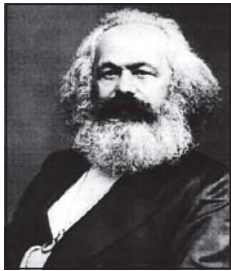


# Proletarian Era

Volume 45 No. 14  
March 1, 2012

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

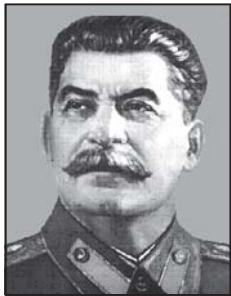
Price : Rs. 2.00



5 May, 1818 — 14 March, 1883

**“It will be the workers, with their courage, resolution and self-sacrifice, who will be chiefly responsible for achieving victory. The petty bourgeoisie will hesitate as long as possible and remain fearful, irresolute and inactive; but when victory is certain it will claim it for itself and will call upon the workers to behave in an orderly fashion, and it will exclude the proletariat from the fruits of victory. ... the rule of the bourgeois democrats, from the very first, will carry within it the seeds of its own destruction, and its subsequent displacement by the proletariat will be made considerably easier..”**

(Marx — *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League (1850)*)



9 December, 1879 — 5 March, 1953

**“We are all acquainted with facts from the history and practice of capitalism illustrative of the rapid development of technology under capitalism, when the capitalists appear as the standard-bearers of the most advanced techniques,.... But we are also familiar with facts of a different kind, illustrative of a halt in technical development under capitalism, when the capitalists appear as reactionaries in the development of new techniques and not infrequently resort to hand labour... this howling contradiction ... can only be explained by the basic economic law of modern capitalism, that is, by the necessity of obtaining the maximum profit. Capitalism is in favour of new techniques when they promise it the highest profit. Capitalism is against new techniques, and for resort to hand labour, when the new techniques do not promise the highest profit.”**

(Stalin — *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*)

## **Gross injustice and shameless cover-up operation mark 10th year of Gujarat pogrom Naked bourgeois ploy to ‘exonerate’ butcher Modi and project him as a candidate for country’s next prime ministership**

The memory of the macabre killing haunts Gujarat even after ten years! These killings spelt the nation’s descent into unalloyed barbarism! It was a veritable pogrom, a systematic, targeted massacre of a religious minority by frenzied armed storm-troopers and foot-soldiers of arch communal RSS-Sangh Parivar with the full complicity, consent and direct involvement of the state, and a good chunk of Gujarat’s power elite. But even after a decade, in utter disdain to the demand of the countrymen, none of the culprits of worst carnages and organized violence on the minorities has been punished so far. Rather, they move around freely, openly threaten the victims of and witnesses to the dastardly acts, and continue to indulge in all sorts of anti-social activities under direct

patronization and protection of Narendra Modi, the BJP-RSS chief minister of Gujarat and a prominent face of blatant communalism-fanaticism of the land. Enough evidence was submitted to unravel the truth. But to everyone’s dismay, the Special Investigation Team (SIT) headed by former CBI Director R K Raghavan is reported to have turned 180 degree from its earlier stand and given a clean chit to chief minister Modi and 56 others on the ground that there is no “prosecutable evidence”. The right-thinking democratic minded people are visibly enraged at this shameless caricature of high level investigation and the brazen mockery of the refrain “law will take its own course” that the bourgeois pundits and politicians parrot with alacrity to feign

neutrality of the legal system. The question is what proshipmpted the SIT to ‘exonerate’ Modi of the ghastly crime though, as revealed in the media long back, it had come to a completely different conclusion a couple of years back, based on facts and evidences? It is also equally inexplicable why the country’s Apex Court which had once censured Modi for being “a modern day Nero who watched while Gujarat burned” has preferred to let off the same Modi superseding its own stand and views? And what is most disturbing is that now Modi is projected by not only RSS-BJP but also the industrial barons and foreign monopolists as the country’s next prime minister. The sign is ominous. A grave conspiracy is at work and that needs to be unravelled.

### **Recalling the days of horror and terror**

It may be recalled that one compartment of Sabarmati Express train carrying *karsevaks* (foot soldiers of RSS-Sangh Parivar) caught fire on 27 February, 2002 at Godhra station in Gujarat. 59 passengers died in the accident. Before any investigation, the RSS-Sangh Parivar authorities declared it to be a handiwork of local residents belonging to Muslim community and let loose incensed armed storm-troopers in thousands to pounce upon innocent minority people. Within two days, thousands were hacked to death, innumerable women raped and tortured, children were chopped into pieces, property looted and plundered. What had

*Contd. on page 2*

## Special Investigation Team changed its view overnight at the behest of ruling class

*Contd. from page 1*

been in progress in Gujarat for 45 days since February 28, 2002 was not a communal altercation or riot, or as much of the media calls it "violence". It was a planned one-sided killing with bestial savagery that has very few parallels in history, reminding one of the racial hatred perpetrated by the Hitler regime to outcast and wipe out the Jews. Harrowing incidents of 14 hapless workers burnt alive inside Best Bakery, brutal killing of 69 people including former Congress MP Ehsan Jafri at Gulberg Housing Society, gang rape of Kausar Banu, a pregnant woman and then removal of the foetus from her womb with a sharp weapon by the frenzied saffron brigade, images of people, real flesh-and-blood human beings, being burnt alive, speared or quartered and dismembered into small bits shook the entire nation. But, to everyone's dismay, both state and central governments headed by BJP virtually remained indulgent onlooker to such macabre killings of country's own citizens. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then prime minister, who was often described by the bourgeois media as "the secular human face" of BJP, allowed this barbarism to continue, proving thereby that it was not his face, but a mask to hoodwink people. Obvious question stirring the minds of thinking people had been how to explain occurrence of a such a horrific medieval barbarism in a civilized society. The countrymen were severely intrigued at the obvious collusion of Modi and his government in this gruesome massacre and demanded earliest prosecution of the perpetrators of such a ghastly crime. Renowned intellectuals, social and humanist activists and organizations came forward to stand by the victims, organize fact-finding missions and moved judiciary to discharge its due role in bringing truth to the fore, provide justice to the victims, and order stringent as well as exemplary punishment to the culprits. Under pressure of this rising public opinion, the judicial courts took up the cases and the juridical process was set in motion.

### SIT itself admitted complicity of Modi

But the optimism that delivery of justice was on the anvil has been short-lived only. Many exasperating twists in the entire episode have made people apprehensive that some invisible hands are at work to shield the criminals. Some

contradictory stands on the part of the judiciary were noticed earlier. But the recent revelation that SIT has finally acquitted Modi of all charges does corroborate the apprehension. SIT was appointed by the Supreme Court in 2009 to probe into nine most gruesome killings during Gujarat pogrom and submit its report by 2011. It is relevant to mention here that on 3 December, 2010, a leading national daily ran a front page story headlined 'SIT clears Narendra Modi of willfully allowing post-Godhra riots.' Though BJP spokespersons popped up on news channels hailing the imaginary 'clean-chit' as a political triumph, it was later found from select leaks in the media that the report pointed to exactly the opposite. It reportedly commented that political and communal agendas 'weighed heavily' in Modi's handling of the criminal justice system. It recorded his government's abject failure in providing justice to the victims. It found Modi guilty on many counts: a communal mindset, inflammatory speeches against the Muslim community that "showed a measure of thoughtlessness and irresponsibility on the part of a person holding a high public office", destruction of crucial records, appointment of Sangh members as public prosecutors, illegal positioning of ministers in police control rooms during the riots, and persecution of neutral officers. SIT report recorded that Modi was closeted with 7 top level police officials in a meeting at his residence on 27 February 2002 immediately after which the pogrom commenced. According to SIT, Modi's statement "accusing some elements in Godhra and the neighbourhood as possessing a criminal tendency was sweeping and offensive coming as it did from a chief minister." (Page 13 of SIT chairman's comments) "His (Modi) implied justification of the killings of innocent members of the minority community read together with an absence of a strong condemnation of the violence that followed Godhra suggest a partisan stance at a critical juncture when the state had been badly disturbed by communal violence." (Page 153 of report) Pointing at the way the entire operation was conducted at the instance of the government, the SIT commented that two senior ministers — Ashok Bhatt and IK Jadeja were positioned in the control rooms with "no definite charter", fuelling the speculation that they "had been placed to

interfere in police work and give wrongful decisions to the field officers". "The fact that he (Modi) was the cabinet minister for Home would heighten the suspicion that this decision had his blessings." (Page 12 of chairman's comments) The SIT further said that had former Ahmedabad joint commissioner of police MK Tandon and former deputy commissioner of police PK Gondia carried out their duty, hundreds of Muslims could have been saved. (Pages 48-50) Accusing the government of hushing up material evidence, the report also said, "The Gujarat government has reportedly destroyed the police wireless communication of the period pertaining to the riots." It further added, "No records, documentations or minutes of the crucial law and order meetings held by the government during the riots had been kept." (Page 13) Drawing attention to involvement of Sangh Parivar members and their hirelings in this savagery, the report further stated: "It appears that the political affiliation of the advocates did weigh with the government for the appointment of public prosecutors." (Page 77) The SIT discovered that the state police deliberately overlooked the cell phone records of Sangh Parivar members and BJP leaders involved in the killings (Pages 101-105) and a pro-VHP advocate was appointed as government pleader in the Vadodara District and Sessions Court in 2002. The SIT is stated to have further commented that "it has been found that a few of the past appointees were in fact politically connected, either to the ruling party or organizations sympathetic to it." (Page 10 of chairman's comments) There are many other similar comments in the SIT report as per media exposes which clearly show that Modi as chief minister did preside over this terrible implosion of a civilized society.

### Other evidences

Besides leaked SIT report, there are other evidences as well to prove complicity of Modi and his government in the diabolic act of one-sided killings. First of all, Haren Pandya, former Gujarat minister for state for revenue in Modi's cabinet during the pogrom who reportedly opposed Modi's plan to inflame a communal conflagration by bringing the bodies of Godhra train accident to Ahmedabad and later came out openly against the state government for virtually instigating the savagery

and pogrom was murdered in 2003 under mysterious circumstances. As per SIT report, two retired justices PB Sawant, and Suresh Hosbet, who were members of the Concerned Citizens' Tribunal inquiring into the ghastly episode have confirmed that Haren Pandya while deposing before them informed having "attended a meeting on 27 February 2002 night at the residence of Modi in which the latter had made it clear that there should be a backlash from the Hindus on the next day and the police should not come in their way." (Page 18)

Next is Sanjeev Bhatt, an IPS officer posted in the Gujarat State Intelligence Bureau who dared to reveal that Modi asked police to go slow during 2002 killings and wanted Muslims to be "taught a lesson". Bhatt had in a filed affidavit in the Gujarat High Court also claimed that he was in possession of documentary evidence pointing towards the involvement of some ruling party politicians in the Haren Pandya murder. "The chief minister was fully aware of the ongoing carnage and was independently getting real-time information updates on the developments taking place at Gulberg Society", stated Bhatt. Bhatt also accused Modi government of destroying material documents and incriminating records. KS Subramanian, a former director general of police who visited Gujarat after the 2002 anti-Muslim riots as a member of the Justice V R Krishna Iyer-led fact-finding team, has supported Bhatt's allegation. Another top police officer RB Sreekumar who took over as the additional DG of the State Intelligence Bureau in April 2002 produced an audio recording which allegedly proved that the then state home secretary GC Murmu, home department official Dinesh Kapadia and the state government's special prosecutor Arvind Pandya had tried tutoring and intimidating him into not telling the truth before the Nanavati-Shah Commission constituted to find out the truth behind the post-Godhra 2002 carnage. A Division Bench of Gujarat High Court has observed that "Gujarat government's inadequate response and inaction (to contain the riots) resulted in an anarchic situation which continued unabated for days on (end)... Because of this there was large-scale destruction of religious properties." Thus, both through testimonies of victims, human rights

*Contd. on page 3*

# Supreme Court which called Modi a “modern Nero” abrogated responsibility of pronouncing final judgment

*Contd. from page 2*

groups, independent media reports and the SIT's own findings, it is as clear as daylight that armed attacks on and killings of innocent citizens belonging to minority community were either allowed to happen or directly abetted by Modi and his government.

### SIT's volte face

But while submitting its final report, SIT is stated to have made a volte face and invoked farcical logic to justify its cooked up conclusion. In its findings it has reportedly concluded that there is no prosecutable evidence against the chief minister. Curiously, SIT Chairman RK Raghavan is stated to have said now: “As many as 32 allegations were probed into during this preliminary inquiry. These related to several acts of omission and commission by the state government and its functionaries, including the chief minister. A few of these alone were in fact substantiated.” Wrapping up his observation, the inquiry officer states: “It can be concluded that a law and order meeting was in fact held by Modi at his residence late in the evening of 27 February 2002. However, the allegation that the chief minister instructed the chief secretary, DGP and other senior officials to allow the Hindu community to vent their anger on the Muslims in the wake of Godhra incident is not established.” Raghavan, as per media report, went on to add, “The substantiated allegations did not throw up material that would justify further action under the law.” According to police sources, the SIT report further said that there was no credible evidence to back suspended IPS officer Sanjiv Bhatt’s claim that he was present at the law and order meeting chaired by Modi on 27 February, 2002. The SIT, as revealed in the media, dismissed Subramanian’s application as “an account based on hearsay.” Though the SIT found the audio recording submitted by Sreekumar to be genuine, it is reported to have alleged that he produced it as an act of pique only after he was superseded for a promotion and the same has “no evidentiary value whatsoever”. SIT appears to have ignored the statements recorded by it of two senior retired judges, justice Sawant and justice Hosbet. The sources also pointed out that the SIT did not rely on the report of Raju Ramchandran, amicus curie (someone, who is not a party to a

case but volunteers to offer information to assist a court in deciding a matter before it) appointed by the Supreme Court to independently evaluate the reports filed by the SIT by interacting with witnesses of the case. Ramachandran had strongly disagreed with the SIT’s view that no case against the Gujarat chief minister was made out.

Modi, it may be mentioned, rewarded the police officers who allowed anti-Muslim riots to fester with lucrative postings so that they are “not obliged to speak against the chief minister or the state government.” (Page 4 of chairman’s comments) In stark contrast stands Modi’s vindictive agenda against his “detractors and disobedient...” who showed rare audacity to bring truth to light, depose before the court and fact-finding committees, submit evidences showing connivance of Modi and his government and mentor RSS-Sangh Parivar’s role in orchestrating this mayhem, was clear from the effort made to either threaten, bribe, harass or even murder them. Bhatt was suspended, implicated in a false case and sent to jail. Post-retirement benefits of Sreekumar were held back. One more IPS officer Rahul Sharma who had protected a mosque and saved dozens of

Muslim lives, and had submitted call data records of all the mobile phones in operation in Ahmedabad during the mayhem to the investigating Nanavati-Shah Commission and Banerjee Commission was also transferred out. In December 2004, a sting operation by news weekly Tehelka had shown BJP MLA Madhu Srivastav admitting on camera that he had paid Rs18 lakh to Zabeera Sheikh, daughter of the owner of ill-fated Best Bakery who lodged a police complaint against 21 accused, to turn hostile. Haren Pandya had to pay with his life.

### Modi’s involvement is not implicit but explicit

It is clear that after the communal frenzy and killings were abated, both the courts and the police were either manipulated or subverted; guilty officers were rewarded, upright officers were penalized or cut to size; official records were destroyed. Yet SIT finds no reason to prosecute Modi. Incredible indeed! One is flummoxed by the SIT’S timidity in driving its own findings to their natural conclusions. How can SIT say that Modi or state machinery was not involved in killing thousands of innocent persons? If there were no such orders from the

top then why did not the state police act against the mobs killing innocent persons and save lives? Why didn’t the police arrest or charge the guilty persons sniffing out innocent lives with bestial passion? After the Godhra train burning that killed 59 innocent persons, the police acted quickly and arrested 100 suspects. But the same police didn’t arrest or charge the guilty persons or suspects when thousands of innocent persons were killed. Doesn’t it show double standards? Can police follow such double standards unless they are ordered, approved and protected by the hierarchy of state government? If Modi or state government had not okayed that, what prevented them from taking punitive action against the irate officials? The SIT, also self-admittedly, has not examined several crucial people. Who are they? What prevented the SIT to bring them into the picture and examine them? How much more culpability does an elected representative of India, inducted into office on Constitutional oath, have to display before further investigation and action is warranted against him? One does not expect a chief minister to physically patrol streets with mobs to be held culpable. He only needed to look away or send a tacit signal for utter mayhem to take over. That itself would have been crime enough. As per earlier findings of the SIT, Modi did much more than that.

### Supreme Court orders

Even, judiciary, instead of abating, is regrettably abetting this grave injustice. In bourgeois democracy, it is envisioned that judiciary functions with relative neutrality. As the highest judicial body, Supreme Court (SC) is expected to uphold the rule of law without any discrimination. Besides calling him a “modern Nero”, the SC bench earlier indicted Modi and his government on Gujarat killings by observing that, “When ghastly killings take place in the land of Mahatma Gandhi, it raises a very pertinent question as to whether some people have become so bankrupt in their ideology that they have deviated from everything which was so dear to him (Gandhi).” It also held that Modi “demonstrates destruction of our democracy”. There have been as many as 22 fake encounter cases in Gujarat between 2003 and 2006 on the ostensible plea of repelling

*Contd. on page 6*

## Citizens’ convention at Ahmedabad on 10 years of Gujarat killings



On the occasion of completion of 10 years since diabolic Gujarat Carnage-2002, Movement for Secular Democracy (MSD) and Peoples’ Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) organized a Citizens’ Convention in Ahmedabad on 26 February. The Convention was presided over by Shri Prakashbhai N. Shah, an eminent citizen of Gujarat and was attended among others by suspended IPS officer Sanjeev Bhatt, retired police officer R.B. Sreekumar, Poet Saroop Dhruv, writer Yashwant Mehta, Sarahben Baldiwala, Dwarikanath Rath, Uttambhai Parmar, Tanveer Jafri the victim of Gulberg Society killings and the son of Ehsan Jaffri, Gautambhai Thaker and others. The Convention recalled with grave concern at the subversion of democracy and in the absence of the rule of law, peace and communal harmony through all these ten years. The convention resolved that the demonstration, scheduled on the convention date but refused permission at the last hours, would be held on 9 March, along with a peaceful civil disobedience, if the government does not change its attitude.



## Apex court on AFSPA

# Have the vital questions been approached ?

A fresh commotion has arisen in connection with the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), one of the most conspicuously brute, inhuman and irrational instance among the host of black draconian Acts that India, the largest 'democracy' in the world has adorned itself with during this more than six decades of independence of its capitalist state. It involves the apex court of the country, rather its recent remarks and observations in regard to the application of the Act, AFSPA. Readers may recollect that a few months back on the pages of *Proletarian Era* (Vol.43, No.8), we exposed all the draconian features of the AFSPA. Later and recent developments prove how correct were the views and apprehensions expressed in that write-up.

The AFSPA is such an Act that grants armed forces personnel unbridled power to shoot to kill, even on suspicion, a provision brazenly subverting the constitutional right to life of the victim guaranteed by the Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Moreover, the sections 6 and 7 of the Act shield the army with immunity against conviction for any misuse or abuse as no legal proceeding can be initiated against the trigger happy killers or rapists without the prior permission of the Central government. This, again, goes blatantly against the Constitutional guarantee "to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights" as expounded in the Section 32(1) of the Constitution. The AFSPA provisions also clearly contravene established canons of international laws and violates basic tenets of criminal justice system without which no civilized society can and should exist. In fact, no country worth being considered as a civilized land has such provisions as enumerated in the AFSPA.

With such power and immunity behind the Act at hand, the armed forces have perpetrated through years countless incidents of arbitrary detention, torture, rape, looting and above all, fake encounter killing. Civilians suspected of having information about militants, in fact many of them innocent, have been routinely detained, tortured and killed in custody by the armed forces. Jammu and Kashmir is replete with such incidents in tens of thousands; in the north-east India, the AFSPA has become notorious with murders of thousands of ULFA cadres in Assam and brute torture and killing of Thangjam Manorama Devi in Manipur as a suspected member of the Peoples Liberation Army without anything objectionable recovered from her at the time of arrest by the Assam Rifles.

Chittisingpura case was one of such ghastly incidents in Kashmir. In March 2000 seven people were gunned down allegedly by army officers in what is known as the Pathribal fake encounter. The army had branded them as Lashker-e-Taiba(LeT) terrorists responsible for the killing of 36 Sikhs at Chittisingpura a few days earlier. The victims were found to be none

other than innocent locals from nearby villages of Brariangan, Halan and Anantnag. Eight officers were chargesheeted for the murder.

In November 2011 and January 2012, more than a decade later, in two hearings the Supreme Court heard the CBI challenge against the Army invocation of AFSPA, allegedly to stall prosecution of the eight officers served with chargesheets. The senior counsel for CBI submitted that the Army was "trying to bury the case" against its officers. He made counter allegations that even the so-called weapons recovered from the scene of "fake encounter" was actually planted by army personnel. He added that none of the chargesheeted officers have been dealt with by the army, rather they are still in service. Incidentally it may be added that the army, the trigger happy assailant of people, insists that it has court-martialled dozens of personnel for human rights violations, but brazenly denies to release any trial record or name, making it impossible to verify whether the alleged perpetrators were tried.

The Chittisingpura case, however, has added a new dimension to the issue of the AFSPA, from the comments and directives it evoked from the Supreme Court bench. The bench remarked to Additional Solicitor General representing the Army: "You go to a place in exercise of AFSPA, you commit rape, you commit murder, then where is the question of sanction? It is a normal crime which needs to be prosecuted, and that is our stand." The court sought responses from the Union home and defence ministries on the army claim that alleged fake encounter killings in Jammu and Kashmir and Assam can not be prosecuted without prior sanction. At the same time it further told the Army counsel "You are neither taking over the case under the Army Act for court martial, nor are you allowing the proceedings under the criminal court to continue. This cannot go on. You are creating a situation in which nobody can proceed." "You are playing with the court."

As indicated, this rap on the army by the apex court, has raised

the commotion. The court held that "the issue involved vital questions of law relating to public", though media observed "it made no direct comment on the legality of that controversial legislation" of AFSPA. Media even questioned how the home and defence ministries of the same Union government could take opposing positions, soft or hard towards toning down the AFSPA, and senior law officers of the government could appear for each side. Media termed it "silly"; but should it not be better seen as devious efforts to create confusions and muddle the real issue?

There were reactions also from other quarters. Omar Abdullah, the chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir remarked in January 2012, "one of the travesties of our justice system is that 12 years down the line we have not been able to deliver justice." He also stood for reconsidering the need for partial revocation of the AFSPA in the state. The army flatly and arrogantly rejected his remarks stating that they can not work without the power of the AFSPA. That the union government also shared the same view was already evident from the same tone that Pranab Mukherjee had voiced in 2006 when he was union defence minister. He categorically made it clear that it was not possible for the armed forces to function in "disturbed areas" without such powers, though the Reddy Committee appointed by the same Union government had recommended that "It is highly desirable and advisable to repeal the Act altogether" since the Act "has become a symbol of oppression, an object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and highhandedness" These different reactions and comments centring round the AFSPA bring certain questions in focus. The incident in question, the Chittisingpura killing and the Pathribal fake encounter took place in March 2000. And the Court was hearing the case in 2011- 2012, more than a decade later. Was it a stray case of delay? No. From behind the cover of unimaginable immunity the Act confers upon the perpetrators, that is the armed forces, the Home Ministry of the Union government has rejected in the past four years alone, at least 42 requests to sanction the prosecution of military personnel found *prima facie* to have engaged in at least 31 cases of crimes such as murder, culpable homicide and rape in Kashmir only (The Hindu, February 7, 2012). To cite among such incidents, the Home Ministry of the Union government rejected in 2009 request for sanction for the case

against a Brigadier charged with murder of a Batwara resident with no record of involvement in terror, whose body was found floating in the Dal Lake in 1991; the case of another Major-rank officer for an attempted rape of a Beerwah woman in 1997 was initially closed, then reopened in 2001 with fresh evidence of the officer's identity, but was rejected by the Ministry on September 12, 2011; the request for sanction of prosecution of troops of the 3 Kumaon Regiment charged with killing a Ganderbal resident in 1997, was denied on June 3, 2011. Reportedly, officials of the Home Ministry would not discuss cases on record, but would only add that the investigations holding the security force personnel guilty are conducted shoddily. In all these cases justice, not reached, was, however, delayed for over a decade. So the armed forces enjoyed immunity; the government ensured that. And what has been the judiciary doing all this time? Does mere blaming the army for 'playing with the court' suffice for consoling the hapless victims who may look towards the judiciary as their only refuge against tyrant armed forces? Is not justice delayed justice denied? We may be at a loss to find words to describe this position of the judiciary. But certainly questions about the intent can not be pushed back.

And then comes the next question. Even after such a delay at providing justice, the issue revolves round whether there should be immunity for the army, and if it should, to what extent, even if it is charged with the most heinous crimes like rape, murder, loot, or arson and such. But should not the really pertinent question have been: Why should such an Act be still there which contravenes fundamental constitutional rights, international laws, even basic human rights without which a civilized society can not exist? Why should there be such an Act which tend to protect the barbarous perpetrators by law? It is such an Act with such unbridled power and immense immunity that has made the army assume the most arrogant high-handedness towards not only perpetrating crimes at will, but also standing out defiantly in defence of its misdeeds, raising its ugly autocratic head above law.

Scores of other vital questions follow in trail of these. Is India a democratic country? Do the areas branded 'disturbed' belong to India; are they parts of the same democratic system? Does it not go beyond any conception that a country claiming itself as democratic harbours such a

## Massive support to the General Strike on 28 February

In response to the united call of the 11 central trade union organizations and federations of the country, the all India industrial strike on 28 February last against the totally anti-people policies of the Union and states government came out to be a sweeping, overwhelming success through the length and breadth of the country. Comrade Shankar Saha, General Secretary, AIUTUC has congratulated the toiling people for this overwhelming success of the strike. He at the sametime expressed surprise that many leaders of the CPI(M)-backed coordination Committee of the West Bengal government. employees broke strike and attended office to avoid breach of service! Hapless toiling people — the workers, the peasants, the middle class including the small businessmen and entrepreneurs responded unambiguously to the call of the general strike with a rousing spirit as they felt it from their life and experience that here it was one of the tools and that too without an alternative that would help them to fight back to survive from the back-breaking policies of the governments that are playing totally subservient to the capitalist class. To that extent, it was a fitting rebuttal by the working class and the hundreds of millions of toiling people to the fascistic measures of the central and state governments and the vile propaganda of a section of the media intended to gag people's voice, confuse people at large and crush the general strike. This is particularly true in states like West Bengal, wherein the Trinamool Congress-Congress alliance

government led by the TMC came down heavily upon the strike call. The government headed by the Chief Minister- cum- the Supremo of the ruling party TMC unleashed all means of threat and coercion making use of the governmental power, bureaucracy, a section of the media and even the party activists flanked by hoodlums to prevent the working people, particularly the government employees from joining the strike. But defying all these attacks on these means of movement for their life and livelihood, which amounted to attacks on launching movement itself in general, people of West Bengal resorted massively and courageously to make the industrial strike a total success.

However, even such a successful strike has left in its trail vital questions for people to probe. What next? Will a strike for a day be enough to stop the all-out attacks on the working class like the trampling of the hard-earned labour rights, devastating price-rise, entry of FDI in retail business, the new pension scheme, using contractual workers in permanent jobs, lack of social security in the unorganized sector, disinvestment of government owned industries built up with public money, absence of minimum wage vis-à-vis the price index and such others? Was it not a fact that in immediate and remote past, workers have organized many such strikes and other countless movements, even many militant movements at the cost of immense bloodshed and supreme sacrifice. Yet conditions of the millions upon millions of workers and common people have not ceased to become worse. Such

trade union movements and even mass movements will surely follow in future as hunger is the stern master that never allows the starved humanity to perish without putting up stiff resistance. But will the movements that will again grow, even militant movements, be able to achieve demands? Or is it that here people must seek the answer to a basic question that can movements be guided to their logical culmination without a correct leadership? With a revolutionary audacity the AIUTUC, must humbly yet emphatically record its fundamental differences with the 10 other central trade unions who together organized this general strike on 28 February.

The AIUTUC upholds workers' genuine demands. The other trade union organizations also make the same claim. But the difference in outlook is crystal clear. For example and the most vital difference hinges on the AIUTUC demand that the right to work be made a constitutional right. It implies that the government will remain legally bound to provide jobs or else compensatory allowance to people, in case and till it cannot provide jobs to people. The Congress-led INTUC and the BJP-led HMS never raise this demand. The CPI(M)-led CITU, for a brief period spoke of this demand but since long it maintains a meaningful total silence.

Next comes the demand of minimum wage, another vital aspect of workers' demands. According to the Tripartite Agreement drawn at the 15th Indian Labour Conference coupled with the Supreme Court approval and update, the minimum

wage comes to an irreducible Rs 15,000 per month. While the AIUTUC struggled to make at least this amount as the demand for minimum wage, others stuck to 10,000 limit which had to be accepted only for the sake of a united movement.

The demand of halting the disinvestment of profit making PSUs also was accepted as minimum agreed programme, but the AIUTUC made it a point to include both the profit and loss making PSUs for which any disinvestment must be stopped with a view to protecting the interests of workers irrespective to whether the PSU was profit making or loss incurring. Although scrapping of New Pension Scheme was one of the demands, all trade union organizations except AIUTUC have agreed that it be applied in case of all new recruits in the banking sector.

These few examples palpably show what the AIUTUC, committed to providing the genuine working class leadership to the workers, really stands for as against all other central trade union organizations. If the workers are really to go ahead with their legitimate demands, it becomes incumbent upon them to face this question of strengthening this real working class leadership in sphere of trade union movement. Workers' movements can not reach the true goal if and so long as it will have compromising leadership at its helm. The real need today is: strengthen the AIUTUC, build up sustained movements, build up workers' committees — the pre-requisite for sustained movements and with a view to leading workers' movements in the right direction.

## Apex court on AFSPA

Contd. from page 4

draconian Act as the AFSPA? Shielded by this Act the army boastfully declares that in those 'disturbed' areas it can not go without unbridled unquestionable power and unchallengeable immunity even going beyond the Constitution. It virtually unleashes an autocratic rule there. The Union government stands as a spectator, or rather as merely to put stamp upon the will of the army. The apex court has termed the issue of the AFSPA as involving 'vital questions of law relating to public'? But is it not expected that in face of all these, the apex court, in exercise of its power of judicial review, should have declared this draconian Act simply *ultra vires*? On the contrary it appears that the army, the government and even the judiciary stand united in the aggregate class interest in protection of the

prevailing system and order. The way the apex court addressed the issue then boils down to posing well-wishing friend of justice-seeking victims, taking advantage of the relative want of proper political consciousness of people to judge the real motives and implications of different developments. And all this, further tend to expose the real face of bourgeois democracy, to prove that notwithstanding all jargons of bourgeois democracy, it is the army that stands above all in ultimate matters of power.

The apex court has not cared, at least it does not appear so, to raise these questions, leave aside answering them. And here it has left a glaring lesson to the people of the country, a tenet that Marxism-Leninism has repeatedly highlighted. The issue of AFSPA is corroborating once again that in a capitalist state, the army, the judiciary, the

executives or bureaucracy along with the more frail government are all parts of the same system which on critical issues stand united against the interest of people, barring all differences among themselves in jargons or covers. Thus, so long as capitalism will survive, so long as the capitalist class will continue to remain in power, there will be ruthless oppression on this or that plea, lawless arrogance under cover of the rule of law, shameless hypocrisy alluring people with high sounding yet hollow words. It will remain with people to bear with this decadent system or overthrow it to search out and establish a rule free of exploitation, oppression, deceit and injustice. And till that task is accomplished, people will have to rise firmly in massive countrywide movement to resist such abuses of power as are taking place under the cover of the AFSPA and to demand unambiguously to immediately repeal that Act.

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper PROLETARIAN ERA to be printed in the first issue after last day of February :

FORM IV (See rule 8)

Place of publication : 48 Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata 13

Periodicity of its Publication : Fortnightly  
Printer's Name : Asit Bhattacharyya  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : 48 Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata - 13  
Publisher's Name : Asit Bhattacharyya  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : 48 Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata - 13  
Editor's Name : Asit Bhattacharyya  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : 48 Lenin Sarani  
Kolkata - 13

Name and address of individuals who own the Newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital :  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (COMMUNIST)

I, Asit Bhattacharyya hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/- Asit Bhattacharyya  
Signature of Publisher  
1.3. 2012

# Spectacle of communally-divided Gujarat reduces Modi's image makeover attempt into a farce

*Contd. from page 3*

terrorist attack and the SC is seized with these cases. After the Gujarat High Court upheld the verdict of the trial court acquitting all culprits in Best bakery case, Apex Court termed the acquittal "miscarriage of justice". It then ordered reinvestigation and retrial and moved the case as also the Bilkis Bano case to Maharashtra, saying justice would not happen in Gujarat.

But the same Supreme Court while delivering judgment on 11 september last in the Gulburg Society massacre case filed by Zakia Jafri, widow of slain Congress MP Ehsan Jafri, refused to pass any order against the 62 accused including Modi. While asking the trial court to decide on the case on the basis of the report of the SIT, the Supreme Court stated: "We deem it necessary to emphasize that if for any stated reason the SIT opines in its report, to be submitted in terms of this order, that there is no sufficient evidence or reasonable grounds for proceeding against any person named in the complaint (of Zakia) dated June 8, 2006, before taking a final decision on such 'closure' report, the court shall issue notice to the complainant and make available to her copies of the statements of the witnesses, other related documents and the investigation report strictly in accordance with the law." The Apex Court's procedural rectitude was immediately seized by the BJP to over-pitch the court's directive as a "clean chit" to Modi. Latest developments do confirm what was indicated four months back.

## What transpired in between?

If one seeks an answer from the facts which bring to the fore a host of inexplicable irrational arbitrary action of the SIT and the apparent contradictions in the attitude of SC, one needs to unravel the truth lurking behind the facts. So the spate of happenings, inconsistencies, deviations, distortions, manipulations, manoeuvres, somersault and so on have to be understood in the given space and time. Otherwise, one would be groping in the dark and not be able to come out of the labyrinth. A careful observation would reveal that notwithstanding Modi's victory in the assembly elections riding the crest of communal polarization, the juridical proceedings were, generally speaking, moving in one direction and Modi's government was being often pulled up for the inhuman acts committed by the frenzied 'safron'

hoodlums. It is also true that the two successive Congress-led UPA governments installed at the Centre after 2004, particularly the first one backed by the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI could easily accelerate the process and book Modi for having committed such a horrendous crime. But, they did not do that. Except some occasional outbursts and routine statements to the media, neither Congress nor CPI(M), CPI did anything to put Modi in the dock. When the entire country wanted Modi's diabolic design to be exposed and fix the culprits, what restrained the Congress-led CPI (M)-backed UPA-I government from constituting a high-powered judicial commission to bring out the truth? We have seen the Parliament to be in continuous logjam on various issues. But, people found no such vigorous action on the part of the vote-based parliamentarian parties, irrespective of hues, to expose the unpardonable offence committed by Modi and his government and in demand of his ouster. However, under continuous public pressure, the court cases and SIT activities had been going on.

But after unfolding of 2G scam in 2010 in the wake of other mega scandals, the scenario underwent a perceptible change. Congress found its credibility in the abyss. BJP, on the other hand, found fresh fodder for its canon to corner Congress and champion itself as a 'crusader' against corruption obviously for reaping electoral harvest. So, BJP began to put pressure on Congress by demanding arrest of A Raja, former Telecom minister belonging to DMK, an UPA constituent, and constitution of a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC). BJP leaders along with CPI(M), CPI went on continuously paralysing Parliament session. Though Congress, in a bid to hash out ways to stave off the pressure, reluctantly allowed arrest and jail custody of Raja and countercharged BJP of abetting corruption by shielding its utterly corrupt Karnataka chief minister Yedduappa. But, the stalemate continued. Moreover, people wondered if Raja was guilty of corruption and misfeasance, how is it that after a scam of this magnitude, the PM did not resign accepting constructive responsibility by conventional democratic norms? Same question arose about Modi after Gujarat carnage. At this point, news was flashed in the media that a deal was seemingly to have been struck between Congress top leaders and BJP top brass. As per clandestine understanding arrived at, while

Congress agreed to manipulate things to absolve Modi of all charges, BJP reciprocated by no more pressing for a full-fledged effective probe into 2G scam and demanding resignation of PM. If one follows the events sequentially, it would be revealed that even SC which earlier, under severe public pressure, was found to be furious against Modi suddenly toned down its voice, got itself relieved of the Gujarat massacre cases and deflected those to the lower court. And now it is heard that SIT has made a complete *volte face* to grant clemency to Modi.

## Modi spared by ruling class, not SIT

But, it is not just that Congress as ruling party and the judiciary as a wing of the capitalist state machine just backed out from taking action against Modi on pragmatic consideration. Such understanding will be an over-simplification and not expose the invisible hand in operation. The moment it was clear that Modi is going to escape unscathed, stories began to appear regularly in the media with regard to the prospects of the Gujarat chief minister as the BJP's next prime ministerial candidate. Newspapers and electronic channels filled their space with news and comments on whether the past role of Modi in the Gujarat massacre was significant to his political future anymore given the fact that the Supreme Court refused to hear the case against him. Bourgeois media in fact began to sing glory of Modi, seeking to shield his communal mission and blood-tainted hand behind a smokescreen of so called development. This is despite the fact that Modi is so hated as a communal butcher that even his own party BJP as well as trusted ally, JD(U) could not dare to invite him for election campaign in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. What a paradox! The country's next prime minister(!) is a *persona non-grata* in two of the most populous states of the country's Hindi belt. But all these are overlooked or buried underneath once it became clear that ruling Indian bourgeoisie wanted him to be a prime ministerial candidature.

One would recollect that during the global summit of 'Vibrant Gujarat' held in Gandhinagar in January 2011, top monopolists of the country like Ratan Tata, MukeshAmbani, Anil Ambani, Adi Godrej, Sunil Mittal and others heaped praises on Modi for uplifting the quality of life of the common man and called him a

visionary. "Gujarat is shining like a lamp of gold and the credit goes to the visionary, effective and passionate leadership provided by Narendra Modi. We have a leader here with vision and determination to translate this vision into reality... I have no doubt that Gujarat will be the first state to make poverty vanish in India" said Mukesh Ambani. While Adi Godrej gave full marks to Modi for his government's sustainable and inclusive policies, Anil Ambani and Sunil Mittal said that Modi should be the next prime minister of India. Even US rulers who had earlier, being unable to ignore mounting discontent even among US citizens against his arch communal approach and definite role in Gujarat killing, denied visa to Modi also changed their stand. Congressional Research Service (CRS) report released in September, 2011 had no qualms in saying that "Seeking to overcome the taint of his alleged complicity in the 2002 riots, Modi has overseen heavy investment in modern roads and power infrastructure, and annual growth of more than 11 per cent in recent years... Perhaps India's best example of effective governance and impressive development is found in Gujarat." Why US alone? Even the business houses of capitalist China are equally appreciative of Modi. During his visit to China last year, 200-odd entrepreneurs of Sichuan province as well as Sichuan's ruling party secretary Mr Quibao and the Governor Mr Jiang Jufeng strongly peached for expanding the scope of relationship between Gujarat and Sichuan in the financial and cultural fields. Just a week back, Chinese ambassador Zhang Yan met Modi in Gandhinagar and expressed a desire for cooperation with Gujarat in various fields. And since the ruling Indian monopolists are strongly backing Modi, even Congress, the main political opponent to BJP in parliamentarian politics also has to sing in Modi's praise besides virtually letting him off for the ghastly crime he committed on humanity. A pull-out by Congress, distributed with newspapers on the last Republic Day, featured Modi's photograph, and described him as "a master organizer and astute election strategist...trying very hard to convert Gujarat into a vibrant state." It could not be otherwise. It is ruling bourgeoisie which in its aggregate class interest is eulogizing communal Modi as architect of development and pitchforking him as a possible prime ministerial

*Contd. on page 7*



# People must resist communalization of the country

*Contd. from page 6*

candidate for his formidable reputation of good governance. And, when it is a question of serving aggregate class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie, all so-called opposition in the electoral politics vanishes in the blue as every bourgeois party whether Congress or BJP, or compromising social-democrats like CPI(M), CPI wants to seek a permanent berth in the corridors of power with the blessings of the class. The moment it was signalled that class was averse to troubling Modi, all bluster spluttered into silence.

## Modi, a darling of oppressive corrupt ruling class

Coming back to the eulogy of Modi by the ruling class, it is to be borne in mind that in order to prolong its worn-out obsolete oppressive class rule, the ruling bourgeoisie haunted by the fear-complex of anti-capitalist revolution is itself flouting and trampling underfoot all canons of democratic values, norms, practices and etiquette, stripping bourgeois democracy of all its essence. Concomitantly, bourgeois politics has also become debased, polluted, rotten and corrupt to the backbone. It is money, muscle and media-backing which provide the pedestal to bourgeois vote-politics. Any discerning person would vouch for that. The ruling class knows that it is the utterly corrupt, power-monger despots or deceitful camouflaging shrewd hypocrites among whom it should find its servitors today. So, it backs such politicians and keeps them on its payroll with lure of pelf and power. The entire state machinery including judiciary is put under mandate to quietly acquiesce in all criminal activities and palpable wrong-doings of these politicians who form legislature through manipulated elections and become law-makers and political guardians. Of them, a few by dint of their own performance—not in serving people's interest but in subserving devious class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie earn confidence of the latter to occupy seats of power and governmental hierarchy. Modi is one of such most trusted servitors of the ruling monopolists. Gujarat has virtually been turned into a 'Special Economic Zone' with plethora of concessions to the industrialists while hard-earned rights of the workerts are robbed away with impunity. So, the butcher who should have been given stringent punishment is, instead, not only exonerated of his crime by the country's judiciary under this or that pretext but even projected as a vibrant leader, emblem of good

governance and development and most significantly the future prime minister of India by the industry barons and foreign monopolists. What a fraud on the people! The person who should have been serving life term for orchestrating mass-killings to satiate his communal pleasure is being held out as the country's probable prime minister!

## Modi's communal agenda

So one is made to forget that not only orchestrating a pogrom to exacerbate communal tension and polarization with a view to harvesting electoral gains, Modi has been systematically trying to communalize the entire state with a view to perpetuating divide among the suffering people on communal line and thereby scuttle crystallization of united people's movement against ruthless capitalist oppression. He has been taking planned measures like declining to implement the central scheme of scholarships for Muslim minorities introduced in 2008 after release of Sachhar Committee report, enacting a law for preventing distress sale of property in areas dominated by another community obviously to keep the minority confined to identified areas or ghettos and continuously suffer from a sense of insecurity to their life and property, filling up most of the key posts in government and administration with pro-RSS people to buttress the heinous agenda of sustaining a communal ethos and running parallel Vidya Bharati, education machinery of the RSS which, as per NCERT, is "designed to promote bigotry and religious fanaticism in the name of inculcating knowledge of culture in the younger generation", and is stated to be running 30,000 educational institutions with 32.5 lakh students and 1.6 lakh teachers. Notwithstanding flaunting its 'secular' credential—thanks to the certificate it received from its CPI(M) friends—Congress, too, in order to stay afloat in the race for power in the state, is peddling soft-Hindutva to virtually endorse BJP's agenda. Thus, it is an evil nexus of RSS-Sangh Parivar-BJP-Congress-government administration and for that the entire state machinery at the behest of the ruling capitalist class is determined to ensure that Modi remains untouched. And so, after successful communalization of a province, communal Modi is now slated to communalize the entire Indian state as prime minister.

## Spectacle of 'vibrancy' of Gujarat

The irony is that when Modi is

seeking to shield his communal mission behind a smokescreen of so called development, dubbing any criticism or allegation against him as "storm of criticism by anti-Gujarat forces" and eyeing the position of prime ministership with the blessings and backing of the ruling class, the common people of Gujarat continue to be pressed under the grinding wheel of inhuman capitalist oppression, economically, politically and socially. Gujarat, according to a Planning Commission report published in February, 2010 has a high 31.8 per cent population living below poverty line (BPL). One has to understand that the real figure would be 2 to 2 ½ times more. The same planning commission has of late estimated country's BPL population to hover around 30 to 36% when Arjun Sengupta Committee reported the figure to be around 78%. In a study done by National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER), Gujarat surprisingly emerges as a state with high levels of hunger. Drought situation has not improved in spite of tall claims of the government. Water scarcity continues to plague rural poor. The precarious condition of the people in the villages is driving them to family suicides. As per an unofficial report, the figure of farmers' suicide in the state has crossed 5,000. Education fees are increasing by leaps and bounds. Gujarat is a land where labour laws are flouted under the very nose of ministers and high officials. A worker on an average works 14 hours a day and women workers 13-hours a day. In the name of putting an end to inspector raj, the labour law was amended to deny workers any protection while granting full authority to the owners to retrench. Following the worst pogroms and unabated spewing of communal venom by Modi and his henchmen, Gujarat has now turned out to be a nightmare for the minority people who are subjected to inhuman treatment and contempt. As one spirited lady of Citizen's Nagar resettlement colony near the biggest garbage dump of Ahmedabad has put it, "We may be living in Citizen Nagar, but we are after all, second-class citizens!" There is practically an economic embargo on these people who are denied the right to work in organizations owned by the majority community people. Their children are refused admission or even continuation in good schools. In Godhra's Signal Faliabasti where most of the accused in the train burning incident lived, the young tell they are jobless because no one

will give employment to Muslim youth with Signal Falia as the address. The fact that a majority of those who were arrested have since been acquitted has only added to their sense of grievance at being labelled 'terrorists'. On the other hand, none of the culprits of worst carnages and organized violence on the minorities has been punished so far. Rather, they move around freely, openly threaten the victims of and witnesses to the dastardly acts, and continue to indulge in all sorts of anti-social activities under direct patronization and protection of Modi and RSS. Deliberately, the cauldron of communalism is made to simmer so that scar remains even after 10 years of the carnage. In the crowded bylanes of Shahpur in Ahmedabad's walled city, where Hindus and Muslims have lived cheek by jowl for years, physical proximity cannot hide the mental scarring. The artificially created divide is so blatantly vivid! Even today, the slightest provocation can spark off a conflagration here anytime. Gujarat is not 'vibrant' in these tin shed rooms, the dirt and squalor, the criminal discrimination against and deprivation of the poor minority people. A spectre of horror and threat is continuously chasing the minority Muslims stuffed in 81 ghettos. The very security of their life and property is in abject peril. This is the spectacle of communally-divided Gujarat that reduces Modi's attempts at image makeovers into little more than made for television photo-ops. But Modi and his party know that only by perpetuation of this communal polarization he can stay as well as come back in power.

## Suffering people must rise up to foil sinister bourgeois game plan

This very Modi is made a hero by the ruling class. But it forgets that the real hero is the people. Bourgeois media may think that people have forgotten everything. But public memory is not that short as they think. Nothing has been forgotten. Nothing has kept conscious people and democratic-minded people silenced. After Gujarat genocide, the entire country, particularly the thinking section comprising persons of eminence in various fields like Teesta Setlavad, Prakashbhai Shah, Mallika Sarabhai, spirited civil society and organizations like 'Movement for Secular Democracy (MSD)', 'People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL)', the Justice for Citizens and Peace' rose in protest, stood by the riot victims in every

*Contd. on page 8*

## Naked bourgeois ploy to 'exonerate' butcher Modi

Contd. from page 7

possible way and unanimously held Modi responsible for one of the worst crimes of the century. Many of these protesting intellectuals and human right activists have been implicated in false cases. Yet, braving all kinds of hostilities from the Government and its administrations, they have bravely carried out their movement for seeking justice. Following the news of somersault by SIT, Teesta Setalvad, has reiterated, "There is enough evidence in the case and more evidence is expected to come forth during the course of the trial. I can only assure you on behalf of CJP and the Jafris that if the SIT has filed a final report in the case, we will fight it in the lower court, in the high court and finally in the Supreme Court till we get justice. We leave it to the Indian judiciary to decide if the communal carnage was state-sponsored or not." But what is to be clear to them is that judiciary is no supra-class a body and cannot, in the ultimate, go against class desire or class design. If SC wanted, it could hear the cases itself. Instead, it has sensing the wish of the class passed those on to lower courts. This significant shift is worth noting of.

If SC wanted, it could hear the cases itself. Instead, it has sensing the wish of the class passed those on to lower courts. This significant shift is worth noting of which portends a grave threat to democracy. It needs to be realized by the democratic-minded people that because of the treacherous act of the pseudo-Marxists like CPI(M), CPI to abandon the cause of united democratic movement, crass communal frenzy is growing and intensifying in the country at the instance and under the leadership of

RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar. The diabolic carnage of Gujarat had been one of the ruinous manifestations of that. Had there been an atmosphere of sustained powerful organized democratic movement sweeping across the length and breadth of the country, such a holocaust could not have taken place. Any attempt to ignite a communal flare-up would have been firmly dealt with and foiled. So, it is incumbent upon the oppressed people to rise above all divisions centring caste, creed, religion or region and take up the historic task of building up the much needed united democratic movement along the right track and under correct leadership to resist the menace of communalism. Otherwise, the gruesome communal strifes that have been sullyng the country even after 64 years of independence at the overt instigation of RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar and covert endorsement by ruling Congress will not only go on unabated but assume yet more harrowing proportion. The culprits will continue evading penal action. Similarly, justice will elude the victims of Gujarat pogrom, guilty will thump around and Modi and his associates will pursue their heinous communal agenda with alacrity. In that event, democratic mass movement and anti-capitalist revolutionary movement would not be able to make any headway. So, a countrywide mighty people's movement has to be developed in demand of proper trial and exemplary punishment of all the culprits, big and small, of Gujarat carnage including Modi and his accomplices with due expediency. The movement must be sustained to achieve the demands, no matter how long it takes.



Offering Red Salute to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the Great Leader of the Proletariat at the Ghatshila Study Centre, on the occasion of the installation of the recasted statue, are Comrades Provash Ghosh, General Secretary and Manik Mukherjee, Krishna Chakraborty, Ranjit Dhar, Asit Bhattacharyya politbureau members



(Above) Comrade Provash Ghosh, addressing the huge gathering at Trivandrum on 24 February, 2012 at the conclusion of one-month long Jatha for Parliament March that covered 14 Kerala districts. (Below) A part of the gathering.

### PLEASE CONTRIBUTE TO PARTY CENTRAL OFFICE BUILDING FUND

For quite a long time, the search for an appropriate premise for the central office of the Party has been going on. Of late, a definite possibility has arisen in this regard. To avail of the same, we need funds urgently. The Party makes a fervent appeal to all its leaders, workers, supporters, sympathizers and well-wishers for liberally contributing to this Building Fund. Cheques / Drafts may be issued favouring — Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist).

Debaprasad Sarkar  
Office Secretary, Central Committee, SUCI(C)  
48 Lenin Sarani, Kolkata 700013 Phone : 033 2249-1828, 2265-3234



Countrywide massive support to signature campaign for the Parliament March — Jaipur (left) and Jamshedpur

## Make Historic Parliament March on 14 March A Grand Success

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH