for thwarting impending Hitlerite attack**

Socialism was established in Soviet Russia with the Revolution of 1917. The leader of the Revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin gave a crushing defeat to all the counter-revolutionary uprisings that were designed, triggered and effected by the reactionaries within and outside the country. He not only saved and nurtured the newly born socialist state, but had also planned to turn it into a mighty modern state. He had the golden vision of building up a new industrialized Russia. Stalin had subsequently concretized Lenin's dreams and visions in just sixteen years' time. This was a Herculean task that was successfully carried out. Famines became tearful tales of the past. Huge modern industries raised their heads. Vast snow covered desolate fields now had well-populated industrial towns. Siberia, which was a dreadful desolate land for exile, acquired a different face much beyond recognition. The whole country was passing through tremendous changes in all spheres of life. While this was happening in Soviet Union the ugly face of fascism was making its appearance in Germany. Severe economic depression after the First World War, combined with the sense of national humiliation in Germany at its defeat, paved the way for Hitler's coming to power. Anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism were the two main planks of Hitler's political ideology. The German capitalist class came to see in Hitler the man

who would defend their interests against the threat of communism. The other imperialist countries, Britain, France and USA viewed the German militarization with some suspicion, but their fear of communism made them adopt a placatory attitude towards Hitler. They viewed Hitler as a bulwark against Soviet Russia, and thought that Hitler would fight their war against communism. Hitler himself had always clearly indicated his designs against Soviet Russia. ... Stalin also knew it well that the war cry of the fascist Germany was principally and ultimately directed at total destruction and demolition of socialism in Soviet Russia. And in doing this it would have the support and patronage from all the capitalist-imperialist countries.

Soviet Russia was making giant strides towards industrialization and modernization of agriculture, but these were aimed at the betterment of, for the benefit of the people of the country. Thus production of modern war weapons and arsenal was not emphasized in the early years of socialist construction. As fascism was getting consolidated Stalin started preparing for the battle. Industry was mechanized and modernized to step up production of airplanes, tanks and artillery pieces. In the diplomatic front, with astute political sense he kept urging England and France to join in a 'system of collective security' against fascist Germany, but got no response from them. On the contrary they went on appeasing Hitler who was never tired of reminding the British and the French of the great service Germany was performing in safeguarding Europe against communism. When war started in 1939, Hitler chose to deal first with England and France before finally turning to Russia. He offered Soviet Union a non-aggression Pact and most sagaciously Stalin took hold of the opportunity. But Stalin had no illusions about Hitler's intentions, and the little respite that the Pact provided was utilized for making the final preparations for the war. Weapons production was augmented so that there would be uninterrupted military supply during the impending war, and major industries were shifted to the region beyond the Urals to protect them from the advancing German army.

Stalin knew further that it would

not be possible to defeat the fascist army merely with the help of an army with modern weapons. This war would be a battle involving the whole of the nation. Industries, mines, agricultural fields — all of these would have to keep on maintaining the supplies for the war for days on end. So what are needed further are the indomitable determination of the people, and a leadership, which would shine before them as the symbol of the inevitable victory of human civilization over barbarism and would inspire them with courage, determination and will. Under Stalin's leadership the Communist Party roused the people on such a scale and in such a manner as the world had never seen before. Starting from twelve year olds people of all ages and strata volunteered and they formed the inexhaustible and invisible army behind the frontline. ...

### **Necessity of purging**

After the war had broken out in 1939 Hitler's formidable fascist army made its way through many European countries unchecked and unabated. In preparation of war Hitler had formed bands of traitors in different countries, who would organize subversive activities and work for the Nazi army from within the invaded countries; for Soviet Russia also the German military and political high commands had made plans of 'inside work' to be done preparatory to German attack. Stalin knew that unless these activities are crushed and the traitors wiped out the Soviet nation could not rise up as one man against the fascist invaders. We have to view the great purges of the 1930s and the celebrated Moscow trials in this context.

The conspiratorial activity of the anti-Leninist groups of Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin came out in the open in 1934, after Kirov's murder. The accused were tried in open sessions of the Soviet Supreme Court, found guilty and were executed. Joseph Davies, the American Ambassador to Russia wrote, "The story which was unfolded in these trials disclosed a record of Fifth Columnist and subversive activities in Russia under a conspiracy in agreement with the German and Japanese governments that were amazing... They agreed to and actually did cooperate in plans

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# Bourgeois and Revisionist Ideologues Denigrate Stalin to Malign Communism

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to assassinate Stalin and Molotov, and to project a military uprising against Kremlin... In preparation for war they agreed to and actually did plan and direct sabotaging of industries, blowing up of chemical plants, destruction of coal mines, wrecking of transportation facilities and other subversive activities." Opposition and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyites were active for many years. But prior to 1934 they were treated with leniency. Most of them were not considered dangerous enough to be executed. Political opponents were also not strictly suppressed at that time. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin had rallied sections of Soviet people against Stalin, but Stalin did not opt for administrative measures against the confused comrades; he had tried only to persuade them to find out their faults and come back to the correct line. But things changed after the murder of Kirov in 1934. Fascist Germany was gathering strength and its war cries were being increasingly heard from across the border. It was clear that war was imminent, that there were enemy spies within the country who should be exterminated before the war started. The task was difficult, for it was complex and to be done quickly and without erring. The open 'Moscow Trials' attended by national and foreign journalists, lawyers and other professionals, workers, peasants and a host of foreign dignitaries amply proved that the traitors and conspirators had a close link with the fascist countries and their espionage network.

The guilty were executed and there was a massive purge in the party. This played a decisive role in the subsequent anti-fascist war. In the words of John Davies, "All of these trials, purges and liquidations, which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world, are now quite clearly a part of vigorous and determined effort of the Stalin government to protect itself not only from revolution from within but from attack from without. They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clean out all treasonable elements within the country... There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941 - they had shot them. The purge had cleaned the country and rid it of treason."

The revisionist-imperialist cliques try to present a few such examples of excess to prove how cruel 'Stalinist terror' was. But

Stalin himself had made it clear in the Eighteenth Congress, "It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. There was unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected. Undoubtedly, we shall have no need to resort to the method of mass purges any more. Nevertheless, the purge of 1933-36 was unavoidable and its results, on the whole, were beneficial."

## How to correctly judge Stalin

History has proved that Stalin not only saved socialism, but also saved the human civilization from subjugation to fascism. For this, he did not hesitate to sign the death warrants of even his close comrades. But there was no personal prejudice in his actions. History documents that he gave the opposition leaders all opportunities of self-rectification. He criticized them unsparingly but sincerely wanted them to become worthy communists. However, once their conspiracy was established doubtlessly, he could no longer consider them except as counter-revolutionaries; and to save the revolution he was ruthless. He was a 'terror', only to the enemies of revolution. At the critical hour of history when socialism was in danger he did not falter to rise as the 'iron-man'. To defend socialism and to help it develop was the only mission in his life. Everything else was secondary. In fact the very existence of Stalin, his life, was unified with the demands and interest of the proletarian class and its revolution. His feelings and emotions, his happiness, his sorrow, his humanity, his strictness (termed as 'cruelty') — everything was guided by the realization of the necessity of revolution, the advancement of socialism and accomplishment of the tasks set forth by his great leader Lenin. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party and a great Marxist thinker, points out that to judge Stalin, to understand him, it is necessary to be guided by the proletarian class outlook. He wrote, "How to account for this seemingly strange conduct of Stalin — approving capital punishment of his close and loyal comrades and not feeling at all sorry for their death... A humanist will fail to appreciate the character expressed in such acts. To a revolutionary, revolutionary necessity stands supreme; all other things like love, affection, personal

relationship, friendship etc, which to a humanist are so important and precious and make life worth living are subordinated to it. If revolutionary necessity calls for the execution of the closest comrade, a revolutionary does it with supreme satisfaction."

A common accusation of the bourgeois world is that Stalin suppressed the Soviet people through coercion and terror. But they hide the fact that, leave aside under normal conditions of peace time, during the turbulent disorder of the war-time, it would not have been possible to suppress any popular discontent by bureaucratic-administrative steps, particularly in the bordering states like the Baltic ones, where the Germans had launched a continuous instigating campaign in the territories occupied by them. Why the Russian people in the regions overrun by the Germans during the war did not take advantage of the situation and raise their protest against Stalin's 'cruelty', is a question that the revisionist leaders choose to ignore to raise and answer. In fact this was the hope of the German fascists. Hitler visualized that the invasion would produce a political upheaval in Russia and that Stalin would be overthrown by his own people if he suffered defeats in the initial stage. But the entire Soviet people had tremendous confidence in Stalin who embodied their aspiration, hope and morale. It is his leadership which inspired the Russian people to fight with unparalleled valour in the guerilla detachments behind the German lines, make tremendous sacrifices, and after the initial reverses resolutely fight back to decisively defeat the fascist force. Stalin himself told in 1945 after the victory in the war, "... we have had our moments of desperation in 1941 and 1942 when our army was retreating, abandoning our native villages and towns in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Leningrad region, the Baltic area and the Karelo-Finnish Republic; we abandoned them because there was no other way. Another people might say to their government, you have not justified our expectations, clear out and we shall put in another government which will conclude peace with Germany and ensure us a quiet life. But the Russian people have not done so, for they have faith in the correctness of the policy of their government and have made sacrifices to ensure the defeat of Germany. It is this trust of the

Russian people in the Soviet government that proved to be the decisive force which has guaranteed the historic victory over mankind's enemy — fascism."

## Stalin saved humanity and enthused world people in liberation struggles

Stalin played an outstanding role in changing the world of his time. The contradictions in the international arena based on the class alignments, for example, the contradiction between the working class and the capitalists in the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the people in the colonial countries and their imperialist rulers, the contradiction between the newly independent bourgeois states and the imperialist camp etc., — Stalin handled all these contradictions in a mastery fashion with a profound understanding of dialectics. During the antifascist war Stalin succeeded in building up world opinion against fascism, and acting on the contradictions within the imperialist camp managed to bring together the sworn anti-Soviets — imperialist Britain, France and America - to join hands with Soviet Russia to fight against German fascism. Churchill made the grudging admission that "Stalin made us whom he called imperialists fight against one another". With the victorious march of the Red Army and the smashing of fascism, People's Democracies were established in the East European countries. The heroic battle and victory of the Soviet people and the Red Army encouraged working class movements all over the world. Revolution broke out in China and Korea. A socialist camp emerged parallel to the imperialist camp. Most former colonies and semi-colonies became free. Soviet Union provided them with economic assistance and political backing, which helped them to play an effective anti-imperialist, anti-war, pro-peace role. Thus rose the Non-Aligned Movement. Stalin's handling of the different contradictions put a tight pressure on the capitalist class and could keep the imperialist powers in check. The face of the world had changed, new horizons were opened and the world was brought to the doorstep of world revolution. Stalin and the Soviet State under his guidance played a pivotal role in this development.

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# After Iraq USA Trains Gun on Socialist Cuba

After the Anglo-US war against Iraq, no country is safe from the new offensive of fascist aggression unleashed by the US imperialists. Already threats have been held out to Iran, Syria, and the socialist countries of North Korea and Cuba, in particular, to learn the lesson of Iraq. In this context, the words of the US Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Hans Hertell, on April 10, that the war in Iraq was the beginning of a liberation crusade embracing all the countries of the world, including Cuba, carry an ominous ring.

The way, centring round a series of recent hijackings in Cuba, the US imperialists have been trying to whip up a confrontation with Cuba has made it amply clear that they are out to create the conditions for justifying an invasion of that small island, whose people under the leadership of Fidel Castro are waging a valiant struggle to defend socialism. It may be recalled, after the fall of the former Soviet Union and the socialist camp, when Cuba suddenly lost its main markets and supply sources, the US imperialists even further tightened their economic blockade already enforced for decades, which plunged the Cuban people into an acute food crisis. Pushed into such a precarious situation, how Cuba not only managed to survive and extricate itself from this acute crisis, but, despite economic constraints, is actually progressing in many other fields, including health and education, by mobilizing all its resources, including human resources for the benefit of society, sets a shining example to the toiling people everywhere. To mention but the fact that Cuba has, among others, 99% school retention rate up to 9th grade, free higher education and the highest number of teachers per capita with lowest number of students per class room worldwide. Highlighting the importance accorded to culture and knowledge in Cuba and reminding the words of Jose Marti, that 'no freedom is possible without culture', Fidel Castro in his May Day speech announced a new measure by which all young people between the ages of 17 and 30, who are neither studying nor employed, would be given the opportunity to resume their studies while receiving an allowance. What a glowing contrast to the dismal picture even in the USA, where spending on education is being more and more drastically cut, while spending for war and prisons is steadily increasing. So bad have things become that on 8

May, students, teachers and parents — calling themselves the 'Education Not Incarceration Coalition' — protested in Sacramento, California against plans for further cuts of \$ 5 billion for primary, secondary and higher secondary education, which could result in layoffs of 50,000 teachers in that state alone, while the tuition fee for community colleges would double, bus routes be eliminated, etc. It may be mentioned that over the past 20 years California has built 23 new prisons and only one new university. And still there are plans for further increase of spending on prisons as huge prisons, at a staggering cost, with countless death rows, are being constructed and planned! (*Workers World*, May 22)

Cuba — that has demonstrated its selfless spirit of fraternity and solidarity in countless internationalist missions for afflicted people in many countries, especially of Africa and Latin America — despite being blacked out by the bourgeois media, stands today as a beacon of hope for toiling people worldwide, as a living demonstration that the ever growing brutal attacks in every sphere of people's life by crisis-ridden capitalism is not the last word. That is why the US imperialists, unable to get out of their crisis, and faced with ever growing discontent of people, despite launching wars to stimulate their militarized economy and divert the attention of the people from their own problems, are all the more desperate to bring about the downfall of socialist Cuba, in part of which they have retained their naval base, Guantanamo Bay. Until now, despite their acts of aggression, subversion, terrorism or the countless attempts by CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders, they have failed to do so. But having tasted 'victory' or blood in Iraq, the US imperialists are plotting a new filthy conspiracy. Hence also the pronouncement by the chief of the US Interests Section — the only diplomatic channel between USA and Cuba — in Havana on April 7 that: "All of our allies agree that their policy goal in Cuba is ultimately the same as ours: the rapid and peaceful transition to a democratic government characterized by strong support for human rights and an open market economy." He stated on the same day, "The Administration's top priority is to promote a rapid, peaceful transition".

It is in course of the recent trial of some Cuban individuals arrested

in March in Cuba in connection with a series of seven hijackings carried out in the last few months, that the role of the USA in directing, financing and organizing subversive actions against the Cuban government to bring about a confrontation with Cuba, has been uncovered. According to the Department of Public Relations, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, for this purpose the Head of US Interest Section in Cuba openly declared his objective of organizing a 'unique party' of opposition. And according to ANSWER (a coalition of anti-war organizations in USA) the US Agency for International Development (USAID) has funneled some \$ 20 million in support to anti-government organizations in Cuba for this counter-revolutionary campaign.

As part of their dirty game, on the one hand the US imperialists and diplomats in Cuba have gone whole hog in organizing subversion and are luring Cubans into committing terrorist crime of hijacking, on the other US administrative officials have threatened Cuba that the National Security Council's Department of Homeland Security considered the continued hijackings from Cuba a serious threat to the national security of the USA! Yet, in another glaring instance of US duplicity and hypocrisy, the US Justice Department has not only failed to prosecute any of the Cuban hijackers who arrived in USA, but even released several of them on bail.

It may be mentioned in this context that the USA has tried to lure Cuban people for long by granting them the unique right to both US residency and financial assistance the moment they enter the USA, according to ANSWER. Contrast this to the treatment received by the economic refugees of Latin American countries, who are entering the USA in search of livelihood, and end up being either most cruelly abused as cheap or practically slave labour under most pitiable conditions or, if caught, thrown into jail! Moreover, since last October USA has been issuing only a few hundred of the visa quota allotted to Cubans, in violation of the agreement reached with Cuba in 1996 whereby USA would grant 20,000 visas a year, clearly to push or lure people towards illegal immigration.

Hence it is clear, that in the interest of Cuban people and socialism Cuba had to deal firmly with such criminal, subversive

activities that endangered the country by creating conditions which the USA could use as a pretext for invasion and for bringing about 'regime change'. And just how real that danger is has further been revealed by the fact that on April 30, the US State Department in its Annual Report included Cuba in the list of states which sponsor terrorism - on which plea the Bush administration has reserved for itself the right to embark on a 'pre-emptive' war, added to which is the slanderous campaign let loose that Cuba has a programme for the development of biological weapons and transfer of such technology to 'hostile States'!

It is highly unfortunate that in such a critical situation some confused intellectuals joined their voice with US imperialists — who are for ever raising the bogey of human rights to justify their blatant interference, aggression and every possible crime against humanity — and condemned Cuba for jailing 11 and executing three main hijackers for the terrorist crime of hijacking a boat to protect its people from US aggression. Later on, however, some of them realizing their mistake, joined prominent personalities from Latin America and America, including Harry Belafonte, Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez, and many others, in circulating an appeal and calling upon citizens and policy makers to uphold the universal principles of national sovereignty, in view of the fact that "The harassment against Cuba could serve as a pretext for an invasion...". In USA itself, ANSWER, a coalition that has been in the forefront of organizing anti-war movements in that country, in a solidarity statement, immediately signed by thousands of people, said: "...We in the U.S. progressive and anti-war movement recognize our obligation to expose and organize against the Bush administration's plans to overthrow the government of Cuba".

The monopoly owned bourgeois press, of course, raised a hue and cry about human rights violation by Cuba in this case. But where is this 'crusading' spirit when it comes to the blatant violation of law of justice and human right by the US imperialists who have incarcerated 5 Cuban security officials in 15 years perpetuity under worst conditions not because they had committed any crime but merely because they had kept a close watch on the anti-Cuban mafia in Miami with a view to preventing new acts

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# Party Foundation Day Observed in States

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Comrade Harish Tyagi spoke in support of the resolution, which was unanimously adopted. The main speaker was Comrade Krishna Chakraborti, Central Committee member of the party.

In his speech Comrade Chakraborti said : It is imperative for the working class and common people of India to support the Iraqi people's anti-imperialist struggle. Such support by the people of other countries for the people of Iraq is not merely a question of justice. The example of the Russian Revolution has shown that revolution in one country serves as a beacon of hope and inspires the struggling people of all countries. The Russian Revolution had therefore inspired the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to carry out successful anti-colonial struggles and revolutions. The world socialist camp, as long as it existed, was a bulwark of militant peace movement. It created conditions that enabled the working class of a country to fight against its own reactionary ruling classes without imperialist interference and support in favour of the latter. But with the collapse of the socialist camp, it has become possible for US-led imperialists to intervene in favour of local reactionary ruling classes in every country. It has therefore become all the more important to have an internationally coordinated anti-imperialist peace movement comprising of ordinary people of all countries. The very success of revolution in any single country now requires such a movement.

Comrade Chakraborti pointed out that the very party of Lenin and Stalin, which had led the first ever successful revolution in Russia, had gravely deviated under the leadership of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, and had finally become a counter-revolutionary force under Gorbachev, leading to restoration of capitalism.

This underlines the constant need to elevate the party itself in order to protect itself from revisionism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who founded the SUCI in 1948, had taken lessons from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and had developed the party on the basis of democratic centralism. Comrade Chakraborti pointed out that this great legacy of Comrade Ghosh was by itself not a guarantor of success. The real guarantee of success was the struggle of party comrades to develop their ideological-cultural levels. He urged party comrades to engage in struggles to develop their own standards even as they plunged into people's movements against imperialism-capitalism .

## Rohtak (Haryana)

The State Organizing Committee of Haryana held

a public meeting on 24 April at Kath Mandi Dharamshala at Rohtak to celebrate the 55th foundation of our beloved party SUCI. Comrade Satyawar, Secretary, State Organizing Committee, Haryana presided over the meeting and Comrade Krishna Chakraborti, member, Central Committee, addressed the gathering as the main speaker. Comrade Anoop Singh, member of the SOC was also present.

## Jaunpur (UP)

UP State Committee of SUCI convened a mass meeting on 27th April 2003 at Junior High School, Badalpur (Jaunpur) to mark the 55th party foundation day. Comrade V.P. Singh, Secretary, UP State Committee, presided over the meeting. Comrade Chhya Mukherjee, a Central

Staff of SUCI in her speech as the main speaker drew attention of all to the grave danger posed by world imperialism led by US imperialists in subjugating the world under its jackboot of economic, political and military onslaught and called upon everyone to forestall such imperialist attack and the capitalist-imperialist order through anti-capitalist proletarian revolution under the leadership of SUCI, the genuine communist party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Comrade Jagdish Chandra Asthana, Secretary Jaunpur District Committee of the party, Comrade Dinesh Kant Dubey, member, UP State Committee, Comrade Bechan Ali, Secretary, Pratapgarh District Committee, Comrade Raghvendra Kumar, member, UP State Committee

also spoke in the meeting.

## Bangalore

The Karnataka State Committee of SUCI observed the 55th Foundation Day at Gandhi Sahitya Sangha, Malleswaram, Bangalore.

Comrade S. Simhadri, member, Karnataka State Committee presided over the meeting. Comrade B. R. Manjunath, member, Karnataka State Committee addressed the gathering as the main speaker.

## Madhya Pradesh

State level foundation anniversary meeting was held on 24th April at Kanchghar Chouraha, Jabalpur. Comrade Swapan Chatterjee, was the main speaker. Comrade U.P. Biswas, presided over the meeting. Comrades J. C. Baroi and Ramavatar

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## Stalin and the Fight against Fascism

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### Root cause of modern revisionism

Stalin was identified with socialism and communism. Hence the capitalist-imperialists made Stalin the target of their attack. In this they were aided by the revisionist leadership of Khrushchev, who, in the name of fighting the cult of the individual, denigrated the leading role of Stalin and started the process of de-Stalinization. Ideological confusion gripped the communist movement. Except a few, nearly all the communist parties of the world were carried away by the bogey of the cult of individual raised in the 20th Congress of CPSU and shifted their allegiance from Stalin to Khrushchevite leadership. Refusal to acknowledge Stalin's role amounts to mutilating the history of communist movement and thus blunting the communist consciousness. The attack upon Stalin did exactly this. It lowered the prestige of the communist cause in the public eye. Revisionism

weakened the socialist system from within and ultimately led to counter-revolution in Soviet Russia and East European countries and dismantling of the socialist camp.

The root cause of this setback is a mechanical process of thinking and blind sense of allegiance to leadership which has long plagued the world communist movement and which is a consequence of the low standard of ideological consciousness. The growth of the cult of individual centring around Stalin in the last part of his life is an acknowledged fact. But as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out unless we have a correct Marxist understanding of the appearance of this cult we shall not be able to fight it, and the advancement of the proletarian revolutionary movement will suffer. Comrade Ghosh said, "...there is no denying the fact that in Russia gigantic socialist construction was made, projecting Stalin before the masses.. The personality of Stalin and his leadership imbued the

whole of the Russian people generally. But again, following this very course came the backwardness in the ideological standard. The mechanization that is inherent in this method of imbuing the people by projecting a leader before them could not be fought out ultimately because the low level of the ideological-cultural standard among the communists and the masses continued to persist. That is why Stalin's Russia today is treading the revisionist path." Comrade Ghosh showed that it is the absence of dialectical relation between the leader of the collective whole and the rest of the collective whole that create conditions favourable for the growth and development of the cult of individual. Stalin himself was aware of this danger. He pointed out in the 17th Congress of the Party in 1934, "Add to this the not very high theoretical level of the majority of our party comrades, the inadequate ideological work of our party bodies and the fact that our functionaries are overburdened with purely

practical work, which deprives them of the opportunity of augmenting their theoretical knowledge and you will understand the origin of the confusion on a number of questions of Leninism". In the Report to the 19th Congress in 1952 he warned, "...achievements have bred in the ranks of the party a tendency to self-satisfaction, to make a pretence of all being well, a spirit of smug complacency." But although he planned to initiate an inner party intense ideological struggle, he passed away in 1953. If we want to carry forward the legacy of the revolutionary politics of Stalin we have to relentlessly wage thorough ideological struggles within the communist movement covering all aspects of life, thought and organization. But as Comrade Ghosh pointed out, this struggle "can only be on the basis of a correct understanding of the fundamentals of Leninism and appreciation of the services and contribution of Stalin to it and the communist movement, without which there is every possibility of sinking into revisionism".

## New Phase of Mass Movement in West Bengal

After the massive response to the call of 24-hour Bangla Bandh on 27th January last against the anti-people policies and measures of the Central and State Governments, the West Bengal State Committee of SUCI has now announced the next phase of the movement on a higher plane.

Addressing a Press Conference on 17th May, 2003, Comrade Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee, SUCI and West Bengal State Secretary said that against the Central government's power policy and the State government's decision to hike power tariff on flat rate basis and abnormal increase of the amount of security deposit for the CESC consumers, the politics of terrorization by the ruling party, hike in education fee and hospital charges, increasing attack on the workers, peasants and agricultural labourers and in demand of immediate complete roll-back of the increased transport fare following drop in oil prices, West Bengal is on the parth of higher stage of mass movement. SUCI state leadership declared that even after the total successful Bangla Bandh on 27th January last, the CPI(M)-Front government did not fulfil the people's demand, SUCI would go for greater movements and on the basis of people's opinion, 48-hour Bangla Bandh would be called if the demands are not met. Prior to that, the party would organize massive movements throughout the length and breadth of the state. The detailed action-programmes are as follows :—

### Programme of Movement:

- 19 May Observance of Protest Day against ruling party's terror tactics in panchayat election.
- 23 May Road blockade throughout the state.
- 29 May Demonstration at State Power Department demanding withdrawal of increased power tariff.
- June Peasants' and agricultural labourers' movement.
- July Statewide movement of workers and students; All Bengal Students' strike.

**August 27-28 — 48-hours Bangla Bandh**

## Party Foundation Day

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Sharma also spoke. Comrade Bhabani Ghosh conducted the meeting.

### Mumbai

A well-attended meeting on 25th April at Parel, Mumbai, commemorated the 55th anniversary of Party Foundation Day. Comrade Y. K. Kulsreshtha was in the chair. The meeting started with garlanding the portrait of the great leader of the world proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by Comrade A. K. Tyagi, In-charge, Mumbai-Thane Unit of the party. Comrade Debasis Roy was the main speaker. Comrade Tyagi also spoke on the occasion.

### Nagpur

At Nagpur, 55th anniversary of Party

Foundation Day was observed at Rastra Bhasha Prachar Samity Hall on 27th April. Comrade Madhab Bhonde, In-charge, SUCI, Nagpur Unit took the chair. Comrade Debasis Roy was the main speaker. Also spoke Comrade Ravindra Sakhra.

### Gujrat

The Gujarat State Organising Committee observed the 55th Party Foundation Day through a week long programme from 24th April to 1st May, 2003 highlighting various demands on the burning issues confronting people's life. The Surat District Committee organised a mass campaign through street corner meetings and moving well-decorated campaign vehicle through the city and its

agglomerates. Comrades Satyendra Singh, Tarun Dasgupta, Praveer Nayak, Devnarayan Mourya addressed various street-corner meetings in working class localities and adjoining villages.

## New President and a Vice-President of UTUC-LS elected

An emergency meeting of the General Council of UTUC-LS, was convened at UTUC-LS central office, Kolkata on 16th May 2003 to pay homage to its departed President, Comrade Ashutosh Banerji who breathed his last on 8th May, 2003 and to consider certain specific issues of the organization.

The meeting was presided over by senior leader of the organization Comrade Anil Sen. At the outset the meeting paid tribute to the departed leader through endorsement of Comrade General Secretary's written homage

read out to the members and observance of two minutes' silence.

In the meeting, Comrade Anil Sen, senior member of the Working Committee of UTUC-LS and member Central Committee of the SUCI and Comrade Krishna Chakraborti member, Central Committee of the SUCI were unanimously elected President and one of the Vice-Presidents respectively. Also Comrade Satyawan, a leader of the agricultural workers' movement in Haryana, was co-opted in the General Council of UTUC-LS.

## Thwart US attack on Cuba

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of terrorism? This same mafia who has been instrumental in Bush's fraudulent ascent to power, is publicly raising the cry: after Iraq, Cuba.

A few days back, the Bush administration increased its aggressive stance by expelling 14 Cuban diplomats assigned to the Cuban mission to the United Nations in Washington and the Cuban Interest Section on a most flimsy pretext, just two days before Bush was supposed to make a speech against Cuba on May 20, which the New York Times had earlier said, could contain "a series

of steps to punish the Cuban government" like elimination of cash remittances from Cuban-American to their families in Cuba, and ending of direct flights to Cuba etc. (*Workers World*, May 29) but at the last minute Bush held back and ended his speech in less than a minute, saying nothing in particular. This is surely not due to a change in policy but due to some exigency or other. True to their commitment ANSWER organized a series of demonstration in different cities of USA including Washington, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, New York, from May 17 to 20, demanding "US Hands off Cuba".

In this situation in post-war Iraq when such a serious threat by US imperialism is looming large on the small island of Cuba, a mere 70 miles away from USA, there is a crying need for all freedom loving and progressive people, not to speak of revolutionary organizations, to immediately come forward to build up coordinated, worldwide anti-imperialist movement in support of Cuba and put effective pressure on US imperialists to desist from such fascist aggression and sinister designs.

## UTUC-LS Hails Success of All India General Strike

Comrade Anil Sen, All India President, UTUC-Lenin Sarani, while congratulating the working people for coming forward to make the All India General Strike on 21 May, 2003 a historic success on 8-point pressing demands called by 7 central trade unions and federations, urged upon them to build up struggle committees from grassroots level in preparing for greater movement including continuous strike to ensure total defeat of the anti-people and anti-working class policies pursued by the Central Government. He alerted the working people of various states and said that the struggle has to be directed against the state governments also since governments at different states are pursuing the same policy of liberalization, privatization and globalization of which the working people are the worst victim.

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