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Long Live Comrade Lenin



22 April 1870 21 January 1924

“Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it, and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would be not merely folly but a crime.”

(Left Wing Communism — An Infantile Disorder p.97)

AFGHANISTAN TRAGEDY

US imperialists must quit Afghanistan at once !

On the dark pages of human history which record the worst instances of naked aggression of big powers over smaller nations, Afghanistan has been a recent hapless inclusion. A land-locked country in south-central Asia, it is bordered by Muslim-dominated countries like Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Pakistan, barring a brief stretch by China in the northeast. Traditionally Afghanistan itself has remained a land of largely conservative warring Muslim ethnic tribes. Feudal ideas, thoughts, customs and manners were deeply rooted for centuries together in the Afghan society, from which stemmed religious fundamentalism that miserably gripped people of Afghanistan, otherwise known for their bravery, and freedom-loving and simple-minded nature. On account of this prolonged subjugation under feudal, even fundamentalist forces, as well as forbidding mountainous terrain and extreme climate of the land, there was hardly any industry developed in that country

making it economically backward, one of the poorest countries in the world. Besides, though never a colony, it has historically been a land of clashes and conflicts, either from mutual bitter struggles among the tribes and warlords or at the hands of foreign forces. Afghanistan has repeatedly been a gateway for the invaders of the historical past, from the west and the north, who invaded the affluent Indian subcontinent at different times and ravaged the land of Afghanistan en route. A country with such a trouble-stricken history has been subjected afresh to one of the bloodiest, gruesome imperialist aggressions of the recent years. The war-monger US imperialists, the chieftain of the world capitalist-imperialist forces, have pounced upon this poor country with such venom and cruelty and have brought about such murderous devastation of human life and property, that have shocked and worried the peace-loving people of

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“Strength of SUCI (C) lies in class and mass struggles”

— Comrade Provash Ghosh at a Press Conference in Kolkata

On 24 December last Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) held a Press Conference on the current political situation at the Press Club, Kolkata. Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, was also present in the conference. At the outset, Comrade Provash Ghosh said when the country's people are assailed by phenomenal rise in the prices of essential commodities, both the Central and state governments are callously indifferent towards that. Not a single hoarder, blackmarketer, speculator or price manipulator has been taken into custody. On the other hand, one after another mega scam and fraud involving lakhs and crores of rupees is surfacing

everyday baring the utterly corrupt face of ruling capitalism and its servitors. The Congress-led UPA government is glaringly found to

have not only abetted a series of frauds including IPL, Commonwealth game and of late 2G spectrum but have reached out

huge financial benefits to its ministers, MPs and officials. The opposition political parties who pretend to be so vociferous against the scams are themselves mired in neck-deep corruption. One is aware how a former BJP President was caught red-handed while accepting cut money in cash. In Karnataka, of late, the BJP chief minister has been put to the dock for indulging in corruption scandal in mines and lands perpetrated by the Reddy brothers of the state. Not only the known bourgeois parties, even the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M) who have now become part and parcel of the corrupt capitalist system for pelf and power, are also embroiled in a

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Comrade Provash Ghosh addressing the press conference.
Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Polit Bureau member, is sitting by his side.

AFGHAN TRAGEDY**Fundamentalists found their trusted mentor in US imperialists***Contd. from page 1*

the entire world, not to speak of their inflicting unfathomable sufferings upon the Afghan people themselves. Any observation on how could a country like Afghanistan be dragged into such a calamitous end, must look into a series of important incidents and developments, that have strong bearings to the present wretched condition the country is in.

Brief history of Afghanistan during the last few decades

After the British imperialists had withdrawn from the Indian subcontinent in 1947 and India and Pakistan were born in their present shapes, it was a new beginning for Afghanistan too, albeit not without problems. Afghanistan sought aid from the USA to modernize its army; the US refused. It then turned towards the Soviet Union. To begin with the relation with the Soviet Union was cordial, and even during the late fifties and early sixties, it helped the growth of democratic forces in Afghanistan as a result of which certain democratic reforms were attempted for the first time in that land. But subsequently soon after the revisionist leadership had usurped power in the Soviet Union, they started to develop hegemonistic attitude and their activities and measures based on such an attitude generated anti-Soviet sentiment in the Afghan people. That, in turn, made room for the US imperialists to sneak into the Afghan issue, through the notorious CIA conspiracies and virulent campaign against the Soviet domination in particular, and socialism in general. Economically, politically and socially the country was thrown into tatters: people were misled; democratic processes were disrupted from taking root; democratic forces were thwarted from emerging and growing in their natural course; with a weak central government, the countryside was left at the mercy of cruel, arrogant warlords. Taking advantage of this wretched condition as a fertile ground, the already existing religious fundamentalists raised their head and took the rein of the affairs. Towards the end of the seventies the *Mujahedeens*, an alliance of Islamic fundamentalist groups was born with overt and covert support of the CIA and the US imperialists. Finally, as admitted

in the CIA's own documents, secret US aid to the opponents of the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul was initiated in 1979. On the other side, the revisionist Soviet leadership took the extremely deplorable adventurist step of sending armed force to Kabul on December 24, 1979.

The next ten years saw rebellious warlords harnessing Afghan people into a cruel anti-Soviet war and gruesome mutual tribal strife. In this troubled water created largely by them, the CIA and the US imperialists kept on instigating the mutually warring rebellious warlords as well as the different factions of the *Mujahedeens* liberally providing them with arms, money and satellite reconnaissance and intelligence data and even arranging for recruitment from among the Afghan refugees and their military training often with the help of Pakistan.

Along with that, in 1988 there was created the *Al Qaeda*, another conglomerate of rabid Islamic fundamentalists. Spread in different countries and led by Osama bin Laden, a non-Afghan mujahedeen, this fanatic Muslim fundamentalist force was based on utterly reactionary, obscurantist ideas and thoughts; in the name of religion, it trounced all kinds of progressive thoughts and annihilated any opposition to its views. Laden founded this organization in full knowledge of the US rulers and worked on funds from Saudi Arabia and USA, maintaining close ties with the CIA. In fact, the US rulers and the CIA used such a dangerous force, over and above the *Mujahedeens* and other fundamentalist forces, shamelessly to whip up their anti-Soviet campaign in Afghanistan.

By 1989, when the adventurist move of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union leading to the act of military intervention failed miserably, they were compelled to withdraw their forces. Government was formed with the support of the *Mujahedeens*. But the situation did not change. Terrible power struggle among the warlords leading to an almost 3-year long artillery and rocket assault on Kabul reduced the city virtually to rubble, killed thousands of Afghans, drove hundreds of thousands into squalid refugee camps, created political chaos, and blocked millions of exiles from returning. The rest of the

country disintegrated into isolated fiefdoms dominated by local despotic warlords. In this pathetic murky situation there emerged the *Taliban* militia in 1994, once more with the blessings, patronage and support of the US imperialists as well as of the Pakistani rulers. The *Talibans* recruited thousands of young Afghan men, refugees and orphans from the war, who had never seen their country at peace and had themselves been rootless, jobless, economically deprived with little self-knowledge and hence restless and aimlessly desperate. In absence of any left and democratic force, these *Talibans* gained rapidly and finally with the aid of the Pakistani army captured Kabul in 1996.

The rule of the *Talibans* to follow was out-and-out reactionary and devastating for the country.

It fostered worst type of feudal culture, characterized by obscurantist ideas, thoughts and habits and revivalist outlook, attitude, customs. At the same time it was an utterly oppressive rule, that unleashed a blatant fascistic reign of terror, whipping up the worst kind of religious fanaticism, racial and religious hatred and impeding all kinds of progressive democratic thoughts and processes. Obviously the *Talibans* matched perfectly with the fundamentalist tunes and oppressive methods of the *Al Qaeda* and soon during the *Taliban* rule in Afghanistan, these two dreaded fundamentalist forces, the *Talibans* and the *Al Qaeda* developed perfect understanding between themselves and worked in tandem. The *Taliban* rule was marked by abject violation of human rights, imposing mindless restrictions upon people of other religions, even suppressing and oppressing people of their own belief particularly coming down more vehemently upon women. Ruthlessly they demanded unqualified blind submission to their rule, denying any kind of freedom of expression and democratic associations and activities. Even they bore scant regard, or none at all, for the rich heritage of their own country that was reflected in their vandalism at Kabul Museum, historical sites at Ghazni or in destruction of the giant Buddha statue of the 5th century at Bamiyan. Thus, the *Talibans* stood as the stumbling block to all sorts of

development and progress of Afghanistan. That itself, however, made them so fond a force for the imperialists. In turn, the common people of Afghanistan had the taste of the reactionary rule of this dreaded fundamentalist force.

Meanwhile, the profit-hunting, power-hungry imperialists, headed by the US imperialists, were stepping up their neocolonial exploitation in different Islamic states of the Middle East which were rich in natural oil- and gas-resources and were also geopolitically strategically placed. Using Israel and its fanatic anti-Islamic Zionist regime, the US imperialists carried out subversion and even launched brute aggression against these Middle East Arab states, including Palestine, one after another. In consequence, a strong sentiment and opinion against US imperialist conspiracies and aggression went on mounting among the people of these Muslim-dominated countries. The fundamentalist force of *Al Qaeda* tried to come out to the forefront by exploiting the raging anti-US sentiment, in such a manner which turned out to indulging anti-American people in violent activities. The US imperialists seized the opportunity of branding these as 'terrorist' acts and then on the plea of fighting terror could step up their offensive against these countries. Thus, the *Al Qaeda* fundamentalist activities effectively distracted and deviated the rising anti-US imperialist sentiment and, being fraught with reactionary ideas of fanatic religious orientation, became a veritable hindrance to developing an all-out resistance against the US imperialists forging unity of all sections of progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

On such a background, when the Twin Tower incident of 9 September took place in the USA in 2001, the US imperialist rulers held the *Al Qaeda* as responsible and the *Talibans* as their close associate and protector. It is to be noted that in this guileful move of theirs, the US imperialist rulers also tried to exploit the strong resentment among the Afghan people that had been rising against the utterly reactionary and dreadful *Taliban* rule. Based on these, the US imperialist rulers and war-merchants launched one of the

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Judgment on Dr. Binayak Sen portends an ominous future

A child molester is sentenced to a year and a half in jail twenty years after his victim killed herself, and gets out on bail within four months. A convict of Mumbai terrorist attack is fed biriyani. A corporate tycoon, who is responsible for death of 30,000 odd people and the continuing suffering of millions of victims 26 years after worst gas tragedy, is allowed to lead a cosy life in the United States of America. A central minister who cost the government lakhs of crores of rupees is raided by the CBI after ample notice that would have given him time to get rid of incriminating evidence. Yet, in this very same nation, a well-known human rights activist is summarily sentenced to life imprisonment — the maximum penalty for most rapists and murderers. Civil rights activist Dr Binayak Sen was found guilty of sedition by a Raipur court and slapped life term. Curiously enough, when the Raipur trial court was pronouncing its verdict against Dr Sen and others, it was found that some state governments were showing amnesty even to persons booked for indulgence in secessionist activities and mindless killing of innocent people. One would recall that the Supreme Court had dropped sedition charges against two Punjab government officers who were accused of raising “Khalistan Zindabad” slogans in public several times hours after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. But for Dr Sen and many other political leaders, Human right activists and crusaders against institutionalized crime and corruption, the ‘rule of law’ in Indian capitalist state is found to have a different connotation. Naturally, the court verdict against Dr Sen and others which has come on the close heels of controversial Allahabad High Court judgment on disputed Ayodhya land, has again brought to the fore many a question centring round operation of due process of democracy, administrative neutrality and above all, role of judiciary.

Alleged Travesty of Justice

After Dr Sen received his life sentence and the judgment was made public, there has been a vehement protest and indignation against the verdict from all quarters of right thinking populace. Outrage began mounting almost immediately

among India’s intellectual circles including eminent jurists. Some asserted that Sen was railroaded through the system as payback for exposing many wrongdoings and criminal activities of the government-administration. They have held that when annual rituals of Human Rights Day are observed with much fanfare, what is submerged beneath is the sordid reality of flagrant violation of human rights by the power that be and instead is provided a deceptive cover to the unremitting gloom looming large in our lives. Many critics said that treatment of Dr Sen’s case once again exposed the weaknesses in India’s legal system. Corruption and politically motivated trials, critics said, have now joined incompetence and sloth to make a travesty of justice.

“Convicting Dr Sen shows that sections of the judiciary are willing to act as instruments of a State’s policy to silence dissent,” said senior Supreme Court advocate Prashant Bhushan, “This will undermine the people’s faith in the lower sections of the judiciary.” Continuing further, he said, “The judge has become a willing instrument of the state to victimize people who are raising their voices against [its] human rights abuses. It’s not merely a gross miscarriage of justice, it’s outrageous.” “It is scandalous to say that Dr. Sen was working against the interest of the country,” said Justice Rajinder Sachar, former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court. According to Soli Sorabjee, former Attorney-General, “the tone and the tenor” of the ruling is “worrying,” because it has created “an atmosphere of paranoia.” Amnesty International has held that the ruling is violative of “international fair trial standards”.

Eminent human right activist Medha Patkar said: “It is not a legal or a judicial judgment but a political statement.” Teesta Setalvad, noted civil right activist, believes that Sen got convicted on “trumped up evidence” because the BJP-ruled Chhattisgarh government was gunning for him. “By the same token, the killers of Shanker Guha Niyogi, a well-known trade union leader of the Chhattisgarh Mining area, were let off by the judiciary because they hailed from a powerful

corporate mafia with political links,” she added. Writer-activist Arundhati Roy reacted, in a sarcastic reference to the attempt made by the prosecution to pass off Binayak Sen’s correspondence with the ISI of New Delhi, a benign NGO, as the dreaded ISI from Pakistan. “The crisis in Indian democracy does not get more dangerous than this.” In some way the verdict was a declaration. It was not a judgment, it was a warning to others,” remarked she. Even Amartya Sen said he was amazed by the nature of the “unjust” decision and was compelled to speak because the “legal process was not divorced from human reasoning.” With the row of protest gaining strength, the Union Home Minister Chidambaram could not but say that if people felt that the life sentence dished out to human rights activist and physician Binayak Sen was unfair then they were free to appeal against the verdict.

Why the allegation

According to the critics, the worrisome features of the trial court’s verdict are the illogical surmises leading up to the findings. The testimony of Anil Kumar Singh, a cloth merchant is stated to have sealed the case against Dr Binayak Sen convicted for conspiracy to commit sedition as defined under Section 124A read with Section 120B of the Indian Penal Code, in addition to several other terrorism-related offences under Sections 8(1), 8(2), 8(3) and 8(5) of the Chattisgarh Special Public Safety Act, 2005 apart from Section 39(2) of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 1967. In court, Mr Singh claimed to have overheard Piyush Guha saying that Dr Sen had given him suspected ‘Maoist’ leader Narayan Sanyal’s letters, thereby establishing a link between the three. During the trial, the defence lawyers argued that any confessional statement made by an accused in the presence of police is inadmissible under law, and so Singh’s claims on Guha’s confession should not be counted as evidence. But overruling the objection, the judge said Singh was “witness to the seizure and not to any (confessional) memorandum... his testimony related to the circumstances of the seizure of

letters from Piyush Guha, and hence was admissible under Indian Evidence Act 1872.” Critics argue that the one-sided tenor of the judgment is best captured by the blanket dismissal of the objections to the prosecution testimonies that were raised during the course of cross-examination.

Apart from the fact that there seems to have been no record of this letter in the seizure memo prepared on the spot, it is inconceivable, claim the critics, how the content of the letter by itself can be accepted as evidence of support for Naxalite activities. What adds to the comedy of errors in the prosecution’s story are the testimonies that this particular letter may have been stuck or misplaced among the other items seized during the search and hence finds no mention in the seizure memo. Like the other material inconsistencies in the prosecution version, the trial judge bought this explanation as well. So the critics of the verdict are of the opinion that even if one were to disregard the investigative lapses and flimsy evidence presented in this case and assume that the handing over of letters constituted a conspiratorial relationship, such conduct cannot be equated with acts of physical violence or direct incitement for the same. They also added that slapping of sedition charges could not be on the basis that he was a courier of letters, even if that allegation is taken as gospel truth.

The critics further claim that as one ploughs through the text of the judgment, what initially appears to be a bundle of errors turns into a legitimate apprehension of collusion between the prosecution and the trial judge. Many commentators have already pointed out, political posturing and ideological beliefs can neither be a justification nor a means for diverting attention away from shoddy fact-finding. “We often say punishment should be after due process, In India, due process can be the punishment,” observed Bhanu Mehta, one of the critics.

Onset of administrative fascism

This ruling, therefore, cannot be viewed as an isolated instance of miscarriage of justice or merely a farce or caricature of due judicial

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Critics say, corruption and politically motivated trials have joined incompetence and sloth to make a travesty of justice

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process. It is a case in point which indicates the abysmal low the entire judicial process has plunged into. It may be recalled that during the Prime ministership of late Indira Gandhi in the mid-1970s, a concept of 'committed judiciary' was floated. But that was not just a brainchild of Indira Gandhi but the first step to make judiciary function in such a way as to be complementary to the process of bringing administrative fascism in the country. In the later period, there has been relentless effort on the part of the rulers to move further ahead in this regard. As a result, the separation between the roles of Judiciary and Executive that the exponents of bourgeois democracy contemplated can be said to be virtually non-existent today. In fact, both seem to be entwined.

This is exactly what transpires in the case of Dr. Binayak Sen and hence the allegations made by the various persons of eminence and critics cannot be brushed aside. Rather there is enough reason to take the criticisms seriously and seriously ponder over the same. Could those elected by the people as their representatives in the legislature, after ascending to governmental power, arbitrarily and unilaterally impose ban on individual thinking, philosophy and activity and whether a brutal state-sponsored terrorism backed by the ruling parties could be let loose on the people tormented day in day out by appalling poverty, hunger, unemployment, corruption, non-development, mal-development, lack of minimal healthcare, education and justice? And above all, whether those raising voice against such injustice, predicament, misery and penury could be simply charged of treason or sedition, denied even a semblance of fair trial and straightaway put behind the bar for life with the judiciary remaining as a passive, if not indulgent onlooker? If that be so and in view of the various aspects concerning present day judiciary as discussed above, it has to be admitted that there is considerable degeneration of the judicial system. If things go unabated, one cannot overrule the apprehension that after concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the ruling capitalists and the state

subservient to them, judiciary might well be turned into an appendage of the ruling class. In the process, hands of the ruling capitalist class are only getting strengthened. All these categorically show that administrative fascism has completely set in. Danger inheres here.

Allegations of discrimination and aberration

There is another worrying phenomenon that needs to be taken due cognition of. It has been the experience of the common people that contrary to the claim of the power that be, everyone is not viewed equal in the eyes of the law. Law is distinctively tilted towards the rich and affluent, the rulers and their subservient quarters and the wielders of power. Legal process and even pronouncements can be manipulated at will by spilling of money power or invisible hands of powerful influencers. Let alone the poor and have-nots who do not have even an access to the legal system and thus are hapless victims of gross injustice meted out to them by the oppressive rulers and their agents, some prominent cases involving relatively higher sections of the society also bear evidence to that. If two persons are convicted of the same crime like rape and murder, it is found that court shows some leniency in the form of commuting death sentence to life term if the accused is from the rich or having connection at influential quarters. If high-ups in the government or administration are caught doing wrong, they either get away with minor punishment or even let off. On the other hand, there is often complaint of denial of justice or even circumvention of due judicial process if the prosecution is against a person having no such link or means or a background that the power that be finds inimical to its interest. The discerning people have also observed how those responsible for criminal act of demolishing in full media glare a historic monument like Babri Masjid or orchestrating worst anti-minority pogrom in Gujarat simply for reaping electoral benefits by inciting frenzied communal hatred are not only moving around freely but even enjoying ministership. Brazen ignorance of law points brazenly ignored and distinctive

discriminatory treatment were also alleged by noted jurists in the recently pronounced Allahabad High Court verdict on Ayodhya. The court made faith and belief of a particular religious community override fundamental tenets of jurisprudence ignoring all tenable facts and evidence while dismissing the claim of the other contending party on the ground of lack of evidence. So, the said ruling has come under severe criticism from many quarters. Countrymen also notice that a number of fraudsters and scamsters are merrily moving around and often challenging the law to take action against them. On the other hand, harassment of the common people seeking justice has become a routine affair. Common people often lament that those having money can only fight a legal battle. Because they experience that the rich and influential persons not only receive backing of the state in subverting or circumventing law but often purchase legal opinion in their favour by dint of their connection and money power. This, any saner mind would agree, is also a kind of travesty of justice to the citizens discriminated against because of lack of their ability to bear the legal expenses. It is for all these reasons that any allegation about law being not equal to all or discrimination in judicial pronouncements cannot be ruled out.

The next point of grave concern is that, of late, the judiciary itself has come under the scanner over charges of corruption and misconduct. As per media report, over 10 High Court judges and nearly two dozen district judges were charged by CBI of embezzling Rs 23 crore of Uttar Pradesh Provident Fund (PF) money in February 2009. Ashutosh Asthana, a clerk in the Ghaziabad district Court is alleged to have illegally withdrawn provident fund money of lower-level employees and, according to his statement to a magistrate, passed it on, among others, to the judges. Here, too, it was found that 58-page charge sheet filed by the CBI made three notable exceptions: Justice Tarun Chatterjee, then a sitting judge of the Supreme Court; and Justice Subhash Aggarwal and Justice Subhash Chand Nigam, both former judges of the Allahabad High Court. These judges had all been named in the

statement. J.S. Verma, former chief justice of India and an ardent campaigner for the judicial accountability bill, says, "The Supreme Court is the highest institution to which people come for justice. So if any judge, serving or retired, figures in a case, his name has to be cleared to maintain the sanctity of the court."

Just when exposes of scams have roiled the political class in the second half of last year, Supreme Court has trained the spotlight on growing corruption in higher judiciary by a stunningly candid acknowledgement about the sleaze prevalent in the country's largest High Court. "Something is rotten in the Allahabad High Court," Justices Markandey Katju and Gyan Sudha Misra said in November last as they expressed distress over rampant nepotism and corruption in the HC. "Some judges (of the HC) have their kith and kin practicing in the same court, and within a few years of starting practice, sons or relatives of the judges become multi-millionaires, have huge bank balances, luxurious cars, huge houses and are enjoying a luxurious life. This is a far cry from the days when sons and relatives of judges could derive no benefit from their relationship and had to struggle at the Bar like any other lawyer," the Bench said. "There is something rotten in the Allahabad High Court," observed the Supreme Court judges. Justice Soumitra Sen of Calcutta High Court has been impeached for mixing the money he received as Court Receiver in a case as his personal money and thus converted the Receiver's money to his own use which is tantamount to misappropriation of the sale proceeds.

But Supreme Court too has now fingers pointed at its judges. Former law minister Shanti Bhushan created a sensation in September last in the Supreme Court when he moved an application accusing eight former chief justices of India of "corruption", and dared it to send him to jail for committing "contempt of court". Taking strong exception to such judicial misconduct, Supreme Court also said, "The faith of the common man of the country is shaken to the core by such shocking and outrageous orders such as the kind which have

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Comrade Provash Ghosh in the Press Conference

SUCI (C) is firm in its resolve to build up class and mass struggles

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series of scams in the states ruled by them. Starting from doling out of government lands illegally by way of transfer in various areas, forcible acquisition of land from the poor farmers in Rajarhat, in Singur and giving them away to the promoters and business tycoons like Tatas through secret deals, to corruptions like BPL, ration, fertilizers, appointment of teachers, cooperatives, potato dealing are in galore, which are in common knowledge of the people of this state of West Bengal. One might recall that late Benoy Chowdhury, a prominent leader of the CPI (M) who was a very honest person once remarked that West Bengal under CPI (M) has turned into a promoter and contractor *raj*. Similarly in Kerala, CPI (M) Polit Bureau member and Kerala State Secretary Pinrai Vijayan is stated to be involved in 300 crore odd Lavlin company scam. In the Kerala lottery scandal the CPI (M) leaders took Rs.2 crores as cut money from the lottery doyens for their daily Deshabhimani and when the murky deal was exposed, was forced to return the money. Curiously enough, the CPI (M) General Secretary argued in defence in the following words: "After all it is only two crores, and what it is compared to 1.76 lakh crores of 2G scam." Incredible argument no doubt!

Elaborating more on the 2G scam, demand for JPC by the opposition and continuous disruption of proceedings of Parliament over that issue, Comrade Provash Ghosh said: Though our experience of the previous four JPCs has been extremely dismal as none of them could categorically pinpoint the real culprits and virtually turned out to be mere eyewash, yet, as the opposition has raised this demand centring on such a serious corruption involving government and administration, we are not opposed to that demand. But what we stress on is development of powerful sustained mass movement against corruption. Building of this extra-parliamentary people's movement can only provide an effective check on the rampant corruption in every sphere. Without taking any initiative towards that, the opposition parties are boycotting the Parliament simply to reap harvest in the election. Congress

would have also resorted to same thing had it been in the opposition. Until people become conscious about it, until they are organized, until they come forward to launch sustained movements, corruption will not only thrive but get further aggravated with every passing day.

Explaining the root cause of this increasing corruption in administration and other areas, Comrade Provash Ghosh added: It is decadent moribund capitalist system which is breeding corruption and today whoever would try to serve ruling capitalist class or be aligned with them for petty sectarian gains cannot be free from corruption.

Coming back to the specific situation obtaining in West Bengal, Comrade Provash Ghosh pointed out that a reign of terror has been let loose here. And it is the CPI (M) which is mainly responsible for this. It was CPI (M) who brought terror in politics during the end of second United Front government in 1969 in order to expand its sphere of influence by bullying others. After that, it was Siddhartha Shankar Roy, the Congress chief minister of the early seventies who unleashed massive terror in politics. After assuming power in 1977, CPI (M) went full throttle with its terror politics and has been continuing with the same with added dimension. CPI (M) has murdered as many as 151 cadres and leaders of our party during this rule. But no murderer has been brought to book let alone being punished. Even no investigation was carried out till today. In purely fabricated cases 49 of our comrades have been sentenced to life. In connivance with the Congress, CPI (M) embarked upon this terror politics the worst form of which one has seen in Singur, Maipith, Nandigram and now in Lalgarh and other parts of the state. In Lalgarh, poor tribals, unable to bear with the mounting assault of penury, deprivation, oppression and repression rose in protest by forming a people's committee in which we also joined. There was no trace then of those who have come to be known as 'Maoists'. These 'Maoists' are following a political line of individual terror and individual assassination which is totally against the invaluable teachings of great Mao Zedong. Taking advantage of

this erroneous line, the CPI (M) leaders have given a "Maoist" tag to this legitimate people's movement and in the name of suppressing 'Maoist' terrorism, have, in collusion with the Congress-led central government, embarked upon a joint operation of police and para-military forces to brutally crush the legitimate movement of the hapless tribals and poor downtrodden masses. After being routed in the parliament and municipality elections, CPI (M) in pursuit of gaining the 'lost ground' has intensified that joint force operation several times and has been with the backing of this joint force running several hundreds of armed camps stuffed with criminals and *harmads* to terrorize the poor tribals and force them to submit before it. On the other hand, the Congress with whom the CPI (M) leaders continue to maintain a clandestine relationship, is providing necessary oxygen to CPI (M) in lieu of the assurance to receive some electoral favours. Because the Congress leaders know that growing strength of Trinamool Congress (TMC) poses a serious threat to their existence in the state and hence in CPI (M), they find a much dependable ally. They know that if with the help of CPI (M), TMC could be prevented from gaining absolute majority in the coming state elections and hence compelled to depend on them for ministry formation, they will be able to extract a better bargain.

In reply to a question by one of the attending press correspondents, Comrade Provash Ghosh clarified that while entering into a state level alliance with the TMC after the worst fascist attack on Nadigram peasants in November 2007 to defend democratic movement from fascist attack, we gave three conditions to them : first, movements have to be launched against the anti-people policies of both the Central and State governments; second, an equidistance from both the Congress and BJP must be maintained; third, under no circumstances, Marxism and leftism can be made an object of smear-campaign or attack. Of these three conditions, I have already publicly noted that only one condition i.e., 'no attack or smear-campaign against Marxism and leftism', has been maintained by

them leaving two others violated after entering alliance with the Congress in the last parliamentary elections. We shall continue to fight against all the three forces – Congress, BJP and CPI (M). The question, if there will be any adjustment with the TMC, or if it at all happens, on what ground or principle would it be – everything will be decided upon by what happens in the future. Ours is not a party which will run after this or that force for petty electoral interest of securing some seats abandoning principles and cause of democratic movement and toiling people. We always opt for a unity based on principle in the interest of mass and mass movement. Even on question of contesting seats – whether we fight alone or in alliance – everything we decide on the anvil of revolutionary politics, the interest of the mass movement and organizational strength. Adding further, he said: We steadily extend our support to all the justified movements organized and developed by TMC anywhere in the state. Besides, we on our own have been developing various movements on various demands against both the Central and State governments in this state of West Bengal. Recently, TMC has invited us to join the movement of the evicted peasants in Rajarhat, adjacent to Kolkata. We have responded positively to participate in the movement organizationally as we consider the movement to be legitimate against the illegal 'land grab' policy of the CPI (M) government.

Answering another question, Comrade Provash Ghosh explained: As Gandhite, TMC believes that by capturing governmental power through elections, all the problems can be solved. But we, as Marxists hold that though some relief can be given to the people by running the government honestly, no fundamental problems can be solved so long capitalism is not overthrown. TMC depends on the administration, we rely on mass movement. If TMC goes against movement, we reserve our right to criticize. At the time of Singur movement when TMC Chief resorted to hunger strike, we opposed it and made our view clear through handbills. We opposed TMC when it participated in the all-

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AFGHAN TRAGEDY**Afghan struggle a part and parcel of global anti-imperialist struggle**

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worst kinds of brute aggressions of the recent times upon Afghanistan, defining it as a pre-emptive war against terror. As a cover-up of their design, they used the imperialist combination of the NATO, overcoming some initial reservations on the part of other imperialist powers of the NATO and finally roping them in their design of aggression.

Clearly whatever be their plea behind this aggression, the imperialists, headed by their chieftain, the US imperialists, carried the design of establishing a safe haven, an unchallengeable base in this poor and backward, yet strategically positioned country, for asserting and exerting their military-cum-political power over the countries of the South Asia as well as the Middle East, including India and the Arab world. The design equally includes ensuring a safe passage for the Gulf oil, invaluable booty of the imperialists from the Middle East countries, to the ports of Pakistan or India, as Afghanistan lies precisely on the route for pipelines from the Middle East to those ports. To give effect to this imperialist design of theirs, they cared the least to ruthlessly destroy an already war-ravaged economically shattered country and to brutally continue murderous attack on its virtually defenceless people. For a cover, they established a puppet regime in that country and continuously reinforced their military deployment and stepped up attack even till date.

How savage the imperialist attack has been

The savagery of this imperialist aggression was unthinkable. All through their invasion, the US rulers along with their subservient section of the Media including the *United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)* made efforts to conceal truths about and to desensitize people to the level of destruction taking place in Afghanistan. In spite of those, the news trickling out made people of the world stand aghast to know how savage this attack has been. The destruction wrought by the U.S. bombing and the cut off of food aid deliveries it has caused, have already exterminated hundreds of Afghans and produced thousands

more refugees scrambling to escape into Pakistan. The invaders, led by the US forces, have recklessly used from medium-sized missiles to Tomahawk and cruise missiles, to bunker-busting 2,000 lb bombs, then to [B-52] carpet-bombing using cluster bombs, and now the devastating daisy cutter bombs that annihilate everything in a 600-metre radius. Individually and together, these act as robotic death-machine bringing about indiscriminate annihilation, termed by the imperialist death merchants as 'collateral damage'. They have dropped powerful bombs on top of wedding parties, funerals, and homes, have incinerated vehicles, for example, those travelling on a road in Daikundi, Uruzgan, killing more than 30 Afghan civilians, including women and children. In fact, they have killed more than 20,000 Afghan civilians in a period between 2004 and 2009 (July 2010, WikiLeaks). Interestingly, the figures for 2009 in the present Obama rule stood higher than those for 2008 under Bush. At least three children lost their lives every day in 2009, the worst year since October 2001.

Midnight aerial onslaughts and raids by clandestine commando U.S. Special Operations Forces operating outside of regular military channels are on the rise. During these, villagers are killed or abducted to already overcrowded secret U.S. prisons and interrogation and detention centres dotting Afghanistan. In such a raid in Narang district, Kunar they dragged 10 people from their homes (including eight schoolchildren of grades 6-10) and handcuffed and executed them. As the Washington Post reported on 28 November, two Afghan teenagers held in U.S. detention north of Kabul said that they were beaten by the American guards, photographed naked, deprived of sleep and held in solitary confinement in concrete cells for at least two weeks while undergoing daily interrogation about their alleged links to the *Taliban*. The inhuman cruelty of the invaders is revealed when the medical coordinator of the Emergency Lashkar Gah Hospital, run by the Italian non-governmental organization (NGO) Emergency, complained that during a severe U.S./NATO offensive against

Marjah in Helmand, the forces blocked the movement of wounded Afghan civilians to the hospital. Lastly, to end with this brief list of the examples of savagery, how successful the US rulers have been in transmitting their macabre mentality into their soldiers in Afghanistan is vividly exposed from an instance of Kandahar province, where five of them had to be charged with murdering Afghan civilians, dismembering and photographing corpses, as well as hoarding a skull and other human bones, along with crimes like hashish use, attempts to impede the investigation and a retaliatory assault on a private who blew the whistle, all in a cool brain and playfully rather. It had all started when a solitary Afghan man approached the soldiers in the village of La Mohammed Kalay. The soldiers made a hue and cry of being attacked, tossed a fragmentary grenade on the ground and opened fire.

The banditry appears to be unrelenting. Contrary to what many people expected, though really without a base, the Obama administration has already escalated the war in Afghanistan by sending an additional 21,000 troops and is apprehended to dispatch of as many as 40,000 more US troops to the war.

Remorseless US attacks generate nationwide indignation

The demonic remorseless US aggression in the name of pre-emptive war to fight 'terrorism' is characterized by the use of *weapons of mass destruction*, no less dangerous than nuclear arsenals, and by shameless occupation of the land of Afghanistan in clear blatant transgression upon its national sovereignty. For obvious reasons, it has given birth to deep sense of national humiliation in the freedom-loving people of that country. It has also drawn unstinted wrath and opposition from the right-minded people of the world. The more vehement the attack has been, the deeper has gone the hatred and indignation among the Afghans against the US imperialists and their cohorts. As the leaked US official documents brought out a few months back, there were more than 27,000 'enemy' actions, that is

resistance action by the Afghans and more than 23,000 "explosive hazards" (IEDs) placed by the 'enemy', the Afghans. The documents also show that there were 273 demonstrations held by Afghan civilians against the presence of occupation forces.

Even the imperialist-backed media and other appendages like the National Security team and others have started to recognize that killing Afghan civilians fuels the Afghan resistance. The reality is also evident from another feature. Even the arrogant war-mongers can not ignore the rising opposition or can not suppress its news. So, in addition to blocking of news, they have now started to adopt another devious means. To justify any bomb or drone attack, they assert that a "top" Al Qaeda or militant leader was killed as reported by an official "anonymous source". Invariably, the "top" leader re-emerges to give the lie to the news and the horrid account of slaughtered civilians as 'collateral damage' is relegated to the back pages of US newspapers.

Afghan people face twin tasks of driving out US imperialists and fighting back the fundamentalists

It is thus evident from the course of events narrated above what a pathetic devastation the barbarous US aggression is bringing to the hapless country of Afghanistan. It is not just causing destruction of human life and property to an unthinkable scale. The US imperialist aggression is creating such an ambience in the country, in which the democratic secular forces that tended to rise gradually by fighting against religious fundamentalism, and particularly against the oppressive *Taliban* rule are being thrust to the back stage. People are coming out to fight against the US imperialists and their stooges, in hundreds of groups unorganized within and among themselves. Most of them are no more than traditional Afghan Muslims, the sons of local farmers. Often they go by the name of the *Talibans*, but, in actuality, they are united not by the Islam, but by the presence of foreign troops on their soil, and hatred towards the puppet government. But, because of the weakness or rather in absence of any

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AFGHAN TRAGEDY**Afghan struggle must be in correct direction***Contd. from page 6*

powerful secular democratic force, the dreaded *Talibans* whom the Afghans once tried to reject are usurping this rising wave of hatred towards the invaders-cum-occupiers and of a common cause of anti-US imperialist nationalist sentiment. They are frantically attempting to regroup themselves and stage a comeback to power exploiting the situation, which in absence of a resistance movement involving the entire nation and led by enlightened democratic forces, is resulting in the growth of that dreaded force, however detrimental to people it may be. The US imperialists, in their turn, are playing their typical heinous role. In their bid to hide their real intention and to befool the world people, they are raising a campaign against the *Talibans* highlighting their utterly reactionary character; they are calling any movement against the US occupation as terrorism perpetrated by the *Talibans* and on the plea of curbing terrorism, they are further stepping up their military presence and activities in Afghanistan, escalating their aggression. Thus, even very recently (11 January 2011), the US government announced sending of an extra 1,400 Marines to southern Afghanistan, seen as the heart of the *Taliban* activity, once more as a pre-emptive bid to stall any expected offensive from the *Talibans*, the same infamous plea on which they had started their offensive in Afghanistan.

Anybody concerned with what is happening in Afghanistan must realize the cunning design of the US imperialists. It is the US imperialists, who are continuously perpetrating worst kind of terrorism in countries one after another; it is them, who gave birth to, fostered and patronized the fundamentalist forces of Afghanistan who unleashed another worst kind of terror within that country; and then it is the same US imperialists that launched brute attack on that country in the name of fighting terror. It is the imperialists which is now creating such a condition in the country in which the *Talibans* are again regrouping themselves.

And to add more fuel to the fire, on one side, even after ravaging the country, the US imperialists are escalating the aggression and

intensifying the oppression. On the other side, having been bogged in the quagmire of a battle in which sure imminent defeat stares at the face of the invaders and against which strong anti-war anti-establishment opinion is developing to such an extent inside the USA itself that the Obama administration had to commit withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan. In summary in face of these two pressures the same US imperialists, are now trying to find out some escape route. For that, they are holding clandestine talks with the *Talibans*, are discovering good *Talibans* and bad *Talibans*, are toying with the idea of dishing out some concessions to the former and, lastly, are hatching some plan so that even after withdrawal they are able to keep some areas under their control, with a puppet government serving them and also with a portion of their army stationed there. In effect, they are chalking out the heinous design of dismembering or balkanizing this small, poor and backward country. Obviously, such a design if and when given effect to, will bring the integrity of Afghanistan at stake only to block permanently all its prospects for developing into a self-sufficient democratic country. People of Afghanistan, as well as peace-loving democratic people of the neighbouring India and Pakistan along with their compatriots around the world, can never allow such a move of disintegrating Afghanistan and must stall it at any cost.

To their glee, US imperialists are finding their second fiddles in the rulers of the neighbouring Pakistan and India. While the US imperialists have their own neocolonialist design for Afghanistan, rulers of the two latter countries are playing dubious roles to meet their respective interests, different as they are. The Indian monopolists who have already attained imperialist character and have earned notoriety in the neighbourhood for their expansionist greed and hunger, now look for reaping profits and extending influence under the cover of assisting and reconstructing the war-ravaged market of Afghanistan, while Pakistan rulers have all through acted as a mentor and protector of the *Talibans* and *Al Qaeda* or such other fundamentalist

forces that are no less active within their own country too. The rulers of these two countries are thus working hand in glove with the US imperialists though with occasional conflicts and contradictions, and are trying to fizzle out even the growing anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment of the Afghan people.

In this critical situation, the fighting Afghan people who have already begun their resistance against the foreign invaders and their puppet regime, must look through the events and judge these vital questions and developments in their proper light. The Afghan people must drive out the foreign invaders immediately, the US and the NATO forces and must stall the reemergence of dreaded fundamentalists, at the same time. In place of any reactionary regime under the rule of either of the two worst enemies of mankind today, the war-monger imperialists and the dreaded fundamentalists, Afghanistan must have a democratic, secular system that the world will acclaim and recognize as a step forward for this country, suffering abjectly since long. In case people of this country fail to achieve this end, they will be dragged once again into the dungeons of backwardness, to be harnessed by shackles of fanatic religious fundamentalism once more. So the task that looms large before them entails that while conducting their immediate battle against the US imperialists and their cohorts relentlessly and uncompromisingly, they must develop a leadership on the strength of democratic and leftist thoughts and ideas, harnessing all anti-imperialist, anti-fundamentalist progressive forces so that not only

their patriotic struggle is led to ultimate success, but also the leadership ensures and defends their vital interest of having a democratic and secular Afghanistan.

Defeating every guileful propaganda of the imperialists and exposing their heinous designs for continuing their neo-colonialist adventures, peace-loving democratic minded people of the world must raise in one voice the demand that the US imperialists and their cohorts withdraw immediately from the Afghan soil and the Afghan people be left to themselves to decide their own course for future. Movements in solidarity and fraternity with the fighting Afghan people must be waged in one country after another so as to generate a strong world opinion in favour of driving the US and the NATO forces out of Afghanistan to help the Afghan people develop their struggle successfully and in the correct direction. It needs to be realized that the sufferings the Afghan people are being subjected to for years, even decades together in the recent times, add to the woes and worries of the oppressed people of the whole world. Their struggle is a part and parcel of the struggle to end with imperialist conspiracies, aggression and war anywhere and everywhere in the world, the struggle to end with exploitation and oppression that toiling people are continuing every day in this or that corner of the globe. If the war-monger death-merchants are not compelled to withdraw totally and unconditionally from Afghanistan, it will only add fillip to their sinister designs and will impede independence and sovereignty of other countries too, hampering workers' movement and democratic movement of those countries. So in one voice the world must cry out: US imperialists get out of Afghanistan at once!!



On 7 January last, CPI (M) harmads opened fire on innocent unarmed protesting villagers from an armed camp in one of the CPI (M) leader's house at Netai village in Lalgah, West Bengal killing 8 and grievously injuring many more. In protest, SUCI (C) and TMC jointly organized protest demonstration before District Magistrate's office. Comrade Amal Maiti, Secretary, West Midnapur district SUCI(C) (second from left) and others were arrested during that demonstration

Administrative fascism is pervading judicial system

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been passed by the single judge.” After venting their feelings, the two judges said both the Allahabad HC and its Lucknow Bench “needs some house cleaning”. And now former chief justice of India K G Balakrishnan has come under the spotlight for having amassed wealth in his name as well as his nearest kins disproportionate to their sources of income. The former Supreme Court judge V.R. Krishna Iyer, informed this month that a former judge of the Kerala High Court had requested him not to write to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on the issue relating to family members of Justice K.G. Balakrishnan. “A judicial scandal has always been regarded as far more deplorable than a scandal involving either the executive or a member of the legislature,” the three-judge Bench of Delhi High Court headed by chief justice AP Shah said. “For a judge, to deviate from such standards of honesty and impartiality is to betray the trust reposed to him. No excuse or no legal relativity can condone such betrayal. From the standpoint of justice, the size of the bribe or scope of corruption cannot be a scale for measuring a judge,” said Justice Shah while writing the verdict for the Bench. If the judges are found to be unable to skirt lure of lucre and indulge in unlawful activities for self-aggrandizement, how could one expect fair judgment from them? There is every possibility that judicial verdicts would in that event be apt to be tilted towards the side favourable towards serving personal interest of the judges and thus might well be in violation, at times fragrantly, of the laid down rules and procedures and thus contrary to what exponents of bourgeois judicial system like Mill, Bentham and others contemplated and formulated.

Degenerated Judiciary-boon for the rulers

And if judiciary is stripped of fairness and justice, the oppressive rulers are bound to have heydays enacting one after another black acts to render the legal system of the country further crippled and deformed and merrily use it to their

advantage and class need. And now with promulgation of UAPA and other black acts, it has become more a one-sided affair with the authorities having unlimited power to arrest, detain and slap any punishment on anybody anytime merely on the basis of ‘suspicion’ or ‘surmise’. And practically in complete subversion of the very basic tenets of bourgeois legal system enunciated by the proponents of bourgeois democracy during the period of its advent, the onus of proving innocence now lies with the person accused of crime or violation of law while those bringing the charges against him have practically no obligation to prove the same. It is also pertinent to mention that draconian black acts like PDA, DIR, MISA, TADA, POTA which have been previous avatars of UAPA were never used to book any hoarders, blackmarketers, black money operators, market manipulators, unscrupulous traders, punters, underworld dons, persons indulging in malfeasance and misfeasance, willful defaulters to bank loans or crooked owners merrily embezzling employees’ provident fund or other miscreants visibly acting against the interest of the countrymen. Rather, they have all been misused or to be exact, used to curb individual freedom, curtail

individual right or muzzle voice of protest, disagreement or dissent, circumvent social urge and aspiration, bully the opposition, crush people’s movements and intimidate as well as falsely implicate citizens or organizations who do not meekly surrender to the whims and dictates of the political party or parties ruling at the centre or in the states with the backing of the ruling bourgeoisie. Emboldened by such anti-people enactments, the ruling class and its agents send out veiled threat to all right-thinking democratic-minded pro-people organizations and personalities who support the just struggle of the hapless tribal and other sections of most downtrodden people doomed to a sub-human life by the power that be of dire consequence if they continue to do so. In fine, these are nothing but attempts to use judiciary as an instrument of coercion.

People’s role—sole deterrent

But there is no reason to take it as *fate accompli*. Abatement depends on the conscious role of the right-thinking conscientious people from all sections of the society. When it is found that administrative fascism is gradually pervading the judicial system as well, they must

stand up firmly and mobilize public opinion against this ongoing degeneration of the judiciary. Right of the people to organize democratic movements against all kinds of social injustice, oppression of the vested class, anti-people measures of the government, corruption of the bureaucracy-administration and people in the seats of power are morally and legally recognized in democracy. Voicing protest is a democratic right of every citizen. So is the right to expression. Mass movements are conceived in democracy as correctives, as check and balance. Hence, in order to thwart full-fledged fascism, powerful democratic movement must be developed throughout the country to stem this decline of judiciary. There is no other remedial course left before the people in this decadent moribund capitalist regime where like everything else, legal system is also sought to be merrily tampered with to suppress common toiling people. Let alone the bourgeois parties, when even the pseudo-Marxists have completely abandoned the path of movement for pelf and power, it is the SUCI(C) which alone is holding aloft the banner of left-democratic movement and thus is the only ray of hope before the suffering people.

Comrade Provash Ghosh in the Press Conference

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party meeting convened by the Forward Bloc leader Ashok Ghosh with an ulterior motive of weakening, if not disrupting, Nandigram movement. When we entered into alliance with TMC, we clearly spelt out our difference of opinion with it. We think had the TMC joined the Lalgarth movement right from the very beginning, CPI (M) could be stopped from hatching this nasty conspiracy. The movement could be saved. Notwithstanding our arduous singular effort to carry out the movement we failed, given the limited strength we had at our command. Had the TMC opposed deployment of joint forces from the beginning CPI (M) could not succeed in their mission. In my

speech on last 24 April, all these points were clarified in details. I also said that even after TMC comes to power, we have to continue with the movement on people’s demand. If any instance of corruption is seen in any part of administration under TMC, we shall surely raise our voice of protest.

Reacting to another question about the spate of clashes between the student wings of CPI (M) and TMC, Comrade Provash Ghosh said: CPI (M)’s student front SFI has been solely responsible for importing terrorization in the student movement. So long the reality was that everywhere the college and university authorities would arrange for elections in such a way that no other organizations except the SFI could submit the

nomination papers. Now TMCP, TMC’s student wing is offering resistance. Hence are these clashes causing deaths and injuries of the students.

Comrade Provash Ghosh finally asserted that SUCI(C) is not a vote-based party. Our strength lies in class and mass struggles. For that, we had to pay many a prices. But we are unwavering, firm in our resolve to build up class and mass struggles more intensively as conducive to revolutionary struggle for overthrowing capitalism. We are consistently building up mass movements on the burning problems of life in 23 states of the country and are also succeeding in wresting some of the demands. We shall continue to do so in the days to come.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH