

# Proletarian Era

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## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# Democratic movement created ground for CPI(M)'s defeat

People have given their verdict against CPI(M). A strangulating rule of more than three decades has come to an end. The strength of the CPI(M) in the Assembly has come down from 194 to just 40 indicating a loss of 80% of the seats. CPI(M) leaders often bragged that they had mandate to pronounce the last word in the state and commanded a practically unassailable position. Having been forced to live in such a suffocating situation, people somehow came to believe that CPI(M) was a Goliath and hence could not be removed from power. Hence there would be no respite from such horrific a condition. What did then cause such a miracle? Who brought this gale of change that swept across the state? Needless to say, it is the common people, the suffering myriads who ushered in this change. For the last 34 years, they have been subjected to worst torture, repressed and oppressed beyond limit. So many have been killed, maimed or rendered invalid forever. Mothers have lost their children, wives have lost their husbands. Bereavement is writ large on innumerable families. Thousands have been robbed of the last means of their subsistence. Many are languishing in jail after having been framed in false cases. It is the poor have-nots and toiling middle-class who have been harmed most. They have been stripped of their legitimate rights including the right to freely express opinion. The spectacle has been harrowing.

### Harrowing spectre of CPI(M) rule

In course of nakedly serving the class interest of domestic and foreign monopoly capital while running the government in the state, the CPI(M) leaders abandoned whatever little of leftism used to be practiced by undivided CPI and then CPI(M) during 1950s and '60s of course for reaping parliamentary benefits. Brutally they have crushed democratic mass movements and working class struggles. Right from day one, they had under garb of leftism completely dedicated themselves to serving the ruling bourgeoisie and driven by the lure of pelf and power, pursued policies which are glaringly anti-

left and subservient to bourgeois class interest. As a result, common masses were on the verge of ruination, deprived, deceived, harassed and assaulted at every step. The capitalist owners got away by embezzling huge amount of Provident Fund, Gratuity and ESI (Employees' State Insurance) money. Not that the CPI(M) government just remained a mute spectator to this loot and plunder. It was equally alert that no worker dared to ask for his dues. While demanding his pending gratuity money, poverty-stricken old worker received bullets from the trigger-happy police and died on the spot. The body of the protesting worker was hushed up by the police. Jobless workers were mercilessly beaten, turned into beggars. Retrenched workers had been committing suicides. Their voice of protest was roughly muffled. While the innocents are punished for the 'guilt' of participating in the legitimate democratic movements on burning problems of life, the hard core criminals, anti-socials, murderers, robbers, rapists romp home undisturbed under the shelter of the ruling party. When the CPI(M) provided them the safest haven, who would have dared to touch them?

Panchayats were converted into dens of corruption and used for plunging the rural poor into the dungeon of opportunism. Denying the reality, the CPI(M) leaders claimed that numbers of suicides of peasants and their family members have been due to family feud and not on account of penury or debt-default. Rural poor and tribals have been dying on account of starvation and malnutrition. A big racket has been active in the public distribution system to pilfer supply of ration items and sell those in open market at higher prices. The remote tribal village Amlasole in *Jangalmahal* area hit the headlines after reports of five starvation deaths came to the fore and became a symbol of inhuman livelihood the hapless tribals have been doomed to. There is massive rise in the number of landless peasants and agricultural workers and huge exodus of rural poor to the cities only to die like cats and dogs by the roadside. Poverty has been so appalling that mothers have been selling their

*Contd. on page 2*

## SUCI(C) strongly opposes proposed opening of agricultural sector and retail trade to big corporates and MNCs

*Strongly opposing the proposed opening of agricultural sector and retail trades to big corporates and MNCs, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), has issued the following statement on 30 May 2011 :*

We strongly oppose the proposed move on the part of the Congress-led central government to open up agricultural trade sector to large corporate houses and giant multi-national corporates on the plea of bringing down the prices of agricultural produces. While the government is deliberately allowing rampant hoarding, black marketing, price manipulation and speculative derivative trading in foodgrains which are pushing the price line beyond the sky and refusing to yield to the people's demand for introducing all-out state trading in food and other essential items, the proposed move will only facilitate these profit-seeking corporate and MNC sharks take a stranglehold on the agricultural sector and resort to a price mechanism that will bring more profit to their coffers squeezing out even the last penny out of people's pocket. Besides, the move will trigger elimination of millions of small traders throwing out yet more millions out of job. Further, this will evict millions of poor, small and middle peasants from land and compel them to commit suicide. The whole scheme has been devised in the interest of the Indian monopolists who in order to ensure their wider access into the overseas market are opening up domestic agriculture market to foreign capital in keeping with the prescriptions of neo-liberal policies.

We call upon all sections of toiling people and genuine left-democratic forces to come forward and build up powerful movement to force the government abandon this pernicious move.

## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# CPI(M) nakedly served domestic and foreign monopolists and pursued out and out anti-people policies

*Contd. from page 1*

children for a pittance. Mothers and sisters belonging to the poor and once middle-class families are found soliciting customers on the streets for earning a morsel of rice for their starved parents and offspring, for their jobless ailing husbands. Even girl children are initiated to flesh trade. The state under CPI(M) topped in woman trafficking, finished a close second in rape.

The arena of education also completely succumbed to party diktats. Once the educational institutions here were considered as centres of excellence and drew students from other places. Now academic standard has deteriorated like anything. In education, the state has been relegated to 19th position. Brain drain has been massive. The cost of education has become prohibitive. The CPI(M) government has increased both transport fare and power tariff at regular intervals to slay the slain people. In case there was any protest, the answer came in the form of indiscriminate firing or baton-charge by the police. Healthcare has been in shambles. The government hospitals here have become a virtual hell with dilapidated buildings, broken cots, stinking corridors, overflowing toilets, absence of doctors and least of facilities, non-availability of medicines, unhygienic maintenance, a free roaming ground for cats, dogs and rats, swarming over by ants and supply of adulterated and at times rotten food. Even anti-venom—an ordinary medicine, is not available in the village hospitals and health centres. Children are dying without treatment, some new born babies are taken away by stray dogs, patients' eyes are eaten by ants, female relative of patient is molested inside the ward, criminals and anti-socials are thumping around the hospital campuses. Kidneys and eyes of the hapless children are now finding their way to a sprawling market of trade in human organs.

The CPI(M) and its government had consistently promoted a culture that eats into the very vitals of life and render human beings into heartless self-serving individuals averse to shouldering any kind of social responsibility. Opportunism

in various forms has been encouraged. Everything has been based on give and take. It is hot pursuit of money, immaterial whether it is based on moral or immoral plank and hankering for privilege which has been encouraged as the motto of life. He who has not buttered up to prosper, has not bartered away his human values to make personal gains, has been considered a fool. Every attempt had been made to destroy the moral backbone of the youth, their fighting spirit against injustice and oppression by encouraging wine-gambling-drug-night club-obscene dance-pornography-blue film-fashion shows-beauty contests etc. There has been naked infringement on the freedom of the individual. It had been the CPI(M) leaders who would determine how one should conduct oneself. No one would be allowed to do anything contrary to the wishes of the CPI(M) leaders. They would decide how a family feud would be resolved, who should be given a house on rent, who would supply material to build a house, how much subscription one has to give for an occasion, which hawker would sit where, which rickshaw puller would operate in which route, who should be a vice-chancellor, school committee member or a governing body member of a hospital or library or even a local club and how should they function, who should get job under NREGA programme, who would get relief material and so forth. If a slightest deviation from blind allegiance, tame surrender and subservience to or sickening sycophancy of ruling wantonness was noticed, indication of reluctance to carry out orders was detected, the tyranny of terror was being manifest with all virulence.

The state under CPI(M) rule has far surpassed everyone in nepotism, corruption, embezzlement of public money, political murder, and transformation of police administration into a party wing. The custodians of law and order have been trampling underfoot every canon of law at the behest of the ruling party leaders whose reach extended even to the judiciary so much so as to precipitate denial of justice even to the most deserving. While the innocents were punished

for the 'guilt' of participating in the legitimate democratic movements on burning problems of life, the hard core criminals, anti-socials, murderers, robbers, rapists romped home undisturbed under the shelter of the ruling party. When the CPI(M) provided them the safest haven, who would have dared to touch them? Only one voice — 'His master's voice'—would prevail, nothing else. This has been the harrowing spectacle of CPI(M) rule.

### **Movements catalyzed the change**

Thus it is clear that the urge for a change did not arise all on a sudden in people's mind. No doubt, the suffering people were yearning for a change. But, overcoming the hitherto entrenched thought about the impossibility of turning the table against despotic CPI(M), a firm public opinion in favour of the change gradually took an organized shape in course of a series of sustained organized movements, through bloodsheds and sacrifices. The very urge for a change has been the product of democratic mass movements.

It is known to all that after CPI(M) was saddled in power in the state in 1977, no party other than ours initiated mass movements against their anti-left, anti-people policies. Trinamool Congress (TMC) was not born then. CPI(M) criminals have murdered 160 leaders and cadres of our Party, while 49 comrades including a nine-time MLA are languishing in jail, condemned to life imprisonment on trumped up charges, and 1100 are fighting court cases against false charges of attempt to murder that have been slapped on them. Streets of the state were soaked with the blood of our workers. Yet, we did not relent, we continued the struggle with all our might. During the CPI(M) rule, it was our Party which first called a Bangla bandh in 1990. Till date, the people of West Bengal have made 15 Bangla bandhs at our call a total success. Apart from that, we have developed several movements on legitimate demands of the workers and peasants, on many pressing issues related to education, electricity, health-care, price rise, atrocities on women etc. and succeeded in wresting some of

the demands as well. At every stage, we have exposed the non-left character. refusing to be intimidated by repressive actions and threats of the CPI(M) government, our Party has been guiding the conduction of a primary-end scholarship examination since 1992. Lakhs of students have been appearing in these examinations. This has no parallel in the country. For 18 long years, we have fought against the CPI(M) government for reintroduction of English at the primary stage and ultimately forced it to concede to the demand. This was the first defeat CPI(M) suffered under pressure of people's movement and a turning point in the history of democratic movement of West Bengal. This victory boosted the morale of the fighting people and helped bringing even many of the uninitiated into the vortex of movement. Thus, people were slowly getting organized against CPI(M) through these ongoing movements developed by SUCI(C). In the process, the Party could carve out a definite space among the people of the state as the only force of movement, the torchbearer of true leftism and living embodiment of higher proletarian ethics and culture.

### **Singur-Nandigram movements**

People of West Bengal are also aware that at both Singur and Nandigram, it was our Party who initiated the movements by organizing people within struggle committees at the grass roots levels. TMC joined these people's committees later. A little indepth analysis will reveal that TMC is not a party which will adopt the painstaking process of organizing people's wrath and grievances in sustained well-knit mass movements. As a vote-based reformist Gandhite outfit, it remains confined to certain occasional agitational programmes like stay-in demonstration, deputation, route march, hunger strike and so forth. Success of Singur-Nandigram movements is attributable to our capability of developing well-organized sustained movement and the greater strength of TMC in terms of mass following. Over and above, because of TMC's involvement, the

*Contd. on page 4*

## Behind defeat of SUCI(C) candidate at Kultali constituency

Defeat of the SUCI (Communist) candidate at the Kultali Assembly constituency of West Bengal has surprised, aggrieved and stunned, not only the cadres and supporters of the party as naturally expected, but also a vast section of people of the state. The question that has surfaced is, why this defeat at a constituency in which the SUCI(C) candidate has won repeatedly, barring in elections in 1962 and 1972, in 14 elections held between 1952 and 2006, giving defeat to Congress and CPI candidates in the earlier periods and Congress and CPM candidates in the later polls.

As is known to all, in the Kultali- Joynagar and adjacent regions, SUCI(C), standing in the interest of poor peasants-sharecroppers and agricultural labours (khetmajoors), have relentlessly carried on intense struggles against none other than Congress, the representative of the jotedars and vested interests. During that period, quite a few leaders and cadres of SUCI(C) were murdered. After 1977, this whole force belonging to Congress threw aside their banner and took entry into CPI(M); Congress as a party became virtually non-existent there. Poll results of subsequent times will reveal out this fact about Congress. It is also true that out of the total 161 leaders and cadres of SUCI(C) who have been murdered during the continuous CPI(M) rule since 1977, the bulk was from this Kultali constituency. Of the 49 leaders and cadres of SUCI(C) who have been sentenced for life, including Comrade Probodh Purkait, the 9-time MLA from this constituency, most of them come from Kultali constituency.

In the 2006 Assembly elections though the main contest was between SUCI(C) and CPI(M) there were separate candidates from Congress and Trinamool Congress (TMC). CPI(M), the then

party in power, helped by its police force, carried out rampant assaults and killing, implicated our leaders and cadres with false charges and thus created an atmosphere of terror. Under that cover, they conducted widespread rigging capturing 32 booths and terrorizing voters of another 30 booths. In spite of all these, SUCI(C) candidate obtained 67664 votes and registered a win by a margin of 804.

Then came the Singur-Nandigram movement and there developed an intense anti- CPI(M) feeling over the entire state centring round it. Based on it, TMC gathered strength even in this constituency, though not to the extent it grew in other areas. As a result, in the 2009 Lok Sabha (Parliament) election, which was contested by a combination of SUCI(C) and TMC, votes for SUCI(C) candidate recorded an increase by 5000 in this Kultali Assembly segment only. But surprisingly, in the present Assembly election when anti-CPI(M) wave was so strongly sweeping across the state TMC-supported SUCI(C) candidate in Kultali has suffered defeat by a margin of 4813 votes. This result for the Kultali Assembly constituency spontaneously gave rise to a question in the mind of common people at large and even

	2006	2009	2011
	Assembly elections	Parliament elections	Assembly elections
CPI(M)	66,860	64,993	81,297
SUCI(C)	67,664	70,116	76,484
Congress	3,642	—	3,277
Trinamool Congress (TMC)	3,206		

in a large section of activists and supporters of TMC. It has become a topic of discussion everywhere. The question that vexed everybody is: In this constituency where SUCI(C) candidate came out victorious repeatedly and since long, earlier against Congress-CPI(M) and later Congress-CPI(M)-Trinamool Congress, fighting all alone, and on face of terrible onslaughts from CPI(M) including booth capturing, terrorizing and such others, how could it be that this time with such sweeping anti- CPI(M) wave running across the state and in spite of TMC supporting SUCI(C) candidate, the latter was defeated by CPI(M)? The result, which is given in the accompanying Table, also makes it amply clear, that in this election Congress could fetch only the same amount of votes that it had obtained earlier. Obviously, the Congress candidate did not pull any vote from Trinamool voters. Then where did the latter go? All these reasons together have led people at all levels to conclude that those votes of TMC have not been cast in favour of the SUCI(C) candidate. Rather those have been added to the tally of CPI(M). Moreover people of the Kultali constituency have themselves witnessed, how

CPI(M)-Congress- TMC activists started rejoicing together and celebrating with feasts, immediately after the result had been announced, though throughout West Bengal people at large including TMC rank and file were shocked and are searching reasons behind this.

It may be mentioned that when the Trinamool leadership after three consecutive sittings for seat- sharing suddenly declared their list unilaterally without any intimation to us, and announced that they would not spare any seats other than Joynagar and Kultali won for 12 times by us, our General Secretary Comrade Provas Ghosh in a Press Conference held in Calcutta on 22 March made it clear, among other points: "Presently TMC is knocking at the door of the Writers' Buildings and under these circumstances an increase in strength of SUCI(C) in the Assembly portends danger to the industrialists, bureaucracy and vested interest, since everybody is aware that our Party stand for class and mass struggles, keep on fighting for people and launch protest against all anti-people policies and injustice. This decision of TMC has

*Contd. on page 8*

## Party Foundation Day observed at Alipur Central Jail

It is known to people that a number of party leaders including Comrade Probodh Purkait, member, West Bengal State Committee of the Party and the 9-time MLA from Kultali, as well as party workers and even supporters from different parts of the state have been thrown into imprisonment even for life on framed charges, for their crime of leading mass movements against capitalists, jotedars and vested interests of towns and villages on different burning problems of people's life. These leaders and comrades of the Party held in the Alipur Central Jail observed 63rd anniversary of the Party Foundation Day on 24 April, as

they had done all through the last 12 years with befitting solemnity and resolve. Different comrades including Comrade Probodh Purkait, Comrade Pranab Chatterjee, member, Burdwan District committee and others addressed the gathering, which included numbers of other inmates of the prison. The latter, impressed at the modesty, sincerity and devotion to the ideology of the Party leaders and workers, always took enthusiastic part on every occasion of series of Party programmes that were held inside the Jail by our comrades. The speakers duly acknowledged it and pointed out that as revolutionary

cadres, we strive to carry at every single moment of our life the Party ideology and culture concretely expressed through the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Guided by that only, we carry out Party programmes, including the observance of the Foundation Day as also launch movements inside the Jail on different demands of the inmates. In his address Comrade Probodh Purkait brought out that 24 April is a day of pride, prestige and honour to us, when we take pledge to strengthen the revolutionary Party SUCI(C) that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had founded through his long arduous life struggle and to help accomplish

the anti-capitalist socialist revolution under its leadership. He made it clear that there can not be any basic change in people's life through a change in the government, even if it is an oppressive government like the recently ousted CPI(M)-led one. It is because the rule and exploitation of capitalism persists even after such changes in government. It is only through a revolution under a revolutionary leadership that people may expect to achieve their goal of living in a society free from exploitation, oppression and discrimination. He called for strengthening SUCI(C) for that cause.



## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# Suffering people were yearning for a respite from strangulating CPI(M) rule

*Contd. from page 2*

movements received media-backing and thus the people of the entire state as well as the whole country could come to know what beastly savagery raved wild there. This helped development of powerful public opinion and involvement of a vast section of the intelligentsia in support of the movements. All these factors made the movements assume such a gigantic dimension. Our powerful presence at the core of the movement had helped providing the fighting people the correct ideology and organizational direction which was acknowledged by one and all familiar with the ground reality. Thus, the urge for change which was getting crystallized through the sustained movements built up by us since 1977 found ultimate expression in Singur-Nandigram movements. Despite having accumulated grievances, people so far were tolerating the plethora of misdeeds of CPI(M). But the day, the power-mongering CPI(M) leaders betrayed rare arrogance to forcibly grab fertile agricultural land in the interest of giant monopoly houses like the Tatas and the Salims, the peasants burst into protest as they could hardly afford to part with the only means of their subsistence. But the CPI(M) like any other despotic ruler pounced upon them like vultures. The police and armed criminals were let loose in a dastardly operation transgressing all norms of civility and humanity to engineer one of the worst carnages the country has ever witnessed. Several were killed, hundreds inflicted grievous injuries and maimed, small children were butchered, torn apart in front of their mothers. In addition and over and above the dastardly killings, numberless women were mercilessly gang-raped subjected to bestial sexual assault. Hereinbefore, no one has seen the rulers using mass rape as a means to crush democratic movement. A teenaged peasant girl, Tapasi Malik was raped and burnt alive in Singur. This unplugged the spirit of building up active resistance that had remained subdued for long. The spirit spurred even the uninitiated. So long, the CPI(M) leaders thought that people would remain inert and inactive

forever because of the spectre of horror, terror created and the trauma inflicted by them. But it proved to be a myth. Steeped in new consciousness, dormant conscience was awake with new fervour. "We have tolerated a lot — but no more" — roared the people.

Similarly people rose up in 1967 against the 20 years of misrule of Congress. The sustained wave of left-democratic movement that swept across the state in the 1950s and '60s against the anti-people policies of the Congress government and the oppression by Congress rulers reached a peak in the food movement of 1966. From that arose a cry for change of the Congress government. There was a reflection of this cry for a change in the 1967 elections. Though the left forces fought the 1967 elections being divided into two fronts, yet Congress was reduced to a minority. Thus the wave of change of the 1960's was triggered by mass movement, although CPI(M), as a bigger constituent of the then left combination, usurped in their own sectarian electoral interest the people's urge for change. Another surge of popular opinion in favour of a change in the entire country occurred in 1974. Till then, the rule of Congress at the Centre was continuing uninterrupted. But the mass movement under the leadership of late Jayprakash Narayan stirred the entire country and based on that, there was a wave in favour of a change of the autocratic Indira Congress rule. Imposition of emergency by Indira Gandhi provided further wind to the sail of change. As a sequel to that, Congress was dislodged from power in 1977 and a Janata party government was installed. Riding on the anti-emergency wave and securing support from the Janata government at the Centre, CPI(M) and its Front was saddled in power in West Bengal in 1977.

Similarly, the sustained movement of SUCI(C) against the fascistic rule of CPI(M), people's indignation against the beastly savagery that raved wild in Singur-Nandigram, the brag and bluster of CPI(M), the height of nepotism and naked sectarianism of the CPI(M) leaders—all have contributed in

slowly building up the urge for a change in people's mind which finally found a pronounced expression in Singur-Nandigram movements and caused this trouncing of CPI(M) in the hustings and brought TMC to power.

### **Resurrection of Congress**

By entering into an alliance with TMC, Congress has also increased its strength in the state Assembly. But Congress was never in the vortex of the blood drenched movements that triggered the change. The Congress high command was moving with a clandestine understanding with the CPI(M) leadership albeit with the mediation of the ruling class that while CPI(M) rule in the state would not be disturbed, Congress would be allowed to be in power at the Centre. And CPI(M) also from the seat of governance implemented with utmost care the brazenly anti-people economic policies of Congress and BJP framed to serve the class interest of domestic and foreign monopoly capital. Forcibly grabbing multi-crop farmland in Singur to dole out to the Tatas and snatching stretches of fertile agricultural fields in Nandigram to set up Special Economic Zone (SEZ) by awarding the contract to infamous Salim group, an Indonesian MNC, are all policy measures adopted by both Congress and BJP. That is why, during Nandigram carnage, both central and state Congress leaderships backed CPI(M). In fact, CPI(M) unleashed barbaric fascistic attack on democratic movements in this state with the full help and support of the Congress-led central government.

### **SUCI(C) – TMC unity**

After the fascistic attack on Nandigram peasants, we, guided by Marxist outlook, felt that it was a historic necessity to unite all forces to save the democratic movement from the onslaught of CPI(M). Accordingly, we approached RSP, Forward Bloc and other Naxalite parties. At the same time, we took initiative to enter into a political understanding with TMC at the state level. Though RSP and Forward Bloc in principle agreed with our

views, they refused to part ways with the CPI(M). Naxalites also conveyed their reservation about such a broad unity. But TMC leadership responded positively. It was aware of the goodwill and acclaim we command among the people particularly those who have a leftist orientation. Our understanding with TMC was based on a 38-point charter of movement and three main conditions: (i) Equidistance from both Congress and BJP; (ii) Building up movements against the anti-people policies of both central and state governments, and (iii) No attack on Marxism-Leftism. TMC agreed to all these. In a press conference held in our Party office, both Mamata Banerjee and Comrade Provas Ghosh, the then State Secretary of the Party, jointly declared that the understanding has been based on these specific conditions. The people of West Bengal hailed SUCI(C) -TMC unity as formidable force of movement.

But the ruling monopolists like Tata-Birla-Ambani-Goenka were visibly alarmed at this understanding. So were Congress, BJP and CPI(M). Because SUCI(C) is a revolutionary party. If the strength of TMC is added to it, that would open up a new horizon of democratic mass movement, which was cause of serious concern for the rulers. They knew that but for the involvement of SUCI(C), Singur-Nandigram movement would never have assumed such dimension. From those movements, the ruling capitalists could also make out that while the sole aim of TMC was to bring about a change of government, SUCI(C) would strive for developing every movement as a sustained organized struggle on the genuine leftist line conducive to anti-capitalist revolutionary movement. Moreover, the way SUCI(C) stipulated a condition keeping equidistance from both Congress and BJP, two most trusted representatives of the ruling monopolists, could not be liked by the ruling class.

That is why, during the parliamentary elections in 2009, despite our objection, TMC, in breach of understanding, entered

*Contd. on page 5*

## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# Sustained movements by SUCI(C) since 1977 prepared grounds for the change

*Contd. from page 4*

into an alliance with Congress. We firmly opposed that. The understanding got a tremendous jolt. But people desperate to get rid of CPI(M) rule requested us not to break the unity with TMC. TMC leaders also appealed to us to continue the understanding. Under the circumstances, honouring people's request and from the singular objective of ousting CPI(M) from power, we agreed to keep the unity but on two conditions — we would set up candidates against Congress and if after the election, TMC joined the central government, we would sit in the opposition. At that time, corporate media fiercely attacked us, made every possible effort to turn public opinion against us by accusing us of double-dealing. But our Party did not bend before that pressure. Because, we know that people from their long experience have developed an affinity for us, accepted us as a dependable force of movement. So, that position cannot be altered by spreading any amount of canard. Honouring that abiding confidence of the people, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of our Party, said in the public meeting held on 24 April, 2010: "Does the strength of our Party lie in the number of MLAs and MPs we have? Our strength lies in the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. ... We had told TMC that if it supported a Congress government that might be formed at the Centre, we would sit in the opposition. Now in Parliament, TMC MPs sit on the treasury bench while our MP sits in opposition. Our politics is absolutely transparent. We do not indulge in falsehood, nor is there any incongruence between our words and deeds. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had not taught us any such thing. We prefer to talk straight. We have openly said all these things to TMC leaders in all the bipartite meetings held so far. After joining the central government, TMC has been avoiding even whatever little reference they used to make about movements earlier during their talks. But we have been developing movements against the central government. So far, TMC is

directing its tirade mainly against the state CPI(M). It has not attacked Marxism or leftism. We have been launching one after another movement against both central and state governments. We are organizing mass law violation, mammoth rallies, road blockades and giving bandh calls. TMC is saying that principally it is against bandh and blockade. It has not supported any of our bandh calls. Yet, we have been continuing with our movements in people's interest. ... there was a difference of opinion between us and TMC centring on Singur movement. We could not support the hunger strike of TMC chief in Kolkata. We had openly opposed that. Because, that hunger strike of her had considerably diluted the pitch of the movement for protecting agricultural land. ... we also opposed the decision of TMC to attend the meeting on Nandigram convened at the initiative of Forward Bloc because that was purported to weaken the ongoing militant peasants' struggle and no invitation was sent to the 'Bhumi Uchhed Protirodh Committee' (Committee for resisting eviction from land) which was conducting the Nandigram movement. In spite of being invited, we did not attend that meeting. We have made no secret of this difference of opinion with TMC. We have difference with TMC on Lalgarh movement also. ... we shall remain firm on our stand upto next Assembly elections. We shall fight both CPI(M) and Congress. TMC will decide what it will do. ... There is a suffocating situation in the state because of the oppressive rule of the CPI(M). Rampant corruption, threat, intimidation, nepotism, extortion, promotion of cultural degradation is all pervasive. Democratic movements are being ruthlessly crushed, opposition parties are being brutally attacked and repressed. So, there has to be an end to this oppressive regime of the CPI(M). That is why, CPI(M) must go. In that sense, we want a change in the interest of democratic movement."

### **No basic problem can be solved by change of government**

In the joint press conference

held with Mamata Banerjee on 13 March, 2008, Comrade Provash Ghosh clearly said that there is a fundamental difference between SUCI(C) and TMC in so far as political outlook and character of the parties are concerned. As a Gandhite parliamentary party, TMC thinks that all basic problems of life can be solved within the parliamentary system by bringing about a change of the government. On the other hand, SUCI(C) as a Marxist party believes that basic problems tormenting the people can be resolved only by smashing the existing capitalist state machine by revolution and establishing socialism.

In his speech on 24 April, 2010 and the various press meets, he further clarified the matter by saying that, "But, there ought not to be any illusion that TMC, if saddled in power, will create a 'golden Bengal' where all basic problems of life would be resolved. If TMC wants to run the government with honesty — this 'if' is a big question — it might at best provide some relief to the people by curbing corruption, bring some relative neutrality in the administration, stop the loot and embezzlement of public fund that is going on in the rationing system, panchayets and other areas. And most importantly, unlike Congress and CPI(M), it can restrain police to some extent from brutally crushing legitimate struggles of workers-peasants and other sections of the toiling masses. More than these, they cannot do anything.

But, there will be pressure on it from the ruling capitalist class, pressure from the central government as well to move otherwise. Because in a class-divided society, whoever ascends to governmental power has to decide whether it would serve the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. If it serves the proletariat, it will have to encourage surge of mass struggles and hence invariably come in conflict with the ruling bourgeoisie and the capitalist state. That might threaten the very existence of its government as it was with UF government in 1967 unless there is strong pressure of people's movement. TMC, as a bourgeois parliamentary party, cannot go

against the class interest of the ruling capitalist class. So, it will be akin to somnambulism to expect that this government will beget bring heavens to the people. We reiterate that in capitalist set up, people have no alternative but to realize their pressing demands through movement. As a revolutionary party, we have fought against both Congress and CPI(M) governments. Hence, in TMC rule also, the necessity of building class and mass struggles based on higher ethics and culture and under correct revolutionary leadership for guiding them to their logical culmination will exist with equal importance. We shall continue our efforts to develop powerful mass movements in the interest of the workers and peasants and create a democratic environment conducive to it. In course of responding to this objective need, there will be resurgence of the desired current of true left-democratic movement with renewed vigour and vitality. Our stand is absolutely transparent."

### **On seat adjustment in Assembly elections**

Our analysis about the class character of TMC was vindicated in the attitude it reflected on the question of seat adjustment with us in the assembly elections. Before this Assembly election, TMC had three rounds of talks with us on seat adjustment. But while such talks were going on, they suddenly and unilaterally, keeping us completely in the dark, announced a candidate list in which they earmarked for us those two constituencies of Joynagar and Kultali which have been returning our candidates from 1952 onwards. This had been violative of every norm and practice of alliance politics. Moreover, it was found that while the whirlwind for change propelled by sustained blood drenched movements of the people, TMC was fielding some of the ex-bureaucrats and police officers as candidates in some of the important constituencies. These IAS, IPS officers during the tenure of their service had played a distinct anti-people role in the interest of corporate houses and monopoly capital. It was evident

*Contd. on page 6*

## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# SUCI(C) is committed to intensify class and mass struggles and uphold people's cause

*Contd. from page 5*

that in accordance with its class character, TMC in order to ride to power has surrendered to the ruling monopolists and corporate sector.

In this regard, Comrade Provas Ghosh said in the press conference of 22 March, 2011: "We think, the decision TMC has taken now is somewhat similar to what the former CPI(M) chief minister declared in 1977 just before the state polls. He declared then that if CPI(M)-led Left Front came to power there would not be any mass movement, disturbance, lawlessness because SUCI(C) was no more a constituent of the Left Front. We knew who the target audience of this declaration was. This was to assure those people who do not want protests, mass movements and struggle, i.e. the large industrial houses, monopolists, bureaucracy and vested interests. This time, TMC's declaration of not letting us to contest any seat other than Joynagar and Kultali has similarity with this declaration of the CPI(M) leadership in 1977. Now TMC is about to enter Writers' Buildings and in these circumstances an increase of strength of SUCI(C) in the Assembly portends danger to the big industrialists, bureaucracy and vested interest, as everybody knows that our Party stands for class and mass struggles and protests against all anti-people policies and injustice. This decision of TMC has made the people sad, indignant. But jubilant are the corporate sector, domestic and foreign monopoly houses, bureaucracy and vested interest. This is our considered view. We are also of the opinion that whatever be the criticism of the people or their grievances against the decision of denying any seat to us, TMC is pretty consistent in their politics, and from that very perspective they have taken the decision of not allowing any increase in the strength of SUCI(C) in the Assembly. This also is clear, that this attitude towards our Party means a blow for democratic mass movement, a blow upon the glory of the battle of Singur-Nandigram."

He also added: "From the time TMC joined the central government, unity between us and them slowly began to crack. Since

then, there has been no programme of joint movement with TMC. After becoming a constituent of the central cabinet, despite our repeated calls, they did not hold any state level meeting with us on any issue of movement. There have been some talks on some other matters with some leaders. Nothing beyond that. They did not join the Lalgarh movement. But we were in that movement right from the beginning. Even when joint central and state police forces were deployed in collusion between Congress and CPI(M) to crush Lalgarh movement, TMC did not oppose that despite being in the ministry. We fought against this. We had called Bangla bandh on Lalgarh issue. We also gave call for several local bandhs against repression by the joint forces in Lalgarh. TMC was not a party to any of these. Afterwards, we gave call of two Bangla bandhs against the central and state governments on the issue of severe price rise as well as on various demands on education-healthcare and against hike in power tariff and fuel prices. TMC was never in support of it. We collected 15 million signatures in support of various legitimate people's demands and organized a mammoth rally of a hundred thousand people while submitting those signatures to the government. They were not in it. TMC did not participate in any programme of organized mass movement. As a constituent of the central government, TMC has become close to the industrial houses, chambers of commerce and bureaucracy. So, they began to say that they would no more be a participant in the programmes of observing bandhs, general strikes or creating road blockades. In other words, they indicated that they would not be in the mass movement which brought them to the forefront. Thus, after joining the central government, the SUCI(C)-TMC unity for developing people's movement was virtually made defunct by them. This is the hard reality. We had not brought all these things in the open so far in order not to weaken anti-CPI(M) movement, not to bring on frustration in the people. But now the time has come to tell. It is clear from what they have done this time that they have

preferred to snap the thin thread on which the unity was hanging."

### Post-Election developments

In the hustings, CPI(M) has been routed. As against 235 seats it and its allies won in 2006, the CPI(M) Front could bag just 62. The strength of the CPI(M) in the Assembly has come down from 194 to just 40 indicating a loss of 80% of the seats. On the other hand TMC has scored victory in 184 seats and received absolute majority. Its alliance partner Congress also has 42 of its candidates returned. In Joynagar, Comrade Tarun Naskar, our nominee, has won by over 26,000 votes. But Comrade Joy Krishna Haldar surprisingly lost the Kultali seat. Result of Kultali has taken people aback. Overcoming attack on life and livelihood, threat, intimidation, police atrocities, partisan attitude of the administration, rigging efforts and lure of money, the poor peasants and other sections of toiling people of Kultali have so far been returning SUCI(C) candidate in every election. Several SUCI(C) leaders and cadres have been murdered by criminals of CPI(M) and Congress. But the oppressed and have-nots could not be cowed down or dissociated from SUCI(C) which resides in the bosom of their heart as tested and tried Party of struggle against oppression and injustice. In this backdrop, how could SUCI(C) be defeated here when such a strong anti-CPI(M) wind was blowing across the state and TMC support was assured? Is it then that TMC did not vote for SUCI(C)? This question is stirring every mind including a sizeable section of TMC rank? Many are apprehending that some strings might have been pulled from behind to reduce the strength of SUCI(C) in the Assembly. That is why, TMC first unilaterally announced allotment of only two seats to SUCI(C) and then there was this unbelievable result in Kultali.

After the elections, TMC invited us to join the ministry. But we conveyed our decision to the TMC leadership. During the 'meet the press' programme on 19 April, 2011, Comrade Provas Ghosh in reply to a question had categorically

said that "if TMC comes to power, there is no question of our joining the government. Because of the fundamental differences we have with TMC on many basic issues, such a possibility is totally ruled out. We shall carry on with people's movements on the streets as before. I made it amply clear in my speech on 24 April, 2010." This decision has also been hailed and appreciated by many right thinking people particularly those having a definite leftist mind.

As we have said earlier, TMC by unilaterally declaring the candidates' list preferred to snap the thin thread on which the virtually defunct unity was hanging after the parliamentary polls. Yet, in order to ensure that working class struggle and democratic mass movements got at least a breathing space and the change of CPI(M) rule that the people of West Bengal so eagerly was waiting for did come by, we decided to support TMC candidates and extend all help to them despite such a gross injustice having been meted out to us. Now, CPI(M) has been dislodged from power. So, there is no further question of supporting TMC. And as per our earlier declaration, we shall be on the streets building up movements in the people's interest.

It is worth mentioning in this connection that a large section of left-minded people sincerely desire our rapid growth and wider penetration among the toiling masses. During the period of election, thousands of youths, students, workers, peasants, women, teachers, professors and other sections of common people have enlisted their names for working for the Party. We could sell several lakhs of our Party literature including works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. People also noticed that while all other parties were demonstrating enormous money power though there was no clue as to where the finance was coming from, SUCI(C) workers raised funds from the common people either by way of street collection or going door to door. The Party entirely depended on public charity to meet the poll expenses. This has also received wide acclaim and appreciation.

*Contd. on page 7*



## West Bengal Assembly Election, 2011

# Movement is the only course left to people in capitalism

*Contd. from page 4*

### **Poll reverse of CPI(M) is no renunciation of leftism**

We also want to address another question that is being raised from various interested quarters. The media and a section of political analysts are trying to paint this poll reverse of the CPI(M) as a rejection of leftism by the people of West Bengal, a state known and held in high esteem by struggling workers-peasants throughout the country as citadel of leftism and left-democratic movement. Equating trouncing of CPI(M) in the elections with renunciation of leftism-Marxism has wider ramifications and far reaching consequences. Time and again we have shown that there was no trace of leftism in the role of CPI(M). Like Congress and BJP, it, after assuming governmental power, has nakedly served the class interest of the domestic and foreign monopoly capital, adopted anti-people policies. Moreover, people have voted with the singular objective of

ousting CPI(M) which is completely deviated from leftist line. They (TMC) could get the confidence of a huge number of left-minded people who were disgusted with the misrule of CPI(M), it was said, because of the presence of SUCI(C) in the opposition. TMC also iterated a number of times that it was not against leftism or red flag but staunchly opposed to CPI(M). Noticing this surging wave in favour of a change, the ruling class also backed the TMC-Congress alliance in the elections just like the way it, in the face of a rising tide of anti-Indira wave, deserted Indira Congress for a short period and extended support to Janata party in 1977. But at that time also, the ruling bourgeoisie in its class interest had not abandoned Congress but kept it alive only to be brought back afterwards at the opportune moment and reinstalled in power. In the same manner, the ruling class in its class interest will keep CPI(M) alive with covert

backing so that it could again be projected as alternative to TMC-Congress before people in future.

As we have shown above, after ascending to power capitalizing on anti-emergency sentiment, CPI(M) completely surrendered to the ruling bourgeoisie for pelf and power and gradually became a despotic ruler. How could it happen? Because, the people and the supporters-workers of CPI(M) did not want to have an analytical view of the politics being pursued by it. Blindly they have supported CPI(M). If the workers had raised appropriate questions at the right time and asserted themselves, that might have had some restraining effect on the CPI(M) leadership. It is for this reason that Comrade Provash Ghosh at the end of his speech at the public meeting on 24 April, 2010, had appealed to the people of the country to understand politics and refrain from blindly following any party. Even the SUCI(C) should be judged on the anvil of logic, reason and adherence to the avowed

ideology. If anyone finds that the Party is not following the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, not conducting itself in the way it used to under the leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, then let it be criticized and helped, because this is the only party of the toiling people, of the proletariat.

We reiterate that in a capitalist set up, people have no alternative but to realize their pressing demands through movement. The only course left to the people to survive is to develop powerful democratic movement on the burning problems of life based on higher ethics and culture and conducive to anti-capitalist revolution. This is what true leftism stands by and strives for. So, people have to remain ever alert and vigilant. They must organize themselves by building up people's committees as instruments of struggle and come forward to build up the movements under correct revolutionary leadership for guiding those to their logical culmination.

## May Day celebrated all over the country with solemnity and resolve

Under the auspices of AIUTUC historic May Day was celebrated almost in all the states of the country. Workers and employees assembled and hoisted Red Flag in industrial centres, and in front of the factory and office gates raising slogans for working class solidarity and paid tributes to the martyrs of May Day. On this occasion, in Kolkata a meeting was organized at the Moulali Yuvakendra Hall overflowed with working people. Comrade Abdus Saeid, Vice-president of the West Bengal State

Committee of AIUTUC presided over it. On the dais were present Comrades Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of our Party SUCI(C), Manik Mukherjee and Ranjit Dhar, both Polit Bureau members of the Party as also Comrade Sankar Saha, General Secretary of AIUTUC and member, Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, All India President of AIUTUC and member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) was the main speaker in the meeting.

In his inaugural speech

Comrade Sankar Saha observed, once the spirit of working class solidarity of May Day coupled with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism ushered in November Revolution in erstwhile Russia. But the cult of modern revisionism in Soviet Union and China brought about the collapse of socialism there and in the East European countries and thereby caused the fall of socialist camp in the world. But now, it is a matter of great hope that fight against modern revisionism and capitalism-imperialism is remarkably surging forth in all countries, even in the developed capitalist ones as manifested in the recently concluded international conference of the WFTU in Greece.

Narrating the history of emergence of 1st May as the historic May Day Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, the main speaker, said, *inter alia*, and cautioned: Great Marx has taught us, to change the world i.e to make the society free from all sorts of exploitation, the workers have to change themselves first. They are to be free from private property and private

property mental complex. No doubt, working class will have to fight against capitalism-imperialism and economism-modern revisionism to break their shackles of exploitation and oppression for ever but today before their battle for emancipation, individualism even within the working class has appeared as the main danger in all countries developed or underdeveloped as pointed out by the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The private property mental complex referred to above has now at this stage of moribund capitalism and in this decadent bourgeois society of today given birth to the worst type of individualism, ultra sense of personal liberty and egocentricism going entirely against the collective interest of the society. We must remain alert. Meeting ended with the *Internationale*. May Day was also observed by AIUTUC at Kanpur, Moradabad and Jaunpur in UP, Mumbai and Nagpur in Maharashtra, Pilani in Rajasthan, Patna in Bihar and Surat and Baroda in Gujarat, Thiruvananthapuram in Kerala and elsewhere.



*Comrade Krishna Chakraborty addressing May Day meeting at Kolkata*

## Defeat at Kultali constituency

Contd. from page 3

made the people sad, indignant. But jubilant are the corporate sector, domestic and foreign monopoly houses, bureaucracy and vested interests.”

It is thus clear that it was the commitment towards the corporate sectors and vested interests, which was the reason that led to allotment of not more than two seats for this Assembly elections, with the same reason also leading to the conspiracy of inflicting defeat upon the SUCI(C) candidate for Kultali constituency so as to wipe out SUCI(C) Party from the Legislative Assembly itself. It is simply because, this Party is spreading out, fighting against all odds and onslaughts, not just in the state of West Bengal, but all over the country; it is this SUCI(C), which is organizing and launching working

class movements and mass movements in one state after another in the country. Even in the international field, against imperialists aggression and conspiracies, SUCI(C) has been working hard to develop powerful militant anti-imperialist movements and are taking relentless initiative to build powerful communist movement in different countries. As a result, the monopolists, corporate sectors and reactionary forces of this country and others, are becoming apprehensive of this Party recognizing it as a danger. For this, they are continuously conspiring and trying to wipe out this Party. The conspiracy to bring defeat to the SUCI (Communist) candidate at the Kultali Assembly constituency of West Bengal is thus not an isolated phenomenon.



Demonstration held on 23 April by SUCI(C) workers at Bhubaneswar, Orissa, against Government - POSCO MOU

## Mumbai citizens' movement against eviction : Comrade Provash Ghosh expresses concern over fasting Medha Patkar's health

More than 26,000 families of a housing in Mumbai, residing since 1960 were under threat of eviction by a developer and goons in his payroll. They launched a movement under the leadership of Medha Patkar, the renowned social activist, also supported by many organizations and leading personalities of the country. Sm. Patkar's fast until death since 20 May, caused rapid deterioration of her health. Under pressure of mounting movement the Maharashtra Government was ultimately forced to accept major demands including stalling of demolition of the housing pending an investigating committee report. The letter below was written by Comrade Provash Ghosh seeking intervention of Maharashtra Chief Minister. Sm. Patkar, after ending her fast expressed thanks to SUCI(C) for their support.

To  
The Honourable Chief Minister  
Government of Maharashtra  
Office of the Chief Minister's Secretariat,  
Mantralaya, Mumbai- 400032.

23 May, 2011

Dear Sir,

It is a matter of grave concern that renowned social activist Ms. Medha Patkar is in hunger strike since four days as a protest against the eviction drive by the 'Shibalik Builders' of several thousand slum dwellers to pave the way for building posh housing complex for the affluents and her health condition has deteriorated sharply.

I on behalf of SUCI (Communist) request your good office to kindly intervene to redress the just cause for which she is fighting.

Thanking you  
Yours faithfully,  
Provash Ghosh

48 Lenin Sarani,  
Kolkata 700013

General Secretary, Central Committee  
SUCI (Communist)



Protest demonstration held on 18 April by SUCI(C) workers at Ahmedabad, Gujarat against hike in price of Amul-Milk

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH