

Proletarian Era

Volume 44 No. 9
December 15, 2010

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (COMMUNIST)
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price : Rs. 3.00

Row over 2G scam

What it reveals and calls for

The case is no more of a startling revelation of skeletons tumbling out of the cupboard or of someone saddled in a position of importance getting embroiled in a murky deal or any other kind of malpractice and misfeasance. It has become a regular feature with newer dimensions added every day, every hour to it. Of late to hit the headlines is the mega-2G spectrum scam that has cost the government a revenue loss close to Rs. 1.76 lakh crore. The Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) in its report alleged that the entire process of spectrum allocation in telecommunication was undertaken in an arbitrary manner. CAG seriously indicted A. Raja, the former Union Telecom Minister, and the Department of Telecommunications, for giving excess spectrum to incumbent operators beyond the contracted amount and at cheap rate flouting

procedural norms and indulging in favouritism. Expose of corporate-lobbyist Niira Radia's conversation with Tata and others are glaringly revealing how the monopolists and unscrupulous corporates bribed the ministers and bureaucrats to grab telecom licence out of turn. Demanding a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) probe into the entire episode, the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament have been stalled for all the 22 days of the winter session by the entire opposition right from BJP to the CPI(M), CPI. On the other hand, betraying a rare arrogance, the Congress-led government has refused to accept the demand and instead has been using its subservient media to plant various questions to confuse people's mind and quietly suppress the matter. Evidently, the latest manifestation of

Contd on page 2

Massive Youth Conference at Bhubaneswar Led by the AIDYO All India Youth took solemn pledge to fight

Long awaited first All India Youth Conference of the All India Democratic Youth Organisation was held at Bhubaneswar on 3 to 5 December, 2010. It made the capital city of Orissa witness spirited fraternity and solidarity of the revolutionary youth of the country. The AIDYO started its journey in 1966 from West Bengal at the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the Proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era. There had been a horrendous communal riot in 1964 shaking up the social fabric of the country. Comrade Ghosh called upon the youth of India to rise up to the occasion and combat the communal forces for the sake of bringing back communal harmony. At the same time, he urged the youth to realize the need of the hour and build up mighty youth movement highlighting the burning issues of youth life on the basis of higher ethics and morality making it conducive to the struggle against capitalism, the root cause perpetrating and abetting the problems and evils the society was

facing. The DYU was set up in response of this call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It then spread out to Orissa, Bihar, Assam and other parts of the country, in the northern states in 1980s and in the southern ones little later. As the organization launched many successful movements in different parts of the country, against liquor, on-line lottery, obscenity, commercialization of sports and above all, the acute unemployment, it gathered strength and spread among the masses of youth. Right from its inception, the AIDYO has always been striving hard to conduct cultural movements to fight against cultural and moral degeneration through various means like dramas, music, workshop, exhibition, etc. It has thus been possible to unleash a new wave of youth movement, under the leadership of a band of valiant young fighters, who could also prove themselves as able courageous, fighters of the brigade ready to fight out all types of injustices, thus fulfilling the dreams and visions of the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

SUCI (C) condemns steep hike of petroleum price by Rs. 2.95 per litre

Strongly condemning the connivance of the Congress-led Union government with petroleum companies in deciding the price hike of petroleum, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) in course of a statement on December 15, 2010 has said :

Deregulation of petroleum price by the Congress-led Union government has given the petro-corporates of our country the license to loot people as and when they like. After hiking the price of petroleum products 5 times since lifting of control, they have presently further escalated the price of petrol sky-high by Rs. 2.95 per litre which will be more than Rs. 3 with the incremental increase in state and central taxes added to it. As its inevitable effect, inflationary pressure will go up resulting in further rise in price of all essential commodities. Clearly it will push the common people back to the wall as they are already hard hit by continuous sky-rocketing prices of all essential commodities. Pointing out the fact that profit of the oil companies have swelled to such a magnitude that they have secured a rank among 20 multi-billionaires of the world, Comrade Ghosh observed, with indignation, that, totally suppressing this vital fact, the Congress-led Union government, like the previous BJP-led government and then CPI(M) supported UPA government is shedding tears for the oil tycoons lending thereby credence to the false pretext of the oil tycoons of incurring losses. He therefore vehemently opposed this steep price hike of petroleum and urged the suffering people to come forward to develop organized protest movements.

The urgent need of the hour lies in consolidating the organization and developing a countrywide youth movement. The historic first All India Youth Conference was organized with this objective set before it. With a firm resolve to fight against unemployment, cultural degeneration, communalism and anti-youth policies of the governments in particular and the social maladies caused by the moribund capitalist system in general, thousands of youth representing 23 states of the country rallied round, equipped with the invincible weapon of

Contd. on page 11

Maximized exploitation, Maximized profit, Maximized corruption — Profile of moribund capitalism

Contd. from page 1

galloping rise in worst institutionalized corruption is eroding the rule of law, fostering a black money economy and most importantly undercutting the confidence of citizens in the fairness and impartiality of public administration. All sections of well-meaning people are feeling deeply concerned as to whither the country and which way this reign of fraud and swindle could be combated and contained. So it is necessary to look into the matter in depth on the avil of logic and reason in the obtaining socio-political context.

Moribund capitalism is root of all-pervading corruption

It is noteworthy that the apologists of bourgeois rule have now been advancing a queer argument that corruption is no new a thing but has been continuing for ages irrespective of the nature of the prevailing social order. Clearly, this is a cunning attempt to suppress the all important question of identifying the root of this increasing corruption in every field of life and thereby pose the very thought of eradication of the same as unrealistic. But it will have to be understood that nothing is *fait accompli*. Frequent recurrence of malfeasance or misfeasance should not be perceived to be a normal feature the people are destined to live with. 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. The avalanche of corruption we are experiencing has also not been clutched out of the thin air nor is it merely the handiwork of a bunch of privileged crooks. Such thinking is not only simplistic but totally divorced from reality.

Corruption, as is understood in simple terms, 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, securing undue advantages and so forth. Stray incidents of individual corruption out of greed or in pursuit of an ulterior motive can take place in a civilized society but ought never to go unpunished.

But corruption cannot be institutionalized 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. The root of omnipresent corruption lies in the very capitalist system we are living in.

It may be added that when capitalism was a rising force against feudal autocracy and obscurantist reactionary regime, it brought new democratic principles, humanist values, morality and ethics to take the society forward. Capitalism then was not plagued by all-pervading institutionalized corruption as it is today. But as it gradually started to enter decadent, moribund stage, it itself began to violate the same set of democratic principles and value system it once championed lest that help blossom yet higher thoughts among the people thereby endangering its worn-out existence. At the initial stage of its decadence, stray incidents of corruption began to surface as festering sores. The more it advanced towards moribund stage, the more pervading became corruption. And now with capitalism gasping in virtual death bed, corruption has become its mode of existence. Personal greed and lure for lucre has assumed such menacing a proportion that one is not hesitant to adopt any means, stoop to any level, deceive and defraud others at the slightest of opportunity, flout all accepted principles, norms, practices and disdain every feeling of delicacy to ensure self-aggrandizement. Crisis in every sphere of life is what marks the obtaining socio-political scenario in the capitalist-imperialist world today. And gravest of the crises is in the realm of ethics, morality and culture, a glaring manifestation of which is in the all-pervading corruption plaguing the entire society. More alarming is the evil of rampant corruption at the highest level of governance under the aegis of an unholy nexus of self-seeking ministers-power-greedy politicians-unscrupulous bureaucrats-dishonest businessmen-industrialists-blackmarketers-hoarders-market manipulators basking under the tutelage of the ruling capitalist

class. It has also been noticed that economic liberalization of capitalist globalization has whetted personal greed and brought in an era of big-money corruption.

To hide this objective reality, the despotic reactionary capitalist rulers thriving on ruthless exploitation of people at large and depriving them of their legitimate dues, are cunningly fomenting fatalist thoughts so that all social maladies and inequalities could be attributed to fate by the people and hence the very thought of fighting and eliminating corruption is perceived hopeless.

Marx's prognosis of capitalism vindicated

In this connection, it is extremely pertinent to recall that Marx, way back in mid-nineteenth century when capitalism had not given up upholding humanist values and bourgeois democratic principles, could, based on scientific analysis of social development, notice the seed of crisis in it. In his prognosis of capitalism, he said at that time: "The bourgeoisie... has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment".... stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured... converted the (same) into its paid wage labourers. ...has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*) He also said: "The representation of private interests ... abolishes all natural and spiritual distinctions by enthroning in their stead the immoral, irrational and soulless abstraction of a particular material object and a particular consciousness which is slavishly subordinated to this object." (On the Thefts of Wood, in *Rheinische Zeitung*) How prophetically it is vindicated today when capitalism in course of inexorable course of history is in its death throes, desperately seeking to provide extra lease of life to its decadent moribund existence by adopting all unethical, immoral and despotic means and thereby throttling social progress.

Inequality has bred greed

Coming back to the question of root of corruption, one more aspect needs to be discussed. The rulers

and their subservient circle have been relentlessly propagating that greed and corrupt tendencies have been congenital in man from the very inception. This inborn greed has begotten exploitation, inequality, discrimination, deprivation and such other maladies. This, too, is also a travesty of truth. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of our Party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, in course of his elucidation of the history of development of human society had shown, greed, meanness, cunningly depriving others of their dues and such other depraved thoughts have not been inherent in man. To quote his language, "...how erroneous are the ideas of those who consider that greed is an eternal trait of man — it was always there, it will remain forever — that the inequality in society is the outcome of greed, and it is because of greed in man that society got divided into classes, the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots. Many of them think that it is human nature that getting a chance one will always try climb up to attain prosperity and invariably suppress others, and this is why there will always be some people who will prosper, and that inequality — the haves and the have-nots — will always appear in society. They tell this not from history but from their fanciful ideas. Otherwise they could have realized that it was not the base instincts that gave birth to inequality in society, rather it was the society built on inequality which gave birth to and helped sustain these base instincts in man. ...even with near-animal instincts in them, primitive man lived collectively; the clans or groups did not disintegrate. The class-divided society did not appear then, not to speak of the owner class and the working class." (SW, Vol. II p. 7 & 8) Thus it is clear from history that it is only after the emergence of exploitative social system and class division centring on private appropriation of social wealth at a particular juncture of social development that is, only after the appearance of the material condition in society necessary for exploitation, that greed was born in people's mind. In the process, class

Contd. on page 8

Applying the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh should be our mode of existence

Comrade Provash Ghosh at Extraordinary Party Congress

Placed below is the text of the speech Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) delivered to conclude of the Extraordinary Congress of the Party on 25 November, 2010 at Mahajati Sadan, Kolkata.

Comrades,

We all know with what noble and revolutionary object and by conducting what an arduous, difficult and tortuous struggle with firm determination and strong commitment to the revolutionary ideology and the oppressed people of India and the world, our leader, teacher, guide and a great Marxist thinker of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded this party in 1948 and in the process concretized, elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism. Till his death in 1976 he had led, developed and guided this party. Then Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a life-long revolutionary, closest compatriot of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, took up the responsibility of leading the party and under his leadership the party grew further. We also know history has bestowed upon our party a great responsibility at this critical hour of human civilization.

The responsibility assigned to me, I know, is not an individual responsibility, but a collective one. On the basis of collective guidance, advice and cooperation of the members of Polit Bureau (PB) and Central Committee (CC), of all the comrades here and outside, and the class conscious proletariat of our country, I have to perform this responsibility. I can assure you that I shall continue, intensify and heighten my struggle to acquire the required standard with all of your cooperation and guidance.

Comrades, we all see that world imperialism-capitalism is continuing to be in a dying condition. In fact it is writhing in the grip of the ever deepening, ever widening, ever lasting crisis. Whatever measures the capitalists-imperialists take to come out of the crisis, those are creating more problems for them. Since the days when capitalism reached the stage of moribund capitalism, that is imperialism, the rulers have taken recourse to colonialism, neo-colonialism, two world wars, many regional and local wars, militarization of the economy, protectionism in trade, so-called free trade and globalisation, outsourcing of business processes,

dumping, currency manipulation etc., one after another, but none could solve the basic irreconcilable contradiction and endemic crisis of capitalism-imperialism. Now, the condition of the world capitalism is just like a drowning man struggling to catch a straw. The crisis is now so all-pervading that even if Adam



Comrade Provash Ghosh

Smith, Ricardo, Keynes to present-day bourgeois economists are brought together to find out solutions, they too are bound to fail.

Take the example of USA, the chieftain of world capitalism. During the last 3 years, 10 million or one crore workers have been retrenched in USA. 4.5 crore people now live there in a starving condition. This is only the official report. Its dollar empire is crumbling, self-proclaimed master of the unipolar world is tottering. Similar is the condition in Europe. Most of the European countries are suffering from sovereign debt crisis. Now and then, the imperialist-capitalist leaders are found to be huddled together to discuss ways to solve the crisis. In front of the camera they shake hands with each other with smiling faces, but each one has his knife up the sleeves, waiting to backstab the other at the opportune moment. Each one strives to snatch other's market. This is going on. Depression of the market is continuing. Occasionally, the rulers try to console themselves and declare that recession is receding. But soon the state of the economy stares at their faces and they are compelled to admit that it is a fragile

recovery, anemic recovery. They are afraid to withdraw economic stimulus package or the ventilation supporting a dying patient. Thus, worldwide capitalism is gasping. But we know it will not die automatically. In nature, natural laws operate unhindered, and accordingly changes occur. But in human society, the laws of development operate differently and where there is a role of human consciousness, it sometimes accelerates and sometimes retards the development. While productive forces strive to develop, the obtaining production relation works as a brake. The necessity is to change the production relation. Objective necessity through the process of interaction is translated in the form of human consciousness, i.e. leaping from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. The question — when the production relation will be changed — depends upon the role of the productive forces, particularly the human aspect of the productive forces i.e. upon the labouring people. If they are not conscious enough, are not subjectively prepared, capitalism will not die automatically. It will continue to generate crisis after crisis, bringing in its wake untold sufferings to the people. The fallout is not only seen in ever increasing unemployment, retrenchment, inflation and price rise, but consequent upon the government's economic stimulus to the corporates from public exchequer, there is further attack in the form of tax hike, wage cut; slashing of budget allocation in public service schemes. You see that the present capitalist crisis has also evoked popular protests in USA, Europe and other countries. In France, Spain, Greece, Britain and other countries, spontaneous waves of workers' movements and strikes are surging forth. These are unprecedented. Here the role of the vanguard is essential. Long back great Lenin pointed out that trade union movement does not automatically develop into revolutionary movement. Trade Union movement only gives trade union consciousness; revolutionary political consciousness is to be brought from without. That is the task of the vanguard. That is the task

of the real Marxist party.

But we know that the world communist movement today is passing through a very difficult period. In the past also the world communist movement faced many serious problems and reverses since the proclamation of the Communist Manifesto in 1848. Marx had to disband the First Communist International due to the subversive role of the anarchists led by Bakunin. Lenin had to dissociate himself from the Second Communist International due to the treachery of the social democrats. Later, we know, how Lenin founded the Third Communist International after the successful socialist revolution in Russia which established a society without class exploitation for the first time in human history. We know how great Stalin like a rock defended, protected and developed socialism in Soviet Union, how he defeated the fascist forces in the Second World War, how under his leadership world communist movement had spread throughout the world, and anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial countries got momentum. We also know how Comrade Mao Zedong, another great communist leader, made Chinese revolution successful through a long and tortuous battle. But, it is painful that since later half of 1950's modern revisionism began to surface in the world communist movement. The sway of modern revisionism ultimately led to counter-revolution in East Europe, Russia and China. As a result, the world communist movement has suffered from confusions, frustrations, disarray and disintegration. But, here, though we felt serious pain at this development, we did not fall victim to confusion or frustration, because we are armed with the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He, way back in 1948, could foresee the danger in the communist movement and accordingly prepared our mind to face this eventuality. So we could face the situation boldly, and during this adverse period also our party had advanced and is advancing.

In this connection, it may be recalled that in the history of human progress, every new ideology, every

Contd. on page 4

Comrade Provash Ghosh at Extraordinary Party Congress

Attain proletarian culture to grasp Marxism

Contd. from page 3

movement till the attainment of final victory, had to pass through the phases of defeat and defeat, then victory and again defeat. Even religious ideals, the preachers of those were considered as God-sent by the believers, had to face this. If you take the instance of bourgeois democratic revolution, then beginning with the Renaissance to final victory, it took more than 300 years. From slavery to capitalism, all social changes were merely the change of one type of exploitation by another. But the objective of socialist revolution was to eliminate exploitation of man by man and abolish private ownership, which has been in existence for thousands of years. So, socialism, in its 80 years of existence in the 20th century had to battle against thousand years of exploitation. The present setback is not something beyond comprehension or unnatural. But we must remember that socialism came due to the inexorable laws of social change. None can stop its ultimate victory. By overcoming the present setback, struggle for socialism and world communist movement will revive again as irresistible tide, drawing necessary lessons from the present setbacks on the basis of correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. It is our historic responsibility to develop revolutionary movement in our country and to help and strengthen revolutionary movements in other countries too. How can we do it? I am not going to provide any guideline. Guideline had already been provided by our great teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I can only remind you certain points from the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as I have understood them. And I will point out certain lapses on our part too. I cannot go into a detailed discussion as time is very short.

In our youth, when we started our revolutionary work in the mid 1950's, Marxism was very popular throughout the world. We were drawn by the waves of popular support to the communist cause. But now Marxism is under attack from the schools of idealism, mysticism, sophism and the attack is sharper than what was in our time. As communists, we will have to defeat the attack of all these schools of thought. And the sharper weapon in

our hands is the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. So, comrades must master Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had reminded us again and again that Marxism is more powerful than all the weapons the imperialists-capitalists are having in their arsenal. We have to understand it, acquire it. And learning Marxism does not mean going through some books only and quoting from the texts. Knowing the three principles of dialectics, theories of contradiction, etc., from books is not enough. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had clearly stated that from Marx and Lenin's teachings or their formulations he had taken the kernel, the methodology, not simply their conclusions or analyses of a given situation. He learnt the Marxist method, the dialectical method, the process of thinking in analyzing a situation, in judging things. From books we learn Marxist principles in abstraction. So, through practice on the basis of theoretical knowledge acquired, one has to know how they operate in the real world in a particular way, in a peculiar form at a given situation. Unless one can grasp it, one will not be able to discern the working of dialectics in a given phenomenon and handle a situation successfully. Everything in this world is in constant motion, in a state of change through a law governed process. How the general laws, i.e. the three principles of dialectics are in operation in a particular given phenomenon, what are the internal and external contradictions and how the one is influencing the other, whether the nature of contradiction is antagonistic or non-antagonistic, what is the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of the contradiction — all these one cannot understand by merely going through books. These are to be learnt from real life through constant consistent struggle. And again Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that without attaining higher proletarian culture, we cannot grasp Marxism. We cannot dialectically integrate theory and practice without acquiring higher culture. So attainment of higher proletarian culture is necessary. Elaborating further on this he said: The values, with which we join the party, are humanist values. It played a revolutionary role in society during

the period of western bourgeois democratic revolution and our freedom struggle. But moribund capitalism no longer nurtures those values, rather is destroying them. Proletarian values and culture do not fall from the air. It is born in continuity and break with the humanist values. But today the modern bourgeoisie has destroyed all moral-ethical values to dehumanize the people. It is very difficult to find out even the vestiges of humanist values today. And that sordid picture is reflected in social and political conduct, even in family and personal lives today. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: We have lost our link with the high standard of humanist values. So we have become rootless. By acquiring and in the course exhausting the humanist moral values, we can in its continuity and effecting necessary break with it due to change of era, give birth to proletarian culture. That is why, he attributed immense importance on our learning and relearning from the lives and teachings of the pioneers of Renaissance and the leaders and martyrs of freedom struggle. First, we will have to begin with humanist values. But the humanist values wont help us much to advance further in revolutionary struggle. 'Revolutionary interest first, personal interest secondary' was the call of the freedom movement or the bourgeois democratic revolution. But now for us it will not be enough after a certain period. With the intensification of revolutionary class struggles and mass movements, a stage comes, when one is to free oneself even from personal interest. By that not only one has to free oneself from personal property but even from personal property mental complex also to attain complete identification with proletarian revolution, the class and the party. It is a hard struggle. But today without this struggle one cannot understand the Marxian science properly. It is a very important battle. In our party there are many honest comrades who possess personal property though small. Again there are many comrades who are able to give up personal property, but not become free from 'private property mental complex' in respect of love, affection, likes, dislikes, relationships etc. Property complex centering round all these exist in us in a very subtle form. Here lies the

danger. Many of us study Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings, his celebrated work *On Communist Code of Conduct*. But how many of us are prepared to accept our critic as a teacher, how many of us are prepared to note first of all only others' qualities, not defects, how many of us are prepared not to take individual reading or draw individual impression, how many of us are ready to learn from junior comrades, from the masses? It is good that many a comrades are joining the party with their families. Their struggle should be to become the members of the single party family as there should not be any separate family within party family. Within the party, on some issues comrades do reflect family approaches; many crave for name, fame and post. It works in a very subtle way. Again, we like appeasement, appreciation not criticism. We indulge in self-glorification, become victim of inflated ego. These problems are there. By this I do not mean that all our comrades are behaving in this way. There are also comrades, who are bright and struggling, are advancing very well. In culture also they are reflecting more and more higher standard.

Comrades, don't forget we are surrounded by degraded capitalism. It always tries to corrupt us economically, politically, culturally. So we must always be alert. As a person of this society we join the party with the viruses of capitalism in our blood. It is easier to recognize the enemy outside but is very difficult to find it within. Unless we can detect it, and eliminate it, the danger will remain. Again, this struggle should be continued till one's death. Because so long as the breeding ground is alive, there will come continuous attacks in different forms, in more subtle forms, even unknowingly. We cannot forget that problems of degeneration started to develop in Soviet Union and China from the rank of the leadership. The very Central Committee of CPSU after Stalin's demise started degenerating. The same thing happened in China also in absence of Mao. That is why Comrade Nihar Mukherjee asked the comrades and even the people several times even in public meetings — 'criticize me whenever you find any fault of mine'. To save the leadership is the

Contd. on page 5

Comrade Provash Ghosh at Extraordinary Party Congress

Live with the masses, mix with them, win them over

Contd. from page 4

most important task. Critical attitude cannot develop without developed understanding of Marxism and higher proletarian culture. Comrade Stalin said, ideological struggle is the prime task of the party and if neglected, there would be irreparable damage to the party and the socialist state. Due to self complacency, the Soviet party leaders and cadres did not pay heed to it. What was the disastrous consequence of that is known to us. Most of our organizational bodies also neglect ideological struggle. I too neglected it when I was the Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee. Today I feel it. We are more concerned with movements and programmes. That is necessary. But we must know how to combine the two. Comrades must be given time to study, to know, to exchange views while conducting day to day work and struggles. Otherwise in future when present Polit Bureau members including some elderly members of the Central Committee will not be there owing to the operation of the natural laws, only books of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh will not save us. That is why Comrade Nihar Mukherjee while in death-bed took some hard decisions and had conducted serious inner-party struggle to save the party from future danger and you know that.

While studying classics or other important literature we should not study at random, in a haphazard manner, or just like a scholar. We must study systematically, critically and by integrating it with the burning problems of people's lives and day-to-day practical struggles. Mark the important points, note which are clear to you and which are not, on which points you need clarification. Study individually and collectively. If you study individually, bring it in collective discussion to know whether your understanding is correct. As we did not properly define earlier what is meant by classics, there is a misconception among many comrades that by classics we mean the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao only. No, this is wrong. Classics mean those celebrated writings which provide fundamental principles and guidelines, which are universal. Important and valuable works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh belong to this category also.

Collective reading, study

classes, study circles, schools of politics must be organized regularly and periodically. Besides, we should select some important questions confronting revolutionary movement, inform the comrades beforehand so that they can prepare themselves and then involve them in discourse in presence of a leader. Role of a leader will be to ensure that deliberations are conducted properly and to help the erring comrades in correcting themselves. Moreover, constant common discussion on theoretical questions should be encouraged and developed. Our mental make-up and attitudes do create hindrance to our advancement in ideological struggle. Firstly, there is a deep-rooted thinking in society that as wealth is only for a rich few, not for all, similar is the case with knowledge; cultivation of knowledge is the exclusive preserve of only a gifted few. Secondly, our lack of seriousness in search for truth and serious study is particularly encouraged by the ruling class. Thirdly, too much pressure of practical work and failure to adjust both theoretical and practical works prevents comrades from undertaking continuous study. Fourthly, the leaders who themselves neglect study, do not encourage others to study. So to improve ideological standard, we must overcome all these hindrances by relentless struggle.

As communists, we must know that all the Marxist leaders including Comrade Shibdas Ghosh urged us to live with the masses, mix with the masses and win over the masses. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh even said that every party member should be the leader of a section of the masses. That should be the essential qualification for all members. He said: Win over the people by love and friendship. Only political discussion does not help, develop friendship; earn their respect by your character, culture, by your devoted service in their handling of day to day problems. Attract them and involve them in work. Regarding involvement he also said, involve a new contact in such a work or way where he or she feels happy. Do not plan in a stereotyped manner. May be all will not at once become a DSO, DYO or MSS activist. So you are to develop hundreds of cultural and social organizations, say for example, drama club, welfare organizations,

sports and science organizations, etc. Involve the ordinary members of mass organizations, ordinary supporters of the party in these activities and through this try to imbue them gradually with revolutionary ideology and culture.

Senior leaders must consider junior comrades as their children. Help them to develop with fatherly, motherly affection. We saw in the earlier days that when a child was born, the mother and the father underwent a change. The child became the centre of their whole attention and concern. Leaders also must engage their minds in that way. Junior comrades will commit mistakes again and again just like a child. A child while learning to walk tumbles and falls down again and again, but then again gets up and struggles to walk. The elders do not stop them rather encourage them to walk. That should be our attitude to our junior comrades also. We cannot forget that we too committed many mistakes. Even today we are committing mistakes. We very well remember how our leaders, particularly Comrade Shibdas Ghosh helped us with immense affection, devotion, patience and care. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh time and again said: While criticizing junior comrades, do not dampen their spirit and initiative, rather encourage them, help them to develop self-initiative and creative thinking. Let them apply their brain, let them think, let them decide their planning; do not intervene lest it should obstruct the initiative. Of course there will be coordination, there will be centralism. Collectively we will decide and individually we shall implement. Again, collectively we shall exchange our experiences and through that enrich our future decisions.

In party bodies also, the problem of individualism is there. I cannot accept, say, Debbabu's (Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, Member, Central Committee) suggestions, because he is only a CC member and I am the General Secretary or a Polit Bureau member. This is my individualism, this is my ego. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown, what works in bourgeois parties is formal democracy. In a factory bureaucrats or managers direct the affairs of the factory and the workers are to blindly obey them. The bourgeois parties also function in that way. Bourgeois

formal democracy is just like that. You know these things from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speeches. I'll not repeat or elaborate it here. Proletarian democracy develops on the basis of proletarian culture. More I am free from individualism and personal factor, more I can acquire proletarian culture, more I am able to contribute to collective body functioning. The collective body is like a medical board. Reports of blood, urine, stool, heart, etc. get collected; doctors sit together, examine those reports, exchange opinions on those among themselves and finally conclude scientifically. Remember examples are always imperfect and here this example is only to help you understand the point.

Wherever we work or struggle to achieve something, we must not expect immediate success. That will bring frustration. What are the lessons of history? Failure, failure and again failure, and then comes the success. It does not of course mean that failures and defeats automatically lead to success or victory. We have to study the causes of every failure and defeat, learn from those. By that we can turn failure into the pillar of success or can turn defeat into victory. We must remember that for achieving success, mere desire of mine is not everything. Objective conditions, which also undergo changes, must be studied scientifically. A peasant may not know the ABC of the theories of agricultural science, but does apply the science empirically in cultivation. He studies the soil to ascertain whether it is suitable for rice or wheat cultivation, studies the nature, selects the season and accordingly goes for cultivation. After tilling he uses water from either rain or irrigation, and applies manure. To help the plants grow, he has to remove the weeds and attend to many other things. Then comes the appropriate time for harvesting. But if there is a natural calamity like drought or excessive rain, all efforts go in vain. The poor peasant draws necessary lessons and accordingly prepares for next cultivation. This is so in every aspect of human activity. In confronting nature, men unknowingly apply science, even if in a rudimentary form. If one is conscious and wants to observe the operation of all the principles of dialectics, laws of contradictions in those activities, one will surely find

Contd. on page 6

Comrade Provash Ghosh at Extraordinary Party Congress

Organizationally and individually we must meet any eventuality

Contd. from page 5

those. When we try to convince a person on some points, we should first understand what at the given time his internal and external contradictions are and of them which one is dominant at that time. Again, of his internal and external contradictions, which one is positive in accepting the revolutionary idea and which one is not. With this judgment we should initiate discussion. If our judgment is correct, there is every possibility that the person will open his mind to listen to and accept our ideas. Do not go for a long discussion. Remember that association and friendship are more helpful in imparting revolutionary ideas to a person. An unprepared mind will not receive even a good idea. So we should not do things in a haste. Even if a person advances well due to your efforts, all of a sudden, like a natural disaster, some internal or external contradictions or both may cause a setback for him. You must be prepared for that. All these things hold true in building both organization and movements.

As communists we must critically study all political and topical events. We must be able to apply Marxist methodology to observe the role of different classes in these events, distinguish the different aspects of the lives of these classes and be able to judge them intellectually, politically and ethically. We must know the economic, social, cultural nature and features of different sections of the people. We must be aware of the deceptions of the ruling class and of how they camouflage their design with sweet-sounding words. We should be capable of gauging the mood of the masses from their faces, voices and even sighs. We should try to understand not only what the people say, but also what the people want to say but can not express in words. As communists we must, to the best of our capacity, protest and organize movements against any oppression and injustice. Organizationally and individually, we must always be prepared for any eventuality so that we can adapt ourselves to any situation. It is difficult, if not impossible to always foresee everything, to know beforehand when the lull period will give way to a period of turbulence.

So comrades, it is good that we are organizing movements in many

states. In almost all the states, comrades have been organizing movements on burning issues of the people. A large number of people are getting involved also. Movements enhance the standards of the comrades, it widens the horizon of their outlook, it steels them, it increases their ability, firms up their will. Comrades get changed in the midst of struggle. In study classes you get the line. But it is to be implemented. Leadership from the CC level to the lowest bodies must check those activities. Checking must be systematic and all embracing. Continuous checking means finding out the defects, lapses, problems and providing remedy as well. The system of checking is very weak in our party. That is our fault. We take many programmes, but of those how many are implemented wholeheartedly, how many in a half hearted manner or stopped in the mid way, how many comrades get involved, what are the problems or difficulties — we do not look at these things properly. We do not keenly note how the lower bodies are functioning. Even if their functioning is regular, they may not function in a democratic way. We do not try to find out the reasons for that and strive to remove them. This is necessary. It is also necessary that while organizing and leading a struggle we must link our anti-capitalist revolutionary line in the movement, not in a mechanical way, but in a living way. Only achieving some demands and getting public appreciations for the party is not enough. It is very important to note that we are capable also of convincing the people, workers, students, women that the root cause of all the problems is capitalism and that it will have to be replaced by socialism only through a revolutionary upsurge and not through election, that the people are being convinced that the other parties and the social democratic parties are serving capitalism and that only the SUCI (Communist) armed with Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought is serving the real interest of the toiling people. This idea must go to the people through the class and mass struggles. In the midst of struggles, we must strive to change the people culturally. It is a difficult task no doubt but we communists are ready for all necessary as well as difficult

tasks. Gradually we must educate the people.

There is another point. We find many left-minded people and intellectuals, now being disillusioned about CPI(M), CPI, CPI (ML) are supporting our movements, joining our movements, some of them are even supporting our party. There is another section, non-left but liberal democrats, humanists; they are also coming forward in support of people's movements. We should involve them to the extent they are ready. It is a new feature developing in our country. We must know that the petty-bourgeois democrats vacillate between capitalism and socialism, between revolution and parliamentary democracy. We must utilize those elements who in some way help proletarian movements, at the same time would fight those who are against the proletarian cause. This possibility has developed. Class struggles and mass movements will get many allies, may be temporary, vacillating and undependable. Here I will quote a teaching of Lenin from his writing 'Leftwing communism — an infantile disorder' — "*It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting the utmost effort and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest fissure among the enemies. ...By taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of organizing a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional.*" Comrades should understand it; otherwise they would not be able to fight confusions. Lenin also said, "*To refuse to work*", note it very carefully, "*to refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of the workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrat., ...In order to be able to help the masses and to win the sympathy, confidence, and support of the masses, it is necessary to brave all difficulties and to be unafraid of pinpricks, obstacles, insults and persecution of the leaders. ...And it is imperatively necessary to work wherever the masses are found. Every sacrifice must be made, the greatest obstacles must be overcome in order to carry*

on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly and persistently, patiently, precisely in those institutions and societies, associations — even the most reactionary — to which proletarian and semi-proletarian masses belong." Comrades must understand these invaluable teachings of Comrade Lenin. Comrade Stalin, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, — all giant communist leaders had shown brilliantly how to implement this teaching of Comrade Lenin. We should not suffer from puritanism, at the same time we should not sink in opportunism. Only the needs of revolutionary struggle, democratic movements and class struggle at a given time will decide who are to be considered as an ally and for how long.

Our women front is developing, but it is mostly confined among the middle class women. Their sphere of activities must be extended to workers, peasants, and downtrodden masses. Male comrades out of patriarchal sense of superiority must not obstruct the development of the female comrades. The party is to develop organizations of different sections of toiling people having different problems. Employees' fronts, teachers' fronts are to be emphasized upon. Different forums for different issues are also to be developed.

It is notable that whenever proper efforts are made, large number of students and youths join our party. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee also had emphasized upon developing Komsomol, students' front, youth front. They are our future. The party needs young cadres. It is good that some states are giving proper emphasis. Some are still lagging behind. All the states should give adequate attention. We will have to depute more comrades in the two class fronts, i.e. trade union front and peasants' front. Our party is a working class party. Working class i.e. workers and agricultural workers are the leading force of revolution. Poor peasants, lower middle class are our allies. It is true that in these two fronts also, we are developing but the speed is slow. Let us give more emphasis. In this respect, some states are advancing, some states are not advancing adequately. The advanced states will have to

Contd. on page 7

Comrade Provash Ghosh at Extraordinary Party Congress

Revolutionaries must remould themselves continuously

Contd. from page 6

release some comrades to work in the weaker states, if not permanently, at least for a temporary period, for exploration. Within a state also, some districts are developed, some are not. The developed or advanced districts should release comrades to develop the weaker districts. Comrades must be educated so that they can protest instantaneously against any oppression, any repression, any injustice as a revolutionary. They should not wait for a party circular. Jute mill workers should know how the workers of France, Germany are fighting. It should be discussed with them. West Bengal comrades should know how comrades of Kerala, Karnataka are organizing peasant movements and what to learn from them. Everywhere this sort of discussion is necessary. Party comrades and mass front activists should carry the news of those struggles to the common people. Students' front should mobilize opinion among the students in favour of movements of the workers, peasants and women and vice versa. Otherwise how will solidarity develop? In absence of solidarity, only sectarian outlook will thrive.

Nothing is static, development and change are continuous and we will have to remould ourselves accordingly. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh asked us to engage ourselves for 24 hours in revolutionary activities. Then he added: By this I don't mean you will not take food, you will not sleep, you will not exchange emotions with children, wife and your friends and comrades. I mean that your mind should not be occupied with all these things, we should be fully engrossed in revolutionary thinking and works, otherwise we cannot fulfill our revolutionary responsibility. He had told us in this way. Similarly we need a band of leaders. PB members are old, CC members, PC members are also old. Most of them are above sixty. So, young steeled leaders are necessary. We have to help the struggle for emergence of new leadership. Comrade Manik Mukherjee is sick. Comrade Ranjit Dhar is also sick. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty is not so physically able today. He has explored a good number of states in India. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya has explored the eastern part of our country. They are also old. We need some able

comrades to go to foreign countries. World communist movement needs Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts – the most developed understanding of Marxism. Without that world communist movement cannot advance further. So a good number of propagandists and organizers are necessary for work within and outside our country.

Comrades, I shall conclude with an appeal of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I'll read it for you. In 1974 he addressed a meeting of the party workers in this hall and said, "*out of discontent of workers, peasants and all exploited masses, revolution will again and again try to surge ahead in waves after waves. In waves after waves it will try to burst forth. The contradiction within the society will deepen and sharpen many times more, calling for radical transformation of this order. It will beseech our consciousness, it will appeal to humanity that revolution is the necessity. Still, revolution will not come, again and again it will recede, it will go astray and reaction will again and again gain by that — revolution will not see the light until the revolutionary party emerges, capable enough to lead the revolution.*"

Further he said in this speech, "*Earlier, too, I said, that the coming days are very important to us. You are to build this party fast within a very short period, with the political and organizational strength necessary to provide leadership to revolution. We could not have achieved this task earlier even if we had contemplated it. But now, with our present numerical strength, if all of us — each and every leader and cadre — strive to put it into reality, with adequate contemplation, we shall succeed to achieve it. To that end, every worker present here shall have to carry out his respective work without turning away from it, with individual initiative and intellect — no matter whether you can achieve it or not, you succeed or fail. ... with this objective — be it in a club, a peasant and agricultural workers' organization, a slumdweller's welfare association, a literary forum, a poets' forum, a gymnasium, a trade union, or a worker's welfare association, or if you are conducting political classes with the workers — in whatsoever way, you are mixing with the people, trying to rally them around you and free and wean them from the wrong political line and draw them into the*

fold of the party's politics. This is the task to be accomplished by you, in your respective sphere, each with full initiative and to the best of ability." (Tribute to a Revolutionary Character, Selected Works, Vol.-3)

Now Comrades, here are the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Shibdas Ghosh, the six giant communist leaders hung above. We know their struggle. We know their contributions in history. And we are their sons and daughters. We are to carry forward their dreams and desires. When we'll die, we'll have to die with the full satisfaction that we could perform our duties. You have been given a memento containing photograph of the first elected 7 CC members of our party at the founding convention. Look at them. All of them were below 30. Under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh what a history they have created! Look at this assembly, how big it is, though only elected delegates and observers are present here. Outside this hall, there are thousands of party activists in the country. If we all stand up like one man with firm determination, what

we can achieve that is understandable to you all. We cannot act like one man only by good wishes. For that a determined struggle is necessary to acquire one process of thinking, uniformity in thinking, oneness in approach, singleness of purpose. That too needs constant common discussion, constant common association and constant common activity and making these habitual in our day-to-day life. This will develop, strengthen and heighten the standard and functioning of democratic centralism within the party.

So, remember the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, apply those in your life. That should be our mode of existence. With this I conclude.

Red salute to you all
Long live Marxism-Leninism-
Shibdas Ghosh Thought
Red salute to the great leader
of the Proletariat
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh
Inquilab Zindabad
SUCI (Communist) Zindabad
Long live Proletarian
Internationalism

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty speaks on Kashmir situation

A meeting on the situation in Kashmir was held at University Institute Hall on 28 November under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of SUCI(C). Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, as well as other Politburo and Central Committee members were present on the dais. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Politburo, spoke at length on the Kashmir issue. At the outset Comrade Prankumar Sharma, member of the Delhi State Organizing Committee, who hails from Kashmir, traced the history of Kashmir succinctly.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty in his speech highlighted how unabated torture and oppression by the Indian army and paramilitary forces have created an unbearable situation for people in Kashmir. He said: it is not only the present government at the Centre, but from the very beginning since independence, whatever government has been in power at the Centre, it has shown no sympathy whatsoever for the Kashmiri people, not to speak of respecting and honouring their

aspirations or fulfilling the promises made to them. Moreover, the combination of autocratic functioning and communal outlook of some ruling functionaries foisted by the Central Government has further muddied the waters. So deep is the sense of injury all this has created in the psyche of the Kashmir people, that this cannot be alleviated merely through certain token measures. Today, to win over the minds of Kashmir people is a most arduous and difficult, yet not impossible a task. It can really be carried out only by us, the true communists, for it is us the genuine communists who are sincerely struggling for an India free of discrimination and nationality oppression. Comrade Chakraborty, at the same time, admitted that even our party could not build up an organized protest movement, in the way it was necessary to do against the wrongs and injustice perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by the Indian ruling clique. He called on leaders and comrades of our party to shoulder that responsibility.

Parliamentary struggle cannot succeed without backing of strong extra-parliamentary struggle

Contd. from page 2

division appeared in society, produced wealth, began to be unequally distributed with the owners cornering the bulk and inequality bred. In the primitive clan-communist society, there was no class-division, no exploitation of man by man. So, the tendency of acquisitiveness did not exit. But once the society became class-divided, avarice and propensity to deprive and defraud others began to surface. Hence it can be observed that the inequality in society is not the outcome of greed and base instincts but greed and base instincts are the outcome of inequality in society begotten by exploitative social system. While searching for the root of rising corruption and immorality, if this consciousness does not dawn on people they will reconcile to live with all the aberrations, misery and penury assuming all these to be *fait accompli* and hence non-eradicable.

Capitalist India abounds in corruption

It is in this definite socio-political backdrop that there is a spate of corruption throughout the capitalist world. Contemporary scenario of capitalist India also abounds in corruption. For quite sometimes, distribution of 2G licences to telecom companies by the Department of Telecommunications (DoT) has been in question. Charges have been made that licences were given at throwaway prices to benefit a few companies that did not even meet the prescribed DoT eligibility criteria. Substantial graft money was stated to have changed hands in the process. Allegations against A Raja, the then Telecom minister, allegations of granting undue favours to quarters of interest were doing the rounds for quite some time. But the Congress government paid no heed to that and instead tried to hush up the matter through manipulative means. It was only after submission of CAG report that the dimension of the crime came to be known. It was revealed that value of spectrum held by 13 operators for 51 circles based on the 2001 rates works out to Rs.2,561 crore whereas according to current market prices the value would be in

the range of Rs.12,000 crore and Rs.37,000 crore. Raja's complicity in the crime was also brought out pointedly. Yet, the Congress government was dillydallying to take any action and made last ditch attempt to manage things. But, when that could not be possible, Raja was made to resign as a face saving.

2G scam apart, lids were blown off just a few months back to bring to the fore the multi-million rupees scam of Indian Premier League, a \$4.1 billion cricketing extravaganza. Close on the heels of that hotbed of financial irregularities, the soft underbelly of the Indian capitalist state was exposed in the scary daredevilry of the politicians-officials of the Commonwealth Games squandering Rs 35,000 crores to fatten their purses. Almost simultaneously, spot-fixing in the game of cricket involving Indian bookies and betting ring nakedly bared invasion of the arena of sports by cliques of gamblers and punters. The carnival of scams, scandals and nepotism was continued when it came to light that the Adarsh Housing Cooperative Society building, meant for families of soldiers killed in the 1999 Kargil War, were allotted to politicians, bureaucrats and military officers. Heading the list of those allegedly involved in the scam was former Maharashtra Chief Minister Ashok Chavan. Close on the heels of the Adarsh scam, a kickback-for-loan racket involving some nationalized banks and financial institutions is stated to have been busted. And then allegations of malfeasance had scalped Yeddyurappa, the BJP chief minister of Karnataka when a land scam running into over Rs 70 crore was unearthed. Just a few months back, several Apex Court, High Court and District Court judges were charged of illegally using the provident fund savings of Ghaziabad courts employees to buy certain household and electronic items. Former law minister Shanti Bhushan created a sensation in the Supreme Court in September last when he moved an application accusing 8 out of 16 former chief justices of India of "corruption". Supreme Court itself in a recent order observed that "something is rotten" in Allahabad High Court

and underlined an immediate need to initiate criminal proceedings against all such accused judges of the Allahabad high court against whom charges of corruption, misconduct and nepotism have been suitably substantiated. A high-ranking IAS officer holding the post of Director, Internal Security, in the PMO was picked up under charges mandated in the Official Secrets Act. A woman IFS officer who was posted at the Indian Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan had been arrested for allegedly spying and passing secret information to Pakistan. Almost at the same time, it came to light that court martial proceedings were ordered against the Military Secretary Lieutenant General and three other officers for their alleged involvement in a land scam in West Bengal.

Not that unearthing of one or the other mega-scam or scandal is a recent phenomenon. Starting from Bofors scandal to Harshad Mehta's stock market rip-off, Tehelka sting operations, Kargil Coffin procurement scam, Laloo Yadav's Rs 2000 crore-odd fodder scandal, UTI scam, Telgi fake stamp incident, 'cash-for-question' offence and misuse of MP LAD money, open flashing of bribe money on the floor of the parliament as a proof of worst horse trading to rustle up required number of MPs to make incumbent Congress-led government survive trial of strength—it was like episodes of a soap opera unfolding every day from early 1990s onwards. But what is notable that after few days of hue and cry, the whole thing gets suppressed. The kingpins of all major corruptions not only escape unscathed and unpunished but boastfully roam around and even anointed as ministers, rewarded with coveted postings or shown inexplicable amnesty. Billions of ill-gotten rupees are quietly spirited away to safe havens like Swiss banks with full knowledge of the administration. Not a single real culprit is hauled up or punished. At best some scapegoats are found to deflect people's attention. Gradually, everything fades away from public memory. On the other hand, whistleblowers are taken to task. It may be recalled that an NHAI engineer in Bihar was conspicuously murdered for not

listening to the corporate scammers and instead writing a confidential letter to Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then BJP prime minister informing him of the rampant crime and corruption of these criminals. The savagery of corruption in the last few years has assumed so dangerous a proportion and people's indignation against it has scaled such a height that even the bourgeois media could not but become a bit vocal on the issue.

A rough calculation would lead to thousands of crores of rupees being laundered every day all over the country to keep the rulebook in abeyance, police at bay and allow criminalized business — illegal buildings, to arms and drugs, down to capturing of licenses in an unauthorized manner — to thrive. A better way to see it would be that those in business know how to corrupt anyone who matters. Either through allurements, blackmailing or threats! The capitalists have no other way but to corrupt the system thoroughly in order to survive. A corrupt system quickly corrupts those who enter it, fixing them on lure of kickbacks and on amassing pelf. This is how the rulers have been ensuring that the corrupt make inroads into almost all vote-seeking power-crazy political parties. Money controls election, money decides selection, money dictates Dos and Don'ts. Thus, the ruling capitalists in pursuit of their sinister class design are polluting the entire nation, making the country degenerate into a republic of mega-corruption. Maximization of exploitation leading to maximization of profit as well as maximized corruption—such is the profile of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism today.

Deterrent to erupting corruption

It is, therefore, as clear as daylight that avalanche of corruption is inseparably linked to the crisis-stricken rotten capitalist system prevailing in our country. It is, so to say, an endowment of decadent moribund capitalism. So long capitalism is not overthrown, the root of corruption will not be extradited. If the base giving rise to inequality is uprooted, the growing

Contd. on page 9

Powerful weapons of mass struggle must be used judiciously

Contd. from page 8

and acute scarcity evident today will cease to be in vogue paving way for gradual disappearance of all sorts of unjust acquisitiveness. It is extremely relevant to point out that after establishment of socialism which is the first stage to gradual transition to classless exploitation-free society, in Soviet Union and then China and Vietnam — notwithstanding the fact that even after a change in the base structure, changes in the superstructure or the realm of mind do not occur instantaneously — instances of corruption became a thing of the past. The changed economic-socio-political set-up fully ensuring availability of all basic necessities of life and cultural environment of advancing socialism fostered a mindset totally abhorrent to adopting wrong means to secure personal gains. So long those countries followed the process of socialist development, this spectacular riddance from all evil practices of bygone exploitative regimes was spectacular. But, the table was turned once the modern revisionist leaders deserted the path of socialism and conspired to bring back capitalism through counter-revolution.

But that does not mean that there is nothing to stem the cancerous rise of corruption till the cherished objective of dethroning capitalism by revolution is achieved. The most powerful antidote to this erupting volcano of frauds, crimes and scams lies in intensifying united organized long-drawn conscious people's movement right from the grass-root level over the burning problems of life and premised on the edifice of higher ethics and culture. Emphasizing on this aspect, we have been repeatedly stressing that simply sticking to parliamentary form of struggle can bring no succour and is bound to end in fiasco. What is warranted is forging an excellent combination of intense extra-parliamentary struggle with parliamentary forms of struggle. It is the extra-parliamentary struggle in the truest sense of the term that is to be strengthened and intensified if even some relief from the gruelling repression of exploitative capitalism is to be wrested. A democratic movement does not end in just

achieving some demands but brings in its wake new thoughts, new values; in one word a cultural milieu that itself works as a powerful resistance to reckless administrative and corporate corruption. The very history of India of last 80 years will bear out this truth.

Absence of movement triggers corruption

It is true that Indian capitalism grew and developed at a time capitalism as world force had already reached its decadence and hence turned reactionary. So, concomitant evils were very much visible in all walks of life as well as in government-administration. From 1935 to 46, different governments of either Congress or Muslim League based on limited power were formed in British imperialism-ruled India. In that period also, propensity among some persons to amass wealth through illegal means or misuse official position for personal gains might have also been there. But the fervour of freedom movement was so strong that they did not dare to indulge in such kind of virulent corruption. Even for a few years after political independence and transference of power to the Indian national bourgeoisie by the British imperialist rulers through compromise, the wrongdoers were considerably restrained as there was still considerable influence of the glorious freedom struggle. But as that influence began to recede and capitalist rule was progressively consolidated in independent India, corruption began to raise its ugly head. Some instances of mega-scams like Dalmia's LIC scam, Mundhra scam, Bajra scandal, Nagarwala fraud and others surfaced in the late 1950s and 1960s. Yet, under pressure of people's movement that still prevailed to some extent, whether it was Mundhra or Dalmia, all were punished as well. In the states like West Bengal and Kerala where left-democratic movements were powerful, corruption could not penetrate as people, relatively speaking, were more conscious and vigilant.

But things started becoming worse after the self-styled leftists-Marxists like the CPI(M), CPI, true

to their compromising social-democratic character, not only shunned the path of movement but began to emasculate left-democratic struggles from within to curry favour with the ruling capitalist class for pelf and power from late 1970s onwards. Taking advantage of that, many divisive forces propped up by ruling capitalism started raising their ugly heads, causing fissure in the unity of the toiling people, setting one section of the people against the other by fomenting communal, casteist or parochial-chauvinistic feeling, precipitating mistrust and disaffection among them and thus misdirecting the accumulated wrath and indignation of the oppressed people along wrong track as well as preventing desired political consciousness from being germinated in them. This has caused a serious setback in growth and development of democratic movement. With the pressure of people's movement removed, floodgate was opened for unabated pursuit of corruption by the quarters of vested interest. It became an unrestricted freedom for anyone who had the slightest ingenuity to strike a new scam. One after another revelation of multi-crore scams and scandals stirred the whole nation.

Immense importance of extra-parliamentary struggle

So, when the question of developing powerful democratic movement is pivotal and decisive, what is being observed is that without taking any initiative in that direction, the entire opposition including self-styled Leftists-Marxists has been blocking proceedings of Parliament in demand for JPC probe. An impression is sought to be created that JPC only can unravel the entire truth. How far true is this? So far, there have been only four investigative JPCs. And what has been the outcome? The first JPC was instituted to inquire into the Bofors contract in 1987. The JPC report was tabled in Parliament, in 1988 but it was rejected by the Opposition. The second investigative JPC was set up in 1992 to probe Irregularities in Securities and Banking Transactions in the aftermath of the Harshad

Mehta scandal. The recommendations of the JPC were neither accepted in full nor implemented. The third investigative JPC was assigned to probe the stock market scam in 2001. The committee recommended sweeping changes in stock market regulations. However, many of these recommendations were diluted later and no one was convicted. The last JPC was constituted in 2003 to look into pesticide residues in soft drinks, fruit juice and other beverages and to set safety standards. The report confirmed that soft drinks did have pesticide residues and recommended stringent norms for drinking water. But, there was no action taken against the large MNCs against whom the allegations were made. So, what is the effectiveness of such JPC as per experience?

Secondly, who will constitute the JPC? The ruling party will have discretion in selection of the members. Naturally, the obvious choice will be a majority from its own fold and pick up those from the opposition whom it will consider manageable, if not purchasable.

Constitution of JPC apart, what about the parties demanding it for exposing the scamsters of shady 2G spectrum allotment? Are they themselves free from corruption? Records say no. All of them are sunk in depth of corruption. Beginning with coffin scam and other mega-stock market related scandals, entanglement of the leaders of BJP and its NDA partners in widespread corruption is no secret. It is not eased from public memory that following unearthing of one after another instances of corruption during BJP's rule, the party was pooh-poohed for calling itself "a party with a difference." It has come to light that the scam in telecommunication started when BJP was in central government. Yeddyurappa and other episodes bear enough testimony of how "clean" BJP is. Same is with Laloo, Mulayam, Mayawati and others. The self-styled media-backed leftists-Marxists like the CPI(M), CPI are also no exception. In the three states ruled by them, people find no difference between them and other bourgeois outfits in so far

Contd. on page 10

Organized conscious people's movement — bulwark against pervading corruption

Contd. from page 9

as plunge in corruption is concerned. CPI(M) government and top leadership in Kerala have already hit headlines for being involved, among other things, in Lavlin scandal and lottery-scam. Corruption of West Bengal CPI(M) centring on illegal land grab, realty promotion, allotment of government plots and houses, distribution of Below Poverty Line Card (BPL), Public Distribution System, providing jobs in government offices, appointment of teachers and so forth has completely isolated the party from the masses. It is reported that when Tatas were grabbing fertile agricultural land in Singur in connivance with the CPI(M) government of West Bengal, overnight Nura Radia's corporate-lobbyist firm now under severe cloud for being the middleman of all underhand deals between corrupt corporate houses and crooked ministers-bureaucrats in the 2G crime was appointed as PR agency by West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation (WBIDC), the nodal agency for the state's industrial activity. Not only WBIDC, Radia's firm also turned into PR agency even for WEBEL, the state government's nodal body for IT investment. Naturally, questions are being raised whether CPI(M) government found it convenient to link itself with Tata's agency for getting a share in the booty and deriving other 'benefits' from the tainted corporate bigwigs secretly.

So, what propriety these parties have to raise voice against corruption? When Congress is in power, BJP or CPI(M) unleashes mock-fight against corruption. Likewise, when BJP or CPI(M) is saddled in power, Congress seizes the baton of the same mock-fight to hot up the atmosphere. Fact is that all these parties are serving the class interest of the ruling capitalists for pelf and power. And today, any one defending bourgeois class interest cannot but sink in the quicksand of corruption. Only those who are engaged in a conscious fight against capitalist order based on higher ideology, ethics and culture can remain free from corruption and hence have the moral right and courage to take up cudgels against

all kinds of wrongdoings, injustice, grafts, scams and scandals stemming from moribund capitalism. It is, therefore, not difficult for the discerning people to make out that what is going on in the name of parliament boycott and JPC is nothing but a manoeuvring for vote-politics. Had the Congress been in the opposition, it would have done the same thing as it is raising voice against BJP chief minister Yeddyurappa's corruption in Karnataka.

In view of this, there is every reason to apprehend that the demand for JPC, even if conceded, may not be able to do justice to the situation since those demanding it

weapon of mass struggle like stalling the entire proceedings of Parliament is getting blunted and losing its efficacy. On the other hand, in absence of a mass awakening in the form of a well-organized mass movement, while the government with a view to misleading people is unleashing a sinister propaganda that prolonged deadlock in Parliament is causing a huge drainage to public exchequer amounting to hundreds of crores of rupees, a handle is also provided to it to justify promulgation of ordinances as it likes. So any powerful weapon of democratic movement like boycott of Parliament must be used

outside under correct revolutionary leadership.

Treachery of pseudo-Marxists

In this connection, it is also to be noted that the CPI (M) leadership which feels no compunction for brutally crushing legitimate democratic movement in Singur and Nandigram and has abjured the path of movement for long, is now joining hands with BJP to perpetuate Parliament boycott and making fiery gestures before electronic media to play to the gallery. What is coming to the fore is that the CPI (M) leaders are not only becoming instrumental in blunting this powerful weapon of democratic movement but also in pursuit of their narrow electoral interest not hesitating to help arch communal BJP in acquiring a pro-people image.

People must exert power

In the circumstances, it ought to be realized by the thinking people that under capitalism, only means to contain erupting corruption at every sphere is to build up and strengthen one after another well-knit democratic movement on the burning issues of life under genuine revolutionary leadership which alone will constitute a bulwark against the invading corruption in every field. Here lies the importance of a genuine revolutionary party. They also need to understand the vote-based political parties from their ulterior motive of serving the ruling capitalist class and shielding the worn-out capitalist system from being exposed as the cause of all maladies and miseries, are misguiding them by staging a show of movement carefully fighting shy of any concrete step to rein in the rampage of corruption. At the same time, these vote-seekers are scrupulously shunning the path of developing powerful extra-parliamentary struggle against all the mega-scams like 2G spectrum and others. While exerting due pressure upon the leaderships of the self-styled Marxists-Leftists to desist from this ruinous path, people must come forward to strengthen the genuine revolutionary party and develop legitimate mass movement under its leadership.

CORRUPTION IN USA : Tip of the iceberg

Where and by whom were these infractions and crimes committed in 2009?

- 36 were accused of spousal abuse
- 07 have been arrested for fraud
- 19 have been arrested for writing bankrupt at least two businesses
- 03 Have done time for assault
- 71 cannot get a credit card due to bad credit
- 14 have been arrested on drug-related charges
- 08 have been arrested for shoplifting
- 21 currently are defendants in lawsuits
- 84 have been arrested for drunk driving

The Answer my friend is :

It is the **535 members** of the **United States Congress**

Source: *Northstar Compass* V.19, N.4, April 2010

are in servile obedience of the very perpetrators of corruption and the same is not backed by absolutely essential powerful mass movement outside. Since the parties basking under the tutelage of ruling capitalism and having a dubious background are pretending to be up against 2G scam, even the very legitimacy of fighting such a worst administrative corruption is watered down to a great extent. What ought to have been a gigantic movement against institutionalized corruption is virtually proving to be a hoax.

Another aspect of immense concern is that in absence of the desired extra-parliamentary movement, prolonged and indiscriminate use of a powerful

judiciously. Otherwise, the weapon will be losing its sharpness and forces of reaction will get an opportunity to denigrate it paving way for eventual withdrawal of the right itself. But what is observed is that by scrupulously avoiding the task of developing the desired mass movement outside, the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI who are pretending to be so big a crusader against corruption in media glare, are indulging in that very act of blunting the weapon and thus helping the government carry out its noxious machination. We once again reiterate that a movement of boycotting Parliament over a pressing legitimate demand can only be successful if it is backed by a strong democratic movement

Massive Youth Conference at Bhubaneswar

Contd. from page 1

the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of Proletariat and the founder of the AIDYO. On 3 December 2010, all roads thus led to the PMG Square of Bhubaneswar. On the date, a procession of youth, well decorated with flying banners, placards with demands, flags and festoons, started from Saint Joseph's College premises to reach the venue. Slogans in different languages of India reverberated round over the whole city and caused great enthusiasm in public mind. The vast gathering beamed with youthful vigour

The Open Session was presided over by Comrade Mahiuddin Mannan, a member of the Convening Committee set up for preparation of the Conference. The programme commenced with garlanding of the 14 feet high



Comrade Provas Ghosh addressing the Delegate Session

Martyrs' column bearing a revolutionary sculpture. Shri Brajnath Rath, eminent poet, intellectual and Chairman of the Reception Committee inaugurated the Open Session. The main speaker of the Session, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau of Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), along with the

delegates from Bangladesh and Nepal as well as leaders of the Convening Committee took seats on the well decorated dais. The Session started with the theme song of AIDYO.

In his inaugural speech Shri Brajnath Rath expressed grave concern at the fast lowering of standard in the political arena. He said that the ruling capitalist class has been trying to make the youths spineless lest they should join people's movement for justice. Only an organized and conscious youth force steeled with a resolve to build a socialist state can help bring the youth out of this quagmire. He hoped that it will be the youth rallied under the banner of the AIDYO, who would stand this stead.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau of Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), then delivered his address as the



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty addressing the Open Session

main speaker. We will publish an abridged version of his speech in a later issue.

Comrade Manas Nandy from the Socialist Party of Bangladesh and Comrade Sandesh Paudel from Young Communist League of Nepal hailed the gathering, throwing light on the problems of youth in their own respective countries.

Comrades B. R. Manjunath, Coordinator of the Convening Committee, and Deepak Kumar also addressed the meeting. The Open Session was followed by a well-

took chairs on the dais.

Comrade Mobinul Haider Chowdhury inaugurated the Delegate Session. He narrated how DYO was founded, nourished and



The dais of the Open Session

organized cultural programme from various states.

The two-day long Delegate session was attended by nearly 1400 delegates and observers from 23 states of the country. To start with, Comrade B.R. Manjunath hoisted the Red Flag. Comrade Provas Ghosh, General Secretary, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) and Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, and Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Polit bureau members of the party and Comrade B.R. Manjunath laid floral tributes at the Martyrs' Column. A three-member presidium was elected to conduct the sessions with Comrade T.K. Sudhirkumar, member, Convening Committee, as the President. Comrade Provas Ghosh, Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, and Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, along with Comrade Mobinul Haider Chowdhury, Member, Central Committee, Socialist Party of Bangladesh and the Founder Secretary of AIDYO, as well as the other foreign delegates and Convening Committee members

strengthened by him with great care and love by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought has enriched and elaborated Marxism and set it to its highest stage in this era. It can never be defeated. He called upon the youth to make this thought theirs and grasp the philosophy deeply. He said that the responsibility of paving the path for emancipation of Indian people devolves upon the youth, vibrant, resolute and courageous, who must be.

The Conference adopted the main political resolution placed by Comrade Mohiuddin Mannan and supported by Comrade Deepak Kumar and organizational report placed by Comrade B.R. Manjunath and supported by Comrade Pratibha Nayak. Several other resolutions, such as against corruption at high levels of power, anti-people policies on higher and professional education, drug addiction, obscenity, commercialization of sports, honour killing, exploitation in IT sector etc. were also unanimously accepted. The Conference then elected a 59-member All India Committee with Comrade B.R. Manjunath as the President and Comrade Pratibha Nayak as the General Secretary. Comrade Pratibha Nayak then announced the programmes the AIDYO views for future.

Comrade Provas Ghosh, the General Secretary of SUCI (C) delivered the concluding speech. Abridged version of his speech will be published in a later issue.

The Delegate Session concluded with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.



A portion of the Delegates

Comrade Manik Mukherjee attends International Forum in Algeria

Democracy and freedom-loving people of the world are now well aware what brigandage and brutality the Zionists, backed by the US-led imperialists, are perpetrating in the land of Palestine where the Palestinian people have been carrying on a long and arduous struggle to live with freedom, dignity and honour in their homeland. Comrade Manik Mukherjee, General Secretary, *International Anti-imperialist and People's Solidarity Coordinating Committee* (IAPSCC), attended the *International Arab Forum for Supporting the Prisoners at the Occupation Prisons*, held on



Comrade Manik Mukherjee addressing

December 5 and 6, 2010, at Algiers of Algeria to express solidarity of the Indian people with the people of Palestine in their just struggle against imperialist-Zionist aggression and occupation of their homeland.

The Forum was convened jointly by the Forum Preparatory Committee and the Algerian National Liberation Front Party (FLNP) with support from the Arab International Centre for Communication and Solidarity (AICCS). It was attended by eminent Arab and international political personalities, statesmen, diplomats and distinguished personalities in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The inaugural Plenary Session of the Congress started with the rendering of the Algerian National Anthem, the Palestinian National Anthem and the Prisoners' Anthem. It was very well attended with about 1200 delegates from 30 countries. Comrade Manik Mukherjee was the sole delegate from India on invitation from the Forum Preparatory Committee and the Algerian National Liberation Front.

The Seminar was addressed by Honourable Mr Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of the Republic of Algeria, Honourable Mr Abdelaziz Belkhadem, General Secretary of the National Liberation Front (FLN) Party and State Minister, Mr Abdelaziz Al-Sayyed, President of the Preparatory Committee of the Arab International Conference, and Mr Maan Bechour, President of the Arab International Centre for Communication and Solidarity. The welcoming speech was delivered by Mr. Abdelhamid Si Afif, Member of the Political Bureau of the FLN Party and President of the Algerian Preparatory Committee. IAPSCC President Mr Ramsey Clark could not attend the Seminar, but he sent a written message which was read out at the Plenary Session. Being honoured to speak in the Plenary Session, Comrade Manik Mukherjee spoke on *Imperialists' Negation of the Right of the Palestinians*. A summary of his talk is included later.

The Plenary Session was followed by four Public Sessions and four Workshops. The Conference concluded with the adoption of the *Algiers Declaration*, i.e., *The World Arab Declaration for Supporting the Prisoners in the Occupation Prisons*.

Conveying solidarity of the Indian people with the people of Palestine, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, in his talk, brought out how Israel was founded in 1948 through the conspiracy of the imperialist-Zionist axis in a region where the Palestinians had been living for centuries. Since then, the Israeli rulers and settlers resorted to terror and massacres to drive out more than 700,000 Palestinian people, that is, about 80% of the native Arab population, and to raze to the ground hundreds of Palestinian villages. They launched aggressive and successive wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973 to illegally annex the whole of historic Palestine. Israel has stubbornly refused the refugees' right to return to their homelands and to assume legal and moral responsibility for the pathetic situation of the 4 million refugees. In the occupied

SUCI(C) Observed 6 December as Anti-Communal Day

Calling upon people to observe 6 December as Anti-Communal Day, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C) issued the following statement on 3 December last :

6th day of December is marked as one of the Black Days in the history of India. On this very day in 1992, the miscreants organized and instigated by the BJP-RSS combine razed to the ground the 500 year old historic monument of Babri Masjid in a fanatic frenzy. It was only in the medieval feudal rule such destructive acts were a common practice. In recent times, it got a parallel in the demolition of the thousand year old statue of Buddha by the Talibans in Afghanistan. And in India which is championed as the biggest "secular democracy", such a ghastly act was committed in 1992 centring round a belief in the existence of an imaginary mythological character having no historicity whatsoever. All thinking secular and democratic-minded civilized people were awfully shocked, pained and felt concerned at such brutal demolition of a historic monument as well as killing of thousands of minority people in worst communal riots, rape on women and destruction and loot of properties that followed in its trail.

It is clear that the BJP-RSS leadership orchestrated this heinous crime not out of any blind religious passion but only to buttress their sinister agenda of creating Hindu vote bank. On the other hand, Congress, the then ruling party at the Centre with the ulterior motive of protecting both its Hindu and Muslim vote banks had allowed such a vandalism to continue by keeping inactive the para-military and police forces present there. So both these bourgeois parties are guilty for such barbarity.

The recent verdict that the Allahabad High Court has given on a case related to Babri Masjid on the basis of blind religious faith ignoring history, law, reason and evidence can only be compared with the rulings of the courts of Hitler's fascist Germany. This incident once again shows how democracy, democratic values, secular principles and humanist ethics are trampled underfoot in capitalist India, how the fire of communal hatred is being ignited in the noxious interest of vote bank creation and disrupting people's unity in democratic mass movements. All democratic minded people should remain ever alert and vigilant about such odious acts and come forward to build up intense protest movements against the same.

region, Arab population are forced to live like second class citizens. In clear violation of human rights Palestinians are imprisoned for years without charge or trial. No Habeas Corpus operates for the Palestinian prisoners. Prison conditions are harsh with prisoners subjected to humiliating and degrading treatment, which clearly contravene the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention. Even wives, brothers and other relatives of persons listed as "wanted" are tortured. The Israeli High Court effectively endorsed the General Security Service's barbaric interrogation methods, refusing to rule whether they are legal under Israeli and international law. Israel is carrying out with impunity all these coercion, restriction, blockade, invasion and mass killing, defying customary international humanitarian law, as also international

condemnation. Comrade Manik Mukherjee called the Forum to raise one strong voice to ensure that peace returns to the Middle East through cessation of inhuman Israeli oppression and torture of the Arab population, withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, recognition of the right of the Palestinians to have a sovereign state and a just solution to the issue of the Palestinian refugees. He also hoped that a forceful demand be raised from the Forum that the big powers, particularly USA, compel Israel to abide by the UN Resolutions, to withdraw from all occupied territories, and to honour the right of return of the Palestinians to their homelands.

Please note change in our
website address :
www.suci-c.in

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH