

Proletarian Era

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Comrade Ranjit Dhar, veteran member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C), offering revolutionary tribute to great Lenin on 21 January on the occasion of his 95th death anniversary at Party's Central Office in Kolkata

SUCI(C) calls Union Budget a pre-poll propaganda document of the ruling BJP and does not address a single people's issue

In a quick reaction to the speech delivered by the Union Finance Minister while presenting central budget for the year 2018-19, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 1 February, 2018 :

Union Budget is supposed to be a statement of the government's policy in regard to the fundamental economic issues concerning people's life. People's life is devastated by the problems of mounting unemployment, harrowing price rise, closure of one after another existing industries, increasing job loss, fall in wages and rising invasion of highly exploitative contract-casual labour system, systematic as well as systemic deprivation of the poor farmers of minimal price of agricultural produce, spurt in migrant labour, growing suicides of the peasants and retrenched workers, ugly widening of the gap between the handful of rich and millions of wretched countrymen, sharp fall in productive investment, absence of rudimentary healthcare and access to education, reckless misappropriation of bank funds by a few industrial houses in the form of defaulted loan, domination of black money, rampant corruption and so forth. But none of these has any mention in the budget, let alone being addressed. Instead, the economic spectacle as projected in the speech is of being hunky-dory in every respect, shining brightly with the prospect of a thumping growth which would benefit all and sundry. In a bid to cover gloom with an epaulette of downright falsehood, the Finance Minister has claimed that demonetization which, the whole country knows, had at one stroke made life yet more nightmarish for the impoverished

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Latest revelations by four SC judges

Severe systematic attack upon independence and impartiality of the judiciary

Stunning the government as well as legal and political circles of the country, in an unprecedented Press Conference in Delhi held on 12 January, four top and senior-most Supreme Court judges 'took on' none other than the Chief Justice of India Dipak Misra himself, for various "undesirable" things undermining the administration of justice. They accused the CJI of 'not strictly adhering to rules in assigning cases to appropriate Benches' of the Court, rather assigning cases of "far reaching consequences for the nation" "selectively" to junior "benches of preference". The accusation was grave enough to even send shock-waves in common people across the country. The latter stood aghast at the thought that if the charges were true, it would create, as the four judges themselves said, "doubt" about the integrity of the top court of the country, questioning the future of deliverance of justice.

Aggrieved judges raise concern about future of democracy

The four judges also said that they had raised their concerns about various serious issues a couple of months ago in a letter to the CJI, but they "failed in convincing the CJI" to take "remedial steps to protect this institution". They released the unanswered letter also in the Press Conference and warned they were "convinced that unless this institution is protected ... democracy will not survive in the country... the hallmark of democracy is independent and impartial judges". Reportedly, when asked specifically if they were upset over the assignment of the case of the alleged mysterious death of the special CBI Judge Brijgopal Harkishan Loya on 1 December 2014, who had been hearing the sensitive Sohrabuddin Sheikh encounter case which initially involved the BJP president Amit Shah as a prime accused, their answer was "Yes". The four aggrieved judges submitted that in their said letter to the CJI, they had pointed out their reservation about the CJI's refusal to delete the petition filed by the journalist B R Lone seeking probe into Judge Loya's death, as the petition was apparently intended to stall hearing of an already submitted petition on the same issue by the Bombay Lawyers' Association in Bombay High Court. To realize the gravity of the case, a few more background facts on Judge Loya's death are relevant here. In the Sohrabuddin encounter case referred above, Judge B H Loya

was appointed to preside over the special CBI court in Mumbai in June 2014, after his predecessor, Judge J T Utpat, was transferred within weeks of reprimanding Amit Shah for seeking repeated exemption from appearing in court. Initially, Justice Loya's family members alleged foul play behind his death in Nagpur and reported to the press that immediately before his death the then Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, had offered him a bribe of Rs 100 crore in return for a judgment in favour of Amit Shah. Justice Loya had refused it and continued to hear the case. After Loya's death, M B Gosavi was appointed to the Sohrabuddin case, who on 30 December 2014 upheld that the CBI had political motives and discharged Amit Shah. (Ref: websites: caravanmagazine.in; thewire.in; scroll.in — between 21 November and 23 November 2017) In a Press Conference in Delhi on 14 January 2018, Justice Loya's son denied any foul play in the death of his father. A former colleague of Justice Loya seated by Loya's son informed that the Press Conference was being held at Amit Shah's initiative. And the lawyer Amit Nayek accompanying Loya's son conducted the proceedings, often answering questions, as it is reported. Ultimately, the two-member bench of judges which had been hearing the case and which included Justice Arun Mishra with a strong BJP link as alleged by a senior advocate, withdrew from the case. And the two PIL cases for an independent probe into the death Judge Loya have now been removed to be heard by a three-judge Bench headed by the CJI himself. Be that as it may, the controversy on Justice Loya's death and by extension Sohrabuddin encounter case, still remains. No wonder, the four judges included it in their allegation.

The Press Conference assumed more significance since it apparently exposed a rift between the CJI and the four judges ranked after him, who together formed the Supreme Court's Collegium which itself is vested with the responsibility of appointing judges for the Apex Court. In fact, one of the charges the aggrieved judges made was that the Collegium which controlled appointment of 'judges by judges', is 'acting like a coterie', a barter system prevailing in it.

The Press Conference and allegations raised in it, naturally stirred up a hornets' nest. The Bar Council of India formed a seven-member team to

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Latest revelations by four SC judges

‘Now we have to say the judiciary is corrupt too’, say the judges

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meet all the judges of the Apex Court and to ‘mediate’ on the crisis. The said four judges denied any crisis and any need for outside intervention. The Supreme Court Bar Association expressed “grave concern” over the rift in the Collegium and called for its dissipation. Media reported some SC judges calling the Press Conference a bad precedence. On the fringe, there were developments noteworthy. TV visuals showed Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s Principal Secretary appearing outside the residence of the CJI at Delhi on 13 January morning. Obviously the principal opposition Congress seized upon the case. The BJP central leadership kept mum, but their party leader Yashwant Sinha backed the four judges and exhorted Union ministers to take a call on the issues raised by them. Lawyer Prashant Bhusan reiterated his demand for a probe against the CJI for “several acts of serious misconduct”, including his refusal to the CBI to probe into a ‘medical scam’ on bribery in connection with a UP medical college. On the other hand, as report goes, a former judge slammed the ‘mutiny’ of four judges.

“Once we used to say that politics is corrupt, bureaucracy is corrupt; now we have to say that judiciary is corrupt too”: comments a leading judge

In sum and substance, the revelations of the four top and senior-most Supreme Court judges are not just startling, those speak of the confused, if not sorry, state of affairs even at the highest level of the Indian Judiciary. However, if records are taken as relevant, it must be added that such awful situation is neither unique, nor isolated for this country.

People of the country cannot forget that in the mid-seventies of the last century, Mrs Indira Gandhi, as the Prime Minister of Congress (I)-led union government clamped emergency on the country and unhesitatingly expressed her preference for a ‘committed judiciary’. A few years earlier, Justice A N Ray was appointed as the CJI by the union government superseding other senior judges. The CJI eventually chose to disregard and overrule the unanimous conclusion advanced by the high courts of the country and upheld the right of Indira Gandhi’s Government to imprison political opponents at will and without court hearings.

Then again with Asok Sen as the Law Minister, the Prime Minister Viswanath Pratap Singh is said to have appointed CJI on the same criterion of political loyalty. Justice Markandey Katju once wrote in his blog that attempts to appoint a tainted judge of Madras High Court to the SC by the Collegium led by Chief Justice K G Balkrishnan, was virtually through but for Justice Katju’s own intervention. Apart from other charges, Justice Balkrishnan figured once in Kerala scene as the state was rocked by the allegation about his daughter and son-in-law amassing huge properties using his name and office. Shanti Bhusan, a well-known senior advocate and the law minister in Morarji Desai-led government filed an affidavit in 2010 stating that 8 of the 16 former CJIs were corrupt (website : barandbench.com; 17 September 2010). Supreme Court judges themselves claimed that the Allahabad High Court had been affected by a total rot where relatives of the judges acted as lawyers, got favourable verdicts and were earning fabulously on the strength of those verdicts. In a later report of the same High Court, the biggest in the country, to the SC bench including one of the four aggrieved judges revealed that appeals have been pending there for over 40 years and that the average disposal time is 12 years, giving a lie to the proverbial concept: Justice delayed is justice denied! In a more recent issue on the SC Collegium, in May 2014 the Union Ministry of Law and Justice of the BJP-led Union government unilaterally rejected the name of former Solicitor General, Gopal Subramaniam, from a panel of four names to be sent to the President for approval for the CJI post. This took place when the Union government was planning to scrap the collegium system and introduce the NJAC, purportedly to bring transparency and end with corruption in the process of appointing judges. Gopal Subramaniam indicated in a media interview that his role as *amicus curie* in the Sohrabuddin and Israt Jahan so-called encounter cases might have come in the way of his becoming a judge of the Supreme Court. It has been said earlier in this write-up that in the Sohrabuddin case, Amit Shah was an accused, later relieved. It may be added here that a second FIR against Amit Shah was also scrapped by a bench of the

Supreme Court. If it is simply stated that Justice Sathasivam was a member of that bench and was appointed the governor of Kerala after his retirement from the post of CJI, one cannot doubt the obvious connections. Be it denial from the prospect of a higher post or award of lucrative post – retirement jobs, both tend to raise finger to one and the same process of the government or rather executive-legislature, intervention in appointing judges even at the highest level. The deplorable situation created by these instances prompted Justice 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’

Thus, whereas it was desirable that judiciary should act as watchdog for democracy, with utmost neutrality upholding deliverance of untarnished true justice as the last word, which even the bourgeoisie emphasized during the initial days of their growth, the reality presents a totally opposite picture. People whose life is plagued with thousand and one instances of insecurity and injustice even in day-to-day life, now find that abnormal delay and huge accumulation of pending cases for want of adequate number of judges really make seeking justice a farce. Moneyed people are given priority or are conveniently pushed back for indefinite time. Fees for lawyers are increasing sky-high. Police, law-professionals and judges are joining hands to form a nexus to cover up truth, instead of revealing it; the objective of judicial processes is thus bluntly obstructed. Benefit ultimately accrues to the moneyed clients. Poor and middle class people effectively thrown outside the purview of judicial processes are left only to lament that justice is being bought by money. Governments are curtailing, even snatching away the hard-earned fundamental rights of poor and middle class toiling people; the latter cannot even think of availing the scope for justice, of obtaining any respite from the judiciary. To these acute problems in the judicial system, are added political intervention. As an order of the day, whichever of the bourgeois parties assume power of the legislature, it tends to use the administration to bring the judiciary into their tight grip. As money factor or intervention comes to dominate, conscientious competent persons shrink back from joining the

profession. This in itself is causing a marked fall in the standard of judgment. Added to it, even the judges are constrained from acting according to dictates of their conscience and judgement, and may even risk their life in the process.

The present incident of the country’s four top judges holding charges against the CJI, should be judged in the background of such an all-pervasive, hellish state of affairs. Thoughtful persons can by no means give a pass to it. They cannot miss, it is the capitalist system which lies at the root of the crisis. At the same time, surely it would occur to them that once, even in the not so remote past, things had not taken this shape. Then why has the situation taken such a vicious turn: this becomes a burning question.

Modern judiciary, one of the three main pillars of capitalist state, once earned people’s respect

One cannot overlook the fact that the judiciary generally regarded as an independent and neutral institution, is in reality one of the three main pillars of the bourgeois state, the other two being the legislature and the executive, meaning the administration-police-bureaucracy as also military. As a superstructure of the society at any particular stage of its growth and development, state is a system which thrives upon a particular set of concepts of law and order, of principles of governance and justice, of fundamental rights and such other features of the society to ultimately serve, in the main, the interests of the rulers, the ruling class. In the history of human civilization, bourgeois states were formed through what are known as bourgeois democratic revolutions against monarchy and feudalism. The bourgeoisie formed their own national states having given birth to concepts of humanism, democracy, individual freedom, equality of all in the eyes of the laws of land, and thus the concepts of modern judiciary and jurisprudence, among others. To run and protect all these they erected the three pillars or organs of the state: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary; and to keep people abreast of the ongoing developments, the media or press with freedom of speech and expression was considered the fourth estate of the state. In keeping with the principles of bourgeois democracy, the organs were

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TRIPURA ON THE EVE OF ELECTION

Election to the assembly of North-eastern state of Tripura is scheduled on 18 February, 2018. This election is being held at a time when the life and livelihood of the countrymen is devastated in every respect. They are bleeding white under gruelling economic oppression of ruling capitalism exacerbated by repeated bouts of murderous attack in the form of demonetization and GST. While prices are soaring, all hitherto available means of earning even a pittance are drying up. There is no job, no food, no shelter and no security of life. 20 crore Indians go hungry every day. Starvation deaths are on an alarming rise. One child dies every minute of severe acute malnutrition. One after another, hard earned democratic and civil rights are taken away. Voice of legitimate protest is muffled brutally. Elections have been reduced to a farce with money-muscle-media-administrative powers determining who would win, who would lose, which party or combination, backed by the ruling bourgeoisie would come to power, would stay in power or be dislodged from power.

Socio-cultural sphere is marked by rampant corruption, growing intolerance, communal-casteist-ethnic rancour and frenzy, religious fanaticism, bigotry, fratricidal bloodbaths, rising crime on women, terror and tension. People find no escape route from this all-out attack brought down on them by the ruthlessly oppressive ruling capitalist class and its servitors.

Growing predicament and suffering of the Tripura people

Inhabitants of Tripura, like the oppressed people of all other states of capitalist India, are also finding life turn more and more nightmarish with every passing day. The economy of the state can be characterised by high rate of poverty, low capital formation, inadequate infrastructure facilities, geographical isolation and communication bottlenecks, inadequate exploration and use of forest and mineral resources, no kind of industrialisation and high unemployment. Prices of essential commodities are higher than in other Indian states because Tripura still lags far behind in self-sufficiency in agricultural production. So, it has to procure all its daily necessary articles like rice, wheat, pulses, fruits, vegetables and fish from other states. Over and above, black marketing is rampant. All these factors have been further pushing up the prices. On the other hand, the poor peasants do not get remunerative price of whatever little

they produce nor is there any facility of properly preserving the crops because of non-availability of any government-run cold storage. Hence, the peasants constituting majority of the state population languish in abject poverty. The industrial sector of the state continues to be totally underdeveloped – brickfields and tea industry are the only two organised sectors. But even there as well as in other small scale industries, employment is mostly contractual and casual at abysmally low wage. Tripura has natural gas reserves and a large forest area producing various natural raw materials like bamboo, rubber and so forth. But, no initiative has been taken either by the central or the state government for setting up small or middle size industries based on bamboo, natural gas, and rubber and thus create employment opportunities. Rather, whatever few small or cottage industries were established both in government and private sectors are either closed down or turned sick—a phenomenon common in crisis-ridden utterly corrupt capitalism. In absence of any kind of industrial activities, unemployment is growing by leaps and bound. Registered unemployed constitutes more than one-third of the population. It goes without saying that the number of unregistered unemployed and under-employed is much more. Healthcare is in shambles in absence of adequate infrastructure, insufficient number of doctors and other facilities of medical treatment. Though there are two medical colleges, one in government sector and the other run on so called PPP model (Public Private Partnership—a euphemism of *de facto* private sector), the standard of treatment is abysmally poor. As a result, those who cannot afford to bear the expenses for going outside the state for treatment are the worst sufferers. On the other hand, those who try to seek medicare in other states are forced to sell whatever little of movable or immovable property they have. Literacy level of the state is among the poorest in the country. With a spree of privatization and commercialization, abolition of pass-fail system upto class VIII and such other anti-education measures in keeping with the ruinous National Education Policy 1986, the scenario of the education sector is equally perilous. The standard of education in the government schools has been falling rapidly. Lack of transport facilities is another major inconvenience of the citizens of the state. After sunset, the capital city of Agartala virtually becomes

inaccessible from other districts or subdivision towns. There is only one national highway to link the state with the rest of the country by road. Planned move to gradually hand over the transport system to profit-greedy private operators coupled with unbridled corruption has turned the Tripura Road Transport Corporation sick. No less harrowing is the spectacle of socio-cultural arena. The most unscrupulous Ponzi funds were allowed by the CPI (M) government to fleece at will the suffering people mostly belonging to the poorer strata desperate to earn a little more to eke out a bare living. Now the depositors who have lost their hard earned money as well as the agents who thought they had found a means of earning in this jobless scenario have, as the proverb goes, a bee in their bonnet. Incidents of molestation, rape, gang rape, liquor menace, drug addiction and such other crimes and maladies are increasing more and more. In every respect, people of Tripura could not find any difference between the rule of any other bourgeois party and the 35 years of CPI (M) rule in the state.

Political scenario of the state

Tripura, third smallest state of the country, became a Union Territory, without a legislature, in November 1956 and an elected ministry was installed in July 1963. Until 1977, the state was governed by the Congress. From 1978 it had a CPI (M) government. Then between 1988 and 1993, it had the rule of a coalition government of the Congress and Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti, a regional tribal party. The CPI (M) regained power after that. Till date, the CPI (M) has been running the government there uninterrupted. But, despite all mouthful claims of 'development' by the ruling CPI (M), the state, as shown above, continues to totter in growing misery, penury, deprivations and deceptions of the people. Masquerading as Marxists-leftists, the CPI (M) leaders have shown how they can serve the ruling capitalist class in the best possible way by pursuing the same anti-people policies and adopting the same bourgeois approach and outlook of running a government by maintaining and riding on the utterly corrupt and extremely coercive police-administration and showing total indifference to people's problems and sufferings. Instead of abating, let alone eradicating, raging corruption in government-administration, the CPI (M) only ensured that malpractices, malfeasance and misfeasance are

further nourished, nurtured and exploited in extending its influence and strengthening its stranglehold over the state. As is known to all, Tripura like many other north-eastern states run on the grant-in-aid from the central government as they cannot generate sufficient revenue to defray the government expenditures. The whole and sole attempt of the CPI (M) leadership has been to stay in power by hook or by crook by recklessly abusing the governmental power and misusing government exchequer at will. It is common that the criminals and anti-socials always seek shelter under the umbrella of the ruling party to carry out their unlawful activities and reign based on high-handedness. In return, they serve the ruling party as a subservient force. The power-crazy bourgeois parties always try to maintain such a contingent of muscle-flexors by paying money, giving them a slew of privileges and benefits like licence, permit, suppliers of real estate material and so forth and protecting them from the punitive machinery. Then they requisition their services in bullying people to submission, muffling voice of dissent and rigging the elections. People of Tripura have seen the CPI (M) following the same practice but in a slightly different manner. With lure of lucre, temptation of jobs and fringe benefits as well as ensuring impunity in case any kind of wrong deed and action, the CPI (M) has created a powerful network of a vested interest group both in the rural and urban areas. This group operates silently and is controlled regimentally by the CPI (M) leadership. In case there is any murmuring anywhere against the CPI (M) or the rule, if anyone dares to show any interest in any opposition party, if anyone is even found to be talking to the activist of any other party, this powerful network is immediately activated and the person concerned is contacted and restrained by either promising some sops or freebies or showing red eyes. With this network in operation, the ruling CPI (M) even intervenes in the domestic affairs of people—who is to be kept as a tenant, where a marriage has to be fixed, how the inherited properties are to be distributed among the heirs etc. No dissent is tolerated, no movement is allowed to surge forth on any legitimate demand of the people. The message is loud and clear—if you want to stay, stay by currying favour with the ruling CPI (M) and endorsing each and everything the ruling party and its government does. Otherwise, face

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Tripura Election

People found no difference between 35 years of CPI (M) rule and rule of any bourgeois party

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the music. Thus a kind of silent suppressed terror is prevailing and people though seething within are forced to keep their mouths shut. It is to be noted that creating and sustaining such a fear psychosis and thereby ensuring party-authoritarianism for the sake of pelf and power in a bourgeois set up with a regimented vested interest group pressed into action as watchdog is, in a sense, more dangerous than the rule of a bourgeois party. And in the process of conducting like any other bourgeois party while in power in a rotten bourgeois set up, all the vices of rotten capitalist system like nepotism, corruption, indulging in falsehood and bluffing, power-greed and power-orientation have gripped the party. It reminds one of the 33 years of CPI (M) rule in West Bengal where a similar suffocating situation was created. Those who are rallying behind the party in Tripura are, like West Bengal, not spurred on by any ideology but in expectation of some favour, benefit and enjoying the air of being somebody feared by people. This is the inner-story of the so called organizational hold of the CPI (M) in Tripura. People of Tripura who one day voted the CPI (M) to power with lot of expectations are now turning anti-CPI (M). And a section which finds state of affairs beyond endurance is switching over to the BJP presuming that to be the formidable opposition. Because of such activities and conduct of the CPI (M), the prestige of Marxism-leftism has been considerably eroded in the state.

It is pertinent to mention here that out of disgust and grievance, the people of the state have desired a change for the last 15 odd years. But the Congress government which was at the Centre till 2014 evidently followed a pro-CPI (M) line in respect of the state and made no serious attempt to dislodge the CPI (M) from power. It could be due to either as per the clear signal from the ruling class to this effect or some petty electoral considerations of the Congress party. Seeing no immediate prospect of the state Congress, the aspirant Congress leaders and rank switched over to the TMC presuming that like West Bengal, the TMC might emerge as the alternative to the CPI (M) in the bourgeois vote politics. But soon they understood that the TMC was

not able to have a strong foothold in the state and hence could not feature in people's mind as a strong anti-CPI (M) force. Since the BJP which by virtue of being saddled to power at the Centre with the strong backing of the class, all the dissident Congress leaders and rank as well as the turncoats of other parties switched over to the BJP. So, the Tripura state BJP is a conglomerate of such dissidents and defectors. Seizing the opportunity, the BJP whose 3 year rule has devastated the countrymen in every respect has now upping its ante in Tripura. While the CPI (M) is customarily playing its bugle of 'development' and dishing out bountiful of promises just like any other vote-based bourgeois party, the BJP as usual is trying to corner votes predominantly by playing its rabid communal card of Hindutva and fanning up divisive-separatist mentalities. It ought to be clear that had not the CPI (M) abandoned leftism, forsaken the line of struggle, abjectly renounced cultivation of leftist ideology and become a part and parcel of bourgeois vote politics and power game, the BJP could never enter either West Bengal nor Tripura which did have a predominantly left mind and inclination. For this ominous raising of ugly head by the BJP, the anti-left anti-struggle politics of the CPI (M) is squarely responsible.

Fomenting tribal- non-tribal divide to reap electoral dividend

Besides all such socio-economic-cultural onslaughts and exploitations, there are some specific features in the political sphere of the state. In Tripura, tribal people constitute 30% of the populace. Right from the days of feudal domination in colonial India, these ethnic tribals like their brethren in other parts of the country have been worst sufferers both economically and politically as well as socio-culturally. Backwardness continues to persist with them. There was no attempt on the part of the rulers to improve their economic and social life, to open door of modern education to them, to bring them both socially and culturally to the mainstream of national life, to develop their language, to pave the way for not only preservation of their own culture but exchange of culture with others. In fact, the rulers of

both independent India as well as post-independent India in their class interest kept the tribal people as secluded communities so as to use them in any way they liked. Every care was taken to precipitate and nurture a divide between the tribal and non-tribal masses. So, for long, there has been a suppressed anger and grievance among these oppressed tribal people. What was necessary was to launch united powerful democratic movement in demand for fulfilment of the legitimate demands of the tribal people and thus enabling them to share common cause with the toiling masses belonging to the non-tribal community. Endeavour needed to be made to develop due political consciousness among these backward tribals in course of this process. But both the undivided CPI and then the CPI (M) took no such effort to build up struggling unity of the tribal and non-tribal toiling masses based on genuine leftist line and thereby cement their unity against ruling capitalism. Instead, right from the day one they have tried to use them as vote banks. In fact, all the vote-merchants the CPI (M) included have been having no qualm in playing at sixes and sevens with this poorest segment of people. In absence of necessary political consciousness, the tribal people became vulnerable to any kind of separatist-chauvinist-parochial-exclusivist thoughts. Some of the aspirant groups and leaders from among the tribal populace also viewed fortune in crystallization of such mindset and politics. Thus, various small groups and parties mouthing slogan of tribal upliftment had surfaced and in reaction to this tribalism, anti-tribalism thoughts also gained ground. The vested interest backed both the trends to drive a wedge between the two sections of oppressed people. It also cunningly carved out a privileged 'creamy layer' from among the backward tribal people and projected them as champions of tribal unity and development of tribal areas seemingly from pure electoral interest. As fallout of these nasty divisive policies, worst form of ethnic clashes had ensued and mass killings like the infamous Mandwi massacre and such other gory incidents sullied the soil of Tripura. But, persistent pursuit of anti-left policies by the CPI (M) had helped perpetuation of this

divide. Instead of repairing the divided mind, fostering the spirit of unity of the oppressed people and creating required amity and fraternity between the oppressed tribals and non-tribals by developing united powerful democratic movement on burning problems of life, the CPI (M) too played so-called tribal card to woo the tribal masses and thus secure their votes. Of late, to soothe the frayed temper of the tribal people, the CPI (M) has created a Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC). But till date, no autonomy has been delegated to the Council in regard to finance, police and judicial jurisdiction as per 6th schedule of the constitution. It appears that its intention is to have total control over the TTAADC and making a mockery of the word 'autonomous'. And since the chauvinist-separatist-parochial-communal-exclusivist thoughts are all product of reactionary utterly corrupt capitalism and based on individual aspirations and privilege-seeking, it is also faction-ridden and crippled from birth. There are so many groups and splinters of these tribal outfits. Some of these small tribal groups have formed an All Tripura Indigenous Regional Parties Forum (ATIRPF) to take on the CPI (M). On the other hand, the Indigenous Nationalist Party of Tuipra (INPT), another tribal outfit has announced its decision to tie up with the arch communal anti-dalit BJP. It is thus clear that none of these tribal organizations have any plan other than riding to power by making either open or clandestine understanding with this or that ruling bourgeois, petty-bourgeois party. Obviously, these outfits are no messiahs or sympathizers of the tribal people. They are also partners of bourgeois power game. Both the CPI (M) and the BJP are thus trying to woo the tribal voters by playing on parochial-separatist sentiments. The BJP is also trying to corner non-tribal votes by fomenting Hindutva sentiment. This orchestrated tribal-non-tribal schism is poised to entail an ominous future. Though incidents of mutual conflicts and violence are very few and stray today on the eve of elections, the days to come might see violent eruption of ethnic clashes at the instigation of the vested interest groups.

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Tripura Election

As against rotten bourgeois vote politics, SUCI(C) is contesting holding aloft the banner of struggling leftism

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SUCI(C), force of class and mass struggles

As against this rotten bourgeois vote politics and incessant incitement of divisive disruptive thoughts of varied nature, our Party is singularly trying to preserve the spirit of struggling leftism, develop class and mass struggles on people's issues and impressing upon people that only the path of movement based on higher ethics and culture and not bourgeois vote politics would serve their cause. It is only the assertion of people's power crystallized in the form of movement which can force the government to yield to legitimate demands or retract from implementing anti-people measures. Relief, if any, can also be achieved through development of powerful organized people's movement rising above all divisiveness. Some of the movements spearheaded by us with people's support have also been able to achieve the demands. When the CPI (M) government had started on-line lottery in the name of boosting revenue earning, our Party organized a powerful movement including a sit-in demonstration in front of the house of the finance minister and putting barricades in front of the lottery ticket counters. In view of the massive protest, the government beat retreat and ultimately stopped the lottery. It was at the initiative of our Party that a public committee named Broad Gauge Rupayan Sangram Committee was formed. Under the banner of the Committee, an organized movement together with similar people's committee formed in the Barak Valley of Assam was launched to convert the metre gauge railway track into broad gauge and extend it upto Bilonia for convenience of the Tripura people. A dharna was staged at Jantar Mantar of New Delhi. Under pressure of the movement, the central government had conceded the demand. In compliance with the black Electricity Act 2003 of the central government, the state CPI(M) government had corporatized the department of electricity and formed a regulatory body to arbitrarily increase power tariff every year. The body also decided to fix minimum charge based on point basis load assessment. Against this move, our Party built up movement and succeeded in compelling withdrawal of this system. When the CPI (M)

government in the name of containing school drop outs introduced Nodal system and question bank system (i.e. one nodal school is to control all examinations of all schools of an area and a book of question bank is to be supplied to all students), we could rightly bring out to the education-loving people the dangerous consequence of this anti-education policy. In the face of vigorous opposition of the people, the government had to discard the system. Our role in developing movements against the anti-people policies and avid pursuit of genuine leftism is receiving increasing appreciation from the people and braving all odds and overcoming all threats and intimidations of the ruling party, our organization is steadily developing in the state though the CPI (M)'s vicious network is creating various obstacles starting from physical assault to terrorization.

Vote SUCI (C) candidates to reverberate voice of mass struggle inside the House

In this backdrop, our Party is contesting five seats in the assembly elections highlighting the genuine leftist line of struggle. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, had once pointed out to the oppressed people that outwardly there appears to be so many opposing parties in politics. But, in reality there are only two contending forces. On the one hand, all the bourgeois petty-bourgeois parties who are against revolution belong to one camp, the revolutionary party of the proletariat engaged in the task of organizing anti-capitalist revolution constitutes the other camp. He also repeatedly called upon the suffering millions to imbibe the truth that emancipation of the toiling people from the yoke of capitalist oppression would come by only after accomplishing anti-capitalist revolution after fulfilment of necessary subjective and objective conditions. One of the pre-conditions of revolution is to develop powerful organized united movement along right track to realize the just demands involving all sections of the toiling people, irrespective of whether tribals or non-tribals, which language they speak, which ethnicity they belong to or which religion they profess. The root of all their miseries is ruling oppressive capitalism. So, the common cause of the entire

oppressed people lies in joining hands of each other on the platform of united movement against the anti-people policies and measures of ruling capitalism operationalized through its political agents. So, to the toiling millions, it is immaterial which party or combination wins the election and forms the government particularly in today's situation where elections are rigged and manipulated in various ways with money and muscle. Till the time revolution does not take place, it is imperative that frustrating all bourgeois conspiracy of rigging the election under pressure of concerted powerful mass movement, more and more tested and tried soldiers of democratic movement and torchbearers of true revolutionary politics are made victorious so that

the voice of class and mass struggles would be reverberated inside the assembly and all intrigues and machinations are exposed. That way parliamentary struggle would be linked with the extra-parliamentary movement. It is with this purpose that the genuine revolutionary party participates in the election with distinctively different revolutionary line till people are freed from the bourgeois parliamentary illusion. In the crucial situation prevailing in the state, our appeal to the people is that being spurred on by the overriding necessity of and involvement with the task of developing people's movements, please make the SUCI(C) candidates victorious and strengthen genuine leftism.

TO HOLD ALOFT THE BANNER OF GENUINE LEFTISM, MAKE SUCI(C) CANDIDATES VICTORIOUS IN TRIPURA ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Constituency	District	Candidate
Town Bardwali	West Tripura	Comrade Shibani Bhaumik
Banamalipur	West Tripura	Comrade Shefali Debnath
Badharghat	West Tripura	Comrade Mridul Kanti Sarkar
Dharmanagar	West Tripura	Comrade Sanjoy Chaudhury
Matabari	Gomati	Comrade Bibhu Lal Dey

Joint Movement in Haryana against brutal gang-rape

In protest against and condemnation of the brutal gang-rape of four girls of whom three were later murdered, a joint movement was launched in Haryana by leftist organizations and democratic forces, including AIDSO, AIDYO, AIDWA, AIMSS, AIPWE, DYFI, *Dalit Soshit Mukti Manch*, NPIW, *Pragatisheel Mahila Sangathan*, *Rashtriya Dalit Mahila Andolan*. On January 17, a protest demonstration was held by them in front of Haryana Bhawan. The

representatives of the various organizations addressed the gathering and the effigy of Haryana Chief Minister M.L. Khattar was burnt. The speakers expressed grave concern at the way incidents of rape, gang rape and murder are increasing at an alarming rate in the state. They also condemned the apathy of the BJP-led Government towards growing crime on women. They called upon students, youth and women in particular to join their ranks against such crimes against women.

Observance of Surya Sen Martyrdom Day in Tripura

On January 12, the Martyrdom Day of Masterda Surya Sen, one of the valiant leaders of the uncompromising trend of Indian Freedom Movement was observed in Agartala, Tripura through different

programmes organised by AIDSO, AIDYO and AIMSS. In front of the State Museum, floral tribute was offered at the statue of Surya Sen followed by a cycle rally with portraits of Surya Sen.

Comrade Biplab Chakraborty passes away

Comrade Biplab Chakraborty, Secretariat Member, Kolkata District Committee, SUCI(C), passed away on 18 January last at Vidyasagar Hospital, in Behala area of Kolkata, at an age of 68 years. Since 2012 he had been suffering from a rare neurological disease diagnosed at Tirumal Institute of Trivandram as supra-nuclear palsy, in which his nerve cells gradually dried up. This deadly incurable disease not only affected his body-balance, but ultimately confined the ever-active comrade to inaction and to bed, gradually leading him to succumb on 18 January morning. But till the last moment he had sense, Comrade Chakraborty took all his sufferings with a smiling face, with the Party reigning supreme in his thoughts.

Immediately after the news of his demise, Kolkata District Secretariat and State Committee members rushed to the hospital to pay tribute to him. From the hospital, his body was taken to his residence and then to the Party's Central Office where floral tribute was paid by Comrade Ranjit Dhar, veteran Polit Bureau member. Then wreaths and garlands were placed on behalf of Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, Comrades Manik Mukherjee and Asit Bhattacharyya, both Polit Bureau members as well as Comrade Saumen Basu, Central Committee member and West Bengal State Secretary. Tributes were paid also by other State Committee and District Committee members, various mass organizations and organs of the party.

Comrade Biplab Chakraborty was initiated into the Party in 1967-68 at a very young age through "Adhyan Pathagar", a public library in Behala area of Kolkata. Soon afterwards, influenced and deeply inspired by the thoughts of great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he undertook bold struggle to acquire communist character based upon his vital teachings. In course of that he happily and dedicatedly discharged whatever responsibility was assigned to him by the Party, and unhesitatingly submitting his views and problems to the Party leadership. His open-hearted, ever helpful ways, unassuming and amiable character endeared him to everybody in the Party, not only in West Bengal, but also outside it.

His deep interest in reading and writing, insatiable thirst for knowing and learning, an analytical mind and interest in different subjects, all these deepened and sharpened further after he had been introduced to and initiated with the Party ideology and thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. With continued struggle under the leadership of the Party, he provided

the Party with a great service in editorial work and publication of different organs, periodicals and documents including the compendium *Golden Book of Saratchandra*, *Pathikrit*, a Bengali cultural magazine, *Anyachokhe*, a socio-political weekly, to name a few, and ultimately for a long period, *Ganadabi*, the Bengali organ of the Party. Noting his special aptitude for linguistics, the Party assigned him the responsibility of learning the Russian language. He grasped the language fast and well enough to translate Russian documents for the Party or to act as Interpreter with the Russian delegates in anti-imperialist conventions or other programmes. In 2009, he was given the responsibility of supervising the Party press in Kolkata along with his work with *Ganadabi*. But since 2012, his life took a turn as symptoms of his disease manifested more and more to bring an end to the life of this valuable and dedicated revolutionary worker of the Party. His cremation took place in the evening amidst rendition of the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the *Internationale*.



On 30 January evening there was a memorial meeting of Comrade Biplab Chakraborty, at the Ashutosh College Hall in South Kolkata. With solemnity and dignity, the memorial meeting was held in presence of Polit Bureau members, Comrade Ranjit Dhar and Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Central Committee members Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee and Comrade Saumen Basu, also the Secretary of West Bengal State Committee, the West Bengal State Secretariat members Comrade Chiraranjan Chakraborty and Comrade Amitava Chatterjee, the latter also the Secretary of Calcutta District Committee, who all paid their floral tributes to the departed comrade. Other leaders and cadres of the Party along with family members and friends of Comrade Chakraborty, many of whom were also comrades attended the meeting with a heavy heart. Comrade Chiraranjan Chakraborty presided over and Comrade Amitava Chatterjee spoke about his dedicated struggle.

Red Salute Comrade Biplab Chakraborty

Country observed 122nd birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on 23 January with due solemnity



Fattapur-Badlapur



Dumka



Kota



Keonjhar



Begusarai



Mumbai



Lucknow

Latest revelations by four SC judges

Only strong united people's movement can create pressure for justice, neutrality, impartiality

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awarded a relative independence from each other on a principle based upon the theory of 'separation of power', each bearing specific responsibilities. The legislature promulgated the laws, the executive or the bureaucracy enacted or executed those laws and the judiciary was meant to check and safeguard whether the laws promulgated and executed are compatible with the expressed provisions of the Constitution and fully in conformity with the adopted legal frame. So, there were both 'relative independence', as also a 'check and balance system' to guide the organs. Theory of separation of power was visualized so that power did not get concentrated with any of the wings or the organs and there was no disharmony in and overlapping or interference of their functions. Side by side, upholding democratic humanist values, it was conceived and practised that personalities of eminence and integrity be in charge of deliverance of justice. Judiciary, like other organs, even more than those, assumed a seat of respect and confidence in people's imagination, which upheld justice and truth.

Present decadent capitalism does not spare judiciary too

However, based on exploitation the capitalism gave birth to monopoly and then imperialism and has now turned into a totally decadent world system. Intense all-out crisis, abject decadence and degeneration pervades all the spheres of life in each and every capitalist country. Total cultural and moral degeneration, absence of values, corruption, fraudulence, and all such filthy vices, once abhorred by the civilized world, have rather become the order of the day. As Karl Marx, the great leader of the proletariat, pointed out as far back as in 1847 in the Communist Manifesto — in the capitalist society money has overwhelmed everything else. Craze for money and with that, craze for power tend to become the driving force in each and every sphere of life, in each and every relationship in a capitalist society. Today, the situation has gone from bad to worse. As in all other fields, regarding judiciary, too, money and power have made horrible inroads to influence even the judicial processes. Not only it has become the privilege of the

moneyed section of the society, it has also brought marked decline in standards, even sharp and sad loss of integrity in those who are supposed to stand for delivering justice and truth to people. As capitalism becomes more decadent, scenes even within judiciary assume most pathetic shape. With growth of monopoly capitalism, the concepts of relative independence of and the theory of separation of power among the legislature, the executive and the judiciary that evolved through the bourgeois democratic revolutions, have ceased to exist. Now, the monopolists are cunningly trying to completely wipe out this concept from the social mindset and are carrying on relentless efforts to turn the entire judicial system into a subservient instrument to serve their aggregate interests. In this era of moribund capitalism, the monopolists are hell bent upon concentrating all powers in their hands through the different organs of their state machinery including the government.

Indian capitalism and the Indian capitalist state emerged, grew up and consolidated itself only in the age of decadent capitalism. The newly independent Indian capitalist state emerged with monopoly capitalists taking the rein. Thus since birth, the Indian capitalist state carried in it shadows of crisis and inherent weaknesses. With crisis intensifying the world over, it further affected the Indian capitalist state. Thousand and one vices and maladies marking decadence and degeneration became more rampant and manifest everywhere. Thus people nowadays learn it daily, every moment, from

the media, from their own experience that politics and politicians of all major bourgeois parties, national or regional, have become corrupt and degenerated to their bones. Yet they continue to rule the roost so long as they keep the system running for the ruling monopolist! Forgetting the once-cherished principle of administrative neutrality, the bureaucracy has become tainted with partisanship, corruption, bribery and cut-out money among others. But that does not deter their acting as the pet pillar for the ruling class! Leading monopolists and industrialists themselves often occupy the headlines for corruption, nepotism, illegal transactions, tax evasion and what not. The huge NPA of the Indian banks accruing from loans not refunded, only speak about the massiveness of corruption of the monopolists and their henchmen, as it is they who are the biggest creditors. But all those end in a show of stage-managed drama. Even the military is hardly spared with numerous shoddy deals covering huge sums of money, unearthed now and then and hushed up immediately later.

Pressure of people's opinion and struggle, the only deterrent against degeneration

Under such all-pervading dismal and frustrating situation people fall easy victim to the propaganda on the sanctity and efficacy of the rule of law carried out cleverly by the monopoly-controlled media. Allured by this, they tend to lay their confidence upon the judiciary and as extension upon the state in the ultimate analysis. Yet, an organ of a

decadent system, the judiciary can hardly enjoy any exception. As explained above, judiciary too has become fraught with decadence, prevalence of money and political interference and influence destroying neutrality even in the sense the bourgeoisie once sought for, downfall in standard, even in integrity of the persons supposed to deliver justice. This is once more evident from the most recent revelations by the four aggrieved senior-most judges of the Apex Court.

In such a situation it is necessary that people shake off their confusion and inaction and realize that it is the people's opinion and its pressure that would have to ultimately play its role as a deterrent to degeneration. Powerful people's movement must be developed across the country on demands of restoring and preserving the independence, neutrality and impartiality of the judiciary, putting a stop to money playing havoc in deliverance of justice and thwarting the efforts for bringing the judiciary into the tight grip of the bourgeois governments from their seat of power. Side by side, demands must be raised to the governments to take measures to ensure that poor and middle class people have the scope for justice at affordable low cost, if necessary with required financial help and assistance. Only strong and united people's movement can create pressure upon wrong-doers and mischief-mongers in the judiciary making it easier to ensure and preserve judicial neutrality and impartiality, albeit in bourgeois sense, to the maximum extent possible in this decadent capitalist system.

SUCI(C) calls Union Budget a pre-poll propaganda document of the ruling BJP

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peasants, daily wagers, venders, ordinary shop owners as well as small business and caused death to hundreds, has been greeted by the people as 'emblem of honesty'. Similarly, GST which has dealt another severe blow to the people at large as well as the small and middle industries has been described to be a path-breaking reform in taxation policy giving so many positive results.

Thus the Budget speech for the year 2018-19 read out by the

Finance Minister in the parliament amidst continuous thumping of the tables by the BJP ministers and MPs, has been nothing but a pre-election propaganda document of his party and the government that teemed in hollow claims of success and customary announcements of various schemes and plans, all purposively tagged with the Prime Minister's name, and pretended to be in the welfare of the countrymen. The entire budget is vulgarly pro-rich, pro-corporate and highly anti-people and hence would bring about

more wails and woes to the toiling millions while the super-rich, the ruling monopolists would continue to make fortunes in the much-trumpeted regime of 'digital economy' and rule of a government which shamelessly arrogates to itself 'premium of honesty' by bluffing the countrymen with surfeit of counterfeit promises and subterfuges. We call upon the suffering countrymen to rise up in vehement protest against such a documented deception in the name of country's annual budget.

India continues to buy arms from Zionist Israel which uses heinous techniques of espionage

Here are a few striking news concerning Israel and India.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was accorded a red carpet welcome in India, as his Indian counterpart personally received him in Delhi on 14 January with a warm hug, setting aside protocol. The visit was expected to further strengthen the two countries' ties in fields ranging from defence and counter-terrorism to trade, agriculture, water and health. (Source: The Statesman Kolkata Edition 15 January 2018)

A few weeks ahead of this visit, New Delhi had scrapped the USD 500 million lucrative defence deal. On 17 January Israeli media quoted their Prime Minister Netanyahu to report that India had renewed the deal and had decided to buy Israel's anti-tank guided missiles. (Source : The Statesman Kolkata Edition 18 January 2018)

In a different news it was reported that since its formation as an independent state, in seventy years Israel has carried out at least 2700 clandestine murders. This has come to light in a book by a journalist of that country based on interviews or chats with Israeli espionage agents belonging to Mossad and Shin Bet, the two dreaded espionage organizations of

Israel, as also quite a few military officers. These murderous Israeli adventures were based on the principle of pre-emptive strikes upon possible enemies (Incidentally the world became familiar with this term 'pre-emptive strike more particularly since the US imperialists attack on Afghanistan ostensibly aimed at fighting terrorism). The Israeli military officers interviewed held that such strikes reduced the cost of expensive wars. These operations were directed against important personalities. They included from numbers of Islamic leaders who supported Palestinian cause to at least a dozen of nuclear scientists of Iran, after the Iran's nuclear programme was known to the world. The methods varied from slow poisoning through toothpastes, using explosives planted in mobile phones or car tyres to bombing cars from small range drones flying above the targets. (Ananda Bazar Patrika, a Bengali daily from Kolkata, 28 January 2018)

As yet there is no report if India- Israeli deal included exchange of such methods from Israel to India! But certainly the revelations, if found true, reiterate designating Israel as a state-terrorist force!

SUCI(C) vehemently opposes union HRD Minister of State's claim that Darwinism is wrong and calls for powerful protest from the scientific community, educationists as well as all right-thinking people

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 23 January, 2018 :

We vehemently oppose the most ludicrous and unscientific statement of Satyapal Singh, Union BJP Minister of State of Human Resource Development that Charles Darwin's theory of evolution of man is "scientifically wrong" and hence needs to be dropped from the school and college curriculum. While Darwinism is a time-tested scientific theory confirmed by the scientists round the world based on scientific evidences and experimentally verified facts, the BJP Minister's argument in favour of his claim is that our ancestors have nowhere mentioned having seen an ape turning into a man and the tales told by our grandparents had no such reference either.

Clearly, this utterance of the Minister is in consonance with the evil design of the RSS-BJP to abandon all kinds of scientific theories and rational thinking process and instead inculcate in people's mind all sorts of obscurantist, bigoted, revivalist and backward thoughts to keep them arrested in the blind alley of mysticism and thereby secure the decadent moribund ruthlessly oppressive capitalist system from being questioned and challenged.

It is inspiring to note that the scientists and science academies have already risen in protest and a letter to be submitted as a petition to the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Prime Minister's Office and the President has already received over 3600 signatures of the scientists and expected to receive many more in the next two days. We also join them in this righteous protest and call upon all the scientists, educationists, teachers, students, intellectuals and all sections of right-thinking truth-seeking conscientious people to extend their support and force the Minister to withdraw his ill-motivated statement.

Tamil Nadu protest against bus fare hike



SUCI (C) Chennai district committee demonstrate against steep rise in bus fare near Chennai District Collectors' office on 22 January, 2018. On the same day, similar protest was held in Theni district also.



AIUTUC demonstrate in Kolkata on 30 January, All India Protest Day on 12-point demand of workers

THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS ESTIMATES THAT:

RUSSIA HAS 4,300 NUCLEAR WEAPONS	AMERICA HAS 4,000 NUCLEAR WEAPONS
CHINA HAS 260 NUCLEAR WEAPONS	NORTH KOREA HAS LESS THAN 10 NUCLEAR WEAPONS

YET SOMEHOW NORTH KOREA IS THE BIGGEST THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

Who is threatening world peace ?

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH