

# Proletarian Era

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## In the name of politics

# Why this mindless violence in West Bengal

For quite some time in the recent past, West Bengal including its vast rural hinterland has been witnessing horror-filled politics perpetrated by the parliamentary political parties. The recently held panchayat election came out as one of the worst examples. Yet it was not just that election, or so to say election in general, but an over-all trend of intolerance and violence reigning for decades that is becoming synonymous with politics in this state. The said panchayat election manifested this in its whole course. It was scheduled merely to elect 3-tier bodies for rural development and administration; yet it was initiated with the leaders of the ruling TMC party announcing with cruel jocularity that this time there would be an opposition-free panchayat. That put the seal. And to give effect to this, violence set in right from the stage of filing nomination papers. All sorts of hindrances were created to violently prevent opponents from contesting. Those who could not be stopped in the long run, were threatened for life. If and when they earned rare victories, they were

pressurized to resign or join the ruling party. During polling armed gangs jammed and captured booths, threatened genuine voters from reaching there, chased whoever were in, even fired upon them indiscriminately to create panic, even killed innocent voter. There were also cases otherwise, when people, organized or not chased out the attackers or even lynched them. Armed gangs forced even into the counting centres and massively disqualified or destroyed valid ballot papers which bore stamps in favour of opponents. In short, the entire period and process of election and even afterwards, were marred with violence; threat-intimidation- thrashing even killing became the order. Common poor people of villages were divided into camps which were at the neck of each other under the influence of a kind of false partisanship. Though the party in power, that is the TMC, was responsible for most of these with the administration and police standing mute in their favour, there were factional feuds in it with terrible enmity among themselves. Besides, certain power-aspiring opponents, like

the BJP, also followed suit. Wherever possible, they took resort to the same actions, from verbal to lethal. The result was the loss of a few score of lives, along with prevalence of a reign of terror in general in the villages. The entire rural West Bengal was apparently crippled with fear, filled with death throes. The state had virtually turned into a hell, those involved in politics or not, shuddering with anxiety and fear. In short, the scene was beyond all comprehensions and so horrid that right-thinking people of the state and even beyond it could not believe what they were witnessing. They seemed to ask: Is it the same West Bengal they had known? Is it the same West Bengal, where a host of fore-ranking luminaries of the Indian Renaissance fought life-long against superstitions and religious bigotry of feudalism for making India a modern nation based on freedom from colonial rule, democracy and humanist values and culture? In fact, despite limitations and weaknesses, Bengal among a few Indian states, might have been the place to have

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## Comrade Sankar Saha attends

# 107th Session of International Labour Conference in Geneva

Comrade Sankar Saha, Member, Central Committee, SUCI (C) and General Secretary, All India United Trade Union Centre (AIUTUC) participated in the 107th Session of International Labour Conference organized by ILO in Geneva from 28 May 2018 to 8 June 2018.

Initiating the deliberation at the General Assembly of Standard Committee on Social Security aspect of the working people across the world, Comrade Saha expressed grave concern at the growing unemployment throughout the world. Though the official figure of unemployed is stated to be around 210 million people, the fact is that the actual figure is much more and millions of underemployed are also to be recognized as unorganized. The estimated figure does not cover the vast number in the unorganized sector constituting majority of the workforce.

Mounting job insecurity and joblessness triggered by closure of lakhs of industries, massive retrenchment, lay-off and rapid downsizing of workforce are pushing the working class to the precipice of total ruination. Added to these are the problems of forced labour, migrant labour, bonded labour and inhuman treatment to such labourers. Many are committing suicide. Aggressive amendment of age-old labour laws in the name of

so-called reforms has further aggravated job insecurity with any of the hard-earned rights being systematically robbed. Outsourcing, contract and casual employment at abysmally low wage have been increasing in rapid pace. In India, the latest enactment titled 'Fixed Term Employment' in Industrial Employment (standing order) Act, 1946 has virtually put a final seal of approval to such draconian anti-labour policies. The working people are denied of basic necessities like healthcare, education and due social security. Many countries including India has not yet ratified ILO Convention 102 on 'Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952.'

Though the working people are sporadically rising up against the ruinous prescripts of capitalist globalization wreaking havoc in their life, the working class leadership is yet to organize these protests along the right track and impart necessary political consciousness among the suffering workers to say 'NO' to the system that exploits them so ruthlessly.

Besides, on being invited by the Global Unions' Coalition for Qurds and Palestine as an ILO delegate, Comrade Saha in his speech expressed solidarity with the struggling Palestine people in their valiant fight against the draconian Zionist

Israeli regime. Though the *UN General Assembly Resolution 194* adopted 70 years back clearly states that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date," US-backed Israeli regime has stubbornly refused the Palestinians their inalienable right to return to their homelands. In the territories that Israel occupied through successive wars, the Palestinians are living as second-class citizens deprived of their basic human rights. Israel has virtually reduced Gaza to rubble by engineering mass killings and reckless destruction of properties by systematic aerial and ground attacks violating every canon of international law and norm and flouting all UN resolutions with impunity. Such inhuman acts of aggression must immediately stop. Peace can return to the Middle East only through cessation of the inhuman Israeli oppression and torture of the Arab population and withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories. Comrade Saha assured that the AIUTUC stands in solidarity with the Palestinians' just demand of the right to return to their homelands, recognition of their right to have a sovereign state with capital at Jerusalem and a just solution to the issue of the Palestinian refugees.

# The state with a glorious past was eclipsed by darkness of violence

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witnessed the dawn of these cherished values on this land and people fighting glorious struggles for that in almost every sphere of life, from art, literature, science to politics. Baffled, people seem to be scrambling for the answer: Is it the same West Bengal in which during the days of imperialist rule, massive movements for freedom of the country took place with people taking active parts daring oppression from the imperialist rulers, even daunting the gallows? Was not it a fact that as a part of the then undivided Bengal, West Bengal including Kolkata stood as a nerve centre of both the uncompromising petty bourgeois revolutionary and compromising bourgeois reformist oppositional trends of freedom movements? These glorious struggles, notwithstanding their shortcomings, could create an ambience of patriotism, social commitment and a high standard of culture and ethics so much so that those engaged in the freedom struggle or social transformation, were looked at with respect and appreciation. Politics was not a hated dreaded term as it has become today. Elections were also held, but those were not the shows of muscle and cunning as they are now; even the bourgeois petty bourgeois political parties maintained some norms and ethics. In fact, Bengal producing among the best sons and daughters of the country, acted as the source of inspiration to the entire country, which looked eagerly ahead to see how the movements were developing in Bengal. Thereafter, as the Indian capitalists assumed the state power and the Congress rose to form the Union government in independent India, sooner or later it started to show its teeth and claws. As people's movements started against its anti-people pro-capitalist policies, use of administrative-police and muscle power gradually came out to be the means of governance for the Congress, including their use in elections. During that period also, West Bengal stood head-high as a citadel of left and democratic movements. Almost each of these movements drew people in thousands from all sections of life, from topmost intellectuals, educationists, professionals, artistes to students, workers and peasants, from socially conscious democratic-minded middle class to downtrodden even marginalized sections of the

masses. To a more or less extent, they were perceptibly influenced by the general fighting spirit and environment of protest and resistance, reflecting a standard of culture and ethics even in their day-to-day down-on-streets life, all acquired from the surges of left and democratic movement.

## **Baffled with violent politics people wondered if it was the same Bengal of glorious days of the past**

Thus the question that haunts people of the state and even from beyond the state, is: Such a state which came to be called a 'nightmare of the ruling capitalists' because of the zeal and vigour for movement and vibrant courageous culture and ethics reflected in the masses of people, how could it turn into the nightmare for common toiling people sliding down into a virtual killing field in its rural hinterlands today. To reach the answer it may require looking back down the history with a critical eye. And in such an attempt it can not be argued that despite there being massive left and democratic movements, its leadership lay largely in the hands of petty bourgeois social democratic forces. This dominant leadership of those movements proved more interested in diverting the movements into efforts to win over people with a view to creating vote-banks. In their banners and slogans there was Marxism-Leninism, but unlike genuine Marxists, their eyes were fixed on parliamentary gains for power and pelf, by any means whatsoever. They did not care the least to develop people's movement on the edifice of higher morality and culture. Rather they forsook rigorous ideological struggle and instead compromised with owners, the capitalists for wresting demands. Uninterruptedly in power, Congress gradually became more and more unpopular from its anti-people pro-capitalist policies. People's wrath and resentment found expression eventually in the formation of anti-Congress left and democratic governments of United Front, in states like Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura. As said above, during its hey-days, no doubt, the all-powerful Congress used police and muscle-power of its hired goons and other dirty tricks during the elections. But the rise of petty-bourgeois social democratic leadership of the undivided CPI and

later the CPI(M)- CPI did bring in newer elements in its wake. Their slogans could allure people to bring them to governmental power. And to remain in power and enjoy its pelf, these parties, in their turn, simply wiped off the vital essence of movement, namely ideology and culture. The sole motive became grabbing power by any means. Election processes were infested with newer coinages like false-vote machinery, booth-jamming preventing genuine voters from getting in, booth capturing and stamping without hindrance on desired symbol etc. But these ultimately required a support from police and administration, including election officials to remain inert to the operations.

Use of administration for petty party interest gradually took uglier shape in the second United Front in 1969 when the administration and police were not only made a silent spectator of the wrong-doings, they were used to break and capture organizations of other parties, even partners in the Front. Declaring that the United Front had become a class front, the CPI(M) unleashed unbridled attack upon other parties terming it 'class struggle'. The only purpose behind was consolidation of power annihilating forces of protest, gagging militant movements with exception of some sterile routine show-offs now and then.

## **Violent brand of politics was introduced by CPI(M)**

This way the CPI(M) introduced the organized violence in politics in this state. The Congress took it up with all deftness. They did not fail to take up the cue smelling the rising anti-CPI(M) mood of people. Following CPI(M)'s ways and election tactics, they recorded victory in 1972 election, through an all-out rigging with the help of administration and using organized threat against opponents, booth-jamming and capturing etc. During the succeeding few years' rule, they tried to annihilate opposition in the same style, they had learnt from the CPI(M). They perpetrated massacres like that of Baranagar of Kolkata to exterminate Naxalite youth and students. During the Emergency imposed upon the country by Indira Gandhi at the helm of Union government, this oppression reached its maximum. Even freedom of expression-association-movement were cruelly gagged. Naturally this brand of politics took its toll. The Congress

became a hated name in West Bengal, as also in the whole country. The advent of the Front regime in 1977 led by the CPI(M) marked a further, even basic change. To reach power they surrendered all their leftist garb at the feet of the ruling capitalist class and carefully sliced off the SUCI(C) from their front with a view to keeping the latter free of any force that could happen to urge for movement and could protest the CPI(M)'s anti-people pro-capitalist policies.

Thence forward started the increasingly gloomy days of the CPI(M) rule. Ideologically bankrupt, yet with greed and lust for power and pelf, they created a terrifying atmosphere in the society right from the localities to the highest level of administration in West Bengal. It had two sharp prongs that reminded one of the days of fascistic regimes in different parts of the capitalist world. With one they unleashed a spate of violence to gag any opposition, shamelessly using the governmental-administrative-police power and by placing their yes-men and even cadres at all levels of social activities and institutions, from a doorman to the vice chancellor. The other took to trickeries and treacheries to allure people. Lest there was any disgruntling in the offing, they doled out few crumbs now and then. They developed a fear-psychosis in villages, towns and cities, which strangulated opposition and protest, and forced people to shrink back into their house even after seeing the most unjust acts being perpetrated right before their eyes. And all these were done simply with an eye to winning the next election; on one hand, this was achieved by creating a vote-bank of privilege-enjoying mass, greedy opportunist in essence, yet totally cowed-down and inert. On the other hand, an iron-grip was extended on the election process administratively and organizationally. Parallel to it, they manipulated the vote-results to their sweet will with the help of bands of armed hired goons, who could be used to adopt any and every measures at the booth or the counting table, as well as by creating terror in villages and towns, by innovative means, for example, supplying white clothes for the ladies in villages, the dress for widows, whose husbands dared to contest CPI(M) candidates. Violence-threat-intimidation-killing

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# Revival of genuine Leftism is the only way to resist RSS-BJP combine

— Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, Polit Bureau member on the occasion of the 70th Foundation Anniversary of SUCI (Communist) held at Guwahati, Assam

This meeting is being held under the auspices of SUCI (Communist), Assam State Committee on the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> foundation anniversary of our Party. SUCI (Communist), the genuine communist party on the Indian soil, was founded on the 24 April 1948 based on the thoughts and under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Since then, every year we observe this day with utmost solemnity, analyze the latest national and international situations based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, determine our revolutionary tasks on the basis of those concrete analyses and resolve anew to hasten the process of accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India involving the common toiling masses. Therefore, observance of foundation anniversary of the Party is not just a ritual. It is of immense importance.

## Explosive situation of the country

You are aware that the entire country is passing through a very difficult phase. In every sphere—economic, political, social and cultural—the situation has become explosive. The economic crisis has reached an extreme stage. Skyrocketing of price line, unemployment, inflation as well as recession and worst form of unending corruption in all walks of life are wreaking havoc. Just for bare survival, people are desperately trying to clutch at some straws, albeit in vain. No new jobs are generated. On the contrary, whatever little scope for employment had been there is also drastically squeezed. There is no sign of setting up of new industries. Rather, shutters are downed at the existing industries one after another. As a result, the unemployment problem has reached an explosive stage. Despite abundance of natural resources, minerals and raw materials as well as availability of necessary technology and both physical and mental labour force in the country—the preconditions for establishing new industries throughout the country—the manufacturing sector is disappearing fast. To ensure the people a decent life, uninterrupted generation of employment is the most essential task. It is always possible to do it by

utilizing the power of advancing science and technology. But today, acute crisis ridden capitalism is unable to do so. Throughout the capitalist-imperialist world, employment generation is continuously declining. Recently a startling revelation came to my notice. For about a thousand posts of peons, lakhs of applications were received from the unemployed. A sizeable section among them had been graduates, post-graduates and even PhD degree holders. This is not a stray incident—everywhere this is happening. Drastic retrenchment is going on in both public and private sectors. Permanent employment is almost non-existent. In government offices, state sectors, banks, schools, colleges and universities, no new posts are created. Instead, existing posts are being abolished, and vacancies extinguished. Whatever otherwise indispensable construction work or little industrial activities are taking place, is done with increasing use of sophisticated machines and automation and drastic curtailment of manpower to keep cost of production down and thereby ensure maximum profits to the capitalists. Even the bare minimum engagement of manual labour is done on contractual basis. Contract service, ‘Para-teacher’, ‘Para-professor’, ‘Para-doctors’- these features which were unheard of in the past have become the order of the day. Even 20—25 years back, the situation was not like this. Ruthless exploitation by national and foreign capitalists, monopolists, under the slogan of ‘globalization’, ‘commercialization’, ‘privatization’ etc., is pushing the people to the precipice of total ruination, even death. You know that 75-80 percent of our population live in the villages. Their plight is indescribable. The number of landless peasants is increasing at an alarming rate. Their lands are not going out of existence but are getting concentrated in the hands of the rich peasants or the rural bourgeoisie. These landless peasants are rushing towards the cities in search of livelihood. But there are no industries to absorb them. Let alone setting up new industries, even the existing ones are rapidly closing down in the face of capitalist market crisis. In this way, without getting any other

means of livelihood, the landless peasants are turning out to be proletariat peasants or agricultural labourers or even mere unskilled labourers. These hungry, half clad, destitute peasants on and off fall prey to disease and die without medical treatment. Lower-middle peasants and poor peasants are also plagued by severe crisis. Falling victim to the conspiracy of the rich peasants and affluent wholesalers, they are not at all getting fair price for their agricultural produce. They are getting entrapped in debt and are unable to repay the loan. Life has become so unbearable for them that they are committing suicide. Some years back ‘Arjun Sengupta Committee’ was formed to assess the income distribution of the people. The committee report revealed in the main that 77 percent of the population of India earned only Rs. 20-22 per day. The situation has not improved thereafter. Rather it has aggravated further. What could be more disquieting than the fact that even after 70 years of independence, 77% of the population is languishing in such abject poverty and unthinkable misery. It is also revealed that 1% of household own 50% the entire wealth of the country. What a startling revelation it is! What is more concerning is that in absence of the necessary help from and guidance by a correct leadership based on correct ideology, the common toiling people are in the dark about the real cause of their growing peril and predicament. So, they are simply dumbfounded and feel completely helpless. It is not clear to them as to what is to be done, where to go. In many cases, they are misled to adopt wrong path to be led to wrong end and consequently pushed to further ruination.

## Mounting political crisis

Over and above this acute economic crisis is the mounting political crisis. The political crisis has many aspects, all of which are not possible to be discussed in today’s meeting. But what I want to emphasize is that the problem of communalism has eclipsed all other burning problems. You have noticed that everywhere across the country this problem of communalism has assumed a very very dangerous

dimension. The venom of communalism is being spread throughout the country in a very planned way. Visibly, all efforts are on to embroil the common people belonging to the Hindu and Muslim communities in fratricidal clashes, even bloodbath. In many places, it is found that there is orchestrated violence against the religious minorities with state backing. In some cases, it is even found that though people of both communities do not want to get involved in a conflict, a clash is being engineered nevertheless by mobilizing communal criminals from outside. The common toiling people are baffled to find that poisonous seeds of communalism and such other divisive thoughts are being sown by the vested interest without encountering any resistance. And worst of all, religious faith of the minority community, their customs and conducts, their food habits and for that matter, their entire living are under attack. The minimal safety and security of their life is under threat. Their very right to live is under threat. On the other hand, democratic rights of the common people are being systematically curtailed in various ways. The various democratic rights which people earned through struggle and are recognized as fundamental rights like the right to organize meetings, demonstrations, to propagate one’s opinion, to organize democratic movements – are all being snatched away gradually in a systematic and planned manner. What else can such acts be called other than fascist? The democratic movements of the workers and employees too are coming under attack. Building up working class movement is becoming extremely difficult. Mills and factories are all closing down. And those few still blinking have their maximum workforce under contract with paltry wages. This paltry wage is hardly enough for the worker to eke out a bare living, let alone maintaining a family. Great Karl Marx had talked about wage slavery under capitalism many years back. But the ruthless capitalist oppression the working class today is subjected to reminds one of the slave society of medieval age.

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Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

# Mounting economic-political onslaughts wreaking havoc in people's life

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## **Fostering of communal-divisive thoughts by the RSS-BJP**

But what is more alarming is that when forging unity amongst the toiling people — irrespective of caste, creed, religion and language — based on class consciousness is the prime necessity, the capitalist class, and their servile governments are trying to destroy that very unity by taking recourse to heinous means like fostering pernicious divisive thoughts and feelings in the name of caste, creed, language, ethnicity and religion and embroiling the toiling masses in fratricidal conflicts.

You know, it is the lesson of history that without definite instigation by the quarters of vested interest, the toiling people do not harbour a divisive mentality. Rather, a sense of unity and solidarity against the exploitation of the owner capitalists prevails among them. But the capitalist class and its servitor political parties, in their sinister interest, cunningly precipitate all kinds of divisive ideas and thoughts, sectarian and communal mindsets.

Malicious spread of communal venom which the ruling capitalist class and its political parties, particularly the BJP now in governmental power, have been undertaking with alacrity cannot be viewed in isolation from the exploitative capitalist rule. In this situation the question that is haunting democratic-minded thinking people of the country is, how is it that the arch communal forces like the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, which were unable to raise their ugly head during the freedom movement against British imperialist rule and which stood condemned for opposing the freedom movement, could gradually gather strength after independence and turn into such a monstrous force? The whole country is now terror-stricken.

On the one hand, the rabidly communal RSS-BJP combine has constantly been adding political muscle with total backing of the capitalist class while on the other hand, riding on that political power, they are indulging in such noxious activities, that too with impunity, which even cannot be conceived of in a civilized society. They have virtually declared a war against all scientific-rational ideas, and through all their activities a pervasive anti Muslim hatred is dangerously

surfacing in an unabashed manner.

You are witness to how the right to profess a religious belief, right to eat, right to dress, right to habit and conduct of the Muslim people are under attack. Even their physical safety and freedom of thought are threatened. Everywhere, the saffron brigade is issuing one after another fiat against them. Those who are refusing to obey are being mercilessly tortured and even killed. There is no redress to such orchestrated violence and autocratic dictates because these are all taking place with full state-backing. That is not all. Raising slogans of so called Hindutva, the RSS is issuing not simple sermons but directives to the Muslims to embrace Hinduism. Despotism par excellence! This is what we are seeing in this age of science in the twenty-first century. What 'noble' aspect of ancient India is being reflected through all this? What is the difference between Hitlerite fascism and such barbaric acts? In certain specific cases, the activities of the RSS have been surpassing even the tyranny and savagery of Hitler regime. That is why, this portentous rise of RSS-BJP is not just a political phenomenon but a destructive upsurge aimed against science and progress — a heinous effort to disgrace the mankind.

## **Historical root of this menace of communalism-divisiveness**

Many of you know that there were two opposite trends in the freedom movement of our country — one compromising and another uncompromising. The trend led by Mahatma Gandhi that indeed served the interests of the national bourgeoisie comprising Tatas, Birlas, Mafatlals, Goenkas etc. was the compromising one. As against this, there was an uncompromising trend, led by the armed revolutionaries of the freedom movement. This uncompromising trend was subsequently led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with full support of the armed revolutionaries. This trend through its uncompromising struggle against British imperialism played a decisive role in the freedom movement. Even the then British Prime Minister Robert Atlee had to recognize this truth. It needs mentioning that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress emerged as the

party subservient to the class interest of the Indian national bourgeoisie. Internationally, it was the period of decadent moribund capitalism. In this period, the capitalists were haunted by the fear complex of working class revolution. So, capitalism could no more play a revolutionary role against imperialism and feudalism. On the contrary, it started compromising with imperialism and feudalism. As inalienable part of world capitalism, the Indian national bourgeoisie also chose the path of compromise with feudal thoughts and ideas, blind religious faith, taste, temperament and culture, divisive mentality and bigotry. Not only that. It had also been preserving and nurturing such backward regressive thoughts and ideas, so that when saddled in power, it could exploit those to sustain its class rule and exploitation. Let alone inculcating true spirit of secularism or rising above the sectarian Hindu-Muslim mindset, Indian nationalism under the leadership of the compromising Indian national bourgeoisie grew and developed as Hindu nationalism. Explaining all these features and phenomena, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of SUCI (Communist) and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era had said that though a superficial political unity of the Indian people had developed in order to attain political freedom from the British imperialist rule, culturally they remained disunited in many ways. This was the inevitable outcome of the compromising trend of the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom movement. This is history. On the other hand, the uncompromising trend led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose sought to unite the people rising above caste, creed, region, ethnicity, religion and language and based on secularism. This trend imbued the people with true patriotism. Because of this uncompromising trend in the freedom movement, the Hindu Mahasabha and the likes did not succeed in spreading venom of communalism and other divisive mentalities at that time. And this very uncompromising trend in the anti-British imperialist movement came to be regarded as the leftist trend of that time. Because of this sprouting leftist thought, neither the communal Muslim league with its

instigation for division of the country based on religion, nor the communal Hindu Mahasabha and RSS could raise their ugly heads. At that time, these communal forces were indeed insignificant.

## **Congress rule in post-independence India sustained communal-divisive mindsets**

But in post-independent India, the Congress, the chosen party of the ruling capitalist class, assumed the governmental power and began treading the path of dividing the common masses over religion, region, caste, creed, ethnicity and language. This paved the way for communalism and various divisive thoughts to take a firm root on the soil. Taking advantage of this approach of the Congress and with the open support of the ruling capitalist class, the RSS and its political wing, erstwhile Jana Sangh and now renamed as the BJP, began to gain strength. In this era of decadent moribund capitalism, the Congress too, though not saying so openly, had used Hindutva as the plank of its politics in a very subtle manner and avoided any conflict with the arch communal forces. As a result, immediately after assuming governmental power, the real face of the Congress started to come out. With the objective of reaping electoral benefits, the Congress went on compromising and colluding with the communal and divisive forces as per exigencies of different parts of the country and thus indirectly helped the RSS-BJP to gather strength. This is the history of the last 70 years of independent India. So, those who call the Congress secular are either ignorant or indulge in utter falsehood or are cunning to the core. They distort history with an ulterior motive and confuse the people. What is even more concerning is that as a result of this, the vital fact is getting obscured that after being saddled in power the Congress has been creating rift and division among the Hindus-Muslims for their electoral interest.

## **What is leftism?**

The next point that I want to raise is that while during our freedom movement the leftist trend reduced the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha to insignificance and did not let them come to the forefront, — how could the revival of those

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## Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

## Menacing rise of communal-divisive forces

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subdued communal forces be made possible in post-independent India when various political parties proclaiming themselves as leftists are very active? Why have those who proclaim themselves as leftists in post-independent India failed to discharge appropriate role in resisting these communal and religious fundamental forces? Is it the failure of real leftism or the result of fake leftism? To get the right answer, we have to clearly realize what is meant by leftist ideas and thoughts and what is the kernel of true leftism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, had repeatedly shed light on this issue. He had shown that in the society divided between handful of exploiters and myriads of exploited, those political forces that are in favour of maintaining status quo, that means those who do not play actual role against the exploiters and the exploitative system, whose political activities are based upon acceptance of the existing system cannot be regarded as leftists. They are the rightists. In fact, they are acting as lackeys of the exploiters in protecting this exploitative social order and the process of exploitation. And those who are actually against the status quo, they are the real leftists. During the freedom movement the main contradiction was between the exploitative British imperialist rule and the uncompromising struggle to be free from that. While British imperialism wanted to sustain their exploitative rule, the subjugated Indian people — the entire exploited masses wanted to attain freedom. In course of the struggle against British

imperialist rule and exploitation, the uncompromising trend had emerged under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. This uncompromising trend of struggle has been identified as leftist trend of that time. This was the trend where all out efforts were made to build up widest and deepest possible unity of freedom-loving common masses, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and language. At that time, not to create division but build up unity of the exploited people constituted the essence of leftism.

After independence, a fundamental change occurred regarding the question of the main contradiction. After attaining political independence, it was the national bourgeoisie who became the new exploiter. Who can be considered leftists in the background of this changed situation? On one side, we find the ruler-exploiter capitalist class and their subservient political parties, and on the other side, 95 percent of the exploited toiling people. In the post-independence period, this is the basic contradiction in the political sphere or the main political contradiction. In this background, who are in favour of the status quo and who are really against the status quo — this will determine who today are the rightists and who are the leftists. However, there is no confusion over the point that it is only the revolutionary party which takes a revolutionary stand against the rule and exploitation of the capitalist class, and which will lead the struggle for overthrowing capitalism through revolution. The question of any other party leading this revolutionary struggle does not arise. But can those forces or

parties which have no real contradiction at all with the cruel rule and ruthless exploitation of capitalism and have no interest in building up genuine mass movement for achieving legitimate demands of the toiling millions, be called leftists? Is it that simply raising some demands makes one a leftist? The people of our country have enough experience about the politics of deception by parties going by the name 'leftists' and even those claiming themselves as communists. Governed by this approach if we analyze the situation, it will become clear that in the post-independence period the parties claiming to be leftists namely the CPI(M), CPI, RSP, Forward Bloc etc., had, before coming to power in some states through elections under the bourgeois rule, built up some trade union movements against the capitalist owners and developed mass movements here and there on the demands of the toiling people against the Congress Government, but that too, remaining confined within the constitutional reformist bounds. Whatever they did and said never reflected their concern about the fact of capitalist exploitation. Their political activities never centered around the interest of the exploited common masses based on the recognition that the contradiction between the exploiter capitalist class and 95 percent of people, devastated by capitalist exploitation, constitutes the main contradiction, nor are they doing so today even. What they did and said resulted in obscuring the fact of the rule and exploitation of the capitalist class. Without admitting the reality of capitalist exploitation while raising their voice sometimes against

imperialism-feudalism, they had in reality tried to shield the capitalist exploitation and rule in the past and are doing so even today. This truth is today clearly vindicated. Not to speak of building up class consciousness through their entire political activities, what is getting clearly manifested through their activities is utter reformism and constitutionalism instead. When in the past they had built up some mass movements here and there, they did it in such a manner that they could pull the reins to get them to stay within the confines of reformist constitutionalist bounds. And today, being reduced to social democratic parties and having left the path of movements of the toiling people, they have become the biggest compromising force. Does not saying nothing, doing nothing about the main contradiction between capitalism and the exploited masses indicate something? Does this not reflect that claiming themselves to be leftists they are behaving like the known bourgeois parties? Today everyone can see that like other bourgeois parties, their political activities are also confined within the bounds of Assembly, Parliament and parliamentary politics. Clearly like that of other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, it is a stand in favour of the status quo. This reality, this truth can by no means be covered up. So far as people's emancipation is concerned it is known to us that the politics of rightists under the cover of leftism is even more disastrous. Here, I again want to mention that not only in the post-independence period, but during the freedom movement also the undivided CPI had failed to uphold

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## Movement for immediate reintroduction of Pass-fail from Class I

In view of Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) demanding of the Union government reintroduction of the Pass-Fail System immediately from Class I to check further deterioration of the situation in school education already brought about by the No Detention Policy being practiced by both Union and state governments, different state committees of the Party have taken up different programmes in their respective states.

As a part of it, the **West Bengal State Committee** launched a programme of observing demand fortnight between 8 and 22 June and of conducting a massive statewide

signature campaign primarily on the demand raised by the General Secretary of Party. The state Committee made appeals to all clubs, social organizations, market committees, unions and associations of working and peasants to extend their full support to the demand which is miserably affecting children of every family of common people. The appeal met with wholehearted response from people to make the programme successful.

In **Tripura** AIDSO led a protest demonstration on 14 June in Agartala drawing attention to the miserable condition reflected, among others, in sharp sliding down of number of



AIDSO dharna in Hyderabad for re-introduction of Pass-fail from class I

successful candidates in the Secondary examination this year in which not even a single candidate could pass out. A memorandum was submitted to the Director, Primary Education demanding the introduction of pass-fail from class I. AIDSO also

held a dharna and submitted a memorandum at Directorate of School Education Board, in **Hyderabad** demanding re-introduction of Pass-Fail System from class 1 in school level on 27 June.

## Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

# CPI (M), CPI abandon left politics

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the banner of genuine leftism. They did not co-operate with the uncompromising trend of freedom movement led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who held aloft the banner of real leftism of that time. On the contrary, when intense struggle between compromising line of Mahatma Gandhi and the uncompromising line of Netaji was going on within the Congress, they did not stand by the side of Netaji, rather they opposed him. They also sharply opposed the historic 1942 movement. They stood against the revolutionary struggle for freedom carried on by the Azad Hind Fauz which ultimately forced the British imperialists to leave the country.

In this situation, we hold that without correctly realizing this background, this tragic aspect of left politics of the country, the main cause for the rise of the fascist powers like the RSS and BJP cannot be realized at all, nor can the correct line for resisting them be determined. The RSS-BJP could attain its present strength because of the absence of powerful uncompromising mass movements based on genuine leftist ideals uniting the entire exploited, oppressed people, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and language, on the edifice of higher ethics and morality for achieving their burning demands. Simultaneously, a sustained ideological struggle involving the entire masses of the people against the utterly reactionary communal ideology of the RSS-BJP needs to be organized to totally isolate them from the people. There is no other alternative.

### **There are only two camps in politics**

In this connection I would like to mention a valuable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh characterizing the political parties of India. He said, in the political scene, there are many different political parties. But in reality, there are only two camps. In one camp we find those who stand for the exploiters – the Congress, BJP, the socialists, all, even the CPI(M) and CPI— who are conducting their political activities virtually submitting to capitalist system and remaining within the four walls of bourgeois parliamentary politics. In the other camp is only the SUCI (Communist) which is fighting against the capitalist rule and exploitation in the interest of the exploited masses. He

said this in the sense that although many political parties are visible, but in reality, there are only two camps. On the one side, it is the SUCI (Communist) which is making all out efforts to build up powerful mass movements and conducive to that is also taking part in elections with a revolutionary purpose. The revolutionaries take part in elections up to a certain stage in order to make the voice of the developing class and mass struggles heard within the Parliament and Assembly. But, the CPI(M), CPI have made bourgeois vote politics their sole plank, and for that purpose are entering into unprincipled electoral alliances with any bourgeois or petty-bourgeois other party to get some seats at any cost, throwing to the wind ethics and principles. In this way, they are drowning in the mire of opportunist politics. You must have noticed that as the inevitable result of this, their existence is now at stake. Also, as a result of practising a politics that turns away from the mass movements, the RSP and Forward Bloc have become almost non-existent today. The very existence of the CPI(M) and CPI are also in jeopardy today for practising such a politics of turning away from mass movements. There is nothing to rejoice over this setback of leftism. It, in fact, is a matter of deep concern.

### **Hindrance before development of democratic mass movement**

In this situation, it is also of grave concern that when an utterly reactionary force, highly detrimental to the progress of society and civilization, has gained strength and is giving birth to a fascistic danger, putting at stake whatever is left of bourgeois democracy, the development of powerful democratic movements so vital to resist the menacing force is proving to be very difficult. Whatever scope of it was there, that too is declining fast, so much so that today it has reached a bottom level. But the question is why and how this weakness could develop. There cannot be two opinions on the question that in the context of capitalist rule and exploitation of the entire toiling population, leftism does not and cannot become obsolete and irrelevant. Rather, the necessity of left movement has assumed greater urgency. Then why this crisis? We have to find the answer through a scientific objective analysis. Science tells us that whatever happens has a

definite cause. This is sure to be the case here also. Leftist ideology does not mean a particular party, nor is it devoid of a party — a party is being its vehicle. You have surely noticed that those most well known as leftist parties like the CPI(M) and CPI are gradually becoming insignificant ideologically as well as organizationally. Emergence of the RSS-BJP cannot be the reason behind that. The RSS-BJP have gathered strength in an environment bereft of real left movement. Many of you know that West Bengal was once regarded as the citadel of leftist ideology and leftist movement. In this very West Bengal, after 34 years of uninterrupted rule, the CPI(M) had been ousted from power by the Trinamool Congress, a splinter group of the rightist reactionary Congress party, by raising anti-left, anti-communist and highly pitched anti-CPI (M) slogans. In Kerala, having no concern for any principle rather throwing all principles to the wind, the government gets changed in a rotational manner. Every five years, either a Congress-led crowd of allies form the government or a CPI(M)-led crowd of allies form the government. As far as principles and agenda are concerned, not the least difference can be found between these two alliances. In the same way, paying least respect to ethics and principles and making a display of sheer power, the CPI(M) remained in power in Tripura for long 30 years. There also by ruling the state day after day in the same bourgeois manner as the Congress and other parties subservient to capitalism and in the process becoming utterly corrupt and anti-people with sole dependence on the police and bureaucracy, the CPI (M) incurred the wrath of the people. Taking advantage of that, rabid communal forces like the RSS-BJP has captured power by raising not only high pitch anti-CPI(M) slogans but also anti-left and anti-communist slogans. Not a single person can be found today, especially in those states to say that the CPI (M) has lost power in these two states because of upholding the noble banner of leftism. In other states, the CPI (M) was an insignificant force. But in Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura they had their governments for a long time. But you see because of the way they had run the government in these states, whatever little ideological appeal they had as a leftist party before coming to power has come down to zero today. What is more,

as a result of their pro-capitalist politics, the appeal of leftism and Marxism has also tarnished, though temporarily, in the maze of confusion. The compromising role between labour and capital, a basic feature of social democratic parties, has become more clearly manifested in their running of the governments for a long time in these states. As a result of that, leftist ideology and strength of leftism have been weakened day by day and other reactionary forces including the RSS-BJP, have tremendously gained in strength. It is, however, not a matter of rejoicing. Because, in totality it constitutes a grave attack on leftism and Marxism, howsoever temporary. Therefore, to find out its main source and root it out from the base is the call of the hour. Here I may recall what Saratchandra Chatterjee, the great litterateur and thinker said in his epoch making novel 'Sesh Prasna' (The last question) in a brilliant way. He observed that – 'enemy of something good is nothing else than greater good' – the essence of which is that what is really good, may be some thoughts or acts, would, in course of development, give birth to higher good. It cannot be otherwise. In the continuous development of science, we find vindication of this truth.

### **Spurning of leftist line helped RSS-BJP to raise their ugly heads**

To determine the truth in any sphere, one must be based on scientific outlook. Here the question of willingness or unwillingness does not arise at all. As science teaches us, to search out the truth behind any event, any phenomenon, the determining factor is the correctness of the process or methodology of analysis. Leftism is a category of thinking developed through a particular process. It is completely different from the rightist process of thinking. It is born by ideologically defeating the rightist ideology. The course of development of science has revealed the truth that a particular method or a particular process determines the nature of a particular change. In case of science, we see that the particular process of producing oxygen produces oxygen only and not hydrogen. Similarly, in the particular process of producing hydrogen, it is only hydrogen that is produced and not oxygen. Here I again recall a valuable teaching of Comrade

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## Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech

# For developing united sustained movements of toiling people, there is no alternative to genuine leftism

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Shibdas Ghosh. While explaining one aspect of dialectical materialism he said, the "result will show, what is what." The understanding of the law of causality is the same. One event has one particular cause. Another event has another cause. We cannot ignore this fundamental truth of science while scientifically analysing any phenomenon, any event. The same is true in case of political analysis. Here again I would like to refer to another famous, very penetrating assertion of Saratchandra, the great litterateur. In one place he firmly stated that 'simply a pious wish and a mind for doing something great is not enough to accomplish a noble task'. Our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had reminded us again and again that the correctness of the process or methodology is decisive or the prime determining factor in arriving at the truth. This fundamental scientific approach needs to be followed in judging other parties or even reviewing our own activities. The CPI(M) and its allies have ruled Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura for a long time. In every case, at the end of their stint in power it is the rightist political forces who have returned to governmental power. They could not give birth to higher understanding of leftism and bring that into power. In this connection, I would also like to tell you that it is not at all our intention to anyhow brand someone with a label. While carrying on our activities in these states, we have all the time shown that their day to day style of running the administration is completely devoid of leftism. In the states where they were or are in power, they did not take a stand for and are not taking the side of the 90-95 percent of the toiling masses seething with resentment against the capitalist exploitation. They did not stand and are still not standing in support of just and legitimate mass movements. Not only are they opposing the democratic movements and creating obstacles in the way of developing such movements, they, while in power, had brutally crushed such democratic struggles just like any other pro-capitalist party like the Congress or the BJP. The leftism that the CPI(M) and CPI talk about and practise is pushing genuine leftism into crisis, thereby dealing a severe blow to leftism. They have to take the responsibility of this

consequence. They have to admit that the inevitable outcome of their politics devoid of leftism, and their subservience to the capitalist class in the name of leftism, is the root cause of revival and growth of right reactionary forces in new form.

Though it is a matter of deep regret, it is true that in a state like West Bengal, their followers in the rural areas and even some of their leaders had switched to the TMC first and are now joining the BJP. The same thing happened in Tripura. While analysing the issue scientifically, these factors cannot be ignored. The leaders and cadres of the parties like the CPI (M), CPI who believe in leftism, who still have trust and confidence in the ideology of Marxism-communism, have to probe deeply into the matter. They need to realize that this emergence of the most reactionary rightist forces at the end of the rule of the CPI (M) and its allies has been an inevitability because of the non-left politics of their leadership who had long spurned leftism and the path of mass movement and hence was found indistinguishable from bourgeois politics. You please observe one thing. With the rise of most reactionary forces like the RSS-BJP throughout the country and rabid communalism making horrendous inroads, the urgent necessity has been to resist this menace by uniting the exploited working people, irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, region, religion and language. But the leaders of the CPI (M), CPI are not talking even once about the indispensability of building powerful ideological struggle based on genuine leftism against the poisonous ideology of RSS-BJP combine. Instead, in the name of resisting the BJP, they are repeatedly talking about forging electoral unity with the Congress – one of the most trusted parties of the ruling capitalist class – and some such other parties, whereas the fact is that despite its occasional pretensions to be in favour of

secularism, the Congress had never practiced real secularism. During the freedom movement also, the nationalism for which Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and others stood for all practical purpose was Hindu nationalism. Saddled in power after independence also, the Congress never rose above religion to run the government, never organized ideological struggle against anti-Muslim hate campaign of the RSS-BJP. Rather, in order to derive electoral mileage, it has endorsed the utterly communal Hindutva and thus soft-pedaled communal politics in a very subtle manner.

What is even worse is that when the Congress was in power, it had never taken a stern position against the planned attacks on the Muslims by the RSS-BJP combine. Both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi had on many occasions practised communal politics in the name of majority politics. But the irony is that today in the name of resisting the RSS-BJP, the CPI(M), CPI are so eager to enter into an electoral alliance with that very Congress. All these glaringly demonstrate how far they are removed from genuine leftism today. However, notwithstanding this dismal scenario which is temporary, we firmly hold that genuine leftism being the need of the hour would reappear once again. Genuine leftism based upon its higher understanding is sure to resurge in course of development of people's movements.

### Development of sustained democratic movement based on correct base political line

Let us not become despondent, let us not lose heart! It is to be remembered that for building up united sustained movements of toiling people, there is no alternative to genuine leftism and leftist ideology. So, resurgence of leftism is the historic necessity. So, all the democratic-minded toiling people need to join the path of struggle. In

this context, I would like to remind you that as in other spheres, struggle against communalism can be built up and advanced further only under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party. You must have noticed that only SUCI (Communist) is earnestly trying to carry out this historic task. SUCI (Communist) is ceaselessly striving to build up mighty sustained democratic movements by uniting the exploited masses rising above caste, creed, region, religion, ethnicity and language, with the ultimate aim of overthrowing capitalism. It is also a fact that because of unwaveringly upholding the banner of genuine leftism and relentless adherence to the path of struggle, the common masses of different states are increasingly attracted towards our Party. We know that nobody can acquire Marxist-communist character overnight. It has its definite process which proceeds through different phases and stages. It is to be remembered in this regard that the first and foremost task is to convince our people about the indispensability of leftist ideology. In the next place, all efforts must be made to get them involved and engaged in left democratic movement. In this situation, what we are trying to bring home to people everywhere is that the sustained democratic movements have to be built up on the base political line of uncompromising struggle against capitalist exploitation and rule. It is the only way to establish genuine leftism. It is only in this way that communalism and different types of divisiveness will also be gradually rooted out. Let us proceed along this way to discharge the historic task devolved upon us.

I conclude here.

Long Live revolution  
Long Live SUCI (Communist)  
Red Salute to Comrade  
Shibdas Ghosh, the Great Leader  
of the Proletariat.



At Guna, one of the countrywide protests against police atrocities and killing in Tuticorin on anti Sterlite demonstration

# So-called change in government did not bring any change in violence and trickeries

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no longer remained a policy, it became the brand of politics itself. Side by side they bluntly capitulated as the faithful servitor of the capitalists, gifting them liberally the means of livelihood of people of the country. Thus fertile multiple –crop land, extremely densely populated areas with minimum amenities of humming rural life were earmarked to be handed over to the monopolists of the country or abroad, as in Singur and Nandigram. It was enough for people; they built up resistance. Unnerved at this, the CPI(M) rulers took to the worst kind of brutalities and atrocities. Hired goons lethally armed to the teeth and in disguise of police committed murder and mass rapes with a view to breaking the morale of the fighting people. Unfortunately for them, the game was over, people stood firm despite worst atrocities and oppression. They foiled their moves. But in this whole course of more than three decades values and ethics prevailing in the society were shattered. And since these were done by a party known as big left, it created more confusion and frustration among people. Step-by-step this trend took its root in the state. But enough was enough. People revolted against such demonised politics, initiated particularly with Singur and Nandigram.

### The TMC followed the same brand of violent politics as practised by the CPI(M)

The TMC presently ruling the state, rose to power riding on this tremendous anti- CPI(M) mass-mood developed during these 34 years of mis-rule of the CPI(M). Taking advantage of this mood, it emerged with false assurances of bringing about change to catch the imagination and support of people. But soon as a bourgeois party, it proved day in and day out that with respect to the use of violence in politics as a policy and tool, it was ready to step faithfully and fittingly into the shoes left by the CPI(M). In fact having taken lessons from the instance of the CPI(M) rule, it has made the process still more ferocious and all-pervading. The recent panchayat election attests to this fact. It has also taken advantage of the general apathy and inertia of people that developed because of the opportunistic parliamentary politics under leftist jargons. Thus following the footsteps of their predecessors, the CPI(M), whom they curse on every occasion, at every moment, the TMC, too, has taken to deceiving people with hollow tall talks, waving the half-mast banner of development with hundred and one holes on it and through these by

practising politics which ends always in vote and nothing more, nothing less.

### Decadent capitalism has nothing more to offer but violence and treachery

The present situation comes in the wake of all these. It simply makes it clear that in this era of decadent capitalism, bourgeois politics does not bear or harbour any amount of democratic content whatsoever. Violence on one hand and trickeries and treacheries with tall talks on the other, have become its means of subsistence, its mode of existence. All the bourgeois, petty bourgeois parties, as far as possible from their respective positions in power or aspiring for it, are practising it. It may find expression in different ways in different states or with different parties, but the crux remains the same. On one side there are mind-boggling alluring slogans of development, inclusiveness and so on so forth. On the other side intolerance leading to violence continue to mar socio-political events every now and then, on no pretext at all. These said parties are creating the suffocating atmosphere as is to be found today in rural West Bengal. They are robbing people of all their rights to choose candidates of their choice; the right to freely express their opinion. Along with that they are driving cleavage among the common people, using a section of toiling people against another under the cloak of a false partisanship, engaging them in fratricidal clashes on even trifle issues, confusing them for what and against whom they are fighting and thus turning them into inhuman demons bereft of any humanity. As the revolutionary party of the country armed with Marxism- Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh

Thoughts SUCI (C) is striving hard with whatever strength it has to fight against this brand of politics and develop genuine movements on the burning problems of people's life and livelihood on the edifice of noble moral and ethical values and culture. It is true that in consequence of this brand of violent as well as treacherous politics, saner section of people of the society, right-thinking persons whose opinions still matter in social domain are getting frustrated and dejected. Once politics was correctly considered a noble social activity, which imbued people to fight against oppression and injustice. As Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out "Politics calls for noble feelings of heart". But the present ugly form of politics being practised with impunity is simply making the conscientious people of the society to shrink back into their own shell. But will not such cynicism, such indifference from persons who matter, strengthen the forces of destruction and devilry which they really abhor? Rather what people faces as their imminent tasks are to realize in clear unambiguous terms why this brand of violent politics has cropped up, whose interests it serves in the long run, what should be the way out from it, how should resistance to this dreadful politics be organized to put an end to it. It is the real class motive, the design of the ruling capitalist class, to unarm people ideologically and culturally, turning them into a dehumanized mass, which needs to be identified and thoroughly comprehended. And on that basis people in villages, towns and cities will need to stand up firm in united sustained resistance against this brand of politics, making it a vital part of their struggle against all burning problems of their life and livelihood. That is the only choice left! This is the need of the hour!



First state level AIDYO Conference at Pudukcherry on 24 June

## SUCI (C) protests countrywide against the cruel and inhuman policy and treatment of Trump administration to the refugees

Condemning the widely criticized cruel and inhuman policy and treatment of US President Trump's administration to desperate refugee families crossing Mexico-US border, including the decision to separate children from the families and keep them in detention SUCI (C) organized countrywide protests. Among them on 22 June Karnataka units of AIDS0, AIDYO and AIMSS organised a protest demonstration in Bengaluru, on 23 June in Kolkata, West Bengal and on 25 June Delhi State units of AIUTUC, AIMSS, AIDS0 and AIDYO along with Comrade Pran Sharma Delhi State Secretary of the Party staged a protest demonstration. Everywhere leaders of the participating organizations condemned the US administration policy and treatment.



Protest in Bengaluru against US President Trump's immigration policy

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