

# Proletarian Era

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## Recent Developments in Tibet

Reports of unrest in Tibet made it to the headlines recently. It all started when around 300 odd Tibetan monks staging protest demonstration in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, on 11 March last were arrested. Following that, riots broke out in different parts of Tibet as well as Tibetan-populated districts of China. People died in clashes with the Chinese security forces. The situation became extremely violent and the Chinese authorities imposed martial law. While the Chinese government accused the 14<sup>th</sup> and current Dalai Lama of masterminding the violence, the Dalai Lama denied the accusation and said that the uprisings were caused by wide discontent in Tibet. The situation seems to have quietened down now but the controversy has remained. The imperialist camp led by US imperialists has become overactive in stirring up the issue to turbidity, distorting history, pitching people against people centering around the demand for secession by a section of the agitators and trying to create a base in the region to undertake various subversive and brigandish activities. So arises the necessary to understand the issue in proper context.

### Spate of current events

Over the years, we had become used to seeing the statesmen and mass media of the imperialist-capitalist countries pounce upon every opportunity of denigrating socialist China's conduct in Tibet, crying hoarse against Chinese "repression", and demanding Tibet's independence from Chinese "subjugation". But the reaction to the present happenings in Tibet has been comparatively mild, perhaps because China has ceased to be a socialist country, turned into a strong capitalist country and become a major player in the world imperialist-capitalist order. Although the various human rights organizations and groups have become vocal against the violation of human rights in Tibet by the Chinese authorities, the international community of capitalist states has, in general, reacted rather mildly. A number of them including the US, UK, Germany and Sweden have expressed concern at the violence and merely urged China to exercise restraint. On the other hand, governments of the countries through which the torch of the coming Beijing Olympics will be

carried en route to China, have taken elaborate precautionary measures to ensure safety of the torch and the runners from Tibetan demonstrators. While the US Congress speaker Ms. Nancy Pelosi condemned the Chinese repression in Tibet while she was at Dharamsala on March 21, the US President Bush requested his Chinese counterpart Hu Jintao on March 27 to talk to Dalai Lama on the Tibet issue. But the latter responded by saying that Beijing would do so only if Dalai Lama "truly" abandoned his quest for "Tibet's independence". Tibetan activists planned a march from Dharamsala to Lhasa in order to join the "rebellion". But the local police said that in that case, the Tibetans would not be allowed to cross even the boundaries of the district, not to speak of crossing the international border. On March 19, the external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee told the Rajya Sabha that Tibetans in India knew they could not indulge in any political activity "which can jeopardize our relations with any country", obviously meaning China. He further advised the Tibetans who had been provided shelter in India not to indulge in any

political activity that could create problems for India. Clearly, to the imperialist-capitalist countries, maintaining trade and other commercial links with China in the context of globalization is important and they would not like to queer the pitch by supporting Tibetan dissidence.

On March 16, Dalai Lama accused that China was committing a "cultural genocide" in Tibet. But he hastened to add that the scheduled Beijing Olympics should not be called off and that he had "no power over the protesters in Tibet." He stressed: "We are seeking only autonomy and not independence."

"On March 18, he said that "independence is out of the question" and threatened to quit as the head of the Tibetan exile movement if the unrest in Tibet got out of control and the Tibetan people adopted violence. Be that as it may, reportedly it was the Tibetan monks who led the recent demonstrations in Tibet and the violent rioters in Lhasa yelled demands for independence. Further, Tibetans in exile all over the world have been waving placards demanding freedom for Tibet. Thus, whether he actually instigated and/or organized the present

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### SUCI greets Nepalese people for dethroning autocratic monarchy through prolonged struggle

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in course of a statement issued on 30 May, 2008 conveyed revolutionary greetings to the fighting people of Nepal for bringing down through successful conduction of different forms of struggles including armed battles braving ruthless medieval repressions and sacrificing thousands of lives. This mighty armed struggle, said Comrade Mukherjee, that led to a mass uprising culminating in establishment of a democratic republic despite the international situation being adverse to a great extent will no doubt strengthen all revolutionary movements round the globe seeking an end to all kinds of exploitative rule. The grit, determination and valour exhibited by the brave Nepal people and the supreme sacrifices made by them will ever remain as a source of great inspiration to the revolutionary fighters worldwide, asserted Comrade Mukherjee.

In this connection, Comrade Mukherjee drew attention to the invaluable teaching of Lenin that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the decadent moribund bourgeoisie can not complete the tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution and that is why establishment of genuine revolutionary working class leadership in all struggles against feudalism and colonialism is an indispensable historic necessity to lead these struggles to their logical culmination. Comrade Mukherjee hoped that though for obvious reasons this has not happened in Nepal in the current phase of the movement, the heroic Nepalese people will in no time close their rank, regroup and reunite to continue their revolutionary struggle in pursuance of the historic necessity to abolish, once for all, all exploitations of man by man.

# Tibet has been an inalienable part of China

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separatist unrest in Tibet or not, Dalai Lama has become the figure-head around whom a demand for a free, separate Tibet has been crystallizing with the participating Tibetans in exile owing allegiance to him. After all, since he came over to India, the Dalai Lama has been actively projecting the idea of a free, independent Tibet and at one stage even demanded formation of a 'Greater Tibet' including extensive ethnic Tibetan areas in several Chinese provinces adjoining Tibet.

On April 25 last, the Chinese government announced that it was agreeable to a meeting with an envoy of the Dalai Lama on condition that the Dalai Lama should stop plotting for Tibet's independence. The White House, the British Foreign Secretary and the French President welcomed the Chinese announcement. The first meeting between Chinese officials and Dalai Lama's envoys was held on May 4 at the city of Shenzhen in south China. The meeting proved abortive, but the Chinese government indicated willingness for further talks.

Centering round the present unrest in Tibet, various charges have been levelled against the Chinese government – of discrimination against and repression of Tibetans on ethnic ground, of suppression of the religion, language and culture of the Tibetans amounting to a "cultural genocide", of the attempt to bring about a demographical change in Tibet through large scale settlement of Han Chinese people there so that the ethnic Tibetans become a minority in their homeland — all in gross violation of human rights. It cannot be said that all these charges are baseless. Thus, the present turmoil has thrown up several questions. Is Tibet a part of China or not? Is Tibetan autonomy being curtailed by the central government of China and oppression of the ethnic Tibetans going on in violation of human rights, as has been alleged? Is the separatist demand for an independent state of Tibet justified? In order to examine these, the historical and political background needs to be recounted, even if very briefly.

## Historical and political backdrop

In modern times, Tibet has always been considered to be a part

of China. While the ancient Sino-Tibetan relationships were complex and always in a flux, there is no doubt that China exercised control over Tibet from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Chinese troops brought Kelzang Gyatso with them from Kumbum to Lhasa and he was installed as the seventh Dalai Lama in 1721. In 1725, two high Chinese commissioners (Ambans) were appointed to control the temporal affairs of Tibet. A rebellion by some Tibetan factions was defeated by the Chinese army and in 1751, the Manchu (Qing) Emperor Qianlong established the Dalai Lama as both the spiritual leader and the political leader of Tibet heading the government. Two attacks by Gorkha forces from Nepal in 1788 and 1791 were beaten back by the Chinese troops. Soon, the Chinese Emperor decreed that the selection of the Dalai Lama and other high lamas such as the Panchen Lama would henceforth be under the supervision of the Chinese government's Amban Commissioners in Lhasa. An imperial edict was issued laying down the procedure for choosing the future dalai lamas.

During the British rule in India, the British imperialist rulers deemed it to be convenient to have Tibet as a buffer state between India and China and framed their policies accordingly. It is to be remembered that while the British Empire was encroaching from northern India into the Himalayas and Afghanistan, the Russian Empire of the Tsars was expanding south into Central Asia. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Tibet became the scene for rivalry between these two expansionist powers. To prevent the Russians, a British force led by Colonel Younghusband was sent to Lhasa to force a trading agreement and to prevent the Tibetans from establishing a relationship with the Russians. The British forces mowed down the poorly armed Tibetan troops with machine guns. When the British troops reached Lhasa, the Dalai Lama had already fled to Urga in Mongolia and was to be consequently deposed by China. Younghusband drafted a treaty unilaterally and had it signed by the regent and any other local officials he could gather as an ad hoc government. The provisions of this 1904 treaty were confirmed in a 1906 treaty signed between Britain and China in which the British

agreed "...not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet."

The Qing dynasty of China fell in October 1911 and the Republic of China was established on January 1, 1912. Taking advantage of the ensuing turmoil in which the Chinese authority in Tibet collapsed in 1912, the British imperialist rulers, at the 1914 Simla Convention between representatives of China, Tibet and Britain, demanded to advance their line of control enabling them to annex 9000 square kilometers of traditional Tibetan territory, and drew up on a map, by a diplomatic sleight of hand, a line confirming this annexation. This is the infamous McMahon Line. Tibetan representatives signed the treaty without Chinese approval and the representative of China's central government declared that the secretive annexation of territory was not acceptable. But even the Simla Convention treaty recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and affirmed the latter's status as part of Chinese territory.

With the outbreak of World War I and the division of China into military cliques ruled by warlords, China lost interest in Tibet and its control over Tibet loosened. This state of affairs continued during the subsequent Japanese invasion and the civil war in China. But throughout this period, the Republic of China never renounced China's right to sovereignty over Tibet and this right was recognized internationally. From all available sources, it is firmly established that the US imperialists who are raising hullabaloo throughout the world supporting the secessionist move of the Dalai Lama had themselves admitted Tibet as an inalienable part of China. Thus, historically, Tibet has been a part of China although China could not always exercise control over it. The Dalai Lama was both the spiritual and administrative ruler. He headed an autocratic rule by the Lamas. The vast majority of the Tibetan people were serfs, often bound to the land owned by the monasteries and the feudal lords. There was no freedom for them. They suffered from autocratic feudal exploitation, lack of education, lack of even elementary medical and other facilities. Tibet was extremely backward, steeped in mediaeval darkness of ignorance, religious

superstition and misery.

Though some of the ideologically imbued youths of Tibetan origin participated in the revolutionary movement of China and even joined the red Army, yet it is true that all the factors mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs worked in holding the Tibetan people back from joining en masse the People's war of liberation that led to establishment of socialist China by revolution.

After the victory of the Chinese Revolution and establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the People's Liberation Army (PLA) moved into Tibet to exercise control and to integrate Tibet into the epoch-making process of revolutionary transformation of society that was on in the rest of China. As per the 1951 Agreement, Tibet was officially incorporated into PRC and accorded the status of a highly autonomous area of China. Most of the lands were taken away from the monasteries and feudal lords and re-distributed to the serfs, ending their centuries old bondage. Thus a new life began for the Tibetan people. But the erstwhile privileged class, now dispossessed, resisting the wind of progress over Tibet, rebelled. The monastery authorities and feudal lords led an uprising against the new order in Tibet with the help of the CIA, the notorious espionage and sabotage wing of imperialist US. When this uprising was crushed in 1959, the present Dalai Lama, the 14<sup>th</sup> one, fled from Tibet along with his officials, entourage and supporters and entered India with the connivance of the Indian government which provided shelter to them.

The Dalai Lama set up his headquarters at Dharamsala in Himachal Pradesh. The Government of India recognized the People's Republic of China as the legitimate government of China including Tibet but still it offered refuge to the fugitive Dalai Lama and his party. This was nothing but an unfriendly act towards a neighbouring state. The Government of India helped Dalai Lama in every way but said that he would be allowed only to pursue religious activity from this country. But the Dalai Lama had not renounced his role as the political ruler of Tibet as well. Soon, he formed a Tibetan government in

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# Cheerleader entertainment of Indian Premiere League Cricket

With Indian market in view, the corporate world has come up with yet another of its “marketing marvels!” in the form of IPL (Indian Premier League) T-20 tournament. Players from most of the cricket playing countries have been hooked in with exorbitant fees offered to them. To make the affair even more exciting and attractive, Bollywood actors of fame and big business magnets have been allured to own and promote one team or the other so as to draw greater crowds. Over and above, in keeping with the attempts in the western world to mince sports with entertainment, cheerleaders or to be more exact, cheergirls have been hired with fat payment cheques for adding ‘glamour and excitement’ to the extravaganza. These scantily-clad cheer girls, superfluous though they may seem to the more serious of the sportslovers – gyrate, gesticulate and dance to music all through the matches. The world of sports including cricket has been included in the saucy receptacle.

## Sports or entertainment package

Games of cricket and football entered this country during the British rule. Despite being an endowment of the alien rulers, Indians soon acquired proficiency in both. So-called gentleman’s game, not quite within the reach of the commoners, cricket has yet grown in popularity among the people in India. Sports, as we know creates a healthy mind in a healthy body and fosters a spirit of cordiality and friendship. So both mental and physical health is what sports is supposed to provide. Growth and skill development through healthy competition is envisaged in the arena of sports. It is alleged by the genuine cricket lovers that this short-lived variety of the game which is more of a carnival than sports, the prowess and mental stamina required for traditional 5-day test cricket, even for the truncated one-day version, are being grossly undermined and as against that, a dazzling display of showmanship is taking over. T-20 tournament organizers, they accuse, seem least concerned about quality of the game – all they are after is making cricket an even more “sellable commodity”. It is with this purpose in view, cheerleaders or cheergirls have been flown in. Viewed in the context and what is being rolled out, the allegation does have a basis.

However, with IPL tournament launched in India, the antics of cheerleaders have unleashed not a little controversy. Already the Government of Maharashtra has imposed a ban on cheerleaders and their performance. In West Bengal,

too, a section of intellectuals, film and TV personalities, and even some renowned political leaders have become involved in the discord – airing views either in support or against the issue. Those endorsing the cheerleader concept are putting forth different arguments in support of their contention. One section points out that people who enjoy such antics in films are showing double standard in objecting to cheerleaders’ performance. Others opine that if we could accept cricket which originally has not been a part of our culture, what is the harm in accommodating cheerleader concept? The third section holds that when depiction of figures in nude has been traditionally a part of Indian culture as evidenced in the sculptures of Khajuraho or Konarak, spurning half-clad cheerleaders performing on the ground as something alien to our culture bears no reason. There is still another group who considers that the ‘pomp pomp’ dance of the cheerleaders is a kind of sports antic. They argue that when we are not averse to watching gymnasts or swimmers perform their feats in tight fitting uniform and all-baring swimsuits, why then should we frown at the cheerleaders?

Ananda Bazar Patrika, the most widely circulated Bengali daily has observed in its editorial column : “... Indeed, earlier Indian culture had been a lot more candid, honest and free from deception. All different art forms – be it Sanskrit literature, sculptures on temple walls or colourful frescoes bore normal expression of human life and desires – exhibited with exuberance. No veils were pulled down to mark a moral guard. What the extreme

thinkers of conservative school of late project as traditional Indian culture, is a kind of Victorian orthodoxy obtained from and absorbed through contact with the British imperialists – a mindset which suffers from extra-sensitive superstition about the body and its sensuality.” (Editorial, 26 April, 2008) Ananda Bazar concluded by giving a piece of advice: “ Let the sensuous dance of the cheerleaders continue. Those who can not tolerate may look at different side on the ground or close their eyes before TV.” (ibid)

The political leaders have also voiced their opinions. Sitaram Yechury, CPI(M) Polit Bureau member and a chief spokesperson of the party is reported to have said that while there is capital investment in industry in keeping with the prescripts of globalization, infiltration of this culture (of cheerleaders) is an inevitability. It is a natural consequence. And when we have accepted foreign investment, we have to accept this as well, adds Yechury. Congress leader Priyaranjan Das Munshi held, “Indian or Bengali culture is not that fragile as to collapse overnight following a kind of such dancing.” More of such views have been aired in the media. The intention is to give a justification to this latest import from the Yankee courtyard. It is reported that in US and other imperialist heartlands, there are schools for grooming young girls as cheerleaders and admission is granted after the candidates pass through rigorous tests and stiffest of competitions. There is in fact a craze among the young generation there for enrollment as cheerleaders as the profession fetches a hefty remuneration. So is warranted the necessity to briefly discuss as to what should be the correct approach of thinking mind to such hype over cricket, its glamorization through star-pull and entertainment value enhancement by having half-clad young girls dance to ‘rock and roll’ beats.

## What is Culture

While talking of culture, it should be cleared at the outset as to what is meant by culture. If we take the trouble to investigate into the exact meaning of culture with a scientific outlook, we can find the

answer and that would help us distinguishing between the right and the wrong propositions over the matter under controversy centering around the cheerleaders. The analysis put forward by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the foremost Marxist thinker of the era is most apt and precise. He said: “ The spiritual world of mankind has come into being, developed and is continuing to develop through the interactions between the opposite forces within society and incessant struggle of the whole human society against nature is nothing but the finest and most comprehensive manifestation of the spiritual functions of man. The most comprehensive and aesthetic expression of human intellect is his culture.” (Crisis in culture and Fascism) This implies all that man produces in the spiritual sphere do not constitute culture, but only the best part of it does. We know that as social set-up changes, so does economic system as well as the cultural set-up, bringing in its wake, changes in the concepts of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, scene and obscene, etc. This happens as the concepts prevalent in the older society become inadequate to meet the urges and demands of the newer society. So what is perceived as ethical, moral, embodiment of progressive culture, manifestation of aesthetically satisfying art in a given socio-economic system might well turn out to be distasteful, backward, expression of debased or degraded culture. Also, what is natural in a particular socio-cultural set-up and demography might well appear or be reckoned as unnatural, unbecoming in another. This is why the customs of tribal groups, the dress or clothes they put on during festivals may not be seemly in a different milieu of urban backdrop. The Zaroas of the Andamans stay unclothed, some other tribes in Africa simply put on loin clothes. If someone is to cite these as examples of the culture of modern man or a modern nation, his sanity may be rightly questioned. Civilization has taught us to cover body parts to be distinguished from the animals. So animal exposure of body is surely no mark of civilization in modern society.

While culture is a category  
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# Most comprehensive and aesthetic expression of human intellect is culture

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containing in it the outlook and attitude towards life as a whole, art is nothing but the most beautiful as also concrete conscious expression of culture in an aesthetic form. Every artist ensconces in his portrayal what he needs to convey. He, however, has to be aware that art has originated, developed and progressed as a necessity of social development. Social development is governed by its own laws. So to be categorized as a piece of art, a creation, production or performance must first of all withstand the test of having been able to fulfil the necessity of social progress. Works of great artists like any other human creation are products of particular stages of the changing panorama. Hence, each and every piece of art is to be judged against the particular socio-historic background and context and can not be appraised expunged from the space and time. Throughout different ages, greatest of artists have depicted thoughts and desires of common men in wonderful artistry, procreating on the canvas of creation, social urges and aspirations or man's protest against prevalent social injustice ascribing an extraordinary beauty. We see this exemplified in the sculpture of David worked out by Michaelangelo – the greatest artist of the Renaissance. David is nude male figure but with exquisite grace and vigour that bear out the concept of manhood contained in an upright well-built body. The sculptures at Khajuraho or Konark, too, are such symbolic expressions, unique creation of art purported to respond to the then social need. But would it be termed normal, if, say at the Olympic games today, men unclothed like 'David' tend to perform in the open as a form of entertainment? Also, the artistic representation of men and women and their union carved on the walls of Konark and Khajuraho are aesthetic and beautiful on those temple walls and not in the open life of the people. Every concept about life and its existence in the varied forms is defined and law-governed. To be aesthetically satisfying, art is to be moulded in conformity with its laws. Otherwise its content will be crooked, emotions arousing contrived, unrealistic, imposed and

it may well transgress the barrier of decency to become vulgar and hence anti-life. So, to support the decadent culture of today comparing it with the contents of ancient Indian literature and art is nothing but utter foolishness. Only the ignorant of inexorable course of history or the motivated circle would try to argue otherwise confusing the whole issue.

## **In capitalist world everything is a commodity of capitalist market**

Marx showed long back that every single object in a capitalist society is a commodity and its value is determined in terms of money – be it physical labour or mental labour or even human relations – everything is commoditized. He wrote: "It has left no other bond between man and man but crude self-interest and unfeeling 'cash payment'... . It has degraded personal dignity to level of exchange value; and in place of countless dearly brought chartered freedoms, it has set up one solitary unscrupulous freedom – freedom of trade" (Communist Manifesto). The most cruel and wide manifestation of this commoditization in the current stage of decadent imperialist globalization vindicates in every respect this brilliant analysis made by Marx during the prime years of bourgeois civilization. Sports and games, which, as mentioned earlier, have been forms of enjoyable physical exercise and healthy mental relaxation, are today turned into much flaunted commodities under moribund capitalism-imperialism. A bare glance at Indian cricket will be glaringly revealing. Cricket was always too dear for the commoners to enjoy; it was the Rajas and their ilk – the moneyed – who sponsored it and participated in it. Yet, the participants of either cricket or any other game could, ever think of reaping commercial benefit out of it. But for the last decade or so, particularly after advent of capitalist globalization and neo-liberal economy as newly-fangled theory to stave off the escalated insoluble market crisis of capitalism-imperialism by opening up new areas of plunder, big multinationals identified cricket to be a potential sector of lucrative

'entertainment' business and began to make heavy investments in it. They made a very simple calculation. 10-12% of Indian population or nearly 150 million Indians have purchasing power equal to that of the people in advanced countries. This segment of affluent Indians has affordability for any luxury or entertainment.

So, India has become a super market for promoting 'cricket commodity' and a most sought after destination of huge capital deployment. Overnight the leading stars of cricket instead of being representatives of their country became brand ambassadors of leading monopoly houses with logos and promotional slogans embossed on their dress as well as the willow they wield. They became not just millionaires but billionaires. So their allegiance shifted from the country they have been playing for to the monopolists they are being paid and promoted by. So they readily consented to a changed format of the game suited to the business need of the monopolists and business tycoons and did not mind being auctioned in the market like medieval slaves. Also, it is common knowledge that in order to sell their products, capitalists use attractive wraps and unique advertising and promotional tactics even crossing limits of decency and sobriety. Is it not a common practice to display women scantily dressed or provocatively posed even for marketing a shaving blade or antiseptic cream? The purpose is two fold. One is to buttress commercial agenda and the other to degenerate the moral and culture of the people so that anything and everything howsoever depraved and debased could be passed as entertainment or art.

Moreover, just as the motive today is not to produce goods of long standing use but prefer 'use and throw' stuff so as to mint super-profit through augmented repeat purchase, 5-day Test cricket has given way to one-dayers and now the T-20 version. To make the sector yet more attractive, monopolists romped in glamorous film stars to add 'elegance to the show'. Several big monopolists as well as big film personalities either with their own resource or financed by big

corporates and 'secret' investors have floated cricket clubs on ownership basis and hired cricketers round the world through open market purchase based on highest bid just like share trading on the bourses. Thus everything, from cricket to cricketers, dress, venue, bat, ball, umpire, match proceedings, commentary, coverage everything is commercialized to the hilt with sponsors ruling the roost.

And to add more colour to this frenzy with their sensual movements and provocative attire, the cheerleaders were brought from abroad. Monopoly-owned media was also involved in creating the euphoria so much so that it practically became the lead news. It appeared as if all problems in the life of half-starved, jobless millions of our country have been solved and they could now enjoy themselves to their hearts' content by just watching these quick-to-start and quick-to-finish games, savoured with ugly pleasures displayed by cheerleaders into the bargain. Innocent people dying of terrorist attacks and bomb-blast, horrible accidents taking a heavy toll of human lives, blood-bathed elections, silent death of the poor and impoverished out of starvation and malnutrition, overdose of misery and malady plaguing the toiling masses—all have been relegated to insignificance. It is cheerleader-studded show of T-20 cricket that finds maximum coverage. While abyss of darkness pervades the life of the have-nots, this dazzling display of the haves is a cruel joke.

Those who are arguing all this is for entertainment – have to answer one simple question. Entertainment for whom? Is it for the people who nurture and crave for culture – or is it to provoke excitement and sensual pleasure for the debased psyche? Is it to pull the rising trend in the society or plunge the society into the dungeon of rotten mindset? Some fertile brains are arguing that Hindi films even regional language films contain dance numbers that resemble cheerleaders' show. So it is height of hypocrisy to object cheerleaders while enjoying the film item numbers. Our answer is – these Hindi films showing men and women gyrating and gesticulating

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## Question of correct leadership and correctness of guiding ideology is of paramount importance

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exile and over the years, Dharamsala has been a hotbed of anti-PRC activities and intrigues, of Tibetan separatism with the connivance of the Indian government. Various organizations championing a “free” Tibet mushroomed in different countries. The imperialist-capitalist world found in Dalai Lama a willing tool to be used against the PRC and lauded him as a saint, an apostle of peace. He was awarded the Nobel Peace prize. In October 2007, the US Congressional Gold Medal was awarded to him in the presence of President George Bush. But even so, significantly, no government accorded recognition to Dalai Lama’s Tibetan government-in-exile.

In the meanwhile, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) led by Mao Zedong, the great leader of the proletariat, Tibet, as an autonomous region of China, flourished. The Tibetan people, freed from theocracy and centuries old bondage, came out of the mediaeval darkness of illiteracy and superstition and stepped into the modern world. There was an all-round development of every aspect of their lives, material and cultural. Gone were the days of starvation and penury. Education advanced, the health services flourished. The Tibetans, along with other nationalities inhabiting China, engaged themselves in building up a new life.

The CPC under Mao, as per the correct Marxist-Leninist norms, pursued a policy of non-discrimination between the nationalities and of providing equal opportunity to the peoples of all nationalities. Mao had repeatedly urged upon taking appropriate steps to win over the masses, having patience in convincing the broader masses about the correct course of action and isolating bad elements to tackle the situation. Even Dalai Lama who is now is on record to have said that, “Every time I saw Mao, he inspired me again.” (Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile* (NY: Harper Perennial edition, p. 90.)

All these are matters of history and cannot be wished away.

### Turning tides after Mao’s death

But the things in China took a turn for the worse with the demise

of Mao Zedong in 1976. The revisionist clique headed by Deng Hsiao Ping that had so long remained subdued under the wise, restraining and salubrious role of Mao at the helm of affairs, now asserted itself and step by step usurped power in the party and the state. This deleterious process of counterrevolution went on to culminate in the full restoration of capitalism officially through the change of the Constitution in 2004 with which the process of the replacement of the working class rule by the rule of the capitalist class was complete. During this process of revisionism gaining ascendancy to culminate in the victory of counterrevolution, the socialist principles and norms were flouted, made inoperative one by one and replaced with the capitalist ones in every sphere of life – economic, political, social and cultural. Along with this, during the Deng regime, there was alarming rise of bureaucratism, emergence of an all-powerful bureaucracy divorced from the people and poised against them, as had happened during the rule by the revisionist Khrushchev clique in the Soviet Union. While there is a malicious propaganda from the imperialist quarters mainly US about monasteries being destroyed in Tibet, fact is that the rulers of today’s capitalist China are building more Buddhist temples and using religion to make money. Thus, an all-round degeneration set in China and people in the whole country were subjugated to increasing capitalist exploitation. At present, they are suffering from full-scale, ruthless onslaughts of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic oppression and the quality of their life has deteriorated to an abysmal level. They are rising up in protest against the capitalist slavery here and there all over the country and their unrest and clashes with the police have become almost a daily occurrence.

Tibet, as a part of China, is also subjected to this capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic oppression. Moreover, with the socialist principles and norms governing the statecraft in running a multi-nationality state having been discarded, bourgeois vices like mutual distrust and animosity

among the constituent nationalities, fissiparous and separatist tendencies and the big-nationality chauvinism which impels the numerically biggest nationality to dominate and subjugate the other nationalities have come into play. It may be recalled that this very same phenomenon was observed in the Soviet Union under revisionist rule. Roots of the nationality problem, the problem of minorities, of religious obscurantism and religion can be eradicated from the society only through careful, patient, painstaking and sustained ideological-educational-cultural work in the sphere of social thinking in a scientific manner on the base of the world working class outlook of fraternity between workers of all nations and nationalities. It is possible to achieve this only under socialism. Instead, if suppression is resorted to, social reaction against it would be intense and would provide fertile ground for extremist, fundamentalist forces to germinate. This is what has happened in China in the post-Mao period, under revisionist rule and subsequently under capitalist rule. Such a process of degeneration could come about because of absence of the unifying role that the CPC, as a revolutionary party, used to play earlier. It is pertinent to mention that during the revisionist rule of Deng, proletarian culture and values were abandoned with such speed that highly reactionary fundamentalist sects like Falun Gong and Falun Dafa who preach sorcery, blind spiritualism, superstitious and obscurantist ideas could not only raise their ugly heads but gained strength in alarming position so much so that they had to be banned in 1999. It simply points out the depth of degeneration that CPC under the utterly revisionist leadership of Deng and his camp followers had plunged in. It is not at all difficult to understand that in such a milieu of fast paced deterioration, the concept of proletarian internationalism—the living soul of Marxism—ceased to be in existence for all practical purposes. And it is quite easy to understand that various types of divisive and separatist tendencies as well as narrow sectarian and parochial feelings made inroads in the society both in mainland China

as well as Tibet. There is no doubt that the curbing autonomy of Tibet started during the revisionist rule of China in the post-Mao period. So, at present, the Tibetan people, in addition to capitalist exploitation and oppression, are being subjected to serious curtailment of their autonomous rights and the dominant nationality oppression, often reflected in bureaucratic highhandedness and repression. As a result of all this, discontent among the Tibetans had been mounting. Seizing that opportunity, the extremist, fundamentalist forces in Tibet have spearheaded the recent disorder and it is being utilized in an anti-Chinese direction.

We consider that historically, Tibet is an inalienable part of China and this is recognized internationally, too. Difference in ethnicity alone does not constitute sufficient basis for forming an independent state for the ethnic Tibetans. There are many examples of multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-nationality states in the world. Every body is aware that national states have emerged only through nationalist movements within a well-defined land mass against the rule of Kings, feudal autocracy or colonialism. It is through the process of such movements that the people concerned developed, evolved and acquired commonness, a common market and other distinguishing characteristic features of a nation to historically emerge as nations. In course of his illumining discussion on the question of the rights of nations to self-determination, great Lenin held firmly that only an oppressed nation has an inalienable right to seek freedom from an oppressing nation. In absence of any such definite feature judged in the given socio-historic condition applying correct scientific yardstick, there can not be any legitimacy in demand for a separatist state. Viewed from this correct scientific angle, it is crystal clear since the Tibetans did never go through the process of being developed as a nation, the demand for an independent state of Tibet cannot but be regarded as a secessionist call that no right-thinking person can support. It is needless to add that a secessionist movement sponsored by feudo-capitalist forces and backed

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## Struggle of Tibetan people must conduce to greater socialist movement

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by the imperialists headed by US imperialists is highly reactionary and inimical to the cause of Tibetan people. Is it advisable that in the modern age, a group of people would separate out themselves based on religion and look backwards with all obscurantist ideas, age-old obsolete creeds, injunctions and bigotry taking over democratic norms, values and practices? Will it trigger progress or facilitate retrogression allowing opportunity-seekers and quarters of vested interest to call shots? Like any other secessionist movement, the current turbulence created in demand for secession of Tibet would bring in its wake nothing but a wreckage and devastation for the people of Tibet adding further woe to the odds. Moreover, it is to be borne in mind that considering strategic importance of the geographic location of Tibet, the imperialist camp headed by US imperialists are already overactive in extending their influence on that land. It is also alleged that US imperialists have pulled strings from behind during the latest unrest. If they are allowed entry and interference, Tibet would soon emerge as a hotbed of imperialist machination. Under no circumstances, the Tibetan people can afford to bring on calamity by

their own imprudence. So it is extremely important if not imperative for the Tibetan people to give up rallying behind instigating slogans of the vested interest and strictly regarding the land of Tibet as inalienable part of China, build up legitimate democratic movement against all sorts of discrimination and deprivation, denial of basic democratic rights and systematic erosion of their well-defined autonomy recognized during the era of socialism and against the oppression and injustices perpetrated on them by the newly emergent social-fascist rulers of capitalist China. They have to be extremely careful to ensure that the capitalist rulers of China does on no account get any scope or handle to brutally suppress their legitimate democratic movement on just demands by labelling the same as anti-Chinese secessionist upsurge.

### **Task before the Tibetan people**

It is also necessary for the right-thinking Tibetan people to understand that in any movement, the question of correct leadership and correctness of the guiding ideology is of extreme importance. They must resolve this question before engaging themselves in a

democratic movement on their legitimate demands. If they rally behind Dalai Lama, a theocratic, obscurantist and fundamentalist leadership then, they would only be working towards a revival of long discarded mediaeval theocratic rule and thus falling into the clutches of feudal and capitalist exploitation. That would strike at the very root of development of scientific bent of mind thereby causing greatest impediment before knowing and ferreting out the truth. Desired progress will be halted. In the name of creating a "free" Tibet, what actually would be installed is a puppet rule of US imperialism, the worst enemy of the mankind, as there is little doubt about Dalai Lama acting as an agent of US imperialism. Such being the character of the Dalai Lama leadership, the Tibetans must not get carried by any of his populist overtures or pretentious concern for people's welfare and ought not grant him any room whatsoever under any pretext for fanning separatist sentiment that would lead them nowhere but an apparent doom. As regards the question of adopting correct ideology to take their movement into logical culmination, it must dawn upon them that it is only the ennobling philosophy of Marxism-Leninism that can illumine the path to social

progress and advancement, eradication of all exploitation of man by man. It is only scientific socialism that can free the people from all repressions and coercions or aberrations like nationality oppression and linguistic oppression. Only a genuine socialist movement based on correct realization of Marxism-Leninism can guarantee equal economic, political and social rights. Once viewed from this correct scientific approach, the Tibetan people will understand the imperative necessity of building up their legitimate democratic movement as conducive to the greater socialist movement and making common cause as well as forging alliance with the toiling people of mainland China in their fight against the capitalist rulers having usurped power through counter-revolution. It is very critical for the oppressed Tibetan people to formulate correct outlook on every count, the leadership and guiding ideology, nature of demands, determining friends and foes of the struggle as well as the process of conduction of the struggle. It is hoped that the struggle of the Tibetan people would be channelized in this course and achieve victory through realization of their just demands in solidarity and fraternity with the toiling people of mainland China.

## Capitalism vulgarizes entertainment and reduces it to market commodity

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are far from ideal expressions of culture. These pot-pouri or pot-boilers with excess dose of prurient sex and nauseating violence are being released to tickle voyeuristic instincts so that the drooling audience is emasculated from within and poses no threat to the exploitative capitalist regime. So no saner mind or sober section ever consider these trash Bollywood stuff as anything of entertainment. For them, cheerleaders' show is just an extension of this deep-rooted conspiracy to kill finer sense and sensibility of the people. Why women constitute the bulk of the cheerleaders? Under decadent capitalism, approach of a patriarchal

society towards women cannot be overlooked. In feudal society women were kept behind doors – veiled. It was for the necessity of accomplishing bourgeois revolution that women were sought to be freed from all kinds of feudal bondage. But real emancipation of women did not come about. Today, under capitalism, women are enslaved under exploitative rule of capital. In the 'consumerist' market of moribund capitalism, woman body has become a commodity. So vulgar display of female physique has become an inseparable part of advertisement and entertainment business. Such humiliation of womanhood is equally humiliating and painful for a man of dignity and

honour as well. Pointing out to this tragic aspect of bourgeois civilization Marx and Engels said, "The debasement of the female sex is an essential character trait of civilization no less than of barbarianism, with this difference, that under civilization all the vices which barbarism practises in a simple and straight forward way, are now preserved in a complicated, ambiguous and hypocritical semblance. ...When women is kept enslaved man suffers from this even more than women herself". (Marx-Engels – Holy Family)

Thus it is clear that this blend of T-20 cricket and cheerleaders' type of amusement is a total "entertainment package" moulded in

the murky blend of decadent imperialist culture that seeks to stimulate crude passion through a mixed bag of rotten stuff that is meant to eat into the very vitals of human essence. The calculation is plain and simple. Create a frenzy around the T-20 version of the game where 'rapid flow of adrenaline is preferred over sports aesthetics', market it with the continuous drum-beating by the media, spice it with the recipe of tumultuous revelry and mint super profit by dishing out the offering in a palatable base. Indian cultural heritage and well-meaning people would not approve such indignity and indecency to prevail. Such obnoxious 'commodity culture' will be resisted in due course.

## A page from the Workers' World, USA

# Anti-imperialist leader from India talks to Boston workers

Workers in Boston had a unique opportunity here May 13 to share views with Manik Mukherjee, a veteran leader of working-class struggles from India.

Mr. Mukherjee is the general secretary of the International Anti-Imperialist and People's Solidarity Coordinating Committee and vice president of the All India Anti-Imperialist Forum.

Mukherjee has been at the forefront of organizing support and solidarity for the people of Nandigram in West Bengal, India. Peasant women there have been on the front lines of resisting the forced acquisition of their lands, which their families have farmed for centuries, for the creation of a "special economic zone" (SEZ) for Dow Chemical and other multinational corporations. The people stopped the SEZ by digging up the roads and making the bridges impassable, but they faced multiple massacres and mass rapes by West Bengali state agents.

On his arrival in Boston, Mukherjee was greeted by a delegation including United Steelworkers Local 8751 President Franz Mendez, Ed Childs of UNITE-HERE Local 26, Bishop Filipe Teixeira OFSJC, members of the executive board of the Archdale Roslindale Coalition and members of the International Action Center.

His first meeting was with a group of about 20 leaders, organizers' stewards and rank-and-file members of USW Local 8751, the Boston School Bus Drivers Union, and the organizing staff of District Council 35, Painters and Allied Trades. Workers from Haiti, Cuba, Angola, Brazil and three different U.S. states attended—a workers' United Nations, as Tony Hernandez of DC 35 remarked in his opening comments.

Mukherjee described the impact of the 1,300 SEZs that have already been established throughout India and the organizing in West Bengal of agricultural laborers' peoples committees to oppose them. Mass meetings were held, explaining that the land to be acquired for the Dow Chemical hub was all arable land—the breadbasket of Calcutta—that had provided the livelihood of the people for centuries. Its takeover would lead to famine and massive

unemployment. Existing factories and industrialization would be destroyed to make way for superexploitation, free from all labor laws and regulation as well as taxes.

The people of Nandigram, according to Mukherjee, said, "No! We will give our lives, but not our land." He recounted the battle of Nandigram, where police used torture, mass rape, burning down of houses and massacres, but were unable to defeat the people. The solidarity slogan of progressives throughout India became "My name, your name, our name is Nandigram!" Mukherjee pointed to the need for worldwide solidarity and working-class unity to fight back against the SEZs and the multinational corporations.

Mr. Mukherjee next went to the Charlestown Bus Yard to speak to unionized school bus drivers on their break. He gave a general description of the conditions of workers in India, where more than 90 percent are unorganized, where there is 40 percent unemployment, and where 36 percent live below the poverty line, surviving on one meal a day. He talked of massive layoffs, no jobs, loitering, begging and prostitution, and expressed the need for workers of the whole world to unite against the capitalists and bring an end to wage slavery.

Later, a reception was held for Mukherjee at Boston City Hall with African-American city councilors Chuck Turner and Charles Yancey, and a representative of Korean-American City Councilor Sam Yoon. The councilors were deeply moved by his account of the role of multinational corporations and SEZs throughout India. Councilor Turner proposed drafting a City Council Resolution denouncing special economic zones in general and Dow Chemical specifically for their criminal role in Nandigram. This resolution could become a model for other progressive city councils to demonstrate their solidarity and aid in building a movement to stop this global injustice.

Finally, Mukherjee addressed an International Action Center forum on 15 May. Bishop Teixeira described the significant, 3,000-strong immigrant rights demonstration on May Day in

Everett, East Boston and Chelsea. Miya Campbell discussed peoples' resistance to the racist acquittal of the cops who killed Sean Bell.

Steve Kirschbaum, who was part of an IAC delegation to Nandigram last November led by

former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, spoke of the 30,000-strong anti-imperialist demonstration that greeted their delegation in Calcutta, and how the SEZs are a worldwide strategy at the forefront of

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## Eminent citizens voice protest against subversion of democratic rights, state and party terrorism

In a mammoth convention organized by the Forum of Artistes, Cultural activists and Intellectuals at University Institute, Kolkata, on 26 May 2008, eminent citizens and prominent personalities from all walks of life round the country voiced their strong protest against a planned attack on democracy and democratic rights as well as unleashing of state and party terrorism. Supporting the resolution moved in the conference, the distinguished speakers comprising jurists, educationists, social activists, film and stage personalities, painters, litterateurs, scientists, doctors, journalists, singers, sports

personalities, former administrative heads and executives fervently called upon all right-thinking and conscientious people to give up all inertia and vacillations and come forward to strengthen this united movement of the civil society to save humanity from an impending catastrophe. Those present in the convention including speakers were Susanta Chatterjee, Medha Patkar, Amlan Dutta, Santosh Bhattacharyya, Malay Sengupta, Tarun Sanyal, Bivas

Chakraborty, Suvaprasanna, Arun Kumar, Ravibarma Kumar, Suhas Borkar, Biswanath Bajpai, Pratul Mukhopadhyay, Kashikanta Moitra, Debabrata Bandyopadhyay, Miratun Nahar, Alaknanda Roy, Dr. Subhas Chakraborty, Sujay Basu, Pabitra Gupta, Pallab Kirttania, Meher Engineer, Sipra Bhattacharyya, Aparna Sen, Bijaya Mukherjee, Amitava Banerjee, Jaya Mitra, Gouri Sankar Ghatak, Dhruva Mukhopadhyay, Sunanda Sanyal, Amiya Banerjee etc. Those who sent messages wishing success of the convention included Justice Rajendra Sachar, Justice P. B. Sawant, Sukumari Bhattacharyya, Sumit Sarkar, Tanika Sarkar, Anand Patwardhan and Sumit Chakraborty.

The convention at the outset paid respectful homage to the martyrs who lost their life in the struggle for resisting forcible grabbing of fertile land in the name of industrialization as also those who passed away in course of organizing the movement of the Forum against the ghastly attack on the life and livelihood of the poor people. It also affirmed solidarity with all oppressed and repressed people of this state and the country.



*The Convention : the dais and the audience*

## Inhuman police atrocities on peaceful demonstration at Lakhimpur, Assam

On April 11 last, under the auspices of All India DSO and All India MSS, a peaceful demonstration of students and women was organized at Lakhimpur town of Assam against the unprecedented price rise. Near the District Collector's office, where a memorandum was to be submitted, the peaceful demonstration, completely unprovoked, was brutally lathi-charged, dumbfounding even the onlookers. About 30 persons were injured, some of them being as serious as to be immediately given medical aids. Police arrested 39 persons, later releasing 30 of them. They clamped non-bailable sections upon 9 persons and sent them to police custody. Among them, were two women of which one had a child of 3 years with

her. It took a lot of pains to make the police allow the child to remain with her mother.

Even inside the police vehicle, arrested persons were threatened with abusive languages, and were beaten; a woman was misbehaved. They were released on bail after four days.

The unprecedented police atrocities stirred up strong resentment among people of Lakhimpur. They came to realize that it was an attempt by police, the custodian of law and order in the interest of the exploiting class to see that a movement organized by SUCI did not spread and took ground among the masses, as they knew it for sure that it was different from any such by other parties who use it to their benefit towards electoral ends.



*Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff and veteran leader of SUCI and General Secretary, International Anti-Imperialist and Peoples' Struggle Coordinating Committee sits in New York on May 16, 2008 with Ramsey Clark, President, IAPSCC and Sara Flounders, Member Secretariat, IAPSCC to discuss about news and course of the anti-imperialist movement under the leadership of IAPSCC.*

### Rajasthan SUCI condemns firing and serial blasts

In a statement condemning the police firing on the Gujjar demonstrators that killed over 30 people, the Rajasthan State Secretary of SUCI Comrade Girijeshwar Singh held both the Central and the Rajasthan state governments accused of overlooking the tension mounting and failing to dissipate it before it went out of control. He also condemned the serial blasts at Jaipur and held both the governments responsible for their gross negligence, that led to loss of 70 valuable life, grievous injury to over 150 people and extensive damage to property in this cowardly violence. He demanded proper compensation for the victims of both the incidents.

## Anti-imperialist leader from India

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imperialism's global war against the workers.

Mr. Mukherjee said Nandigram represented the type of class struggle needed to push back capitalism and move toward revolution. Organizing mass struggle and class struggle, as in Nandigram, provides the opportunity to explain the need for revolution. He gave a class analysis of the current stage of Indian development as a developing imperialist power, discussing the impact of the collapse of the Soviet

Union on the global working-class struggle and the need for all anti-imperialist forces to unite and renew the worldwide struggle against imperialist war.

Jonathan Regis demonstrated the new Nandigram Solidarity Web site, [www.nandigramsolidarity.us](http://www.nandigramsolidarity.us), which includes videos and photos about Nandigram, an online interactive petition demanding justice for Nandigram, and other ways to get involved in supporting the struggle.

By Frank Neisser  
Boston

## AIMSS held 3rd Kerala State Women's Conference

AIMSS Kerala State Committee organized the 3<sup>rd</sup> state conference from 9 to 11 May at Kottayam Town with a pledge to resist cultural degeneration and socio-economic onslaughts of globalization, as well

as to fight price rise, anti-people liquor policy of the state government, mounting atrocities on women etc. Arundhathi Roy, the well-known writer spoke in the inaugural function

On 9 May there was a public meeting at Kottayam Town inaugurated by Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, President of AIMSS. She threw light upon the depth of cultural degeneration, price rise and

other economic onslaughts upon the people due to the policies of globalization implemented by the central and state governments through out the country. She alleged that the CPI(M) and CPI are also equally responsible as the Congress and the BJP, since they are also vigorously implementing the very same policies.

She called upon the women of the state to rise up and build up an uncompromising struggle taking lessons from the historic Singur-Nandigram Struggle. AIMSS general secretary Dr. H. G. Jayalakshmi delivered the main speech. State leaders from Karnataka and Tamilnadu also spoke. SUCI Kerala State Secretary Comrade C.K.Lukose was the chief guest. State president of AIMSS Comrade Lalitha Mathew presided. Two day long delegate session on 10th and 11th was participated by more than 150 delegates representing different districts of the state. A 72-member state council and 23-member executive committee was elected in the conference with Comrade Lalitha Mathew as President and Comrade Shyla K. John as Secretary.



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE