

# Proletarian Era

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## Unique Identity or Aadhaar scheme

### Some Pertinent Questions

Of late, the much talked about 'Aadhar' scheme is again in the fore centring on the Congress-led government's decision to use it in direct transfer of subsidy component in food, fertilizer and fuel to the bank account of the beneficiaries. On the anvil is the so-called Food Security Bill which is also based on Aadhaar. Aadhaar is the brand name of a 12-digit unique identification number which the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) set up for the purpose, will issue for all residents. According to the government this number would, inter alia, eliminate duplicate and fake identities in government and private databases in a cost-effective manner. In other words, as against obtaining identity proofs like voter's card, PAN of Income tax, passport, ration card, etc., Aadhaar would now be the sole and unique document of valid identity. The UID programme will provide an identity card bearing that unique number for every citizen. This would, apart from facilitating easy verification of identity, make availing of government or private services hassle-free, help welfare programmes reach intended beneficiaries and serve as basis for e-governance in banking, insurance and such other value-added services. Apparently, it looks to be a very novel proposition. But, the scheme is not free from controversies. The UID project has raised many questions about data convergence, imperfect technology, national and personal security, extraordinary expenditure, exclusion and inclusion, and the

source of power to gather, hold and use data about individuals. The crosshairs of argumentation are driven by apprehensions about both the feasibility of its operation as well as the very desirability of its introduction. So, arises the need to examine the various facets of this much-hyped scheme based on available facts, logic and reason.

#### Birth history of Aadhaar

Aadhaar or Unique Identification project was initially conceived by the Planning Commission which claimed that unique identification numbers generated for each resident across the country will be used to deliver welfare services. The Congress-led UPA II government was so keen to implement the project that it went on establishing the UID Authority of India (UIDAI) on 28 January, 2009 with considerable powers and resources as an attached office under the Planning Commission without any approval from Parliament or discussion in the public domain about the necessity of such a scheme. It only declared that the UIDAI was being set up for developing and implementing the necessary institutional, technical and legal infrastructure to issue unique identity numbers to the Indian residents and any other category of people that may be specified. Subsequently, the government with a view to ratifying the decision through appropriate legislation tabled the National Identification Authority of India Bill, 2010 (NIDAI), in December,

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### SUCI (C) vehemently condemns brutal killing of Balachandran, 12-year son of late LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran, by Sri Lankan army and deplores imperialist machination of fomenting chauvinist-ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 22-03-2013 :

We vehemently condemn the brutal custodial killing of Balachandran, 12-year old son of late LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran by Sri Lankan army in 2009 as revealed in a documentary telecast of late in TV channel-4 of UK. This unfolding of truth also shows how fabricated was the story aired by the Sri Lankan army earlier about his death in a cross-fire during the battle against the LTTE. Clearly, this is a flagrant violation of human rights as contained in the international charter and nothing short of a planned cold-blooded murder out of sheer vengeance. Sri Lanka has been in the vortex of worst ethnic-chauvinistic clashes and conflicts orchestrated, aided and abetted by the imperialist powers in connivance with the ruling Sri Lankan bourgeoisie, which has already taken toll of thousands of innocent lives and made several more thousands evicted from their homeland. Indian bourgeoisie which has also developed imperialist character and trying to establish itself as a formidable super-power in the sub-continent has also been fuelling perpetuity of this internecine bloodbath in its vested class interest. On the other hand, US imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, with its hands stained in blood of millions of innocent citizens killed in Iraq and Afghanistan and its track-record of meddling into the internal affairs of other countries, engineering fratricidal feuds and ethnic skirmishes, undertaking subversive activities and trampling underfoot sovereignty of others, recently moved a resolution in UN censoring Sri Lankan government for human right violation ostensibly with a view to diverting attention of the world people and using it as a pressure tactics to wrest certain concessions and benefits from the Sri Lankan authorities. We are of the firm opinion that the problem of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka would not be resolved but aggravated further by buttressing chauvinist sentiments — either Tamil or Sinhalese. This needs to be resolved through definite initiative of the right-thinking secular democratic-minded people rising above all narrow sectarian outlooks.

We express our solidarity with the suffering Sri Lankan people and call upon them to rise unitedly against the sinister machination of the Sri Lankan bourgeois government and the foreign imperialist powers to drive a wedge between two principal ethnic populations, demand an impartial enquiry into the ghastly murder of Balachandran and stringent punishment of the culprits.

## Policy of Reservation — as it unfolds

High-pitched shrieks in favour of reservation for various segments of populace based on caste, ethnicity, religion and even gender in job, promotion and education has become a ceremonial affair in our polity today. Centring on this, violent clashes are witnessed among various segments of toiling people entailing loss of precious lives. Row over reservation is regularly

disrupting parliamentary proceedings with the vote-based political parties vying with each other on the floor of the House to demonstrate how concerned they feel about the welfare of this or that community. So long, reservation was confined to the scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs). Of late, OBCs (Other backward classes) and even

religious minorities are added to the list. In fact, reservation has become an issue which anytime any quarter of vested interest can merrily incite to pit one section of the people against another in casteist or communal hatred and often clashes even leading to bloodbaths. Come elections and the self-styled champions of the cause of the poor, deprived and down-trodden with an

eye on deriving electoral mileage stir up the question of reservation to the maximum extent so that people are separated on casteist-communal lines and the nasty vote-bank politics yield dividend. It would not take much intelligence to find that this much-banded concern of the self-styled dream-merchants for the downtrodden segments of the

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# Operationalization of Aadhaar has many flaws and impracticability

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2010. But the bill was referred to a Standing Committee on December 10, 2010 for scrutiny. The report that the Standing Committee adopted on December 8, 2011 and placed before Parliament on December 13, 2011, is full of severe indictments. According to the report, the project has been conceptualized “with no clarity of purpose” and “directionless” in its implementation, leading to “a lot of confusion”. The Standing Committee also observed that while framing of relevant law is under way, the continuance of the project is “unethical and violation of Parliament’s prerogatives”. The collection of biometric and personal data and issuing of UID numbers do not have any statutory sanction until the Bill is passed by Parliament.

There is every merit in this observation. In the absence of a Constitutional provision or legal framework, all the actions of the UIDAI are technically unconstitutional and illegal. There is no transparency either on decisions or on expenditure, no oversight and no mechanisms for accountability in the functioning of the UIDAI. Nandan Nilekani, the current Infosys chief nominated by the government to head the project, has been given sweeping powers. Technically, if the Bill is not passed for any reason and if Parliament is of the view that the authority should not function, the exercise would have to be discontinued. Yet, the Congress-led UPA II government which is now virtually reduced to a minority following withdrawal of support by two of its main constituents has gone ahead with rolling out the project which is envisaged to cost as high as Rs 1.50 lakh crores roughly. This smacks of subversion of democracy. That is why there is doubt what prompted the government to be in such a pressing hurry to launch such a crucial as well as highly debatable scheme bypassing Parliament.

## Declared objective of the scheme — fallacies galore

The government and the Planning Commission claim that the UID scheme will enable inclusive growth. Individuals who are residents in India and satisfy the verification process laid down by the UIDAI will be able to establish unique identities with banks and communication companies. Microfinance, micropayments, customer acquisition, KYR (Know Your Residence) for KYC purposes

will be solved with the Aadhaar number. Besides having the lists for NREGS (National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme), Old Age Pension Schemes, PDS (Public Distribution System) etc. in order, it may also help clean up *benami* (fictitious) bank accounts and thus put in place systems of direct remittance to the beneficiary. Setting up a network of Banking Correspondents (BC) based on Aadhaar, much in the model of mobile recharge agents in every village and locality in the country, would help the beneficiaries withdraw the credited amount of subsidy in cash after necessary verification. It would thus eliminate middlemen and leakages. Since the UID vouchsafes uniqueness and identity it would be possible for a migrant labourer to easily get her BPL card transferred or open a no-frills bank account. The UID is thus, according to its protagonists, focussed on the benefits to the poor.

Unfortunately, the arguments put forth in favour of UID are not that sound as they appear. As rightly put by the critics, exclusion and leakages are not caused by the inability to prove identity — they are caused by the deliberate manipulation of the system by those who have the power to control the flow of benefits. For instance, BPL families who have valid ration cards are unable to get their quota of foodgrains — not because the validity of the card is disputed, but because the ration shop owners exploit them and force them to take less than their due. Scholarships meant for them are denied to children from Dalit families — not because they cannot prove they are Dalits but because a corrupt nexus in disbursement mechanism pockets the money after forcing the parents to sign on false receipts. Workers, more so women workers in NREGS are paid much less than their due — not because they cannot prove that they have put in the full quota of work, but because the unscrupulous supervisors and paymasters in connivance with corrupt administration misappropriate the balance. How would the UID number free the system from these aberrations and pilferage?

## Elimination of middlemen —far from reality

The very claim that Aadhaar would abolish middlemen is also not corroborated by reality. For example, the much-trumpeted ‘direct cash transfer scheme’ (DCT)

of crediting monetized subsidy amount of food, fertilizers, LPG cylinders and kerosene straightaway to the bank accounts of the beneficiaries is conceived as an Aadhaar-Enabled Cash Transfer (AECT) project. But the fact is, most of the rural poor including BPL families do not have bank accounts and several villages do not have any bank branches. Moreover, to withdraw the cash subsidy, the account holder is required to be physically present at the bank, which evidently would make it highly inconvenient, if not impossible, for the old-age card holders to avail of the facility as several bank branches are located 8-15 km from their villages. It would also be equally impracticable to think that the impoverished villagers would bear additional transport cost of commuting to banking facilities located miles away by foregoing their daily wages. To circumvent these difficulties, the government has proposed a system of “branchless banking” for which a band of banking correspondents (BCs) would be recruited in rural areas. According to the government, cash transfers could be withdrawn in rural areas through BCs, who would use Aadhaar-enabled biometric devices or mobile phones to authenticate beneficiaries. The BCs would be paid a percentage by way of commission for every transaction. It is understood that the BC model was envisioned since the public sector banks were reluctant to open more rural branches. To make the model attractive, the RBI in 2010 permitted the appointment of “for-profit companies” as BCs which clearly shows that the intent has been to promote a private sector in rural banking to be run on commission paid by the government. It goes without saying this is destined to open another floodgate of corruption as mostly village headmen, moneylenders and fertilizer dealers would enroll themselves as BCs and corner benefits by wielding power. Facts corroborate that as well. According to an Economic Times report from Punjab, “75 per cent of BC agents are village *sarpanchs* (headmen) or their kin”. In March 2011, an internal circular of the State Bank of India noted that the BCs were “found to indulge in malpractices, such as asking for unauthorized money, over and above the bank’s approved rates of charges from the customers”. The circular noted that “gullible customers” were being “exploited”, posing “serious risk” to

the bank’s reputation. According to bank unions, BCs regularly extract Rs.100 for every account opened. Thus, it is clear that middlemen are not eliminated by Aadhaar. In fact, can there be any way to rid the capitalist system we are in from the clutches of middlemen? Experience would say, no. Because, the very system breeds parasites who, in turn, become cog and screw of the exploitative system where denial and usurpation of any legitimate dues to the oppressed multitude is basic to its mode of operation. The middlemen are nothing but such parasites which the system abets and protects. Taking advantage of the wrenching want, wretchedness and ignorance of the multitudes of hapless poor and impoverished, the middlemen wearing the cloak of so called facilitators pilfer and corner, in connivance with the utterly corrupt administration, a sizeable chunk of the benefits meant for the common people. So the claim that introduction of Aadhaar would cleanse the system from middleman intervention is not only hollow but deceptive as well. As we know that except depending on powerful organized democratic movement, people have no other course left to fight and mitigate the strangulating problems of life in oppressive capitalist system. The aberrant middleman system is also to be fought and thwarted in the same manner.

## Pitfalls of operationalization

Next comes the question of viability of its operation. UID, as per stated definition, would capture all necessary details of the beneficiaries, demographic as well as biometric. Demography, as is known to all, consists of name, address, age, sex, ethnicity, religion, academic qualification, marital status, profession etc. On the other hand, biometric details would include prints of all 10 fingers, retina scan (iris) and photograph of the face. Thus the system and method, the protagonists say, are so devised as to uniquely identify and track biological humans. As regards collection of information, the UIDAI has appointed state governments and pan-Indian agencies like the post office, State Bank of India and the Life Insurance Cooperation of India as registrars. The registrars can, in turn, appoint private agencies to carry out the enrolment process. There are no criteria for selecting private enrolment agencies.

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# Misuse of Aadhaar details from ulterior motive cannot be ruled out

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But how far are all these feasible in our country? Take for example, date of birth which is important for schemes like Old Age Pension benefits. As everyone knows, the majority of Indians lack any verifiable birth record. The name of a person may be another source of problem. Outside the literate population a person may actually have multiple names. Another issue is securing address proof for homeless people. Though the UID can sanction uniqueness of a person, even without the address, the address becomes necessary for ensuring easy access to services like banking. What about millions of homeless people? What address would they furnish? To obviate the difficulties, one "introducer system", in which people without residence proof are introduced by someone with valid papers, has been implemented. But that has resulted in expected malpractices. An NGO, Indo-Global Social Service Society, stopped UID enrolment after it found that several homeless people were registered at its address. Roping in private enrolment agencies for gathering personal data has many other pitfalls. Agencies are reportedly sub-contracting to others without government approval. Even, some of the agencies are reportedly collecting additional information without indicating which questions are mandatory and which are voluntary. Though, there are only five columns that need to be filled up compulsorily, in Karnataka, applicants are asked to answer at least 19 questions. Thus, though the UID plans to record a small set of data fields, it is possible to pile on more data fields onto a record without the knowledge of the record-holder. The possibility that some such agencies are aligned to communal and fundamentalist groups and thus having ulterior motive in collecting non-mandatory information, cannot be ruled out. Moreover, there are marginal groups of people who survive by being invisible to the state – like urban slum dwellers who live in constant fear of demolition and displacement, or forest population living in a reserve forest. Such people who are also very much citizens of India might remain out of radar.

Limitations of biometrics in proving identity are also pointed out. No accurate information exists on whether the errors of matching fingerprints are negligible or non-

existent. A report from the firm called 4G Identity Solutions, contracted by UIDAI for supply of biometric devices, notes that "in the Indian environment, experience has shown that the failure to enroll is as high as 15 per cent due to the prevalence of a huge population dependent on manual labour." A 15 per cent failure rate would mean the exclusion of over 200 million people. If fingerprint readers are installed at Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) work sites and ration shops, and employment or purchases made contingent on correct authentication, about 200 million persons would remain permanently excluded from accessing such schemes. In the event of all these, as against inclusion of hitherto excluded sections of society, UID would create new forms of exclusion. 4G Identity Solutions have also suggested that children under 12 years and persons over 60 years would find their fingerprints to be undependable biometrics. The Standing Committee of parliament has also found the project to be "full of uncertainty in technology as the complex scheme is built upon untested, unreliable technology and several assumptions". Even the Director-General and Mission Director of the UIDAI has admitted that capturing fingerprints, especially of manual labourers, is a challenge and the quality of fingerprints is bad because of the rough exterior of fingers caused by hard work. Since biometrics is stated to be not a reliable method of de-duplication, the claim that identity theft can be eliminated using biometrics is not established.

In this connection, it may be added that several countries including the US, the UK, Australia, China, Canada and Germany have tried such projects but aborted them midway as impractical. The US – arguably the most surveillance-prone society in the world – passed a Federal law requiring the States to allow the Federal Department of Homeland Security to access State databases such as drivers' licences and motor vehicle registration but failed to implement the same. The UK Government while discarding its proposed 'national identity scheme' concluded that "the technology envisioned for this scheme is to a large extent untested and unreliable. No scheme on this scale has been undertaken anywhere in the world. Smaller and less ambitious systems have encountered

substantial technological and operational problems that are likely to be amplified in a large scale national system". If they could not operationalize the scheme, are we to believe that it would not be true of India?

Another major fear raised by many with regard to the UID project is that of intrusion into the privacy of the individual by an oppressive state machine. It is apprehended that once the UID system is in place, it would be possible to track an individual. Under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by India, an individual's right to privacy is protected from arbitrary or unlawful interference by the state. The Supreme Court has also held the right to privacy to be implicit under article 21 of the Indian Constitution (Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu, 1994 and PUCL v. Union of India, 1996). It is also pertinent to mention that the Supreme Court of Philippines struck down a biometric-based national ID system as unconstitutional on grounds of invasion of privacy. In a case decided by the European Court of Human Rights on the violation of the right to privacy and citizens' rights, the unanimous decision of 17 judges was that the "blanket and indiscriminate nature" of the power of retention of the fingerprints, cellular samples, and DNA profiles of persons suspected but not convicted of offences, failed to strike a fair balance between competing public and private interests.

## Possibility of abusing Aadhaar for suppressing people's movement

While such have been the judicial pronouncements, section 33 of the NIDAI Bill empowers the already set up UIDAI to disclose personal data on an order of a court or in case of "national security" on directions of an officer not below the rank of joint secretary. The draft bill does not have any provisions to penalize misuse of data by authorized persons (e.g. UIDAI officials) either. In our country where abuse of power for ulterior motive, spying on political opponents, subversion of basic human rights, harassing activists of democratic mass movements, crushing democratic mass movements by resorting to various coercive methods including persecution of their core leaders and organizers in a planned way and such other undemocratic acts are

reported everyday in swelling numbers, such empowerment to any nodal agency is bound to be viewed as arbitrary, if not draconian. It is no more a secret that there was involvement of the entire government machinery in mass carnage that happened in Delhi in 1984 and Gujarat in 2002. Tacit approval of the government-administration towards 'encounter killings', 'custodial deaths', abuse of special power by police-military in eliminating political opponents is also a reality. While the bourgeois government does have various methods to track the movements of political opponents, with Aadhaar in place and most of the transactions starting from booking of rail tickets, withdrawal of cash from ATMs to bank credit of proposed food subsidy amount linked to it, such surveillance system might be eased if run based on Aadhaar. History would bear out such systems were indeed misused by despotic and fascist forces earlier. German rulers used IBM Hollerith D-11 card sorting machine in the census of the country in 1933 and since there was a provision for identifying race and ethnicity, the Nazi rulers with the help of IBM could conveniently count and identify the Jews whom they savagely butchered out of racial hatred. One, therefore, cannot rule out the possibility of this power being misused by persons in power to access private details such as religious, racial, caste or even political profiling from Aadhaar data base to serve undemocratic, illegal and unethical purposes for use in ways that may pose a risk to the life or security of the person concerned. It is noteworthy that when quizzed on how they would prevent Aadhaar data base from falling in wrong hands or enabling unscrupulous politicians to misuse for their benefit and against the interest of the Indian people, Nandan Nilakeni who eulogizes Aadhaar number as "ubiquitous" and even advised people to "tattoo it somewhere," lest they should forget it, was caught napping. Visibly embarrassed, he replied that they would not be keeping any profiling attributes in our database. When the interviewer asked him how would then they use Aadhaar details for better targeting the BPL and other backward segments of the populace for reaching out intended benefits to them, Nilakeni dodged the answer by saying "That is the responsibility of the applicant that provides those

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# Declared objective of uplifting backward strata to a level-playing field remains unaccomplished

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society is not even skin-deep. While people are instigated to stain their hands with the blood of their brethren — equally squeezed dry and deprived under capitalism — over the issue of reservation and 'quota' system, the power-hungry politicians irrespective of their caste or religious background go on enjoying power, amassing fabulous wealth and swelling in self-aggrandizement, vivid examples of which are not in short supply. Conveniently raising the bogey of reservation to divert people's attention from the real cause of their hardship and destitution and buttress the ulterior motive of making fortunes by cornering votes in an artificially created polarization of the oppressed masses along casteist-communal line has become a hand-picked agenda of the power-greedy unscrupulous politicians and their governments.

## Why was reservation introduced?

But was that the objective of reservation which was incorporated in the Constitution after independence? As we had pointed out earlier also, the Indian bourgeoisie providing leadership to the national liberation movement in the moribund decadent stage of capitalism, was, unlike the Western bourgeoisie during the rising period of capitalism, unable to weed out the feudal elements from the socio-cultural spheres and abolish other social aberrations, including the atrocious caste system, calamitous preaching of caste-vanity and caste-hatred, through an uncompromising struggle. So at the time of gaining political independence from the British rulers, there was legitimate accumulated grievance in the minds of the utterly disadvantaged *dalits* or backward strata of people and there was public pressure on the authors of the Constitution to frame some remedial measures. Thus a special provision of reservation for the SCs and STs in job and education found place in the Constitution. This reservation was applicable in the government schools, colleges, offices and public sector units and the percentage was decided based on the proportion of these sections of the people to the total population.

But, the authors of the Constitution were aware that this provision of reservation cannot be perennial since that would mean indirect acknowledgment of perpetual backwardness of the *dalit*

population and obstruct the process of uplifting them to a level-playing field with others. For adequate development and flourishing of merit, there ought to be a healthy competition among all, just like the way a good student sharpens his skill when competing with a host of other meritorious students. So they stipulated that this reservation would be for 10 years and thereafter a review should be taken as to how far this reservation for a limited period had met with its objective.

## Reservation brought no good to the backward and under-privileged

But, what has been the outcome of this reservation policy? Have the benefits envisaged accrued to the vast multitude of the *dalit* people? One and all will say 'no'. On the contrary, their condition has progressively worsened further in tandem with the other sections of the downtrodden masses during the 65 years of post-independence period. The majority of the backward and under-privileged sections of the people, predominantly the SCs and STs, languish in abject penury and misery. 60% of the *dalits* are still illiterate. It is 70% in case of STs. The percentage of school dropouts of the *dalit* children due to appalling poverty and need to earn a pittance for running the family is as high as 80. 80 % of the seats reserved for SCs and STs in technical education lie vacant due to non-availability of suitable candidates. Also adequate number of candidates from among the *dalit* people is not available to fill up whatever job vacancies are earmarked for them under prevailing reservation rules.

This was inevitable in capitalist India. As an inalienable part of crisis-ridden world imperialism-capitalism, the ruling Indian capitalist class could not but be afflicted by all these aberrations and within no time this extreme crisis and instability was found to be gripping the socio-economic - political - social - cultural spheres of independent India. Society has become yet more sharply divided between a handful of rich and myriads of poor, irrespective of caste, creed or religion, with the chasm increasing every day, every hour. There is practically no job opportunity for the people as shutters are downed on the existing industries because of intense market crisis of capitalism caused by ever falling purchasing power of the

people because of ruthless capitalist exploitation. No new vacancies are created. Retrenchment, lay-off, forced retirement are galore. So the unemployment problem is soaring sky high. Likewise, there is progressive curtailment in the scope of education in capitalist India. More the number of educated, more will be the number of educated unemployed to raise question as to the cause of dwindling job opportunity. So the ruling Indian national bourgeoisie and its subserving governments are keen to rein in spread of education. Initially, it started with seat restriction schemes. Now they are resorting to all other means like charging exorbitant tuition fees, imposition of capitation fees, closure of government schools and colleges and handing over the education sector to the private houses for being run on a commercial basis. In a nutshell, even basic education is eluding the poor and middle class irrespective of caste, creed or religion, leave aside higher studies which has become the exclusive domain of the affluent. And in this saga of criminal neglect, deception and deprivation, the backward strata of the population, instead of being helped to uplift themselves to the desired 'level-playing' field, has been doomed to further deterioration.

Let this truth should unfold before the *dalits* and other under-privileged sections and oppressive capitalist rule identified as the root cause, the ruling class cunningly tried to woo a tiny group within them with undue privileges, lure of lucre and power misusing the provision of reservation. Thus, a small fraction, hardly 3%, of the *dalits* usurping all opportunities and benefits emerged as a 'creamy layer', a diminutive group of affluent 'elites' enjoying all privileges and clout as part of the handful of dominating rich in the society, being totally callous and indifferent to the rapid degeneration of the livelihood of the backward caste and community populace. Thus this 'creamy layer' has practically become an appendage to the ruling bourgeoisie and is found to indulge in all kinds of unlawful and corrupt activities as is common with any other bootlicker of oppressive capitalism. In a crafty move, the ruling class has carved out this privileged group from the most oppressed section of the masses to be pliable to its class interest and projected as proof of

prosperity (!) of the *dalit* populace. Eyebrows are raised when a band of politicians who customarily flaunt their *dalit* credential to endear themselves to the *dalit* electorates are found seating on heaps of wealth, indulging in all kinds of corruption for self-aggrandizement and adopting all foul means to ride to power. And in reaction, some are wondering if reservation policy and provision of granting certain privileges and benefits are depriving non-tribal, non-backward communities from their legitimate dues. This again widens the divide between the *dalits* and *non-dalits*. Emergence of this 'creamy layer' within the *dalits* clearly attests to the fact that in capitalism class division is becoming sharper every moment; the yawning gap between the haves and have-nots is making social stratification more pronounced and vivid.

## Reservation is a contrivance in the hands of vested interest

Thus, it is clear that when there is no scope whatsoever for any kind of gainful employment nor is formal education within the reach and means of the toiling multitudes, the ruling class and its political managers are making a hullabaloo over reservation and vending dream of employment and education through quota system and in the process surreptitiously precipitating mutual disaffection and mistrust among the various segments, straining the chord of unity and amity among the toiling millions. When there are no jobs, no avenues for receiving education, what difference does it make if there is reservation for the *dalits* or not? Will the reserved seats be accessible to the *dalits* at large who are doomed to sub-human condition of life or will these seats either remain vacant forever or get filled up by the wards of the 'creamy layer'? Similarly, how many parents of the *non-dalit* students are at present so well-off as to have their children reach the higher, if not middle level of education? So reservation or no reservation, it is the economic destitution and rapidly depleting income caused by the oppressive capitalist system that are inhibiting percolation of education to the masses, *dalits* and *non-dalits* alike. Naturally, any thinking person can easily understand the very simple thing that reservation is neither the cause nor the solution to this deep-rooted problem of unemployment or

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## President Hugo Chavez, valiant crusader against imperialism, remembered respectfully

In a memorial meeting held on 24 March 2013 in Kolkata, at the call of the All India Anti-Imperialist Forum (AIAIF), the activists of anti-imperialist struggles of the country solemnly recalled the instance of relentless life-long fight of Hugo Chavez, the deceased President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and a valiant crusader against imperialism, particularly against the imperialist machinations of USA in Latin America. In the meeting presided over by Comrade GS Ghatak, President, West Bengal unit of AIAIF, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, General Secretary of International Anti-imperialist Coordinating Committee (IACC) and Vice-President, AIAIF highlighted in his brief address the significant features of the gallant anti-imperialist role of President Hugo Chavez.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee recalled that President Hugo Chavez was extremely popular not just in Venezuela but throughout Latin America by virtue of his bold and courageous role in anti-imperialist struggles the as well as his methods of remaining with the common people and thus winning over their help and support. He was pro-people in attitude, provided many welfare services and welcome reliefs to the common people and most importantly ended the imperialist ownership and domination over the rich oil-resources of the country through massive nationalization programme, albeit within the undisputed framework of the capitalist state. In fact, Hugo

Chavez and his Party carried the legacy of the Bolivarian revolutionary struggle set forth by the great leader Simon de Bolivar, highly respected in different countries of Latin America. This gave rise to the concept of Latin American people belonging to something like a broader nation which concept found its reflection in the formation of Latin American parliament. Thus the Venezuelans vote for both their own parliament as well as for the Latin American parliament. This concept, in a way, helped people of this part of the continent to develop coordination and unity in their fight against imperialism, particularly US imperialism. Venezuela, however, does not bear any characteristic of a socialist state. Private ownership prevails; production hinges on labour-capital relationship; profiteering acts as the motive force of production. However, under the leadership of President Chavez, it broadly reflected the character of a liberal bourgeois state. Comrade Manik Mukherjee also pointed out that the attempt of different pseudo-Marxist parties of India like CPI(M), CPI to characterize President Hugo Chavez and Venezuela under his leadership as socialist is totally erroneous. President Chavez was never a believer of scientific socialism and Marxism. Even when President Hugo Chavez took initiative to found an international body, in the manner there once existed the Communist International, involving different communist parties with which he and

Venezuela had links, it was the strong uncompromising anti-imperialist stand that acted as his main motivation. This move of his, however, did not materialize. Though Venezuelan Communist Party used to take part in the elections jointly with the President Chavez's Socialist Party as its ally, it, however did not join the government headed by President Chavez on the ground of their differences on several counts. They were also critical on different points of the move for setting up an international body of communists by a leader who himself was never a communist by any count.

In any case, President Hugo Chavez, also designated as Commandant Hugo Chavez, was a relentless and dauntless anti-imperialist fighter and a pro-people leader with a charisma which he remained till his last days. Huge expectations and pressure generating thereupon from the people of his own country, even Latin America as a whole, and his proximity to the Venezuelan Communist Party which again could assert some positive pressure on him — all this helped maintain his firm stand against imperialism and liberal democratic approach towards the common people of his country.

President Hugo Chavez will find his place in the history of world anti-imperialist struggle as a radical, liberal bourgeois leader of the masses with an unbending fervour against imperialism.

**Make a grand success the All India Convention on "Approach to the power question in the country" at CLRI campus (Opposite IIT), Chennai on Saturday, April 6, 2013 at the call of The People's Committee for Safe Energy (PECOSE) to facilitate a free and open discussion on the issue of the existing power shortages in the country and explore the various solutions to the problem including the viability of nuclear energy today.**

### Massive demonstration at Keonjhar, Odisha demands scrapping of MOU with Mittal

A massive demonstration was organized by *Mittal Pratirodha Manch (MPM)*, a people's platform to resist forcible land-grabbing by the giant monopolist Mittal on the plea of development, jointly with All India Krishak Khet Mazdoor Sangathan (AIKKMS) and SUCI (C) at Keonjhar, Odisha on 15 March 2013, demanding no industry on agricultural land, scrapping of the MOU with Mittals, distributing

land to landless peasants, immediate release of SUCI (C) activists including Comrades Gangadhara Mohanta and Arjun Hembram, withdrawal of all false cases imposed on *MPM* activists etc. In front of the Collectorate, a meeting was held, presided over by Shri Ghanasyam Mohanta, a well known *MPM* activist, and addressed by different leaders including Shri Laxmidhara Mohanta, Secretary, *MPM*, Comrades Raghunath Das, Secretary AIKKMS Orissa and an adviser *MPM*, Sambhunath Naik, former MLA of SUCI (C), and others. They highlighted the nefarious designs of the nexus of the police-administration-government-mono-polists and their henchmen towards deliberately arresting SUCI (C) and *MPM* activists in particular and common people in general in the tribal dominated Keonjhar district with a view to foiling people's democratic movement against the land-grabbing by the corporate houses and the government standing by them. They appealed to the people to organize sustained powerful movement to defeat the sinister designs of the nexus.



An august convention of distinguished citizens of West Bengal was held on 17 March last with a capacity-audience at the Calcutta University Centenary Hall to ventilate their anger and agony against atrocities on women which continue unabated and undeterred despite all tall talks of the powers-that-be about containment of the same. The Convention unanimously adopted a resolution in which deep concern was expressed against growing cases of rape, molestation, eve teasing and even murder after rape being perpetrated against women in almost all the states of the country. A powerful Committee with Partha Sengupta, noted lawyer as President and Kalpana Datta as General Secretary, was formed at the convention to rouse statewide public opinion against rising crime and violence on women.

# Introduction of Aadhaar must be suspended till countrywide consensus is evolved

*Contd. from page 3*

services” and then hastened to add “these are legitimate concerns and I think we have to address them in the public as well as in the laws. (Nilakeni’s interview by Karan Thapar published in ‘The Hindu’ in 2009) Despite the continuing debate on public platforms, and being repeatedly questioned about the risks, costs and benefits of the UID scheme, Nilakeni and the Government of India have remained silent on the contested aspects of the scheme. This only leaves scope for the apprehension that as exploitation and oppression are intensifying in the country and people are rising up in protest, Aadhaar might provide a handle to the ruling class and its governments to suppress crystallizing people’s movements.

## Aadhaar is stealthily mandatory

To divert attention, an impression is sought to be given that participation in the UID scheme is supposed to be voluntary and optional. An illusion is sought to be created that Aadhaar is just like the social security number (SSN) in the US. This is another travesty of truth. The SSN was introduced in the U.S. in 1936 to facilitate provision of social security benefits. A defining feature of SSN is that it is circumscribed by the Privacy Act of 1974. This Act categorically states that “it shall be unlawful for any...government agency to deny to any individual any right, benefit, or privilege provided by law because of such individual’s refusal to disclose his social security account number.” Moreover, federal agencies have to provide notice to, and obtain consent from, individuals before disclosing their SSNs to third parties.

On the contrary, the Aadhaar project is slated to be integrated with the Home Ministry’s National Population Register (NPR). NPR is a Register of usual residents of the country being prepared at the local (Village/sub-Town), sub-District, District, State and National level under provisions of the Citizenship Act 1955 and the Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003. The Census of India website notes that “data collected in the NPR will be subjected to de-duplication by the UIDAI. As per Rule 3(3) in the Citizenship Rules of 2003, information on every citizen in the National Register of Indian Citizens should compulsorily

have his/her “National Identity Number.” Again, Rule 7(3) states that “it shall be the responsibility of every Citizen to register once with the Local Registrar of Citizen Registration and to provide correct individual particulars.” So, NPR is mandatory and so would be Aadhaar because of proposed integration with it. This only goes to confirm that the project is not that simple an exercise for benefitting the poor but is purported to achieve something else having wider implication.

## Interest of US imperialists in Aadhaar

What is of utmost concern is the keen interest shown by the US imperialists in the project. They reportedly wanted to know what is India’s strategic plan for utilizing biometric ID card technology in the military, law enforcement, and private sectors” and how the biometric card would be used at the borders, ports and airports, whether it would be used to issue passports, which foreign countries or corporations were assisting in the development of the ID card, which biometric systems (i.e. fingerprints, facial recognition, iris scan, etc.) would be incorporated into the card, what systems, databases, or portals would be named biometric ID card collection devices and such other details. This overflowing curiosity of the chieftain of international gangsterism, brigandage and all kinds of conspiratorial as well as subversive activities does raise serious question about the project. What is further disturbing is the latest revelation that data management of Aadhaar has been outsourced to US companies like Accenture which are associated

with the US Department of Homeland Security. Accenture’s profile includes developing prevention tactics and streamlining intelligence gathering. Another US company involved in India’s UID project is L-1 Identity Solutions, allegedly associated with the CIA and George Tenet, former CIA director, and Admiral James Loy, former deputy secretary of Homeland Security, were on the board of L-1 till 2010. Is it that the India government is covertly on a mission to leak politically sensitive information to the US imperialist regime to buttress definite ulterior motive? The suspicion is further strengthened when it is understood that Hosni Mubarak, former despotic President of Egypt, handed over similar data of Egyptian citizens to the US rulers before he stepped down and the Pakistan government which had introduced biometric cards has handed over the citizens’ database to the Pentagon regime. There is no cogent reason to believe that the ruling Indian monopolists aspiring to become a formidable superpower in Asia with the backing of the US imperialists would desist from indulging in any such act. So, the need is to tread with caution and not take any version of the government at its face value.

## Aadhaar is not indispensable

In fact, available fact sheets, experience of other countries, all arguments and counter-arguments indicate that there is no indispensability of Aadhaar. The purposes it is stated to be introduced for can well be served with the existing documents of identity, at best with some minor modifications if it is absolutely

necessary. It ought to be remembered that like any other policy of the government, the very Aadhaar project cannot be considered expunged from the obtaining capitalist system. Apologists of Aadhaar claim the project to be full-proof. But we know that acts of sabotage, tampering with the system, undercover manipulation and such other subversive activities are inherent in the capitalist system which is based on thuggery and criminalization. Technology is no exception. If such full-proof systems could be in place with the help of technology, then how could cybercrime be on the rise? How could hacking run *pari passu* with any system innovation in the information technology field? In the circumstances, there is no question of giving pass to Aadhaar without thorough examination of all the pros and cons, as well as possible outcomes. Such a vital step can never be taken without taking parliament into confidence. Before referring to parliament, there must be wide and serious debates and discourses on this issue involving all cross-sections of people, all political parties, voluntary organizations and experts. Each and every aspect must pass through the lens of minutest scrutiny on the anvil of logic and reason, of course from the people’s point of view. In the process, there ought to be a consensus about either implementing or discarding the project lock, stock and barrel. Till such a consensus is not arrived at, the project must be put on suspension. Countrywide, powerful public opinion must be built up to have this process materialized.

## Haryana Peasants Conference demands withdrawal of land acquisition policy

Farmers and agricultural labourers from different parts of Haryana took part in masses in the 6th State Conference of All India Krishak and Kshet Majdoor Sangathana (AIKKMS) held at Jhajjar to raise voice against the anti-peasant land acquisition policy of the government. Comrade Anup Singh, the president of the organization, presided over the conference. A resolution upholding demands of Rs.30,000 per acre as compensation against damage of crops owing to drought throughout the state; reducing prices of diesel for agriculture by 50%; total stopping of grabbing of farm-lands;

handing over of the investigation into the Huda Government’s land scam to a Supreme Court judge; returning lands acquired by the Reliance Company in the name of SEZ to the farmers and so on was placed and passed in the conference with full support of the farmers.

Inaugurating the opening session, Dr. Tarun Mandal, MP, SUCI (C) vehemently condemned the false propaganda of the government about development of the country which has turned out to be the development of the handful owners of vast wealth but not of common peasants and workers. He strongly opined that mere raising a

voice of protest in parliament would not suffice. The need of the hour is to develop a country-wide powerful united resistance movement. The peasants, struggling persistently against forcible land grab through relay hunger strike for over the last two years at Sonepat, handed over a memorandum to Dr. Mandal. Comrade Satyawan, Member, Central Committee and Haryana State Secretary, SUCI (C) and other leaders of the AIKKMS also spoke at the Conference. The Conference elected a 36-member strong State committee of AIKKMS with Comrades Anup Singh as President and Vijay Kumar as Secretary.

# Reservation is neither cause nor solution to problems of unemployment and non-access to education

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the raging problem of access to education. It is the crisis-ridden decadent moribund capitalist system which is the root of evils, inhibiting the process of natural growth and development of humanity as a whole. So, the question of eradicating all these stifling problems of life is inseparably linked with the question of overthrowing the capitalist system.

But if due awareness dawns upon the suffering people, both *dalits* and *non-dalits*, if they come to understand this reality and instead of being led astray by the machinations of ruling capitalism and its lackeys, rise above all divisive mentalities and unite on the platform of organized democratic movement based on higher culture and morality to press for solution of the burning problems of their life, for fighting all social injustices, for unfettered scope for jobs and education, for uplifting the most neglected and downtrodden *dalit* masses to a level-playing field and for mitigating the acute suffering and social ostracism faced by them through the ages, then it would eventually pave the way for ending the capitalist rule. Haunted by this fear-complex of anti-capitalist revolution, the ruling Indian monopolists are desperate to disrupt the unity of the toiling people by fanning up casteism, communalism, ethnicism, parochialism, chauvinism and all such other divisive mentalities. The British imperialists adopted a 'divide and rule policy' by incessantly fomenting Hindu-Muslim schism and perpetrating tribal-non-tribal enmity. From the same objective, the bourgeois rulers, after independence, have been carefully nurturing and at opportune moments fanning up all such casteist-communal-separatist-chauvinist thoughts to generate bad blood among various communities, entrap them in fratricidal feuds and internecine conflicts. The bourgeois parties and politicians are hand-maiden of the ruling Indian monopolists in implementation of this cleverly devised ploy. So, they are on a spree to foment this warped mindset and convoluted mentality to keep the people divided so that by handling the stand-offs among the various sections of the toiling masses, they could create and nurture their respective vote-banks to make fortunes in electoral politics and at the same time serve the class need of their masters with due obedience. Even the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI have

become partners of this cunning bourgeois machination for pelf and power and are shamelessly aligning with one or the other bourgeois outfits, overtly or covertly, for securing crumbs here and there and thereby allowing this casteist-communal polarization to dominate with alacrity. And in fuelling, orchestrating and perpetrating this divide, reservation in jobs and education which once was envisaged as a process for uplifting the backward sections is now virtually a contrivance in the hands of the forces of reaction.

## Conscience not altogether buried underneath

When such is the situation where this increasing divide as well as rapid proliferation of all kinds of divisive thoughts among the Indian people — who once so valiantly fought against the British imperialist rule rising above all caste, creed or religion to emerge as a unified nation — is causing serious concern, it is observed that some thinking persons in some parts of the country based on their experience are able to understand the nature of the grave conspiracy hatched by the forces of reaction to perpetually keep people divided on casteist-communal-ethnic lines and becoming vocal as well. Patricia Mukhim, an award-winning journalist and editor of Shillong Times is one of such personalities with a deep insight into social problems. It is heartening to note that when most of the columnists and journalists being either unable to dare going against the system or its abettors or carried by the lure of money and other privileges are loath to bring truth to the fore abiding by the ethics of journalism, she, a tribal by birth and a resident of Meghalaya where reservation is 80% and in some cases eventually turns out to 100%, shows rare courage to unravel the rot in her columns. Deploring the widening chasm between the handful of rich and millions of poor, she comments: "Here is a country where malls are growing in size and opulence; where a few rich people can squander a few hundred crore rupees on a wedding and people take extravagant holidays abroad. But it is also a country where the large majority of poor find their world closing in on them. Opportunities for employment are shrinking; the state has failed to create employment opportunities since the economy is not tailored to cater towards that but more towards

the creation of private wealth from public goods and resources." (The Statesman-17-02-2013) Pointing at the misuse of reservation policy, she boldly writes: "India has adopted a reservation policy for Scheduled Castes (Dalits), Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, with the purpose of lifting them from their depressed stations of life by providing greater access to educational and employment opportunities. It is now 62 years since the Constitution was implemented and the reservation policy has been in place. The policy was meant to be revisited after every 10 years but since this policy is strongly entrenched in vote bank politics it is not easy to dismantle the present arrangement." (ibid) In a caustic reference to the emergence of the 'creamy layer', she observes that "I have yet to come across any study of how positive discrimination or affirmative action has worked; whether it has worked only for a few and whether this has created another class among the so-called weak and backward classes... those who have benefited from it should be creamed off and treated as general citizens. Others from the same category, who have not had access to any state patronage, should be allowed access to those. This includes payment of income tax by the creamy layer and giving up the reservation in education and employment. Much has been said about economic backwardness alone being the criteria for deciding who should be the beneficiaries of affirmation action from the state but no one has taken this proposal seriously, again, because of vote bank politics. Hence vote bank politics is the biggest hindrance to any kind of positive political change. All political parties know what is wrong with the system and how skewed it is in favour of a few people but none will move even an inch to change the status quo." (ibid.) Particularly, she is furious with the undue advantage enjoyed by the 'creamy layer' in the North-east. In her words: "the tribes, or at least those residing in the North-east enjoy several advantages by virtue of the constitutional safeguards we have vide the Sixth Schedule, Scheduled Tribes enjoy 7.5 per cent job reservation in all central government establishments and in educational institutions (medical and engineering colleges particularly). The SCs and OBCs enjoy 15 per cent of the same benefits! Even the creamy layer in

these categories continues to enjoy these perks which should justifiably accrue to those who have not had the privilege to access these benefits. ...this is injustice perpetrated by the categories on their own people. One of the great benefits that the STs enjoy is income-tax exemption. That an IAS officer or a medical doctor or engineer earning as much as his/her non-scheduled, non-tribal counterparts should be exempted from paying this national tax and even from declaring his/her income annually is also an injustice. Members of the political and business class and even government employed engineers and bureaucrats in the North-eastern states have amassed wealth beyond any of their known sources of income. But they get away with this crime of corruption.... No one questions how government employed engineers can earn such high incomes to be able to educate their children abroad — an opportunity that only a few privileged Indians enjoy. And we all know that these people were not born affluent but acquired their wealth during the tenure of their service. The wealth they have earned is in direct proportion to the ramshackle public buildings and roads they construct which require annual repairs. It's all a money making racket. And they get away because they are tribals... Alas! These resources are not accessible to all tribals/SCs OBCs equally. Some tribals are more equal than others by virtue of their political clout and overarching influence in policy making and policy decisions. So former chief minister of Jharkhand Madhu Koda was able to amass about Rs 6,000 crore by granting illegal mining rights to favoured companies... the vice of corruption is programmed into the moral DNA of every human being in the same manner that other virtues are. STs, SCs, OBCs are all humans." (The Statesman-03-02-2013) Drawing attention to the discrimination between the poor and the rich in education and other areas, she comments: "Education-deprived people are poor and the concentration of poor people in poorer areas increases all kinds of stress, deprivation and difficulty. They have poorer access to health-care and women do not enjoy reproductive rights, so family sizes are larger. Middle and upper class people, on the other hand, enjoy the benefits of education and pass this

*Contd. on page 8*

## Ruling bourgeoisie is dividing people on casteist-communal line to serve its sinister class interest

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on to their children because they know that education can enhance their advantages. This result is good marriages and high paying jobs, etc. This is a perfect example of how elites become established and maintain their status. This phenomenon is observed among the tribals of the North-east. It started in the late 1970s and continues till date. The continuance of a blind reservation policy has already done much harm to tribal societies of North-east India. It's time to change the paradigm." (The Statesman 17-02-2013)

### Clarity of thought

Moving a step further, she states without an iota of hesitation that "poverty is not just a rural syndrome. There is a huge chunk of urban poor in the heart of the national capital and several hundred thousand people are homeless. Where are the opportunities for them? And they certainly don't come from one social stratum. They include all classes and castes. So how does the state bring economic equilibrium in such situations? In a cluster of hamlets, that include all poor people, how can the state go scouting for SCs/STs/OBCs to give them special access to education and employment? That would create more unequal societies." (The Statesman 17-02-2013) Explaining further, she writes: "Take for instance a tribal university professor who also marries another professor and whose parents were actually only school teachers. The incomes of the couple are way above what their parents ever earned. Indeed, many parents today across the board are astounded by their children's incomes. There are many tribals today who enjoy such status and whose children no longer study in Meghalaya or the North-east but

abroad or in some of the best institutions in the country because they can afford it. Should those children continue to enjoy reservation at the cost of others in the same social categories that come from more deprived backgrounds? Is this not inequality? *Should this not be the talking point today, seeing that many tribals have also evolved into classes of the rich, the middle class and the poor? And is the state not reinforcing inequalities and creating these classes by its inability to rearrange the affirmative action model?*" (ibid.) (Italics ours)

### Our appeal to the intelligentsia

We highly appreciate the way Smt. Mukhim has demonstrated rare boldness and clarity of thought in presenting the reality and upholding the truth free from any bias or narrow sectarian consideration. This ought to be the eye opener for all and a lesson for every journalist and columnist. In capitalism, when every profession has become a commodity of the market, every talent is vulnerable to purchase by the reaction, making easy money through shameless defence of the power that be is commonplace, bartering away one's conscience for petty consideration is branded as pragmatism, distorting fact and twisting reality is viewed as journalistic skill, obeying 'His Master's Voice' is perceived to be the key to success, any exception or courage to swim against the current deserves praise and accolade from the truth-seeking toiling masses and the quarters of democratic-minded right-thinking persons. We hope that Smt. Mukhim would continue to serve the social cause and thus become an example to all others in the field of journalism as well as to the intelligentsia.

## SUCI(C) opposes further rise in diesel price which would have cascading effect on price spiral of essential items, freight and transport charges

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 23-03-2013: —

As apprehended, the government in pursuance of its brazenly anti-people policy of gradually deregulating diesel price has announced, close on the heels of presenting annual budget, a rise of 43 paise per litre in the retail price of diesel which, it obviates to say, would push up the price line of essential commodities further, make life nightmarish for the poor peasants using diesel pump sets for irrigation and also provide handle to the railways as well as road transport agencies to increase passenger fare and freight charges. In fact, it would now be a practice to periodically raise the fuel tariff arbitrarily on the ostensible plea of reducing 'under-recovery' of the profit-making oil companies without caring a fib for the immense hardship the common people already reeling under draconian price spiral would be further put into.

We strongly oppose this sinister move and policy of the government subserving bourgeois class interest and call upon the suffering people to stand up and resist it.

## Donate liberally to the fund for Reconstruction of Party's Central Office

It has become imperatively necessary to build a new building in place of the old building housing the central office of the SUCI(C) relentlessly developing movements on the burning demands of people's life.

Many reminiscences, emotions and attachment of the leaders and workers of the Party, many memories of historical movements are associated with the present Party office building at 48, Lenin Sarani, Kolkata. So, the leaders-workers-supporters-sympathizers of the Party from all the states of the country desired that the central office of the Party continues to be at that old place only. That is why, when there came an opportunity to purchase the building, it was possible to buy that property with the donations mainly collected from the Party leaders-workers-supporters-sympathizers. We convey revolutionary greetings to them for that.

But the old building is now in a dilapidated condition. There is also acute shortage of space to conduct the multifarious works of the Party which is growing fast. In the circumstances, all the leaders-workers-supporters-sympathizers expressed desire to have a new building in place of the present ramshackle construction. So, the Central Committee has taken a decision to construct a new building. But, whatever funds were hitherto raised from the leaders-workers-supporters-sympathizers has been spent on buying the old building. We need more funds for construction of the new building. So is our appeal not only to the workers-supporters-sympathizers of the Party but to the people at large for generously donating to the Fund for construction of the new building.

We strongly believe that the people would come forward and generously contribute to this Fund for new building construction the way that they had in all previous occasions to make all the programmes of the Party complete success.

With greetings

Debabrosad Sarkar

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Cheque should be drawn in favour of: Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)



Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), conducting school of politics at Angul in Odisha on 24th March, 2013

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH