

Proletarian Era

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Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement

On some crucial points arising out of it

For more than a year now, India has been overwhelmed by scams — the 2G spectrum irregularities, the IPL plunder, the Commonwealth Games loot, the Adarsh Housing Society scandal, skewed appointment of the Central Vigilance Commissioner, cash-for-votes in Parliament, Hasan Ali money laundering case, huge black money in foreign bank accounts case and the list goes on. People have been fed up with the sordid experience that none of their legitimate works even is done without graft. Whether one needs a death certificate or a BPL certificate, whether one wants drinking water or elementary treatment in a health centre, one finds the open door shut forever and a backdoor approach circumventing all established rules and procedure is only what matters. The tentacles of corruption have spread into every walk of life and have taken an octopus-like strangulating grip on the socio-political arena. What has been most depressing about these scams and all-pervading corruption is the lack of accountability on the part of the political establishment, ruling party leaders and ministers who have been shamelessly citing “error of judgment” or “compulsions of coalition politics” as reasons for their failure to take any preventive action. The government itself is neck deep in scandalous corruption. It is found to be not only abetting crimes and protecting criminals but lying to the people with alacrity. The country's Finance Minister has no qualms in announcing in Parliament that he cannot disclose the names of those possessing thousands of crores of ill-gotten money stashed away from the country and safely parked in foreign banks because of legal reasons. The government and the scam suspects have been parroting the “the law will take its own course” line to insulate themselves. However, going by history, people refuse to believe that wrongdoers will ever be made to pay for their acts. Rather, they know from experience that criminals, black money holders and corrupt politicians-bureaucrats-administrators-corporate bigwigs would continue to merrily move around, occupy important posts

in the governance and frame policies of the country. Even if, for public consumption, some of them are caught sometimes, it is no serious risk for them as they know with “connections”, “mentors” and “godfathers” perching atop the towers of power, risk of punishment, if any, would be negligible. While a poor man, if found guilty of a minor offence, is invariably punished, it is found that the rich and upper segment of the society escape unscathed even with large-scale violation, subversion, abuse and defiance of law. A risk free environment has virtually been created in the government for the unscrupulous persons. So the arena of bourgeois parliamentary politics now abounds in such arch criminals, money-launderers, tax evaders, black money holders, rule breakers, self-aggrandizers, swindlers of public fund and unbridled corruption among elected representatives including ministers.

Root of all-pervasive corruption

Obviously, the right thinking people have been feeling gravely concerned at all these and wondering if there were any redress to such a deep-rooted institutional malaise. To all such people, one thing ought to be clear at the very outset. It must be realized that corruption is not merely the handiwork of a bunch of privileged crooks, a group of wrong-doers occupying the seats of power or wielding stupendous money power. Hence the very thought that problem of corruption could be resolved if these elements could be properly dealt with powered by an appropriate law, is akin to living in a fool's paradise. In a capitalist set up like ours, expecting that all-embracing corruption can be rooted out simply by altering some legal provisions or enacting a new law is a figment of imagination. Pursuance of any such illusion will only lead to a fiasco and the Goliath of corruption will remain unscathed. To get to the right course of action for ridding the society of this viral growth of corruption, one has to search for the root of the

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SUCI (C) strongly condemns the steepest hike ever in petrol prices and calls upon people to rise in protest

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C) has issued the following statement on 15 May, 2011 :

As it was doing the rounds a hefty increase in the prices of Petrol-Diesel as well as LPG cylinders is in the offing. The Congress -led UPA government brooked no delay in giving green signal to the oil companies to announce the steepest hike ever in petrol prices by raising the retail tariff by Rs 5 per litre from midnight of 14 May, 2011, immediately after the election results of the four states were announced. The auto LPG price has also been raised by Rs 2.19 per litre. A fear is also looming large that a hike in diesel price by Rs 4 per litre and domestic LPG by Rs 25-50 more per cylinder is imminent. This is the 9th increase in petrol prices in as many months after the Union Government accepted the Kirit Parikh Committee's recommendation to deregulate petro-prices and the 19th since UPA came to power in 2004, which clearly prove how brazenly anti-people and deceptive this government is. While the government is giving a fraudulent pretext of hike in international crude prices and mounting loss incurred by the oil companies, the fact is that international crude prices have come down by 10-15% in recent time and both Government-owned oil companies as well as private oil behemoths are accumulating huge profit so much so as to be able to make massive investment abroad in oil business. Needless to mention that the cascading effect of this sharpest jump in petrol prices will deal a severe blow to the people already weighed down by spiralling rise in prices of essential commodities entailing further misery and penury to their life.

We, therefore, call upon the people to rise in protest against this most despicable act of the government and build up powerful movement in demand for immediate withdrawal of the hike and lowering of the huge taxes and cess imposed on petrol and petro-products.

Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement

Decadent, moribund capitalism is breeding corruption

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problem. No phenomenon in nature or society is without a definite cause, a definite objective cause. A causal relationship operates behind every incident, every phenomenon or aberration. Corruption, as we had explained earlier in a number of articles, is deliberate indulgence in malpractices and flouting of norms, principles and practices for netting narrow sectarian personal gains, monetary as well as non-monetary like power, prestige and securing undue advantages and so forth. Stray incidents of individual corruption out of greed or in pursuit of an ulterior motive may take place in a civilized society but ought never to go unpunished. But corruption cannot be institutionalized, as is being seen today, unless the prevailing system itself breeds, abets it or remains indulgent onlooker to it. In other words, such all-embracing corruption can thrive only if the system itself becomes as rotten as to pander to degeneration in every walk of life. A careful rational analysis will show that the very capitalist system we are living in is at the root of all aberration and corruption.

It is extremely pertinent to note in this connection that so long a socio-political system, an ideology or a concept of morality is conducive to social progress and fights for advancement of civilization, it provides higher culture and ethics. But when, following inexorable course of social development, the same very system or ideology becomes reactionary, impedes social progress and obstructs advancement of civilization, it precipitates ethical and moral degeneration and breeds corruption.

During the initial phase of rising capitalism, the protagonists of parliamentary politics were guided by the spirit of bourgeois democracy which in those days of its advent sought to replace outmoded reactionary feudal monarchial system by a new democratic system with a new content and brought in its wake certain progressive values, norms, ethics and morality that stirred the whole society and brought a new awakening among the people. But, today capitalism is in its death throes, frantically trying

to prolong its moribund life which is obstructing social progress. As dying capitalism has become reactionary, it does not nurture any higher ideology today. Decadent moribund capitalism which, in its bid to prolong its decayed existence, is systematically breaking all rules and regulations, flouting all norms and practices it itself preached during the days of its advent, and trampling underfoot even the barest precepts of the lofty ideals it had once preached is violating with impunity the same set of democratic principles and value system it once championed fearing that even slightest preservation as well as cultivation of democratic values, ethics and morality might foster a spirit of protest against its oppressive, despotic rule and help blossom yet higher thoughts among the people, thereby endangering its worn-out existence. The more capitalism is mired in insoluble crisis endemic of the system, the more accentuated is the process of demolition of all codes and values. With capitalism turning so brazenly reactionary, it is greed, lust for power and money and self-aggrandizement at any cost which are ruling the roost from top to bottom. Capitalism today is pushing everyone towards mad pursuit of wealth. Goaded by that, money making has become the singular object of life. This rush for wealth generation is giving rise to the thought that motto of life is to grab money by any means. Everything else is secondary to this hot chase for money. Such thoughts are not clutched out of the thin air but originating from the very socio-economic system of rotten capitalism. Enmeshed in insoluble market crisis caused by rapidly falling purchasing power of the people inevitable in capitalism, the ruling capitalist class does not find any scope for maximizing profit in productive investments today. So, it is diverting capital into speculation, usury and such other modes of wealth generation which are premised on cheating, manipulation, duping and double-crossing. Winning any speculative game of money making presupposes how skilled the player is in hoodwinking others. Stock market operation which is the biggest speculative activity in capitalism is virtually

based on betting and gambling. With the passage of time, newer methods of gambling like derivative trading, securitization of loans etc. are being discovered to bring, what is said in the parlance of capital market, 'depth and expanse' to this widespread speculation. Likewise, capital is now deployed more and more in usurious activities through banks, financial institutions and even for funding mega scale speculation in the stock markets. In fact, the arena of financial activity in moribund capitalism has been turned into a punters' den where all operations veer around the sole objective of fattening purse of the one's personal by cheating others through crafty manipulation. Round the clock, there is virtually a mad competition as to who can cheat or defraud whom to gain money and corner benefits. Giant corporates and monopoly houses are also directly involved in this roulette. Merrily they are tampering the rules, violating procedures and indulging in a host of unethical activities and manoeuvring for amassing wealth. Things have come to such a pass that kickbacks, graft and bribery are being regularized in the financial statements under the newly coined terms like 'facilitation fees', 'infrastructure installation amounts' etc. to ratify illegal exchange of money for self-serving. Envisaging this inevitable consequence of capitalism, Marx had said 150 years back that in capitalism, money has become omnipotent and all relations are being turned into money relations abolishing all natural and spiritual distinctions by enthroning in their stead the immoral, irrational and soulless abstraction of a particular material object of money making and giving rise to a particular consciousness which is slavishly subordinated to this object. All-pervasive corruption is thriving on these premises and hence has gripped the entire capitalist-imperialist world right from US to any tiny country, despite certain differences.

It is also to be borne in mind that in India, as brilliantly analysed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary, SUCI(C) and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, "development of capitalism and the growth of

national independence struggle took place at a time when world capitalism had lost all its progressive character and become out and out reactionary and moribund. Even though Indian national capitalism was anti-imperialist, it was no doubt part and parcel of the moribund world capitalism. That is why, the revolutionary character of capitalism witnessed in the period of capitalist revolution was not there in India in the period of world imperialism and moribund capitalism. So, although the Indian national bourgeoisie, being part and parcel of international reactionary capitalism, provided leadership to the anti-imperialist independence struggle, it did not possess a revolutionary character — rather, became, in the main, reformist oppositional against imperialism." Because of this definite socio-political reason, it was historically impossible for the Indian national bourgeoisie to remain free from the influence of the ideological degeneration of bourgeois humanism that had already set in at the international plane. As a result of that, corruption in our country is much more rampant and widespread than the Western imperialist-capitalist countries.

It is thus clear that the problem of corruption which is rattling people, already back-broken in grappling with the mounting problems of escalating penury and misery, is bred by this decadent moribund capitalism and hence irremediable within the existing capitalist system. Obviously, the question of eradicating corruption is inseparably linked with the question of overthrowing capitalism. Naturally, in the thoughts and ideas, values and ethics of those genuinely engaged in the struggle for bringing down capitalism lies the antidote of corruption and all other malpractices. The means to launch effective crusade against this avalanche of corruption lies in the movements developed by the genuine revolutionaries in course of preparation for final overthrow of capitalism. So long the existing capitalist order is not changed by state revolution, the only bulwark against corruption and other sins is surging waves of organized

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Strengthen the Party; create an atmosphere of countrywide people's movements — Krishna Chakraborty

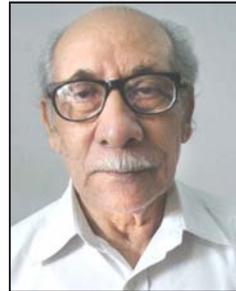
(In the last issue of Proletarian Era, we published the gist of the speeches delivered by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (C) at Party Foundation meetings in Bangalore and Kottayam. In this issue, we are publishing, in gist, the speeches of Comrades Krishna Chakraborty and Asit Bhattacharyya, both Members, Polit Bureau, delivered at Party Foundation Day meetings at Delhi, Rohtak, Bhubaneswar and Jaipur; Guwahati respectively)

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

Comrade President and Comrades,

Today, we are observing the foundation day of our beloved party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist). A few months back, you will recall, the whole of Europe from Greece to England including France, Spain, Portugal, were swept over by powerful movements of the common people and the working class. The movements were spreading and advancing like wildfire. Immediately thereafter, it spread to Middle East and what we call the Arabian countries, starting from Tunisia to Egypt and engulfing Libya, Algeria, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria where millions joined the movements. Though the immediate reasons for the unrest differed from country to country, the basic reason underlying all these movements is the same everywhere, that is, the capitalist exploitation and oppressive bourgeois rule. It is against this oppression and exploitation that movements are developing. People had many hopes from these movements. The movements in all these countries had the potential to usher in a fundamental change in the society which we call the revolution. But that did not happen. Some immediate demands raised by the struggling masses were of course achieved but no revolution took place. What lesson should we draw from this? Lenin taught that without a revolutionary theory there will be no revolution. At the same time he said that without a revolutionary party there will be no revolution. Here, we see that in spite of gigantic revolts and movements, no revolution took place. This is so because there was neither a revolutionary line nor a revolutionary party present in these countries which could provide leadership to these movements. This has not happened for the first time. This has been happening time and again. Many countries have

passed through such movements but that has not led them to revolution. This should make us understand that if revolution has to be accomplished, it can't be done in absence of a revolutionary theory and its torch bearer, the revolutionary party. A question may arise that we already possess the revolutionary theory which Comrade Ghosh has bequeathed to us. We also have the revolutionary party founded by him. We fulfill both these preconditions essential for a successful revolution as taught by Lenin, but still why is no revolution taking place in our country? It is because as Stalin beautifully explained and later Comrade Shibdas Ghosh reiterated



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

that even after having fulfilled these essential preconditions revolution cannot be victorious unless and until the revolutionary party acquires sufficient strength to overthrow the bourgeois state machine. The bourgeois state, as we witness in our country, which defends the interest of capital, is the most powerful and centralised state apparatus. In our country also capitalism has already acquired the status of imperialism and has thus become fascist. So far as its armed strength is concerned, it ranks fifth in the world. It is this strength, this armed strength of the capitalist state, which will offer resistance to any such attempt by working class and other exploited masses. This essential teaching has to be grasped seriously.

In comparison to the European countries or the Arab world, which witnessed these mighty movements, what is the condition of our country? Though the situation in many fields and aspects of life in India is worse than many of those countries, yet we do not see the

type of movements taking place here, as witnessed in Europe, Middle East and the Arabian countries. Certain protests have, however, been taking place sporadically. Why is it so? This is so because the political parties in our country wield an influence on the masses. Take for instance the Congress party. Can it go for a movement? It is sub-serving the interests of capitalism and adopting anti-people policies against the wishes of the people. Not to speak of developing movements, it mercilessly crushes the people's movements when they develop. Then the BJP, which is another trusted party of the Indian bourgeoisie. Both these parties are vying with each other for serving Indian capitalism in the best possible manner. They are engaged in a cut-throat competition in order to gain the trust and confidence of the Indian monopoly houses. Can you expect any mass movement from them? On the contrary, they are

instrumental in suppressing such movements. What are the parties left then who can develop mass movements? The regional parties — whether it is the RJD of Lalu Yadav of Bihar, the BSP of Mayawati in UP, BJD of Navin Patnaik in Orissa, DMK or AIADMK of Tamil Nadu or the INALO of Chautala in Haryana or, say, TDP of Chandrababu Naidu of AP— they can't naturally go for movements in the interest of the masses since they are also parties of the regional bourgeoisie. Instead they will suppress the movements of the workers and peasants in the interest of the capitalists.

See the condition then. In spite of the deep economic crisis which shook the foundation of capitalism a few years back, the Indian corporate houses did not incur any losses. On the contrary, they amassed huge profits. I was just showing the newspapers to comrades yesterday which contained the news about the profits earned by various monopoly houses in India. But still then, the

government has offered incentive packages to them. The money given to them from the public exchequer is the people's money raised through taxes and revenues that is being squandered by these parties to fatten the bellies of the corporate houses. All these parties do it when in governmental power. Consider now the condition of the peasants. In Andhra some days back, consecutively for some days, 10 farmers committed suicides daily. Madhya Pradesh is also witnessing such suicides now in a horrific way. You will be taken aback to know that in Malda district of the CPI(M) ruled state of West Bengal, recently about 100 women had queued up for sale of their children. Why? Because they can't feed them. This is the condition. Economic condition compels mothers to sell their children! I am citing only a few examples. The whole country is reeling under such harsh conditions. The agricultural labourers are without work for many a month in the year. You still get some work in Haryana. But go to Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, there people do not get work to get even two square meals. In such a situation how can they even think of sending their children to schools? But laws provide the "Right to education", 'education to all', as if mere legislation of certain laws would solve the problems. How can it happen when just on acquiring the age of 12 a boy or girl has to find a job and support his or her family. Otherwise the family would not be able to make both ends meet. They are forced to work in tea shops, clean utensils in Dhabas, etc. to eke out a living. This is the real picture of our country. Despite all this, no movements are taking place as witnessed in Europe or Arabian countries.

The very mental make-up or frame of mind required for developing movements is absent in our country. One of the reasons for this is the impact of Gandhiji's thinking on the masses. His belief in non-violence had a dampening effect on the psyche of the people. More harmful is that he discouraged mass action and mass movement. Gandhiji never wanted active involvement of common people in the independence

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To resolve peoples' problems, movements indispensable

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movement. He wanted that he along with a selected few should go on hunger strike, while the people should raise slogans in support, clap for him but not take the path of active involvement in the movement. He would himself go to the prison while the masses in general were expected to lend him support but not go for any action, more particularly any militant action. This approach towards the movement has left a deep impact on the mass mind of the Indian society. Comrade Ghosh showed that being mortally afraid of proletarian revolution, the Indian bourgeoisie in the then condition found in Gandhiji's thinking the best personification of their class interest. The Congress, BJP and various regional parties being the bourgeois parties, it is quite natural for them to come in defence of the exploitative capitalist system. They can't go for movement but on the contrary suppress people's movements in the interest of the ruling bourgeois class. The so-called communists CPI, CPI (M) etc. who carry the nomenclature of Marxism, on the other hand, had developed movements earlier only in West Bengal along with us, have now abandoned that path. Since 1977 when the CPI and CPI(M) came to governmental power in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, these parties, not to speak of developing mass movements, have suppressed the democratic mass movements more brutally than even the Congress or the BJP governments. You have heard about Singur. Our party developed a mass movement there. You also have heard of Nandigram. There too our party built up the movement. For the struggling masses, Nandigram has now become a symbol of uncompromising people's movement. But what happened there. The CPI (M) is not fighting the capitalist system but speaks against monopoly capitalists or in their language, the big bourgeoisie. Capitalism is a system which provides a breeding ground for the individual capitalists. This party, in fact, is not against the capitalist system. Their stage of revolution, i.e. the strategy of revolution is the People's Democratic Revolution and not anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. They claim they will fight against the big bourgeoisie

and that fight they have shown in Singur where they snatched the land from the poor peasants and doled it out to the Tatas, the biggest monopoly house of the country. This is the way they are fighting the big bourgeoisie.

Declaring Nandigram as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ), they tried to forcibly acquire thousands of acres of land from small and middle peasants which land was intended to be handed over to the Salim Group of Industrial houses of Indonesia. This group had earned notoriety during the Vietnam War for supplying chemical bombs to the US aggressors for use against Vietnamese people. The Buddhadev government of the CPI (M) tried to hand over the land to such a notorious business house—the Salim group. Our party opposed the move by organizing the people. Unleashing the worst type of oppression, the CPI(M) government resorted to indiscriminate firing in the area and even took recourse to deploying goondas and anti-social elements. These anti-social elements backed by armed police, resorted to intimidation of the local people by torture, molestation and rape of the women folk. With this attitude, can the CPI and CPI (M) build up the people's movement?

People's movement today has become indispensable. Not only in India but all over the world, the unabated capitalist exploitation has made the lives of the people miserable. People are pushed to a situation where they have to jump into the movements. But, in India as I was telling this atmosphere of movement is not there. Whatever little is there is due to the efforts of our party. But our strength in relation to the need of such a vast country is limited. That has to be broken and an atmosphere of movement created in the whole country. But, at the same time we will have to remember this too that however strong the movements may be and even if millions of people join them, they will not succeed, if their path is not correct. Comrade Ghosh has time and again emphasized the point that if the movement is not well organized, not in the right direction and if it is not under correct leadership, it is bound to fail. Not that there had been no movements at all in our country. There developed a powerful all India movement, what is known as

JP movement but all such movements of the past failed because of absence of correct line and correct leadership. The question for consideration then is who will provide this direction and leadership to the movements? In India it is the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) which is capable of this line and leadership.

Without conducting countrywide movements it is not possible to resolve any of the problems faced by the people today. Not to speak of revolution, even for the resolution of problems, issues and questions faced by the people, it is necessary to build up people's movement. We are trying to develop such movements, wherever our party is present and struggling. In Haryana also we are building up such movements. We are trying our best as per our strength. How much we shall be able to accomplish, will depend on the strength of the party. This is the objective limitation which we should understand. To increase our strength, we must break this limitation and fast acquire the necessary strength. How?

In the realm of thought and culture, a new thinking and culture, that is, dialectical way of thinking and proletarian revolutionary culture, have to be acquired. This culture emerges through sustained struggle against individualism on the basis of collectivism. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us, to attain this culture, the individual has to identify his personal interest with the interest of the working class, revolution and the party. Only through this struggle a man acquires a strong character. When a person is not equipped with the knowledge acquired through this struggle, he remains very weak. Once he masters this knowledge he can change the world, he can create a new civilization as was done by Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Ho Chi-Minh, Fidel Castro and others. Had this been done by an isolated and lone individual, we could have termed the phenomenon as a mere coincidence. But it is not so. It has been proved through practice that we too can acquire such a standard. When Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Ho Chi-Minh and Fidel could elevate themselves to such a position, we also can do it. This scientific theory, Marxism, has not fallen from the skies. The knowledge acquired not only through the understanding

about the society but through coordination and integration of the scientific knowledge about the human society, nature, life and all other fields of knowledge, is called Marxism. The great teachings of Karl Marx which were arrived at by him by integrating the knowledge in all the fields, is our guide to action. If we are able to realize and apply that knowledge in our life, a creative knowledge will be created.

Time and again Comrade Ghosh has urged us to go to the masses, live with them, try to understand their problems, organize them and build up movements by leading them. We have to follow this scrupulously and if every comrade patterns his life on these lines, the party will definitely develop and expand. Only then can we overcome this objective limitation. Only then shall it be possible to increase our limited strength. This is what assumes paramount importance today. Comrades should understand that there is turmoil in the society; lives of people are engulfed in deep crisis. This is not merely an economic crisis but it has pervaded all the spheres of life—social, political, cultural, ethical and moral as well. The shadow of this crisis looms large in all the spheres of society. This crisis will not help advance life. Added to these problems is now another problem, called the corruption. Today, it has assumed alarming proportions and has spread its tentacles everywhere. The ruling parties can single out very few of their leaders who have remained unscathed by corruption. The only difference is that we know about cases of corruption against certain leaders and are yet to unearth cases against others. You are aware of the involvement of A. Raja in the 2G spectrum scam. He is not involved in a fraud of one or two crores of rupees but an amount estimated at Rs. 1,76,000 crore. There are so many similar people. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra, the CM of Karnataka, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh—all are facing allegations of corruption. There was corruption in the Commonwealth Games (held in Delhi). There is no end to such scams. The question is: why does it happen? It is bound to happen when a system has outlived its utility and has become moribund and is dying. Today the capitalist system has

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Corruption cannot be fought without fighting capitalism

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become an obstacle to social progress. It is so because whether in society or in nature or in life when a thing comes into being it has a progressive role to play in the history. It develops and reaches its zenith whereafter its retrogression starts. After giving birth to a new entity it has to go out of being one day. Everything goes on changing this way. While changing it goes out of being and while going gives birth to a new one that grows within its own womb. This is the law governing every sphere of the material world. Whether it be nature, the society, life or thought. That is why capitalism also has become outdated today. About a hundred years back Lenin on the basis of Marxist philosophy, had shown that capitalism had reached the highest stage of its development, the stage of imperialism. What does that mean? It means it has reached its highest stage of development beyond which it can no more develop. From this point its decay has started and it has thus become moribund and decadent — now it has to go. Lenin showed that around 1902-3-4 capitalism after reaching the stage of imperialism had become moribund and thus reactionary. More than a hundred years have passed thereafter and capitalism is somehow surviving. But its decadent presence is giving rise to disease. When an old person is down with disease, he not only suffers himself but is instrumental in spreading diseases. He should go. If he does not go, he suffers and those around him suffer. But the way qualitative change takes place in nature after slow and gradual quantitative changes, it does not happen so in the society on its own. Particularly, in an exploitative capitalist society wherein the capitalists are exploitative rulers and the workers and toiling people are the exploited lot. Here the capitalist society is composed of two opposing classes which are in constant struggle with each other. In such a situation change does not take place on its own. Whereas we are trying to create a favourable condition for the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie spares no effort to create an unfavourable condition and to create obstacles in the path of revolution. They are trying to pattern the education system in a way that does not help

develop real knowledge in the society, rather destroys the very scientific approach and aptitude among the students, on the one hand. On the other, they are promoting obscurantist ideas, mysticism or even spiritualism so that the people are shorn of the faculty to examine and analyse the causes of the problems and find out their solution. Simultaneously, in order to pollute the culture of the people, particularly of the youth, they are propagating obscene literature, films and advertisements through electronic media and encouraging alcoholism and drug addiction so that the people lose their moral courage to stand up against exploitation, oppression and injustice.

This is the way capitalism degenerates the character of the people. The revolutionaries have to face the situation head on and alter it. But how can that be done? You might have witnessed the recent movement of Anna Hazare against corruption which we supported. We supported the movement but they did not allow the movement to grow. We did not support the movement blindly. Although they raised the issue against corruption all over the country and there was every possibility of people of every strata getting involved in the movement, the movement was misled into the blind alley of legalism and parliamentary procedures. Today, they are deliberating on the drafting of the Jana Lok Pal Bill. Tomorrow, that may be passed by the Parliament. Will that solve the problem? It will become an Act of the Parliament and thus a law. Can you cite any crime against which no laws have been enacted? If you go through the Indian Penal code, you will see that it takes care of all the crimes you have heard of. There is no dearth of laws against crimes and provision for punishments against these. But has that reduced the crime rate? Not at all. On the contrary, they are on the increase. In particular, the crimes against women have sharply increased. Broad daylight molestations of women of all ages are taking place. Earlier there used to be cases of rapes. Now after committing a rape the victim is brutally killed. Despite the laws, courts, advocates, judges, police and all the paraphernalias to deal with diverse criminal case, crimes in our

society are on the increase on a horrifying rate. Then, under these conditions can you stem the tide of corruption by enacting a law against it? Had that been possible then there was no problem at all. Had that been the case, there would have been no crime at all.

What is important is that you need a new culture for fighting against and eradicating corruption. What is the basis of the age old bourgeois notions about honesty, integrity and ethical values which centre around the concept of the freedom of the individual? In the capitalist society the basis or the foundation for all these values is the right to private property. Today when the society is in acute economic crisis due to rising unemployment, poverty and hunger the uncertain and unstable future looms large over every individual. This uncertainty about the future of children, their education, health, difficult financial condition in old age and several other factors arising out of the harsh conditions of life have given rise to a thinking, a culture of somehow ensuring security of life. This type of thinking in the society, if devoid of a spirit of struggle against it, leads to corruption which takes multifarious forms. The deeper the sense of acquiring private property, the stronger will be the tendency towards corruption. This is what is happening today—corruption is increasing and will continue to increase. It has to be noted that though this tendency is developing in the social thinking in general but in reality corruption is taking place among the high ups, the rich who have enough of property and scope to amass property. Can Anna Hazare put a check on it? The cultural standard that is required for fighting corruption, the moral and ethical standard required for it cannot be achieved by merely giving up private property. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught that not only by giving up private property but by freeing oneself from the private property mental complex only such a culture can develop. Freedom from this mental complex is the basis of communist culture. Those who are not engaged in the struggle to achieve this culture cannot provide leadership in the fight against corruption in the society. We must understand that in the ultimate analysis corruption can be

eradicated only by overthrowing this capitalist system.

But, till then shall we not join the movements against corruption? Of course we shall, we shall organize the movements on the basis of the proletarian revolutionary culture, ethics and morality that has been developed through the struggle of our party, which is yet to spread and become the dominant culture in the society.

Corruption has become deep-rooted in the society. If you travel by train without a reservation, the TTE will demand money. People pay because of their urgency to travel. They have become accustomed to it. They do not think it is a corrupt practice and at times justify it. Whether it is a government office, a school or college, rates are fixed for getting things done. Whether for promotions, transfer or for appointments, a mental make-up of getting the work done by paying bribe has become the general norm. But here we have to make a distinction between those who are compelled to give bribe with those who compel them. It is the common people who are the worst sufferers. You can very well understand the need for a massive, well organized movement against corruption based on a higher and new culture. This is very much needed so that a mental make-up is generated in the society where the corrupt are isolated and hated by the people.

Without building up such a movement and atmosphere, even leaders of the stature of Anna Hazare cannot succeed in eradicating corruption. He is a Gandhite and says that he will accept the verdict of the Parliament even if the Bill is not passed by it. One may ask the question - why to draft the Bill at all? Then what for he is demanding the passage of the Bill in Parliament and enacting a law against corruption. Comrades, we must understand that only a real revolutionary party can lead this movement. But does that mean we shall not lend support to this movement? No, if there is a democratic movement and whosoever is in the movement, we shall lend our support to it. But we shall not support the movement blindly. We supported the movement because we also want to build up movement against

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With independence, capitalists usurped fruit of people's struggle

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corruption. But what should be the nature and character of the movement is contained in the CC's statement on the issue which you must go through.

It is the capitalist system that generates corruption. Without anti-capitalist thought and ideology and a culture conducive to it, you cannot eradicate it. Only on the basis of anti-capitalist culture, is it possible to fight corruption which no other force except our party can do. It is so because none except our party has chosen the anti-capitalist path of struggle. But does it mean that our party will do it alone? Not at all. We shall join with any force or forces which are willing to build up movement against corruption. Only our endeavour should be to give ideological leadership to it. Then in the present-day context there are a thousand and one problems confronting the people. What should we revolutionaries do? Shall we remain silent onlookers or go to the people, organize them and build a countrywide movement? Ours is a vast country. How difficult it is to build up the organization in a state like Haryana — that you know well. There are still so many such areas where our party does not exist. There are places where it is still a small force. But people have to be brought in. How? With whatever strength we have, if we jump into a movement and develop it into a massive and militant struggle, which cannot escape the attention of general people, its news will spread like a wildfire, like the movements of Singur or Nandigram. The news about such movements cannot be suppressed and will reach the common masses. Even if the movement is started in a small place, its uncompromising and struggling nature will have its effect on the whole of the country. This will enthuse and inspire the people and having developed confidence they will join the movement. The atmosphere of movements which has disappeared due to the character and conduct of all these parties will again be created. A new culture, a new thinking and a revolutionary path will be the basis of this movement. People are crying for movements. Shall we not respond to them? This 24th April repeatedly poses this question to us. If we are able to take appropriate steps in this direction, I am confident from the

experience of struggle in my life, revolution will not be far off. When Haryana started the work, what was the shape of the organization then and how big the organization has grown now. At that time we did not have the party organization in most of the places in India. But now you see the party almost everywhere in India. It is growing. Wherever we have been able to carry the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, people have got attracted towards the party.

So, Comrades develop an in-depth understanding of the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, go through his works, discuss it amongst comrades and enhance your knowledge and further enrich the knowledge. Knowledge gives us power. Lenin was not a well built and physically strong man but a short statured man. But he was such a powerful man who changed the world and created a new civilization. That is the type of knowledge we require—knowledge about life, society, nature and the laws of change in the material world. In an enriched form that knowledge has been handed down to us by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh while concretizing in particular Marxist-Leninist teachings regarding the path to be followed by the Indian working class for their emancipation. This is the purpose of our meeting here on this 24 April. I believe with full confidence that you all will understand the importance and conduct the struggle of changing yourself. I can change the world only after changing myself. If I do not change and still carry the old bourgeois, petit-bourgeois thinking, habits and behavior and still think that I can change the world—this can never happen. The pre-condition for becoming able to change the world is to change oneself first. The very first teaching Marx gave to the working class, was this. He showed that the working class alone is in a position to change the world because the working class is free from the private property, which was the reason for splitting the society into two classes. When will this class division end? It can end with the abolition of private property which can only be accomplished by the working class. It is so because the culture of the working class is collectivism. They produce collectively for the collective, for the society. They and

only they can bring about social ownership over all the means of production. Capitalism is based on private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership over the means production is the cornerstone of capitalism. This system enables concentration of the entire world's wealth into the hands of a few capitalists, as has happened today. This property has to be expropriated by the working class.

At the end, to all comrades and particularly to the young comrades I will tell that they should also have the confidence that they too can become great revolutionaries one day if they fight individualism and struggle to identify their self interest with the interest of the party and revolution. Whether we become Marx-Engles, Lenin, Stalin or Shibdas Ghosh — that is not the point. The point is if we follow their path of struggle, we can at least elevate ourselves nearer to their level. This is the call of the hour, saying this much while offering my revolutionary greetings to all of you and red salute to our great teacher, leader and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, I end my speech here.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

In Assam, in addition to the observances in different districts on the very date of 24 April, a state level meeting was held on 27 April under the auspices of the Assam State Committee at the Lakshmiram Barua Sadan in Guwahati. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, renowned mass leader and Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI (C) addressed the meeting as the main speaker. Comrade Bhupendranath Kakati, Member, Assam State Committee Member presided over it, while Comrade Kalyan Choudhury, Member, Central Committee of the Party and Assam State Secretary spoke on the occasion.

Pointing out the significance of observing 24 April, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said that each year the Party Foundation Day brings forth a new task before the Party; realizing this and based upon concrete analysis of the prevailing national and international political situations, leaders and cadres of the Party take pledge afresh, on this Day, to hasten up the process of accomplishing the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India as an inseparable part of the world

revolution.

Referring to the brilliant analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the eminent Marxist philosophers of these days, regarding the inevitable outcome of the Indian capitalists' assuming power with the independence of the country, Comrade Bhattacharyya brought it out that while engaged in the process of founding SUCI (Communist) as the only revolutionary party of the soil, the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown, just a few months after the country attained independence, that the entire harvest of the five decade-long independence struggle had been usurped by the Indian national bourgeoisie, that is the Indian capitalist class. Cashing in on people's patriotic fervour, Tatas-Birlas and the likes usurped the power through understanding with the British imperialists. In result, the rule and exploitation of the foreign imperialists ended, but people were not emancipated from exploitation. The main object or the essence of the independence movement had never been just attaining independence putting an end to the rule and exploitation of the British imperialists; it was to free people from capitalist exploitation, from exploitation of usurers-zamindars-jotedars, in summary to emancipate ninety per cent people from all sorts of exploitation by a few. But that object was not attained then as the capitalist class hoodwinked people and usurped power, taking advantage of their relatively low political understanding. On the contrary, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with great farsightedness forewarned that in its consequence with each day to come, Indian capitalism will be strengthened and consolidated. A handful of people will amass sky-high heaps of wealth, while in contrast, toiling people, constituting ninety percent of the population will be pauperized more and more. Robbed of their entire wealth, they would add to the have-nots (proletariat) to lead a cursed burdensome life.

While elaborating different aspects of this brilliant scientific analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Bhattacharyya submitted, 'those days we could not find anybody else Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to unravel this infallible truth

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Capitalism brought devastation in economic-political-social situation

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to us'. For the last 63 years, people of the country themselves have had its bitter experience. At present, the economic-political-social condition of the country is simply devastating. By number, more than half of the population is either totally or partially jobless today. They are finding no means to eke out their living. In each and every village, want and poverty have become back-breaking. Farmers have reached such a wretched condition that they do not have even a fistful of land to live barely upon. But they can not maintain their family without enough land and cannot earn their livelihood without enough produce from it. So, they are circumscribed to mortgage their land to rich peasants and then, failing to repay the loan thus obtained, are compelled to sell out their land at throw-away prices. Completely pauperized thus, peasants in thousands are setting out for cities and towns in search of jobs. But to no avail; neither they could find any job there. It is because there are no industries to absorb them. Whatever industries were there, those are shutting down with each passing day. In a state like West Bengal, 56000 industries, big, small or medium together, have already been closed down. There is no indication of opening up of newer industries. One or two coming up here and there are high-tech ones, without any scope for recruiting labour in numbers. Manual labour is the only means left to the illiterate unemployed. But even that cannot be made use of. With no means at sight, a large section of the educated youth, even with post graduate degrees, are sticking to jobs for a pittance of 700-800 rupees per month. This really amounts to making them 'bonded labour'. It only reveals where has the struggle for life and living gone down to. Price of every essential commodity, from food-grains to medicines, has receded beyond the reach of common people. And this is the picture over the entire country. By the government statistics itself, a 44% of population lies below poverty level. But even this figure is a cooked one. The real figure is much higher, in fact, reaching nearly 70%. These people earn rupees twenty per

day per head. In these days of horrible price-rise, how could a family of 5 or 6 people be maintained with earnings of 20 rupees per day? With no way out in view, people are being forced to take their life themselves. In slightly more than the last 10 years nearly 2 lakh (200,000) peasants have committed suicide, on an average one suicide everyday. People are being dragged into unethical means of livelihood, unable to bear with pangs of want and poverty. Women trafficking is now a menacing problem all over India. Agents of the capitalist class are dragging and pushing totally helpless thousands of young girls and women of villages, towns and cities to flesh trade both inside and outside the country. On another side, a large



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

section of the unemployed population failing to secure a decent means of livelihood is taking resort to antisocial activities like theft, robbery, snatching and such others. Capitalists are making use of a section of them as hired gangs in many cases against the interests of common people, and even in curbing mass movements. The situation has reached such a point that killing has become a profession nowadays.

Referring to the extent capitalism is degenerating social life, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said, in 1848 only, when capitalism was not crisis-ridden and decadent as it is today, as far back as that time the great leader Karl Marx, while unravelling the real character of capitalism had mentioned that capitalism was and is not just exploiting economically, it is degrading all human relations into monetary relations. Nowadays that has become shockingly evident in the social life of our country. Even the last shred of humanity is lost today. The concept of joint family of the past has already been wiped out. Nuclear families that followed, embracing only husband-wife and their children, are also breaking apart these days. Parents, mother and father, cannot confide in their

children; mistrust and misgivings have taken roots here too. Even love-passion-feelings between husband and wife are gradually fading out, in its place mutual distrust and lack of confidence are fast taking root. An idea that family means painful troubleshooting, seems to be gaining ground. Consequently, it is becoming difficult to live today with dignity and humanity. Not only want, poverty and deprivation are spreading out; social life is

becoming bereft of finer human instincts and feelings. This is one side of the picture. On the other, capitalism is spreading venomous seeds of disunity among exploited people. It is inciting poor people of ethnic and other communities against one another in the name of

caste-ethnicity-religion to either kill each other or give birth to and foster mutual enmity. The capitalist class and their subservient vested interests are making use of fathomless poverty of people, to provoke poor people of one community into fratricidal clashes against those of another. This is the stark reality in the country. Pointing at this outcome of the rule and exploitation of the capitalist class we come across today, expressing his firm note of caution about that, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh proclaimed on 24 April of 1948 that this condition can not be changed without overthrowing capitalism from the state power. And that task can not be accomplished through elections, it can be carried through only by the stroke of revolution.

While explaining how, in reality, elections are shaping out in parliamentary politics, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya indicated that elections have now been made a playground for black money of capitalists. Even the bourgeois media cannot but admit it. Congress, BJP, AGP, even CPI or CPI(M) – there is none of these parties which is not involved in this dark game of black money. Some time back these parties used to try out chiefly the caste-creed

cards to win elections. Presently those appear to have somewhat lost their edge. Money has taken the stage as the principal means. Want and poverty of people have reached such a stage, their political understanding and sense of moral values have been downgraded to such an ebb, that elections have turned out to be a means of earning some money to these disastrously helpless poverty-stricken people. Elections have been downgraded to such a low depth. Comrade Bhattacharyya added further that it is now becoming evident to right-thinking people that elections have become a weapon to keep the capitalist class continue in power. The class, using their black money and propaganda machinery, are manoeuvring elections in such a way that the force which stands for people's interests are not returned in the polls. They use, on one hand, crores of rupees and on the other, caste-creed-races-religions and such others, or even, if necessary, they tamper EVM neatly, all this to ensure that the forces that would work for the capitalists would come out winning. Those who are thus purchasing votes with the capitalists' money, and thereupon becoming MLAs and then ministers, have only one task slated out for them: to engage themselves in corruption and rob and steal people's money to fatten their own coffer. Quite a few years back, the prime-figure of the Bofors scam Rajiv Gandhi gave out, unwittingly though, that 85 paise out of a total of 100 paise of one rupee, earmarked for development, is pocketed by corrupt leaders, ministers and bureaucrats. The IPL scam, 2G scam are only the tip of iceberg that have only one part above the water with 9 parts below it. Even the bourgeois media are not being able to sweep all these things under the carpet. Unnumbered such instances of corruption, that remain under cover, have spread out their tentacles everywhere. Peoples' wrath and resentment against corruption are simmering throughout length and breadth of the country. You have witnessed the Anna Hazare movement cropping up in this background. People's resentment against corruption has become so intense that the entire

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Anti-capitalist revolution, not election, only course left to people

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country burst out even with a meagre four-day hunger-strike of Anna Hazare. The capitalist class smelt danger. Lest this resentment burst out as it had in Egypt, Tunisia or Libya and elsewhere, they took all possible measures to deviate people's resentment. They spent a lot for the Anna Hazare movement and whipped up a campaign in media to pose Anna Hazare as a second *Mahatma*, maintaining that meeting his demands would wipe out corruption. The Union government also did not lose any time to meet the demands. Supporting the specific demands raised by Hazare, we firmly held that such orchestrated campaign was palpably untrue and unhistorical and it is being pressed upon with ulterior motive. One must not forget that the capitalist class and their subservient political parties are the forces themselves that give birth to corruption. Corruption cannot be checked simply framing laws. There is a lot of these laws in the country; even those entail so many lofty words. But that matters the least to this capitalist system. Everything runs at the beckon of the capitalists. How many from the capitalist class, who are continuously giving birth to corruption, would you find to have received some kind of punishment? The point is who will pronounce the verdict and against whom. The trouble lies right inside the den. Recently it has come up that Anil Ambani himself is at the root of the massive 2G scam. It proves how cunning the capitalists are! Smelling people's resentment against corruption, in what a neatly planned manner they projected Anna Hazare to befool them! What I would like to mention with much emphasis is that despite these, in spite of people's being crushed in an ambience ridden with intense crisis of humanity, crisis of values as well as abject poverty, peoples' urge to protest has not totally been lost. The incident once more brings this truth out. What is required then is to direct this vigorous protesting urge in the correct way to make it clear to people that it is the capitalist system which lies at the root of all these evils and problems; and to lead this process towards

organising united mass upheaval of exploited people with a view to bringing an end to the rule and exploitation of the capitalist class, in the same manner as the united mass upheaval once brought about the end of the rule and exploitation of the British imperialists.

Mentioning that this historic task has devolved upon SUCI (Communist) today, Comrade Bhattacharyya said other than this party, SUCI (Communist), none else is uttering a single word against the capitalist class. Leave aside the bourgeois parties, even the CPI, CPI(M) with the word Communist tagged in their titles, have become subservient to capitalism and capitalists. Even the word *capitalism*, leaders of these parties carefully shun uttering it. The Maoists that have come out latest in course of repeated splitting of the undivided CPI, even they do not spend a single word against capitalism. What lies behind this explosive problem of unemployment and the sky-high price rise, behind the closure of industries, behind workers' losing jobs, that the principal cause of all these maladies rests in the market crisis, itself an outcome of cruel exploitation by the capitalist class — these are known to each and every student of economics. Even then, not to speak of targeting capitalist class as the main enemy, all these parties are creating bogeys of imperialism and feudalism thereby effectively hiding the capitalist class away from people's wrath and resentment. You would often find bourgeois journals and newspapers showering praises upon CPI(M)-CPI. The capitalist class even do not refrain from giving publicity to the Maoists. Whereas the bourgeois media cannot afford a fraction of a column in their publications to even hundreds-of-thousand-strong rallies held by our party in cities like Calcutta or Delhi. Pinning on the underlying inherent cause, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that the capitalist class and their subservient parties correctly identify that it is the SUCI (Communist), which is there to sound their death-knell. And for this, you should note, they are continuously trying to deviate and divert the protesting youth to the wrong path by giving mileage to the

Maoists in their propaganda, simply with a view to preventing SUCI (Communist) win over these youth. In the recent elections in West Bengal, Mamata Banerjee did not agree to spare us more than two assembly seats. But we have been holding these two seats since long. Everybody in West Bengal knows it well that it was meaningless to spare those two seats for us. In the last Lok Sabha elections, when Trinamool Congress spared us only a single seat, our beloved General Secretary Provas Ghosh asked Mamata Banerjee : Tell me, considering our strength and influence in the state, do you think we should get only one seat? Embarrassed certainly, she answered: Please do not mind, we will make up for it in the coming assembly elections. It cannot be said that any cunning idea hid behind her words. But despite repeated discussions with them on seat-sharing, before coming to any agreement, they suddenly announced sparing of two seats to us. Why this behaviour from them? Right-thinking people will not fail to understand that it was the combined pressure of the industrial and corporate houses as well as bureaucracy that acted behind this move. Strength of SUCI (Communist) must not increase; by no means! I mention these few instances because these prove beyond doubt that all parties other than ours have now sided with the capitalist class. In such a situation I would like to pronounce firmly that the historic task that has devolved upon SUCI (Communist) demands correct realization of the invaluable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that revolution, and revolution only is the alternative to elections, and based on that preparing people politically, ethically and culturally for the revolution; further as inseparable condition for that, the task also requires building up of democratic movements on legitimate demands of people, constantly remaining by their side and thereby identifying with them and their problems.

Dwelling upon the complex politico-economic situation in Assam, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya said that this state did not see any development in agriculture, irrigation or land reform

even to the extent there have been in other states. In the last 63 years, barring 2 or 3 oil refineries, no industry worth the name has come up here; rather, the few that were there, have closed down. Tea-industry is in a critical condition. In result, the standard of living and livelihood of people are fast sliding down. Since long there is not any ambience in Assam in which the government even under a capitalist system is compelled to perform because of the demands from opposition or under the pressures of movement. It is not being possible to develop some such movement that may create some pressure upon the government. In a situation stinking with linguistic and ethnic chauvinism and extreme communal racial hatred, not even minimum outward differences could be found between the government side and its opposition; both stand upon the same weapon of fanatic regionalism and rabid communalism. They only vie with each other to prove how further one can go than the other with this nasty politics. None of the parties care for the problems like price rise or unemployment, whatever it be. There are quite a few parties working here, but all of them are driven by parochial regionalism and all are meek subservient to the capitalists. These political parties have only one agenda to carry out : to plunder people's money taking advantage of the weakness of the Assamese-speaking people befooling them with the bogey that existence of the Assamese is at stake. Comrade Bhattacharyya made it clear that in such a condition the endeavour to make people conscious with anti-capitalist feeling faces tremendous hindrance. To whatever extent united students', workers' or peasants' movements could be built up in other states, in Assam, in face of strong obstacles that is also not being possible. 'We, the Assamese-speaking people are exploited; the Indians are exploiting us; so Assam must claim our independence', this was the concept and slogan on which the ULFA movement sprang up. It cannot be denied that the movement was not very weak. The Indian Army had to be deployed to suppress it; that itself shows its strength; also 10 to 12 thousand youth laid their lives in

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Party Foundation Day observed throughout the country

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that movement. Even then what has been the outcome? What good to people's life could it bring about? Just on the eve of the movement we tried in different ways to make people aware of the wrong political line and dangerous consequences of the ULFA movement. We went from door to door of different political parties. We repeatedly appealed to prominent leaders like Vishwa Goswami, the front-ranking leader of Janta Party, or Samar Brahma Choudhury of PTC to make Assamese-speaking people aware of the wrong theory, impending inevitable failure and dangerous consequences of the ULFA movement. We said: Your notes of caution would be more effective and would lead the Assamese-speaking people to think more and more on it. Though they did not oppose verbally, neither did they respond to our appeals at that time. As students of Marxism, we analysed the phenomenon correctly to show that the movement based on wrong line would only cause futile bloodshed. Experiences of Mizoram or Nagaland speak of the same truth. Quoting Mao Zedong, we showed that if there was slight mistake in formulating the base political line of any movement, that is in identifying the enemies and allies of the movement, however strong the movement might become to start with, whatever might be the sacrifices, the movement was sure to fail. So, this struggle of the ULFA urging people simply to secede from India labelling it a struggle for independence and bypassing the fact that the capitalist class is the principal enemy, would inevitably end in a failure. Secondly, we added that Assam has emerged historically as an inseparable part of India. Majority of people of the state, also take it that way. No doubt they have serious grievance against want, poverty, deprivation, discrimination and exploitation, but do not wish to secede from India. We published booklet and, in it, called upon the leaders and activists of the ULFA saying : Your assessment of the situation was not correct and that would not attract support of the majority of the Assamese-speaking people. In that case, garnering the support of those who did not stand for independent Assam, rather were strongly opposed to it, the Indian

Army would pounce upon you. You would not be able to thwart the attack. So reconsider your line of struggle. Comrade Bhattacharyya said that we made it clear to people of Assam too, that in face of failure the leaders of this movement would be forced to make compromise. It is because from the standpoint of class angularity, they were no revolutionaries. Today, genuinely uncompromising revolutionary soldiers are those who have genuine conviction in Marxism, who lead life guided by the teachings of Marxism. The Naxalite movement that had sprung up in the seventies met with the same fate. It could not produce anything other than frustration. The ULFA movement too would create the same situation. Today we see that happening. After 30 years, the ULFA President Arabinda Rajkhawa has admitted that their decision was wrong. The Assamese-speaking people do not support them. But by this time the damage was done. Receiving one-sided thrashing and in face of shameful failure, today the Assamese-speaking people become furious at the mention of the word 'movement'. In this situation, genuine revolutionary movement, too, faces stern refusal. We apprehended all these right from the start of the movement. But CPI, CPI(M) could not realize, nor could those who had started this movement, more particularly their leaders. They have realized their mistake after 12000 lives perished for nothing. The ULFA leaders will have to pay for it, in the same way Hitler had to pay for his follies. For this, they will have to answer to the history. On our part, armed with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh we have always tried to drive the point home that without being politically conscious, without identifying capitalism as the main enemy, any movement, be it against price rise or for that matter against unemployment or on demands of education, health or for roads or some such, is sure to meet the same fate as the AASU or ULFA movements have come across. There may be futile blood-sheds, dissenting youth may lay their lives, but those cannot bring about real change. With the appeal to strengthen SUCI (Communist) further in Assam with a view to helping people realize this truth, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya drew

to the end.

As per schedule, Comrade Kalyan Choudhury, Member, Central Committee of the Party and Assam State Secretary said that while founding the party on 24 April in 1948, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that so long as capitalism would exist, exploitation and oppression would continue unabated. It is inevitable. So for emancipation it is required to overthrow capitalism through mass uprising under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party and for that it is also required to forge people's unity. But in this state of Assam, people's unity instead of developing, is being shattered everyday. Because of the wrong ideas and concepts on how each and every community can exist preserving its identity, it has become very difficult to forge unity of people and develop mass movement on its strength. The situation can be turned around only through the cultivation of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts.

President of the meeting Comrade Bhupendranath Kakati called upon people of the state to strengthen the SUCI (Communist).

Reports of Foundation Day Celebration

Madhya Pradesh

On 28 April, a state-level meeting was held at **Bhopal**, MP, where Party Central Committee member Comrade Satyawan addressed as the main speaker. Comrade Satyawan said, the importance of 24 April in respect of our revolutionary movement can be grasped from the fact that on this day the Party was founded in a corner of the state of West Bengal and it is now developing in different corners of the country. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thought is also acting as a guide to the movements growing up world-wide against capitalism-imperialism. Comrade Ram Avtar Sharma, member, Madhya Pradesh State Organising Committee of our party presided over the meeting and Comrade Umapasad Biswas, Secretary, Madhya Pradesh State Organising Committee also spoke on the

occasion.

A mass meeting was organized on this occasion on 28 April at Agrawal Dharmshala, in **Guna** with numbers of party activists, supporters and sympathizers from Guna, Gwalior, Ashoknagar, Shivpuri and Aren attending. Comrade Pratap Shamal, Secretary, Delhi State Organising Committee of the Party was the main speaker and Comrades Prodeep R.B., Incharge, Guna District Committee, SUCI(C), Rachna Agrawal, member, Guna District Committee, and Rupesh Jain, member, Guna District Committee also spoke on the occasion. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Lokesh Sharma, member, Guna District Committee.

Maharashtra

A public meeting was organized on the occasion on 26 April, at **Mumbai** Central, addressed by Comrade Dwarika Nath Rath, Secretary, Gujarat State Organising Committee and presided over by Comrade Anil Tyagi, Secretary, Mumbai-Thane Organising Committee. Other speakers addressing the meeting were Comrades Kumar Kulashrestha, member, Mumbai-Thane Organising Committee and Jairam Viswakarma, President, AIDYO Mumbai Committee.

Punjab

The party foundation day was observed on 30th April at Budladha in Punjab. Comrade Aminder Pal Singh, Incharge, Punjab State Unit of SUCI(C) presided over the meeting. Comrade Satyawan, member, Central Committee and Haryana State Secretary, was the main speaker.

Tamilnadu

On 24 April Party Foundation Day was observed at **Chennai**

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Comrade C K Lukose, Member, Central Committee and Kerala State Secretary addressing at Tamilnadu

Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement

Pursuit of money has been made motto of life

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sustained democratic movement of the people on the edifice of higher ethics and culture conducive to anti-capitalist revolutionary movement. It is the ambience of this mass movement, the realm of thought fostered by the spirit of this movement which will constitute an effective check on erupting corruption, scams and scandals. The more intense is the movement on the burning issues of life, the more powerful a resistance will be offered to the corrupt kingpins, evil doers and money swindlers. Anyone serious to fight corruption in every walk of life must realize this lurking truth.

What is obstructing growth of people's movements?

Next question is why is the desired spate of democratic movements not sweeping across the country? The answer is not far to seek. Inside the legislature, neither the ruling dispensation nor the opposition who often interchange their respective roles as a sequel to poll reverses are free from corruption. On the contrary, they themselves are mired in corruption, abetting corruption and all kinds of wrongdoing in the government administration in tandem with each other with the sole object of self-aggrandizement using seat of power. Not to speak of the bourgeois outfits, even the pseudo-Marxists like the CPI (M), CPI also fall in the same category. They have not only shunned the path of extra-parliamentary struggles but are also equally silent within the legislature on this question save and except demonstrating a pretentious opposition in media glare for public consumption. Like bourgeois politicians, these pseudo-Marxists are also sailing in the same boat of pelf and power by appeasing the ruling capitalist class and brutally crushed democratic movements in the states they have till yesterday been in power. At the same time, in their bid to remain in power by way of creating an evil nexus of police-bureaucracy-smugglers-criminals-unscrupulous businessmen-corporate lobbyists-party functionaries, they too have been afflicted with widespread corruption. There is no other way. Emission of poisonous gas and

breeding of venomous viruses are endogenous of accumulated filth and dirt. If one plunges into that dungeon, one cannot remain insulated from that. Thus it is clear that since powerful people's movements, which alone can be an effective deterrent to the raging corruption are not developing at the desired scale, these self-seeking, corrupt and highly immoral persons are thriving with the backing of the ruling bourgeoisie. So, with every passing day, newer scams are unfolding, newer scandals are breaking out to hold the nation to ransom. The latest revelations centring around the 2G scam showed to what scale institutionalized corruption has been going on defrauding people.

Anna Hazare's agitation and Lokpal Bill

This is the backdrop in which Anna Hazare, a social worker with a Gandhite outlook, launched, in accordance with his own understanding of the means of eradicating corruption, an agitation for immediate legislation of a comprehensive anti-corruption Lokpal (Ombudsman) Bill to book the corruption culprits in the government and administration. The concept of Lokpal meaning "protector of people" had been drawn up under public pressure in the 1960s to root out corruption at high places in the prevailing Indian polity. The first Lokpal Bill stated to have been intended to provide the common man with direct powers to censure the elected representative was passed in the 4th Lok Sabha in 1969 but could not get through in Rajya Sabha. It is pending since then. Anna Hazare and his followers contend that the official Lokpal Bill suffers from many infirmities and hence they proposed a revised Jan Lokpal (Citizens' Ombudsman) Bill so framed as to empower the Lokpal to initiate *suo motto* action or prosecution against anyone found guilty or receive complaints of corruption from the general public. Lokpal should, according to them, have police powers and act as an independent body. Members of the Lokpal will be selected by judges, citizens and constitutional authorities and not by politicians. Anna Hazare also demanded that

this Bill will be drafted by a joint committee constituted by inducting members from both the government and the civil society representatives nominated by the organizers of the movement.

This has been a very democratic demand and hence received approval of all honest persons. Our Party also endorsed it. Anna Hazare sat on a hunger strike in the country's capital and people in various parts of the country organized sit-in demonstrations and rallies in support of his movement. It was evident that countrymen were in no mood to bear anymore with the institutionalized corruption wreaking havoc in their lives. But it is extremely important to understand what precisely has been missing in the said movement. It is true that from the platform of democratic movement, demands are raised for reforms and change in the existing laws so as to secure some relief, even if that be temporary, for the suffering people. From that point of view, the demand for introducing the proposed Jan Lokpal Bill does have legitimacy and ought to be supported. Any legislation with appropriate provisions to put some rein on the growing corruption is always welcome. But if one thinks that this revised Jan Lokpal Bill once legislated will resolve the issue that will not at all be in conformity with the reality. Any thought on these lines will only end in reformism and not take the anti-corruption movement to its logical culmination.

Can corruption be eradicated through legal means only?

It may be mentioned in this connection that in the past, there have been some good legislations enacted under public pressure. But, it has been seen that the benefits of such legislations never reached the common people as the implementation machinery has been virtually dysfunctional. In this bourgeois system, laws are enacted in the legislatures and it is incumbent on the executive and judiciary to ensure that those laws are made operative duly and uniformly. But in the capitalist system, these two very wings of execution cannot and are not free from class outlook. Notwithstanding

all tall claims that in the eyes of bourgeois law, all are equal, the reality is just to the contrary. Law does not take its own course but is constrained to discriminatory application in the existing capitalist system because the implementation machinery is not neutral per se but does reflect a pro-ruling class approach and a definite tilt towards protecting the custodians, apologists and servers of the capitalist order. As we have shown earlier, decadent moribund capitalism cannot survive without granting predominance of injustice over justice, rule breaking over rule abidance. That is why, rule breakers at the highest level escape unscathed because they themselves are the last prop of capitalism gasping for survival.

A little elaboration will make this reality more revealing. That the entire administration is corrupt to the bone is no more a secret. Even judiciary, whom people at large look up to for ultimate relief is also being alleged of corruption today. Just when exposes of scams have embroiled the bourgeois political class, the Supreme Court has trained the spotlight on growing corruption in higher judiciary by a stunningly candid acknowledgement about prevalence of rampant nepotism and corruption in the High Courts. Even there are allegations of doctoring verdicts against exchange of money. Of late, even a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has been accused of nepotism and wrongdoing. Rightly feels a section of the jurists that for a judge, to deviate from such standards of honesty and impartiality is to betray the trust reposed on 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. He must keep himself absolutely above suspicion. From all these allegations and criticisms, it is clear that the judiciary is committing certain acts which are jeopardizing the very process of delivery of justice.

When such is the objective reality, could a mere legal or institutional reform de-linked from the question of overthrowing the obsolete stinking capitalist system free the administration or government from corruption? What

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Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement

Genuine anti-corruption movement must be conducive to anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle

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is the guarantee that like a section of the judiciary, the Lokpal himself will not be afflicted by the virus of corruption?

It has been the experience that the sponsors of reformist agitations who seek permanent solution to any fundamental problem stemming from the worn-out capitalist system within the confines of the existing legal system are found to be indifferent to this aberrant role of the system. Either they are ignorant about this or do not want to rub ruling capitalism the wrong way. Obviously, the fallout of any such reformist agitation that parries the question of uprooting capitalism will not abate but aggravate corruption, rather it will create illusion about the bourgeois legal-administrative set up. Anna Hazare and his followers, as has been observed, think that the system can be cleansed through legal reforms. Since Anna Hazare and the other sponsors of Jan Lokpal Bill movement claim to be followers of Gandhite philosophy, it is not expected, honesty and sincerity of many of them notwithstanding, that they will reflect anything but this reformist approach. So Anna Hazare's agitation has shielded reactionary capitalism and emphasized on enactment of Jana Lokpal Bill presuming it to be the panacea for eradication of institutionalized corruption. Moreover, when an individual resorts to hunger strike, it makes the individual a hero but obstructs the process of movement since all attention is diverted to the individual's personal performance thereby convoluting the main issue. The very response of the government to this Lokpal Bill agitation will be revealing. That is why, the very response of the government to this Lokpal Bill agitation is also worth noting and revealing. No doubt the spirit of people's protest whatever little came to the fore during Anna Hazare's agitation, had shaken the quarters of vested interest since they apprehend that even an institutional reform might come a cropper in their unbridled loot and plunder. At the same time, they could from their class instinct sense that such reformist agitations would

immensely help them shield the decaying corpse of capitalism and divert people's attention from the real cause. So, the attempt on the part of the power that he has been to allow the agitation get widest publicity and project it as a genuine movement against corruption. Then after considerable wrangling and nitpicking, the Congress-led central government rattled by host of mega scams and scandals, agreed to draft the Bill jointly with Anna Hazare's nominees. But within no time, the government began to raise many a ticklish questions to defer the legislation or stall its passage in parliament. The whole endeavour is to keep the issue of Lokpal Bill alive, encourage certain pointless discourse in favour or against purely from legal viewpoint, prolong its implementation process by resorting to various kinds of dilatory tactics, confine people's mind within the four walls of legality and thus keep people away from the path of countrywide sustained powerful movement against corruption along the right track.

It is reiterated once again that unless there is continuous pressure of sustained people's movement on the government, even implementation of laid down laws will not take place. All such laws with stringent provisions will be nothing but a scalp of useless paper. Likewise, if any move for begetting any reform is viewed estranged from the root of the problem and not backed by people's movement, it will end up as an abortive exercise.

People's movement—effective bulwark

Suffering people need to realize that in this oppressive corrupt capitalist system, no demand of life and livelihood can be achieved without building up organized democratic movement based on higher ethics and culture linking the same with the anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle. There ought not to be any illusion that just by bringing about legislation, the polity or administration could be completely freed from the grip of erupting corruption. As for example, it is futile to expect riddance from all aberrations and menace stemming from the capitalist system

by changing a government through vote. More are we seeking redress through vote, more are we mired in despair and disappointment as desired relief or respite is remaining ever eluding. One party or combination is getting replaced by another, but corruption is not contained but increased. Abandonment of the path of movement is proving costly at every step. So people must move with the clear objective of developing intense movement against corruption which should conduce to the broader anti-capitalist revolutionary movement. No demand of reform can be wrested from the unwilling hands of the rulers unless the same is backed by this surging people's movement. At the same time, the implementation machinery too cannot be made to operate even to some extent as per prescribed

directives without sharp vigil, surveillance and pressure of people's movement. So the task is to build up anti-corruption movement in tandem with developing powerful movements on the burning problems of life. SUCI (C) along with other democratic movements is building up anti-corruption movement as well. We exhort the honest rank and file of the left and democratic parties as well as saner section of the people to join this movement and take initiative in giving it an organized shape by developing people's committees at the grassroots level. We once again reiterate that the cultural milieu of such torrents of democratic mass movements can only constitute an effective bulwark against institutionalized corruption. This is the only way of leading crusade against the menace of corruption.

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through a hall meeting, where Comrade C K Lukose, member, Central Committee and Kerala State Secretary addressed as the main speaker, with Comrade A Rengasamy, Tamilnadu State Secretary, SUCI(C) presiding over.

Tripura

On the occasion of Party Foundation Day, programmes were held at different places of the state including North, South and West Tripura. At **Agartala** a state-level meeting was held on 27 April. Comrade Gopal Kundu, Member, Central Committee, SUCI(C) was the main speaker at the meeting, while Comrade Arun Bhowmik, Secretary, Tripura, State Organising Committee presided over. In his address, Comrade Gopal Kundu highlighted the arduous struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took up to found and develop SUCI(C) as the

genuine communist party in the country. The party spread out throughout the country. After his death, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the worthy compatriot of Comrade



Comrade Gopal Kundu, Member, Central Committee, SUCI(C) addressing at Agartala

Shibdas Ghosh launched untiring struggle to further spread and consolidate the party, developing mass movements on burning problems of people, as well as taking initiative to build up anti-imperialist struggles in different parts of the world.

Andhra Pradesh

On the occasion of 63rd foundation anniversary of our party

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Comrade Manik Mukherjee visits Nepal on ensuing International Conference

Comrade Manik Mukherjee, General Secretary, International Anti-Imperialist and Peoples' Solidarity Coordinating Committee and Member Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) recently travelled to Nepal to meet Comrade Prachanda, Chairman, Central Committee of Unified

Conference would be held at a public place in Kathmandu on November 7. Also it was decided that 3-4 days before the main Conference, a Joint Press Conference would be held at Kathmandu to be attended by Comrade Manik Mukherjee,



Comrade Manik Mukherjee (second from left) and Comrade Prachanda (extreme right) and PB members of UCPN (M) at the meeting in Kathmandu

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) for finalizing the arrangements for the ensuing International Anti-Imperialist Conference to be held in Nepal from November 7 to 9, 2011. The meeting was held at UCPN(M)'s Office at Kathmandu on May 6. Comrade Ninu Chapagain and Comrade Vasant, Polit Bureau members of UCPN(M) were also present at the discussion. It was decided at the meet that the Inaugural Session of the ensuing

Comrade Prachanda and Comrade Ramsey Clark, if he could.

The Conference would deliberate upon the theme based on imperialist attack in economic, political and cultural spheres as well as on military aggression and occupation with special reference to the imperialist attack and aggression in Latin America, Middle East, Afghanistan, Cuba and Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Foundation Day observed throughout the country

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a public meeting was organized at Press Club, Hyderabad on 29 April 2011. Referring to the people's rising concern over rampant corruption and extending their support to the recent Anna Hazare movement, Comrade Radhakrishna, member, Central Committee of our party and the main speaker on this occasion, said that the root cause of corruption lies in the capitalist system and all movements against

corruption should be directed against this system without which the cause of all problems cannot be eradicated. Comrade Radha-krishna made it clear that on this understanding revolutionaries must remain with the people in their fight against corruption. Comrade K Sridher, Secretary, State Organizing Committee also spoke on the occasion. Comrade Ch Murahari, Secretary, Hyderabad District Committee presided over.

SUCI (C) strongly condemns US military operation on the land of Pakistan to kill Osama bin Laden, calls for developing worldwide powerful peace movement against US imperialism to thwart all kinds of terrorism, anarchy and brigandage

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), has issued the following statement on 9 May, 2011:

We strongly condemn the ambush-like military operation carried out on 1 May, 2011, on the land of Pakistan keeping the government administration of that country reportedly in the dark by the US imperialist rulers killing Osama bin Laden, the chief of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda. We are of firm opinion that this act of US imperialism is a brazen subversion of the sovereignty of Pakistan and undertaken on the same plea of containing terrorism which they had earlier advanced while overrunning and occupying the territories of independent Afghanistan and Iraq violating all international laws, diplomatic norms and protocol. Undertaking such a full scale clandestine military operation on a dubious pretext subverting the sovereignty of an independent country is itself an act of terrorism. It is a glaring example of international gangsterism which is being pursued by US imperialism and this very imperialist design of dominating the world through unabashed pursuance of overlordism and hegemonism, we firmly hold, is posing greatest danger to world peace, independence and sovereignty of nations and is the root cause of the growth and spread of anarchy and terrorism round the globe.

While the US imperialists had charged Osama bin Laden of being responsible for death of many innocent people, the fact is that they themselves in the name of nabbing him had killed many more innocent people and virtually razed both Afghanistan and Iraq into rubble. It only shows that the US imperialists are the most dangerous terrorist force in the world. It is pertinent to recall that Osama bin Laden was practically a creation of the US imperialists who, in their bid to establish their control and domination over Afghanistan by making ouster of Soviet forces a pretext and foment malicious fundamentalism with a view to obstructing the process of growth of democratic values and secularism not only in Afghanistan but in the entire Arab World, provided him with all support and backing. The same US imperialists lost no time in eliminating him when they found that he was of no use to them anymore. This is an old tactics of the arch fascist forces as history would bear out.

Even if the elusive quarry was a dreaded person, straightaway killing of an unarmed man, instead of arresting and putting him on trial, is not only a palpable murder but also a sinister design to bury for ever all evidences of the entire episode. Thus, in the name of administering justice the Obama administration has trampled underfoot the very basis of justice. The very act of gunning Osama down in a stated hideout on a foreign land is an outright criminal act and if this crime goes uncensored by the international community, the US imperialists, we would like to state emphatically and forewarn, will get licence to militarily intervene in any country under any flimsy pretext or subterfuge and do whatever they want.

It is the united organized protest voice of people of all the countries constitutes the most powerful bulwark against all kinds of anarchical, terrorist and brigandish activities. We, therefore, call upon all anti-imperialist, democratic-minded and peace-loving people round the earth to condemn this heinous act of the US imperialists and build up powerful movement against their overlordism and hegemonism which, if allowed to continue unabated, will assume increasingly horrific dimension in the days to come.

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