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Why eyebrows are raised in the media over judicial pronouncements

Way back in December 1999, there was a conference of the Chief Justices of India in the Supreme Court premises. In that conference, a "Restatement of Values of Judicial Life" (Code of Conduct) was unanimously adopted. One of the paragraphs from the preamble to the Restatement read: "Now, therefore, the restatement of values of judicial life to serve as a guide to be observed by Judges, essential for an independent, strong and respected judiciary, indispensable in the impartial administration of justice, has been

adopted for due observance." (First Post 07-09-14) In his address to the 14th Conference of the Chief Justices of members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization at Sochi, Russia, on 18 June last, the present Chief Justice of India (CJI) said: "In legal systems the word 'independent' means and implies "not dependent on" or "not controlled by" any outside agency or source. Independence could be said to be the very soul of a functional judiciary. Whatever be the political system of governance, people across nations aspire for a free and independent judicial system to serve them... Every judicial system is required to functionally wield what may be referred to as the "power to judge" or the "power to finally decide" — what is "judged" or "finally decided" is human conduct or decisions. or a state of independence of judiciary is not a one-time pill — it is a "state of affairs" that has to remain constant in the face of continuous and recurrent waves of onslaught aimed at disturbing such a 'state'...strengthening of institutions works best when they are strengthened from within and not when strength is sought to be infused from an external source." (*Indian Express-20-06-19*) Later, the S.P. Gupta vs President of India And Others case which raised issues of great constitutional importance affecting the independence of the Judiciary, the judges while delivering the verdict on 30 December, 1981, reminded themselves: "Judges should be of stern stuff and tough fibre, unbending before power, economic or political and they must uphold the core principle of the rule of law which says, 'Be, you even so high, the law is above you'." (*The Wire-16-05-19*) But are all these averments corroborated by the turn of events during last 5 decades as brought out in the media reports? A cursory glance at the published reports would be revealing.

Attempt to subvert judicial autonomy in the 1970s

Way back in 1973, Justice A N Ray's appointment as CJI by the then Indira Gandhi regime, superseding three senior judges of the top court was viewed as an attack on the independence of the judiciary. The appointment was made a day after the Supreme Court's judgement in the Kesavananda Bharati case, where a 13-judge constitution bench, by a 7-6 verdict, had outlined the 'basic structure' doctrine of the Constitution. Or to put in simple terms, the judgment made it clear that the Constitution and not the Legislature was supreme. This judgement ruled that Article 368 does not enable Parliament in its constituent capacity to delegate its function of amending the Constitution to another legislature or to itself in its ordinary legislative capacity. This ruling made all the deemed constitutional amendments stipulated under the legislative powers of the parliament as void and inconsistent after the 24th constitutional amendment. Justice A N Ray was among the six dissenting judges in the case while Justices Shelat, Hegde and Grover, whom he had later superseded, were on the side of the majority. All three of the superseded judges resigned after that. Although the court upheld the basic structure doctrine by only the narrowest of margins, it has since gained widespread acceptance and legitimacy due to subsequent cases and judgments. Primary among these was the imposition of the state of emergency by Indira Gandhi in 1975, and the subsequent attempt to suppress her prosecution through the 39th Amendment during Justice Ray's tenure as CJI. The Habeas Corpus judgment, which said that citizens have no right to life and liberty during a national Emergency was also during Justice

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SUCI (Communist) strongly condemns privatization of Railway service

Strongly opposing the highly offensive move of the BJP Government to hand over running of most of the important trains to private capitalists as a part of its greater design to privatize the entire Railway Service, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) in course of a statement issued on 28 September 2019 said that this is a ferocious attack of BJP Government against the people of the country. It will make railway travelling extremely costly and result in retrenchment of lakhs of railway employees and robbing them of their legitimate rights and hard earned benefits. He, therefore, urged upon the people of the country to develop mighty movement to force the Government to rescind this atrocious order intended to be the first step towards total privatization of Indian Railways.

Book-stalls set up for selling Party literature near Durga Puja pandals in West Bengal, Jharkhand, Assam, Odisha, Tripura, Chhattisgarh, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh (clockwise from top left)



Judiciary

An independent, strong and respected judiciary, indispensable in impartial administration of justice

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Ray's tenure. Commenting on this, Justice Mohammad Hidayatullah, former CJI said, "this was an attempt of not creating 'forward-looking judges' but 'judges looking forward' to the plumes of the office of Chief Justice". [*Economic Times dated 16-08-18, oneindia.com dated 13-01-18 and Para 506e of Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala, (AIR 1973 SC 1461)* 1973] The manner of appointment of Justice Ray as CJI was definitely striking enough to create a turmoil at great cost to the Judiciary and the nation and it was viewed by many as an effort by the then Indira Gandhi-led government to create a 'committed judiciary'.

Subsequent instances

And the trend was found continuing thereafter. A Chief Justice of the Gujarat High Court once wrote a letter to the President and Prime Minister stating that he was overlooked primarily because he had opposed the elevation of a former CJI's sister as a High Court Judge when he was in the Calcutta High Court. (*The Hindu 26-07-14*) Justice M Katju, a former Supreme Court judge, in an explosive blog post, had accused three CJIs in giving extension to an additional judge of Madras High Court, facing corruption charges, at the instance of the previous central government due to pressure from an ally, apparently meaning the DMK. Justice Katju also wrote in his blog that attempts to appoint a tainted judge of Madras High Court to the Supreme Court by the collegium led by the then CJI KG Balkrishnan, were virtually through but for his own intervention. (*India Today 11-08-14*) Justice Balkrishnan was the man whom Justice Gokhale of the Supreme Court had also written to about the corruption perpetrated by A Raja, the then DMK Telecom minister of the UPA government, accused in allotting the 2G spectrum illegally. But Justice Balkrishnan left Raja unmentioned in his reply to Justice Gokhale. (*Economic Times 15-12-10*) The deplorable situation created by these instances prompted Justice G S Singhvi to comment: 'Once we used to say that politics is corrupt, bureaucracy is corrupt; now we have to say that judiciary is corrupt too'. Justice J S Khehar opined that the enormity of the participation of the political-executive in actions of judicial adjudication, reciprocity and feelings of payback to the political-executive would be disastrous to the "independence of the judiciary..." (*The Wire-16-05-19*) Even Justice TS Thakur, the CJI in 2016, could not but admit that Judiciary as an institution is facing crisis of credibility and asked judges to be conscientious of their duties. (*Hindustan Times 14-03-16*)

Sohrabuddin fake encounter case and 'desired' court verdict

While acquitting all those accused of murdering Sohrabuddin, Kauser Bi and Tulsiram Prajapati in alleged fake encounters in Gujarat in 2005 and 2006, Justice S J Sharma deplored the quality of evidence placed before him which compelled him to pronounce the omnibus acquittal

and said: "I feel extremely sorry for the family of Sohrabuddin Sheikh and Tulsiram Prajapati, especially his mother Narmadabai." (*The Wire 29-12-18*) CBI confirmed that the encounters were fake and on the basis of the CBI's incriminating chargesheet, one prominent state-level minister was jailed along with more than 10 police officers. Prashant Dayal, a journalist with the *Divya Bhaskar* newspaper, published a sensational report claiming that senior Gujarat police officials had deliberately killed Sheikh, then raped and burned alive his wife. But the situation changed drastically after there was a change of incumbent party in the government in May 2014 as the next date. Initially, the judges hearing the matter appeared determined to ensure the law was applied impartially. Justice JT Utpat, the trial judge reprimanded one powerful minister for not appearing in person and fixed 20 June 2014 as the next date. But he didn't show up again. According to media reports, Utpat told his counsel, 'Every time you are seeking exemption without giving any reason.' Utpat, the story noted, "fixed the next hearing for 26 June. But on 25 June, he was transferred to Pune." This was in violation of a September 2012 Supreme Court order which stated that the Sohrabuddin trial "should be conducted from beginning to end by the same officer." (*Outlook February 2015 and Caravan Magazine-21-11-17*) Then Justice Utpat was replaced by Justice B H Loya. Justice Loya persisted with his predecessor's direction requiring the same powerful minister to appear on 15 December 2014 when the verdict would be given. But Loya was found dead under mysterious circumstances on 1 December 2014 and his family smelt something foul. (*scroll.in 14-01-18 and 29-12-18*) Anuradha Biyani, Justice Loya's sister and a medical doctor made an explosive claim that Mohit Shah, then the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, had offered him a bribe of Rs 100 crore in return for a favourable judgment. She said Justice Loya had told this to her some weeks before he died, when the family gathered for Diwali at their ancestral home in Gategaon. Justice Loya's father Harkishan also said that his son had told him he had offers to deliver a favourable judgment in exchange for money and a house in Mumbai. (*Caravan Magazine-21-11-17*)

But Justice B R Gavai to whom the case of Justice Loya's death was referred and who found nothing 'unusual' in it, was promoted as a Supreme Court Judge in last May. (*NDTV 27-10-17 and Times of India 10-05-19*) Less than a month after Justice Loya's mysterious death, his successor Justice MB Gosavi discharged the previously mentioned powerful minister based only on an examination of the chargesheet. It is highly unusual for a criminal case to be dismissed after a chargesheet has been filed without the evidence being heard. Justice Gosavi ruled that he found no credible evidence against the said minister and that there was substance in his defence that the CBI had framed him "for political reasons". Justice Gosavi also discharged the minister's other fellow accused citing technical flaws. All serving police officers among

the accused have since been reinstated and promoted. (*scroll.in 29-12-18*) Visibly disgusted at this, VL Solanki, a retired police inspector who played a central role in the investigation and found the encounters to have been staged and based on whose investigation report the accused senior police officials were arrested, commented that "There is no justice in India". (*The Caravan Magazine 21-09-18*) Justice S J Sharma who succeeded Justice Gosavi had to pronounce the controversial acquittal of all accused.

Elevation and plum post-retirement postings of judges

A few recent instances also need mention in this regard. The 8th and the 9th clauses of the complete 'Code of Conduct' referred to above say that "A Judge shall not enter into public debate or express his views in public on political matters or on matters that are pending or are likely to arise for judicial determination" and "is expected to let his judgments speak for themselves; he shall not give interview to the media." (*First Post 07-09-14*) But, Justice P Sathasivam, another former CJI who just before his term ended, was on the Supreme Court bench that scrapped a second FIR or police complaint against the same powerful minister and politician in a fake encounter killing case, and was appointed as the Governor of Kerala after his retirement on 4 September 2014, gave more than one interview to the media to defend himself against the allegation that his appointment as Kerala governor was a case of *quid pro quo*. *The Times of India* wrote: "The former CJI brushed aside the charge that the Centre had rewarded him with the Governor's post for quashing a FIR against the same powerful politician in April 2013. 'We permitted the CBI to file an additional chargesheet in connection with the case.' While the jurists said that appointment of the Ex-CJI as Kerala Governor was 'improper', the CJI claimed that there was 'nothing wrong' in it, quipped the Financial Express. The open confrontation between the government and the Supreme Court judges centred on appointment of judges through hitherto existing collegium system also surfaced when the government wanted to arrogate to itself the power to pronounce the final say in the matter. (*NDTV-02-09-14, First Post 07-09-14*)

Just two years back, four senior judges of the Supreme Court including present CJI mounted a virtual revolt against the then CJI Dipak Misra, listing a litany of problems that they said are afflicting the country's highest court and warned those could destroy Indian democracy. In a scathing criticism and unvarnished self-reflection of the Supreme Court, they stated, *inter alia*, that "certain judicial orders passed by this court which had adversely affected the overall functioning of the justice delivering system and the independence of the high courts besides impacting the administrative functioning of the office of the Chief Justice of India and the way it was done, it raised further questions about the integrity of the institution." (*Hindu Business Line 12-01-18*)

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By conducting powerful mass struggles on the strength of genuine leftist ideology, rabid communal forces must be isolated from the masses

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya raises the call on the Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

[This is the first part of the speech delivered in Assamese by Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Polit Bureau Member, SUCI(C), in Guwahati, on 5 August, on the occasion of observance of 44th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Second part will be in the next issue. Responsibility of translation error, if any, lies with the Editorial Board, P Era.]

You are aware that Fifth August is the Memorial Day of the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the Founder General Secretary of our Party, SUCI (Communist) and one of the fore-ranking Marxist thinkers of this era. It was on this date in 1976 that he breathed his last from sudden severe cardiac attack. Since his demise, we observe this day each year from a deep revolutionary purposiveness with profound political significance underlying the observance. Each year we recollect his thoughts with all seriousness, analyze and evaluate the prevailing national and international situations with a view to fixing our revolutionary tasks and to determining the course to move ahead as well as to reiterating our pledge to accomplish anti-capitalist socialist revolution without delay on the basis of his thoughts. Judged and observed this way, it is no ritual, rather a political action carrying great revolutionary significance in it.

You must have noted that today when we are observing this day, our country and the entire international arena are entangled in an extremely difficult condition. An intense all-out crisis in every political, economic, social, cultural sphere has engulfed people of the world. All its aspects cannot be discussed in a single mass meeting. I will just try to highlight the most basic issues involved.

Capitalist economy is robbing people of the minimum right to earn a livelihood

In India, such an unbearable economic condition has been created that it is leaving virtually no way for common people for sustenance and survival. The problem that is haunting people's life every moment is that of earning a livelihood. Man cannot survive without a proper job ensuring a decent means of sustenance. So finding a proper means of livelihood is the greatest problem in man's life. It does not mean just getting a job in a public or a private institution. In a stable economy, one can earn one's livelihood by producing something or other,

rendering this or that service, by means of labour, be it manual or intellectual. Government or private jobs are mere instances among those. By and large, people's means of livelihood are created through development of industries. Another major means lies in the field of agriculture. But today earning a livelihood through agriculture has become impossible in villages. With growth of population, amount of per capita land available is fast reducing, so much so that it is becoming impossible to make both ends meet with that land. Besides, all over the country, the farmers are not getting the right price for the agricultural products they are producing. The problem is taking such a menacing shape that, not to speak of keeping a margin over cost of production for a minimum earning, even the small and middle peasants in many instances are not being able to recover the cost. On the other hand, when their products are reaching the market in cities and towns, the businessmen who have purchased those from the farmers are minting profit by selling those out at a 7-8 fold raised price. The farmers cannot garner necessary capital, and are thus forced to take loans from the usurers. Unable to repay, debt-stricken farmers are taking recourse to suicide. Once about 70-80 per cent of the population of the country depended on agriculture. A large section of them has now become surplus in villages as there is no work for them. As a last resort, some of them are trying to survive, barely though, by switching over to fruit cultivation, cottage industries, fishing, sericulture or such other means. But unsuccessfully here too. Facing such a desperate situation, people are migrating to cities or towns just to find some means for survival. You must have noted how all-out crisis is overwhelming people's life. It has become so intense that whereas a single earning member of a family could have maintained the family before independence, nowadays even with all members of the family earning more or less, they are not being able

to make ends meet, and finding it hard to survive. They are leaving villages for towns in search of livelihood. But even there they find no jobs. Leave aside development of new industries, even those set up during the old days of British rule are downing their shutters, one after another, in these days of crisis-ridden capitalism. The public-sector industries that were set up after independence under the pressure of people's demand, have also been closed down or are being handed over to the capitalists at throwaway prices. In consequence there is no way left for earning a livelihood also from industrial development. The index of industrial production is continuously sliding down. Products are remaining unsold in the market from lack of demand. Demand has slumped as people have no purchasing power. Students of economy and its science know it well that in capitalism production is made with a view to earning maximum profit. To earn maximum profit, the capitalist owners pay workers lower and lower wages. Then again with the greed of maximizing profit further, they retrench workers and thereby slash down people's purchasing power more and more. So the toiling people can no longer buy from the market even what they may need; demand slumps. And it is the workers, poor peasants and low-earning employees that make up the bulk of population, some 95 per cent or so. Their income has touched the bottom. With no demand, capitalists become reluctant to carry on industrial production and without it there is no employment. This is the cyclical puzzle of capitalist production. Not only in India, in the entire capitalist world has such a situation been created. Even in those known as developed capitalist countries like America, England, France, Germany and such others the hard reality is the same. People are wildly running after jobs. But they fail to find out the ways to survive. These frantic directionless masses are pouring out on the streets every day not just in our country, in the entire world, in every country, in search of livelihood with a view to finding reprieve from the intense economic crisis perpetrated by the exploitative capitalism. Without proper leadership, even then they wage spontaneous movement.



They have one-point demand, a single slogan—they want means to survive, they need a livelihood. At the same time it can be noted that in the mass mind the urge is growing, gradually though, for knowing what has caused this unbearable situation. Needless to say, it is Marxism alone that can provide the answer. Marxism has shown that with uninterrupted industrialization, there won't remain any problem for people to earn their livelihood. Industry requires land, labour, capital and technology. These are the principal means or ingredients of production. You must have noted all these four elements required for industry are adequately available in different countries of the world, including ours. In our country, natural resources, minerals and ores or in one word, all kinds of raw materials are present in large quantities. Intellectual labour which is essential for production is also readily and adequately available. With no scope available for its utilization within the country, this intellectual labour force is going abroad to try its luck elsewhere in the world. All the essentialities are available, but still no industries are coming up because of the capitalists' motive of earning maximum profit. And this is causing unemployment problem to assume such a disastrous shape. In every capitalist country this explosive unemployment problem is taking more and more menacing form. But, look, in the media, print or otherwise, owned by the capitalists there is no mention of this problem. The news that trickles out clearly shows that not only in our country, in all the capitalist countries of the world there has emerged one single fundamental problem, a problem of

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Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

Capitalism fleecing people, generating horrendous crisis at every nook and corner of the country

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life and death. And that is the problem of finding means of livelihood. Nowhere in the world, not only are new industries not coming up; everywhere those which were barely sustaining themselves are fast closing down.

People work; they want to live by earning their living. And there is nothing wrong in it. There is neither any dearth of able-bodied people in our country. Definitely they constitute a big asset for the country. By utilizing their labour power aided and assisted by science and technology, we can enhance production and change the face of the country. But in the prevailing capitalist order it does not happen, nor will it ever happen. A phrase has come in vogue: 'hire and fire' or 'showing the doors'. It means nothing more than shedding a part of the work-force, of the workers and employees, by whatever means and in whatever number possible. Not to speak of private sector, both in the private and public sectors high-tech machines are being used to step up earning maximum profit of capitalists and with that, a large number of workers are being laid-off or retrenched. Machines are doing a 100-hour job in an hour. So the prime question that comes out now: should the machines be used and if yes, to what extent. It is the government who is to take the right decision on these issues. If use of machines causes starvation and death of our countrymen, the poorer section of people, why should we go for that? Certainly this is no mark of wisdom. Growth and development of science and technology are definitely desirable. But that is meant for people. Consequent upon use of machines hundreds of thousands of employees are losing jobs in banks, quasi-government or government offices. On the other hand, many of those who could still continue in their job, are being forced to opt for voluntary retirement. The scene is the same in schools, colleges, government hospitals, everywhere. The Indian Railways stand out as one of the most developed and largest transport system in the world. Since its inception millions of people have been employed in the Railways and earned their livelihood. Already hundreds of thousands of railway workers and employees have been retrenched there. The remaining ones are counting the days. The Railways is still a government

department, but in effect it is being handed over to the capitalists.

It is needless to explain the importance and indispensability of healthcare system in people's life. Life and healthcare are inseparably intertwined. But to whatever little extent the public healthcare system of the country had developed after independence, is now being wiped out today. It is almost totally crumbling. There are some government hospitals here and there, but without proper facilities and infrastructure. The healthcare system of the country has virtually been gifted over to the capitalists. The extent to which privatization is going on in education system was never to be found before independence. It is true, during the British rule there were not many schools and colleges. But those which were there, belonged either to the government sector, or were run on philanthropic lines by great personalities of our country or by missionaries. With each passing day after independence, the poorer section of people are being pushed aside from the system of education. Privatization has manifold increased expenses of education. As a result, the minimum number of poor students who could avail of it. They are virtually being driven out from the arena of educational institutions. Such is the very brief portrayal of the situation in the country.

At the same time, it can be noted how the ruling capitalist class is now covering up the truths of this cruel, brute exploitation by using a massive propaganda machinery owned by them. With its help they are turning black into white and white into black. They are trying to pass off truth as falsehood and falsehood as truth. In this way, in the capitalist system the ruling capitalists are making life hell for the 95 per cent of the population. About 50 per cent of the population are without employment, either totally unemployed, or virtually unemployed or only partially employed. If that be the facts, if half of the population do not have jobs and there is no reprieve from that, nor there is any sign of recovery, how are the people of the country going to survive? Is it not a serious issue to ponder over? Each man wishes to live with self-esteem and dignity. He or she wishes to work for life, to earn a decent living, to produce things for society

and to be paid due wages in return for him- or herself as well as his or her family to survive. Where in the country is that minimum scope for people? Without that, what remains for them to derive pleasure and happiness from life?

Capitalism is continually giving birth to horrendous social-cultural crisis

On the other side, this intense economic crisis has been accompanied by equally horrible social-cultural crisis. People are dying from capitalist exploitation, but even those who are surviving, are they alive with the essence of humanity in them? The media, print, radio, TV or otherwise, are simply replete with accounts of murder, deaths, fatal clashes. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, showed long back, that without finding the right way to live and carried away by the conspiracy of the capitalist class, a section of people, students and youth are turning anti-socials and taking recourse to unethical means of livelihood. Today you find people killing each other has become so rampant that I would tend to say it has turned into a profession in the country. Just think of it, where it is leading to. Unthinkable, it is. The most dangerous point is that the capitalist class and the political parties subservient to them, are deliberately pushing people towards this end. Did the freedom fighters of our country, freedom-loving people ever think of an independent India where people will get involved in such inhuman fratricidal acts, a father will murder his children or the children their parents, a husband will kill his wife or vice versa. But that is the reality. This is what the capitalists have brought the country to, the society to, during these 73 years of independence.

Undeniably this is an outcome of the rule and exploitation by the capitalists. And every day the situation is becoming worse. You yourself can see from around you that there is no happiness, peace and satisfaction in family life. In fact families stand shattered nowadays. All the relationships, be it between a father and his son or between husband and wife, have been reduced to a monetary give-and-take relation. Not only that; humans are being dragged down to even below the levels of beastly animals. Rape is something unknown to animals.

But how are men behaving these days? Rape of women, even of children, trafficking them for flesh trade, all these have assumed alarming proportions. The situation has become so horrific that women coming out of their home constantly fear the possibility of being raped at any time under any condition. The question is: are these happening all on their own, spontaneously? Do not such brute acts have any cause and effect relation behind them? That people are starving, are half clad, are not having education nor any medical help: do these take place without any cause? Science has established cause and effect relationship. It has proven that any event must have a cause behind it, and a cause will bring on an event, an effect. Scientific analysis points to one single cause and that is capitalism and its heartless exploitation. It is not that today capitalism is crushing people only with economic exploitation. To continue to remain in power, the capitalist class and their subservient governments are all out to destroy people's sense of morality and ethics, their sense of humanity. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: 'A nation can stand erect even if it goes hungry, if it possesses higher human attributes.' It is here that the capitalist class is bringing down its severest attack. It is for this reason that they are shattering the moral backbone. The capitalist class has rightly sensed that the suffocating situation that is being created because of their ruthless exploitation, is sure to lead people to raise their head in demand of ending with it. So they have conspired to see that the revolutionary organization against this capitalist rule and exploitation does not emerge and grow in strength, that protests and resistances do not develop by any chance. This is the heinous design which lies behind this attack on human morality and ethics.

Even poverty-stricken people's right to vote is being snatched away

In the political field too, the capitalist class is bringing down ceaseless attacks. What prevails in the country in the name of democracy is nothing but coercive rule of the capitalist class, unadulterated dictatorship of the capitalist class from behind the scene. There is nothing positive left any more in bourgeois democracy.

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Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

Parliamentary democracy has become a farce denying people from voting freely

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Once, the ideas and thoughts of democracy emerged in the course of struggle against monarchy and feudalism in the West. It was the capitalists who raised the slogan of ending with the rule of monarchy, rule of autocracy. Instead, people were to rule themselves. They would choose their rulers through elections. In those elections, each citizen will have equal right, equal franchise. The government would be formed on people's choice, their votes. Every 5 year there would be a new election. If any government acted against the interest of people, they would be removed from power by none other than the people themselves who would vote for a different party to form the new government. This right to vote, this right to choose constituted one of the highlights of bourgeois democracy. But to what level this democracy has slumped down today? Is there any slightest trace of democracy left in it? What has become the character of election held in the name of democracy? Elections have been reduced to a mere farce. Everybody is aware what a fat sum of money the capitalist class spends in each single election. And so if a candidate standing for capitalism spends 1 or 2 crore (10 -20 million) rupees to purchase voters and their votes, once elected it does not take a span of even a year for him to pile up 8 to 10 crore rupees by usurping money of the people. So election today is a grand deception in the name of democracy. Its results are determined on casteism, religion, ethnicity, by instigating dangerous division, fratricidal clashes and communal mass killings. And finally the verdict is arrived at riding on the deluge of limitless money power and unbridled propaganda.

The ruling capitalist class is crying itself hoarse, day and night, about India being the largest democratic country to blunt exploited people's ability to divine the truth. And today, in this 'largest democracy' the majority of people are facing starvation and death. In the democracy of these days people have no power left for themselves. All the power, economic, political and others are concentrated in the hands of the capitalist class. Naturally, the question arises, for whom is this democracy, which section of people is it meant for? And in this society known as

democratic what we clearly find is that it is with full patronage from their master, the ruling class, that the political parties subservient to them are buying votes of people and forming governments, becoming ministers keep exploiting people even more severely. Every day they are deceiving people, lying to them. Simultaneously, these governments are snatching away the hard-earned basic rights of people, one after another, their right to protest and resist, right to hold meetings or processions, workers' trade union rights, right to develop democratic movements. In the Parliament election held recently, the flow of money, falsehood, hypocrisy, deception, and fanning up of horrendous form of communalism etc., have surpassed all earlier records. Everybody could see it. Some reports about how much money the BJP has spent to win this election have come in the media, though the actual amount remains unknown. Not only BJP, bourgeois parties like Congress etc., even those who still call themselves leftists, all these parties have received money from corporate houses or the monopolists on an unthinkable scale, and obviously that money has been spent in the election to buy votes. Wherefrom does this money come which the capitalists are pouring into the election. You all know that it is by exploiting poor people that the capitalists are continuously amassing immense wealth. It is from that sum thus accumulated, that they are giving huge funds to those parties who are contesting the elections to stand for the rulers. You can see that the capitalists are spending this money to buy anything and everything, from people's right to vote to people's conscience. Reality makes it amply clear that the only right remaining for people in the political field which was the universal franchise — everybody's right to vote — even that is being snatched away by the capitalists today. It is clear as daylight, that only those forces who serve the capitalists are now winning the elections. No candidate genuinely representing poor people and their cause is being able to come out victorious. This is the situation that has been created in the name of holding election. Not just that, the conspiracy goes deeper. The situation has come to such a pass that in case the party or the candidate representing poor

people cannot be prevented from contesting despite obstacles created from play of casteism, money power or the like, designs are being hatched to snatch away his/her right itself to contest on this or that plea. Under such circumstances there is hardly any chance for any genuine representative of people to be elected to Assembly or Parliament, leave alone the question of forming government. All these developments clearly show that there is no semblance of democracy left in the so-called elections. This is the basic reason behind why bourgeois elections have no relation with people's interests. All the elections that had taken place in the last 70 years, be it at the Union or the state levels, all the governments which were formed at these levels, present one single trend. The rich have become richer and the 90/95 percent, the poor, have become poorer. Nobody can deny this truth.

True leftism cannot give birth to rightist politics, which unfortunately prolonged rule of CPI(M) has done

A hellish situation has been created in all spheres of life in the country because of this exploitation and oppression of capitalism. In this background it is urgently necessary to strengthen genuine leftist movement in the country; it is imperative to develop sustained powerful mass movement on problems of people's life based on the edifice of genuine leftist thoughts. But the stark reality is that today there are no leftist parties other than ours to develop powerful democratic movement on this correct line. Other so-called leftist parties like CPI(M), CPI etc., have not only shunned this path of movement long back, instead, like bourgeois parties, by practising vote-politics only, they managed to rise to governmental power in states like West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura with the backing from the bourgeoisie, and carried on their rule in the same fashion as any bourgeois party would have done. The way they had ruled over these states, perpetrated oppression and crushed the legitimate democratic movements of people with the help of brute force, the way they had trampled even the fundamental rights of people, all these drove people's opinion severely against them. Not only that. The ideology and appeal of Marxism Leninism,

socialism and communism used to attract people of these states like magnets. But because of these anti-Marxist activities of these so-called leftist parties, its attraction has been lost to a large extent, albeit temporarily. You are aware that in 1977 politically conscious masses of people of West Bengal by virtually uprooting the utterly reactionary rightist National Congress party brought the so-called leftists to power. You also know from then on, they continued to rule for long 34 years. During this period of over three decades the CPI(M) government tried to strangle people economically, politically, socially and culturally. Witnessing their extremely oppressive activities, naked organized corruption, injustice and brute attacks upon democratic movements, people could not find any difference between their rule and the rule and exploitation of the Congress and other bourgeois parties. It was under these circumstances, that people, unable to bear these conditions, threw them out of power based on Singur-Nandigram movement, and seizing this opportunity Trinamul Congress (TMC), a break-away fraction of the rightist Congress, rose to power. Obviously, it was the CPM-brand of 'leftism' that could give birth to a powerful rightist political force. In this very same course, taking advantage of the utter anti-people misuse of the TMC, and you may be stunned to know that with cooperation from none other than the CPI(M), the BJP, a much more dangerous rightist force has gained victory on the soil of West Bengal in 18 parliamentary seats out of the total 42 in the last Lok Sabha election. You have found yourselves that the same thing happened in Tripura Assembly election in 2018. There the RSS-BJP have captured power, putting an end to the continuous 25-year long rule of CPI(M), by drawing people out of its fold. In Kerala, the election contest is confined between two fronts: one a Congress-led Front of bourgeois, petty bourgeois, communal and reactionary parties and the other an exactly similar Front of bourgeois, petty bourgeois and regional communal parties led by the CPI(M). The two Fronts, remaining within confines of electoral competition, come to power practically alternately and whoever wins — the winner continues to rule

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Judiciary

Jurists themselves admitting that Judiciary as an institution is facing crisis of credibility

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Some more instances might be of relevance in this regard. Justice B.R. Gavai, while presiding over the Nagpur bench of the Bombay High Court, quashed criminal proceedings pending against the chief minister of Maharashtra, in respect of several offences, many of which were not compoundable. He also joined another judge in giving a press interview to the *Indian Express* on 27 November 2017 stating that "there was nothing about the circumstances of the death of Justice B M Loya to raise any suspicion." He was recommended for elevation by a Supreme Court Collegium. (*The Indian Express 10-05-2019 and The Wire-16-05-19*)

Malegaon and Mecca Masjid blast cases

Next to surface was the queer disposal of the Malegaon and Mecca Masjid blast cases. In Malegaon, a town in Maharashtra, there were twin blasts on 8 September 2006 and 29 September 2008 in the vicinity of a mosque killing 40 and 9 people respectively. There was another blast incident in Mecca Masjid (mosque) in Hyderabad on 18 May 2007 leaving 16 dead. On 11 October 2007, one more major blast rocked Ajmer Dargah Sharif (another Muslim religious place) in Rajasthan which killed 3 persons and injured many. On 29 September 2008, there was also a bomb explosion in Modasa in Gujarat. In all these cases, there was an attempt to link some of the Muslim organizations as the culprits. But ultimately even the Court had to admit that those charges were fabricated. All these blasts were found to have been perpetrated by *Abhinav Bharat*, a group professing Hindutva. One Swami Aseemanand (alias Naba Kumar Sarkar) was alleged as the lynchpin or the common brain behind such dastardly acts, as per the charge-sheets filed. (*The Wire 29-03-19*)

In an unprecedented move, Justice K. Ravinder Reddy, Fourth Additional Metropolitan Sessions Judge and Judge of the NIA Court at Nampally Court Complex, submitted resignation on 'personal grounds' after acquitting all the five accused in the Mecca Masjid bomb blast case. (*News 18 17-04-18*) The resignation of Justice Reddy, who was also the president of TS Judicial Officers' Association, had shocked not only the Judiciary but also several right-thinking personalities including journalists. They all reacted on social media saying that the judge might have delivered the verdict under pressure. Commenting on the resignation of Justice Reddy, Justice B. Chandra Kumar, former judge of the Hyderabad High Court, said that it was the first case in the history of the High Court where a Judge resigned soon after delivering the verdict in a sensational case. He said, "If a judge delivers a verdict consciously, he would not be shaken by any pressure. He would not quit from post unless and until he feels guilty about his verdict." Another senior advocate is on record to have said: "People have faith in the investigation agencies. After 11 long years, when the accused are acquitted citing lack of clinching evidence, it shows the poor homework or groundwork of the agencies." One more senior advocate observed that from the beginning, prosecution in the case

was unfair. "About 50 witnesses in the case turned hostile. The trial was proceeding in the pace of minor cases. While senior officials monitored such sensitive cases usually, no such initiative was taken here. An inquiry should be done. In several such sensitive cases, retrial was conducted. A retrial should be done in this case," he commented. (*Deccan Chronicle -17-04-18*) The NIA, as could be seen from media reports, had sought to subvert the prosecution in the case. And so it appears that the judge's resignation was triggered by conscience-pricking, quite natural if one has to deliver a judgement which one knows has not been in accordance with the process of law and hence is in violation of the principles of natural justice. (*The Wire 29-03-19*)

In the Malegaon blast, the Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) initially tried to implicate activists of the SIMI, a Muslim student organization. But the move was frustrated as it came out that the charges were concocted and the arrested victims had to be released. Hemant Karkare, an upright IPS officer, who was then heading the Maharashtra ATS in investigating the blast case went to the spot and found the mangled remains of a golden coloured LML Freedom motorcycle (GJ 05 BR 1920) on which the bomb was strapped. In a month, the ATS traced the 2003-make motorbike with engine number E55OK261886 to Siddhi Agencies in Surat. The dealer was found to have sold the bike to one former lady pro-Hindutva student leader then residing in Surat. She, who subsequently shifted to Indore, was summoned and allegedly grilled by Karkare. Two minor earlier blasts at cinema theatres in Vashi and Panvel in the outskirts of Mumbai where Hindi film *Jodha Akbar* was being screened was also linked to Sanatan Sanstha, another Hindutva group. Following this, Karkare had written to the state government proposing a ban on those outfits. (*Economic Times 20-04-19*)

In late October 2008, the ATS arrested eleven suspects, all belonging to *Abhinav Bharat*, including the former pro-Hindutva lady student leader and Swami Amritananda (alias Dayanand Pandey). Karkare's ATS identified, for the first time, Hindutva organisations as being responsible for terrorism in India. Maharashtra ATS also detained a number of other Hindutva activists for interrogation in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat and reportedly found solid evidence of the existence of an elaborate, well-ramified network, suspected to have been involved in several bombings in different states, including the blasts in Malegaon and in Modasa in Gujarat. (*Frontline--08-11-08*) In no time, the Hindutva groups alleged that the arrests were aimed at appeasing the minority Muslims. They also accused the ATS of being used as a tool to attack them and called Karkare 'a traitor to the nation'. (*Indian Awaz 12-12-10*) On the afternoon of 26 November 2008, more than two months after the Malegaon attack and the subsequent arrest, Karkare in his first detailed TV interview spoke on the arrests, the conspiracy and the alleged roles of those arrested. He ended the interview by saying the ATS was not done yet with the case and that the probe was on the 'right track.' Within

a short time, Karkare was asked to rush to the spot of a sudden terrorist attack in Mumbai and was killed reportedly in fighting the terrorists. But, it was apprehended by many that circumstances in which he was killed were not beyond suspicion and evidences fell short of his death being linked with any firing by the terrorists. "During the course of the probe, Karkare had confided in me that he was facing a lot of pressure. Many from his close circles were against him probing the right wing terror module. He also told me that former senior cabinet minister had expressed his displeasure over the probe but I told him not to worry and continue to do what is expected out of a good Hindu to do his dharma," said Julio Ribeiro, former police commissioner of Mumbai. (*Economic Times 20-04-19*)

After Karkare's death, the investigation into the Malegaon blast slackened. In May 2016, NIA filed a supplementary chargesheet saying that the investigation of the Malegaon blasts by the Maharashtra ATS had several 'lacunae' and there was no case made out against the former pro-Hindutva lady student leader and six others. (*Economic Times 20-04-19*) It is pertinent to mention that Rohini Salian, former special prosecutor, is on record to have said in 2015 that NIA asked her to go soft in the Malegaon blast cases where people associated with Hindutva groups were the accused. Thus, there were clear signs of unprofessionalism on the part of NIA. 'It was unbecoming of the anti-terror agency', she observed, 'if it fails to follow basic investigation procedures, allowing cases to fall through'. (*Times of India 01-04-19*)

Alleged involvement of a former pro-Hindutva lady student leader

Incidentally, the former pro-Hindutva lady student leader who was among the chief accused in Malegaon blast and facing trial for criminal conspiracy, murder, attempt to murder, voluntarily causing hurt and promoting enmity between two religious groups and relevant sections of the Explosive Substances Act, under various sections of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) and the Indian Penal Code (IPC), subsequently became an MP in 2019. (*India Today 01-10-19*) Strangely she and two others were exempted from court appearance by a special NIA court of Mumbai just before last parliamentary election. After election, she sought exemption citing ill health, travel distance, security, requirement of attending Parliament daily and her life as a religious leader as reasons for exemption. When her lawyers said that there was whip from her party from time to time on attendance in Parliament, the court said obeying the party and attending Parliament were necessary. However, no papers were submitted to substantiate her claims. Weirdly, though she had skipped the hearing in Mumbai on 6 June 2019 stating that she was "hospitalised due to high blood pressure and some stomach-related ailment", she, on the same day, was spotted at a public event in Bhopal. When the question was raised about this, her aide, said, "She was discharged from the hospital this morning and is

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Judiciary

Is the Judiciary as a whole immune to and independent of all external pressures?

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taking part in a programme as pressed by workers, but she will return to the hospital immediately afterwards as she is not well.” (*scroll.in 20-06-19*) Significantly, while being on bail and contesting the 2019 Lok Sabha election, she was reported to have said that Karkare’s death happened because he acted against her and because she cursed him. However, she later claimed these were her personal views. (*Economic Times 20-04-19* and *The Outlook 19-04-19*) So, it can be seen that this case, evidently, has gone through many twists and turns. First the prosecutor came out in the open saying she was asked to go slow in the case by NIA. Subsequently, NIA told the court that there was no evidence against the pro-Hindutva lady. But despite that, the court framed charges against her. A few days back, a special court in Mumbai has rejected a plea filed by the NIA seeking in-camera hearings in the case and refused to allow the media from covering the trial. Now one has to wait for the final judicial disposal.

Samjhauta Express verdict

Another case to hog the headlines was of the Samjhauta Express explosion which took place on 18 February 2007. In that massive terror blast, 68 people (10 Indians and 43 Pakistanis) were killed near Panipat. Here also, Swami Aseemanand was the key accused along with three other pro-Hindutva activists. Though they all were arrested but later let off apparently for want of evidence. A detailed statement by none other than Aseemanand which he had made in 2010 before a magistrate, elaborated the planning and execution of some key ‘terrorist’ attacks by them between 2006 and 2008. (*The Hindu—22-03-19*)

Though terror acts, mindless violence and ghastly killing of innocents are crimes and no consideration whatsoever about the leanings and linkage of the culprits is supposed to weigh in their punishment as per law, the accused of this blast including Aseemanand, the alleged mastermind, who were nabbed by NIA with ‘enough evidences’ were acquitted. Jagdeep Singh, the special judge, who tried and then released Swami Aseemanand and his accomplices in the case, had to spell out: “There are gaping holes in the prosecution evidence and an act of terrorism has remained unsolved. Terrorism has no religion because no religion in the world preaches violence. A court of law is not supposed to proceed on popular or predominant public perception or the public discourse of the day and ultimately it has to appreciate the evidence on record ...”. (*scroll.in-29-03-19*) His 160 page judgment mentioned, with surprise, that the NIA failed to produce CCTV footage and railway station dormitory records, and its inability to conduct a relevant test identification parade to tie the accused to the crime. All of these should have been done in normal course, which in turn would have helped in cracking the case one way or another. (*Times of India 01-04-19*) This laid bare the shoddy manner of investigation into the case and how the NIA failed to provide logical evidence that would have nailed the perpetrators

of the crime. It was also commented in the media that the NIA subverted the prosecution in a similar manner in the Mecca Masjid blast case in Hyderabad. (*The Wire 29-03-19*) Even personalities like N R Wasan, former Special Director General, NIA, or Ranjit Randhawa, a retired judge, criticized ‘the poor job’ and delaying tactics by the NIA officials. (*The Wire 29-03-19*) As per further observations in the media, there is certainly a pattern to the acquittal of Hindutva men allegedly involved in cases of terror. Justice is said to have prevailed only when an accused is convicted or acquitted after a fair trial, when the investigators have conducted a free-and-fair investigation, when the agency investigating the case and its chief are not beholden or “close” to the government of the day, when the government is not seen as controlling. Because the ruling party and the government have a vested interest in the outcome of a case(s) and in the direction of the probe. (*The Print 16-04-18*) Even after recent government decision to repeal Article 370, the tardiness in seeking due process of law is seen in the J&K High Court in regard to hearing of Habeas Corpus writs (Habeas Corpus exists because it is assumed that political and executive power can run amok) has invited media criticism. Habeas Corpus is a weapon in the hands of the Judiciary to rein it in, in the defence of the people. But the Judiciary has been found to come off looking even worse than the administration and the political dispensation, the media observed. (*Indian Express—21-09-19*)

Instances of apparent favouritism

A couple of latest instances involving the Judiciary has also invited frowning in the media. First one is of Justice Sunil Gaur who denied protection from arrest to former Finance Minister P Chidambaram in the INX media case and paved way for his eventual arrest by the CBI and who had also dismissed the anticipatory bail application of Ratul Puri, nephew of Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Kamal Nath, in the VVIP chopper scandal and authored earlier an order facilitating prosecution of top Congress party leaders in the ‘National Herald’ case. After dismissing Chidambaram’s anticipatory bail just two days before his retirement on 20 August last, Justice Gaur is now appointed chairman of the Appellate Tribunal for Prevention of Money Laundering (PMLA) Act. (*Economic Times 28-08-19*) It is alleged by a section of the media that since the CBI did not wait for the hearing of Chidambaram’s appeal in the Supreme Court, scheduled on 23 August, it appears that there was undue haste on its part. The unseemly haste also underlined the ‘vendetta’ politics of the power that be. (*Frontline 13-09-19*) Earlier Justice Gaur also set aside a trial court order allowing criminal prosecution of Mukesh Ambani-owned Reliance Industries Ltd (RIL) and its then three senior officials for allegedly possessing secret documents pertaining to cabinet meetings on economic matters related to government policies on subjects of interest to Reliance Industries Ltd from the company’s office. (*The Print-28-08-19*)

Next one featuring in the scene is rejection of

the recommendation of Supreme Court collegium to promote Justice A A Kureshi, a Bombay High Court Judge, as Chief Justice of Madhya Pradesh High Court by the government. Instead, the government has ordered appointment of another judge as Additional Chief Justice there. Justice Kureshi, incidentally, had, in 2010, remitted one the then powerful minister to police custody for two days in the Sohrabuddin fake encounter case. (*The Wire-21-06-19*) The Gujarat High Court Advocates’ Association (GHAA) described the appointment of the ACJ of Madhya Pradesh High Court as a “clearly uncalled for interference by the ‘Executive’”. Similarly, Madras High Court Chief Justice Vijaya Kamlesh Tahilramani sent her resignation to the President of India three days after the Supreme Court Collegium rejected her request to reconsider its recommendation to transfer her as Chief Justice of the Meghalaya High Court. She was due to retire from service on October 2, 2020, but the sudden transfer to a much smaller High Court had reportedly upset her. It is pertinent to mention here that in May 2017, while in Bombay High Court, Justice Tahilramani had upheld the convictions and life imprisonment of 11 people in the post-Gujarat riot Bilkis Bano gang-rape case. (*The Telegraph 07-09-19* and *scroll.in 28-09-19*)

A pertinent question

Any student of political science knows that the formulators of the founding principles of bourgeois parliamentary democracy clearly delineated the role of the Judiciary as a wing of the state vested with the responsibility to judge any dispute, question or allegation based on the lawbook and then pronounce verdict that must not only be fair and impartial but also clearly appear to be so. The Judiciary in a bourgeois democratic set up is deemed to be an independent body in bourgeois sense, not representing any political authority and ensuring no misuse of power by any section of the government or administration defined as the ‘Executive’. According to the doctrine of ‘Separation of Powers’, fundamental to bourgeois democracy, both the ‘Legislature’ and the ‘Executive’, cannot interfere with the functions and decisions of the Judiciary. It also stipulates that in order to successfully execute their independent authority, the hon’ble judges of both High Courts and the Supreme Court must be appointed without any influence of or interference from any external source including the ‘Executive’, the government included. Common citizens look to the Judiciary for receiving justice. So, it is vitally important that individual judges and the Judiciary as a whole are immune to and independent of all external pressures as well as of each other so that those who appear before them seeking justice and also the wider public can have confidence about their cases being decided fairly and in accordance with the law. But from the above media reports and comments regarding the state of affairs in the Judiciary, is it to be inferred that the fundamental precepts of parliamentary democracy are now under threat? Democratic-minded right-thinking people need to seriously ponder over that.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech**Genuine leftism expresses its character
by striving to isolate rightist forces***Contd. from page 5*

in a totally bourgeois way of governance. I am sure, you would agree that there is no inkling of leftism in running a government in the interest of capitalism, accepting its prevailing order and without going into any confrontation with it. For, this constitutes rightist politics, bourgeois social democratic politics. As opposed to this, the essence of leftism and leftist politics lies in conducting uncompromising struggle against capitalism in the interest of the exploited masses of people. The second historic truth is that rightist politics always gives birth to further dangerous rightist force; it can never give birth to leftism. On the other hand, true leftism gives birth to still more advanced leftism, it cannot give birth to rightist politics. The revolutionary party of the proletariat always guides exploited people towards revolutionary struggle, following this course. Notwithstanding the fact that there are different means and methods of judging the real character of CPI(M)-CPI, simply judging from above

yardstick only the truth becomes apparent that knowingly or not, they are practising rightist politics, a politics that serves and aligns with the capitalists. Many of you know that the undivided CPI was formed in 1920. At the time of their inception, they did not practise bourgeois parliamentary politics and the politics of shunning mass movements, as they are doing now. Reformist, though, their line was, they waged some struggles in the interest of workers, peasants and lower middle class people. And while engaged in such struggles they had to face batons, bullets and imprisonment. All these are true. Giving due cognizance to this, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and great teacher spelt it out unambiguously, after coming out from the jail in 1945 that a genuine communist party, a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, grows only by strictly following scientific Marxist methodology. The CPI had not grown that way. They could not initiate the struggle of freeing themselves from the middle class, petty bourgeois mentality, self-

interest, private property and private property mental complex, and concepts of family stemming from these, and, above all bourgeois individualism and thereby getting de-classed while founding the communist party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further said that regarding fulfilment of another Leninist precondition for building up a communist party — the correct revolutionary theory — the correct strategic line — correct determination of class character of the state — the CPI failed totally. That India was transformed into a sovereign capitalist state with attainment of independence on 15 August 1947 - they also completely failed to grasp this truth. Just think of the situation: when within the country and beyond it, in other countries, the CPI was being applauded, even under such circumstances Comrade Shibdas Ghosh firmly placed this analysis. He said: In such a situation one cannot sit idle; without any further delay immediately struggle must be started to develop the correct revolutionary party of the

working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the genuine communist party. Needless to say he was virtually alone. But that could not deter him from pursuing this line. You know, it was in its course that SUCI (Communist) emerged. At that time several other parties besides the CPI were professing Marxism. There were also some individuals familiarly known as Marxist pundits and scholars. M N Roy who had also worked and associated with Lenin, was one of them. But none of them could make the scientific analysis of the undivided CPI and the defects and shortcomings of the Marxist movements of those days. The foundation of SUCI(C) and its rapid progress overcoming all obstacles, vividly uphold what deep wisdom, knowledge and farsightedness, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had acquired by then. It is in the light of his teachings, by organizing exploited common people into sustained struggle, that we are advancing fast and widely.

*(To be continued in next issue)***Observance of****Sarat Birth Anniversary in Bangalore**

A programme commemorating the 144th birth anniversary of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay, one of the most outstanding exponent of the revolutionary trend of Indian renaissance and great humanist litterateur, was organised by Aavishkar Cultural Forum on 21 October 2019 in Bangalore.

Comrade K Radhakrishna, member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) was the main speaker. Comrade K Uma, Central Committee Member and Karnataka State Secretary, SUCI (C) also spoke on the occasion. Dr Suneeth Kumar Shetty presided over and Comrade Venkatesh made introductory remarks.

**SUCI (C) to contest in two seats in
Maharashtra assembly election****Constituency**

Dindoshi (Mumbai)
Higna

Candidate

Comrade Dattu Govind Kajle
Comrade Madhuri Nikuri



AIDYO, Guna district, Madhya Pradesh, organized a Marathon Race on 29 September in commemoration of birth anniversary of Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh



Demonstration in Patna on 5 October against water-logging and in demand for rescue and adequate relief of the flood-victims and marooned people

**SUCI(C) appeals for standing by the
flood-ravaged people of Bihar and UP**

SUCI(C) has fervently appealed to the countrymen for standing by the hapless flood-ravaged people of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and called upon all to liberally donate to its relief fund and provide medicines to help carry out relief work and run medical camps.

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